

Voter Turnout: Ideologically Swayed?

Exploring Effects of Ideologically Extreme Parties on OECD Countries

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Abstract:

This paper sets out to explore how voter turnout varies across countries. People turning out to vote are a vital part of any democracy. The people who turn out to vote tend to set the trend for how the country will be run. A lot of the research out there examines how voter turnout varies across nations in an institutional context. I examine how the idea that the amount of political parties has an impact on voter turnout may be better understood in a rational choice framework. This paper looks into how certain types of political parties may have an effect on voter turnout. Radical right parties and green parties each have had various successes across many countries. To see if there is an impact of having these parties on the ballot I will compare the level of voter turnout to the vote totals as a percentage of the vote. My belief is that the type of political party has an impact on voter participation because some individuals are more likely to choose to go out and vote for those parties. This stems from the fact that these parties focus on a narrow issue set that is able to motivate a portion of the electorate to get out and vote.

Keywords: Voter-turnout; political-parties; radical-right-parties; green-parties; rational-choice; institutional

Introduction:

Democracy is considered a vital part of how modern society is structured today. Since its beginning it has evolved to form to the society that utilizes it. One of the key parts to a successful democracy relies on the participation of citizens in elections. This system requires people to make a conscious effort in choosing who will make the laws that govern them. If people do not turn out to vote, then the system suffers because the people's interest is not actually represented. One measure of political participation is the level of registered voters that come out to participate. This measure of voter participation varies often by country, year, and election. Understanding how voter participation varies can give a glimpse at how the democracy is performing and if they are representing the people's desires.

Participation is a large part of how a democracy is run. It is vital as a democracy because more people participating means there are varied opinions being represented. It is valuable as Arend Lijphart explains “Elections lie at the heart of representative democracy, enacting citizens' rights to have a say in by whom they are governed” (Lijphart 2006 page 7). It is with this right that some people inevitably choose not to vote. This leads to variation that can be seen across countries in the amount of people turning out to vote. It is from this variation that we can look to see what factors affect the level of turnout. Overall, in this paper we will delve into why voter turnout varies across countries. The issue I will look into specifically has to do with the types of political parties that are present across countries. People organize themselves in democracies around political parties. From these parties certain ideologies are outlined and the parties seek to gain votes from people with similar beliefs. My main question will be: what effects do single issue or ideologically extreme parties have on voter turnout in OECD countries?

To understand completely how voter turnout varies is larger than this paper can cover. This is why the focus will be on the narrower subject of single issue or ideologically extreme parties. To facilitate this exploration a smaller sample-size of countries ¹is explored. The countries that will be examined are all members of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). These countries will be utilized because they all have large amounts of data collected by the OECD that is readily obtainable. Utilizing OECD countries will give us a group of comparable countries that also foster a wide array of different political environments.

¹ These countries include: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States

These countries are a fair mix of established democracies and of more recently democratized countries. But not all have managed to foster a number of single-issue or ideologically extreme parties over the past few decades. In this paper two single issue movements will be explored: the green party movement, and the radical right party movement. Each of these movements is sometimes classified as niche parties. Bonnie M. Meguid in *Competition between Unequals* explores how these types of parties typically “politicize sets of issues that were previously outside of the dimensions of party competition” (Meguid 347). Green parties in this way formed in the 1970s because mainstream parties were ignoring environmental issues such as environmental protection, nuclear disarmament, and nuclear power (Meguid 348). Radical right parties formed in the 1980s and 1990s as a response to increasing levels of immigration, and fear of losing old family values. These two parties tend to focus on a narrow amount of policy and attempt to attract voters through a narrow issue.

Both of these types of parties have had varying levels of success across numerous countries. There’s a lot of success for these parties in European countries, but there are other countries that have displayed similar success rates. The Green parties of the 1970s have persisted into more recent elections across Europe. In OECD countries we see green parties gain electoral support of an average of at least 5% in Australia, Austria, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and Switzerland. In addition to these countries there are 12 other countries that have had green parties gain some electoral success (Carr).² They seem to have tapped into a fair amount of desire to focus on the environment. Radical right parties have traces dating far back, but there have also been a decent amount of growth of these parties in recent years. In this analysis both of these parties will be compared to

² See table with Green Parties in Data and Analysis section

the level of voter turnout across OECD countries. The idea will be to see if there is relationship between the presence of these parties and the level of voter turnout across these countries.

This paper sets out to understand how these parties may have an impact on voter turnout. The main hypotheses are: **The presence of substantial radical right parties will have a positive effect on voter turnout. The presence of substantial green parties will have a positive effect on voter turnout.** If given more options people would gravitate more toward voting for these sorts of single-issue parties because the main parties do not focus on the issues they care about. The concept is that the presence of these parties will give voters a reason to come out to the polls. This type of voter may have decided to stay at home instead of vote. Now, because of another option at the polls it becomes more likely that they will go out and vote. The popularity or strength of these parties would also have an impact on their success. A party that has more strength is more likely to motivate voters to support them. This stems from the idea that there is more of an advantage if the party has won in the past. It can help build a reputation as a worthy party to vote for, and being a stronger party can lead to more media attention and publicity. The study that I conduct however will be looking at contemporaneous support. This means that I am looking at the electoral support in the same election that I am measuring turnout. In general, voters decide to vote for parties because they believe that there is a chance that they will gain a seat. Otherwise, it would be a wasted vote and they would be less likely to vote for the party. Past performance is one way to account for a party's' success, but this would only take effect after several cycles. There are other factors that could account for their popularity such as opinion polls, talking to other would-be voters, or current event issues such as an environmental disaster or a terrorist attack. Radical right parties especially seem to produce a contentious atmosphere in their campaign rhetoric. They often target citizen's fears of "losing" their country

to immigrants. By this aspect there is a chance that some would go out and vote for other parties to try and counter their support. Voters may see these parties in contention with their values just as much as some see them as a voice for their opinions. Popularity and presence of these single issue or ideologically extreme parties is predicted to have a positive effect on the level of voter turnout.

In order to see if this theory is valid it will be important to address other possible factors that could affect voter turnout or strength of these parties. To test for this I will also examine how the level of foreign-born in the population varies. One of the ways radical right parties are defined is by their desire for less immigration (Golder 2003). This is a way to see how having a varied population could affect people's reactions to these parties. It is possible that a more diverse state may foster a larger anti-immigrant sentiment. There's also a chance that the increased diversity could be behind the rise or fall in participation and not the presence of green or radical right parties. To account for this possibility this variable will be included in my models.

Another important factor I examine is the economic conditions of the country during the elections. Having a struggling economy could make it more likely that people will come out and vote for a party other than the mainstream parties. I will examine how the GDP of the country and its possible impact voter turnout in various elections. Addressing this issue will help us see if economic conditions are more of a reason why people turnout to vote or if the economic conditions increase the likelihood of support for either of these parties.

Finally, there must be some sort of measure on the amount of people working, and the amount of money spent on social programs by the country. To measure this I will examine the unemployment level of each country during these elections along with the level of social expenditure as a percentage of GDP. These measures can describe the country's voting base. The

level a country spends on its social programs could also hypothetically show that the more a country spends on its people the more devoted they are to voting in an election (Shields and Goidel 1997).

Literature Review:

Much of the literature that exists on voter turnout tends to focus on an institutional explanation of voter turnout. Two of the main studies that highlight this view are Powell and Jackman. Both of Powell (1986) and Jackman (1987) published articles in the *American Political Science Review* that each went through the belief that institutions have a large impact on electoral voter turnout. They are not alone in the belief that institutions impact voter turnout. Arend Lijphart is a proponent that the type of electoral system can have an impact on the democracy as a whole. He finds that a proportional representation system can be better suited to providing a more accurate representation of the population (Lijphart 1994). In this way the type of system could encourage more people to come out and vote and increase electoral turnout. Powell in his study looked at the average of turnout in 17 countries in the 1970s and he found that turnout was higher in countries with “strong party-group linkages” and “nationally competitive elections”. Essentially this was explained as the choice being simpler for voters when groups (e.g., unions, churches, and professional associations) are closely associated with parties (Powell 1986, p. 22), and nationally competitive districts enhance voter turnout because voters have more incentive to go to the polls (Powell 1986, p. 21). Jackman (1987) followed up Powell’s study with even more focus on institutional factors’ impact on electoral turnout. By examining 19 different countries’ mean turnout in the 1970s he pointed toward five institutional factors as having an influence on voter turnout: nationally competitive districts, electoral disproportionality, multipartyism, unicameralism, and compulsory voting. These two studies

would go on to influence much of the institutional theory behind voter turnout. These theories however have not gone unquestioned.

Andre Blais originally subscribed to the idea that institutional explanations best explain the variance in voter turnout. In his review, *What Affects Voter Turnout?*, he explores how many of the variables that Jackman and Powell produce are less supported than originally thought. He concludes that “our understanding of the impact of institutions on turnout is shaky” (Blais 2006, p. 116). Blais does go further along in his study to include the idea of party fractionalization of choices or number of parties on the ballot. This concept was first introduced by Jackman (1987) and has since become common in most research. According to Blais the logic behind adding in this variable is that the more parties there are the higher the turnout because “first voters have more options to choose from...second, the more parties there are, the greater the electoral mobilization” (Blais 2006, p. 118). There is also the idea that Jackman himself presents that party fractionalization may actually have a negative effect on turnout because there is an increased chance of the government forming a coalition. In turn this could mean the ruling government may be less representative of the people and make it more likely for them to make deals to gain power. These beliefs however come under question as Blais examines the literature’s support for this idea. It appears that most of the research has found a negative correlation between the number of parties and turnout (Blais 2006).³ The only exceptions to this seem to be studies in Latin America where no relationship is found (Blais 2006).⁴

A great deal of the literature looks at the potential impact of having more parties on the ballot affecting voter turnout, but often it does not explore whether a certain type of political party affects voter turnout. This study will focus on understanding if the type of political party

³ Blais finds this to be the case in Jackman 1987, Blais & Carty 1990, Jackman & Miller 1995, Blais & Dobrzynska 1998, Radcliff & Davis 2000, Kostadinova 2003.

⁴ Blais finds this to be the case in P´erez-Liñ´an 2001, Fornos et al. 2004

has an impact on voter turnout instead of just whether having more options overall makes people more likely to vote. Since part of the problem that Blais highlights is that the effect itself is hard to piece out, this study could help narrow the scope a little. Looking at whether the type of party has an effect leads us closer to the more rational-choice explanation of voting. Instead of primarily looking at institutions as a cause of voter turnout it can be viewed as individuals making choices based on their own interests. In ways voting defies a rational-choice explanation because of the perceived lack of utility from voting. Often to account for this lack of substantial utility a theoretical variable is added into the equation to account for the utility voters get from “performing their civic duty” (Gerber, Green, Larimer, 2008). It is possible that the power of the type of party and the issues they address could be a part of the rational choice to vote. By looking at this potential relationship there is the possibility that the rational choice explanation could be strengthened since it seems that the institutional explanations are “shaky” (Blais 2006). Both green parties and radical right parties each have literature devoted to explaining their sources of strength and their ability to survive as electoral options.

Green parties are identified as emerging in the 1970s to address the underrepresented issues of “environmental protection, nuclear disarmament, and nuclear power” (Meguid 2005). These parties since have developed electoral success in several countries, but as they have gained success they have also been subject to losing some of those advantages. Ferdinand Müller-Rommel explores the factors behind a successful “other” party movement in *The Lifespan and the Political Performance of Green Parties in Western Europe*. Here he explores how Green parties gain success by reaching different thresholds which include “threshold of declaration”, “threshold of authorization”, “threshold of representation”, and “threshold of relevance” (Müller-

Rommel 2002).⁵ The third threshold is one where the parties actually have enough support to gain seats, though he does note that part of this can be explained by electoral systems. His study goes on to differentiate parties, across 17 different Western European countries, by how many thresholds they have crossed. The parties he includes in his study expand across the years 1973 up until 1997 (Müller-Rommel 2002). In our study the parties examined span from the early to mid-1990s until more recent elections. He goes on to point out that “the electoral as well as the parliamentary performance of Green parties has improved remarkably in Western Europe” (Müller-Rommel 2002). Basically there has been some evidence that the green parties have established themselves more concretely in the electoral system. It is important to know that some green parties have lost strength over time (Mair 2002), but the main goal of the green party movement was never to become a large political party. Their success has remained limited in that it ranged from 1.5 percent to 7.3 percent at this time (Müller-Rommel 2002). It does appear that a lot of the research has shown that green parties have managed to gain a certain level of legitimacy with the electorate. With this the parties are able to rely on a consistent amount of people to show up and vote for them in elections. Part of their mission though must be maintaining relevance and being viewed as a source of change. The parties themselves tend to rely on a young and better educated generation that makes up the core of their electorate (Bürklin 1987). There has been numerous arguments that the green party movement would fade away from European politics (Bürklin 1987), but it appears that the green party movement is one that will not go away completely. Overall, the classification of green parties along with radical right parties as revolving around the environment and immigration respectively is consistent with the

⁵ *Threshold of declaration* is defined as when a group of people declares it will participate in elections; *Threshold of authorization*: legal regulations and requirements that have to be fulfilled by a party in order to participate in elections; *Threshold of relevance*: the impact of small parties on government formation and government policy output

prevailing literature (Golder 2003, Kitschelt 1994). Most of the literature that exists with these parties does not focus on their electoral strength and whether their presence and strength has an effect on voter turnout. Though there is some literature that tends to view these parties recent strength to be a part of the modernization of countries. Essentially, some countries are in different stages and through these different stages parties emerge to either counter changes or encourage changes (Inglehart 1997). In this way the strength of these single-issue parties can be accounted for partially by the changing attitudes of people and their willingness to vote for these issues.

Radical right parties are another single-issue and sometimes Populist Party that is defined by their desire to limit immigration (Lubbers 2002, Meguid 2005, Van der brug 2007). These parties have earned a lot of research based on their contentious nature in politics. A lot of research attempts to understand how and why support for radical right parties varies. There is often a belief that certain economic factors like unemployment and social factors such as presence of immigration has an impact on the support for these parties and ultimately their success in elections (Arzheimer 2009). Kai Arzheimer looks into these as reasons why people come out and support radical right parties. From his research he finds that there is a large correlation between high levels of immigration and the success of radical right parties (Arzheimer 2009). At the same time he finds only a weak correlation between unemployment and the support for extreme right parties (Arzheimer 2009). It does appear however from his study that there could be a ceiling effect that alters how much each variable affects success. Basically, after a certain point these factors do not hinder or increase the level of support for radical right parties (Arzheimer 2009). There has also been some research that shows lower turnout elections may have a weak correlation in success for radical right parties (Eijk and

Egmond 2007). This study compares national elections results to European Parliament elections results. The latter has a very low voter turnout on average across European countries. They then go on to examine the effects of party type on the level of voter turnout. The analysis finds that radical right parties tend to do a bit better on average and left parties tend to do a little worse in lower turnout elections. However, it is important to note their findings suggested no more than a few percent variation on turnout effects (Eijk and Egmond 2007). Their study is different in that it examines European national elections compared to European Parliament elections. My study examines just the turnout of national elections in OECD countries so it contains a bit more variance in that way. Their research suggests that there is a positive correlation for lower turnout elections and success for these radical right parties. This may seem to counter the idea that the strength of radical right parties helps increase voter participation. However, the correlation itself was only weak, and it is possible that after a low turnout election the people are motivated later on if they see a radical right party gain support.

There are many attempts still by researchers to explain these political parties' strength through institutional factors. One study put out by Robert Jackman and Karin Volpert looks into 103 elections of sixteen different countries and how a few general conditions can make a country more conducive to a radical right party. One factor they found was that electoral thresholds help dampen the support for radical right parties as the number of parliamentary parties expands in a country. Multiple parties were also found by the study to decrease the support for radical right parties (Jackman and Volpert 1996). In general, there are a number of institutional factors that could help explain the success of radical right parties. These factors however are not always the only aspect that matters in understanding the success of voter turnout.

Another part of radical right parties debated is whether these parties are supported by protest voters or ideological voters. Van der Brug and Fennema set out to understand whether these radical right parties are supported by actual ideological voters or if they are used as a protest vote against the mainstream parties. Their study indicates that smaller parties attract more protest voters, and that parties in decline lose their ideological and pragmatic voter (Van der Brug & Fennema 2003). Essentially, the stronger the party and the longer it had support the more they were viewed as legitimate and in turn they held onto ideological voters. It appears from their study that most of the radical right parties they observed were able to hold onto ideological voters, and they did not just rely on protest voters (Van der Brug & Fennema 2003). This relates back to the idea that voters make a conscious decision to vote for these types of parties. In this way the strength of a party can be connected to the amount of ideological voters voting for the party. The more people who hold these types of views the greater the voter turnout will be and support for these parties increased.

The literature shows no consensus on what factors encourage a higher level of voter turnout. Some of the institutional arguments exhibit that the number of parties may have a negative influence of the level of voter turnout (Blais). There is also a great deal of literature look at how the success of green parties and radical right parties varies. In some cases they actually apply research of these parties to voter turnout (Eijk and Egmond 2007), but for the most part these studies have left out the potential relationship between the presence of these single-issue parties and voter turnout. To understand this issue it is necessary to explore whether the presence of these parties may in fact be correlated with voter turnout. My presumptions are that both of these parties will have a positive impact on voter turnout. I believe that the presence of these parties matters because they help motivate smaller pockets of the electorate get out and

vote by appealing to a narrow set of issues. Many of these people are tired of the mainstream parties, and they believe that these fringe parties are better representative of their values. The freshness of these parties could help motivate people to come out and vote for these parties. It is also an important factor that the parties are not only present, but that these parties have a degree of relevance and strength in the country. In this way the strength of the party can impact how motivated people are to vote for the party. Party popularity and strength are key for the presence of these single-issue parties to have an impact on turnout. The popularity of the party is attributed to a multitude of factors that affect its success at the time such as opinion polls, communication with other would-be voters, and the level of party organization.

Data and Analysis:

Time Frame:

The observations for each country take place from the 1990s up until some elections from 2015. The main goal behind this time period was to capture the rise and success of many of these single-issue or ideologically extreme parties. For radical right parties there has been a fair amount of recent success. Green parties themselves could have data ranging back a bit further, but the expansiveness of the movement is better captured by looking from the 1990s until recently. The number of elections cycles ranges from five to six different elections for each country.

Turnout:

This is the dependent variable. The measure itself is from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. It is an intergovernmental organization that gathers information about electoral systems across countries and records the results of elections in

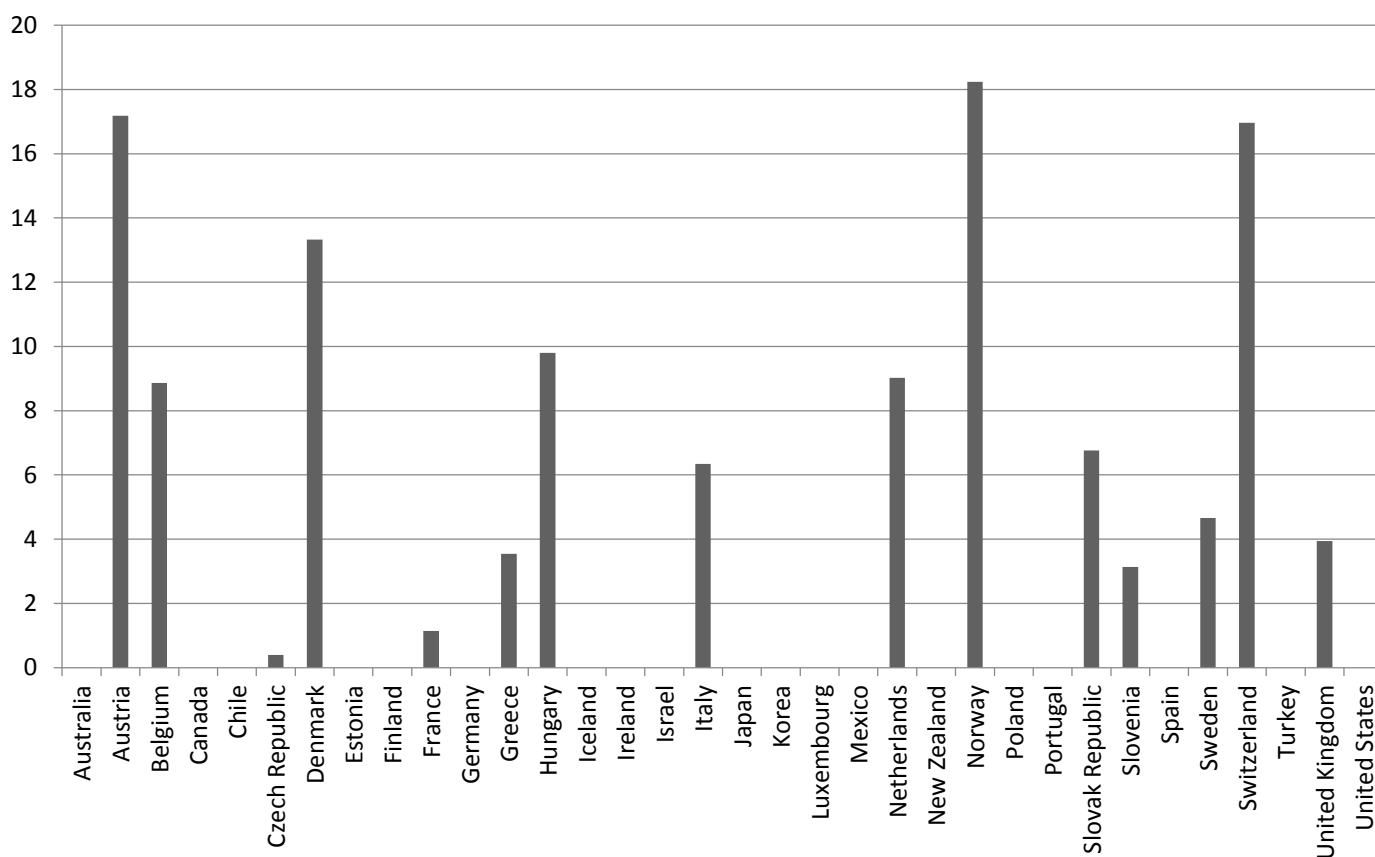
regards to turnout. The measure is just the percent of the registered voters that voted. This measure is useful because it shows the amount of people who are politically motivated to come out and vote for a party. This is one step more than people who remain unregistered. There is a portion of every population that is eligible to vote and does not. There are a variety of reasons for people to not vote such as choosing to abstain, being too busy, or a lack of interest in the system. Turnout helps show this variance by showing mostly the amount of people who actually were motivated enough to come out and vote.

Radical Right Party Percent of Vote:

This variable is the measure of what percentage a radical right or extreme right party got of the popular vote. These types of parties exist across many countries, but they tend to be in

Support for Radical Right Party

■ Averaged Support Percentage

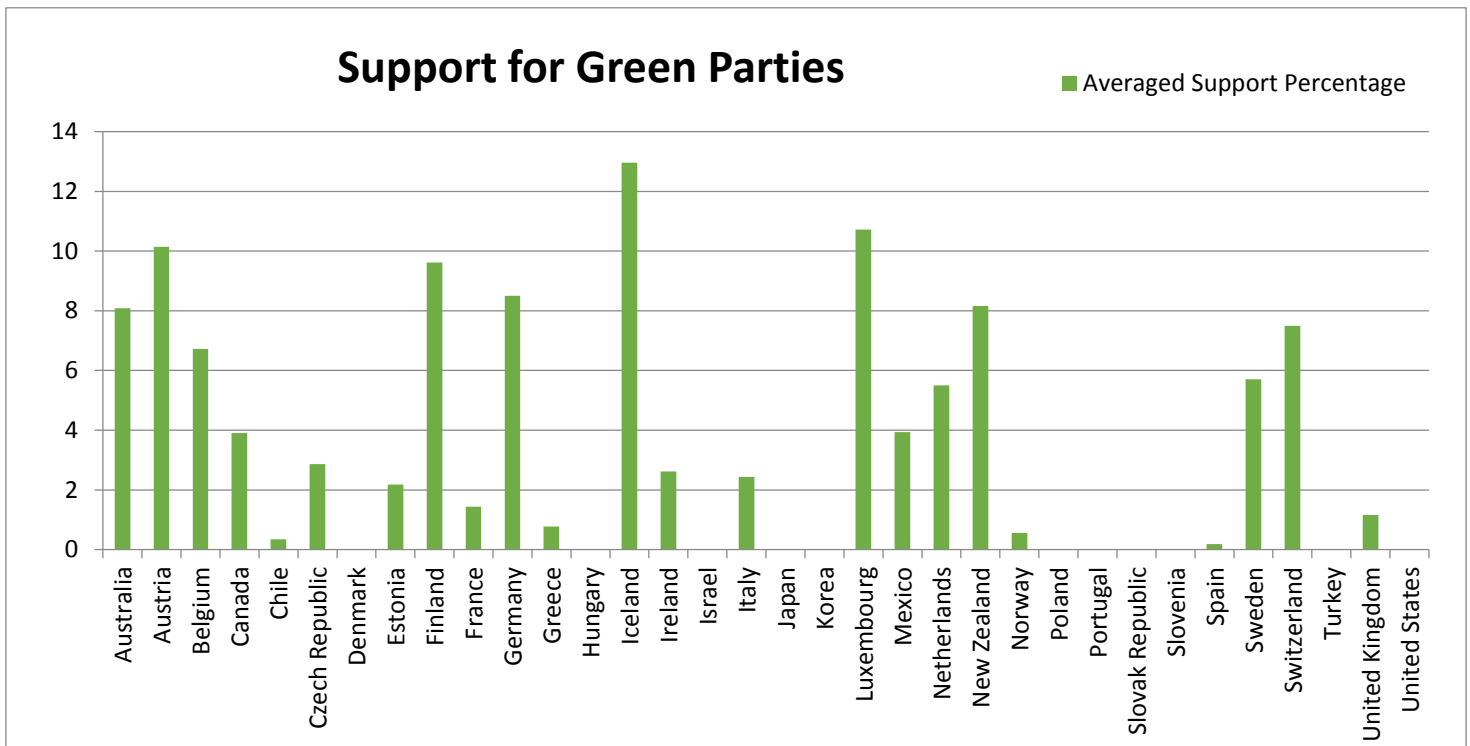


Europe. These types of political parties do exist in other countries theoretically, but they often do not have enough support to gain a substantial amount of votes. The radical right parties that were counted for each country can be found in the appendix. Their averaged level of support across the elections cycles is shown in the bar graph above.

I also collected the numbers for how many seats each party won, but I decided it was not the best measure to use to examine the strength of the party. When substituting that variable for the percent of the vote it also did not change the results significantly. The percentage of the vote shows that the party is able to get support from the public, which would support the hypothesis that the presence of these parties has a positive effect on turnout. I obtained this data from Adam Carr's Election Archive (<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>). Here he has data from most major elections where he breaks down each party's' level of support in the form of votes and number of seats won. Typically, these parties are highlighted by their anti-EU and anti-immigration views (Golder 2003, Kitschelt 1994). The general level of strength that each party has can be seen by the averaged percentage of vote achieved.

Green Party Percent of Vote

This variable is measures the percentage of the vote that green parties received. The Green parties themselves have a more structured and connected network than the radical right parties. There is a website that connects all of the green parties in GlobalGreens.org. The organizations themselves have more expansive success across countries and sustaining support. The list of specific green parties observed can be found in the appendix. Their average level of support across the election cycles observed below in a bar graph.



The parties above all center on advancing environmental protection, nuclear disarmament, and climate change policies. The percentage of vote and number of seats won were also gathered from Adam Carr's Election Archive (<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>). Overall, these parties vary in strength across countries, but they have a more widespread presence across OECD countries. The average level of support is a way to show the strength the party has in the country.

Foreign Population:

This variable measures the percent of the population that is considered foreign-born. It is defined as being born outside of the country where it is measured. These statistics are found from OECD database and it has data for most of countries from the 1990s until 2013. The measure itself is an indicator of how much diversity there is in the country. It is important to understand what a country's population consists of because a higher level of diversity could impact the level

of voter turnout. Having been born in a country and lived there a significant amount of time can foster a greater chance of being active in the political process. Considering a main part of radical right parties' agenda is about limiting immigration and diversity⁶, it is important to have a measure to control for the level of heterogeneity. It is important to account for this factor so muddle the relationship of voter turnout and the presence of a substantial single-issue party. This measure was especially useful because it had a lot of observations for each country. One caveat is that it only measures up to 2013 which leaves out several country's election years in 2014 and 2015. Despite this limitation it gives an expansive look at the OECD country's level of foreign-born.

Social Expenditure:

Across countries it is important to see how much each country spends on social programs. These programs are expansive and include a variety of policy areas. OECD states that this measure covers "Old age, Survivors, Incapacity-related benefits, Health, Family, Active labor market programmes, Unemployment, Housing, and Other social policy areas" (OECD.org). This spending is taken as a percentage of the country's total GDP. Controlling for the level of spending can give us a better idea of what each country has a focus on. Typically, a country with a higher level of social expenditure can expect to have more services for their citizens along with immigrants. The idea of competition comes in here where multiple groups are competing for the same resources. It is possible that this competition could foster resentment among groups. This variable was coded as `social_expenditure` and its yearly values were taken and correlated with their respective election years.

⁶ Golder 2003, Kitschelt 1994

GDP (ppp):

To measure and control for wealth in each country the GDP (ppp) was recorded for each year of the election. This data was collected from World Bank's database on economic indicators. It is defined as "GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources". It measures the country's gross domestic product converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity rates. The idea is to show the purchasing power of the dollar in their country relative to the US dollar. It provides a baseline of which to evaluate the economy of each country.

Unemployment Rate:

This measure was collected from the OECD database. It is defined by the OECD as "Those in unemployment are people aged 15 and over who were without work during the reference week, available for work and actively seeking work during the previous four weeks including the reference week. Without work refers to those not in paid employment or self-employment during the reference week. Available for work refers to those who were available for paid employment or self-employment during the reference week or four weeks after the reference week in the case of EU countries. Seeking work refers those who took specific steps to actively seek paid employment or self-employment during a specified recent period operationalized as previous four weeks including the survey reference week." This measure is set

out to show the level of unemployed that existed during the election year. It gives a baseline for the amount of people without a job during these election years.

West Europe:

In order to control for regional focus the variable `west_europe` was created. It was made by coding countries considered to be in West Europe with a 1 and those not in West Europe with a 0. The countries considered to be in West Europe were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. They were classified essentially as West Europe if they were in Europe and were on the west side of the iron curtain or not in the soviet sphere of influence. The thought was that countries of the west have more established democratic systems and a longer tradition of electoral participation (Mazower 2009).

Models:

In order to understand this data an Ordinary Least squares (OLS) regression was ran. This is a statistical technique that attempts to find a function that best approximates the data. It is essentially trying to fit a model to a set of observed data. Multiple models had varying combination of variables. The goal of running these regressions was to see if there was a correlation between voter turnout and either of the ideological parties. An OLS regression can allow us to see how correlated all our variables are with one another. It also shows how adding more variables to the regression can affect the results. These models were run in the program Stata/IC 14.0.

To make sure that it was okay to run models with both radical right party percentage of votes and green party percentage of votes I ran a pairwise correlation test. It found the correlation is the .066 and the significance level is .383. This means the two variables are not highly correlated with each other and can therefore appear in the same model specification.

Table 1: Voter Turnout Explored

Exploring Voter Turnout	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance Variable
Variable			
Radical Right Party Percent of Vote	-.00259	(.00159)	.108
Green Party Percent of Vote	.744**	(.291)	.012**
GDP (ppp)	3.44e-07	(7.32e-07)	.640
Foreign Born Population	.149	(.159)	.350
Social Expenditure Percent of GDP	.838	(.218)	0
Constant	.493***	(.046)	0***
N=120			*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Table 2: Voter Turnout Explored: Controlling for West Europe

Exploring Voter Turnout: West_Europe added	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance Variable
Variable			
Radical Right Party Percent of Vote	-.00292*	(.00164)	.078*

Green Party Percent of Vote	.683**	(.299)	.024**
GDP (ppp)	9.23e-08	(7.85e-07)	.907
Foreign Born Population	.198	(.168)	.243
Social Expenditure Percent of GDP	.718***	(.257)	.006***
West Europe	.029	(.033)	.373
Constant	.562***	(.050)	0
N=120			*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Table 3: Voter Turnout Explored: Adding Unemployment

Exploring Voter Turnout: Unemployment added	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance Variable
Variable			
Radical Right Party Percent of Vote	.0000203	(.194)	.992
Green Party Percent of Vote	.655**	(.295)	.029**
GDP (ppp)	-9.71e-07	(7.93e-07)	.223
Foreign Born Population	.410**	(.171)	.018**
Social Expenditure Percent of GDP	.642**	(.281)	.025**
West Europe	.0514	(.033)	.122

Unemployment	-.626*	(.331)	.062*
Constant	.507***	(.048)	.507*** (.048)
N=108			*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Results:

Table 1: Voter Turnout Explored

After running many models these three seem to reflect a general trend. In table 1 we find that initially after the model is ran only the green party percent of vote is statistically significant. Here the coefficient is also positive suggesting that the strength of green parties in countries could lead to higher voter turnout. Radical right parties were not found to be statistically significant in this model, but one interesting thing about the data is the fact that the coefficient was found to be negative for radical right parties. This would likely indicate that there is a negative correlation between the level of turnout and the level of radical right party strength because the significance level is just over .1, but we cannot be completely sure from a statistical standpoint. The results here would go against the initial hypothesis that the presence of radical right parties would increase the level of turnout. Beyond the percentage of votes for each party the variables that measure GDP (ppp), Foreign Born Population, and Social Expenditure Percent of GDP all have positive coefficients of 3.44e-07, .149, and .838 respectively. However, these

three variables in this model do not have p-values that indicate statistical significance. The number of observations for this model was 120.

Table 2: Voter Turnout Explored: Controlling for West Europe

In this table the same regression was run, but this time a variable “west_europe” was added. It was added to control for the effect of West European countries on the regression. The initial results show a weak significance for Radical Right Parties, but the coefficient remains negative with the value being $-.00292$. This would continue to go against the initial hypothesis that the presence of these parties has a positive impact on voter turnout. Green parties continued to have statistical significance. The coefficient itself was reduced to $.683$, but it remained positive. With the addition of the new variable green parties remain statistically significant. This addition continues to support the possibility that the presence of green parties on the ballot may have a positive impact. GDP (ppp) remained below statistical significance, and its coefficient remained negligible at the value of $9.23e-08$. Foreign-born population remained short of statistical significance but its coefficient increased to $.198$. The variable for Social Expenditure as a percent of GDP did gain statistical significance with the addition of “west_europe” as a variable. This may suggest a correlation in West Europe between turnout and the level of social spending. The coefficient itself is positive with a value of $.718$. The new variable West_Europe is not significant in this model and has a coefficient of $.029$. The number of observations in this dataset remains 120.

Table 3: Voter Turnout Explored: Adding Unemployment

This model has the same variables as before, but unemployment was controlled for this time. Adding this variable had a number of effects on the data. Radical Right Parties lost its

slight significance, and its coefficient went from being negative to slightly positive at a value of .000023. Even after controlling for unemployment Green parties continued to have statistical significance and the coefficient remained positive with a value of .655. GDP (ppp)'s significance did not change, but its coefficient did become negative slightly at a value of $-9.71e-07$. Foreign Born Population became more statistically significant and its coefficient increased to .410. This model also had Social Expenditure as a percentage of GDP as moderately significant. Its coefficient also increased to .642. This shows that with unemployment controlled for it does not lose its moderate significance. West Europe as a variable increased its coefficient to .051, but it remained statistically insignificant. Unemployment itself was slightly significant based on this model. It also had a negative coefficient of -.626. This suggests that as the unemployment percentage increases the level of turnout decreases by country. Overall, adding in unemployment to this model also reduces the number of observations from 120 to 108. The main issue this causes is that the slight significance found for radical right parties and social expenditure percent of GDP disappears. However, adding in unemployment as a variable also increases the significance of foreign born population.

Robustness Check:

In order to make sure that the correlation between voter turnout and these single issue parties was not solely based on the strength of the party or just the presence of the party a couple of separate models were established. In these models two new variables were created: greens_any and radrights_any. Both of these variables coded the country's observations by either a 1 for any level of support or a 0 for no level of support. These variables were ran in place of the variables that measured the varying levels of support for each party. In this way it allows us to look at how the presence of these parties on its own could have an impact on the relationship

with voter turnout. The tables can be found in the appendix, but it appears there is a slight impact in two of the models, but none for the third model. This would suggest that the strength of the radical right party is an aspect that may have more weight in the relationship between party type and voter turnout.

Cases:

The results thus far have been mixed for my original hypotheses. In order to further explore how the strength of these parties may have more of an impact than just the presence of these parties I will look at a couple the countries I observed. These countries will show each an example that goes against the findings and in some cases supports the original hypothesis. This is worth doing because it shows that the data does not always capture the trends of every country, but it also shows that on the average the trends may not be consistent across every country. Germany and Sweden will both be examined for because both of their individual results go against the findings. Germany's support for its green party "Alliance '90" seems to not be as strong as the general trend observed, and Sweden's radical right party manages to maintain higher success in higher turnout elections. Denmark and Finland each have trends that in general match the trends found in the data. Denmark maintains support for a radical right party "People's Party" and Finland contains the "Green League" party. Each seem to show that radical right parties do well in lower voter turnout races while green parties have success in higher turnout elections. We will also be able to explore some of the factors that impact the popularity of the party at the time of the election.

Germany: Germany unlike other European countries has been a lot less receptive to radical right party movements and much more receptive to the green party movement. The green movement

has had the opposite result. In Germany the green movement gained success in the 1980s and has maintained that success fairly consistently until present day. The green party or “Alliance ‘90” itself currently has 63 seats in the Bundestag. Since the 1994 elections Alliance ‘90 has maintained between 40 and 60 seats in the Bundestag. Germany’s success with the green party has evolved over time, but it appears there are a few things they managed to do to sustain popularity. First, they tactfully decided to align themselves with another political party before the 1994 elections. Here they joined with an Alliance ‘90 a group of civil rights activists to make a stronger coalition and improve their image as a legitimate party. Adding an additional group to their party leadership helped them get above the 5% threshold in Germany. The alliance allowed them to get into power through a coalition with the Social Democratic Party. Now that they were in the ruling government it aided in them gaining legitimacy and allowed them to get some legislation passed such as the Nuclear Exit Law. Electoral success has allowed them to narrow out a niche of the population that has been consistently willing to vote for the Green party. The green party has managed to find success in many large cities in Germany and especially parts of Western and Southern Germany. This is often connected to the modernization of Germany and some portions of its population who have moved onto other issues like environmental protection (Ingelhart 1997). Germany’s voter turnout itself has been on a downward trend since the 1980s and it dramatically decreased around the time unification of Eastern and Western Germany. Besides this there was a general upward trend for the support for the green party even with the voter turnout itself dropping from year to year. There are clearly other factors at work that have influenced the level of turnout in Germany since the 1990s. Germany’s voter turnout itself appears to be on the downward trend and yet the support for Alliance ‘90 often rises in the lower turnout elections. In this way their party strength may have allowed them to maintain a certain

level of support, but whether the party itself affects the level of voter turnout is not certain. This case also goes against the initial findings in support of my hypothesis slightly. The general downward trend of voter participation may also have to be taken into account as it may be as there are more young voters the participation naturally decreases (Cole 1997).

Election Year	Voter Turnout	Alliance '90 Share of the Vote
1998	82.20%	6.7%
2002	79.08%	8.6%
2005	77.65%	8.1%
2009	70.78%	10.7%
2013	71.53%	8.4%

Sweden: This country also provides a case where the general trend found in the data is not supported. Sweden appears to go against the trend of radical right parties having a possibly negative effect on voter turnout. The relation that was observed as we see is not statistically significant so the actual findings of the study were not conclusive in the relationship between the strength of radical right parties and voter turnout. Sweden however, has seen its radical right party increase its share of the vote along with the voter turnout increasing from 1994 until present. As the table shows the Sweden Democrats have managed to increase their support in recent years despite the fact that voter turnout increased fairly consistently from 1998 until 2014. It appears the party itself has faced steep opposition from the media for their strict views on immigration. As a result media coverage itself does not seem to be a factor that accounts for their rise in support. Sweden is a country that has experienced an influx of asylum seekers especially in Southern Sweden. In these districts the party has maintained its highest level of support. Sweden seems to fit my original belief that the presence of strong radical right parties on the

ballot would increase voter turnout. The party itself has maintained a high profile in public opinion polling which may have helped them to gain relevance and helped legitimize them as an option to vote for.

Election Year	Voter Turnout	Sweden Democrats Share of Vote	Green Party Share of Vote
1998	81.39%	.4%	5.0%
2002	80.11%	1.4%	4.7%
2006	81.99%	2.9%	5.2%
2010	84.63%	5.7%	7.3%
2014	85.81%	12.9%	6.8%

Denmark: The last two countries each seemed to go against the trend that was observed with the data, but they may be outliers in a sense. Denmark itself has a fairly large base of support for the Danish People's Party a radical right and nationalist party. The support as seen in the table was the highest at around 21.1% after there was a drop of about 2 percentage points in the previous election. In general, the Danish People's Party has maintained a high level of support in Denmark for over the past decade. The party itself has also managed to be a part of the ruling government numerous times. It may have gained a level of legitimacy from this that has allowed the party to maintain its popularity. This principle of gaining salience with the public after gaining power from coalitions is echoed in Müller-Rommel study about green parties. The principle may be the same in that the party itself after gaining representation benefits from being a part of the ruling government (Müller-Rommel 2002). Here the radical right party maintains ties in government that allows it to seem like a legitimate option to vote for. At the same time it appears Denmark may fit the weak trend we partially observe of a negative relationship between

voter turnout and support for radical right parties. Here the Danish People’s Party does best when the voter turnout is low.

Election Year	Voter Turnout	Danish People’s Party Share of Vote
1998	85.95%	7.4%
2001	87.15%	12.0%
2005	84.54%	13.2%
2007	86.59%	13.8%
2011	87.74%	12.3%
2015	85.89%	21.1%

Finland: The hypothesis that the presence of popular green parties would have a positive effect on voter turnout is supported by the overall trends we observed. As we saw with Germany however there is a chance that this relationship does not always hold up. Finland on the other hand manages to support the general trend as its Green party the “Green League” performs well when the level of turnout is higher on average. There is a slight dip in 2011 as the voter turnout increases and their vote share decreased from the previous election in 2007 from 8.46% to 7.27%, but besides this blip the general trend is the Green League’s support increases over the timeframe observed along with the voter turnout. This observation was chosen because it supports the predicted relationship and it matches the general trend found in the data.

Election Year	Voter Turnout	Green League’s Share of the Vote
1999	65.27%	7.27%
2003	66.71%	8.01%
2007	65.02%	8.46%
2011	67.37%	7.25%

2015	66.85%	8.53%
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Discussion:

The initial results from these models seem to indicate a number of things. Two of the most important findings to this these are in regards to the two types of fringe parties that were measured. First it appears that the significance of radical right parties' effect on turnout seems to be low to nonexistent. This could be because the radical right parties themselves are weaker in their organization than green parties. Green parties are connected by a global network that has a set goal in mind for policy. Radical right parties tend to be more country specific and have less of a universal goal. In this sense the strength behind the parties themselves could encourage voter turnout based on the level party strength. People may choose to support parties that are better organized and are more willing to go out and vote for them. If a party has a set of issues that have a set goal and support network set up they may be more successful. Also, this means that radical right parties cannot be reliably linked to a reason for people to get out and vote. There's also the part that when it is weakly significant (table 2) the coefficient is negative. This implies that the effect of radical right parties if any at all is a negative one. However, it is possible that the relationship could be spurious as a factor such as political discontent could drive both lower voter turnout and support for radical right parties. It would seem to indicate that the presence of radical right parties would encourage a lower voter turnout. This will be discussed later as we look at the implications of these findings. The next part that must be looked at is the role of green parties on voter turnout. From the data we have collected and the models we ran it appears that green parties maintain statistical significance despite the addition of other variables. The coefficient also remains positive. It suggests that the presence of green parties does have a positive impact on the level of turnout. In turn it may be more accurate to say that a stronger

presence of green parties indicates a larger level of voter turnout. This is interesting because there seems to be a positive significant relationship for green parties, but not one for radical right parties. In my hypotheses they both should have a similar effect on the voting population. Instead it seems for some reason the data indicates that support for green parties and turnout have a positive correlation. One explanation could be that the green parties maintain a stronger organization that helps them encourage voters to choose them when voting.

Another interesting part of the results is that GDP (ppp) does not seem to have any substantial impact on the level of voter turnout. This indicator in that way seems to show that it is not just the level of wealth that affects the level of turnout. A sound point to consider is the fact that the variable social expenditure as a percentage of GDP is significant in two of the models whereas GDP (ppp) is not in any of the models. The existence of social programs may have an impact on the level in turnout in that the more the government provides in services the more likely people are motivated to go out and vote (Shields and Goidel 1997). They may see it as necessary to vote on the lawmakers who implement this system.

Foreign born population of a country seems to only be weakly correlated with a more substantial level of voter turnout. It only gains statistical significance after adding in Western Europe and Unemployment as a variable. This shows that its exact relation to voter turnout may be a slim one. It is still a useful indicator to look at because of its relation to the political parties, especially the radical right parties' anti-immigrant positions.

Unemployment is another factor that maintains a slight statistical significance in the model when it is brought in. It is important to note though that the coefficient is negative which means as the level unemployment increases there is a lower turnout. It can make sense in a way

that a country with a high unemployment rate would have a lower voter turnout because the people have less motivation to go out and vote. It does go against my original assumption that possibly with more people unemployed they would vote in hopes of bettering their situation.

Adding West Europe as a variable seems to have helped the significance of the other variables. This could be because focusing on that region allows a more complete picture of the data, because a majority of the political parties have a presence in Western European countries. It is important to control for different regions to see what effect they have on the data as a whole. Another question that has been put out there has to do with whether countries that have compulsory voting have an effect on these models. Of the OECD countries observed only four of them have or have had compulsory voting laws in the time period the data is from. These countries are Australia, Belgium, Chile, and Luxembourg. Of these countries, only Australia and Luxembourg have any enforcement of these laws. In order to test their impact on this dataset several models were ran excluding these countries from the dataset.⁷ These separate models' results did not have a substantial impact on the significance of the variables. In some cases it actually increased the significance of the variables. Controlling for these countries we were able to learn that they did not have a substantial impact as might have been thought on the models (Lijphart 1994).

Implications and Conclusion:

From these results there are a number of implications that can be argued. First it affects to the original hypothesis that: the presence of radical right parties will have a positive impact on voter turnout. Here I have evidence that the presence of radical right parties does not have a

⁷ The models were ran with these countries set apart as a variable and excluded by "c_australia==0", and so on.

positive impact on voter turnout, but that there might even be a slight negative correlation. This changes the initial reasoning behind the presumed outcome. It seems from the evidence gathered there is not a positive correlation. It is also important to note that it cannot be stated that it has an explicitly negative correlation either because the data itself does not appear to be statistically significant. This may suggest there is something else to the relationship than initially thought. It is possible that a factor like political discontent that could account for both lower voter turnout and support for radical right parties.

Another interesting part of the data is that the hypothesis that green parties may have a positive impact on voter turnout seems partially supported. This is interesting because like radical right parties the green parties tend to speak to a narrow, but passionate group of people. In their case they tend to be more mainstream in that other parties may not rally against them as much. It is possible that people come out and vote more because their narrower interest resides in issues dealt with by green parties. They may see the mainstream parties as not addressing this issue well enough, and because of that they reason that they should go out and support these parties.

Another implication of these models is that there is a level of importance behind how much money the government spends on social programs could affect people's desire to participate in politics. Similarly, Putnam's stance on the increasing political participation being associated with the level of investment in social capital could be related because the more a government spends on the people the more likely they are to participate in that political process. In Putnam's study he observed districts in Italy's level of civic participation, and he found the amount of social connections such as soccer clubs promote stronger ties to participation in the local governments (Putnam 1994). In this way there may be a greater desire to participate at a

national level as well because they see value in services that come from the government. In order to maintain those services it may be seen as important to participate in politics and vote.

From this research it seems that I can conclude that there is a possible connection between certain types of parties and the level of turnout. It appears though that the initial thought that radical right parties would have a positive impact on voter turnout may be unfounded. Through the data I have seen, if there is a correlation it may be a negative one within this group of countries. If it is indeed a negative correlation then it appears the initial hypothesis that the presence of these parties may not have the positive effect on turnout like was thought. There could be another mechanism that could make these parties more depress voter turnout. It is possible that these types of parties function as a way to depress turnout in some elections or that they simply gain more strength from lower turnout elections. If this is the case then it could be that it takes a certain group of people in order for radical right parties to succeed. Either way from the data it is hard to rationalize there being any significant correlation between the presence of radical right parties and voter turnout.

Green parties on the other hand seem to possess something that allows them to remain statistically significant and positively correlated with a higher level of voter turnout. This difference between these two types of fringe parties suggests that the presence of a green party would have more of a positive effect on voter turnout than other countries. It is important that the level of GDP (ppp) was accounted for because it helps control for whether the level of wealth of a country impacts the significance of green parties on turnout. Considering green parties themselves tend to focus on issues that remain important to many, but often it is more important to those who have time to consider such issues and not worry about other issues such as the economy. It still remains possible, but because GDP (ppp) was measured it is shown that it is not

statistically significant in its correlation with voter turnout. Since the level of wealth is not highly indicative of higher voter turnout it allows the idea that mainly richer countries have higher voter turnout to be discounted. Green parties themselves have a lengthy history in European electoral systems especially. This history itself is also highlighted sometimes by actual participation in ruling parties (Meguid 2005). Having an established amount of success in ways could legitimize a party to the public. In turn people who care about environmental issues feel more motivation to go out and vote for these parties.

Having set out to try and understand why voter turnout varies I have explored some of the core issues in this debate of whether institutional factors matter more if it varies more on rational choices made by individuals. My approach sought to branch out from the traditional assumptions that institutions affect voter turnout the most. From reviewing the literature it appears that though there is some evidence that some institutional factors may have an impact on voter turnout, but there is also a lot of literature that contradicts itself. From this it was decided to look at a part of the institutional research that also intersects with the idea of choices being made by the individual. From here there was a lot of literature reviewing how the relationship between the amount of options and voter turnout, but the party type itself having an impact was not as well researched. Through this study it shows that there may be a connection between a party's type and the level of turnout in the election. The connection itself seems to be substantial with certain types of parties as compared to others.

Future Research:

I set out to understand if the popularity or availability of non-mainstream parties would increase voter turnout. The results I found are a step in the right direction in understanding the

relationship between party type and voter turnout. It would be beneficial though to expand on this idea that the party type may make people more likely to vote or not to vote. As radical right parties gain more success in Europe there will be an increasing amount of data to gather and test. It is possible that certain voter turnout patterns may not develop until there is more data to observe. The parties themselves may need more time to develop and have a chance at being electable to voters. In this case there is still a chance that a distinct pattern could be found with turnout and party type. Like the green parties it is possible that more radical right parties will find ways into ruling governments. There are already some cases of radical right parties in Switzerland and Sweden finding their way into ruling governments. Their network itself may just beginning to develop across other countries as well. This source of legitimacy is something that must be explored to further understand the role establishment may have on a party's ability to encourage voter participation. The more reliable a party may be in governing could foster faith and loyalty into voters. If more radical right parties find their way into governing coalitions it could speed the process of legitimization and encourage people to come out and support them. Developing a global network like the green party may be the next step in popularizing this type of movement. It is also inherently harder to do for radical right parties to have a widespread network because they often focus on nationalism of their specific country. Green parties themselves have a more global focus with their policy goals.

The saliency of the issue too should be further researched. Green parties developed to answer many of the environmental problems of the day. Radical right parties also have expanded because of recent issues of immigration across Europe. This change itself may need more time to develop importance with the people. Recent issues such as the Syrian refugee crisis may impact support for these types of parties in the short-run. Seeing how these issues affect turnout in later

elections will be vital to understanding how certain types of parties may affect turnout. It could be necessary to focus specifically on the countries that have had a history of radical right parties as well. There may be factors in these countries such as media coverage that help promote these parties more than in other countries. It is possible that how the media covers a party could increase or decrease the likelihood of voters supporting these parties. Future research will need to focus on factors such as this to understand these potential effects.

Another useful tool would be to perform surveys on people before and after elections to see what motivated them to vote in the election. Looking to see if actually naming the party has an effect on people's responses to how likely they are to vote could be useful. People's connections to these parties may have an impact on their decision to vote. Seeing that such a party is running would help them know all of their options and could encourage participation. Qualitative research like this may be hard to carry out because of the intricacies of setting it up, but if it is set up carefully it could give a closer look at the thought process of people behind voting in elections. The surveys themselves would have to try and capture the allure of voting with and without the presence of a radical right party or green party on the ballot. This type of research may especially benefit research on radical right parties. These parties' support may be better measured in a survey style research because it could show the motivation for some to vote for these parties. Surveys about upcoming elections or recent ones could also look into whether the type of party or parties on the ballot impacts the voters' desire to vote. The regional strength of radical right parties also allows qualitative research to focus in on the countries that have had significant support for these parties. In general, qualitative research may allow a closer look at the motivation of voters to vote in elections.

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Appendix:

Country:	Radical Right Party Name:	Average support percentage:
Australia		
Austria	FPO	17.18%
Belgium	Belgium Flemish Bloc (VB)-Flemish Interest (VB) after 2003	8.86%
Canada		
Chile		
Czech Republic	Worker's Party	.4%
Denmark	People's Party	13.33%
Estonia		
Finland		
France	National Front (FN)	1.14%
Germany		
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally 2004-2012/ Golden Dawn 2015-present	3.54%
Hungary	Hungarian Justice and Life Party(MIEP) 1998-2006, Jobbik 2006-present	9.8%
Iceland		
Ireland		
Israel		
Italy	Lega Nord 1996-present	6.34%
Japan		
Korea		
Luxembourg		
Mexico		
Netherlands	Pim Fortuyn's List (LPF) 2002-2006, Party for Freedom (PVV) 2006-present	9.02%

New Zealand		
Norway	Progress Party	18.24%
Poland		
Portugal		
Slovak Republic	Slovak National Party (SNS)	6.76%
Slovenia	Slovenian National Party (SNS)	3.14%
Spain		
Sweden	Sweden Democrats	4.66%
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party	16.96%
Turkey		
United Kingdom	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)	3.94%
United States		

Country:	Green Party Name:	Average support percentage:
Australia	The Greens	8.08%
Austria	The Greens - The Green Alternative (GRÜNE)	10.14%
Belgium	Eco-Belgium/Green! after 2010	6.72%
Canada	Green Party of Canada	3.9%
Chile	Partido Ecologista Verde	.34%
Czech Republic	Green Party (SZ)	2.86%
Denmark		
Estonia	Estonian Greens	2.18%
Finland	Green League	9.62%
France	The Greens/ Europe Ecology	1.44%
Germany	Alliance 90/ The Greens	8.5%

Greece	Ecologist Greens	.77%
Hungary		
Iceland	Left-Green Movement	12.96%
Ireland	Comhaontas Glas-Green Party	2.62%
Israel		
Italy	Federazione dei Verdi/ Il Girasole/ La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno/ Rivoluzione Civile	2.44%
Japan		
Korea		
Luxembourg	The Greens	10.72%
Mexico	Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM)	3.94%
Netherlands	Green-Left (GL)	5.5%
New Zealand	Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand	8.16%
Norway	Green Party	.56%
Poland		
Portugal		
Slovak Republic		
Slovenia		
Spain	Equo (EQUO)	.18%
Sweden	Green Party	5.7%
Switzerland	The Greens - Green Party of Switzerland (GPS/PES)	7.5%
Turkey		
United Kingdom	Green Party	1.16%
United States		

Table 1: Voter Turnout Explored

Exploring Voter Turnout	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance Variable
Variable			
radrights_any	-.01907	.0267	.477
greens_any	.0461	.0251	.069*
GDP (ppp)	2.34e-07	(7.06e-07)	.741
Foreign Born Population	.235	(.161)	.147
Social Expenditure Percent of GDP	.847	(.251)	0.001***
Constant	.483***	(.047)	0***
N=121			*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Table 2: Voter Turnout Explored: Controlling for West Europe

Exploring Voter Turnout: West_Europe added	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance Variable
Variable			
radrights_any	-.0227	(.027)	.113
greens_any	.0411	.0257	.403
GDP (ppp)	-6.03e-08	(7.77e-07)	.938
Foreign Born Population	.276	(.167)	.102
Social Expenditure Percent of GDP	.735	(.279)	0.010***
West Europe	.029	(.032)	.365
Constant	.499***	(.05001)	0.0***
N=121			*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01

Table 3: Voter Turnout Explored: Adding Unemployment

Exploring Voter Turnout: Unemployment added	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance Variable
Variable			
radrights_any	.000569	(.290)	.984
greens_any	.0520**	(.0251)	.041**

GDP (ppp)	-9.57e-07	(7.87e-07)	.227
Foreign Born Population	.449**	(.171)	.010**
Social Expenditure Percent of GDP	.631**	(.314)	.048**
West Europe	.0536	(.0327)	.104
Unemployment	-.725	(.328)	.0104
Constant	.559***	(.050)	0.0***
N=108			*p<.1; **p<.05; ***p<.01