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

EUROPEAN TRADE UNION INSTITUTE

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What is the far right?

**Far right umbrella**
- Issue ownership of nationalism
- ‘Nationalist solutions’

**Extreme right and radical right**
- Democracy
- Fascism
- Violence
Cross-national variation

- AUS Australia
- AUT Austria
- BEL Belgium
- BGR Bulgaria
- CAN Canada
- HRV Croatia
- CYP Cyprus
- CZE Czech Republic
- DNK Denmark
- EST Estonia
- FIN Finland
- FRA France
- DEU Germany
- GRC Greece
- HUN Hungary
- ISL Iceland
- IRL Ireland
- JPN Japan
- LVA Latvia
- LTV Lithuania
- Lux Luxembourg
- MLT Malta
- NLD Netherlands
- NZL New Zealand
- NOR Norway
- POL Poland
- PRT Portugal
- ROU Romania
- SVK Slovakia
- SVN Slovenia
- ESP Spain
- SWE Sweden
- CHE Switzerland
- USA United States

Votes for far right party in last national election (as of 2015)

Unemployment rate, % of civilian labour force
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

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]

Note: Logistic regression analysis of ESS survey from 2002 to 2014.

Source: Vlandas and Halikiopoulou (2017) Economic insecurity, welfare state institutions and far right party support

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dislikes (&lt;5 on 10 points scale) immigration’s impact on economy</th>
<th>&gt;4</th>
<th>Dislikes (&lt;5 on 10 points scale) immigration’s impact on culture</th>
<th>&gt;4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voted far right</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>760</td>
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<td>Did not vote far right</td>
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<tr>
<td>3634</td>
<td>9,034</td>
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<td>Percentage voted for far right</td>
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<td>18.04%</td>
<td>6.87%</td>
<td>21.33%</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>9,700</td>
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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

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

DAPHNE HALIKIPOULOU 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.