

ETUI MONTHLY FORUM ON THE RISE OF FAR-RIGHT PARTIES AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE

BRUSSELS, 14TH DECEMBER

Dr Tim Vlandas

Associate Professor
in Political Economy,
University of Reading

Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou

Associate Professor
in Comparative Politics,
University of Reading



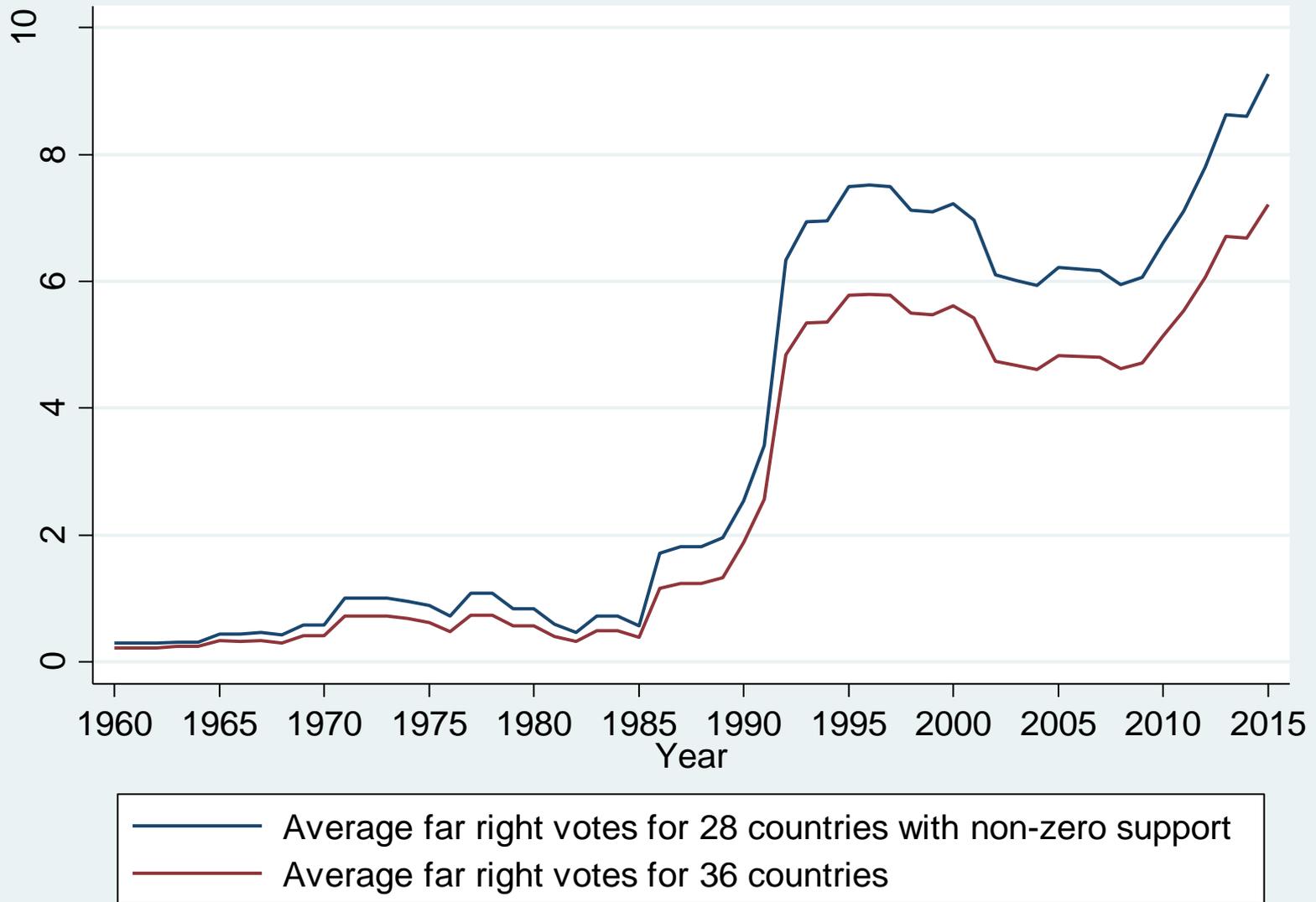
What is the far right?

Far right umbrella

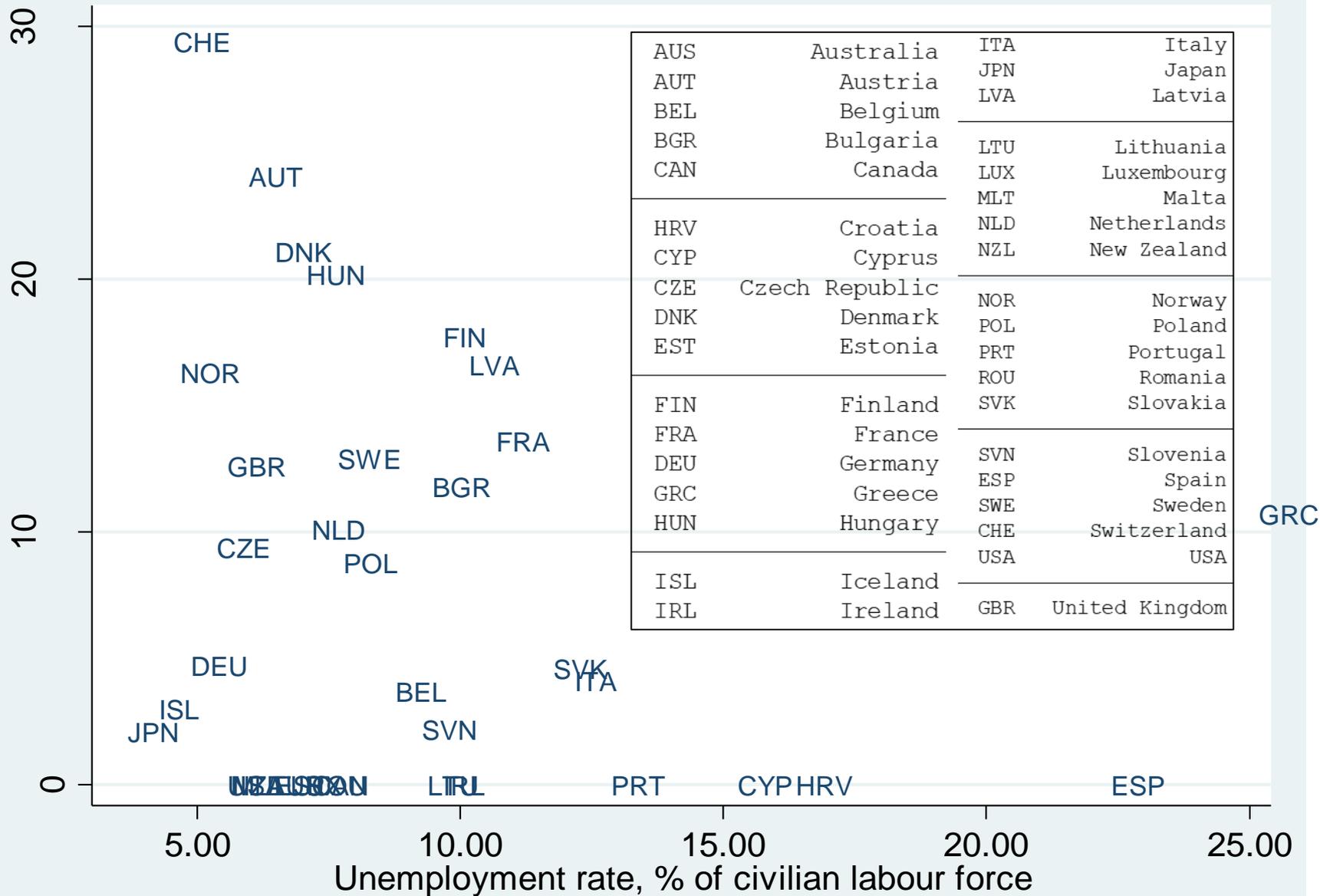
- Issue ownership of nationalism
- 'Nationalist solutions'

Extreme right and radical right

- Democracy
- Fascism
- Violence



Armingeon, Klaus, Virginia Wenger, Fiona Wiedemeier, Christian Isler, Laura Knöpfel, David Weisstanner and Sarah Engler. 2017. *Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2015*.



Conventional wisdom: Transnational cleavage and culture

Two dimensions:

1. Ethnic competition:

- fear of loss of cultural identity
- the perceived incompatibility between cultures
- the perceived inability of certain groups to assimilate

2. Cultural backlash: about broader value change

- a reaction against progressive cultural change
- groups resisting change

Indicators:

- Immigration
- Social values
- Education
- Mistrust in global/ national governance

Economic insecurity matters but its impact is complex

Economic insecurity not just about economic performance

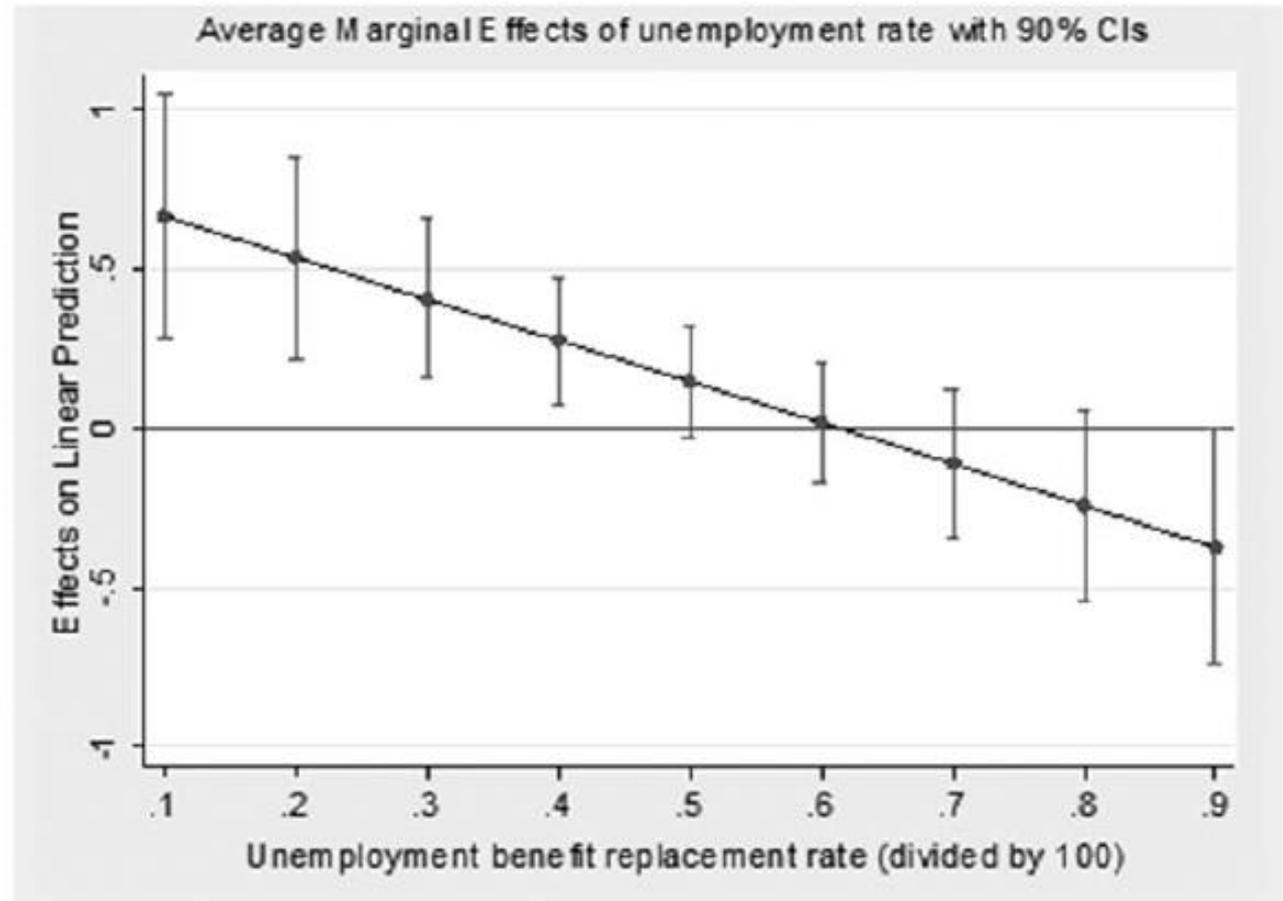
- Protective institutions (e.g. welfare state) & groups (e.g. trade unions) lower far right support
- Impact of negative/low economic performance on individuals is mediated by institutions
- Empirical evidence for direct and mediating impact of welfare state institutions in EU countries at both national level (using national election results) and individual level (using pooled survey data)

Immigration also matters – but it is not just about culture

- Immigration has both economic and cultural impact
- Far right success builds on a coalition of ‘materialists’ and ‘nationalists’
- Empirical evidence for the relevance of economic and cultural concerns for far right support over immigration using pooled survey data

Welfare state institutions mediating role - national level test using European Parliament election results

Unemployment benefits limit impact of higher unemployment on far right support in last three European Parliament elections

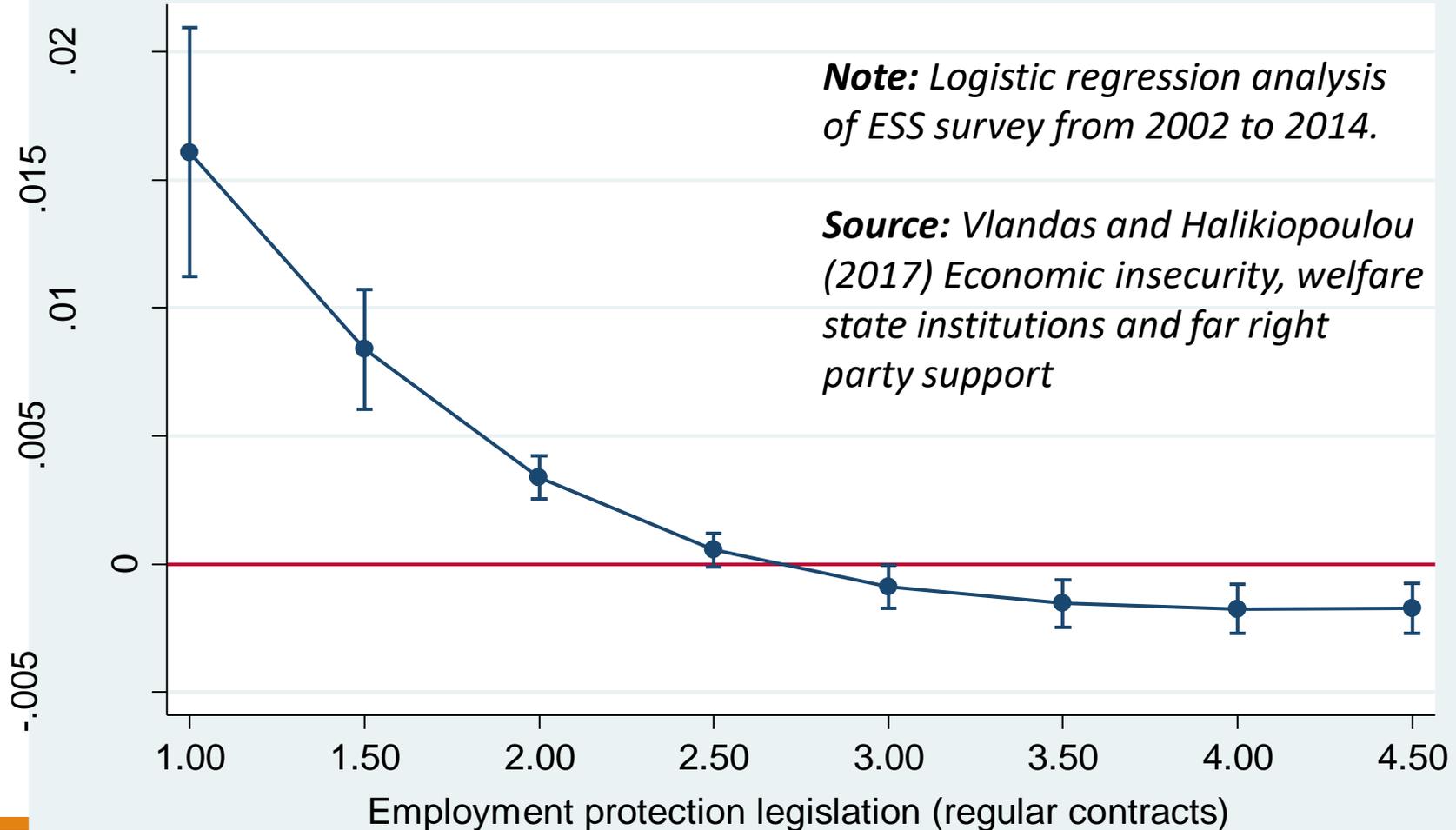


Source: Halikiopoulou and Vlandas (2016) Risks, Costs and Labour Markets: Explaining Cross-National Patterns of Far Right Party Success in European Parliament Elections. *Journal of Common Market Studies*

Welfare state institutions mediating role - individual level test using survey data

Average Marginal Effects of Unemployment (time of last election, 95% CIs)

[Note: Logistic regression analysis controls for age, gender, education and unemployment benefits]



Source: calculated using 7 waves of European Social Survey.

Economic and cultural concerns over immigration and their impact on far right party support – 2014 European Social Survey

	Dislikes (<5 on 10 points scale) immigration's impact on economy	>4	Dislikes (<5 on 10 points scale) immigration's impact on culture	>4
Voted far right	800	666	706	760
Did not vote far right	3634	9,034	2,604	10,064
Percentage voted for far right	18.04%	6.87%	21.33%	7.02%
TOTAL	4,434	9,700	3,310	10,824

Vlandas and Halikiopoulou (2017) The winning anti-immigration coalition: Concerns over the economic and cultural impact of immigration and far right party success in Europe

Conclusion

Rise of far right parties but differences across countries and individuals

We need to supply alternative solutions to meet the demand drivers of far right support

- Demand (economic insecurity) is not just a given
- Immigration not just about culture

Ongoing research/next steps

- Individual level data to explore occupational and insecurity drivers
- Expand analysis to additional 'protective' welfare state institutions

Why far right parties do well at times of crisis: the role of labour market institutions

—
Tim Vlandas and Daphne Halikiopoulou

Working Paper 2016.07

etui.

Risks, Costs and Labour Markets: Explaining Cross-National Patterns of Far Right Party Success in European Parliament Elections*

DAPHNE HALIKIOPOULOU and TIM VLANDAS
University of Reading

Abstract

Does the economy affect patterns of far-right party support across countries? This article reconceptualizes micro-level analyses that focus on the effect of unemployment through a framework of costs, risks and the mediating role of labour market institutions. It then derives several hypotheses and tests them on the results of the previous three EP elections in all EU Member States. Findings from multiple regression analyses indicate that unemployment, real GDP growth, debt and deficits have no statistically significant effect on far-right party support at the national level. By contrast, labour market institutions influence costs and risks: where unemployment benefits and dismissal regulations are high, unemployment has no effect, but where either one of them is low, unemployment leads to higher far-right party support. This explains why unemployment has not led to far-right party support in some European countries that experienced the severity of the 2008 eurozone crisis.