

From the NSDAP to Now: New Faces of Far-Right Support?

Final Assignment

Thomas Haase

March 28, 2025

Table of contents

Introduction	2
Background	2
Data & Operationalization	3
Dependent Variable	3
Independent Variables	4
Descriptive Statistics	5
Methods	6
Results	7
Votingbehaviour by Classes	7
Votingbehaviour by Historic Far-Right Pull Factors	10
Discussion/Conclusion	12
Bibliography	14

Introduction

The Federal Republic of Germany is currently facing its largest political rightward shift since its founding 1949 after the second world war. This rightward shift is not only constrained to Germany, but can be observed almost worldwide, just as it was during the Weimarer Republic during the great depression. Because of their historical role Austria and Germany spark a special interest in research about this phenomenon.

This paper takes a deeper look if the same voting mechanisms among the social classes still exist. More closely to answer the question what classes nowadays are the most supportive of rightwing parties and if the topics that made the NSDAP successful still give far-right parties traction today.

To reach the proposed aim of analysis this paper combines data from the European Social Survey with the class scheme of Oesch (2006) and the Manifesto Project party data. First a multinomial logistic regression model is calculated to gain insight in general voting tendencies. The model is expanded using conditional multinomial logistic regression to implement historically relevant pull-factors that lead to the NSDAP winning crucial votes in 1930-1932.

The analysis reveals that current far-right support is strongest among production and service workers rather than small business owners, with nationalist, authoritarian, and anti-Marxist sentiments driving this support more than economic factors, partially echoing historical voting patterns.

Background

During the last votes in the Weimarer Republic it seems on the first glance as if the poorer workers voted for the Nazi party, when looking at the distribution in different electoral districts. But this is an ecological fallacy and a closer look reveals that rather the working poor and lower middleclass voters - “working poor—self-employed shopkeepers and professionals, domestic workers, and helping family members” (King et al. 2008, 987) - , who had their own companies, voted for Hitler and the Nazi party out of fear of being unemployed (King et al. 2008, 965).

Nowadays Germanies new far-right AFD party already has a special role in europe - not only because of Germanies outstandingly cruel history - but also because it is so extreme far-right that the far-right party at the european level excluded them for being to extremist Blenkinsop and Van Overstraeten (2024).

The question naturally arises which social classes nowadays are the most supportive of the rightwing parties - not only in germany but in the whole german speaking part of europe, since Austrias FPÖ has ties to the “Identitäre Bewegung Österreich” which is one of the core players in europes far-right and facist movements (Stockhammer 2023, 215).

For the specification of social classes (Oesch 2006) introduced an empirically driven definition of social classes that pragmatically includes one hierarchical criterion and focuses on differentiation within the working class. Oesch (2006) builds on Erikson and Goldthorpes class schema and therefore builds in its core on the ISCO-08 (International Standard Classification of Occupations).

The groups mentioned by King et al. (2008) fit best into the “small business owners” and “service workers” classes of Oesch (2006) .

H1: The small business owners, service workers still support the far-right the most.

Extending the first hypothesis, the question for the reason - why some groups are voting for far-right parties - naturally presents itself. Again King et al. (2008) and Borowsky, Hering, and Nicolaysen (2005) find similar reasons why certain groups were attracted by the NSDAP in the Weimarer Republic 1930 - 1933. They identify that economic anxiety, nationalism, anti-marxism, authoritarian appeal and being anti establishment were the main reasons their followers/voters were appealed by the NSDAP.

H2: The far-right parties nowadays seem appealing to their voters because of economic anxiety, nationalism, anti-marxism, authoritarian appeal and being anti establishment.

To test the first hypothesis, first a multinomial logistic regression is calculated to inspect the change in odds off voting for a party of a certain position in the left-right spectrum for different classes. Following this, a multinomial conditional logistic regression is calculated to estimate the influence nowadays of the historic reasons the NSDAP gained voters before they overtook germanies democracy in 1933.

Data & Operationalization

The analysis builds on top of the european social survey round 11, which is merged with party-specific data from the manifesto project European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC) (2024a). The class schema from Oesch (2006) is defined through the ISCO-08 (International Standard Classification of Occupations) and implemented by the standardized recoding procedure of Oesch (2006). The ESS11 data in the german speaking countries was collected through computer-assisted face-to-face interviews (European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC) 2024b). The sampling framewas register data from each respective country and the sampling was a stratified multistage in Austria and Germany and a probabilitysample in Switzerland (European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC) 2024b). The responserates were 39.4% in Austria, 26.7% in Germany and 46.4 in Switzerland (European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC) 2024b).

The manifestoproject database contains 50 years of quantitatively coded partymanifestos from over 50 countries. Among those codes are also the dimensions Laver and Budge (1992) found in a large scale manifestoanalysis to develope codes that can be used to accurately categorize parties on the left-right dimension. The codes are based on the mentioning of a certain topic or attitude in the party manifest (Laver and Budge 1992). The findings of Laver and Budge (1992) are used in the manifesto project data to build a right-left score by summing up the rightwing-codes and then subtracting the sum of leftwing-codes Lehmann et al. (2024).

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of both types of models used is a right-left category of partypositions. To generate this variable from the data, the parties of the germanspeaking countries were collapsed in the categories far-left, center-left, center, center-right, far-right, based off their corresponding position in the quantiles of the left-right variable of the manifestoproject in their respective country (relative to the scores of other parties in their country). Due to the small amount of individuals in the far-left category both left-categories (far-left & center-left) were later collapsed to one “left” category to allow calculation of the statistical models. For the first two calculated multinomial logistic regression models (H1) the 5-point scale was collapsed into a 3-point scale (left, center, right). The rest of the multinomial logistic regression models (H1) and the multinomial conditional logistic regression models (H2) the collapsed 4-point scale (left, center, center-right, far-right) was used.

The ESS holds information about both types of votes of german election, where voters are able to split choices between two parties. This analysis only focuses on the first vote of german voters. The second vote was introduced to limit the size of the German Bundestag. For candidates to win their constituency, they must receive the majority of first votes, and their party must also receive enough second votes in the relevant federal state. Also the small amount of people eligible to vote in two countries were omitted from the analysis.

For the model calculation all parties that were not coded by the manifestoproject, which are only small parties below the countries threshold to get into the parliament, and individuals without occupation-information and therefore no class were omitted.

Independent Variables

The key independent variable of hypothesis 1 are the classes from Oesch (2006) . Oesch (n.d.) himself published readymade R-scripts on his personal webpage to recode the european social survey ISCO-08 occupations into his social classes. The script provided for the ESS wave 10 also worked without any problems for the ESS wave 11 used in this analysis. The following table outlines Oesch (2006) class scheme.

<i>Interpersonal service logic</i>	<i>Technical work logic</i>	<i>Organizational work logic</i>	<i>Independent work logic</i>
Socio-cultural professionals: Medical doctors, Teachers, Social workers Service workers: Assistant nurses, Waiters, Shop assistants	Technical professionals: Engineers, Architects, Technicians Production workers: Mechanics, Carpenters, Assemblers	Managers: Administrators, Consultants, Accountants Office clerks: Secretaries, Receptionists, Mail clerks	Liberal professionals: Entrepreneurs, Lawyers, Dentists Small business owners: Shop owners, Artisans, Farmers

The key independent variable of hypothesis 2 are the topics and attitudes of the NSDAP that are considered as the main reasons WHY they were voted by the german public. These reasons are still and inherent part of the definition of far-right parties nowadays. The main reasons between 1930 and 1932 why people decided to vote for the NSDAP were economic anxiety, nationalism, anti-marxism, authoritarian appeal and being anti establishment Borowsky, Hering, and Nicolaysen (2005). These topics resonated in different intensities with different groups of voters, but were the deciding dealbreakers in the end for certain groups Borowsky, Hering, and Nicolaysen (2005).

To split the earlier used far-right position up into these dimensions, to find which ones are most appealing, the mean of the detailed manifesto codes are used that made up the left-right score of the manifesto project (Lehmann et al. 2024). The score for how much a partymanifesto addresses economic anxiety is made up of the will to control economy (price, wages), the position that protectionism is positive and favourable mentions of nationalised industries. The score for nationalism is created from favourable mentions of the countries nation, history and general appeals to patriotism aswell as a positive position towards traditional values like prohibition of immorality, stability of traditional families and the support of religious institutions. The score for anti marxism contains mentions of free market (capitalism) including private

property rights and needs for unhampered individual enterprises aswell as the need for econically healthy government policy making like the support of a strong currency and the support of the stock market and the banking system. The score for authoritarian appeal consists of references to the respective party to govern or other parties lack of competence aswell as the mentioning of a strong/stable government in general. Also included in this score are favourable mentions of strict law enforcement like support of police and the importance of internal security. At last the score for anti establishment indicates the position towards the military by increasing the score for negative positions towards the military and decreasing it for positive. Mentions of anti imperialism and a positiv mindedness towards the need for the civil society to be united are also included in this score.

Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Overall N = 3626 (100%)	Party Position				
		Far Left N = 92 (2.5%)	Center Left N = 1092 (30%)	Center N = 1549 (43%)	Center Right N = 575 (16%)	Far Right N = 318 (8.8%)
Class, n (%)						
Self-employed professionals and large employers	96 (2.8%)	0 (0%)	19 (1.8%)	55 (3.7%)	19 (3.4%)	3 (1.0%)
Small business owners	282 (8.2%)	4 (4.4%)	62 (6.0%)	143 (9.7%)	55 (9.9%)	18 (6.0%)
Technical (semi-)professionals	363 (10%)	18 (20%)	94 (9.1%)	171 (12%)	68 (12%)	12 (4.0%)
Production workers	516 (15%)	13 (14%)	188 (18%)	151 (10%)	83 (15%)	81 (27%)
(Associate) managers	584 (17%)	6 (6.7%)	156 (15%)	266 (18%)	119 (21%)	37 (12%)
Clerks	476 (14%)	10 (11%)	166 (16%)	186 (13%)	77 (14%)	37 (12%)
Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals	595 (17%)	29 (32%)	179 (17%)	292 (20%)	62 (11%)	33 (11%)
Service workers	548 (16%)	10 (11%)	174 (17%)	212 (14%)	72 (13%)	80 (27%)
Missing	166	2	54	73	20	17
Age, Mean (SD)	56.60 (17.46)	51.91 (17.81)	59.48 (16.87)	54.57 (17.88)	58.47 (17.14)	54.58 (15.99)
Place of Residence, n (%)						
A big city	691 (19%)	31 (34%)	232 (21%)	297 (19%)	48 (8.3%)	83 (26%)
Suburbs or outskirts of big city	397 (11%)	11 (12%)	134 (12%)	159 (10%)	63 (11%)	30 (9.4%)
Town or small city	1,006 (28%)	31 (34%)	336 (31%)	411 (27%)	142 (25%)	86 (27%)
Country village	1,417 (39%)	19 (21%)	373 (34%)	630 (41%)	283 (49%)	112 (35%)
Farm or home in countryside	115 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	17 (1.6%)	52 (3.4%)	39 (6.8%)	7 (2.2%)
Gender, n (%)						
Female	1,858 (51%)	46 (50%)	560 (51%)	842 (54%)	269 (47%)	141 (44%)
Male	1,768 (49%)	46 (50%)	532 (49%)	707 (46%)	306 (53%)	177 (56%)

Data: German Speaking Countries (DE,AT,CH) from ESS 11 - 2023 & Manifesto Project Data

Class: Class Scheme from Oesch (2006) "Redrawing the Class Map"

Partypositions: Quintiles from Manifesto Project Right-Left Variable

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of the Germanspeaking-Countries Voting Behaviour

Table 2 displays descriptive statistics of the social classes votingbehaviour in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, aswell as additional information that later serve as control variables. Regarding the voting-behaviour the table reveals that most of the voters in germanspeaking countries voted for center parties (43%) or center-left parties (30%) in their countries last election. Whereas only 2.5% voted for the far left parties, 8.8% voted for far right parties and 16% vor center right parties.

When splitting these results at the axis of classes, the main independent variable, the table indicates that the far right is most popular with the production workers and the service workers, which together make up 54% of all far-right voters. Following this the managers, clerks and socio-cultural professionals make up 35% together of the far-right voters.

The mean age distribution reveals no partifular agegroup, but the "place of residence" variable highlights that most far-right voters live either in a small town or country village or big cities. But these results are

not so easy to compare because of the relative differences of samplesizes in certain classes, or places of residence (some are more popular than others). In general more men seem to vote for right wing parties compared to women.

Methods

In the beginning a multinomial logistic regression examines the change in voting odds for parties across the left-right spectrum among different classes as push factors, thereby testing the first hypothesis. The 3-point and 4-point scale right-left category is set as a dependent variable. As predictors of the party-position-choice of the individual for each scale first the classes are used. In both cases a second model is calculated, including common controls for votingbehaviour: age, gender and the place of residence.

For the sake of interpreting the model predicted probabilities are calculated based of the most advanced of the four models. The predicted probabilities are calculated for a male person, because those vote predominantly for far-right, and visualized by class.

Concerning the second hypothesis, a multinomial conditional logistic regression estimates the contemporary influence of historic pull-factors that increased NSDAP voter support prior to their 1933 overthrow of German democracy. Both calculated models control for the amount of parties included in the 4-point scale of party positions. The first model includes the five dimensions of the historic far-right party-appeal: economic anxiety, nationalism, anti marxism, authoritarian appeal and being anti establishment. The second model extends the first party-variable-only model by including interactions with the individual class variable. This gives insight what classes are predominantly influenced by certain topics in party-manifestos.

Results

Votingbehaviour by Classes

Table 3 shows the estimated, exponentiated results of the multinomial logistic regressions. All models are calculated with center as the reference category of partypositions. In Model 1 only the production workers and the service workers estimate are significant and positive. Being part of the production worker class instead of the self-employed professionals raises the odds of voting for a right-wing party instead of a center-party by 173%. Whereas being part of the Service workers class instead of being part of the self-employed professionals raises odds by 79% of voting right instead of center. After controlling for the place of residence, age and gender in the second model the odds of the productionworkers stay the same. Adding additional controlvariables increases the odds of service workers by $\frac{2.15}{1.79} \sim 120\%$. In Model 2 also Clerks and associate Managers have positive and significant estimators, in comparison to self-employed professionals, now with a 81% and 65% increase of voting for right compared to center parties.

Model 3 and model 4 make a distinction between center right and far right parties. The main finding of model 4 is that most of the right-wing effect of model 1 and 2 stems from classes voting for far-right rather than center parties. Again production workers have the highest odds with a change in 983% when being part of the productionworker class in reference to the self-employed professionals to vote for far right parties rather than center parties. Again service voters have the second highest estimator, followed by clerks and associate managers, of which the associate managers have had no significant effect in model 3, which did not contain the controlvariables. Residents of rural areas demonstrate significantly stronger preferences for center-right parties compared to urban dwellers, with countryside residents having the highest coefficient (4.66). This urban-rural divide appears generally consistent across settlement types, with voting tendencies shifting rightward as distance from major cities increases. Age does not seem to have a relevant effect, whereas being female pushes the odds regarding the vote for partypositions in the left direction.

Regarding model fits, Model 3 and 4 have higher and therefore worse AIC and BIC. This notion is backed by the Log. Likelihood.

	MNLr - Model 1		MNLr - Model 2		MNLr - Model 3			MNLr - Model 4		
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Center Right	Far Right	Left	Center Right	Far Right
(Intercept)	0.35*** [0.21, 0.58]	0.40*** [0.24, 0.66]	0.16*** [0.09, 0.30]	0.23*** [0.12, 0.41]	0.35*** [0.21, 0.58]	0.35*** [0.21, 0.58]	0.05*** [0.02, 0.17]	0.17*** [0.09, 0.31]	0.08*** [0.04, 0.16]	0.09*** [0.03, 0.33]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - 'Small business owners	1.34 [0.74, 2.43]	1.29 [0.73, 2.28]	1.57 [0.86, 2.88]	1.29 [0.73, 2.29]	1.34 [0.73, 2.43]	1.13 [0.62, 2.08]	2.31 [0.65, 8.15]	1.58 [0.86, 2.89]	1.01 [0.54, 1.89]	2.77 [0.78, 9.84]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - 'Technical (semi-)professionals	1.90* [1.07, 3.36]	1.17 [0.67, 2.05]	2.24** [1.25, 4.00]	1.25 [0.71, 2.20]	1.90* [1.07, 3.36]	1.15 [0.64, 2.08]	1.29 [0.35, 4.73]	2.24** [1.26, 4.01]	1.26 [0.69, 2.31]	1.32 [0.36, 4.86]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - 'Production workers	3.87*** [2.21, 6.80]	2.73*** [1.59, 4.70]	4.37*** [2.48, 7.73]	2.72*** [1.58, 4.70]	3.87*** [2.21, 6.80]	1.61 [0.90, 2.89]	9.84*** [2.98, 32.43]	4.40*** [2.49, 7.78]	1.49 [0.82, 2.71]	10.83*** [3.27, 35.86]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - '(Associate) managers	1.76* [1.01, 3.08]	1.47 [0.86, 2.50]	2.05* [1.17, 3.61]	1.65+ [0.96, 2.83]	1.76* [1.01, 3.08]	1.29 [0.74, 2.28]	2.55 [0.76, 8.57]	2.05* [1.17, 3.61]	1.48 [0.83, 2.62]	2.80+ [0.83, 9.44]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - 'Clerks	1.56, 4.80 [1.56, 4.80]	0.89, 2.65 [0.89, 2.65]	1.85, 5.83 [1.85, 5.83]	1.04, 3.17 [1.04, 3.17]	1.56, 4.80 [1.56, 4.80]	0.67, 2.15 [0.67, 2.15]	1.08, 12.29 [1.08, 12.29]	1.86, 5.86 [1.86, 5.86]	0.74, 2.46 [0.74, 2.46]	1.36, 15.78 [1.36, 15.78]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - 'Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals	2.07** [1.19, 3.58]	0.82 [0.47, 1.41]	2.59*** [1.47, 4.55]	1.01 [0.58, 1.76]	2.06** [1.19, 3.58]	0.62 [0.35, 1.12]	2.07 [0.61, 6.97]	2.59*** [1.47, 4.56]	0.76 [0.41, 1.39]	2.52 [0.74, 8.59]
'Class (Ref. Self-employed professionals) - 'Service workers	2.51** [1.44, 4.39]	1.79* [1.05, 3.07]	3.08*** [1.74, 5.45]	2.15** [1.24, 3.72]	2.51** [1.44, 4.39]	0.98 [0.55, 1.77]	6.92** [2.10, 22.75]	3.10*** [1.75, 5.48]	1.12 [0.61, 2.05]	8.66*** [2.61, 28.79]
'Place of Residence (Ref. Big City) - 'Suburbs or outskirts of big city			0.96 [0.72, 1.28]	1.26 [0.90, 1.77]				0.95 [0.71, 1.27]	2.39*** [1.55, 3.68]	0.61* [0.38, 0.99]
'Place of Residence (Ref. Big City) - 'Town or small city			0.94 [0.75, 1.18]	1.14 [0.87, 1.50]				0.93 [0.74, 1.17]	2.00*** [1.38, 2.91]	0.65* [0.45, 0.92]
'Place of Residence (Ref. Big City) - 'Country village			0.66*** [0.53, 0.82]	1.32* [1.03, 1.70]				0.65*** [0.52, 0.81]	2.74*** [1.94, 3.89]	0.53*** [0.38, 0.74]
'Place of Residence (Ref. Big City) - 'Farm or home in countryside			0.36*** [0.20, 0.66]	1.95** [1.22, 3.10]				0.35*** [0.19, 0.65]	4.66*** [2.73, 7.97]	0.43+ [0.19, 1.01]
Age			1.02*** [1.01, 1.02]	1.01** [1.00, 1.01]				1.02*** [1.01, 1.02]	1.01*** [1.01, 1.02]	1.00 [0.99, 1.01]
'Female (Ref. Male)'			0.82* [0.69, 0.97]	0.74** [0.62, 0.89]				0.82* [0.69, 0.97]	0.81+ [0.65, 1.01]	0.65** [0.49, 0.86]
Num.Obs.	3466		3460		3466			3460		
AIC	7372.8		7269.6		8433.2			8257.2		
BIC	7471.2		7441.8		8580.8			8515.5		
Log.Lik.	-3670		-3607		-4193			-4087		

+ p \num{< 0.1}, * p \num{< 0.05}, ** p \num{< 0.01}, *** p \num{< 0.001}

Confidence Intervals: 95%

Data: German Speaking Countries (DE,AT,CH) from ESS 11 - 2023 & Manifesto Project Data

Class: Class Scheme from Oesch (2006) "Redrawing the Class Map"

Partypositions: Quintiles from Manifesto Project Right-Left Variable

Model 1 and 2 collapsed party positions to left,center,right; Model 3 and 4 collapsed left-positions due to small group sizes and perfect separation.

Table 3: Exponentiated Multinomial Logistic Regression Results estimating Votingbehaviour of Oesch (2006) Classes

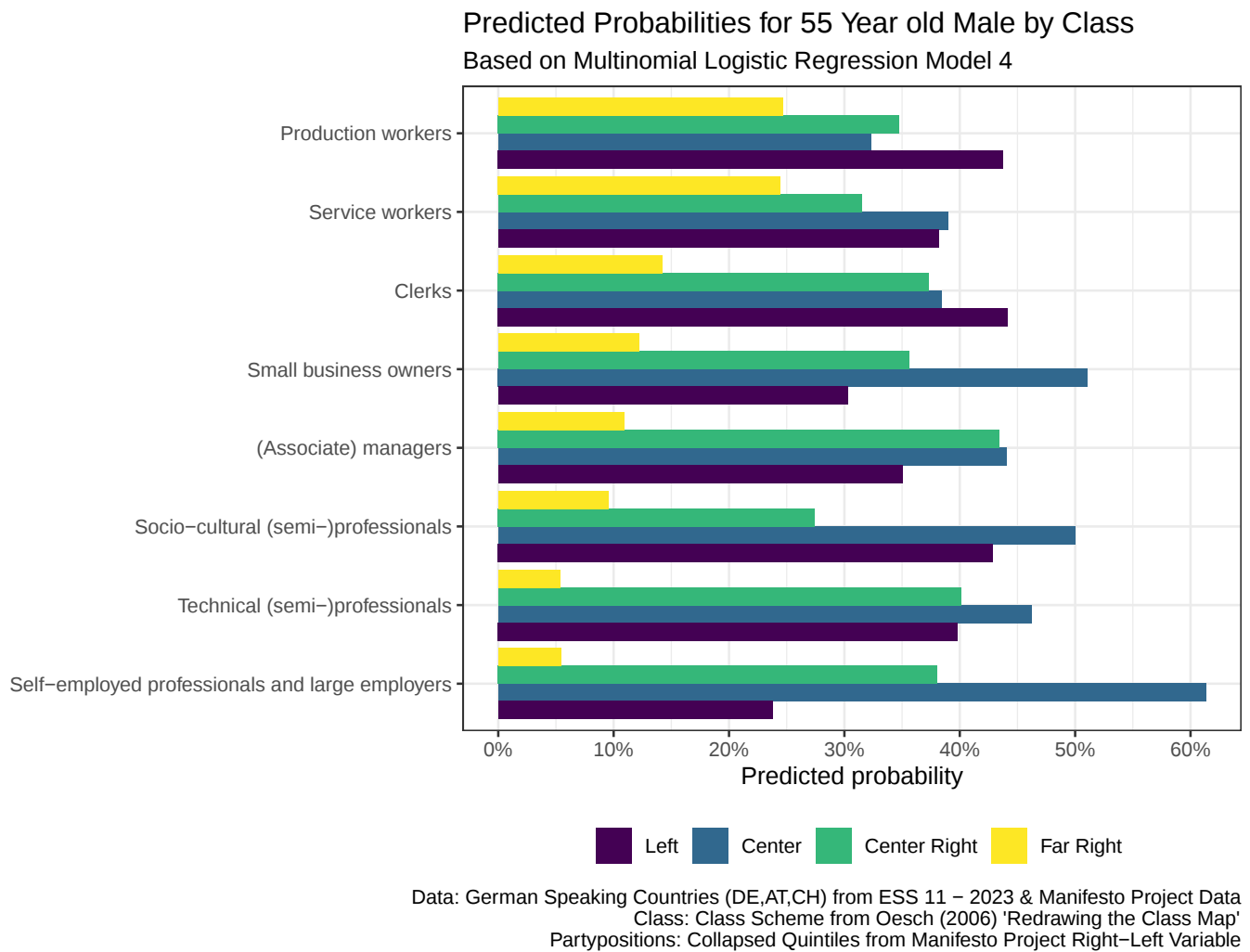


Figure 1: Predicted Probabilities based on Multinomial Logistic Regression Model 4 for 55 Year old Male by Class and ordered by Far Right voting probability; Data: German Speaking Countries (DE,AT,CH) from ESS 11 - 2023 & Manifesto Project Data; Class: Class Scheme from Oesch (2006) 'Redrawing the Class Map'; Partypositions: Quintiles from Manifesto Project Right-Left Variable

The predicted probabilities of voting for left, center, center right and far right for a 55 year old male, visualized by classes, are depicted in Figure 1. Focusing on the yellow bars, 3 groups of “classes are visible” far right voters are visible. The main far right voters being production workers and service workers. Technical professionals and self-employed professionals and large employers seem to avoid voting far right at all costs. The rest of the classes have a medium tendency of voting for the far right. Putting the voting behaviour in the focus of analysis we see that for the 3 classes with the highest predicted probability of voting for the far right, the probability of voting left is very high as well and the probability of voting for center parties seems quite low. On the opposite the rest of the classes have the highest probability of voting for center and center-right parties. The center right parties are especially strong for the technical professionals, which follow the same work logic as the production workers, and the managers which follow the same work logic as clerks.

Votingbehaviour by Historic Far-Right Pull Factors

Table 4 contains the exponentiated estimates of the multinomial conditional logistic regression model which modeled partyposition-choice in dependence of the parties manifesto topics. Those topics were aggregated into those dimensions which were the reason the nsdap gained the needed traction in the crucial classes to win the elections between 1930-1932. Both models control for the partycount in the partyposition categories.

The first model contains only the different pull-factor dimensions. The odds of all dimensions are statistically significant and are lower than 1 except the estimator for economic anxiety. Each additional percentage of a partymanifesto adressing topics of economic anxiety increases the odds of getting voted instead of a center party being voted by 18% speaking. Adressing authoritatian appeals only decreases the chance of being voted instead of a center party being voted by -5%. The anti establishment estimator is the smallest, therefore a relative increase in adressing anti establishment practices in a partymanifesto decreases the chance of being voted by -45%.

The second model contains the interaction between the dimensions of the first model and the Oesch (2006) classes. Most estimators are not significant. Adressing nationalist, anti marxist topics in a partymanifesto heightens the chance of being voted instead of a center party by productionworkers, service workers and clerks compared to small business owners. Adressing authoritarian appeals slightly but statistically significant decreases the chances of being voted instead of a center party by production workers compared to small business owners.

Both models have similar AIC and BIC fit statistics. The χ^2 test comparing both models is highly significant, which points to model 2 being a better fitting model - which is not surprising with 35 added interactionterms.

	MNCLR - Model 1			MNCLR - Model 2		
	Est.	2.5 %	97.5 %	Est.	2.5 %	97.5 %
Partycount in Partypos. Categories	1.23***	1.19	1.29	1.30***	1.24	1.36
Economic Anxiety	1.18*	1.03	1.35	0.94	0.35	2.49
Nationalism	0.89***	0.87	0.92	0.77**	0.64	0.93
Anti Marxism	0.81***	0.76	0.87	0.98	0.72	1.32
Authoritarian Appeal	0.95**	0.92	0.99	0.98	0.81	1.18
Anti Establishment	0.55***	0.46	0.65	0.48	0.20	1.16
Economic Anxiety x Small Business Owners				2.24	0.76	6.60
Economic Anxiety x Technical (Semi-)Professionals				2.48	0.79	7.78
Economic Anxiety x Production Workers				1.41	0.50	4.00
Economic Anxiety x Associate Managers				1.09	0.39	3.08
Economic Anxiety x Clerks				1.23	0.43	3.53
Economic Anxiety x Socio-cultural (Semi-)Professionals				1.36	0.48	3.89
Economic Anxiety x Service Workers				1.62	0.57	4.59
Nationalism x Small Business Owners				1.12	0.91	1.37
Nationalism x Technical (Semi-)Professionals				0.94	0.75	1.18
Nationalism x Production Workers				1.37**	1.13	1.67
Nationalism x Associate Managers				1.11	0.91	1.35
Nationalism x Clerks				1.18+	0.97	1.45
Nationalism x Socio-cultural (Semi-)Professionals				1.06	0.87	1.30
Nationalism x Service Workers				1.31**	1.08	1.59
Anti Marxism x Small Business Owners				0.95	0.68	1.34
Anti Marxism x Technical (Semi-)Professionals				1.04	0.72	1.51
Anti Marxism x Production Workers				0.63*	0.44	0.90
Anti Marxism x Associate Managers				0.88	0.63	1.22
Anti Marxism x Clerks				0.65*	0.46	0.93
Anti Marxism x Socio-cultural (Semi-)Professionals				0.82	0.58	1.15
Anti Marxism x Service Workers				0.69*	0.49	0.97
Authoritarian Appeal x Small Business Owners				1.12	0.90	1.38
Authoritarian Appeal x Technical (Semi-)Professionals				0.94	0.76	1.17
Authoritarian Appeal x Production Workers				0.81*	0.66	0.99
Authoritarian Appeal x Associate Managers				0.96	0.78	1.17
Authoritarian Appeal x Clerks				0.89	0.73	1.10
Authoritarian Appeal x Socio-cultural (Semi-)Professionals				1.03	0.84	1.26
Authoritarian Appeal x Service Workers				0.96	0.78	1.17
Anti Establishment x Small Business Owners				0.76	0.28	2.05
Anti Establishment x Technical (Semi-)Professionals				0.59	0.22	1.61
Anti Establishment x Production Workers				0.78	0.30	2.04
Anti Establishment x Associate Managers				0.88	0.35	2.22
Anti Establishment x Clerks				0.75	0.29	1.95
Anti Establishment x Socio-cultural (Semi-)Professionals				1.36	0.53	3.46
Anti Establishment x Service Workers				0.96	0.37	2.50
Num.Obs.	3151			3151		
AIC	7232.7			7116.8		
BIC	7269.1			7365.1		
Chi2				186		
Chi2 p-value				<0.001		
Log.Lik.	-3610			-3517		
+ p \num{< 0.1}, * p \num{< 0.05}, ** p \num{< 0.01}, *** p \num{< 0.001}						
Confidence Intervals: 95%						
Data: German Speaking Countries (DE,AT,CH) from ESS 11 - 2023 & Manifesto Project Data						
Class: Class Scheme from Oesch (2006) "Redrawing the Class Map" with self employed professionals as the reference category						
Partypositions: Quintiles from Manifesto Project Right-Left Variable						

Table 4: Exponentiated Multinomial Conditional Logistic Regression Results - testing whether historic far-right appeals still hold in modern times; The class reference category are small business owners, the voting - referencecategory is center vs. left, centerright, farright

The average marginal effects displayed in Table 5 visualize the change in probabilities of voting for a certain dimension for an increase in the relative amount of addressing one dimension in a party manifesto. In all dimensions far-right parties have the lowest penalty in case a certain dimension is mentioned. Relatively the highest penalty is received when addressing nationalistic and anti establishment topics while the anti marxist and authoritarian appeal dimensions are most supported by the voters.

Partyposition	Economical Anxiety	Nationalism	Anti Marxism	Authoritarian Appeal	Anti Establishment
Left	-1.5	-5.9	-0.5	-0.4	-16.2
Center	-1.5	-6.2	-0.6	-0.4	-16.9
Center Right	-1.2	-4.8	-0.4	-0.3	-13.3
Far Right	-0.6	-2.3	-0.2	-0.2	-6.3

Table 5: Average Marginal Effects multiplied by 100 based on Multinomial Conditional Logistic Regression Model 1; Data: German Speaking Countries (DE,AT,CH) from ESS 11 - 2023 & Manifesto Project Data; Class: Class Scheme from Oesch (2006) ‘Redrawing the Class Map’; Partypositions: Collapsed Quintiles from Manifesto Project Right-Left Variable

Discussion/Conclusion

The conducted analysis was conducted to answer the question what classes nowadays are the most supportive of rightwing parties and to gain insights if the same topics, that were the reasons why 1930-1932 many german voters decided to vote for the NSDAP, have impact nowadays. The stated hypothesis were (H1), that small business owners and service workers still support the far-right the most and (H2), that the far-right parties nowadays seem appealing to their voters because of economic anxiety, nationalism, anti-marxism, authoritarian appeal and being anti establishment.

Instead of the small business owners and the service workers Figure 1 highlights that production workers and service workers are the most far right voting classes nowadays with clerks being third place in front of the small business owners. Table 4 also reveals that clerks are significantly basing their votechoice off anti marxist positions. Hypothesis one is therefore only partially supported and therefore only partially relating the current votingbehaviour of classes to partypositions, which is still a satisfying finding.

Regarding H2, the same reasons King et al. (2008) and Borowsky, Hering, and Nicolaysen (2005) found, have statistically significant impact on voting behaviour today through especially influencing exactly these classes that predominantly vote for rightwing parties. More closely especially nationalist, authoritarian and anti marxist topics influence the far-rights voterbase. The interpretation of the effects of said topical-dimensions needs to be very careful because of the different situation current politics finds itself compared to the 1930s, which leads to the dimensions containing inherently different meaning given by the different societal context.

An interesting find is that not only the production workers are rightwing supporters but also their superiors are important supporters of center-right parties. The technical work logic therefore seems to push the votingbehaviour of individuals towards the parties on the right side of the political spectrum. All main supporters of far-right parties together are part of the lower classes (serviceworkers, production workers and office clerks). It is puzzling why therefore the economic anxiety seems to have no influence on votingdecision of said classes.

The study is limited not only by the sample size, which limited the granularity of the analysis and lead to collapsing the far-left and left category, but also by the resources needed to improve the study of historical

dimensions for the second hypothesis. The codes making up the historical dimensions were chosen with care, but an exact coding and exploratory analysis of older manifestos with the project manifesto codes could reveal the true defining dimensions of the early 1930s and therefore improve the drastically. The reduction of the left-right scale into 5 categories could have been also reported in more detail but was restricted due to external limitations.

Future analysis could focus of larger historical connections between votingbehaviour, since the german far-right still is using very similar narratives as when the first roots emerged in the era of romanticism.

Bibliography

- Blenkinsop, Philip, and Benoit Van Overstraeten. 2024. “European Parliament’s Far-Right Group Expels Germany’s AfD After SS Remark.” *Reuters: Europe*, May 23, 2024. <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/far-right-european-parliament-group-expels-germanys-afd-after-ss-remark-2024-05-23/>.
- Borowsky, Peter, Rainer Hering, and Rainer Nicolaysen. 2005. *Schlaglichter historischer Forschung: Studien zur deutschen Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Hamburg University Press.
- European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC). 2024a. “ESS11 - Integrated File, Edition 2.0.” Sikt – Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research. https://doi.org/10.21338/ESS11E02_0.
- . 2024b. “ESS11 Data Documentation.” Sikt - Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education; Research. <https://doi.org/10.21338/ess11-2023>.
- Henley, Jon, Jennifer Rankin, and Lisa O’Carroll. 2024. “EU’s Far-Right Parties Expel Germany’s AfD from Their Group.” *The Guardian: World News*, May 23, 2024. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/may/23/eus-far-right-parties-expel-germanys-afd-from-their-group>.
- King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, and Alexander F. Wagner. 2008. “Ordinary Economic Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler.” *J. Econ. Hist.* 68 (4): 951–96. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050708000788>.
- Laver, M. J., and Ian Budge, eds. 1992. *Party Policy and Government Coalitions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-22368-8>.
- Lehmann, Pola, Simon Franzmann, Denise Al-Gaddooa, Tobias Burst, Christoph Ivanusch, Sven Regel, Felicia Riethmüller, Andrea Volkens, Bernhard Weßels, and Lisa Zehnter. 2024. “The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR).” Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) / Göttingen: Institut für Demokratieforschung (IfDem). <https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpps.2024a>.
- Oesch, Daniel. 2006. *Redrawing the Class Map*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230504592>.
- . n.d. “Scripts for Social Class & OEP.” Personal Website. Daniel Oesch - Economic Sociology. Accessed March 28, 2024. <https://people.unil.ch/danieloesch/scripts/>.
- Stockhammer, Nicolas. 2023. *Routledge Handbook of Transnational Terrorism*. 1st ed. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003326373>.