

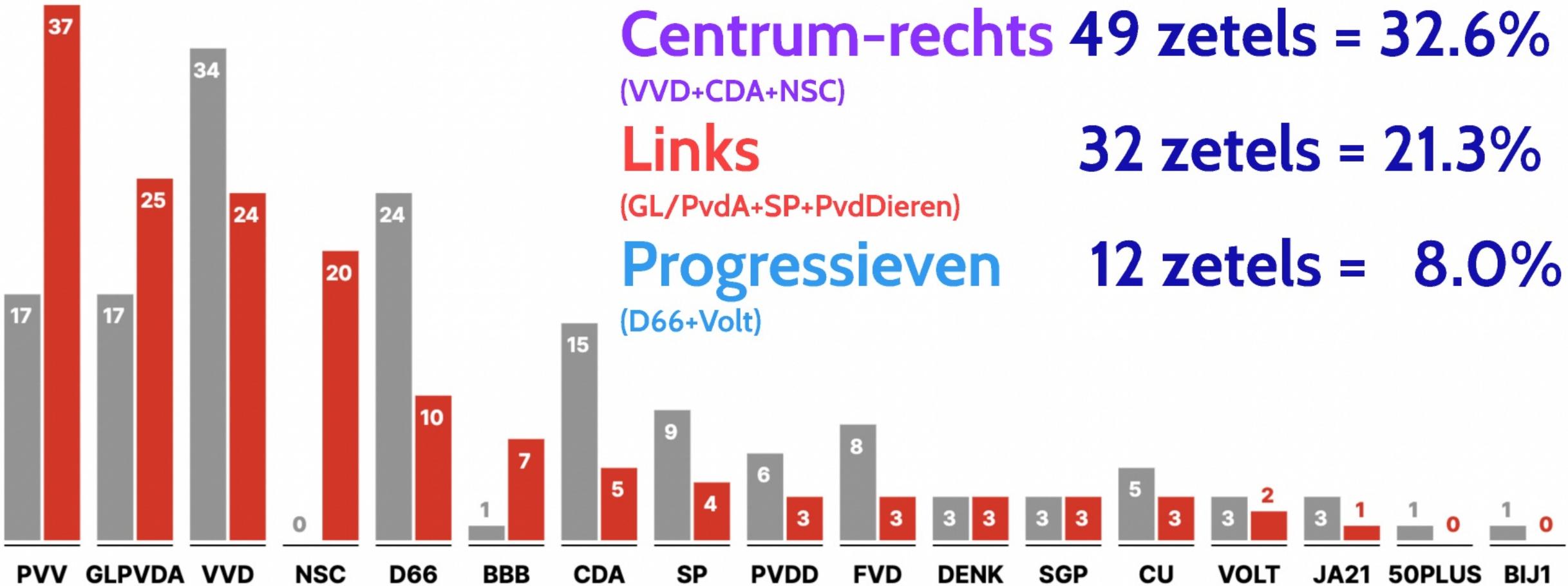
Tweede Kamer Verkiezingen 2023



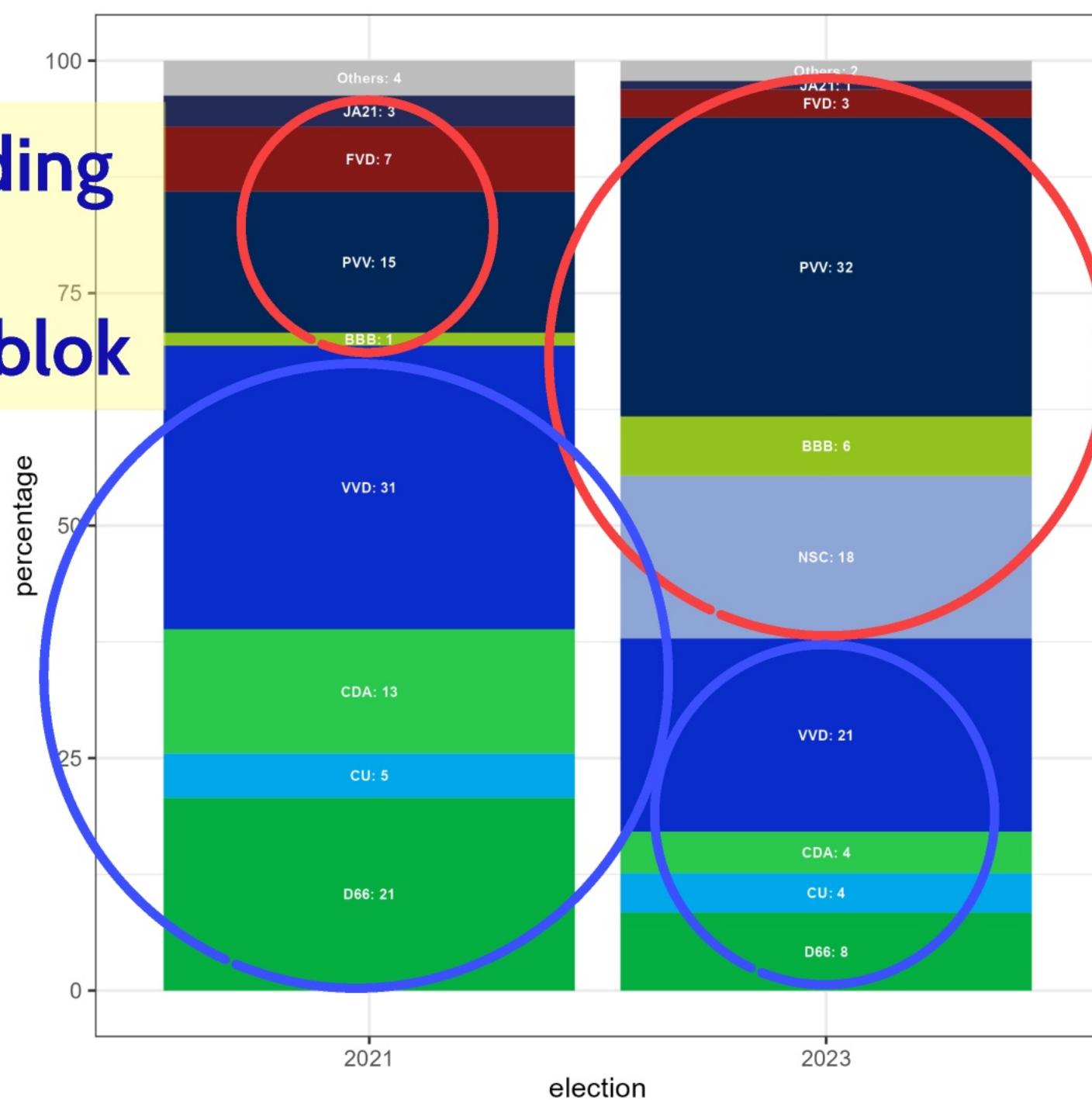
André Krouwel
Vrije Universiteit

Machtsverschuiving tussen blokken

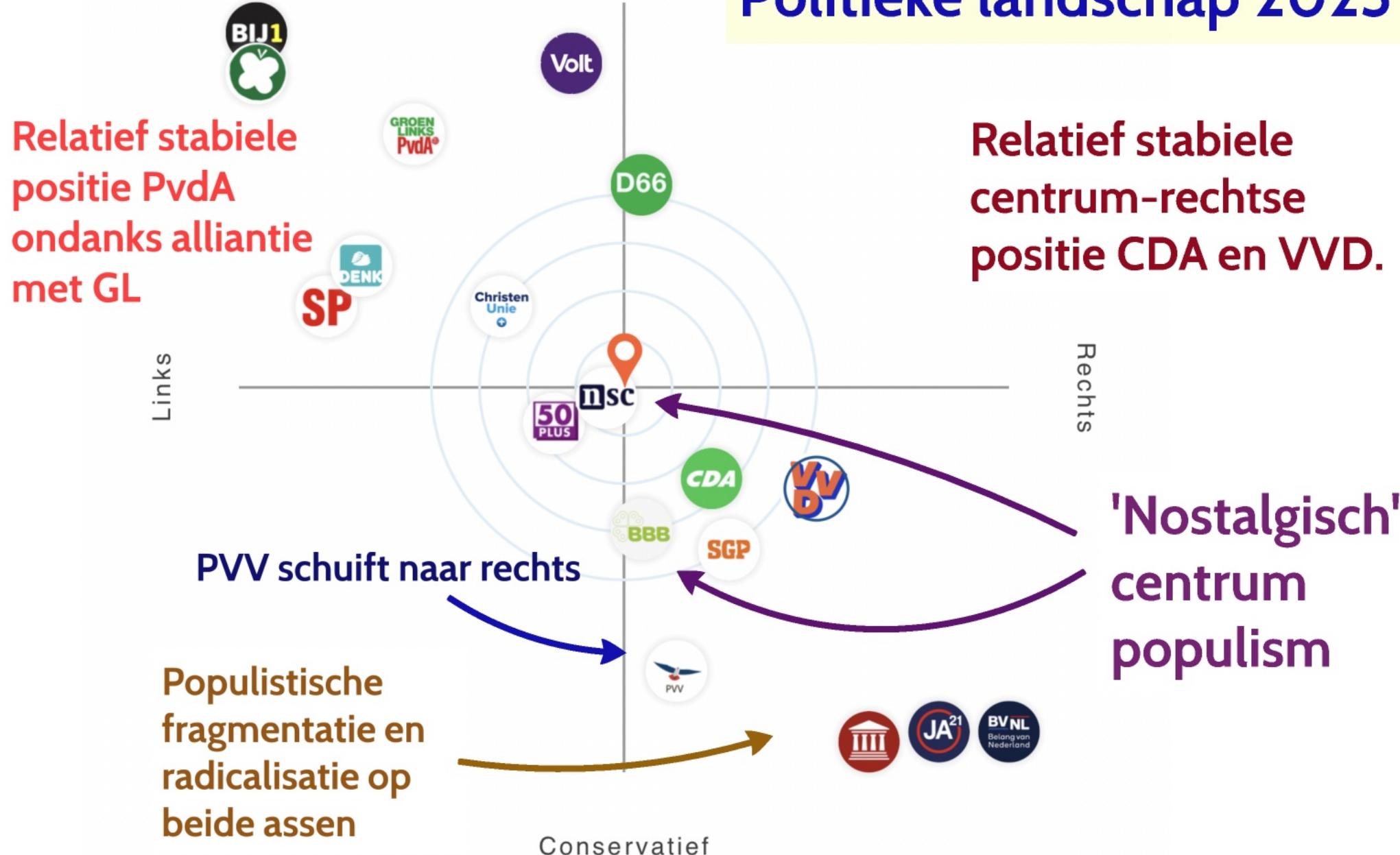
PROGNOSE: aantal zetels
■ 2021 ■ 2023



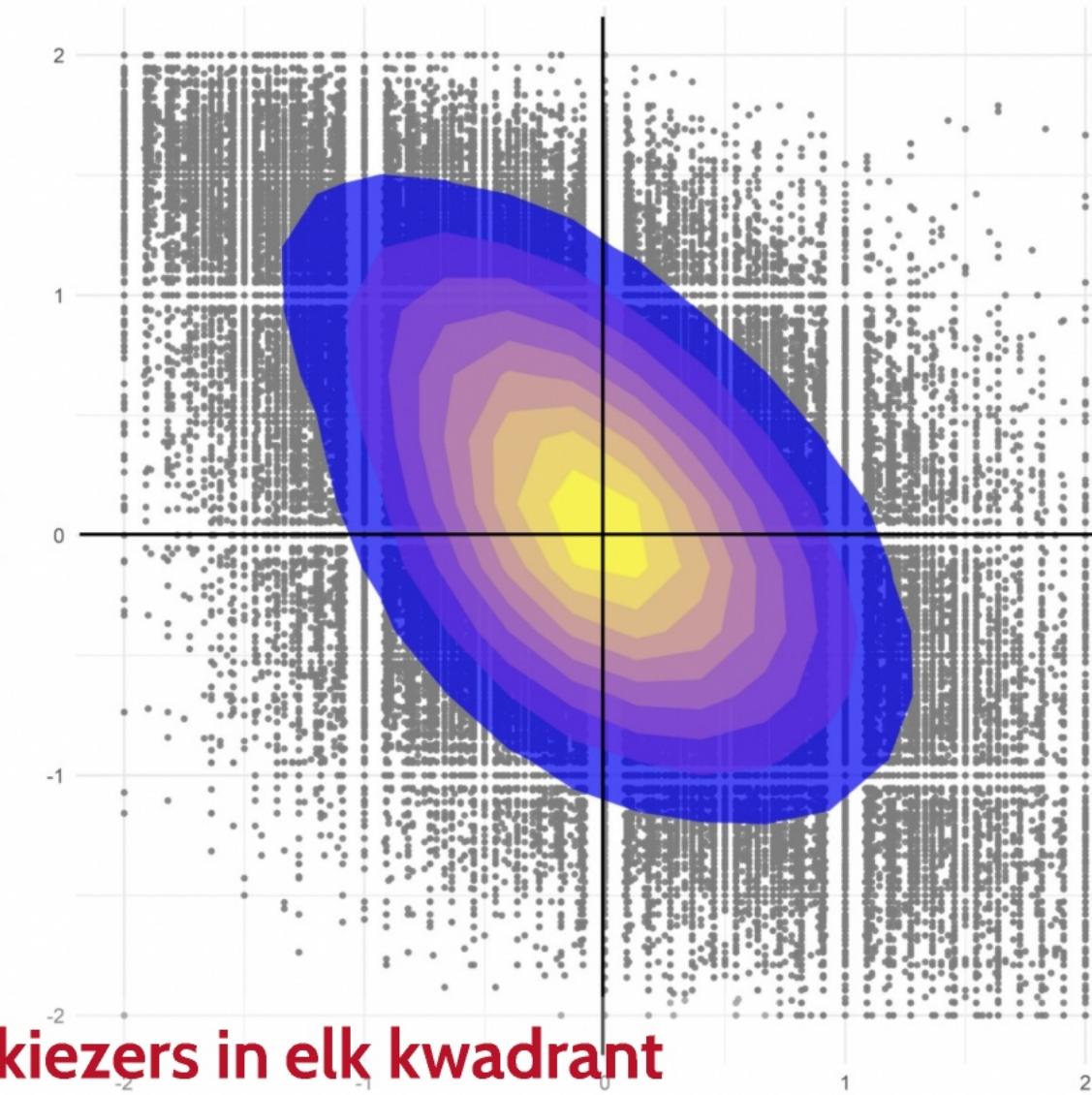
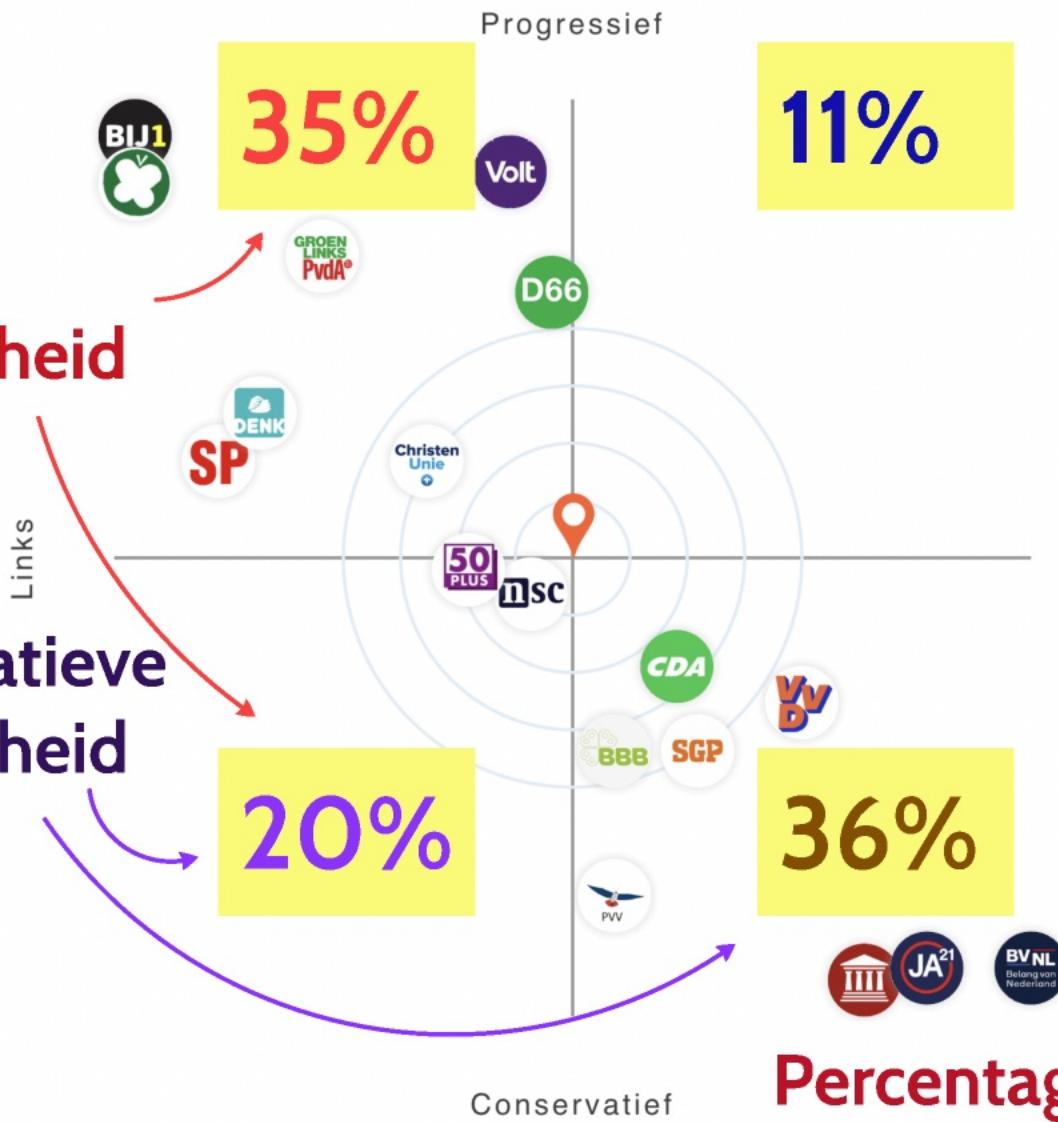
Verhouding binnen rechtse blok



Politieke landschap 2023



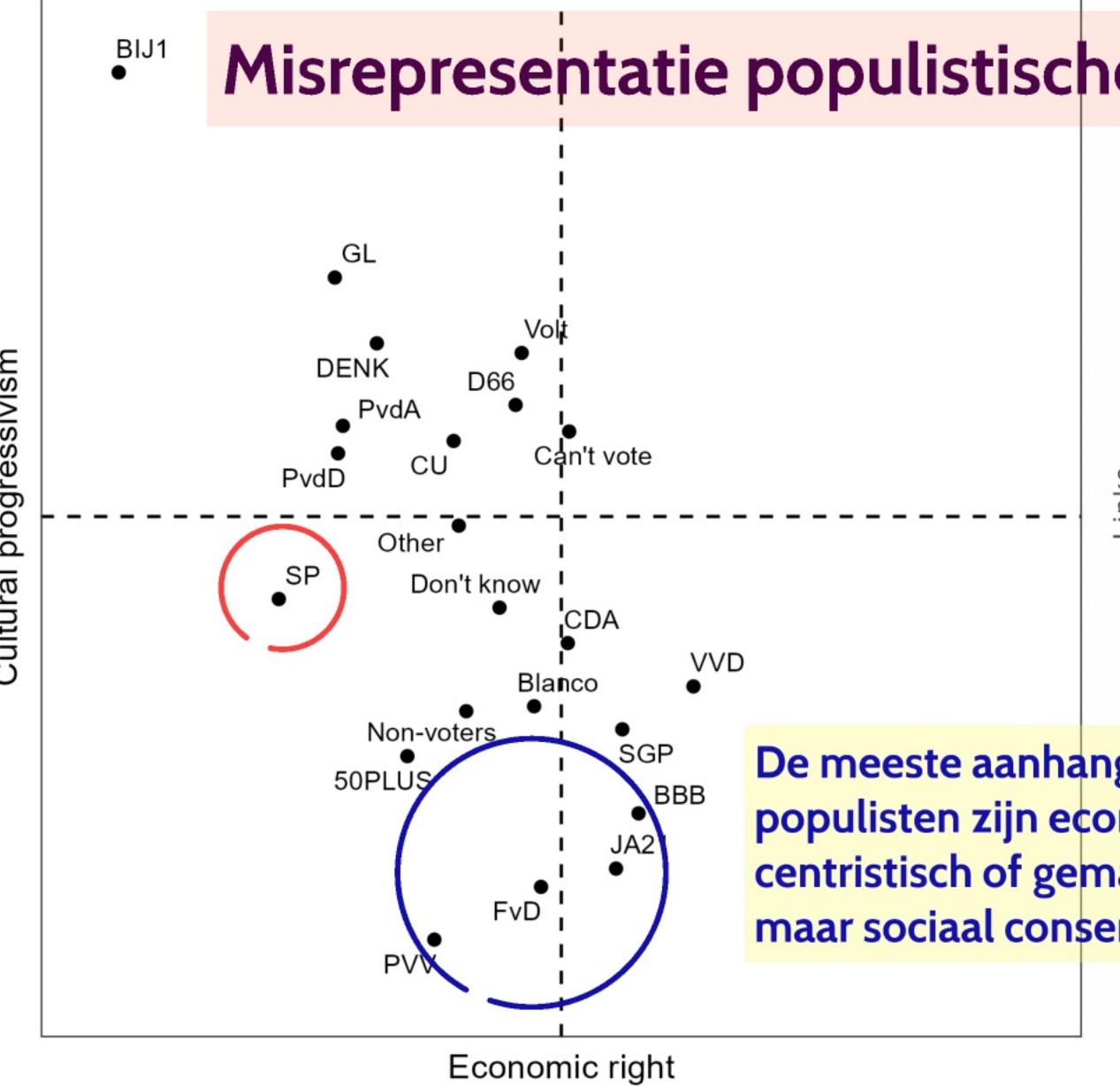
**Linkse
meerderheid**



BIJ1

Misrepresentatie populistische kiezers

Cultural progressivism

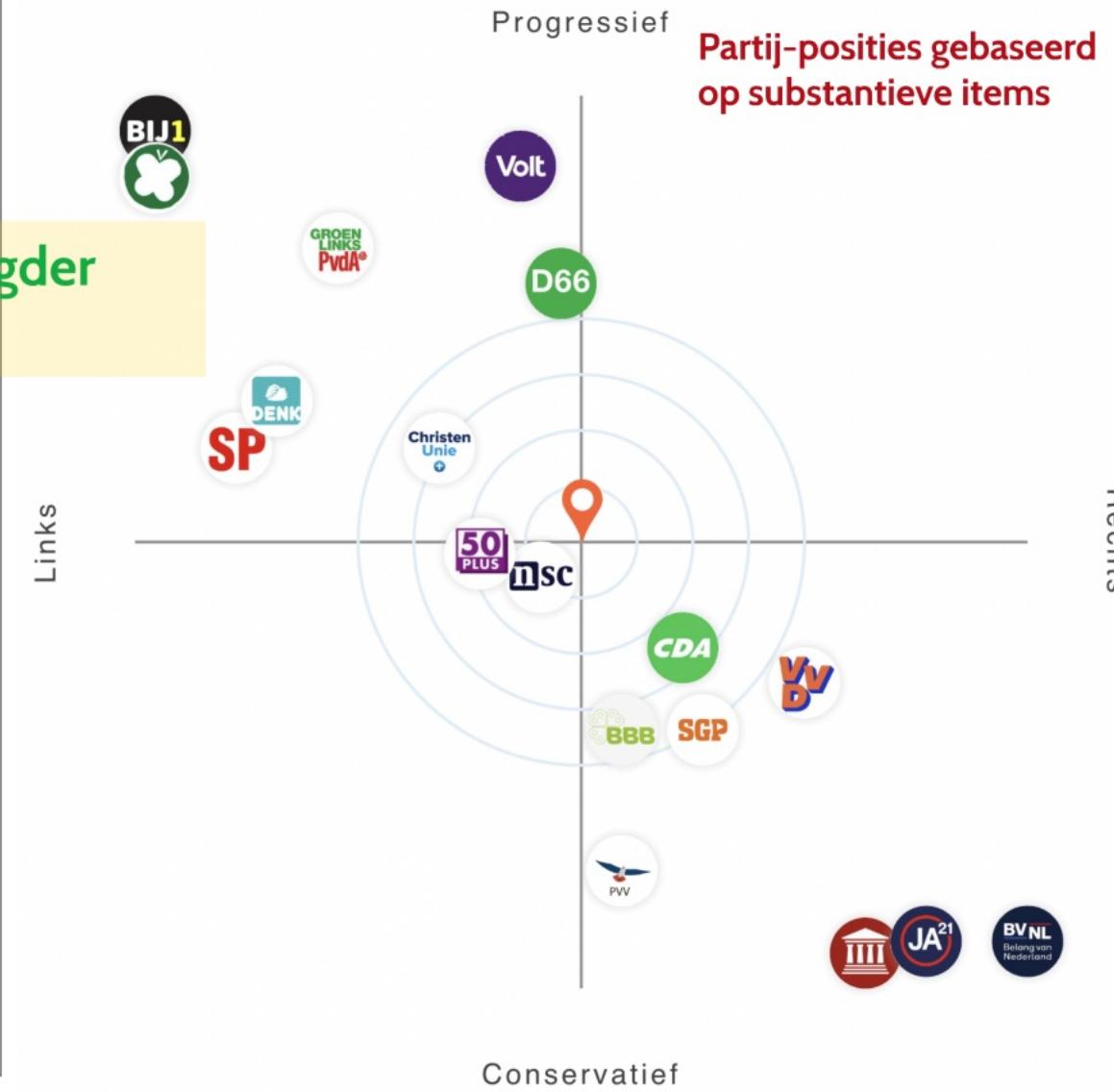
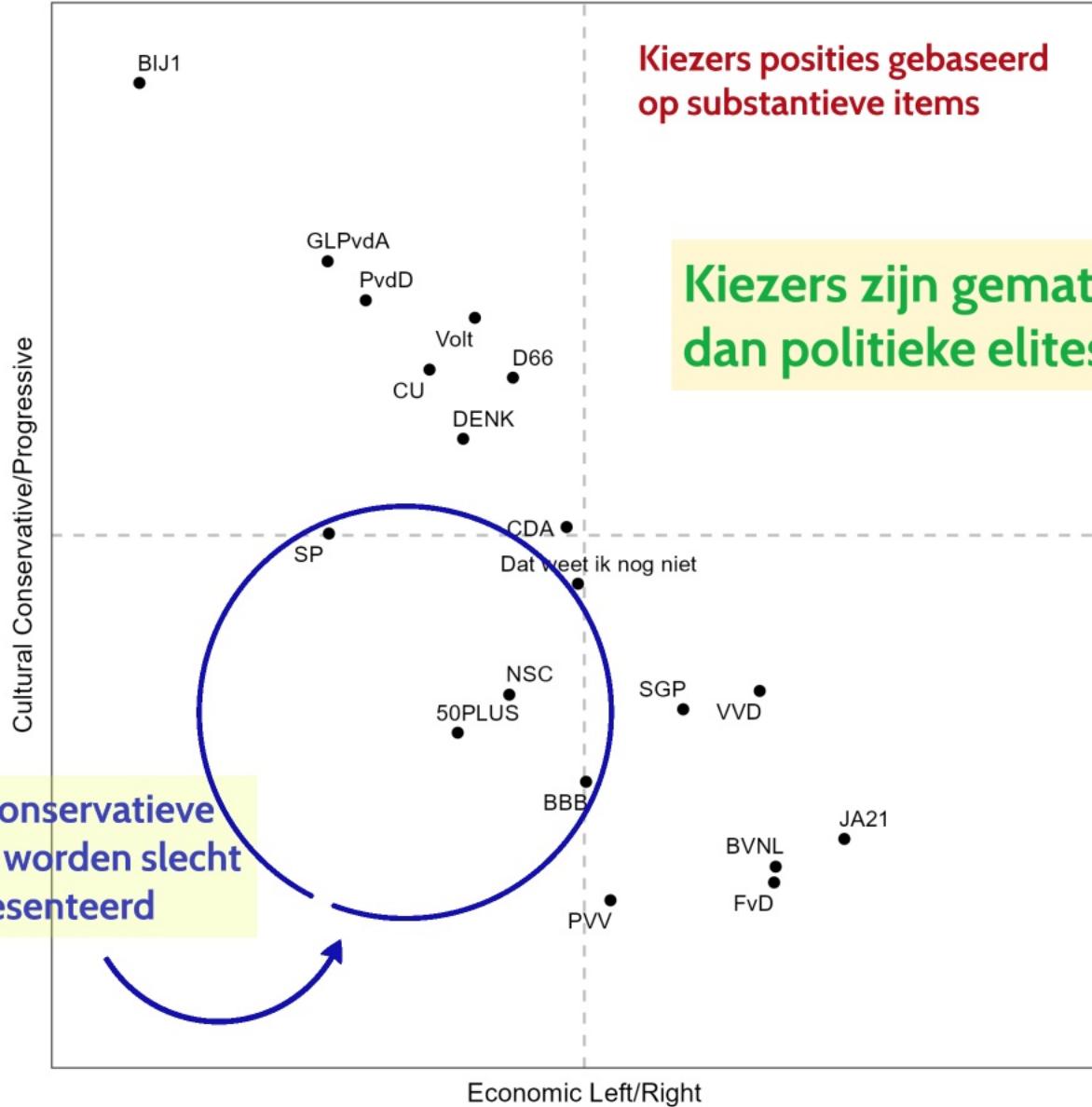


De meeste aanhangers van populisten zijn economisch centristisch of gematigd links, maar sociaal conservatief.

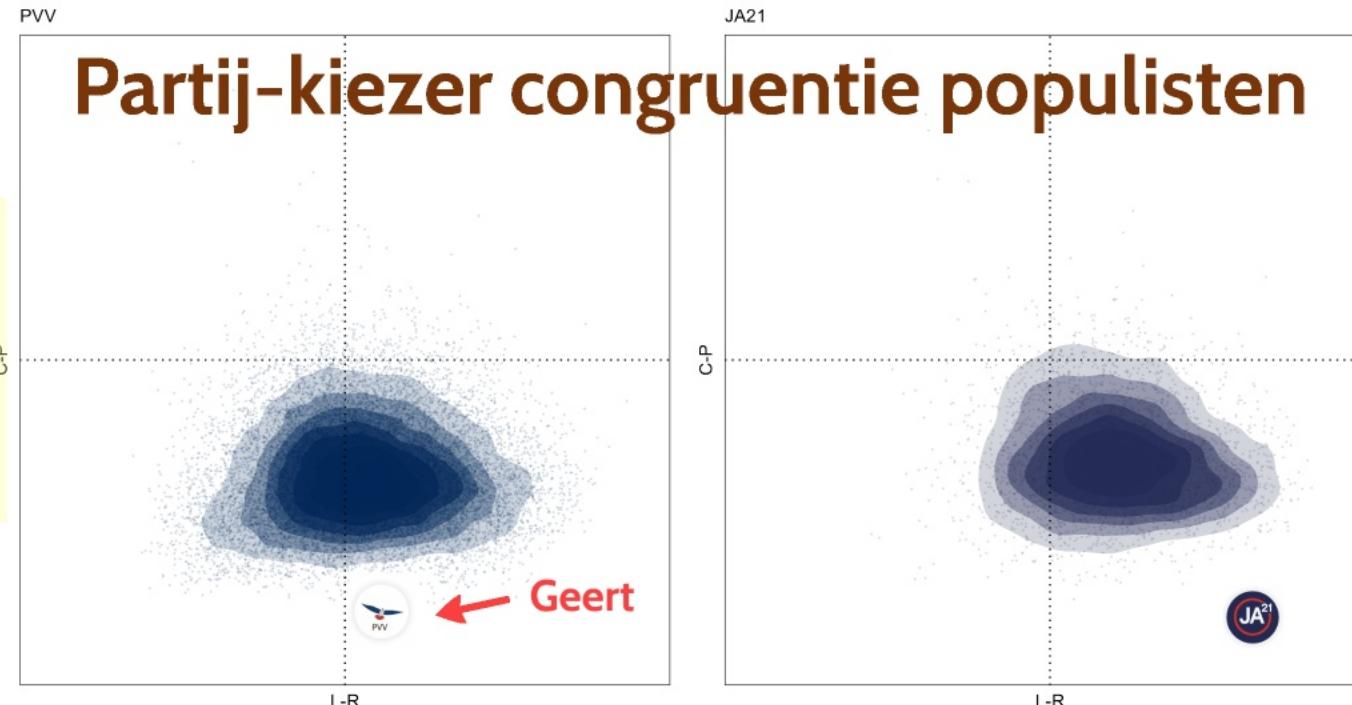
Links



NL2021

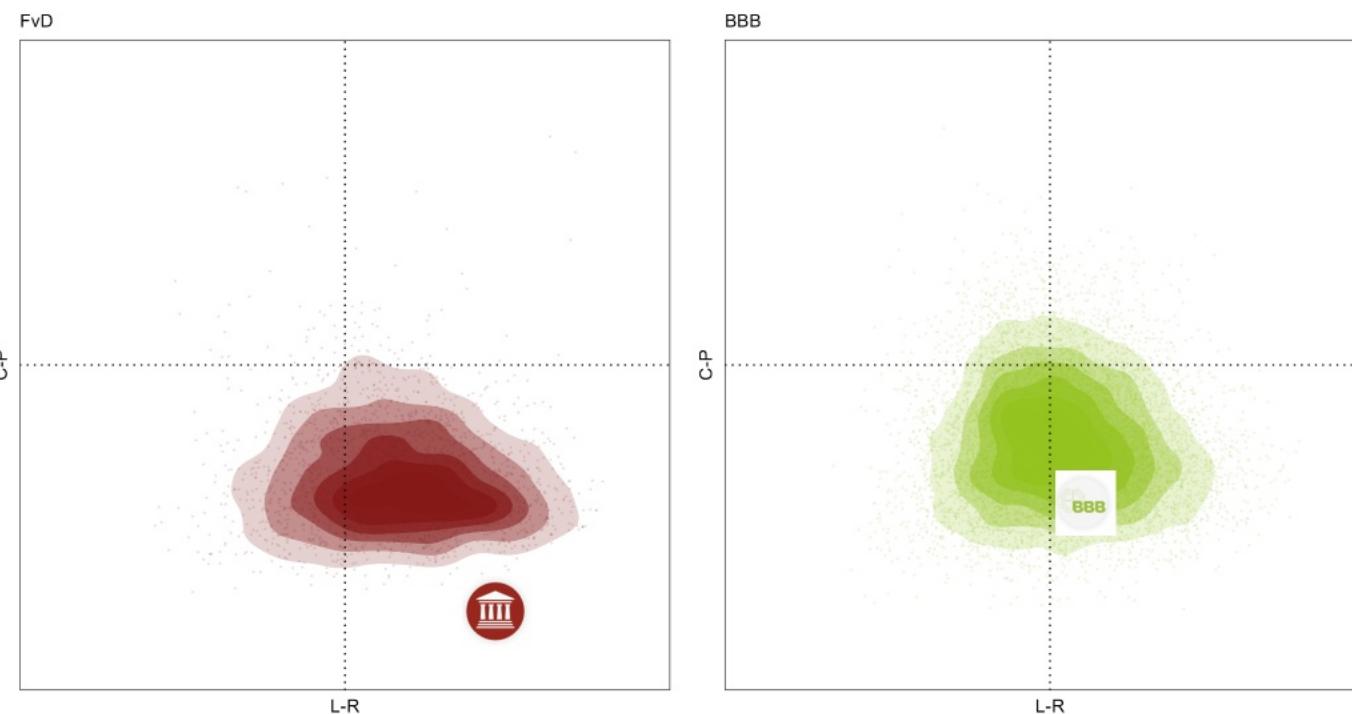


PVV-stemmers zijn economisch linkser en minder sociaal conservatief dan het partijprogramma



JA21-stemmers zijn economisch rechts, maar minder rechts dan het partijprogramma en gematigder op sociaal gebied.

FvD-stemmers zijn over het algemeen economisch rechts, maar minder rechts dan het partijprogramme en gematigder op sociaal gebied.



BBB programma benadert de kern van haar kiezers op economisch en cultureel gebied

FvD kiezers

Kiezers van populistische partijen plaatsen zichzelf vaak rechtser dan op basis van inhoudelijke posities gerechtvaardigd is

C-P

C-P

Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

JA21 kiezers

C-P

C-P

Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

PVV kiezers

PVV kiezers zijn in meerderheid links op basis van issue posities, maar zien zichzelf als rechts

C-P

C-P

Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

SP kiezers

C-P

C-P

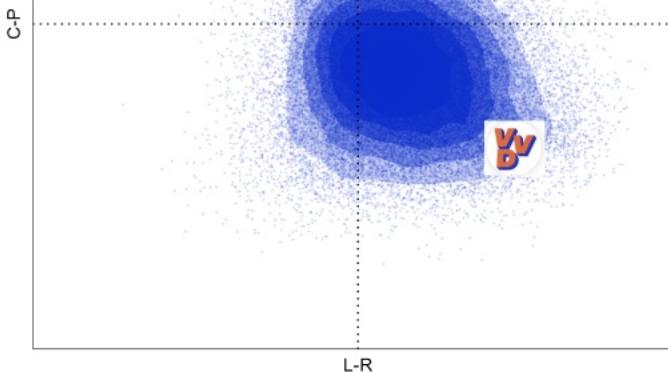
Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

VVD

Party-voter congruence centre right

VVD voters are economically right-wing but more moderate than the party platform and also less socially conservative

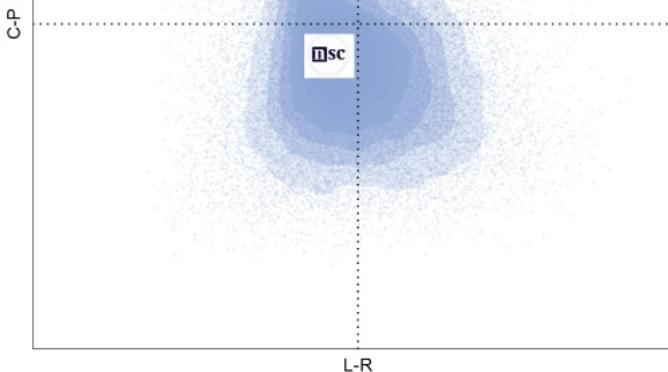


CDA



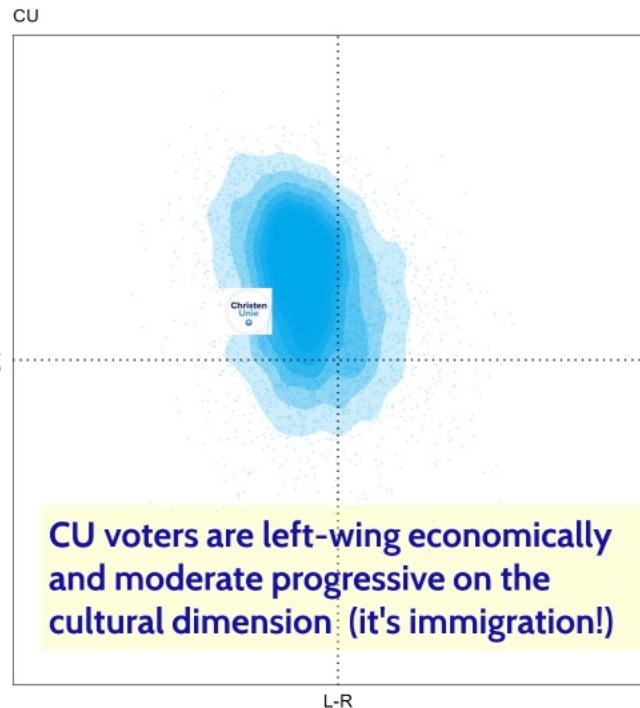
NSC

NSC voters (resembling CDA pattern) are centrist on the economy, but more socially conservative than the party platform



CU

CU voters are left-wing economically and moderate progressive on the cultural dimension (it's immigration!)



CDA kiezers

Voters of CDA place themselves more to the right than their substantive positions suggest.

C-P

C-P

Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

VVD kiezers

VVD voters also position themselves more to the right, but their self-perception aligns with their substantive positions!

C-P

C-P

Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

CU kiezers

CU voters have a significant match between self-perception and substantive position.

C-P

C-P

Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

D66 kiezers

High congruence between self-perception and content in D66 (see themselves slightly to the left).

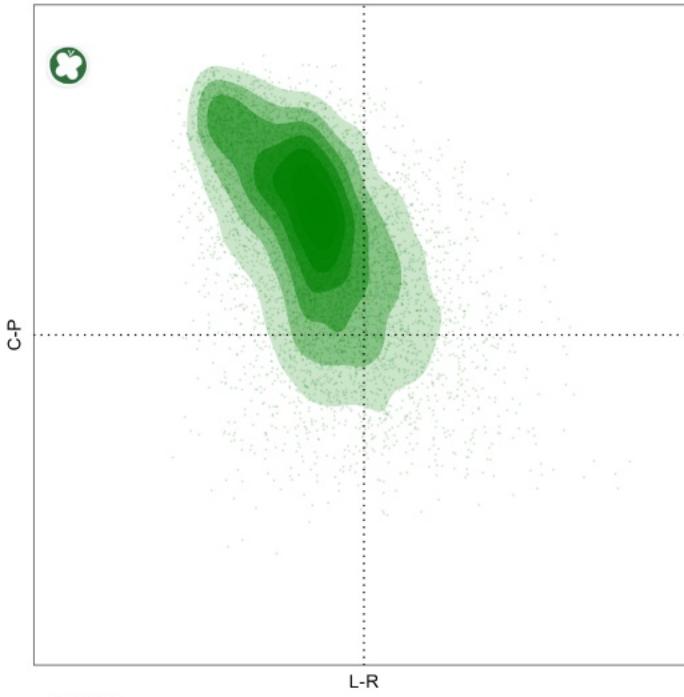
C-P

C-P

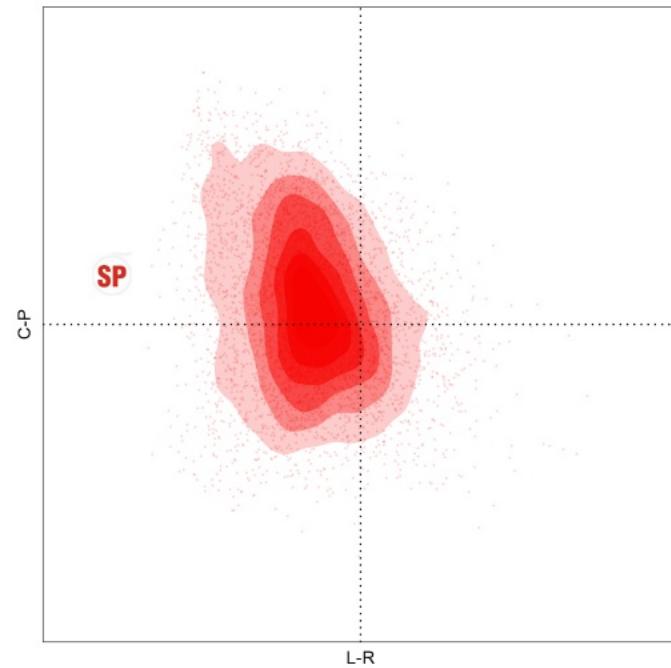
Links-Rechts (Positie)

Links-Rechts (zelf-plaatsing)

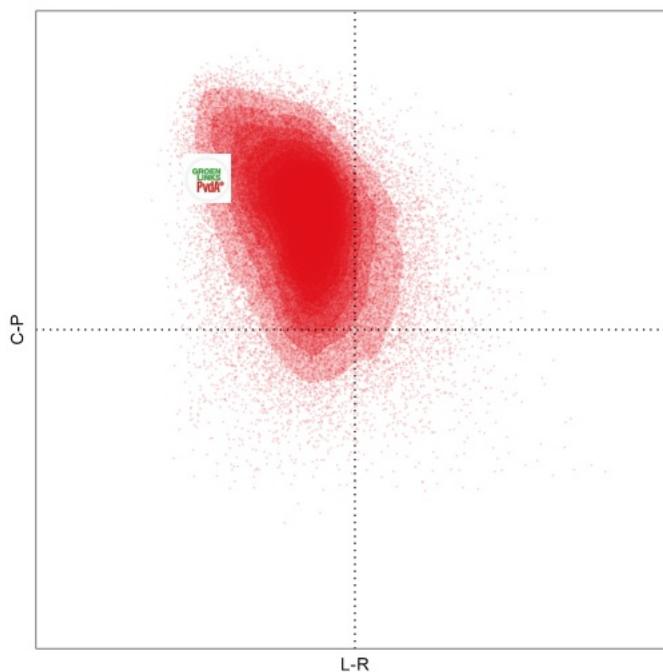
PvdD



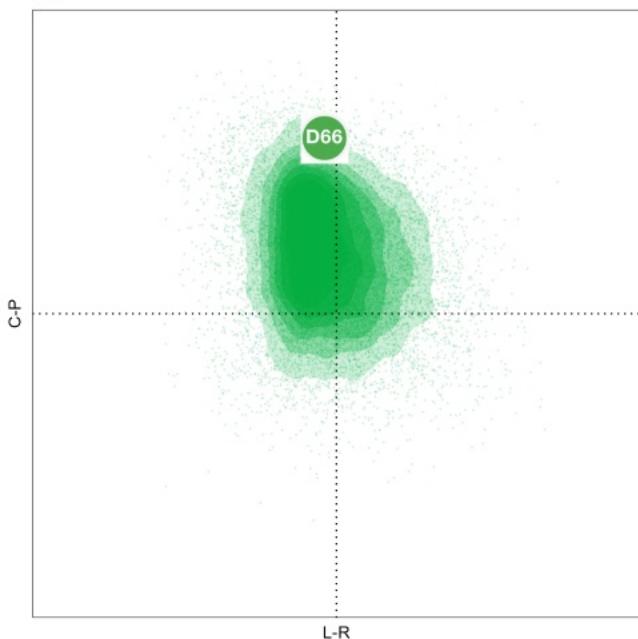
SP



GLPvdA



D66



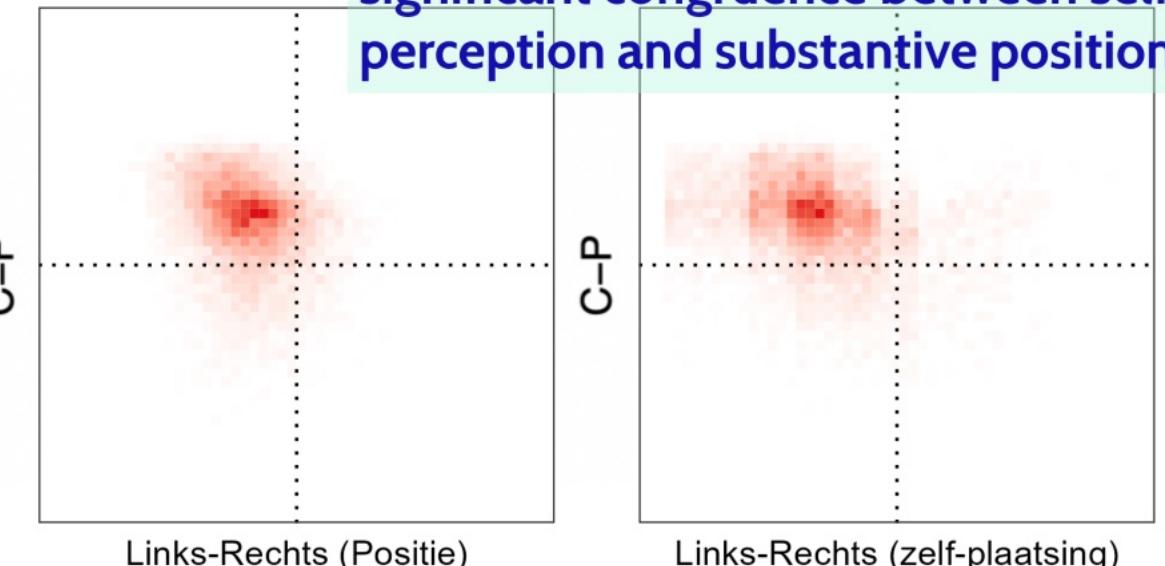
Links



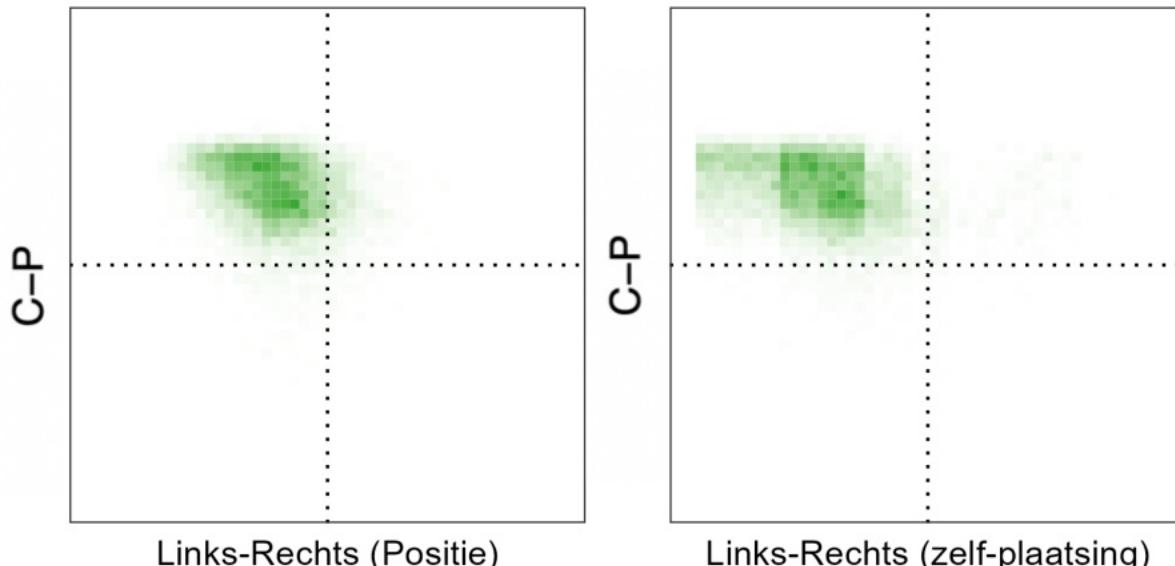
S

PvdA kiezers

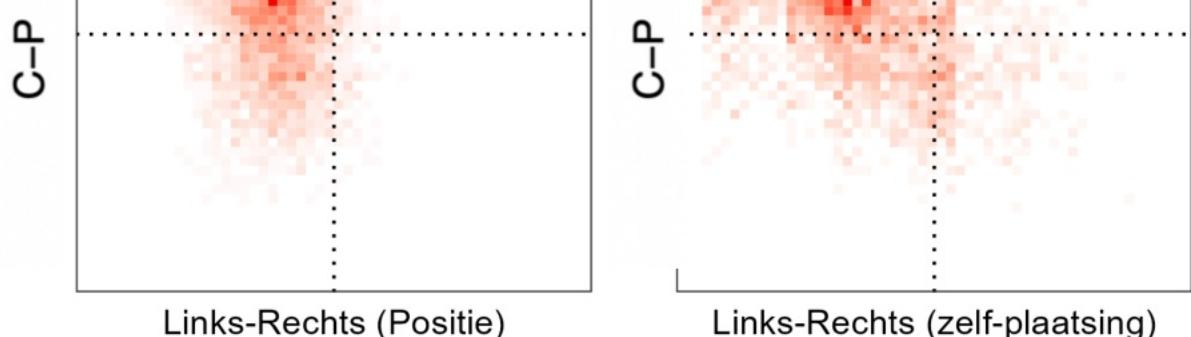
For all left-wing parties, we observe a significant congruence between self-perception and substantive position.



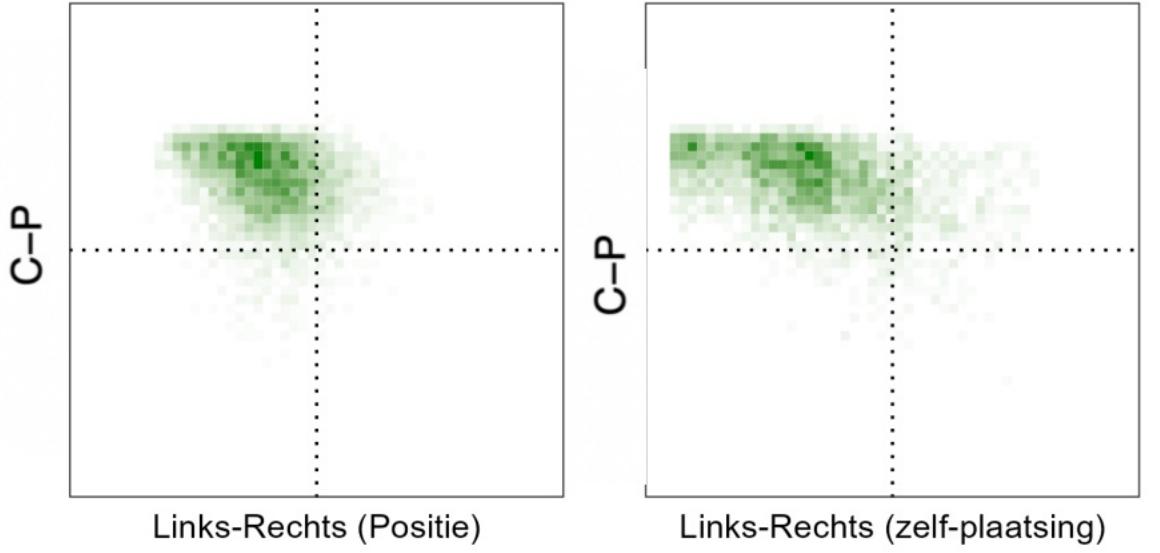
GL kiezers



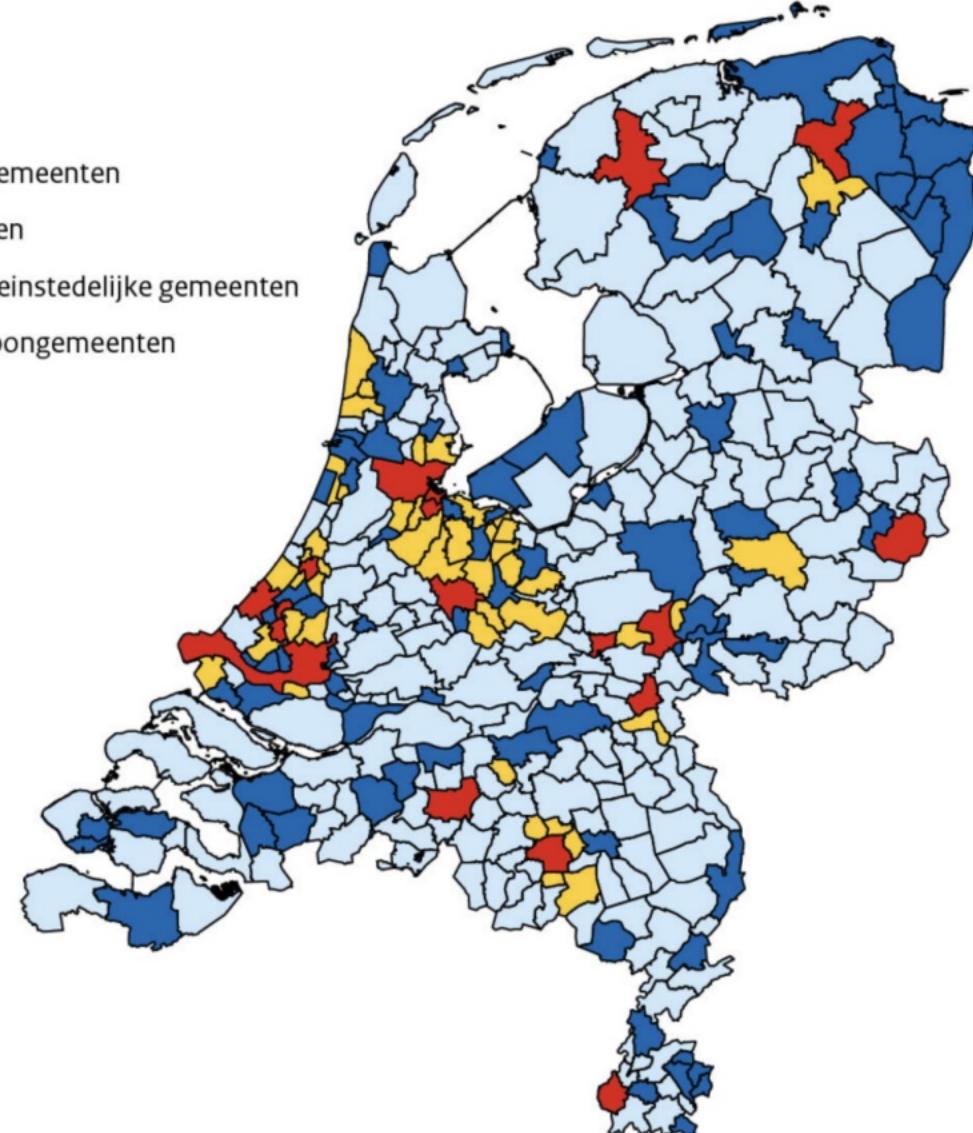
SP kiezers



PvdD kiezers

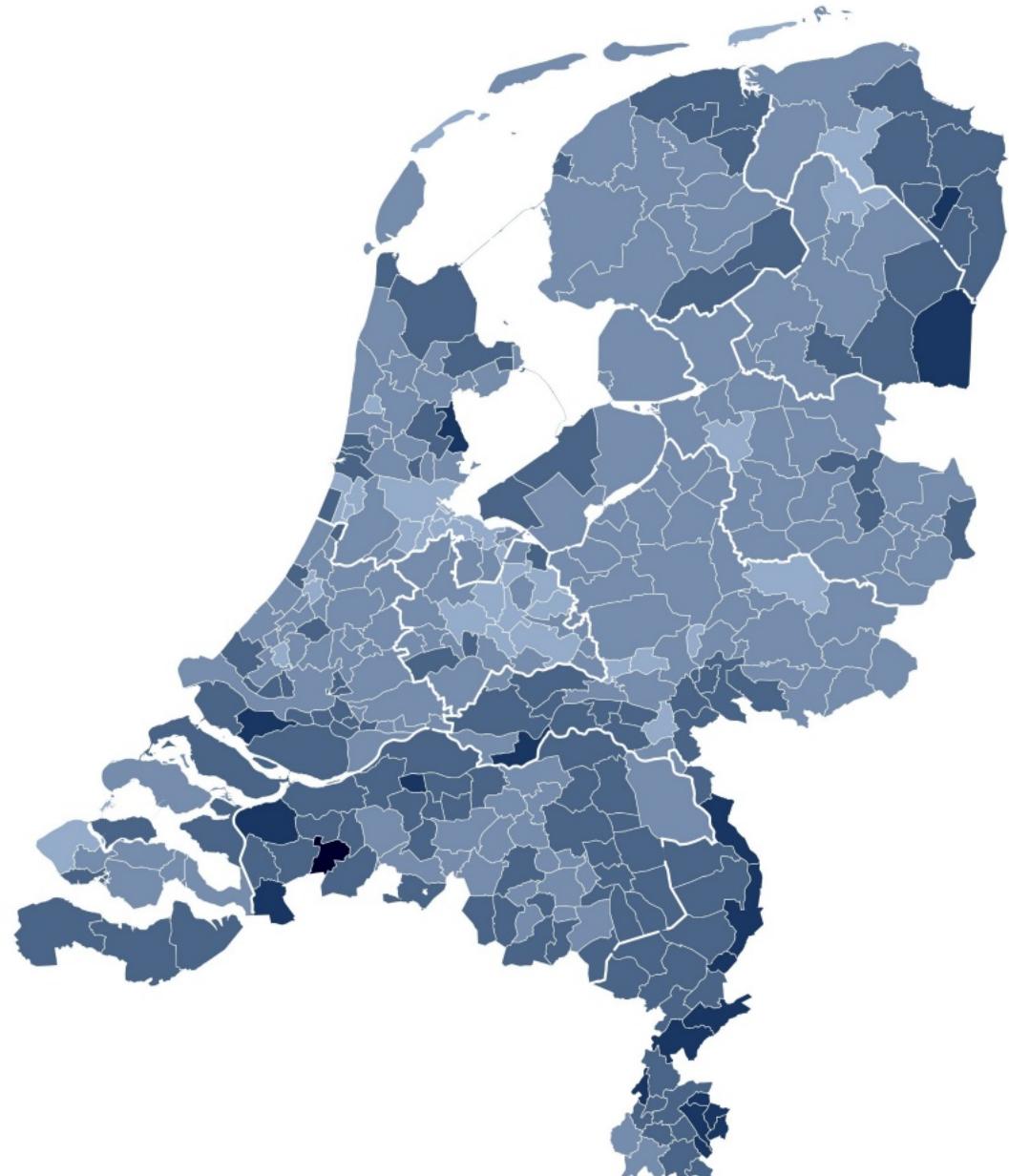


Welvaart en PVV stemmen

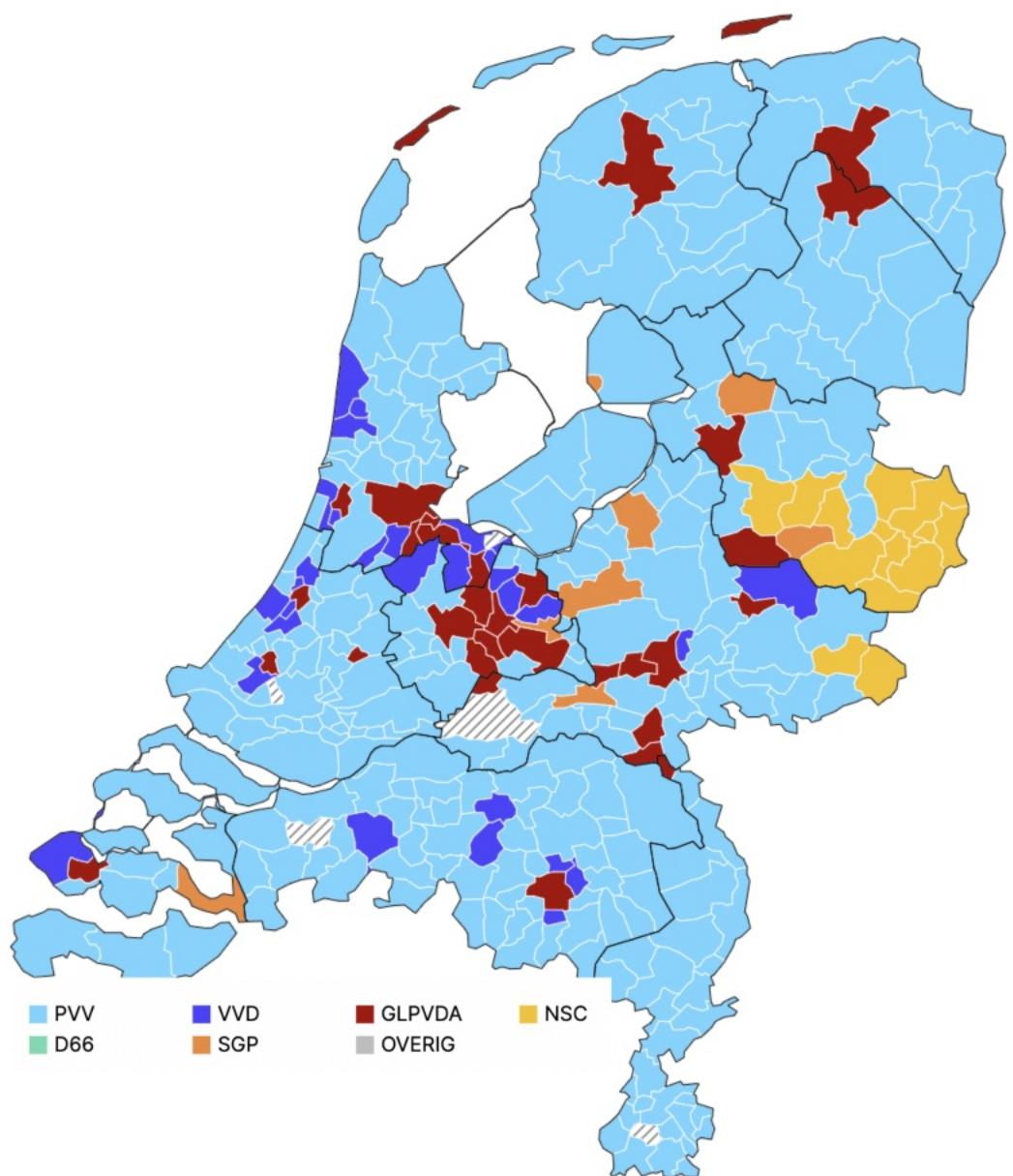


PVV Vote Share 2023

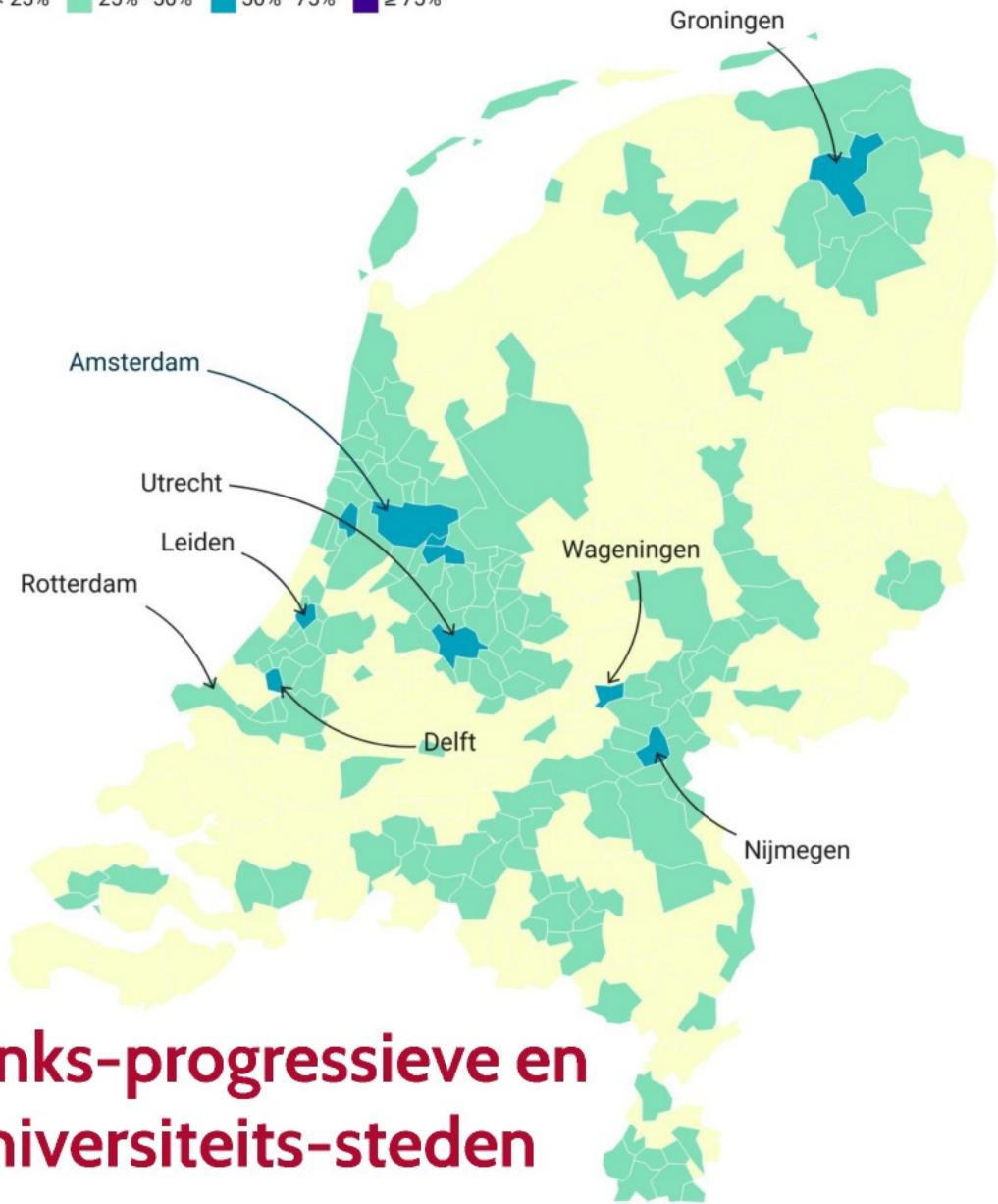
< 17.2% 17.2%-26.4% 26.4%-35.6% 35.6%-44.8% ≥ 44.8%



De links-progressieve 'belt'



< 25% 25%-50% 50%-75% ≥ 75%



Links-progressieve en
universiteits-steden

Hoe verder mensen van de Randstad wonen, hoe meer ze zich 'vergeten voelen door de politiek'.

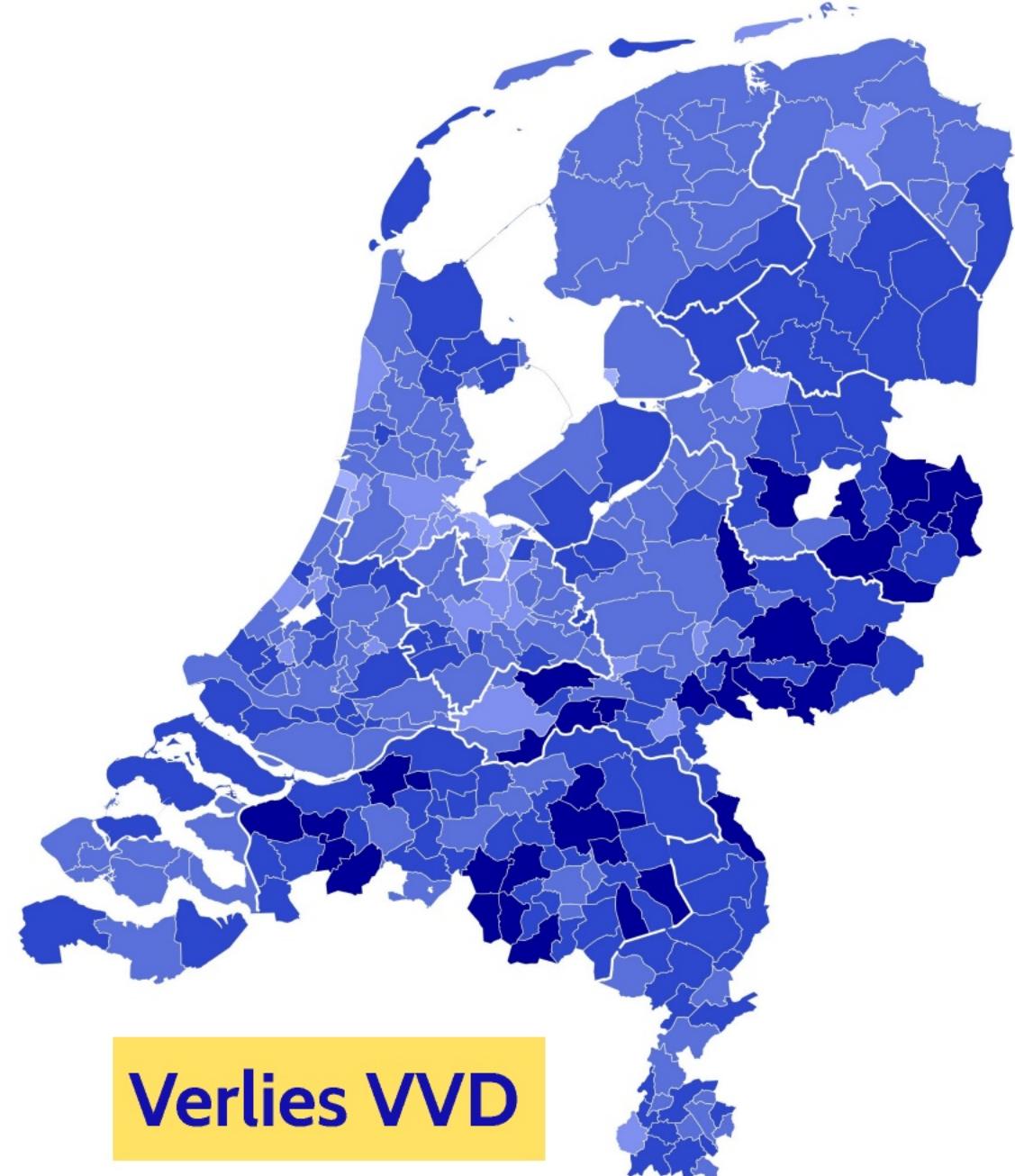
Echter, deze onvrede speelt niet alleen op het platteland, maar is ook sterk voelbaar in sommige wijken in grote steden en lokaal in de Randstad.

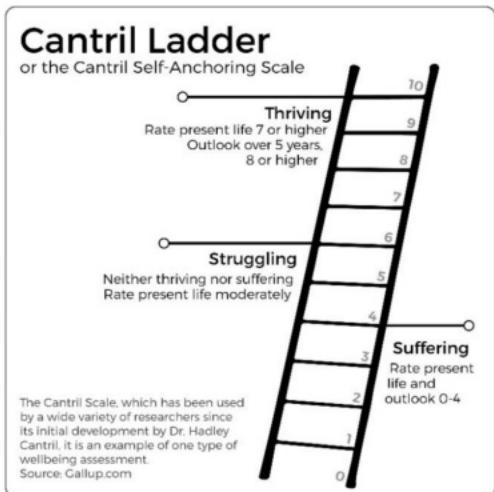
Niet alleen op het platteland, ook in de Randstad voelt de kiezer zich vergeten door de politiek

Geografie is niet de verklaring!

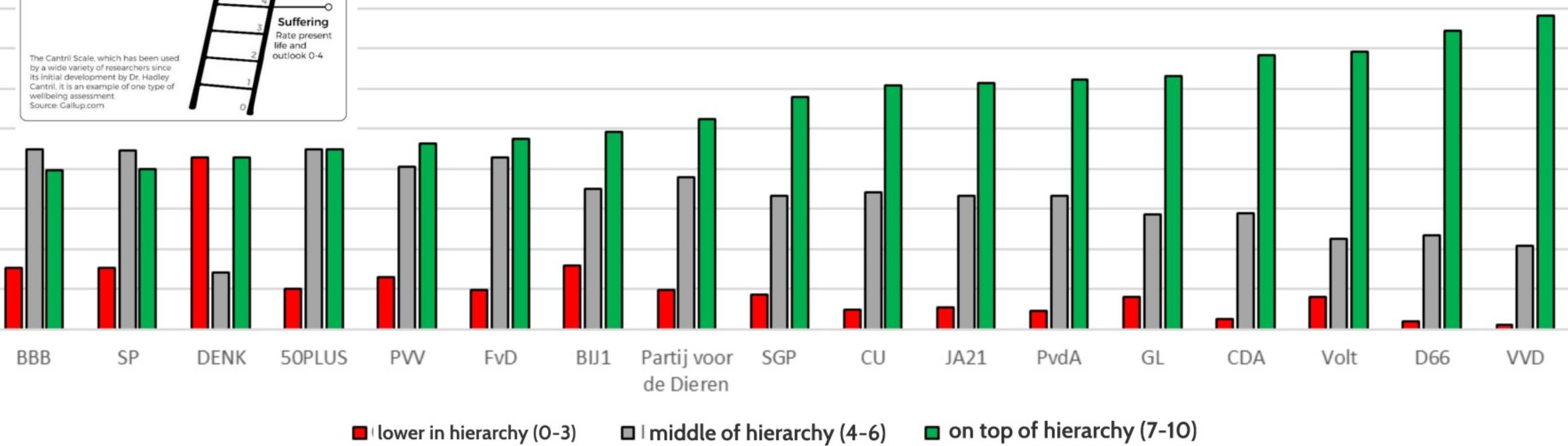


Demonstranten tijdens het woonprotest in Amsterdam. Beeld ANP





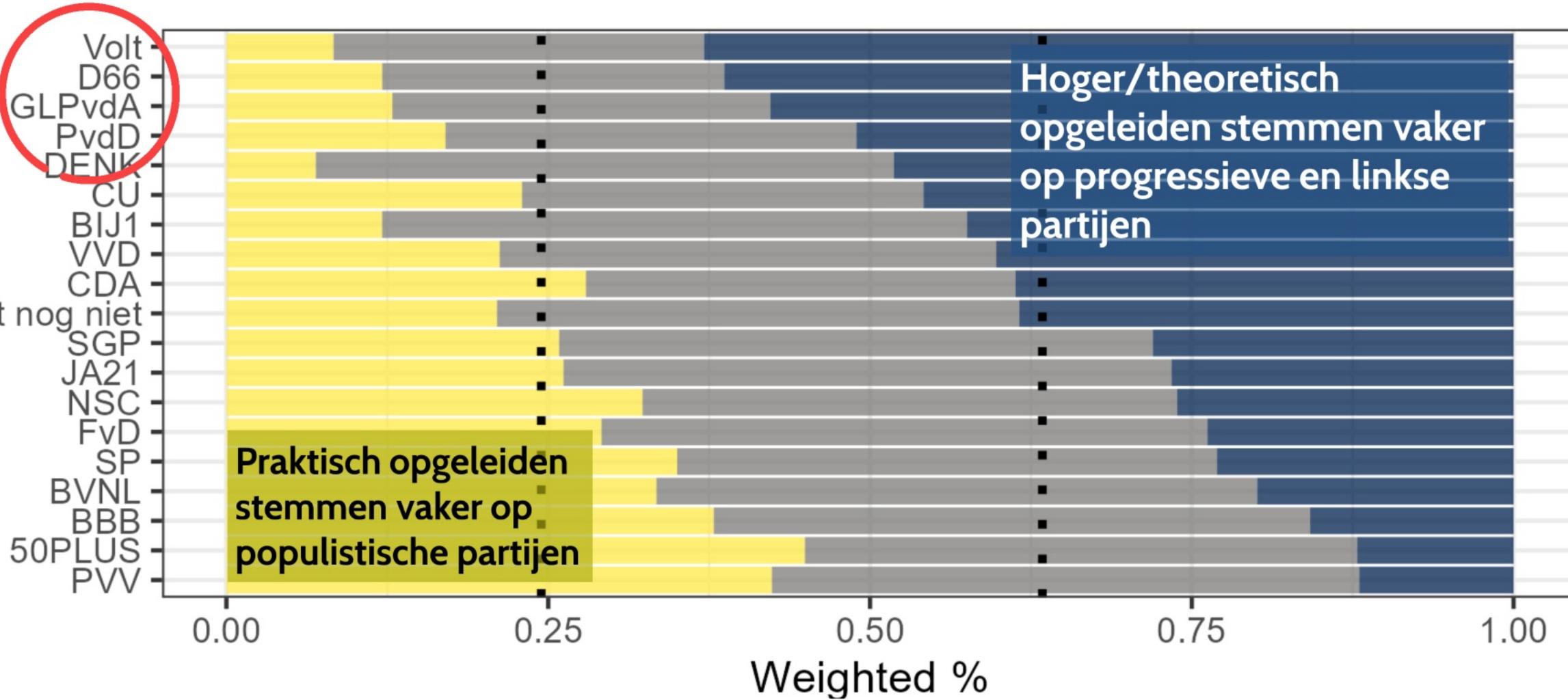
Statusverlies, relatieve deprivatie en partij keuze



A large-scale photograph of a graduation ceremony at TU/e. In the foreground, many graduates in black gowns and red stoles are looking upwards, some with their hands raised, as they toss their black caps with red tassels into the air. The background shows a large audience of spectators, mostly adults in formal attire, standing behind a white railing and taking photographs with their phones. A red banner with the letters "TU/e" is visible on the right side of the image.

Opleiding
speelt een rol

Party



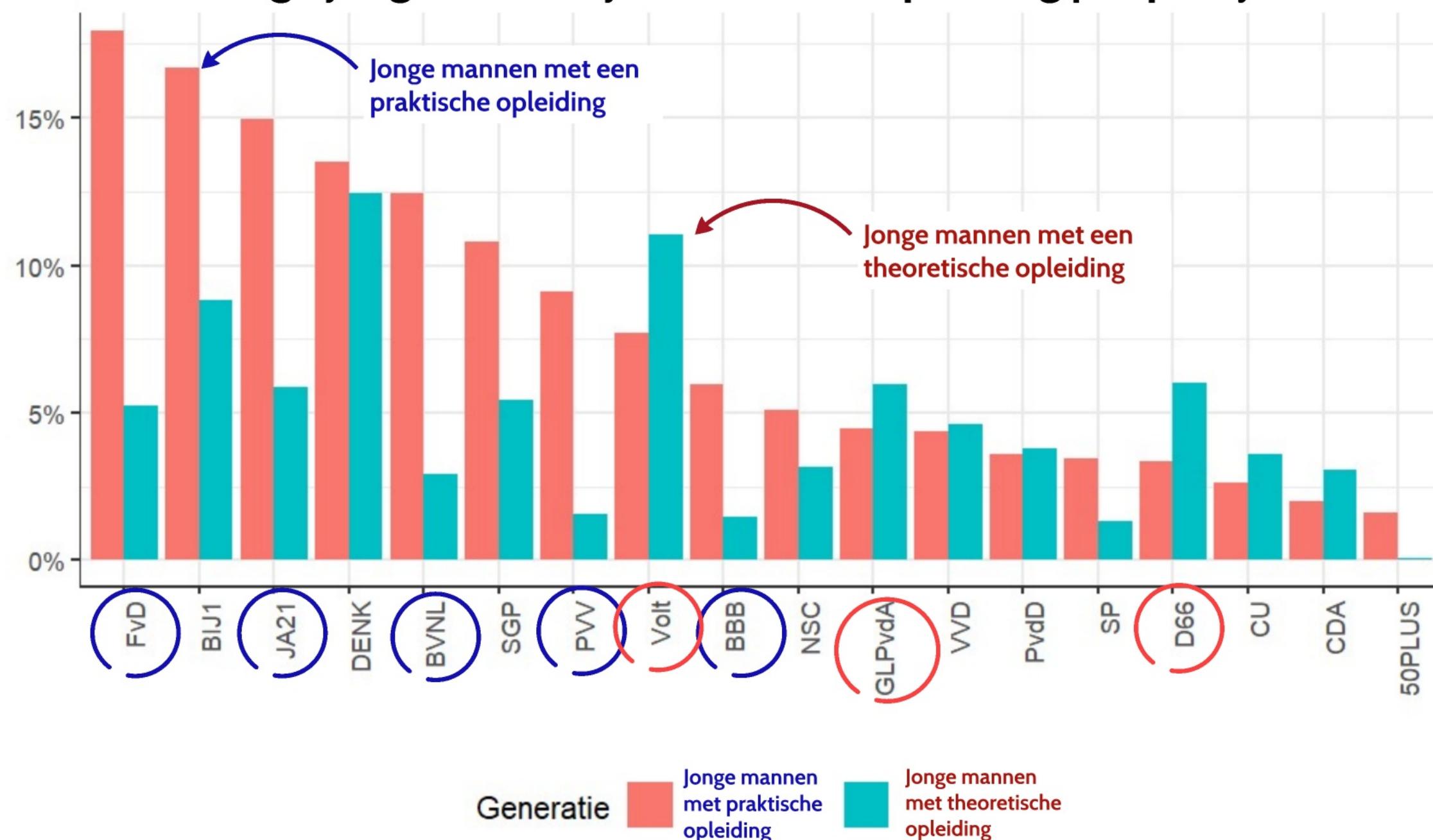
Edu

practical
educational
attainment

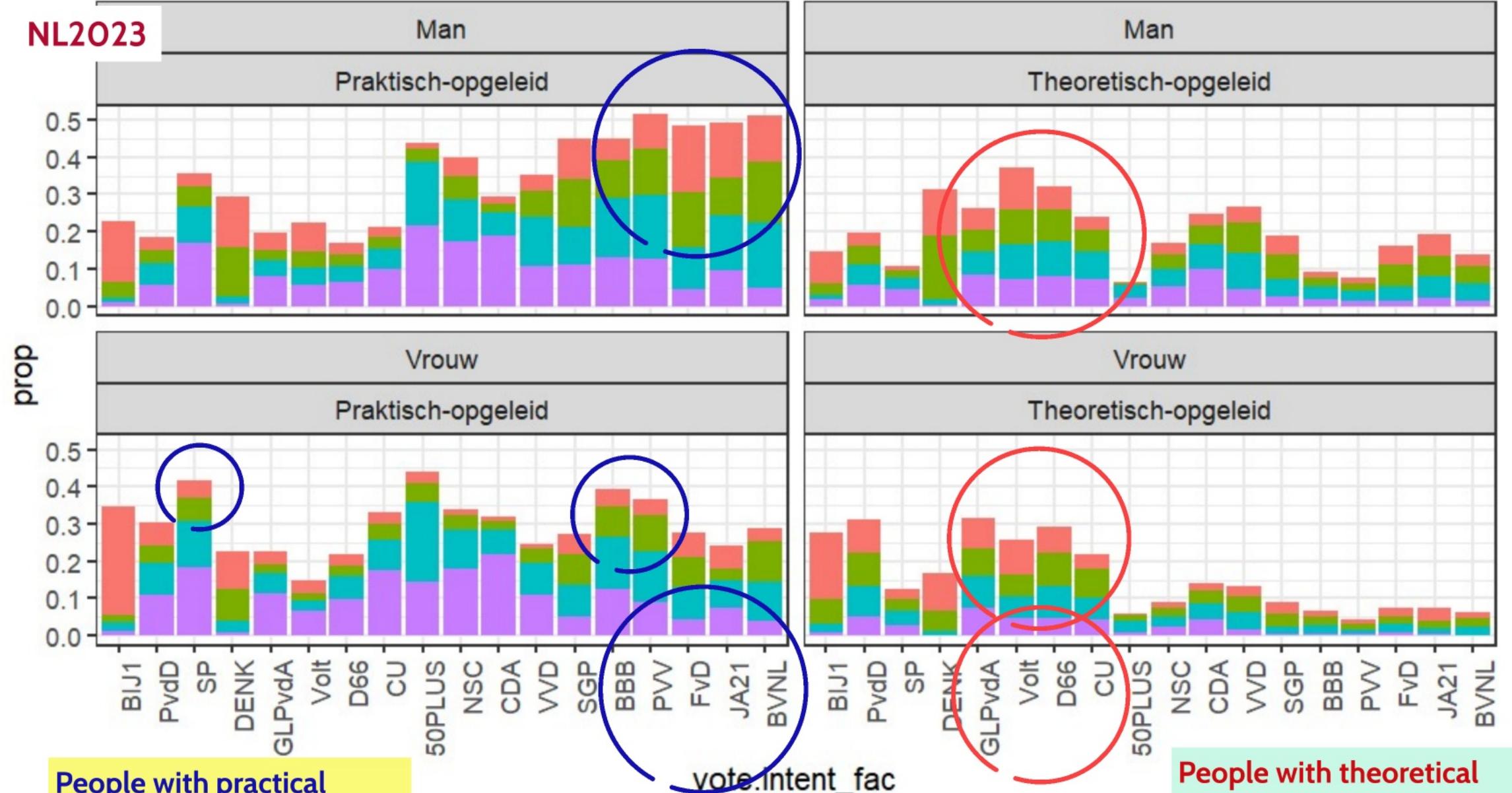
middle
educational
attainment

theoretical
educational
attainment

Percentage jonge mannelijke kiezers en opleiding per partijvoorkeur



NL2023



People with practical
educational attainment
prefer populist, right-wing
outsider parties

age_4_rec 18-34 35-49 50-64 65+

People with theoretical
educational attainment
prefer left, progressive and
establishment parties

Ship of Fools

Polarisatie is 'elite gedreven'



Naast ideologische polarisatie ook:

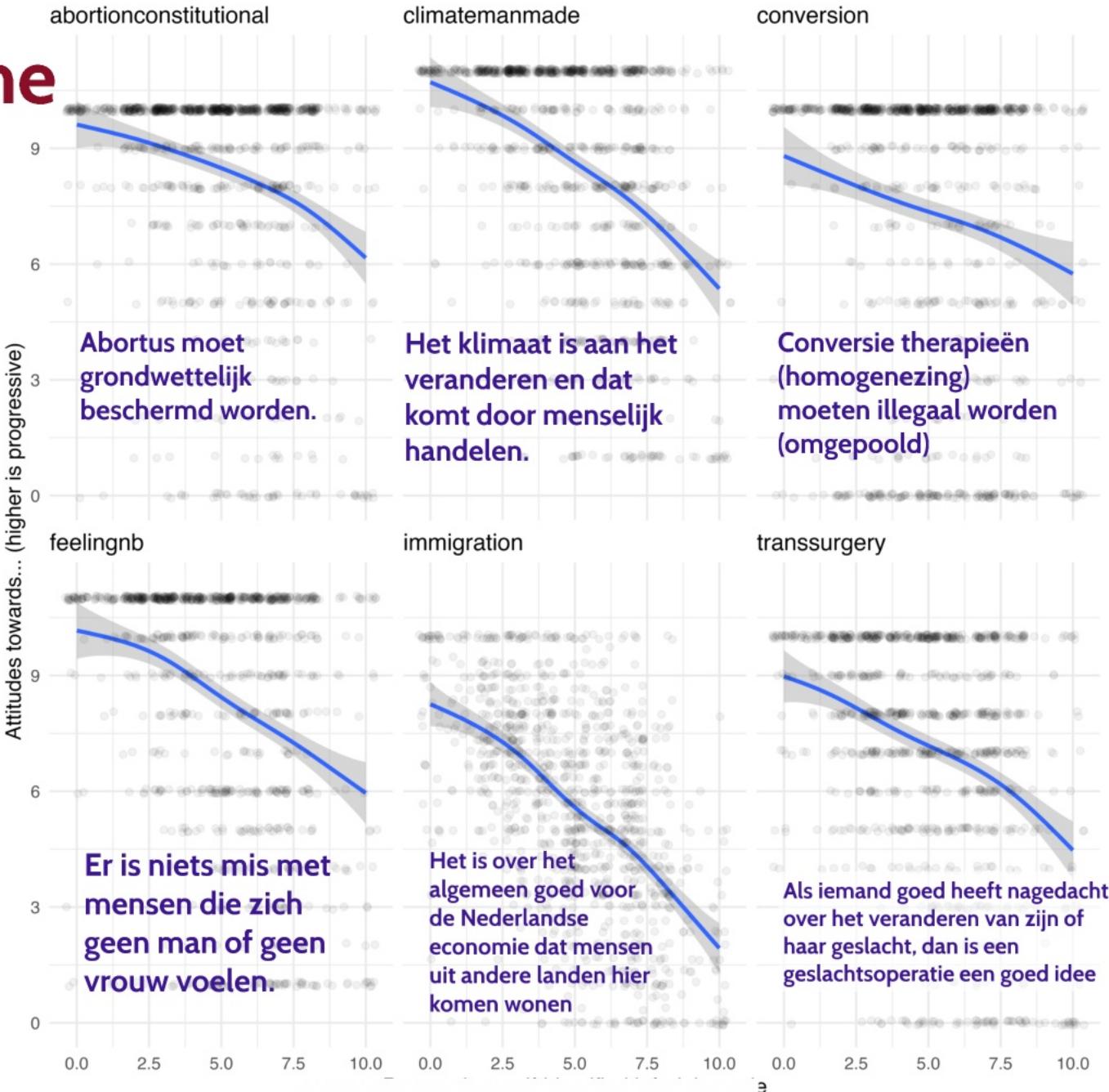
- affectieve polarisatie en
- 'realiteits' polarisatie

Photo by Peter Zelei

Ideologische polarisatie

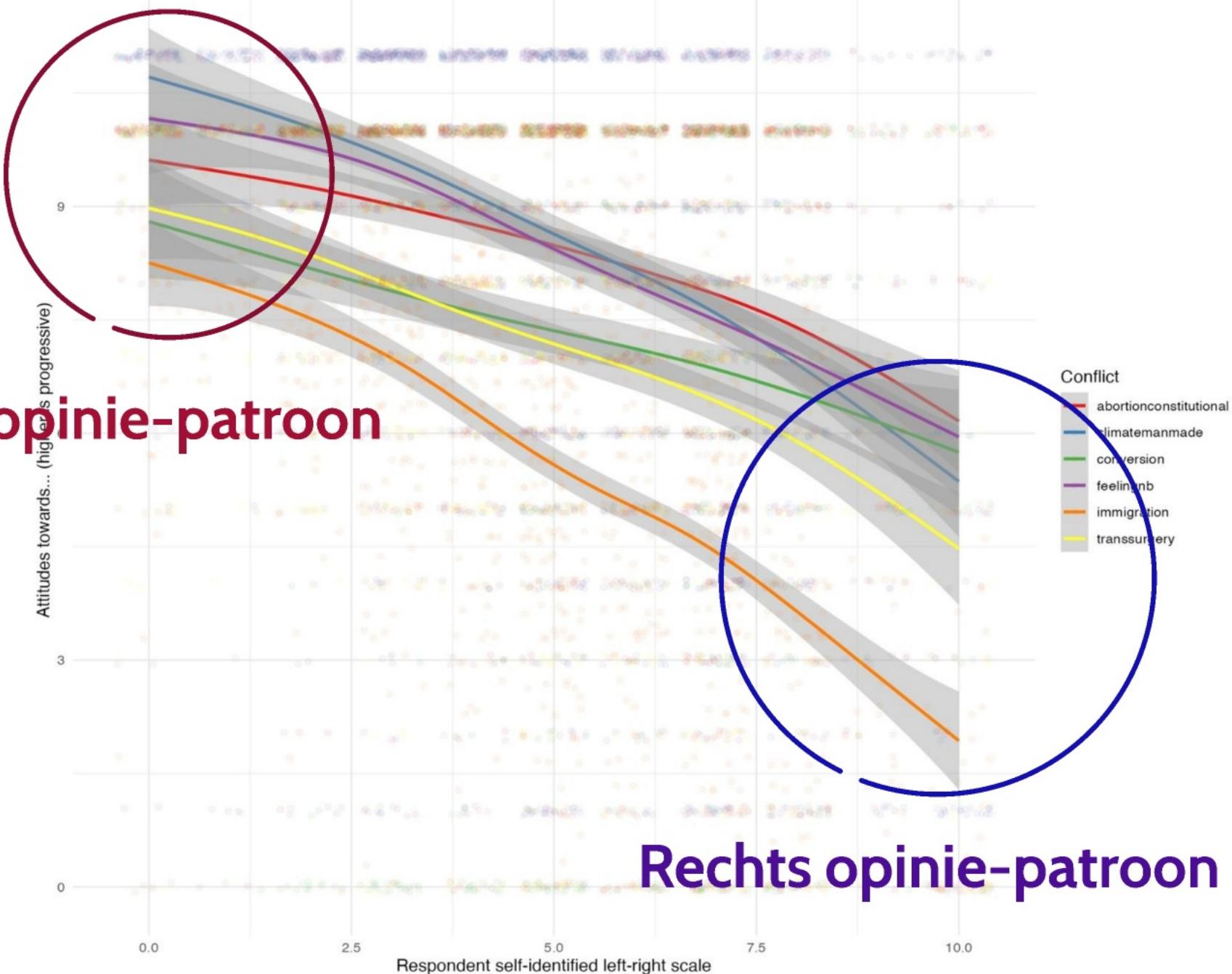


Ideologische polarisatie



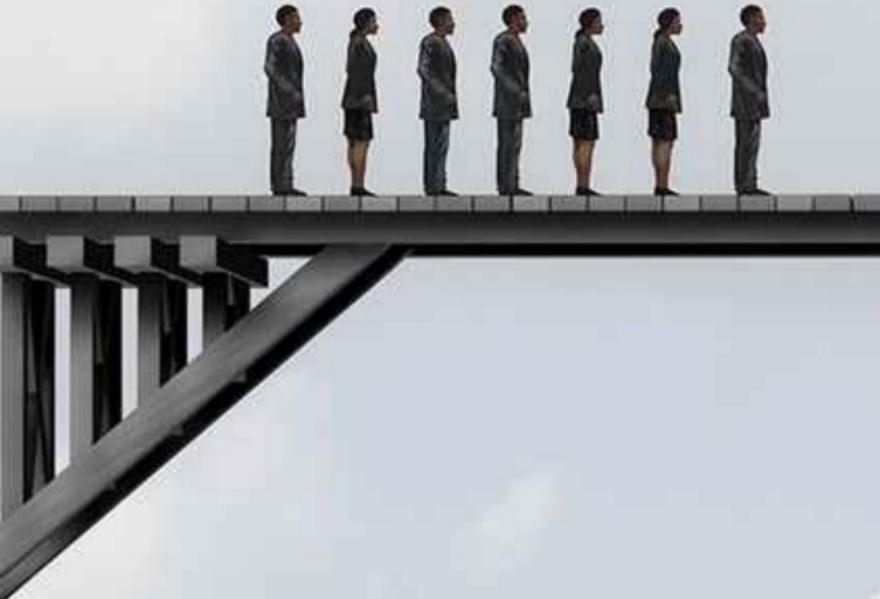
LinksRechtsPositie

Links opinie-patroon



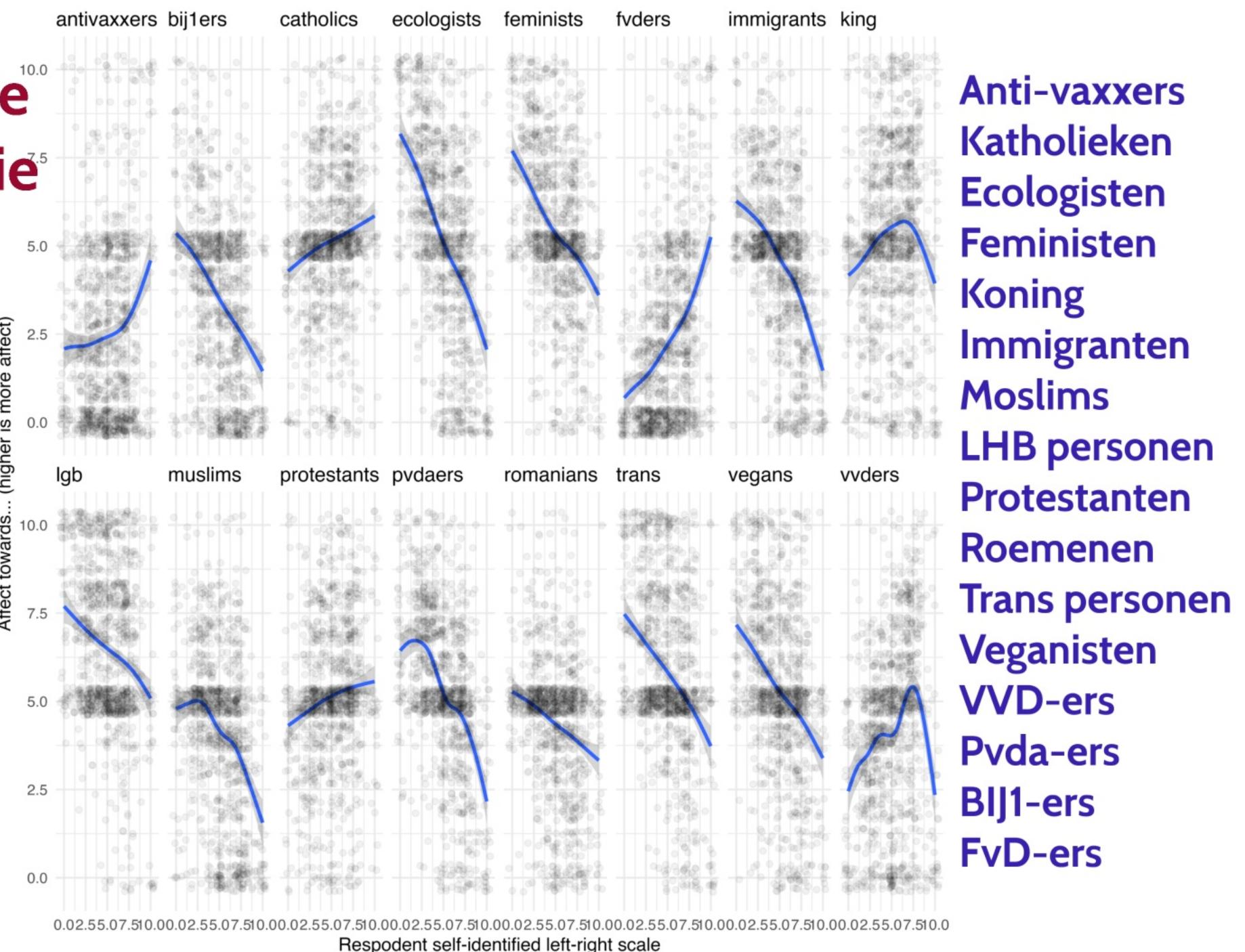
Rechts opinie-patroon

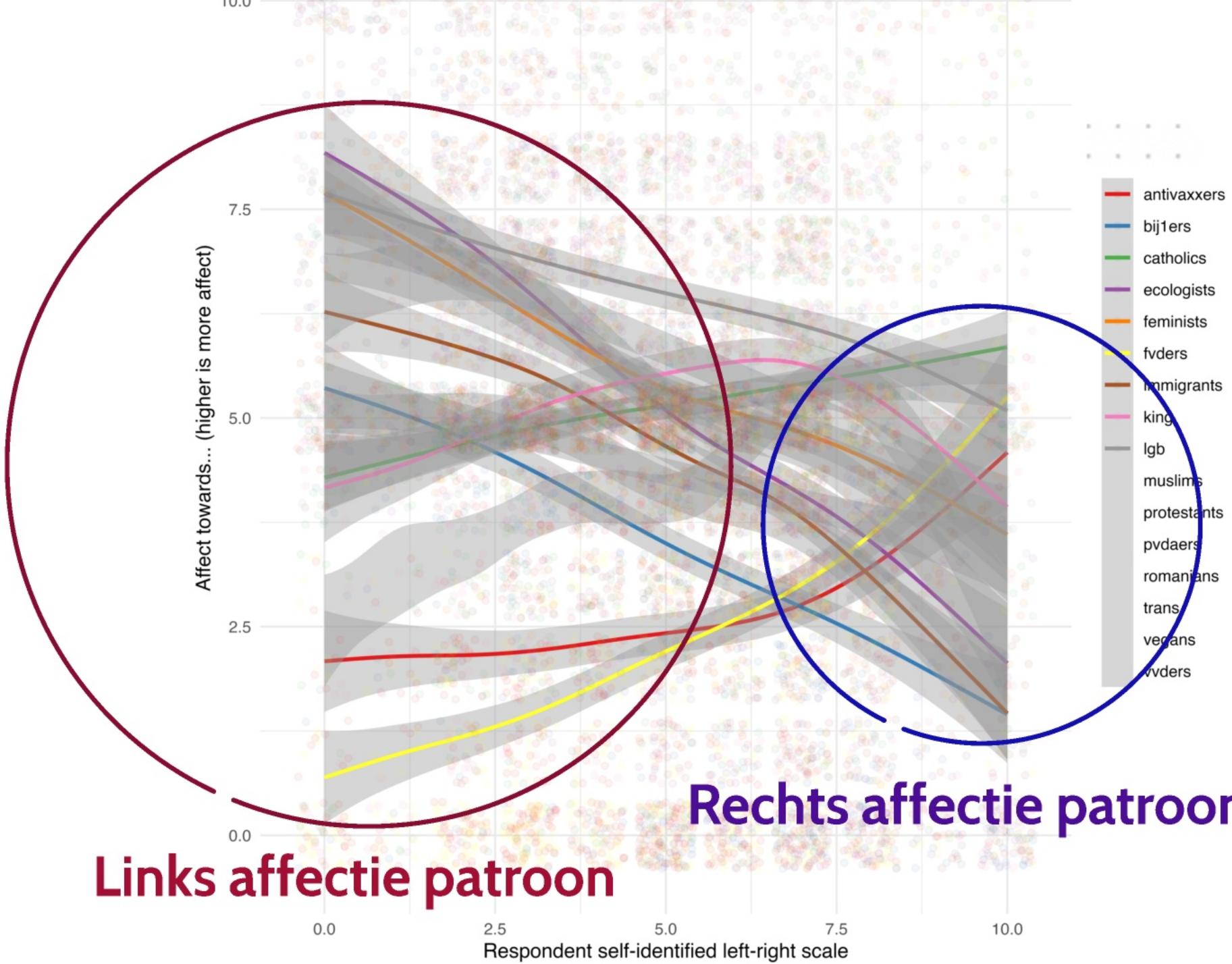
Affectieve Polarisatie



Affectieve polarisatie: hoe negatief denken Nederlanders over politieke tegenpolen en 'anderen'?

Affectieve Polarisatie

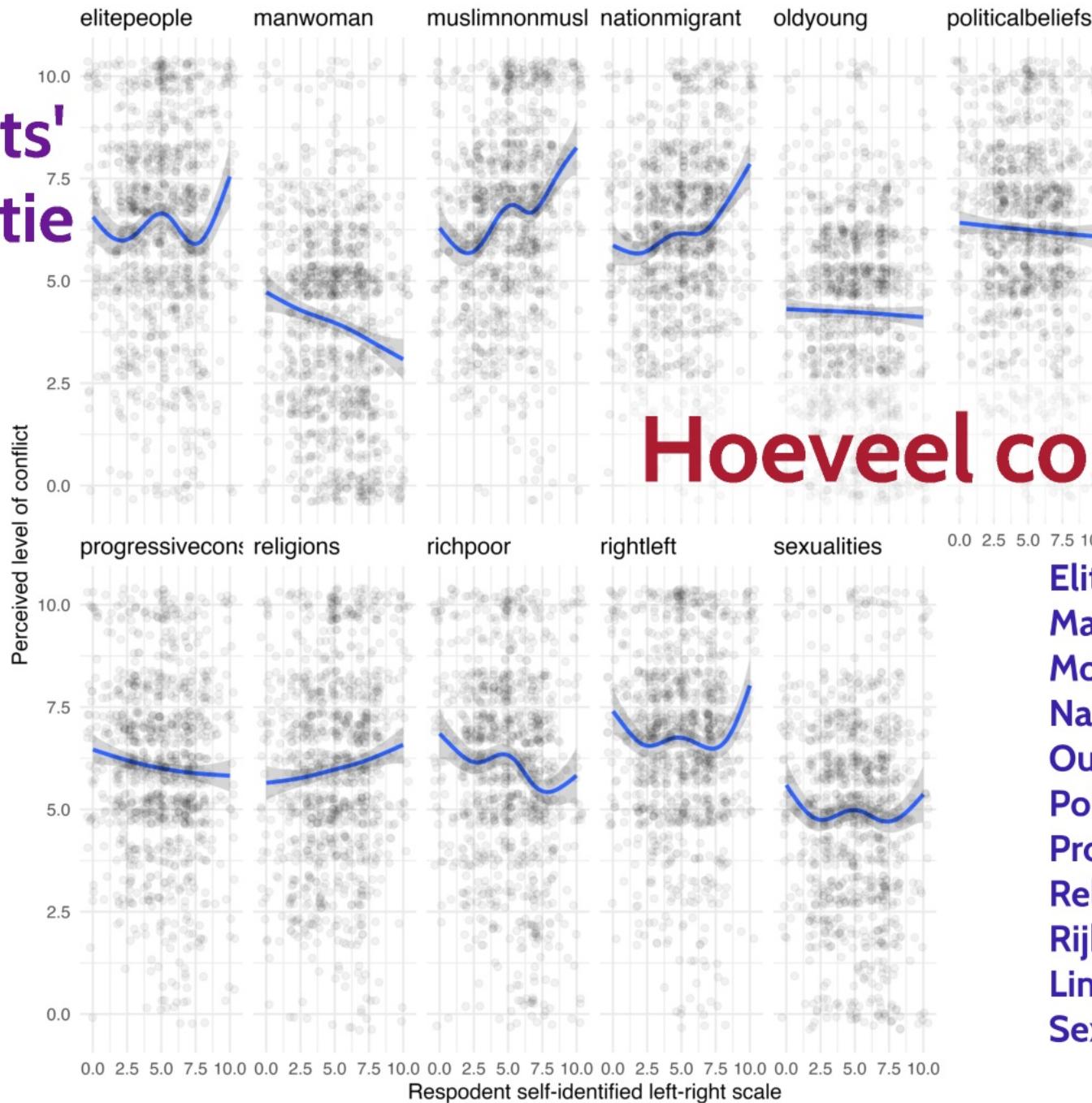




Realiteitspolarisatie: in welke mate delen Nederlanders nog een gezamenlijk beeld van de werkelijkheid?

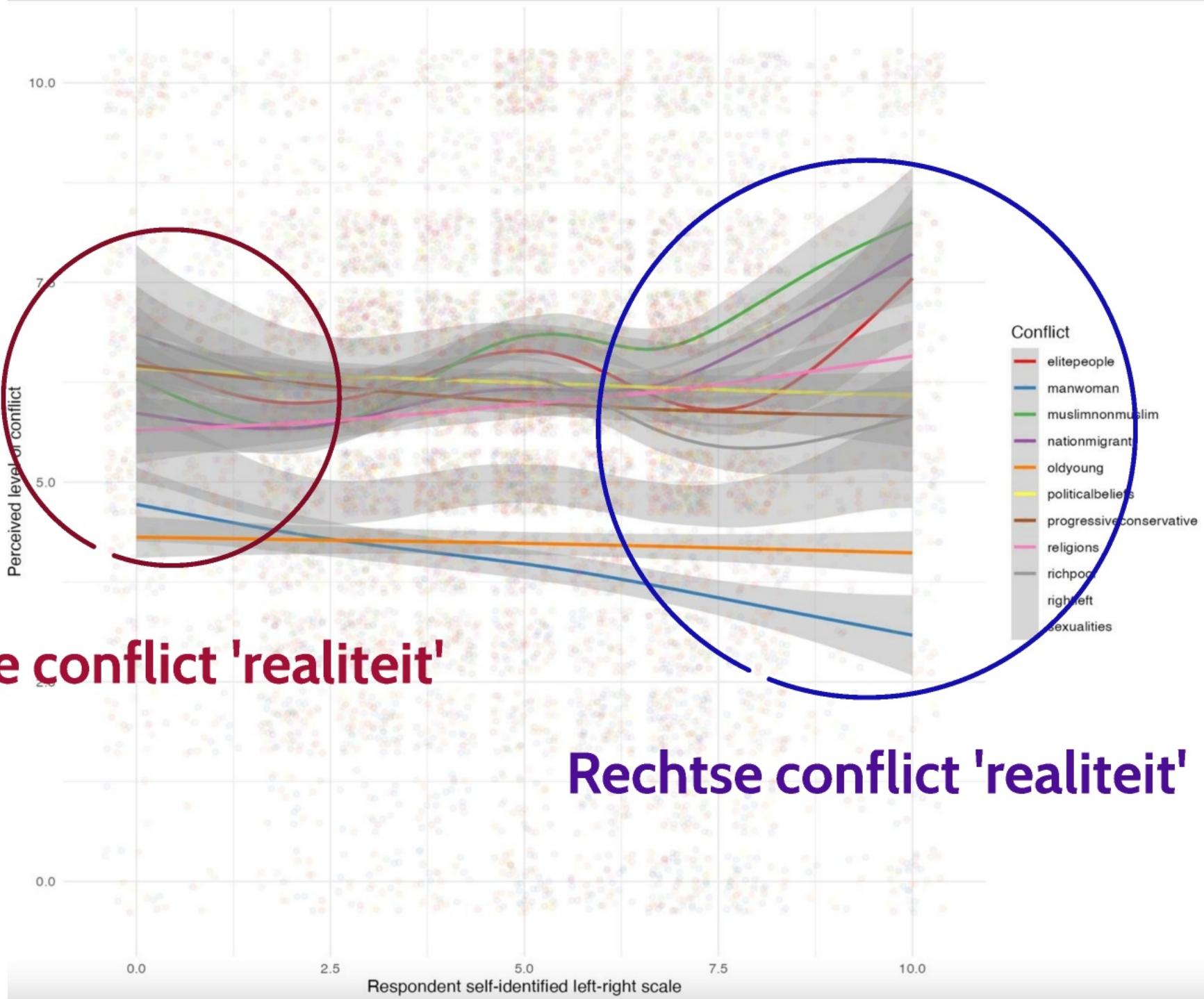


'Realiteits' Polarisatie

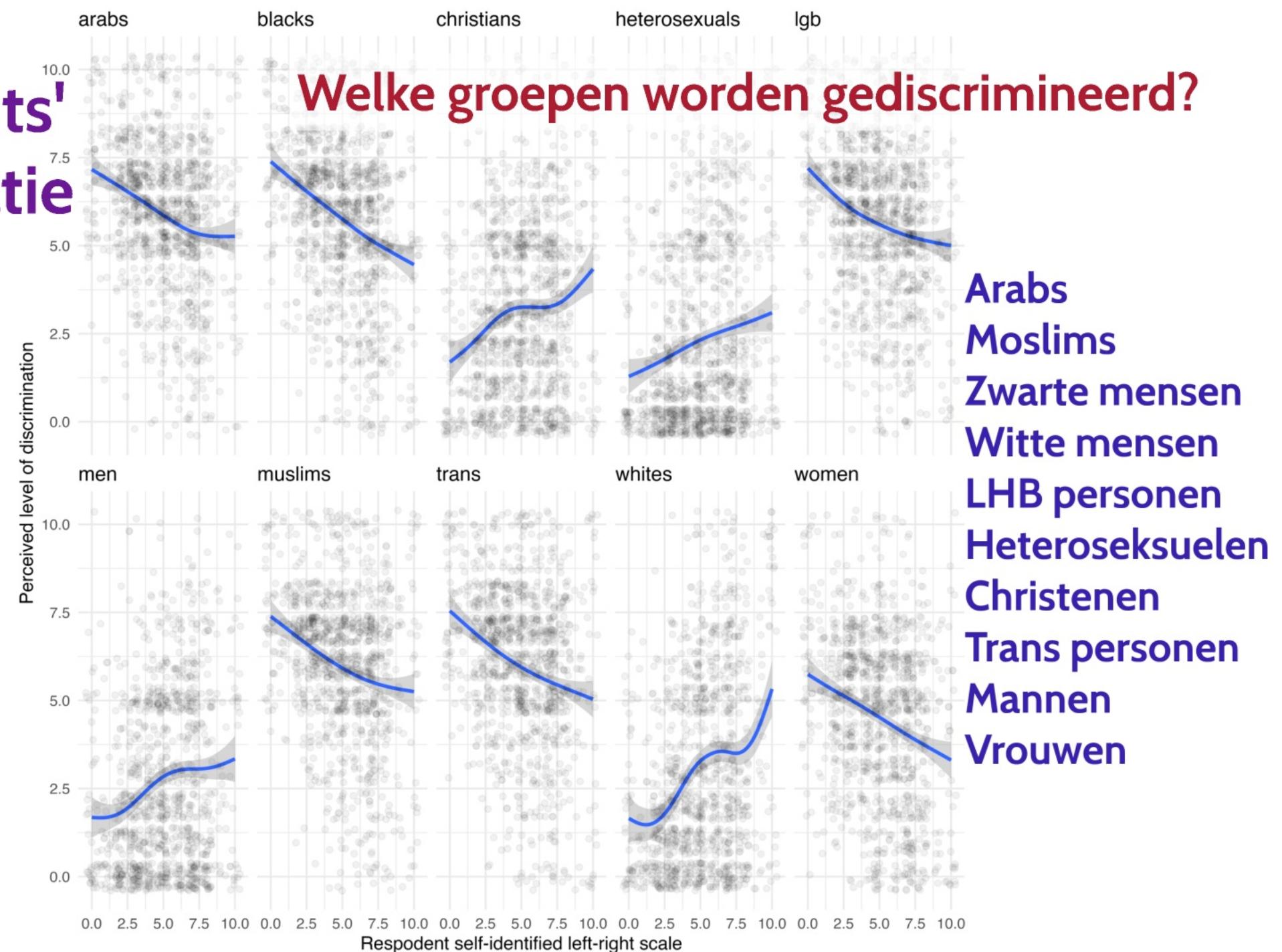


Hoeveel conflict?

- Elite-volk
- Man-vrouw
- Moslim-niet Moslim
- Nationals-immigranten
- Oud-jong
- Politieke overtuiging
- Pro-Cons
- Religies
- Rijk-arm
- Links-Rechts
- Sexuele voorkeuren



'Realiteits' Polarisatie



'Realiteits' Polarisatie

