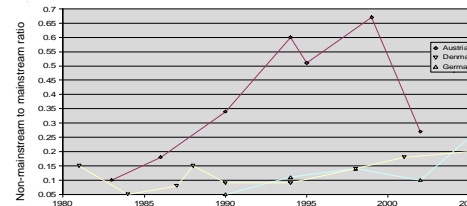
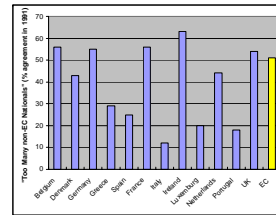


# The Success of the Radical Right in Europe: Origins and Consequences

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Phenomenon: Since about the 1980s, radical Right-Wing Populist (RRP) parties have experienced success in Europe.

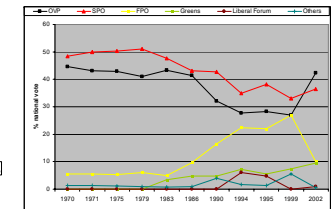
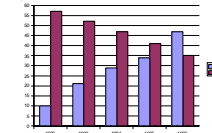
Furthermore, much of their support is blue-collar. This could both tell us something about changes to the socioeconomic structure of European countries, and suggest how lasting and significant these new parties will be.



## Austria

- Extremely strong protest wave, due largely to very "boring" post-war politics
- Core factors are strong
- Strong blue-collar support

	1986	1990	1994	1995	1999
Farmer	-5	-8	-7	-4	-17
Self-employed	5	4	8	6	6
Blue-collar	0	4	7	12	20
White-collar	3	-1	0	0	-5
Civil servant	-2	-3	-8	-5	-7
Housewife	-2	-6	-5	-10	-2
Pensioner	-2	-1	2	-8	-3
In school	-1	-9	-4	-7	-4



## Summary

### Themes of Politics: Economic vs. Social

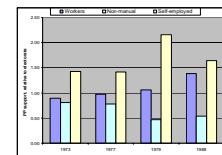
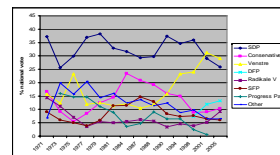
- Materialism: Strong "pocketbook" ties
- Post-materialism: The "winners of modernity" can look beyond pocketbook issues
- "Pre-materialism": The "losers of modernity" have lost faith in pocketbook policies
- Socially, workers are to the right of left-wing party elites
- Under materialist politics, this was irrelevant because they were "locked in" by economic policy

### Common Traits of RRP Parties

- "Strong leader" principles
- Anti-establishment
- Xenophobic
- Libertarian

## Denmark

- DFP has anti-tax protest roots (Progress Party), but has moderated original libertarianism (now "welfare chauvinist")
- Liberal policy, plus a dash of welfare = RRP formula
- So: Liberals + DFP = RRP?



## Conclusions

### Austria: both social and economic

- Strong core formation beneath striking protest wave
- Multiplicity of small parties may disperse protest voting
- Have the liberals regained credibility on "working-class libertarianism"? Has the DFP found a niche as "sidekick"?
- Decreasing economic salience makes social appeal to workers tenable

### Germany: mostly economic

- Tenacity of welfare arrangements gives social democrats strong union support, though it may alienate other groups
- Liberal policy, plus a dash of welfare = RRP formula
- Can the far left, sans xenophobia, substitute for RRP?
- Traditional explanation: Nazi past makes political xenophobia and authoritarian attitudes unmarketable
- Alternate explanation from this study: it may be the economic factors that are lagging behind
- Are regional successes the start of a breakthrough? Are stronger economic factors in East Germany the cause?

## Abbreviated Model

### Core Factors

- Industrial Decline
- Xenophobia

Country	Industrial Decline	Xenophobia (1990)
Austria	High (~15%)	High (27%)
Denmark	Moderate (~8%)	Low(20%)
Germany	High (~20%)	High (30%)

### Protest Factors

- Unemployment
- Inflation
- Political stagnation

Country	Unemployment	Long-Term Unemployment	Inflation	Electoral Stability, 1970-77
Austria	Low (~4%)	Moderate (~30%)	Low	High (3.1%)
Denmark	High (~8%)	Moderate (~25%)	Moderate	Low (18.7%)
Germany	High (~10%)	High (~50%)	Low	High (4.9%)

## Germany

- Despite strong core factors, no national RRP success
- However, far-right parties are doing well in the East
- The "Linkspartei" is a new party of the radical left

(From 1998)	Value	Deviation
18-24 years	7.3	4.0
25-34	4.5	1.2
35-44	3.8	0.3
45-59	2.5	-0.8
>59	1.9	-1.4
Elementary	3.5	0.2
Technical	4.6	1.3
High	2.1	-1.2
University	1.1	-2.2
Unemployed	6.7	3.4
Blue-collar	6.7	3.4
White-collar	2.4	-0.9
Civil servant	2.0	-1.3
Self-employed	2.7	-0.6

