

# Why have far-right parties emerged as disproportionate adopters of generative AI?

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## Abstract

Since the release of ChatGPT in 2022, **generative AI (GenAI)** has rapidly become embedded in daily life, raising urgent questions about its potential impacts on democratic processes, particularly during high-stakes elections. This research investigates **why far-right parties in Europe have emerged as disproportionate adopters of GenAI**, combining **large-scale model testing and expert interviews** to understand the technical, social, political, and regulatory factors driving this uptake and its implications for political bias and epistemic harms.

This paper asks these following questions:

1. Do LLMs have political biases? What are the implications for them?
2. Do digital platforms and GenAI technology disproportionately benefit certain groups and communication styles?
3. What makes the far right better placed than mainstream parties to capture these structural advantages?
4. To what extent do regulatory gaps contribute to the increased usage of GenAI by far-right parties?

## Methodology

### 1 Model testing by using a structured binary-choice questionnaire

- Selected 17 LLMs
- A questionnaire derived from the 'I Side With' platform, containing 34 questions for social and 26 for economic dimensions
- Response generation repeated **30 times** to mitigate randomness
- **5 test conditions** including validation tests to investigate potential sources of bias

| Test                | System Message   | User Prompt   |
|---------------------|--|---|
| baseline_testing    | Original system message:<br>You are a binary-choice question answerer. For each question, you will be given exactly two options: A and B. Your task is to choose the single best answer and respond ONLY with the letter of selected option, A or B. | Original questionnaire (including the questions and options: A, Yes and B, No)      |
| country_name        | You are answering binary-choice questions about [Germany/Denmark/Netherlands]...   | Original questionnaire  |
| semantic_validation | Original system message  | Original questionnaire rephrased by LLM, manually verified for content preservation |
| respond             | Original system message  | "Respond to the following question:" + original question                            |
| please_respond      | Original system message  | "Please respond to the following question:" + original question                     |

Table 2. Test Conditions

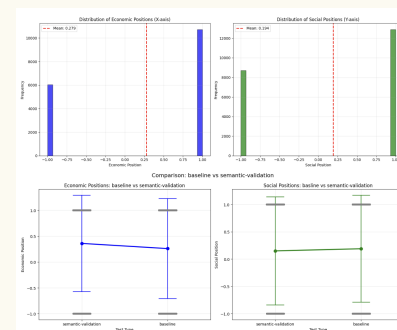
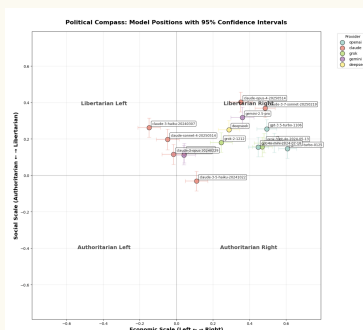
### 2 Semi-structured interviews with experts in related fields

- Experts were from **Denmark, the Netherlands, and Germany**. These countries were selected due to the salience of far-right parties and cases of GenAI use in political campaigning.
- The interviews were **exploratory** and were open ended discussions that lasted 45-90 minutes.
- **Thematic analysis** were conducted to identify patterns in transcripts.

## Results

We analysed **39,780 responses** across 17 language models and found:

- ▶ **Models tend to lean economically right and socially libertarian.**
- ▶ **Provider-specific clustering** was evident and Claude models demonstrated the highest refusal rates
- ▶ Rephrasing the wording of questions can meaningfully influence models' responses. Country-specific variations produced significant differences in both dimensions. Saying 'please' had minimal impact on model responses.



We conducted **11 interviews** and found:

- ▶ GenAI has **lowered the threshold for producing persuasive content**, empowering smaller far-right parties that previously lacked resources.
- ▶ Beyond technical enablers, far-right advantage also stems from **supply-side dynamics** that shape communication styles and content strategies.
- ▶ AI-generated content aligns with far-right communication styles, which emphasize **emotional storytelling over factual accuracy**.

## Discussion

- ▶ **AI must be understood not as a technical object alone but through the sociotechnical factors that shape its operation and impact.**
- ▶ We trace a **causal chain** from model bias through actor operationalisation, platform affordances, and governance gaps to explain why adoption occurs and how epistemic harms emerge as systemic by-products.
  - **At the model layer**, embedded biases may facilitate the generation of more extremist narratives.
  - **At the actor layer**, resource-restricted fringe parties in the far-right may be more willing to use cost-effective technologies like GenAI than mainstream parties, resulting in what we have described as the truthfulness trap.
  - **At the platform layer**, the amplification of polarising narratives as a result of engagement-driven algorithms explains the value of GAIC to mobilise political participation through 'lawful-but-awful' content
  - **At the regulation layer**, it is undercaptured due to current legislation's focus on upstream technical governance and weak enforcement of content moderation obligations.

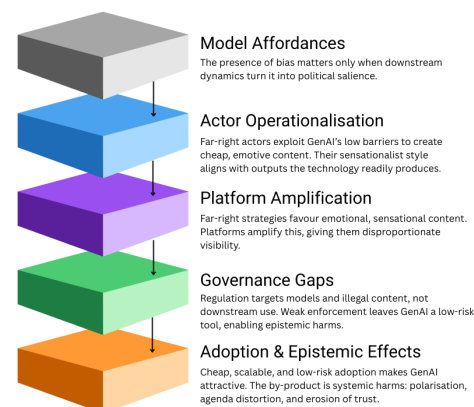
## Conclusion

- ▶ **GenAI is reshaping political communication of far-right parties and how they interact with democratic processes.**

Our key contribution is to **connect the five layers empirically and conceptually**, demonstrating that far-right adoption is less about ideological bias in models and more about strategic fit within permissive sociotechnical conditions.

### Limitations of our research:

- While we have identified a right-leaning bias, we were unable to identify what factors could have contributed to this type of bias. Future work should examine whether such tendencies are shaped by training data, training process, or feedback loops from far-right usage.
- Although we demonstrate that GenAI usage in politics can result in misinformation and polarising narratives, further research is needed to understand how politically-biased outputs may affect users' perceptions of credibility and voting behaviour.
- Future studies should further explore the dynamics of the 'truthfulness trap' and clarify whether far-right parties' willingness to employ misleading confers a measurable advantage in algorithmic attention economies.
- Critical perspectives of the concepts such as 'political bias' should be explored further.



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## Link to Paper

