



Welfare Politics and the Radical Right

The Relevance of Welfare Politics for the Radical Right's Success in Western Europe

Elie Michel

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of Political and Social Sciences
of the European University Institute

Florence, 15 May 2017

European University Institute
Department of Political and Social Sciences

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the success of radical right parties in Western Europe through the perspective of welfare politics, by examining parties and voters in a comparative and mixed method perspective. I argue that purely socio-cultural or socio-economic accounts of the radical right success face several theoretical and empirical shortcomings. Focusing on the conflict dimension of welfare politics - who gets what, when and how in terms of social benefits – constitutes a novel approach to explain these parties’ and voters’ political preferences. Relying on different theories of the political sociology of the welfare state, I put forward the *protection* and *exclusion* hypotheses, which have implications at the party and at the voter levels. On the demand side, the *precarization* sub-hypothesis expects that economically insecure voters are likely to support radical right parties who offer them an alternative to mainstream parties. The *scapegoating* sub-hypothesis expect that voters who feel that core normative beliefs of the moral economy of the welfare state are being violated by individuals or outgroups should support the radical right because it fosters an exclusive conception of welfare politics. On the supply side, the *programmatic shift* sub-hypothesis expects that radical right parties turn their back on their initial ‘winning formula’ (which entailed retrenchment of welfare institutions) in order to adopt protective welfare preferences that match their constituents’ economic insecurity. The *exclusive solidarity* sub-hypothesis expects that radical right parties frame their welfare preference in terms of group inclusion and exclusion. I find that economic insecurity and welfare specific attitudes (welfare populism, welfare chauvinism, welfare limitation and egalitarianism) underlie voters’ support for radical right parties. Conversely, some – but not all – West European radical right parties have adapted their welfare preferences towards protective welfare policies in order to match their constituents’ concerns. However, all radical right parties put forward an exclusive conception of solidarity. These findings contribute to a finer-grained understanding of the electoral of radical right parties in Western Europe, and also open a broader research agenda for the better inclusion of welfare politics in electoral studies.

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I started the PhD program thinking that writing a dissertation was a solitary endeavor. My experience at the European University Institute has proven me wrong, as I understood the necessary collective dimension of research in social science. The EUI is a unique academic environment for learning from and exchanging with professors, colleagues, and peers. I firmly believe that it is because the EUI is a collaborative, international, and concerned institution that I managed to complete my dissertation. I am professionally indebted to the EUI, and I hope that I have contributed in return through my research, my institutional service, and my involvement in the EUI community.

Over four years, I have spent a considerable amount of time in the Badia Fiesolana. I have worked and attended meetings in every room of the Badia. I have visited most of its offices for meetings or just seeking support, advice, or friendly chats. Be it in the corridors of the Academic Service with Veerle Deckmyn, Linda Gilbert, or Françoise Thauvin; in the SPS department with Maureen Lechleitner and Gabriella Unger; or in the library with Ruth Nirere Gbikpi; this side of the EUI deserves my forceful recognition. I have had the pleasure to take parts in many groups which gravitated around the tower of the Badia: the artistic community of the EUI under the lead of Chantal Maoudj and Guillaume Landais, and the outstanding volunteers and guests of the Refugee Initiative. Many times, I have prolonged my study breaks with François Delerue, gone down the stairs of Fiasco under the influence of Anita Buhin, or run out of breath with my friends of IUE Calcio and Montecarla Spettacolo. Further down the hill was always the assurance of finding the friends of Via Mossotti 18: Donagh, Jana, Lukas, Zoe, Riccardo, Wiebke, and housemate of honor Hanna Schebesta. They should know that they genuinely contributed to my achievements and happiness at the EUI.

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1. Introduction

The emergence and success of the radical right has been studied like no other electoral phenomenon in Western Europe (to name a few comprehensive studies: Betz 1994, Kitschelt 1995, Norris 2005, Carter 2005, Mudde 2007). However, the literature on the radical right in Western Europe has not exhausted research interests, and the academic debate is far from reaching a consensus. This introduction contextualizes the present doctoral thesis in the scholarly debates on the radical right's success, and it presents its guiding approaches.

Before reviewing existing studies and discussing the different theoretical arguments developed to explain this electoral success, the term of "radical right" needs a preliminary clarification, in order to define which parties and their voters are included in this category. Conceptualization is indeed the first controversy in the literature on the radical right; more precisely this discussion pertains to the label of this party family. While some scholars designate these parties as "radical populist right" (e.g. Mudde 2007), others describe them as "radical right" (e.g. Kitschelt 1995, Norris 2005) or "extreme right" (e.g. Ignazi 2003, Carter 2005). In a census of the different labels of these parties, Cas Mudde identified 26 different approaches which included 58 different criteria (Mudde 1996). In a comparative perspective, the debate over the correct label, however, proves to be rather shallow: all these authors agree on the list of selected cases that compose this category of parties. In most Western European countries at least one party is identified as the "radical right" of the party system. That said, there is variation among the members of the radical right party

family: some established parties have transformed and came to be considered as radical right parties only in recent decades: for instance, the Scandinavian radical parties (“Progress Parties”), the Austrian FPÖ, or the Swiss SVP (Kitschelt 2007); other parties are longstanding examples of radical right movements (French Front National) while others are fairly new parties (Danish People’s Party, Dutch PVV). There is certainly ideological variance within this party family, but it is arguably not far more heterogeneous than any other party families traditionally studied by social scientists. To illustrate the variance within a party family, let’s consider the examples of the French Front National and the Finnish True Finns party. With regards to their historical origins, their policy positions, and their leaders, they are quite different. Yet, are they more different than other “pairs” of parties in their respective political systems? The respective pairs of conservative and governmental left parties in these two countries are most likely to be no less different. In my opinion, the debate on the labeling of the radical right is rather futile, because there is consensus that these parties form a party family. In addition, there is little conceptual variation among the different labels. Following Kitschelt (2007), who argues for a “broad and extensive concept” of the radical right, in the present study, I define radical right parties with two criteria: being nationalist (i.e. insisting on a “dominant national paradigm”, Kitschelt 2007) and xenophobic or exclusionist (Rydgren 2005). This study focuses on the electoral arena; therefore a number of other political groups that share both features are not included in this definition. Fascist, neo-Nazi, *identitaires* political groups are not considered to be radical right parties in this study on the count that they do not comply with the democratic electoral rules of Western democracies and often foster political violence. The present analysis is also limited to Western Europe, where such radical right parties have emerged within stable party systems. In addition to these criteria, all West European radical right parties share an additional common feature: the populist ideology (Mény and Surrel 2002, Kriesi and Pappas 2015). This ideology is based on the Manichean opposition between two sides: the people (virtuous by essence) and the elite (necessarily corrupt). These groups are considered to be homogenous; and the people is a

monolithic conception that is supposed to express the general will (Canovan 1999, Mény and Surrel 2002, Mudde 2004). However, relying on the populist ideology to characterize radical right parties is problematic, because the concept of populism itself is “slippery” (Kriesi and Pappas 2015). Interestingly the dispute of the term ‘populist’ extends beyond the academic discussion, some political parties or leaders claim to be populist (such as Front National president Marine le Pen, or Five Stars Movement leader Beppe Grillo), whereas others consider it a derogatory term and reject it (like Italian Silvio Berlusconi). Radical right parties are certainly populist, whether one considers a minimalist definition of populism (Mudde 2004, 2012) or a more extended one (Taggart 2002). But the populist ideology is far from being specific to the radical right; there are populist parties on the radical left (e.g. Podemos), on the mainstream right (e.g. Forza Italia), in some cases entire party systems are considered to be populist (e.g. Greece and Italy, Bobba and McDonnell 2015, Pappas and Aslanidis 2015). Since populism is not a definitional feature per se, I chose not to include this label in the conceptualization of the parties under study here. However, defining these parties as exclusionist and nationalist covers the central characteristics of populism. Hence, the concept of populism is not discarded from the definition of radical right parties; but rather considered a dimension to study when working on the radical right (a section of the present chapter presents how the populist ideology explains the radical right’s success through the mobilization of protest voters). Taking into account these criteria – and their limitations – the present analysis will focus on nine Western European countries, and consider the parties that can be defined as nationalist and exclusionist or xenophobic, with substantial vote-shares over several elections. Note that because of discrepancies in data availability (or timeframe of the analysis), all parties are not systematically covered in every chapter.

Austria	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ)
Belgium	Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang (VB); Front National (FN)
Denmark	Dansk Folkeparti (DF)
Finland	Perussuomalaiset (TF)
France	Front National (FN)
Netherlands	List Pim Fortuyn (LPF); Partej Voor de Vrijheid (PVV)
Norway	Fremskrittspartiet (FrP)
Sweden	Sverigedemokraterna (SD)
Switzerland	Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP)

Table 1 - Western European Radical Right Parties under study

Explaining Radical Right's success

The core debate on the radical right is not about what they are, since we know who they are, but how to explain their success. Two broad sets of explanations address this question on two levels of analysis: the supply (parties) and the demand (voters) sides of electoral politics. Although comprehensive analyses exist, most of the research focuses either on the demand-side (i.e. why do citizens vote for radical right parties) or the supply-side (i.e. how did radical right parties emerge and what are their political positions). The substantive explanations mobilized to explain the vote for radical right parties is usually divided into two categories that transpose (and sometimes oppose) the two main cleavages that shape political systems. Radical right support is generally explained because of the saliency of socio-cultural issues for these parties and their voters; yet some authors provide socio-economic explanations of this electoral success.

Studying the radical right's electoral success is generally confined to a single approach - substantially, through either economic or cultural factors, but also practically through analysis of either parties or voters. In this study, I argue that the confinement of the radical right field needs to be overcome, and I take the standpoint of a comprehensive study. The question on whether it is more important to study the demand or the supply side of the radical right is an artificial one- similarly, the debate arguing for the absolute prevalence of

the economic or the cultural explanation bears unnecessarily restricting explanatory power.

The remainder of this introductory chapter is structured as follows. In the next section I provide an overview of the scholarly debate on the radical right in Western Europe. For the sake of clarity, I follow the lines of a comprehensive map of the subfield, ordered by economic, cultural, and mixed explanations of their success, on both the demand and the supply side (1.1. Figure 1). I will then expose how the present project intends to go beyond existing studies and their controversies. In particular, I will demonstrate the relevance of studying the radical right through the lens of welfare politics (or the sociology of the welfare state) and the need to go beyond purely economic or cultural explanations, and investigating both supply- and demand-sides (1.2.). Finally, I will discuss the *why* and *how* of this project: its purpose and its approach. More specifically, I will discuss how this research is grounded in political sociology; it follows a cleavage-based approach of parties and elections and adopts a resolutely multi-method perspective (1.3.). The final section give an outline of the chapter that compose this book (1.4.).

1.1. Explaining the radical right's success: demand, supply and controversies

Two major sets of explanations are generally offered to account for the radical right vote (Oesch 2008, Rydgren 2013). On the one hand, the cultural explanation posits that the radical right vote is mainly determined by diversity and immigration issues (Rydgren 2008). On the other hand, economic factors are brought forward to account for the radical right vote: these parties appeal to group with specific economic concerns. These two sets of explanations mirror the two cleavage dimensions that structure the political space in advanced Western democracies (Kriesi et al. 2008, 2012). After broadly discussing the two dimensions of radical right success, I present two additional theories that go beyond strictly cultural or economic explanations. The concept of protest vote and populist success do not belong to the aforementioned set of explanations because they are not structured on

a political cleavage, but they are rather explained by perceptions and evaluations of the political system. These broad explanations of the radical right's success form the three columns of the map of radical right studies, and the latter are labeled mixed explanations (Figure 1). In addition, this map accounts for two levels of analysis: the demand side (voters) and the supply side (parties). Factors explaining the radical right's success on both levels are divided into subcategories, which constitute the different lines of the table. On the demand side, I distinguish between explanations that stem from the constituencies' characteristics ('voters') and the individual beliefs of voters ('attitudes'). On the supply side, I distinguish between the parties themselves ('organization and ideology'), their impact on party systems and governments ('institutions and office') and their political output ('policy impact').

The cultural logic of the radical right vote: a matter of immigration

Radical right parties are believed to mobilize their voters mostly on the socio-cultural dimension – most importantly on immigration, but also on issues law and order and social conservatism and Euroscepticism (Rydgren 2005, 2007, Bornschieer 2010).

In line with the post-materialist thesis, socio-cultural issues, such as those that appeal to radical right voters have become more and more politically and electorally relevant (Inglehart 1997)¹. Globalization has been assumed to intensify the cultural conflicts and therefore fuel the radical right's electoral success (Mudde 2007, Kriesi et al. 2012). The predominant salience of the new cultural dimension - on which the radical right is located at the nationalist/traditional end - at the expense of the more long-established state-market conflict has been described as the key factor explaining the emergence and the success of this party family (Bornschieer 2010). Arguably, the radical right parties were not only benefitting from structural change and the emergence of a new structuring cultural

¹ Inglehart shows how post-materialist values such as religious beliefs, attitudes towards families, openness, have profoundly changed societies, and have come to be at the core of the political debate in Western countries.

cleavage, but they also “drove” the transformation of political conflict in the 1990’s (Kriesi et al 2008). The cultural cleavage has gained renewed salience, yet it has also been transformed by globalization. Since the 1980’s, the cultural cleavage that structures the political space cannot be reduced to the religious cleavage described by Rokkan; it centers on issues of cultural diversity. Ironically, and maybe contrary to the original purpose intended by its advocates, the opening of borders has increased the salience of the cultural (demarcation/integration) cleavage, making issues such as EU integration, immigration, or Islam increasingly salient and contested in the electoral arena.

On the demand side of electoral politics, the salience of the cultural cleavage among the “losers of globalization” is considered to be the driving force behind the radical right’s electoral success. These arguments are found on the top left corner of the comprehensive map or radical right studies. This cultural cleavage centers on the issues of national culture (values, religion) and immigration, yet it is often reduced to anti-immigration attitudes. In fact, the major explanation of the radical right vote is that anti-immigration attitudes are an – the most? – important factor for predicting the radical right vote (Lubbers et al. 2002, Norris 2005). It is, however, notable that if almost all radical right voters are against immigration, not all the individuals who express such attitudes vote for these parties. The anti-immigration argument has come to be the – almost monocausal - theory explaining radical right support. It has become so dominant that studies shifted the paradigm to refining what anti-immigration sentiments are: immigration skepticism, xenophobia or racism? Rydgren argues that the first, i.e. “wanting to reduce immigration” is the strongest (Rydgren 2008). When looking at the sociological profile of radical right voters, anti-immigration attitudes are not the sole explanation of radical right success. Indeed, radical right voters are found among groups of voters that are traditionally considered to be conservative on cultural issues (e.g. self-employed and small business owners) or even that display “authoritarian” features (for the working class: Lipset 1960, for all radical right voters: Koster and Van der Waal 2007).

On the supply side of electoral politics, immigration has been typically considered the central dimension of radical right parties' ideology, and, that is, their anti-immigration preferences (lower left side of Figure 1). The literature on issue-ownership has provided a suitable framework to conceive the relevance of immigration for radical right parties (Budge and Farlie 1983, Petrocick 1996). Each party is assumed to have a specific policy domain, or issue area that it champions; parties thus invest in building a good reputation regarding handling this issue area. Parties identify with this issue, and they are considered to "own" it (Van der Brug 2004). Indeed, radical right parties mobilize voters on the issues, which they own: immigration (Rydgren 2007, Mudde 2007). Although Mudde insists these parties put forward essentially sociocultural issues, and mainly immigration ("it is not the economy, *stupid*"²), he does not consider radical right parties to be "single-issue" parties (Mudde 1999). However, *not* being a single-issue party focused on immigration certainly does not contradict their ownership of this issue³.

² This chapter's title is a direct – and fairly rude - response to Herbet Kitschelt's seminal work explaining the radical right's success by a combination of economic and cultural positions (Kitschelt 1995).

³ Note that the criteria Mudde uses to disconfirm this hypothesis are very restrictive. He defines a single issue party as "(1) having an electorate with no particular social structure; (2) being supported predominantly on the basis on one single issue; (3) lacking an ideological programme; and (4) addressing only one all-encompassing issue" (Mudde 1999). According to this definition, radical right parties do not qualify as single-issue parties, as criteria 1 and 3 are surely lacking.

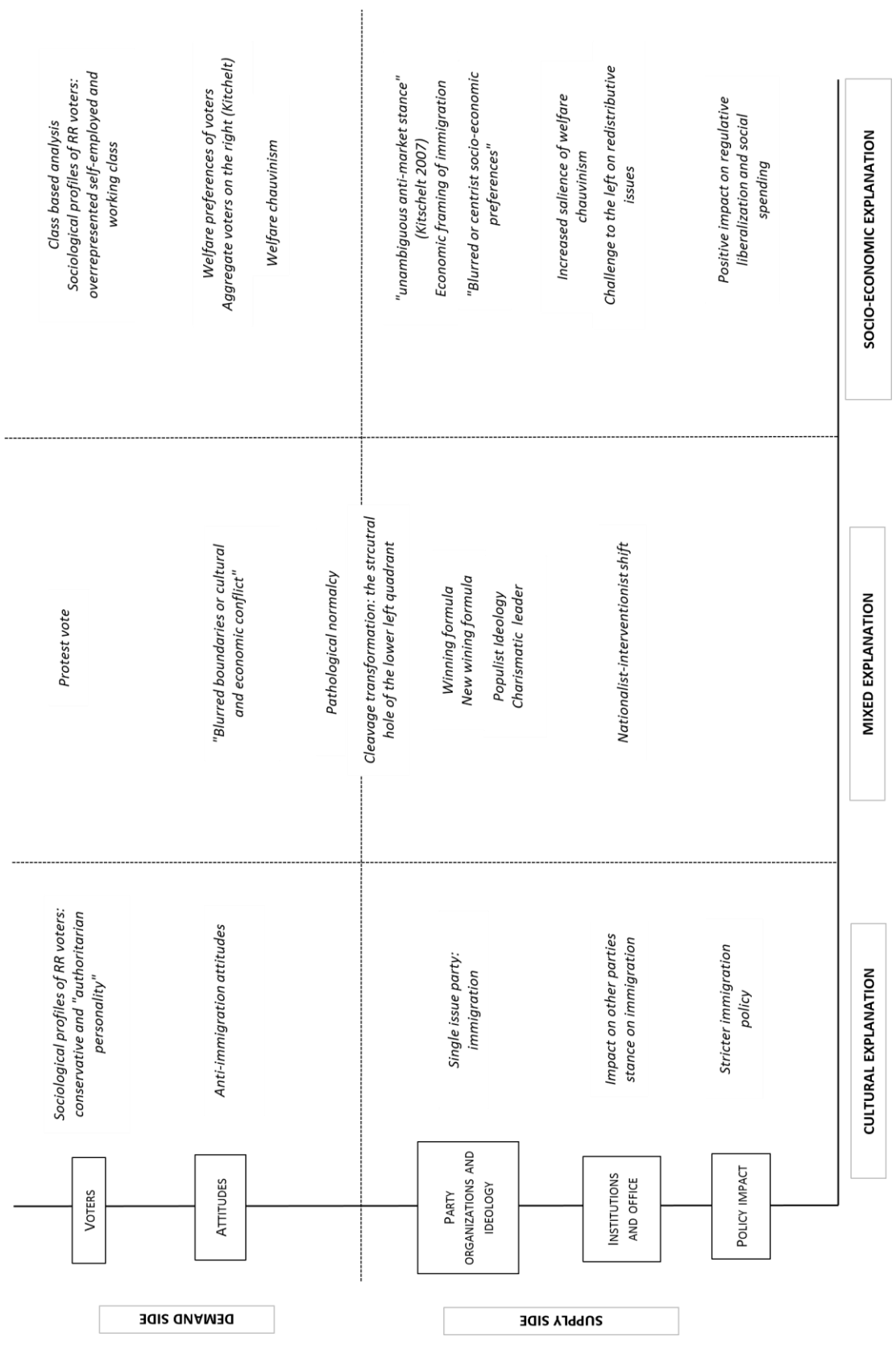


Figure 1 - Map of the radical right studies

Radical right parties have so noticeably dominated the political debate over immigration and have made it such a salient issue, that part of the scholarly debate on radical right success has focused on their possible “contamination” of other parties. This means that other parties would adapt their preferences on this issue to compete with radical right parties (Mudde 2004, Bale et al. 2010, Rooduijn et al. 2014). Even further, authors argue that some countries’ policies on immigration have been influenced by the political pressure of progressing radical right parties (Minkenberg 2001, Afonso and Pappadopoulos 2015).

The economic logic: the “new working class parties”?

The anti-immigration explanation of the vote also finds a rationale on the economic dimension, on both the supply and the demand side; and thus can be found on the right column of the radical right map. The demand side explanation for the economic framing is also divided into two levels: individual attitudinal levels, and the aggregate profile of radical right voters.

Focusing on the demand side, anti-immigration attitudes cannot be only explained by cultural factors (the social and cultural threats that migrants are perceived to represent); and a strand of literature has looked into the economic reasons for hostility towards migrants. This economic argument focuses on labor-market competition, and more precisely “sectoral exposure to immigrants”. In brief, the individuals who work in sectors which rely on immigrant work-force are more likely to be hostile to immigration, under the condition that they also express a negative perception of the general economy (Dancygier and Donnelly 2014). This argument relies on the assumptions that immigration would cause wages decreases and job losses. As a consequence, individuals whose jobs are more “offshorable” would be more likely to support the radical right (Dancygier and Walter 2015). The clear class bias in the sociological profile of the radical right voter across Europe supports the indication of the importance of socioeconomic factors: the working class constitutes the core electorate of the radical right in Western Europe (Oesch 2008, Rydgren 2013). It is noteworthy that industrial sector jobs are considered among the most “offshorable”. The importance of the working class among this constituency is also steadily increasing. While Betz was writing about the “proletarianization” of the radical right electorate in the 1990’s, he considers them to be “working class parties” twenty years later;

and he argues this transformation is made at the expense of parties on the Left (Betz 1994, Betz and Meret 2013). The working class' overrepresentation in radical right constituencies is well documented and particularly relevant in the case of the French Front National (Mayer 2002), Flemish Vlaams Block (Swyngedouw 1998), Norwegian Progress Party (Bjorklund 2011), the Danish People's Party (Meret 2010), and the Austrian FPÖ (Scheuregger and Spier 2007). Class and occupational status seem to structure the radical right electorate; however, there is a difference between 'working class parties' and being 'the party of the working class'. Indeed, some radical right parties claim to be the latter (Front National, Danish People's Party). In most countries, the preferred voting choice of workers is not the radical right, but rather not voting. The radical right is not the party of the working class because it is simply not the most chosen electoral option among this group. The electorate of the radical right can, however, be composed by a large proportion of working class voters. Besides the working class, another occupational group is overrepresented in the radical right constituency; self-employed and independents. The core of this segment of the electorate was to be found in the "small shops and the workshops" (Mayer and Perrineau 1992). Their support for the radical right has arguably sociological-economic roots. Self-employed and independents are not the worst-off individuals but those who suffered the biggest relative socio-economic decline in the post-war era (Kriesi and Bornschier 2013). This *déclassement*, real or perceived, is also a key factor of the support of the middle-class to fascist movements in the 1930's. In the *Political Man*, Lipset argues that these movements successfully mobilized voters by exploiting economic fears, and particularly the fear of downward social mobility (Lipset 1960)⁴. On an aggregate level, without distinguishing particular sociological types of voters, Kitschelt finds that overall, radical right voters tend to express more right-wing preferences when it comes to welfare and economic issues (Kitschelt and McGann 1995).

⁴ Although they are on the very right of the political spectrum, contemporary radical right parties are not directly comparable to the fascist and radical movements of the 1930's because both their objectives and methods are very different. Here, it is not the parties themselves that are the object of the comparison; but rather the mechanism of support for fascism that Lipset (1960) provides, which is similar to the one put forward by Kriesi and Bornschier (2013).

On the supply side, radical right parties have used their ownership of the immigration issue, framing its consequences in terms of unemployment: according to this logic, immigrants would be taking the jobs of the natives for lower wages, as a consequence unemployment rates would decrease if immigration were to be restricted and reduced. Since the early days of the party, the French Front National has offered a good example of such framing, with its famous motto: *“One million unemployed, its one million immigrants too many”*⁵. This shows that although the cultural aspect of anti-immigration sentiments is strong and central to the radical right discourse, there is an economic aspect to it. Even though it is largely framed in a cultural manner, this suggests that hostility to immigration – allegedly the strongest predictor of radical right support - is not based on purely cultural grounds. Economic factors constitute a piece of the puzzle of the explanation of radical right parties’ success, and its importance cannot be completely discarded as some authors argue (Mudde 2007, Bornschier 2010).

Considering socio-economic factors of support for the radical right is in line with earlier studies of contemporary radical right movements. Kitschelt’s renowned “winning formula” provided a starting point for this debate: he explained the success of radical right parties resulted from a combination of cultural and economic arguments: more precisely, they combined culturally authoritarian and exclusionist positions with liberal-market preferences on redistributive issues (Kitschelt 1995). This capital hypothesis has been contested on several grounds: some argued the economic dimension was not relevant (Mudde 2007), or that these parties held more centrist economic positions (Ivarsflaten 2005), to the point that authors considered a “new winning formula” (De Lange 2007). De Lange argued that radical right parties held simultaneously culturally authoritarian positions with centrist economic positions - on a dimension that she calls “socialist-capitalist”⁶. Challenges to the winning formula hypothesis have been identified by its author himself: Kitschelt later defined it as time-specific (i.e. restricted to the radical right

⁵ This statement is extracted from the 1978 manifesto (*“Un million de chômeurs, c’est un million d’immigrés de trop. La France et les Français d’abord”*.) The exact same poster/argument was updated for the 1993 legislative campaign, with 3 million instead of 1.

⁶ This being true for some, but not all of the radical right parties, only the Front National and the Vlaams Belang in this study.

breakthroughs of the 1980s to the mid-1990s), and he argued that these parties may include liberal-market policies in their manifestos, which does not imply they are the parties that are the most market-liberal in the polity (Kitschelt 2004, 2007).

Regarding party positions on economic issues, radical right parties have evolved from the formula of their earlier successes and have adapted to the interests of their (potential) voters: nowadays not only do they offer economic agendas, but they also adapt these agendas to the expected preferences of their voters. Indeed, radical right parties are not single-issue parties anymore (Rydgren 2007). Their stances on welfare politics are usually different from that of mainstream right-wing parties, and they are believed to partly adopt the working class' support for redistribution (Koster et al. 2013).

Neither cultural nor economic: the protest vote? The populist vote?

Two alternative theories of radical right success are based on neither sociocultural nor socioeconomic grounds, but are disconnected from ideology (taken as a set of defined and coherent political – policy – preferences).

The first approach is a demand side argument: voters express their general discontent with politics, governments and parties, and casting a vote for the radical right vote is considered to be a “protest vote”. This early conception refers to the demand side of central column of the radical right map (Figure 1). Some authors considered the radical right vote to be chiefly a “vote against” (Mayer and Perrineau 1992, Flecker 2007). In that sense, it is a form of retrospective voting, in which “the prime motive behind a protest vote is to show discontent with the political elite” (Van der Brug et al. 2000). The choice of voting for the radical right is not explained by the adhesion to an ideology or the congruence of positions between voters and parties, but rather as a protest against traditional parties (Poglia Mileti and Plomp 2007). The protest-vote theory has been mainly put forward during the early successes of radical right parties in the 1980's and 1990's, but it has been challenged in recent years - not least due to the high levels of ideological congruence between radical right parties and their supporters. More than protest, radical right parties and voters seem to share political preferences (Lefkofridi and Casado-Asensio 2013). Indeed, the constant or increasing electoral support these parties enjoy points towards alternative explanations which go beyond the mere rejection of governing parties and political disenchantment.

At the party level, the protest-vote explanation echoes the populist ideology, which relies on an opposition that pits the people against the elite. Radical right parties tend to take an outsider position and denounce the mainstream ruling parties as a failed political elite, which does not represent the people as they claim they do. Radical right parties' success would be explained because they manage to capture a widespread "populist Zeitgeist" (Mudde 2004). Indeed, the populist ideology is characteristic and perhaps constitutive of all West European radical right parties. Instead of a Zeitgeist, which is just a public opinion phenomena, the rise of populism can be conceived as a long-term trend, which is inherent to modern democracies. Populism is, on the one hand, the result and consequence of a "malfunctioning representative democracy" (Mair 2002) or, on the other hand, in a more theoretical perspective, the unavoidable product of the tension between the ideal of democracy and its "pragmatic face" (Canovan 1999). Mair's conception is however a bit more optimistic, since a malfunctioning democracy can/could be cured or improved; whereas Canovan's theory makes populism an intrinsic feature of modern democracy. This is in line with the "pathological normalcy hypothesis" which considers populism as a radical – and unavoidable - interpretation of democratic values. By combining the previous contextual and structural arguments, it views populism as a normal path for representative democracy (Mudde 2010). However this conception of populism can be criticized: it is static, it exists because democracy exists. The general argument goes: radical right parties are successful, because they thrive on the tension inherent to democracies by putting forward a populist ideology. But they could be challenged by other forms of populism on the left, or by movements that put forward a non-ideological form of populism. The populist ideology is not a particular characteristic of radical right parties because populism is an essentially "chameleonic" ideology – it cannot fully account for these parties' success. A parallel account of populism considers it as a political strategy, wherein having a charismatic leader is key to success. Indeed most radical right populist parties are led by a charismatic leader (Kriesi and Pappas 2015, Canovan 2002). Providential leaders, such as Le Pen (father and daughters, FN), Haider (FPÖ), Pim Fortuyn (LPF), Blocher (SVP), Kjaersgaard (DF) explain part of the success of these parties; they appeal to voters because of their charisma and personality. It is worth noting that a substantial share of these leaders is women (Marine Le Pen for the FN, Pia Kjaersgaard for the DF, and Siv Jensen for

the FrP), which had been underestimated in earlier studies that expected radical right party leaders to be charismatic men.

1.2. Going beyond the classical divide: the relevance of welfare politics

Two dimensions for sure?

When studying the radical right's electoral success, cultural and economic issues prove to be intensely interconnected, to the point that the two – supposedly distinct - dimensions are blurred. This blurring is observed at both levels of analysis: voters and parties. The voters themselves may have blurred preferences on these issues, and do not clearly distinguish between the two dimensions (Häusermann and Kriesi, 2015). But this may well also be the case for the radical right parties themselves, they may “deliberately adopt blurred positions” to attract voters, but not siding too strongly on an end or the other of political dimensions on issues other than their anti-immigration agenda (Rovny 2013). The previous sections have shown the relevance of both cultural and economic determinants of the radical right success. But the economic and cultural dimensions of the radical right vote may prove to be more entangled than cleavage theory would expect. In other words, when studying the radical right vote, the orthogonality of the bi-dimensional cleavage structure is uncertain.

Drifting apart from bi-dimensional cleavage politics, recent research has focused on the electoral relevance of welfare politics for the radical right's success in Western Europe. Concretely, it has avoided framing the issue in terms of distinct conflict dimension- either economic or cultural. Indeed, welfare politics is neither strictly one nor the other. Broadly, it can be defined in a Laswellian way as “who gets what, when and how” in terms of social benefits⁷. In the present study, I circumscribe welfare politics to the preferences of voters and parties (whether they are general political values or more specific policy preferences), but a wider conception could include the study of policies and institutional dynamics. Traditionally, welfare politics has almost only been considered through a socio-economic

⁷ This is a reference to the political scientist Harold D. Laswell's famous model of communication which analysis “Who (says) What (to) Whom (in) What Channel (with) What Effect”.

perspective, until Häusermann demonstrated the relevance of cultural value divides alongside socio-structural positions to study welfare politics. Explaining welfare state reform dynamics, the author shows how political struggles about the welfare state are “always both distributional conflicts and value conflicts” (Häusermann 2010).

Introducing the role of welfare politics

The debate over the influence of welfare politics on voting behavior stems from the controversy over the so-called ‘unnatural vote of the working class’ for right wing and radical right parties. This voting pattern has traditionally been considered a political anomaly or at least puzzling. Indeed, the working class has always been assumed to be more interventionist and supportive of welfare redistribution than other classes; and the parties of the left were assumed to defend its interests (see discussion on the power resource theory discussed in chapters 2 and 5, Korpi 1983, Esping-Andersen 1990). However, this assumption does not hold empirically in contemporary electoral politics. The question of how do the less well-off manage to reconcile their economic attitudes with voting for the (radical) right emerges from the discrepancies between theoretical assumptions and the empirical reality. One answer may be that these voters tend to manifest an aversion to the welfare institutions themselves (and not the principles of welfare redistribution) and thus support right wing parties which are critical of the functioning of the welfare state (Houtman et al. 2008). Indeed, this negative perception of the welfare institutions is associated with egalitarian views and ideas of social justice – especially among the less educated individuals (Achterberg et al. 2011).

Building on this puzzle, authors have shown that welfare preferences are a significant characteristic and determinant of the radical right vote (Derks 2006, Koster et al. 2013). Both these contributions also make the case that it is misguided to study the electoral relevance of welfare politics for the radical right in either economic or cultural terms. In their seminal contribution to that field, De Koster et al. have established a clear pattern in the relation between welfare attitudes and radical right voting⁸. They find that welfare

⁸ Looking at the relation between welfare politics and the radical right vote, a parallel interrogation emerges: what is the relation of such welfare politics in countries where no radical right party is electorally significant? Generally, this question opens a wider subfield of welfare politics as

attitudes such as welfare populism or welfare chauvinism are not only widespread among the radical right electorates; they also underlie support for these parties (Koster et al. 2013). Welfare chauvinism has become a central focus of the studies of the radical right, and can be defined as a conception of the welfare state as a “social protection for those who belong to the ethnically defined community and who have contributed to it” (Kitschelt, 1995: 22). It has since been extensively analyzed (to name a few, Mau and Burkhart 2009, Koning 2013), to the point of becoming a catch-all concept. In Kitschelt’s words, welfare chauvinism is “indeed not necessarily rooted in cultural patterns of xenophobia and racism, but in a ‘rational’ consideration for alternative options to preserve social club goods in efficient ways” (Kitschelt, 1995: 262).

The emerging literature that investigates the relevance of welfare politics on the radical right vote is growing, but still faces several shortcomings. In conceptual terms, this debate is still muddled and needs clarification and a better systematization (Abts and Kochuyt 2016); empirically it is often limited to case studies (Derks 2006, De Koster et al. 2013) or focused on a specific segment of voters such as the working class (Mau and Mewes 2013). Departing from the individual – or class – level, authors have pointed to the relevance of welfare politics at the aggregated level: support for the radical right in Western Europe is mediated by welfare state institutions – their type and scope (Swank and Betz 2003). This influence manifests itself in at least two ways. First, on a contextual basis, welfare state institutions determine the characteristics of a society – such as the level of unemployment, immigration, or inequalities – that have a positive effect on voting behavior, and particularly on the radical right vote (Arzheimer 2009). Second, on an attitudinal basis, welfare regimes and their associated shared values shape individuals’ beliefs, and specifically attitudes towards immigration and welfare chauvinism, which are linked to voting for the radical right (Van der Waal et al. 2010). Yet the individual-level mechanisms of influence of welfare politics on radical right voting behavior remains unspecified. On the supply side, the welfare preferences (and policy influence) of radical right parties is still an underinvestigated field (Afonso 2015, Norocel 2016). At the micro (individuals), meso

determinant of the vote, which constitutes a wider research agenda that goes beyond the objective of the present study.

(social classes, parties) and macro (welfare regime types) levels, the role of welfare politics in the radical right's success has been incompletely established; filling these gaps is the ambition of the present study.

This book addresses this gap by making a theoretical and an empirical contribution. Theoretically, a comprehensive theoretical framework of how welfare politics can determine the radical right vote is still missing. Empirically, the existing analyses linking welfare politics to radical right vote are too restrictive: in terms of approaches, cases, time period and social groups studied. I further make the case that such a theoretical discussion should be grounded in, and relying on, the concepts provided by political sociology, and that the empirical demonstration should rely on the variety of its methods.

Providing a theoretical framework to assess the relation between welfare politics and the radical right, and extending the empirical evidence of this relation across Western Europe vote are the goals of this research. By bridging the literature on the radical right vote to the political sociology of the welfare state, I address the question of the role welfare politics in the radical right's success in Western Europe. Before specifying the sub-questions that guide the different chapters, it is worthy to make a final critical assessment of the radical right field, which pertains to two drawbacks of most studies of the radical right.

Studying the radical right success through the lens of welfare politics (or the sociology of the welfare state) is also an attempt to reconcile the different parts of the radical right literature both methodologically and in terms of the explanations they produce. In my opinion, two important shortcomings of this literature have to be avoided: (1) "one-eyed explanations" focusing solely on one side of the coin, or one dimension of the problem (whether demand or supply side; or giving purely socio-cultural or economic explanations to this vote) and (2) asserting "big theories" (e.g. schematic explanation that would explain the radical right's success and even its impact on the polity, without comprehensive analyses and allowing for cross-country variance).

In his overview of the field, Kitschelt (2007) recommended the studies include both demand and supply side explanations. Mudde (2010) makes a rather similar argument when considering that "widespread demand [for radical right] is a given" but that the parties themselves "have to be brought (back) into the analysis". Yet, considering this demand as a given does not mean that the individual level support for the radical right is

explained. This “demand”, its sociological roots and its attitudinal consequences call for further analysis. In order to capture the relation between supply and demand arguments of radical right success the present study takes up on Mudde’s reference to Wlezien’s thermostatic model. This means that the growing salience in public opinion on an issue (welfare politics in this case) leads to electoral success for the parties who address it (radical right), which in turn, increase policy activity and political debate on this issue (Wlezien 1995, Mudde 2013). However, this project will focus on electoral politics - that is looking at voters, parties, and the relation between the two, but not beyond. Another strand of literature considers the radical right’s success as an explanatory variable for coalition building potential or policy changes (to name a few, on policy impact: Minkenberg 2001, Akkerman and De Lange 2012, Afonso 2015, on impact on other parties: De Lange 2012). Kitschelt’s research agenda for the field also includes two specifications that are equally important: integrate multilevel, and time-related analysis. Whenever data allows, I include different levels of analysis and patterns of evolution of radical right parties and their constituencies.

Because of the variety of radical right parties and the political systems they compete in, the studies on the radical right frequently face another shortcoming: overarching – and maybe simplistic - explanations. These “big theories” certainly feed the academic debate but they are consistently empirically rejected. Kitschelt’s famous “winning formula” did not pass the empirical test, and it has been debunked by its author himself (De Lange 2007, Kitschelt 2013). In a similar vein, Mudde’s hypothesis of a “populist Zeitgeist” - i.e. that the populist rhetoric of the radical right was contaminating other parties - has been rejected (Mudde 2004, Rooduijn et al. 2014). This latter hypothesis can be considered part of Mudde’s wider theory that the radical right’s success is a “pathological normalcy” of democracy, which implies that the populist radical right is merely a radical interpretation of mainstream democratic ideology (Mudde 2010). Not only is this theory not empirically grounded, but also it is too general and simplistic to attribute the success of these parties and the different motives of their voters to the radicalization of mainstream attitudes.

Paradoxically, I believe what characterizes the radical right is diversity; both in terms of the voters and parties. To put it simply, there is much sociological and class diversity in the radical right electorate: traditional (religious) conservatives, independent shopkeepers,

and working class former communist electors. Conversely, radical right parties display at times very diverse programmatic positions on specific issues such as welfare politics⁹. Radical right parties form a coherent party family; with comparable positions on their most salient issues (i.e. immigration); however, like most party families, they are not entirely homogenous on all policy fields.

1.3. Research perspective and methodological approach

A political sociology question

The main goal of this study is to make a contribution to the subfield of radical right studies through the lens of welfare politics. This is certainly of academic relevance, and somewhat also of social relevance, as these parties are the fastest growing and most polarizing ones in Western Europe. But I want to root this project into wider academic concerns: the study of voters, parties and elections as a political sociologist.

Asking how relevant welfare politics is for the radical right's success, this study is deeply rooted in political sociology and more precisely in cleavage theory. This research question is embedded in the literature on cleavages and the transformation of political conflicts and it can be asked in Rokkanian terms. Political sociology takes a broader look than political science, it does not deal with the "machinery of government, the mechanisms of public administration, and the formal political realm of elections, public opinion, pressure groups, and political behaviour" but it looks into the "interrelationships between politics, social structures, ideologies and culture" (Marshall 2009). In his landmark article, Sartori argued that political sociology should not be a subfield of sociology either, but rather be autonomous. Thus, it is not reduced to the "sociology of politics" which would only consider the political as an object. Political sociology looks into the political processes as they are, but also into their social conditions, distributions and how they are combined

⁹ Radical right parties also seem to vary in their ambitions to reach power and govern (not all of these parties can be considered to have always been truthfully office-seeking).

(Sartori 1969). Sartori's seminal works set the agenda for this book, spelling out clearly the necessity of articulating demand and supply sides of electoral politics:

“With specific reference to the party topic, a real political sociology calls for a simultaneous exploration of how parties are conditioned by society and how the society is conditioned by the party system. To say that a party system is a response to a given socio-economic environment is to present half of the picture as if it were the complete picture. The complete picture requires, instead, a joint assessment of the extent to which parties are dependent variables reflecting social stratification and cleavages and, vice versa, of the extent to which these cleavages reflect the channeling imprint of a structured party system.” (Sartori 1969: 214)

The object of this study is political conflict, in the form of welfare politics, and how responsive radical right parties and their voters are to each other on this issue in the electoral arena. The model developed in this study tries to bridge top-down (supply) and bottom-up (demand) approaches, looking both at voters (across countries, classes, and - when possible also- time) and parties. The argument here is not that welfare politics constitutes a “fully developed cleavage” which should include “a distinct socio-structural basis, specific political values and beliefs, and a particular organization of social groups and normative values” (Kriesi et al. 2012: 9, Bartolini and Mair 2007). Welfare politics likely includes the second and third normative and institutional elements, but it is considered here an important conflict dimension of West European politics rather than a structuring cleavage. However, Häusermann and Kriesi argue that “distributive deservingness”- defined as “the definition of the scope of beneficiaries who should be entitled to (welfare) benefits and services” - may constitute a new conflict dimension of the political space. And they conclude that “with this transformation, the distinction of the two preferences dimension into one cultural and one economic becomes obsolete, as both dimension bear clear and direct relevance for economic and social policy making” (Häusermann and Kriesi, 2015: 206). To use a Lipset-Rokkan terminology, I ask the question of the “translation” of a political conflict (welfare politics) into the political system. This means considering how the welfare politics conflict is translated into politics (the extent to which it drives voting for the radical right) and looking at the “translator” (radical right parties' preferences). Arguably, using the cleavage theory terminology, the welfare politics conflict matches the

concept of “*translation mishandling*”: when the cleavage/conflict structure in the polity is characterized by a low coincidence with the opinion (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). A substantial proportion of voters combine nationalistic preferences with rather economically interventionist positions (Van der Brug and Van Spanje 2009, Kriesi et al. 2008). There is, however, no party that openly put forward such a combination. Kriesi et al. have labeled this political space the “empty quadrant”, as there is a mismatch in a corner of the two dimensional axes (Kriesi et al. 2012). Would a renewed analysis of the radical right vote allow concluding that this translation is not “mishandled”? Through the lens of welfare politics, can we explain the electoral success of the radical right and their positioning in the party system? The chapters of this book will address more practically the following questions: what underlies a radical right vote? Is this voting behavior better explained by a normative or by a self-interest centered approach? Are radical right voters all the same (in terms of social classes, countries, policy preferences, welfare regimes)? How relevant is welfare politics for the radical right parties? Have parties evolved and adapted to their voters?

The case for mixed methods research

In order to answer these questions, I take a methodological stand in favor of multi-method research. Whereas conducting mixed method research is now considered the third research paradigm alongside with quantitative and qualitative research (and it is indeed praised by all social scientists); it is often underachieved (Johnson and Onwuebuze 2004). Interestingly, even though it stems from the combination of the two widely recognized research strategies; mixed methods research has developed as an autonomous approach, with its own methodological guidelines. The autonomization of this research strategy is cross-disciplinary (in the social science) and has been long debated. Several concepts have been used to conceptualize mixed method research: ‘multiple operationalism’, ‘multimethod research’, ‘triangulation’, ‘critical multiplicism’, or ‘methodological pluralism’ (for an overview of mixed method research see Johnson et al. 2007). However, all authors agree that mixed methods research provide stronger confirmation or corroboration of the hypothesis, relying on richer data. In this project I adopt a mixed methodology in terms of approach (supply and demand), but also regarding the data, theory and analytical

strategies. I will carry this mixed methods agenda over the course of the book (across the different chapters), and when possible within the same analysis (within a single chapter). As much as possible, I try to diversify data sources. In this project, the analyses rely on different types of data, mainly individual level surveys (European Social Survey, Eurobarometer, Baromètre Politique Français) and party manifestos (Comparative Manifesto Project¹⁰, **euandi** expert placement of party positions and the full-text manifestos for case studies). Additionally, the party documentation of the Front National has been collected in electoral archives (campaign propaganda) or through personal collection (party leader speeches). Thanks to the diversification of the sources I can investigate cross-country and time variation. Furthermore I conduct the analyses on the basis of different theoretical perspectives and hypotheses. Both the analyses of the relevance of welfare politics for radical right voters and for radical right parties provide competing hypotheses in terms of explanation and possible change over time. These hypotheses might in fact prove to be more complementary as “it may well be that each proposition contains a kernel of the truth” (Denzin 1970).

When analyzing the cross-country individual level data, voting for the radical right in this case, I rely on multiple strategies, looking for a variety of explanatory factors (such as attitudes, class or the role of institutions). On top of this within method diversity, I rely on ‘between’ or ‘across’ methods: combining dissimilar methods to measure the same unit. This is employed mainly when looking at party manifestos: they are analyzed both quantitatively (through salience based analysis) and qualitatively (through in-depth substantive analysis). Investigator triangulation is also mentioned in the methodological literature on mixed-method research, although it is not particular to it. It is common to most contemporary research: several investigators would remove potential bias in the analysis and ensure greater reliability. The nature of the thesis prevents this type of triangulation in its strict term, although certainly the interactive way in which it is

¹⁰ The CMP is complemented by other aggregated level data sources such as the ParlGov database (Döring, Holger and Philip Manow. 2015. Parliaments and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies), or recoding of Eurobarometer trends.

conceived and the place where it is done make it a less solitary and more collaborative work. This study also results from careful guidance from my supervisor, and comments and advices from co-authors and peers¹¹.

1.4. Plan of the book

In order to complete the investigation on the influence of welfare politics on the radical right vote, several steps are necessary. Each chapter has to consider the different level of analysis presented in the analytical framework, and tackle a specific question of the relation.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework of the study and develops the *protection* and *exclusion* hypotheses: the two mechanisms that link welfare politics and the radical right vote. I rely on two strands of the political sociology of the welfare state to elaborate how economic insecurity and specific welfare attitudes can be associated to the radical right's success. Both hypotheses are specified for the demand side (*precarization* and *scapegoating* sub-hypotheses) and the supply side (*programmatic adaption* and *exclusive solidarity* sub-hypotheses).

Chapter 3 examines voting for the radical right by testing the protection and exclusion hypotheses; and more precisely, it tests the individual-level precarization and scapegoating sub-hypotheses. It relies on survey data and provides a multivariate cross-country analysis to test to what extent the radical right vote is determined by welfare politics. Overall, it shows that economic insecurity and welfare normative attitudes are determinants of the radical right vote in Western Europe.

Chapter 4 considers the supply side: the radical right parties. By comparing similarities and differences of radical parties' positions on welfare issues, it looks at different patterns linking welfare politics and the radical right vote. The chapter shows that the programmatic shift and exclusive solidarity sub-hypotheses are validated for some radical

¹¹ Parts of the analysis of chapter 4 were written and published separately with Zoe Lefkofridi (Lefkofridi and Michel 2016); parts of the analysis of chapter 5 were conducted together with Koen Damhuis, in view of publication.

right parties only. This chapter relies on mixed-methods to analyse the party manifestos: it is based on different data sources and on several approaches: quantitative salience based study of manifestos, expert survey, and in-depth case analyses.

Chapter 5 is devoted to class-based analysis, and its consequences on party supply. Because the working class has become the core of radical right constituencies, this chapter provides detailed data on the evolution of the class composition of the radical right electorate, and it shows the precarization of the radical right voters over time. In a second step, it shows that some radical right parties have adapted their programmatic positions to the welfare preferences of their voters. This chapter therefore provides a dynamic demonstration of both the supply-side and demand-side of the protection hypothesis, and it shows that the programmatic shift of some radical right parties results from strategic adaptation to the transformation of their constituencies.

Finally, Chapter 6 assesses the relation between demand-side and supply-side of both the protection and exclusion hypothesis. This chapter relies on an in-depth case study of the Front National including a longitudinal analysis (1988-2012) of voters and manifestos. It shows that the FN is a clear example of the transformation of a party and its electorate.

2. Theoretical framework: economic insecurity, normative welfare attitudes and the radical right

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the book and the hypotheses on how welfare politics conditions the radical right vote in Western Europe. The introduction has set forth the claim that welfare politics (attitudes, values, interests) is relevant to explain the radical right parties' and the voters' preferences. This chapter elaborates this reasoning by bridging electoral politics to the political sociology of the welfare state. The latter subfield owes a lot to the work of Stefan Svallfors, who paved the way for the comparative analysis of how attitudes, values, class positions, and contextual factors (such as policies and institutions) pertaining to the welfare state interplay with opinions and political behaviour (Svallfors 1996, 2006, 2007).

To recall, my understanding of welfare politics is one of a political conflict that encompasses values, policy preferences and performance evaluation of the welfare state. In other words, it is the politicization of the nature of welfare policies (what), its extent and principles (when), the deservingness (who) and contributions (how) of individuals (Van Oorschot 2000). The following theoretical framework is based on the two broad assumptions guiding the welfare politics literature, which are rooted in different conceptions of the welfare state. There are two main functionalist conceptions of the welfare state: a scheme of risk-management and a norm oriented social insurance. Economists label them the "piggy bank" and the "Robin Hood" function (Barr 2012). Both conceptions, in turn, determine the major hypotheses of the study of welfare politics. For the first, the welfare state is conceived as the institutional set-up for risk management; for the second, the welfare state is the institutional set-up that reallocates wealth and reduces social inequalities (Mau and Veghte 2007). More than functionalist labels these

assumptions result in different – and somewhat opposed – models of welfare politics. In the case of a risk management conception, welfare politics is driven by self-interest, whereas in the case of social insurance, normative beliefs of social justice form the guiding assumption. Expanding these two assumptions of welfare politics, I derive two hypotheses on how welfare politics determines radical right voters; and, correspondingly, how it affects radical right parties. Both of these assumptions relies on a different mechanism about how welfare politics affects attitudes and political behaviour. From a self-interest perspective, I argue that welfare politics is determined in an instrumental and egoistic way, on the basis of individuals' benefits and risks (Kumlin 2004). On the other hand, when the central assumption of the welfare state is that it is based on the promotion of social justice, I argue that welfare politics is determined by a set of norms that constitute the moral economy of the welfare state. From these two mechanisms, I formulate two hypotheses on how welfare politics affects the radical right: protection and exclusion. Table 2 summarizes the different theoretical steps from the two conceptions of the welfare state to the hypotheses on the radical right. Both of these hypotheses consider the supply and the demand side of electoral politics. In short, the protection hypothesis expects that individuals who face stark economic insecurity will vote for radical right parties which offer them protection; the exclusion hypothesis holds that individuals whose normative beliefs are breached by out-groups or individuals are expected to support radical right parties because they single out and exclude these out-groups.

Following the comprehensive approach laid out in the introduction, this book considers three levels of analysis. The aim is to explain the micro-level (voting for the radical right) and meso-level (parties' preferences) of electoral politics through the protection and exclusion hypotheses while taking macro-level factors into account. Both hypotheses rely on different assumptions about welfare politics, and the way it can affect political behaviour. However, in this book, these conceptions and the corollary hypotheses are considered more complementary than competing.

WELFARE POLITICS		
<i>Conception of the Welfare State</i>	Scheme of Risk-management	Norm-oriented Social Insurance
<i>Welfare Politics assumptions</i>	Self-interest	Social Justice
<i>Impact on attitudes, values, and political behavior</i>	Economic Insecurity	Moral Economy of the Welfare State
<i>Hypothesis on how Welfare Politics Affects the Radical Right</i>	Protection	Exclusion
<i>Examples of attitudes and behaviors</i>	<u>Ex</u> : negative perception of change, national capitalism, protecting the in-group...	<u>Ex</u> : Targeting norm violating out-group and individuals, bounding and restricting welfare policies, excluding beneficiaries...

Table 2- Theoretical framework

Both assumptions posit that welfare institutions – and the distributive characteristics of a society – are determinant in the translation of welfare politics into political behaviour. On the one hand, economic risks are mediated through welfare institutions. Different welfare policies determine the scope of economic risks. Very generous regimes, in terms of welfare insurance of resource redistribution, will reduce the economic risks of individuals. Conversely, individual face higher economic risks and are more subject to macro-level economic changes in minimal welfare states. On the other hand, institutions have a decisive influence on the shaping of common norms of the welfare state. Yet this book does not engage in the study of how welfare institutions affect the radical right –whether considered broadly like the different welfare regime type or more specifically like concrete policies. Rather, the focus of this study is to uncover how individuals’ welfare politics attributes (attitudes, values, interests) determines their vote for the radical right, and conversely how radical right parties place themselves in the welfare politics conflict.

This chapter is divided into two parts, which follow the theoretical reasoning of the two conceptions of the welfare state (i.e. along the two columns of Table 2). Building on a self-interest conception of the welfare state, I argue that economic insecurity is a driver of West European radical right success, and elaborate the protection hypothesis (2.1.). From a normative conception of the welfare state, I argue that radical right voters and parties target groups or individuals that violate the core norms of the moral economy of the welfare state, and therefore the electoral success of these parties is explained by the exclusion hypothesis (2.2.). Both sections share the same structure, which follows the theoretical paths between welfare politics and the concrete hypotheses on the radical right, i.e. the lines of table 1. In both parts, I first elaborate on the conception of the welfare state and its underlying behavioural assumption, then I describe the impact (mechanism) this theory implies for political behaviour and the radical right success, and finally I formulate the guiding hypotheses of the book.

2.1. Economic insecurity and the radical right vote

The first section presents how self-interest drives welfare politics in risk-based conceptions of the welfare state (2.1.1.), and I argue that increasing economic insecurity is the mechanism that affects political behaviour under this assumption (2.1.2.). Finally, I elaborate the protection hypothesis: the radical right's success is explained by the appeal of these parties to economically insecure voters (2.1.3.).

2.1.1. The welfare state as risk management and self-interested welfare politics

The first theory of welfare politics considered in this book is based on a conception of the welfare state as a risk-management scheme. Simply put, individuals comply with the constraints of the welfare state (taxes, social contributions) to the extent that it guarantees them a safety net in case of loss of resources. The welfare state's legitimacy lies essentially in individuals' self-interest; and as long as it remains its guiding principle, the existence of redistributive institutions is justified. The relation between individuals and the welfare state is thus clearly instrumental: welfare state institutions exist because of the benefits

individuals can obtain from them (Mau and Veghte 2007). This risk-based approach to the welfare state rests in the assumption that citizens are driven by self-interest (Hall and Soskice 2001, Rehm 2009).

A second literature strand of the theory of welfare also considers interest as the basis of welfare politics; but instead of taking individual interest as a driving factor, it considers class interest. The “power resource school” finds the foundations of the welfare state and the roots of its support to be more political than strictly self-interested; it is the group’s interest that matters more than an individual’s own benefits. The size of the working class is the main factor behind the welfare state’s developments under the assumption that support for the welfare state is essentially coming from the demand of lower income individuals for taxes and transfers (Korpi 1983, Esping-Andersen 1990). However, for the “revisionist” school, class position cannot be the sole explanation to welfare preferences: low income is not the only factor of support for social insurance. These authors claim that facing higher risks is equally important (Cusack, Iversen and Rehm 2006). Their core argument is that support for the welfare state does not lie in concepts of redistribution (which is entailed in class-based interest), but as a demand for insurance, which depends on individuals’ economic risk level (Rehm, Hacker and Schlesinger 2012). For instance, individuals with jobs that require specific skills are particularly at risk when shocks affect their specialized labour markets, and therefore tend to support the welfare state as an insurance scheme (Iversen and Soskice 2001). The argument also applies to individuals working in very open and internationalized economic sectors (Scheve and Slaughter 2004). In this book, I follow the revisionist conception of welfare politics and consider individual self-interest as central to their preferences in welfare. This conception is broader than an individual’s only immediate interests: it takes risks, economic foreseeing and individual predictions into account. It is also more complex than simple class position because it takes an individualistic and less static approach.

In order to decide to comply with welfare institutions and their constraints, individuals make a cost-benefit calculus (Iversen and Soskice 2001; Blekesaune and Quadagno 2003). When rationally maximizing their welfare, individuals are not short-sighted and do not only favour policies that immediately benefit them, they also support policies that reduce their risks. To support welfare policies concerns about prospective evaluation, assessment

of possible risks and of one's position in society, are at least as important as immediate gains. Preferences are thus also defined by exposure to risks, and individuals' perception of this exposure. With this conception, the welfare state is defined as the institution that collectivises the risks of individuals, and individuals support it because it is intended to protect them from and deal with risks. In other words sharing risks is utility maximizing because collective institutional schemes are more efficient than individual safety nets.

Based on the assumption that individuals express their preference for welfare arrangements (taxes, level of redistribution, insurance) according to the maximization of their economic utility (Alesina and Giuliano 2009), the next sections deal with the political translation of such preferences. Political preferences express patterns of risk-reduction, whether these risks are anticipated or not. The focus is on the social insurance component of the welfare state, which functions as a risk-management institution. In Western Europe, welfare schemes of social insurance deal with all major perceived economic risks that are associated with a possible loss of income. There is a logical pairing between economic risks that lead to income loss (e.g. age, disability, sickness, and unemployment) and the respective welfare state institutions (pensions, healthcare, disabilities and unemployment benefits).

Objective and subjective individual economic characteristics are crucial in shaping individuals welfare preferences, whether they are support for economic redistribution or for a minimal intervention of – and contribution to – welfare state institutions. These individual preferences – from the most diffuse support to concrete policy positions – translate into political preference in the electoral arena. Where the “power resource school” assumed welfare political preference to be given by class status, the present theory of self-interest considers that political preferences are determined by a variety of factors. The translation of welfare politics into the electoral arena echoes one strand of the voting behaviour literature: egotropic economic voting (Fiorina 1981, Lewis-Beck 1988). Because individuals may face socio-economic risks that they can anticipate (or not), and eventually are confronted to social downgrading, they adapt their political preferences to their economic situation. This may determine their vote choices for the left, or the right – or for attributing political blame and sanctioning incumbent governments.

From this theoretical discussion on the self-interest conception of the welfare state, I take economic (in)security is a key mechanism of expression of welfare politics into attitudes and political behaviour. Economic insecurity goes beyond the experience of economic distress such as falling in unemployment, or becoming ill. Some authors consider economic insecurity mainly as a perception, eventually dominated by the fear of social decline. Others, have looked more precisely at occupational experiences and how one's work position (e.g. sector, hierarchy) affects one's perception of economic (in)security.

2.1.2. Economic insecurity as a mechanism of political behaviour

Regardless of how they are measured, indicators of self-interest shape preferences for welfare policies, whether they are general or specific and retrospective or prospective (Pettersen 1995). Personal involvement intensifies these effects: they are stronger when individuals are themselves recipients of the associated benefits of these policies (Kumlin 2004). But evaluating one's economic risks is not simply the result of the individuals' rational assessment of their personal present economic situation. Structural transformations of the economy directly impact one's risks and shape the evaluation of risk. Indeed, globalization has given rise to new conflicts (economic and cultural) that produce oppositions, new forms of competition among individuals and therefore new risks. I focus on the economic dimension of increasing risks and insecurities, but the cultural approach of the consequences of globalization is also largely dealt with in the literature (Mudde 2007, Kriesi et al. 2012).

In their landmark study of the effects of structural changes on political conflicts, Kriesi et al. argue that globalization gave rise to a revived economic competition and that this process has constituted groups of winners and losers (Kriesi et al. 2008, Kriesi et al. 2012). The concrete manifestations of this revived competition have materialized in deindustrialization, the closing down of factories, and outsourcing of job to low-cost countries. Another approach argues that it is mainly deindustrialization – the product of “technology induced structural transformations of labour-markets – which generates new risks (Iversen and Cusack 2000). I side however with broader conceptions which take the opening of national economies as the origin of revived economic competition, and that

deindustrialization is one of its consequences. At the individual level, this new competition has produced increased economic risks, such as income instability, unemployment, and labour-market instability. These new risks affect and subside one's level of economic security: some individuals feel threatened. Importantly, these new risks are not evenly distributed among the population, but rather they are predominant among certain categories and classes. The industrial working class is the most exposed to the revived international competition. Yet, the new risks do not affect blue-collar workers only; more generally the low skilled (who make up a large proportion of the tertiary sector) are confronted with increasing competition that fuels their economic insecurity. Overall, the globalization of the economy has created losers, who feel economically insecure. These individuals evaluate the concrete consequences of globalization, and with regards to the revived economic competition they emphasize its negative consequences (Kriesi et al. 2008). Consequently, the losers of globalization feel entitled to a form of compensation from their economic precariousness and insecurity (Kriesi et al. 2012). To sum up the causal mechanism: changes brought by globalization of the economy (trade, foreign direct investments, and immigration) have transformed the structure of labour markets and increased one's economic risks, and thereby have direct effects on one's voting behaviour (Dancygier and Walter 2015).

The remainder of this section delves into how economic insecurity, in the context of the globalization of national economies, affects welfare politics and consequently political preferences. In short, I argue that economic insecurity triggers a higher demand for welfare protection and induces a negative perception of change. The fundamental argument is that economic inequality shapes welfare preferences – which does not clash with the power resource theory. Because the losers of globalization face increasing economic insecurity and a growing inequality, they are expected to express preferences for more securing welfare policies. Particularly, people in lower socio-economic classes are more likely to support pro-redistribution left-wing parties (Pontusson and Rueda 2010).

At an aggregated level, an entire subfield of political economy is devoted to the distributional effects of globalization and their consequences on policy preferences – yet falling short of a consensus (Scheve and Slaughter 2001, Rehm 2009, Dancygier and Walter 2015). Two diverging models have identified groups of winners and losers of globalization.

First, the sectoral theory claims that globalization produces winners and losers along economic sectors, i.e. the sheltered non-tradable sectors are advantaged compared to the exposed tradable sectors which are disadvantaged (Gourevitch 1986, Frieden and Rogowski 1996). One way to measure this sectoral insecurity is to consider the “offshorability” of jobs (Dancygier and Walter 2015). Second, the factor-endowments theory finds the winners and losers of globalization are defined by one’s level of skills. Higher-skilled individuals generally benefit from globalization, whereas low-skilled workers lose out. Both these theories find empirical support (Mayda 2006, Rehm 2009). Incidentally, low-skilled workers in “offshorable” exposed sectors report higher economic insecurity (Scheve and Slaughter 2004, Walter 2015). Indeed, the sectoral effect intersects with the skills level; and within the internationally exposed sectors, low-skilled individuals face the greater economic risks. Economic globalization is also intrinsically linked to immigration. The impact of immigration on policy preferences has an important cultural dimension: it affects political values, the sense of national community and traditions (Sniderman and Hageendorn 2007, Banting and Kymlicka 2016). In general, “depending on the economic context, natives may view immigration as benefiting or harming their economic welfare” (Dancygier and Walter 2015: 141). But I focus here on the effects of globalization on immigration politics: the losers of globalization are more susceptible to express reject of immigration on economic grounds (Dancygier 2010).

The losers of globalization – the most exposed and lower-skilled individuals – are expected to be opposed to the globalization of the economy; and, I argue, more reticent to change. Opposition to further globalization is particularly salient amongst the low-skilled (regardless of their employment sector). In addition to the objective structural economic changes they face, and their consequent increased economic insecurity, losers of globalization also express feelings of social disintegration, and social decline, and they feel are ‘threatened to become superfluous and useless for society’ (Betz, 1994). In terms of political preferences, the consequences of economic insecurity triggered by globalization are double. On the one hand, the losers of globalization are expected to support political parties that commit to “curb globalization”. On the other hand, they should support the parties that they expect to compensate for their losses, and thus offer them greater economic protection.

If greater economic insecurity undeniably affects politics preferences, its link to the radical right vote is not self-evident and still needs to be established. Indeed, left-wing parties usually match the demands for more economic security; they are traditionally in favour of higher welfare state intervention (Houtman et al. 2008). The next section develops how economic insecurity affects voting behaviour, and particularly how it contributes to the radical right's electoral success.

The 'power resource' theory and ulterior self-interest based conceptions of welfare politics imply that individuals at risk will seek to be protected through welfare arrangements. Both theories assume that the parties of the left defend and implement favourable welfare policies for the economically insecure individuals. Therefore, the basic expectation would be that high economic insecurity would trigger higher support for left-wing parties. However, I argue that high economic insecurity also fuels the radical right success for two reasons. First, the parties of the left have partially lost their leadership (issue ownership) of expansive welfare politics; second, radical right parties have successfully attracted losers of globalization by mobilizing them through welfare politics.

While globalization has transformed the economy and labour-market conditions in Western Europe, party systems have also evolved and transformed. Most importantly, the transformations of party systems and parties themselves can be gathered under the *convergence hypothesis*. Simply put, the argument is that mainstream parties that usually hold office (both on the left and the right) have converged in terms of economic policies because of the structural changes of capitalism in advanced democracies (Kitschelt 1999). The programmatic convergence of the social-democratic and conservative parties applies chiefly at the macro-economic level, but these parties also face increased constraints at the national level – in which a large proportion of welfare policies is still determined. Indeed, the Single Market and the Maastricht Treaty fundamentally changed national parties' policy arena and dampened important policy conflicts between left and right, especially regarding the management of the national economy (e.g. Mair 2007, 2000). According to Mair, EU law, policies and institutions have been increasingly limiting the policy space, the policy instruments and the policy repertoire at parties' disposal. This, in turn, led to dampening the competition between mainstream parties on policy domains where the EU has increased competences. This is chiefly economic policy: monetary discipline, deregulation,

and labour-market flexibility (Nanou and Dorussen 2013). Overall, the parties of the left do not represent the obvious political choice for economically insecure voters anymore, because they are perceived to face too many structural constraints. The convergence of the mainstream parties on economic issues has two potential consequences. First, Kitschelt argues that, as major parties converge in terms of economic policies, voters become indifferent to the economic dimension of politics, and focus on the cultural dimension (Kitschelt 2007). This is one way to explain the success of the radical right: political conflicts have shifted to the cultural dimension and increasingly on the issue of immigration which is favourable to these parties (Mudde 2007, Bornschier 2010). However, there is an alternative consequence to this reconfiguration of the party system: the convergence of mainstream parties could benefit the radical right because these parties stand out in contrast with the converging mainstream parties, on both conflict dimensions. The reduction of the difference in policy preferences (and output) of mainstream parties creates a favourable political space for the radical right parties (Hainsworth 1992, Kitschelt 1995). Carter shows how the convergence of mainstream parties is correlated to the radical right's electoral success because they are perceived as an alternative (Carter 2005). There is a political opportunity for radical right parties to distinguish themselves from mainstream parties on the issue of welfare politics, specifically by appealing to economically insecure voters.

In addition to the argument that the convergence of mainstream parties benefits electorally to the radical right, I argue that radical right parties have also successfully mobilized losers of globalization because they are openly opposed to globalization and to denationalization. Radical right parties have traditionally opposed change in society, whether economic or cultural. They have always been the parties praising an imagined virtuous past, while denouncing the damages of change and modernity. This idealized past is rooted in nationalism: praising the nation as a homogenous and fixed entity, that can only be corrupted by change and transformations (Gellner 1983, Freedman 1998). Additionally, radical right parties may also be actively trying to appeal to the losers of globalization by turning to interventionist-nationalist preferences. This position is a combination of the rejection of denationalizing processes, and economic interventionist stances and it resonates positively with economically insecure voters (Kriesi et al. 2012). A similar label

for this combination of preferences is to consider the 'left-authoritarian voters' who have left-wing preferences on economic issues, but traditional preferences on socio-cultural issues. However, Lefkofridi et al. have found that left-authoritarian voters generally tend to vote for left-wing parties (Lefkofridi et al. 2014). This book challenges this result and argues that such groups of voters are mobilized by the radical right. Radical right parties in Western Europe have targeted the two aspects of economic insecurity that are likely perceived by the losers of globalization: rejection of economic globalization and change, and increased risks that prompt demand for more welfare state intervention. They aim at defending those who were 'left on the side of/by modernization', those who lost more than they gained in economic and social changes. Because economic insecurity triggers a need for protection against economic globalization, the radical right parties present themselves as alternative against these changes, and their success can stand as a 'protective vote' (Givens 2005). Indeed, their success can be explained because the radical right parties are "status quo parties" (Geering 2013). As status quo parties the radical right responds to both aforementioned dimensions of economic insecurity. The parties put forward a negative perception of change and higher protection against increased risks. Alternatively, the (radical) left could also benefit from growing economic insecurity, as it also rejects economic globalization and still contends that it is the proponent of welfare protection. Yet these parties are somewhat unsuccessful in attracting economically insecure voters. One explanation could lie in these voters' aversion to change. Where the left is more future and change oriented, and usually promotes the transformation of society; the radical right idealizes the past compared to the present, which can appear safer to economically insecure voters. Indeed, 'losers of globalization' are the individuals who "had it better in the past", and I argue that they are thus likelier to support protective parties which praise an idealized past and claim to restore anterior situations.

2.1.3. The protection hypothesis

Based on the previous theoretical developments, which show how insecurity can affect the radical right's success through a self-interest based conception of welfare politics, I formulate the protection hypothesis:

Protection Hypothesis: the success of the radical right in Western Europe is explained by the successful mobilization of voters who are economically insecure, i.e. who are seeking more protective and risk-reducing, welfare arrangements and who are opposed to change.

Since the protection hypothesis has implications on both the voter and party levels, I consider two sub-hypotheses throughout the book. The *precarization sub-hypothesis* expects individual-level indicator of economic insecurity to positively influence voting for radical right parties in Western Europe. At the macro-level, empirical studies suggest that aggregate levels of unemployment, indicators of trade openness, capital mobility, and foreign immigration (considered as indicators of labour-market instability and greater economic risks) are contextual variables that influence positively the radical right vote (Swank and Betz 2003; Arzheimer and Carter 2006). However, at the individual level, the precarization sub-hypothesis expects that economic risks and precariousness are positive determinants of the radical right vote. Precariousness risks are multifaceted, and of various nature. First, they pertain to labour-market position: some categories are more at risks than others, e.g. lower-skilled individuals or those working in vulnerable sectors. Beyond the fear of unemployment and income loss, economic insecurity also increases with the fear of reduced welfare benefits and unpredictable expenses. For instance, healthcare expenses and insufficient healthcare coverage are also indicators of economic insecurity (see for instance the *Economic Security Index*, Hacker et al. 2013). Broader approaches to precariousness can also include non-strictly economic indicators and social capital factor such as the feeling of growing away from the rest of society and the feeling of being left out¹². Hans-Georg Betz showed how the radical right parties appeal to individuals who express social risks and fear of social downgrading on top of economic insecurity. These parties are very successful among these “forgotten” voters (Betz 2015). The *programmatic shift sub-hypothesis* expects that radical right parties have changed their political

¹² See for instance, the insecurity index EPICES (*Evaluation de la précarité et des inégalités de santé pour les Centres d'Examen de Santé*), measured by items on economic characteristics, and lifestyle, social and familial risks; and it is positively associated to the radical right vote (Mayer 2013b, detailed in chapter 6).

preferences on welfare politics to appeal to their economically insecure voters. Radical right parties oppose structural changes and claim they can curb (or reverse) their effects; they frame economic globalization in terms of “labour and social security” (Höglinger et al. 2012)¹³. In addition to defending the status quo, these parties are expected to support economically interventionist policies and favour a protecting welfare state against structural changes of the economy¹⁴.

2.2. Welfare normative beliefs and the radical right

In contrast to the self-interest driven theory, the normative conception of the welfare state means that individuals’ preferences towards the welfare state are based on shared norms. In order to define them, I gather these norms and values under the concept of moral economy of the welfare state (2.2.1.). These norms drive welfare and political preferences, and I argue that it is particularly the perception that normative prescriptions are being violated that affects the radical right vote (2.2.2.). Finally, I elaborate the exclusion hypothesis, which states that the radical right success is explained by appeal of voters and parties to excluding and scapegoating certain individuals or outgroups (2.2.3.).

2.2.1. The moral economy of the welfare state

The normative theory of the welfare state challenges the assumption that welfare politics is determined by self-interest only – however this interest is defined. It considers that welfare politics is grounded in norms and values, and cannot be reduced to interest, whether of one individual or of a class. It is noteworthy that pioneering studies of welfare attitudes have found that, overall, the massive support for the welfare state in advanced democracies is stable (Taylor-Gooby 1985, Svallfors 1996). Despite the structural changes discussed in the

¹³ Only the radical left addresses the consequences of economic globalization in terms of “labour and social security” in greater proportions than the radical right.

¹⁴ Hypothesising that increased economic risks trigger radical right voting competes with the fact that usually the worst-off individuals and the precarious importantly abstain from voting (Kriesi and Bornshier 2013, Mayer 2014).

previous section, which have triggered economic insecurity, the public's attitudes are strongly supportive of the welfare state over time, especially universal encompassing programs (pensions, healthcare). Assuming the welfare politics is entrenched in norms and values requires the stability of preferences for welfare, which should be rooted in public opinion. Other conceptions of the welfare state have made opposite claims, and they predicted that the public's preferences for welfare would dramatically change over time, without considering self-interest as the core of welfare politics. Because of social differentiation and individualism, Offe argued that support for equality and redistribution would crumble (Offe 1987). At the other end of the spectrum, the "government overload" theory thought the citizens would always expect the state to hold greater welfare responsibility and solve their problem: the demand for welfare intervention would grow, even if the state capacities stagnate (Crozier et al. 1975). However, the comparative and systematic analyses of 'Beliefs in Government' have provided extensive empirical refutation to these theories: citizens' demand for government intervention is stable over time (Kaase and Newton 1995).

While the works showing the stability of welfare preferences do not develop the normative dimension of welfare politics; they point out to the fact that individualism and sole self-interest are not the driving mechanisms of welfare preferences over time (Mau 2003). Regarding political preferences, Inglehart argues that "the electorates of advanced industrial societies do not seem to be voting with their pocketbooks, but instead primarily motivated by 'sociotropic' concerns" (Inglehart 1990). An exactly similar argument can be made about welfare politics. Normative and cultural factors are at least as important as self-interest as the driving determinants of welfare politics (Mau 2003, Van Oorschot 2006, Svallfors 2007, 2012). I rely on the concept of moral economy to complement the conception of welfare politics, by adding a normative dimension to the narrow self-interest factor. The concept of moral economy of the welfare state has been revived by recent contributions of the sociology of the welfare state, and in a simple form, it is defined as the beliefs pertaining to the rights and obligations of citizens regarding welfare politics (Mau 2003, Svallfors 2006, 2012).

Before detailing the composition of the moral economy of the welfare state itself, I give a brief overview of the concept of moral economy, which originates from various fields of the

social sciences. The roots of the concept of moral economy are found in Karl Polanyi's seminal essay on the transformations of capitalism, and particularly on the distinction between the two systems that guide economic relations. On the one hand, the 'embedded economy' is a system in which production and exchange are presided over by significant social, political and religious institutions. This means that economic relations are presided over by substantive values. On the other hand, the 'autonomous economy' is a system in which production and exchange are significant per se; economic relations do not bear additional values than their worth and they function according to market rules. The transition from a normative values-oriented system of exchange to the market rules generates social violence and unrest (Polanyi 2001, originally published in 1944). Following the initial assumption that societies and economic exchanges are guided by normative principles, E.P. Thomson coined the term of moral economy and defined it as "a popular consensus about what distinguishes legitimate from illegitimate practices, a consensus which is rooted in the past and capable of inspiring action" (Thompson 1971). The tensions provoked by the transitions to a market-based system are largely studied as a source for political and social conflict. Inadequacy of the new organisational scheme with the moral economy is found as the roots of numerous studies on peasants or third world insurrections (Scott 1976).

Arnold offers a renewed conception of moral economy based on its relation to social goods, and which is more relevant and applicable to the study of welfare politics. It broadens the conception of moral economy beyond the transition from non-market to market-based societies; and it also expands its scientific use outside of the confined analysis of the sources of resistance and rebellion. To Arnold "social goods and moral economies are plural, not singular. Each moral economy is a separate, although often nested sphere of action-inspiring legitimacy" (Arnold 2001). Moral economies do not have to be conceived as an organic set of generic beliefs, but can be envisioned in relation to more specific objects. This pluralist conception allows for the definition of a moral economy that applies to welfare politics. Because welfare politics cannot be limited to "economic utility", and because individuals are determined by norms and not just their egoistic self-interest, I rely on the concept of moral economy of the welfare state, to evaluate the normative underpinnings of welfare politics (Mau 2003).

In order to assess how a normative conception of welfare politics affects political preferences, the constitutive norms of the moral economy of the welfare state have to be clearly defined. I argue that the moral economy of the welfare state is constituted by three overarching norms: equality, reciprocity, and self-reliance. To identify these norms, I rely on three strands of literature, which are respectively theoretical, political, and empirical. First, these norms can be derived from the political philosophy of welfare, which defines three closely related principles of welfare. Second, the study of the political foundations of the welfare state has identified five moral justifications that overlap with the overarching norms. Finally, public opinion research on welfare deservingness has identified five criteria on which ground individuals are more or less deemed to deserve welfare benefits. Table 3 summarizes each level of justification of the three norms of the moral economy of the welfare state.

<i>Core norms of the MEWS</i>	Equality	Reciprocity	Self-reliance
<i>Principle of Political Philosophy</i>	Equality	Merit/Equity	Need
<i>Political foundations of welfare state institutions</i>	Reducing Poverty Equality of Opportunity Social stability	Social Inclusion	Efficiency
<i>Deservingness criteria</i>	Identity Need	Reciprocity	Control Attitude
<i>Associated welfare regime</i>	Universal	Corporatist	Liberal

Table 3 – Justifications of the norms of the moral economy of the welfare state

The political philosophy of welfare has identified 'principles of justice', the general principles of distribution. Three principles define the bases from which decision about welfare entitlements are made, or on what ideal is an individual entitled to receive welfare benefits. In general, theorists determine three principles of welfare: equality, merit, and need (Fives 2008). With slightly different terminology, Deutsch defines 'equality' as a universal redistribution, 'equity' (or merit) as a redistribution relative to one's contribution, and 'need' when there is a set threshold of need that determines benefits (Deutsch 1985). The 'political foundations of the welfare state' do not just refer to the history and development of the welfare institutions, but rather to the justifications of these institutions, which ground their legitimacy. The 'foundations of the welfare state' are functional justifications, they are outcome oriented: welfare institutions and their corresponding constraints and benefits are acceptable because they enable to achieve desirable goals. A set of five justifications has been consensually identified within different social sciences: reducing poverty, achieving equality of opportunity, social stability, social inclusion, and efficiency (Goodin et al. 1999, Barr 2012, Greve 2013). The final strand of literature used to define the norms of the moral economy of the welfare state stems from public opinion research, which has identified five criteria of deservingness. These criteria are the moral reasoning that individuals use when evaluating one's right to access welfare benefits. Van Oorschot distinguishes five criteria: 'control' (people are more deserving when they are not personally responsible for their neediness), 'need' (welfare benefits should go to the most deprived), 'identity' (people who belong to a common in-group are more deserving), 'attitude' (conformity and good conduct are granted higher deservingness), and 'reciprocity' (those who contribute the most should be entitled the higher benefits) (Van Oorschot 2000, 2006). The remainder of this section details the three norms of the moral economy of the welfare state building on the three levels of justification.

Equality is the first norm of the moral economy of the welfare state. It corresponds to the principle that a society needs at least a minimum level of equality – material and potential – among its members to sustain itself. As a principle, equality is both morally desirable and practically necessary. These moral foundations of the welfare state are closely linked to the Rawlsian conception of equality, which calls for the fair distribution of "primary social

goods". Equality does not mean equal conditions for all, but it rests on the "difference principle" which states that some inequalities can be justified, only if they serve to improve the expectations of the least advantaged individuals (Rawls, 1971). Corresponding to the principle of equality are three political functions legitimizing welfare institutions: reducing poverty, promoting social equality, and promoting stability. Reducing poverty was always a primary concern of societies and welfare institutions originated in "Poor Laws" (Goodin and Mitchell 2000). To define poverty, one needs to take distance from a minimalist approach (fulfilling basic needs necessary for physical existence) but consider relative deprivation. The welfare state is justified by trying to minimize the relative deprivation between individuals. The promotion of social equality is another outcome oriented political justification of welfare institutions: guaranteeing an equality of status of citizens before the law, and further the equality of opportunity before welfare institutions. The last equality oriented function of the welfare state is to promote social stability. Not only do societies need to be stable to remain integrated, but individuals also want stability in their personal lives. This is the aim of welfare institutions: ensuring resources to individuals when their regular sources are interrupted. For instance, egalitarians tend to promote the better distribution of social goods, such as jobs. For instance, full employment policies have become crucial aspects of the promotion of social equality (Goodin et al. 1999). Empirical evidence supports the idea that equality is a central norm defining the moral economy of the welfare state. Public opinion in Western democracies is largely supportive of equality, and individuals judge positively the effects of the welfare state, such as the prevention of poverty, of social unrest, and enhancing population well-being (Van Oorschot 2012, Svallfors 2012)¹⁵. To assess the deservingness of welfare benefits under the norm of equality, individuals rely on two criteria. The norm of equality aims at reducing the distress of the individuals that are perceived to be the neediest. However, this deservingness is also

¹⁵ Defining "Government responsibility", Svallfors constructs a scale very close to what the norms of equality is. It is constructed of the following items on the scope of action of the welfare state: "ensure a job for everyone"; "ensure adequate healthcare for the sick", "ensure reasonable standards of living for the unemployed"; "ensure sufficient child services for working parents"; "provide paid leave from work to those who have to care for family members". Despite cross-national and categorical variations,, support for this dimension of social justice is strong in industrialized countries.

conditioned by identity, i.e. individuals need to be members of a bounded community for others to support their claims for welfare benefits. Based on the principle of equality welfare states stabilize social relations and enable a more equal distribution of the opportunities; this process however requires internal bonding of individuals and external bounding to define who can claim its benefits (Ferrera 2005).

Reciprocity is the second core norm of the moral economy of the welfare state. The political philosophy of the welfare state argues that merit is one of the main principles of justice. The notion of merit is very close to reciprocity in the sense that it grounds redistribution in a scheme of valued participation and conditionality (Fives 2008). This understanding of distributive justice implies that a political community divides, exchanges and shares social goods. To base distribution on reciprocity requires societies to enjoy a high degree of social capital, i.e. the features, such as values and networks that improve the efficiency of a society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam et al. 1994). Reciprocity is the main prerequisite for individuals to cooperate. This is extremely relevant for the groups that are expected to contribute the most. The idea of belonging to a community is a forceful justification for the welfare state, under the condition that relations among individuals are perceived to be reciprocal. 'Contingent consent' to an institution – here the welfare state – can be explained through reciprocity, as a norm requiring that individuals cooperate with government demands but only as long as others also do (Levi 1997). The definition of the population of those expected to contribute is of central importance: those who contribute are deserving of social benefits, those who do not (or do not sufficiently contribute) are not. In terms of the political justification of the welfare state, reciprocity is closely linked to the promotion of social inclusion. It is because all contributing members of a society are included in a common scheme of welfare that they consent to it. The 'deservingness debate' demonstrates the central importance of the norm of reciprocity in the moral economy of the welfare state. When individuals evaluate who is entitled to welfare benefits, past and future contributions are of critical importance. For instance, the elderly are always ranked as the most deserving, because they have contributed during their whole life. (Van Oorschot, 2008).

Self-reliance constitutes the third norm of the moral economy of the welfare state. It has always been the conventional reference when individuals consider the welfare state

(Goodin and Mitchell 2000). Self-reliance is at the centre of the welfare state narratives: individuals who are perceived to be self-reliant, sufficient without state intervention, are positively viewed (Halvorsen 1998). In the philosophical debate on welfare, Dworkin replies to the Rawlsian conception of equality on the basis of individual self-reliance. To him, the pivotal distinction for social justice is between 'chances and choices'. To insure social justice, the hazards of chance should be corrected by institutional schemes; but above all individuals should be held responsible for their choices (Dworkin 1981). Thought as a consequence of individual self-reliance, efficiency acts as a guiding principle of the political foundation of the welfare state. In that sense, individuals are not only responsible for their own welfare, but poverty, and need of assistance are also viewed as a personal failure (Hasenfeld and Rafferty 1989). Self-reliance also has implications at the macro-level, since dependence and relying on the community are considered as violations of the rule of 'Pareto efficiency' (when no one can be better off, without some others being worse off). Too great dependency bears greater cost on the general welfare of society (Goodin et al. 1999). In terms of public opinion, self-reliance translates into two criteria for deservingness of welfare benefits. To claim rightfully welfare benefits, individuals have to demonstrate control (responsibility for their situation, individuals are deemed more deserving if their distress is not due to their personal actions) and attitude (individuals will be viewed more positively if they show benevolence: they need welfare assistance even though they comply with the 'rules of the game').

If norms are stable, they are nonetheless not set in stone: they can evolve over time, or vary among countries, classes, and individuals. Indeed, breaking with the Parsonsian theory of norms and their attitudinal and behavioural consequences, contemporary studies has shown how norms can change – and sometimes rather quickly (Bicchieri 2006). Much of the literature that considers the normative dimensions of welfare attitudes stands on an institutionalist point of view, i.e. systemic factors shape the normative dimensions of welfare attitudes. In his seminal contribution, Esping-Andersen considers welfare regime types in terms of institutions but also 'social relations'. Each of his three welfare regimes is grounded in "shared moral assumptions" (Esping-Andersen 1990). Indeed, the three norms of the moral economy of the welfare state can be associated with different types of benefit or welfare policy orientations that are characteristic of the three welfare regimes. The

norm of self-reliance, tied to the principle of need, where only those in the greatest deprivation are entitled to welfare benefits (and the majority should rely on itself), is associated with means-tested benefits typical of the liberal welfare regime. The norm of reciprocity is at the roots of the conditional social insurance schemes of the corporatist or continental welfare states. Conversely, the universal and even unconditional entitlements of the Scandinavian regimes have their origins in the norm of equality. Institutions, as the formal rules, procedures and practices that structure the relationship between individuals and the state, shape both norms and interests, and their effect is considered as “paramount” (Svallfors 2007, Larsen 2008). The impact of institutions on welfare attitudes has been specifically observed: *“in simplified form, the mental figure looks like this: institutions give rise to certain interests and norms, which in turn either reinforce or undermine the original institutions”* (Rothstein, 1998). Welfare regimes are rooted in distinct normative values, but regimes themselves tend to “mold” the welfare attitudes (Svallfors 1997, Mau 2004). This reciprocal relation exists whether looking at generic institutional arrangements or tangible public policies (Mettler and Soss 2004).

This section defined the constitutive norms of the moral economy of the welfare state: equality, reciprocity, and self-reliance. They are grounded in philosophical, political, and empirical reasons for welfare, but also shaped by welfare institutions. The next section develops how those norms influence attitudes, political behaviour, and how they can contribute to the explanation of the success of radical right parties.

2.2.2. Norms, norm violation, welfare attitudes, and the radical right vote

Defining a set of norms that guide preferences towards welfare does not have self-evident implications for political attitudes and behaviours. In order to elaborate on how the norms of the moral economy of the welfare state can influence political preferences, I rely on the assumption that normative beliefs correlate with individual behaviours (Fishbein 1967). With his theory of the social actor, Talcott Parsons has defined the academic debate on norms and behaviours; in his terms, a norm is “a verbal description of a concrete course of action (...) regarded as desirable, combined with an injunction to make certain future actions conform to this course” (Parsons 1968). This theory rests on three principles:

norms only change slowly, normative beliefs influence actions, and when a norm is internalized, expectations of others conformity have no effect on an individual's choice to conform. However, the latter principle on one's relation to the others' conformity to norms has been extensively contested. Indeed, norms are determined by one's beliefs, but also by expectation of others' beliefs (Bicchieri and Chavez 2010). Beyond the significance of others' beliefs, their actions and conformity to norms are also highly influential. The question of norm compliance has long constituted the core of the academic debate on social norms, and since norm conformity is the most common, it is thus the less interesting behaviour to study (Merton 1986). Yet, focusing on one's deviance to norms should not be considered through the lens of individual consequences, but should evaluate how norm-breaching behaviours affect others' beliefs (Bicchieri and Muldoon 2011; Brennan et al. 2013). Indeed, experimental research on norms shows how one's perception of other individuals' expectations and behaviours is significant for their own choices (Bicchieri 2006, Bicchieri and Xiao 2009). With regards to welfare preferences, I argue that the most important influence of norms on attitudes and political behaviour is the perceptions of the others' compliance with the norms (or their violation). Diverging from the socialization theory of Parsons, authors have argued that behaviour are not solely determined by norms, but are embedded in networks of individuals. This 'social identity' - an individual's membership to a social group (or groups) and the value he attaches to it - is determinant in forging his beliefs (Tajfel 1981). Normative beliefs have to coincide both with what an individual thinks, but also with what he believes the others in his group think and should do (Bicchieri and Muldoon 2011). Regarding the norms of the welfare state, normative beliefs should not be considered 'external' or 'exogenous', because individuals evaluate those norms in relation to the representation and perceptions that they have of society, i.e. other individuals' behaviour. Normative beliefs are shaped by the perception of consent and dissent to norms within and between social groups (Staerklé et al 2011). More concretely, norms imply stereotypical images of individuals or outgroups that are considered to be abiding with or deviating from (or violating) these norms. For instance in the United States, conformity with a norm such as self-reliance is associated with upper-class groups. Conversely, violations of this norm is associated with other groups: welfare recipients in the case of self-reliance, or more precise sub-groups, such as immigrants,

women, or black people (Staerklé 2009). I argue that an individual's assessment of others' (or of another group's) compliance with the norms of the welfare state is what influences his welfare attitudes, and thus his political preferences. This implies that individual-level welfare attitudes, and subsequent political preferences, are sharply influenced by the perception that one or more of the norms of the moral economy of the welfare state are being violated by an individual or another social group. Normative beliefs on welfare produce different representations of different social groups, and boundaries are set between groups, who are perceived differently. As a result, some groups are positively connoted (in-groups), others are negatively connoted (out-groups) (Tajfel 1978). The antagonisms produced between groups are the central feature of normative beliefs (Staerklé et al. 2012). As a result, the norm-violating individuals are differentiated, they are considered an out-group, and thus considered as negative elements of society (Kreindler 2005). Definition of boundaries, exclusion and inclusion of social groups, is therefore central to the influence of normative beliefs on welfare preferences. The perception of a violation of one, or more, of the core norms of the moral economy of the welfare state is translated in the exclusion of individuals or a social group: norm violating individuals or perceived outgroups are considered undeserving of welfare benefits, and should be excluded from welfare schemes. A central feature of the radical right is to be exclusive, and value individuals and outgroups differently: from identifying scapegoats to idealizing national groups. Consequently, I expect the singling out of outgroups as a result of perceived welfare norm violation, is prone to fuel the radical right's success, and I elaborate the exclusion hypothesis in the next section.

2.2.3. The exclusion hypothesis

Individuals who perceive that a welfare norm is violated will hold excluding or exclusive welfare attitudes. This attitude is the result of an exclusion process: a norm-violating outgroup is defined, and its deviant behaviour antagonizes some individuals. The radical right parties are likely to capture this welfare antagonism because they are ideologically prone to exclusion, exclusiveness and targeting others.

Indeed, defining bounded communities and exclusion are characteristics of radical right parties (Sniderman et al. 2000, Mudde 2007). They are essentially “movements of exclusion” (Rydgren 2005). This patterns of exclusion are expressed through their populist ideology, despite its ‘chameleonic character’ it always displays an exclusionary trademark (Betz 1994, Mény and Surel 2002, Mudde 2004). Populism is based on the antagonism between ‘us’ and ‘them’, however these groups are defined. Populist exclusionary opposition can be vertical or horizontal. Whether directed at the “corrupted elite” (vertical) or another out-group (horizontal), the mechanism is one of setting boundaries between the ‘heartland’, an idealized community and a negatively perceived group (Taggart 2002). Welfare states and solidarity are already morally based and practically organised on the national community. Therefore much of welfare politics’ conflict echoes in the radical right’s nationalism. However, because of their exclusionary features, radical right parties are expected to capture to capture the bounding and excluding effects even more, and particularly the antagonisms produced by the perceptions of norms violation. Based on this theoretical developments, I formulate the exclusion hypothesis of the radical right success in Western Europe.

Exclusion Hypothesis: the success of the radical right in Western Europe is explained by the successful mobilization of voters who perceive that other individuals and outgroups are violating the shared normative welfare beliefs, and who therefore think that they should be excluded from welfare schemes and who perceive that the own-group is treated unjustly in comparison with outgroups.

The next sections details four excluding welfare attitudes and their exclusion dimension, which spur from the three norms of the moral economy of the welfare state. Once these attitudes are defined I specify the voting behaviour sub-hypothesis of *scapegoating*, and the party level hypothesis of *exclusive solidarity*.

Welfare populism is the attitude derived from the norm of reciprocity. It emerges when individuals feel an out-group is not contributing its share of the welfare social contract. Similarly to the populist ideology, which is based on vertical and horizontal oppositions, welfare populism is structured on the exclusion of out-groups, which are considered

undeserving. For instance, ‘welfare scroungers’ are the individuals who abuse the welfare system, the welfare dependents who violate the norm of reciprocity because they are seen to be maximizing their benefits while minimizing their contributions. Therefore, they constitute an out-group within the population at-large. Another populist claim is to blame the ‘corrupt elite’, who could be the better integrated individuals of the welfare system. For instance, public servants can become a scapegoated out-group of welfare populism, as they are the elites of the welfare system, and are deemed usurpers of its benefits. In that perspective, even if they contribute, they are perceived to receive higher benefits than their contribution should entitled them to. Thus, welfare populism is an opposition between the ‘hard working citizens’, the ‘little guys’ to welfare usurpers and to the welfare elites. Welfare populism therefore creates a category of “social parasites”¹⁶, individuals and groups who do not participate in the industrious production, and the collective effort of welfare schemes. Because of its populist features, the radical right may be prone to blame and oppose particularly such individuals or groups. Welfare chauvinism is a specification of welfare populism, which is distinctly applicable to the radical right; it can be defined as support for a “system of social protection only for those who belong to the ethnically defined community and who have contributed to it” (Kitschelt 1995)¹⁷. It is considered a central feature of populist right vote in Europe in recent years (De Koster et al. 2013). Welfare chauvinism corresponds to the idea of violation of the norm of reciprocity: immigrants are considered to be an out-group less entitled to welfare, because they have contributed less. By nature immigrants join the welfare system programs later than natives; and they are perceived to form a structurally dependent group (Van Oroschot 2008, Van der Waal et al. 2010). Because some individuals perceive that the norm of

¹⁶ The term « social parasite » is inspired from Saint-Simon in “*Sur la querelle des abeilles et des frelons ou Sur la consommation respective des producteurs et des consommateurs non producteurs*” published in 1819.

¹⁷ Jens Rydgren defined welfare chauvinism in a rather similar way: “In such a conflict situation, immigrants are portrayed as illegitimate competitors pitted against natives who are entitled to keep the entire cake for themselves. Hence, in this view immigration is seen as a zero-sum game in which one side always loses what the other side gains. In addressing welfare chauvinist frames, the new radical right-wing parties have used the idea of ‘national preference’: giving to native priority in jobs, housing, health care and so on – a proposal that can be characterized as ‘reversed affirmative action’” (Rydgren 2003)

reciprocity is breached by deviant individuals or out-groups, they are prone to support the radical right since it is more likely to 'exclude', *scapegoat*, or blame the undeserving groups who unfairly monopolize welfare benefits - whether they are an elite or an out-group such as immigrants.

Welfare limitation is the attitude derived from the perception that individual or groups are breaching the norm of self-reliance. This norm holds that individuals should not rely on the welfare state to fulfil their needs, but rather on their personal actions, specifically through hard work. Individuals who are autonomous are positively viewed, whereas individuals who are deemed 'welfare dependent' are negatively viewed. The argument in favour of the self-reliant behaviours is developed at the micro and macro levels. The libertarian economic thinking, in the tradition of Hayek and Friedman, argues that the welfare state is not the ideal arrangement to maximize the well-being of a society. In this macro-level perspective, the welfare state should be reduced to its minimal form, because its institutions foster dependency, corrupt citizens from a righteous conduct; and therefore does not allow for the maximization of welfare. Because it is deemed to essentially corrupt individuals' self-reliance, the welfare state should be limited in scope. This argument implies that welfare institutions also shape micro-level behaviours and incentivizes dependence over self-reliance. The support for welfare limitation is stronger when dependence is considered avoidable. For instance, unemployment is the most likely to be blamed on the individuals, because it is perceived to be one's responsibility to find and keep a job, whereas pension schemes are always more supported since ageing is unavoidable and affects all individuals¹⁸. However, it is unlikely that citizens evaluate the conformity to self-reliance on a macro-level economic scale. They are more concerned with abusers and scroungers: individuals who are voluntarily dependent on the welfare system. As a consequence, they can assess that the welfare state schemes foster such behaviours, and conclude that welfare programs should be retrenched (Halvorsen 1998). The targeting of scroungers and appeal for welfare limitation resonates with Kitschelt's famous "winning formula" that expects radical right parties to hold preferences for the reduction of the

¹⁸ Under a strictly libertarian conception of the economy, individuals should be expected to forecast their future dependence (or eventual illness) and provide insurance systems for themselves instead of relying on state schemes.

welfare state's scope and range (Kitschelt 1995, 2007). The blaming the welfare dependents and arguing for limitation of the welfare state is a central component of the economic views of some radical right parties, and underlies their electoral support.

Egalitarianism is conceived here as resulting from a breach of the norm of equality, whereas in more general studies it is often equated to support for the welfare state (Svallfors 1999). But egalitarianism is more than support for welfare institutions, it implies the perception that some groups are treated unequally with regards to other (in a favourable or unfavourable way). Indeed, expressing egalitarian views can even go along with critical views pertaining the welfare state because egalitarianism is not an evaluation of the performance of welfare programs, but rather an assessment of group disparities (Achterberg et al. 2011). Contrary to the previous attitudes that isolated individuals and groups negatively in order to exclude them from welfare programs, egalitarianism singles out positively precarious groups that are deemed specially deserving. Applied in the conceptual framework of populism, egalitarianism considers that a part of the imagined 'us' suffers from inequality and exclusion. This applies particularly to some categories of the population who display high levels of egalitarianism; in general the blue-collar workers and the less well-off tend to express higher egalitarianism (Svallfors 2012). They feel that they are unequally treated with regards to the rest of the population. Incidentally, the working class is also considered as the core electorate of the radical right (Oesch 2008; Mau and Mewes 2012, Rydgren 2007, 2013). We can therefore assume that such feeling of being unequally treated drives the support for the radical right.

Similarly to the protection hypothesis, the exclusion hypothesis is expected to apply at the voters' and parties' level. Following the previous discussion on identification of deviant outgroups, the *scapegoating sub-hypothesis* expects that some voters identify particular outgroups that violate norms, which leads them to support radical right parties. Each of the four welfare attitudes described above can lead to radical right support because voters' normative beliefs result in populist inspired group singling out. Targeting negatively perceived outgroups such as welfare scroungers or immigrants, or identifying with disfavoured social groups is a disposition of voting for antagonizing parties such as the radical right. Conversely, radical right parties base their ideology and preferences on exclusion (Rydgren 2005). Therefore, the *exclusive solidarity sub-hypothesis* expects that

these parties will promote their welfare preferences chiefly in terms of inclusion and exclusion.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework of this study, and detailed its two guiding hypotheses. In order to do so, I rely on two different conceptions of the welfare state which are respectively interest-based or rely on normative assumptions. Both hypotheses present mechanisms on how welfare politics influences the electoral success of radical right parties in Western Europe. The *protection* and *exclusion* hypotheses have implications at the party and at the voter levels.

	Protection	Exclusion
	The success of the radical right in Western Europe is explained by the successful mobilization of voters who are economically insecure, i.e. who are seeking more protective and risk-reducing, welfare arrangements and who are opposed to change.	The success of the radical right in Western Europe is explained by the successful mobilization of voters who perceive that other individuals and outgroups are violating the shared normative welfare beliefs, and who therefore think that they should be excluded from welfare schemes and who perceive that the own-group is treated unjustly in comparison with outgroups.
Demand Side	<i>Precarization</i>	<i>Scapegoating</i>
Supply Side	<i>Programmatic shift</i>	<i>Exclusive solidarity</i>

Table 4 - Protection and Exclusion hypotheses for the demand and the supply side of electoral politics

On the demand side, the *precarization* sub-hypothesis expects that economically insecure voters are likely to support radical right parties who offer them an alternative to mainstream parties. The *scapegoating* sub-hypothesis expect that voters who feel that core normative beliefs of welfare redistribution are being violated by individuals or outgroups

should support the radical right because it fosters exclusiveness in terms of welfare politics.

On the supply side, the *programmatic shift* sub-hypothesis expects that radical right parties turn their back on their initial 'winning formula' which entailed retrenchment of welfare institutions in order to adopt protective welfare preferences that match their constituents' economic insecurity. The *exclusive solidarity* sub-hypothesis expects that radical right parties frame their welfare preference in terms of group inclusion and exclusion.

3. Welfare politics and voting for the radical right

The protection and exclusion hypotheses provide individual-level voting rationales for radical right parties. In this chapter they are both tested with a quantitative large-N approach, in order to give a renewed account of the determinants of the vote for radical right parties in Western Europe. More precisely, it tests the *precarization* and the *scapegoating* sub-hypotheses: the radical right vote is expected to be driven – among other factors – by economic insecurity and by the perceptions that the normative prescriptions of welfare politics are being violated.

To recall, the guiding hypotheses of this study are considered to be complementary more than competing, they are not expected to rule out one another. This introduction does not develop extensively the theoretical arguments which grounds each of the hypotheses and which have been presented in chapter 2, but it provides individual-level testable expectations for both hypotheses. First, the protection hypothesis entails that increasing economic insecurity is positively associated to the radical right vote, because these parties reject the globalization which is considered responsible for economic insecurity, and because they represent parties of the status quo, which grants them a protective image. There are multiple ways of measuring economic insecurity but due to conceptual choices and data restriction, I have defined three individual level characteristics, which are expected to be associated with radical right voting: high-risk occupational positions, retrospective and prospective economic insecurity. Blue-collar workers are the most exposed to globalization's economic consequences, and they are confronted with a structural economic insecurity, therefore belonging to this economically insecure occupational groups is expected to increase the support for the radical right (H1). In addition to sectoral economic insecurity, individuals' perception of economic security – both retrospective and prospective, is expected to drive the radical right vote (H2 and H3). Second, based on the scapegoating of out-groups and individuals who are perceived to be violating normative prescriptions about welfare

politics, the exclusion hypothesis posits that four welfare attitudes are positively associated to the radical right vote: welfare populism (H4), welfare chauvinism (H5), welfare limitation (H6) and egalitarianism (H7). The previous chapter showed how the perceived violations of the norms of the moral economy of the welfare state can lead to group scapegoating and welfare attitudes which underlie radical right support. Yet, the moral economy of the welfare state is a complex system of norms and values, which are not strictly independent from one another and most likely interact. One can perceive that several normative prescriptions of welfare politics are being breached; and interactions of the consequent welfare attitudes may increase their influence on voting for the radical right. For instance, the critics of the welfare state under the violations of the norms of reciprocity and self-reliance can be combined. The limitation of the welfare state can be associated with the expression that welfare redistribution benefits only an undeserving non-contributing outgroups, and that its beneficiaries should be limited to the most deserving – excluding groups perceived as less deserving such as the unemployed and immigrants (H8 and H9) Alternatively, when both norms of reciprocity and equality are perceived to be violated, individuals can feel their in-group is not entitled to enough social benefits, whereas some are not contributing their share, such as welfare scroungers or immigrants (H10 and H11).

The final level of interactive hypotheses tackles the influence of institutions on welfare attitudes. In short, each of the norms of the moral economy of the welfare state is the fundamental principle of the three different welfare regime types identified by, constituting their “shared moral assumption” Esping-Andersen (1990). Therefore, I expect the effects of the welfare attitudes on the vote to be stronger within welfare regimes in which they are the guiding principle. In continental welfare states, the breach of the norm of reciprocity should be even stronger, and welfare populism and chauvinism should have a greater influence on the radical right vote (H12 and H13). Likewise, the effect of egalitarianism on the radical right vote should be stronger in Scandinavian welfare states (H14)¹⁹. Table 5 summarizes the fourteen individual level testable hypotheses of the influence of welfare politics on the radical right vote.

¹⁹ There is no case of a country that has both a liberal welfare regime and a successful radical right party in Western Europe in the dataset. Therefore the possible interaction between the breach of norms of self-reliance and the vote cannot be tested in this chapter. Considering recent electoral developments in the United Kingdom, the influence of welfare politics on the UKIP vote and on the Brexit referendum make for a stimulating future research agenda.

Protection Hypothesis	
H1	High risk occupational position
H2	Retrospective economic insecurity
H3	Prospective economic insecurity
Exclusion Hypothesis	
H4	Welfare Populism
H5	Welfare Chauvinism
H6	Welfare Limitation
H7	Egalitarianism
Interactive Hypotheses	
H8	Welfare Populism*Welfare Limitation
H9	Welfare Chauvinism*Welfare Limitation
H10	Welfare Populism*Egalitarianism
H11	Welfare Chauvinism*Egalitarianism
H12	Welfare Populism*Continental welfare regime
H13	Welfare Chauvinism*Continental welfare regime
H14	Egalitarianism*Scandinavian welfare regime

Table 5 - Protection, Exclusion, and interactive hypotheses at the individual level

This chapter provides a conventional analysis of voters' preferences: it analyses the determinants of the vote for the radical right parties. Its originality, however, lies in the comprehensive account of how occupational and attitudinal factors of welfare politics can explain the vote for a radical right party in Western Europe.

The first part of the chapter details the data and operationalization of variables of interest (3.1.). The following section tests the effects of each of the constructed variables on the radical right vote. The second step of the analysis takes a broader perspective and compares the influence of welfare politics on the radical right vote with other voting behaviours and across countries (3.2.). Finally, the results and their implications are discussed (3.4.).

3.1. Data and operationalization

The individual-level analysis is based on the *European Social Survey* Round 4 (ESS4) of 2008²⁰. This dataset is not the most recent to account for the radical right vote, but it is particularly well suited to study the relation between radical right voting and welfare politics. ESS4 has a specific rotating module on “welfare attitudes in changing Europe” which allows for finer grained analysis of welfare dispositions and attitudes and their consequences on political behaviour. This section first details the construction of voting behaviour dependent variables (3.1.1.), then variables of interest of the protection and exclusion hypotheses (3.1.2.), and finally of additional control variables (3.1.3.).

3.1.1. Dependent variables: voting for the radical right

This analysis deals with voting behaviour, therefore it focuses on the radical right electoral constituencies and not with other types of support (such as partisan proximity). It is restricted to countries in which there is an electorally relevant radical right party at the time of the survey. I define electoral relevance by two conditions: the radical right party must have reached a significant share of the vote, and in at least two consecutive elections. Therefore, I exclude cases with longstanding micro radical right parties or ephemeral radical right party successes (for instance in Portugal, Spain, or the United Kingdom prior to 2014). Two potentially significant cases also have to be left out of this analysis: the *Sweden Democrats* and the Italian *Lega Nord*. The former have only broken through electorally in 2010 (while the ESS4 data was collected in 2007). The latter is not included in the ESS4 dataset. Although *Lega Nord* meets all the criteria of radical right parties, it presents the additional problem of being an essentially regionalist movement. This could create difficulties to study welfare politics which is essentially tied to national communities (Ferrera 2005, Banting and Kymlicka 2017). Hence, the analysis of the radical right voting in Western Europe is based on eight countries and their respective radical right parties: Austria (*Freiheitliche Partei*

²⁰ ESS Round 4: European Social Survey Round 4 Data (2008). Data file edition 4.3. NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.

Österreichs, FPÖ) Denmark (*Dansk Folkeparti*, DF), Finland (*Perussuomalaiset*, TF), Norway (*Fremskrittspartiet*, FrP), France (*Front National*, FN), the Netherlands (*Partij voor de Vrijheid*, PVV), Belgium (*Vlaams Belang*, VB; *Front National*, FN) and Switzerland (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*, SVP)²¹.

Voting for the radical right is the dependent variable throughout this chapter, but it is operationalized in different ways. The analysis is based on retrospective vote choice from the last legislative election before the interview (elections date from 2005 to 2008²²). Voting behavior is measured in two different ways: a dichotomous variable, and a categorical variable. In the first case, voting for the radical right is opposed to all other options: one either votes for the radical right or not. In the second case, voting for the radical is compared to every other possible vote choice. Alternative vote choices are classified in seven coherent party families: Non-governmental Left, Socialist/Social-democrat, New Left (greens), Liberals, Christian-Democrats, Conservatives and the Radical Right. Not-voting is included in the analysis as another “alternative vote choice”. The seven party families encompass almost every party competing in Western Europe and the classification is based on the European party affiliation of each national party. Parties of the mainstream right are however subdivided into two categories (Conservatives and Christian-Democrats) since the EPP gathers parties with arguably distinct socio-economic preferences²³. (See Appendix A for the full classification of

²¹ Although the SVP is the most important radical right party in Switzerland, three other parties classify as belonging to this party family: *Schweizer Demokraten*, SD; *Lega dei Ticinesi*, LdT, *Eidgenössisch-Demokratische Union*, EDU. Only the SVP gathers the two conditions of electoral relevance, but four parties are kept in the analysis. Since the electorate is considered as a whole, it is acceptable to include the four parties to form the group of Swiss radical right voters. A similar approach is taken for Belgium, even if VB and *Front National* (Wallonia) do not compete in the same electoral arenas; their voters are the Belgian radical right electorates. An alternative for the case of voting for the Vlaams Belang would be to consider Flanders only. This would however reduce the sample too much.

²² Although most of the data has been collected in late 2007, the survey was conducted later in Austria than in the other countries, thus data for the 2008 legislative elections is included.

²³ The Liberals, Christian-Democrats and Conservatives have been distinguished even though they can belong to the same EP groups because, although they share common positions, they are expected to diverge precisely on the issues of redistribution. Regionalist parties have been reallocated to other party families accordingly to their European affiliation at the time. This is particularly relevant for the radical right, where the regionalist Vlaams Belang is considered as the main radical right party in Belgium. In Switzerland, the regionalist Lega dei Ticinesi – which is formally allied to the SVP – and represents only 3 observations, is pooled with the radical right.

political parties). Non-voting is a distinct electoral option (including blank votes and spoilt votes). Electoral analysis of the radical right is often confronted with the issue of underrepresentation of the voters in surveys. Smaller parties already have small proportions of respondents in such surveys, but this is worsened by under-declaration of the radical right vote due to social desirability. Radical right voters are systematically underrepresented when compared to the official electoral result; in the present case, the gap is acceptable and the samples are always comparable to the actual electoral result (table 6). In the pooled sample for these eight countries, the 974 radical right voters constitute a satisfactory sample. However, there is quite a large variation within countries, in which radical right voters range from a low n=37 in France to n=218 in Switzerland.

	Austria (2008)	Belgium (2007)	Switzerland (2007)	Denmark (2007)	Finland (2007)	France ²⁴ (2007)	Netherlands (2006)	Norway (2005)
ESS4	17%	8%	29%	10%	4%	3%	4%	16%
Election Results	18%	12%	29%	14%	4%	4%	6%	22%

Table 6 - Representativeness of ESS4 radical right voters

3.1.2. Variables of interest: economic insecurity and welfare attitudes

As discussed in chapter 2, I put forward two hypotheses to explain the relation between welfare politics and the radical right. Hence, there are three sets of independent variables: those relating to the protection hypothesis, those relating to the exclusion hypothesis, and the usual control variables of electoral analysis.

The first aspect of the theory that links economic insecurity to radical right voting is the individuals’ own economic risks. There are two ways to assess economic insecurity: occupational experiences and individual perceived risks. Occupational experiences are

²⁴ France poses an additional problem, vote choice is calculated for the 2007 legislative election whereas the presidential election would have been more suited. Traditionally, the FN always scores lower in legislative elections which are held a month after the presidential ones, and who electorally confirm the legislative majority of the newly elected president. In a runoff majoritarian system the FN is obstructed, because other parties strategically choose to eliminate it (*cordon sanitaire*). This might explain the important underrepresentation of FN voters, whereas this party is among the strongest radical right parties in Europe. In addition, the 2007 legislative election was an under performance for the FN compared to its usual scores.

generally captured by belonging to a specific economic sector and therefore a given occupational class. To account for occupational experiences I rely on Oesch's (2006a, 2006b) class schema, which is derived from the International Standard of Classification of Occupations (ISCO88). This recalibration accounts for labour-market positions and also goes beyond the manual/non-manual divide. The ISCO classification in 16 distinct positions gives a fine-grained account of individuals' occupational experience, but produces categories that are too small for statistical relevance. This is even more crucial when looking at the profile of the radical right voters, who already make up a limited sample. These groupings can also be aggregated in 8 occupational positions, or in 4 reliable social classes: employers, middle-class, working class and routine workers. In order to construct these groupings, I follow Häusermann and Gingrich's method of recoding groups with a combination of occupational status, education levels and self-employment status (Gingrich and Häusermann 2015, presented in Table 7)²⁵.

Yet membership in an occupational class – however coherently aggregated is not a sufficient measure of economic insecurity. There are two major reasons why occupational status cannot fully give account of economic insecurity. First, the aggregation obliterates the individual-level differences within social classes. Indeed, there can be a strong variance in economic insecurity within individuals of the same occupational class. Among the routine workers or the working class for instance, some individuals are established insiders, whereas others are precarious outsiders. Second, class is also a very static measure that cannot account for the possible variations of an individual's employment history. One could be economically secure now, but still have faced dire economic insecurity in the past. An alternative approach to measuring economic insecurity is to add occupational level rates of unemployment, in a combination with skill specificity or employment types (for instance Rehm 2009, Schwander and Häusermann 2013) or employment characteristics at the individual level (Rueda 2005).

There are still disadvantages to using objective labour-market risks to account for economic insecurity: first, it is restricted to employment characteristics (economic insecurity relates to broader concerns about finances, health and household situation);

²⁵ I thank prof. Häusermann and prof. Gingrich for their assistance in implementing this coding scheme in the analyses of chapters 3 and 5. The finer-grained occupational classifications are not directly of use for this chapter, but they are introduced, as they will be central to the chapter analyzing the diverging class interests of radical right voters.

second, it does not account for one’s past experiences. Because both mere occupational class and objective labour-market risks are insufficient to fully capture economic insecurity, I opt for subjective measures of prospective and retrospective of economic insecurity, which allow for correcting (or completing) these shortcomings.

ISCO	Occupational classification (Oesch 2006)	Occupational classification (Häusermann & Gingrinch 2015)
Large employers (>9)	Large employers and self-employed professionals	Employers
Self-employed professionals		
Small business owners with employees (< 10)	Small business owners	
Small business owners without employees		
Socio-cultural professionals	Socio-cultural (semi-) professionals	Middle class
Socio-cultural semi-professionals		
Higher-grade managers and administrators	(Associate) managers	
Lower-grade managers and administrators		
Skilled service	Service workers	Workers
Skilled clerks		
Technical experts	Technical (semi-) professionals	
Technicians		
Skilled manual/crafts	Production workers	
Low-skilled manual		
Low-skilled service	Office clerks	Routine
Unskilled clerks		

Table 7 - Occupational Classifications

Prospective subjective economic insecurity is measured by a Likert-scale that aggregates three items of economic insecurity: the perceived likelihood of becoming unemployed, of lacking money to cover the household’s expenses, and of lacking healthcare coverage over the next 12 months. To account for the possible influence of past events on preferences formation, *retrospective economic insecurity* is measured by a binary variable capturing whether an individual once experienced an unemployment period of more than 3 months (that is without a job and looking for one). In the pooled sample, 25% of the sample reports having been unemployed in the past. However, there are

variations of level of retrospective economic insecurity among countries: past levels of unemployment are the highest in Finland (30%) and France (34%), whereas they are the lowest in the Switzerland and Denmark (16%). Prospective economic insecurity is subject to smaller variations within the sample (average score of 1.8, highest in Austria with 2.1, and lowest in Denmark with 1.6). (See Appendix B for average of the variables of interest and Appendix C for country details). The combination of labour-market experience (occupational status) with retrospective and prospective economic insecurity fully captures the dimensions of economic insecurity as defined in chapter 2; it combines structural factors with individual's assessments of past and present economic insecurity.

The exclusion hypothesis defined four welfare attitudes resulting from perceived norm violation: welfare populism, welfare chauvinism, welfare limitation, and egalitarianism. These four attitudes are measured by 5-point Likert-scales. The specific module on welfare attitudes of the ESS4 (2008) is the only dataset, which gives enough information to create comprehensive scales of normative beliefs about welfare politics. In addition to their theoretical definition, the validity and homogeneity of the welfare attitudes is empirically confirmed with series of factor analyses of relevant variables of the specific ESS module pertaining to beliefs about the welfare state. In addition to the main questionnaire of the ESS, the rotating module has 50 questions about welfare, which includes "attitudes towards welfare provision, size of claimant groups, views on taxation, attitudes towards service delivery and likely future dependence on welfare". The results of the factor analysis select only the relevant and significant variables. The theoretically constructed attitudes are supported by the data; welfare limitation, egalitarianism, welfare populism, and welfare chauvinism are built on the results of factor analysis.

Each of the hypothesized welfare attitudes is a Likert-scale formed of between two and four Likert-items. Each scale ranges from 1 to 5, higher scores expressing higher agreement. Table 8 presents the composition of the four distinct factors identified by the orthogonal rotation of principal component factor analysis.

Welfare limitation is the attitude that derives from the violation of the norm of self-reliance and it praises autonomous individuals in contrast to those who rely – or depend - on the welfare state. On top of identifying norm breaching behaviours, this attitude entails a broader conception of the role of the welfare state. Therefore welfare

limitation is composed of a reversed scale of agreement with the position that the state should guarantee the “standards of living” of different groups at risks (the old, the unemployed, the sick) and ensure jobs for every individual. The higher scores on the scale of welfare limitation correspond to the belief that the welfare state should be more limited.

Egalitarianism is the welfare attitude derived from the norm of equality, which dimensions including reducing poverty, promoting social equality and avoiding exclusion. Following the definition developed in chapter 2, egalitarianism implies the perception that some groups are treated unequally with regards to other (in a favourable or unfavourable way). Contrary to the other attitudes, egalitarianism identifies a group positively, and considers it particularly deserving when it comes to welfare benefits or at least to be denied benefits it should receive. The egalitarianism scale is thus composed of items that identify such deserving groups: “low incomes” and “those in real need” who are perceived not to receive the benefits to which they should be entitled.

Welfare Populism and *Welfare Chauvinism* both derive from the violation of the norm of reciprocity, the latter being a specification of the former that targets specifically immigrants. *Welfare Populism* expresses the violation of the norm of reciprocity by identifying an out-group that is deemed undeserving of the welfare benefits it enjoys, because it is not contributing its share. It is an opposition to the “welfare scroungers” who abuse the welfare system and who are seen to be maximizing their benefits while minimizing their contributions. The attitudinal scale is composed of two items related to the negative consequences of welfare benefits (making people more lazy, and less caring for themselves and their families) and two items on concrete violations of the norm of reciprocity (unemployed individuals not looking for jobs, employees pretending to be sick). The scale of welfare chauvinism focuses on reciprocity in giving welfare benefits to immigrants: after how long in the country should they receive welfare benefits, do they receive more than they contribute, are immigrants settling in the country because of social benefits.

	Factor 1 Welfare Populism	Factor 2 Welfare Limitation	Factor 3 Egalitarianism	Factor 4 Welfare Chauvinism	Uniqueness
Social benefits make people lazy	0.81	-0.03	-0.07	0.15	0.32
Social benefits make people less look after themselves	0.78	-0.05	-0.05	-0.01	0.39
Most unemployed do not really try to find a job	0.69	-0.03	0.23	0.15	0.44
Employees often pretend they are sick to stay home	0.61	0	0.19	0.15	0.57
Gov. Responsibility: standard of living for the old	0	0.8	0.04	0.01	0.36
Gov. Responsibility: healthcare for the sick	-0.08	0.77	-0.02	0.02	0.39
Gov. Responsibility: standard of living for the unemployed	-0.13	0.47	0.09	-0.06	0.76
Gov. Responsibility: jobs for everyone	0.02	0.62	0.12	-0.07	0.59
Insufficient benefits in country to help people in real need	0.03	0.06	0.79	0.01	0.37
Many with low incomes get less benefits than legally entitled to	0.04	0.02	0.79	0	0.37
When should immigrants obtain rights to social benefits/services	0.21	0.01	-0.01	0.41	0.74
Immigrants are encouraged to come to the country because of social benefits	0.05	-0.04	0.06	0.76	0.41
Immigrants receive more than they contribute	0.26	0.07	-0.14	0.72	0.44
Eigenvalue	2.3	1.9	1.4	1.4	

Table 8 - Factor analysis for welfare attitudes reported from orthogonal rotation of principal component factor analysis.

3.1.3. Control variables

The models include the conventional control variables of electoral behaviour analysis, mainly socio-demographic characteristics. Moreover, they are especially relevant when dealing with the radical right vote in Western Europe, since they account for a – minor but real – portion of the variance in support for the radical right parties (Van der Brug et al. 2005). Hence, in the following analysis variables of *age*, *gender*, *education* (as a categorical variable of 3 levels: ‘less than upper secondary’, ‘upper secondary’, and ‘tertiary education’) and *household income* (in deciles) are included.

Attitudes relating to cultural issues are prominent in explaining the radical right vote, and more specifically the workers’ support for the radical right (Mudde 2007, Oesch 2008). One cannot assess the influence of welfare politics (holding specific welfare attitudes, or being economically insecure) without controlling for the cultural explanation of radical right support. As radical right parties have been framed as single-issue parties focusing on immigration I rely on an attitude towards immigration to measure the cultural factor of the radical right vote. Note that welfare chauvinism also expresses an attitude towards immigrant (on the economic dimension, and based on the norm of reciprocity), therefore the anti-immigration attitude is restricted to the socio-cultural dimension. The variable of socio-cultural *attitude towards immigration* is measured with the item “country’s life is undermined or enriched by immigrants”, a 5-point Likert scale, with higher scores corresponding to anti-immigration attitudes. (See Appendix B and C for a statistical summary of the variables of interest constructed in order to test the protection and exclusion hypotheses.

3.2. Results

In order to demonstrate – or invalidate – the protection and exclusion hypotheses the following section proceeds in four steps. First, the significance of economic insecurity and welfare attitude determinants for voting for radical right parties is tested through different models of logistic regression (3.3.1.). Second, the seven variables of interests (three for the protection hypothesis, four for the exclusion hypothesis) are analysed

more closely through a comprehensive presentation of predicted probabilities of the radical right vote for each covariate (3.2.2.). Third, multinomial logistic models show how the influence of welfare politics on the radical right vote contrasts with that of other constituencies (3.2.3.). Voting cannot be reduced to binary choices, and explaining voting behaviour should focus not only on what drives the vote for a specific party, but also how these drivers play differently with regards to other voting options. Indeed, vote choice cannot be simply reduced to voting for the radical right or not; but it should be analysed with regards to other voting (or non-voting) possible outcomes. We can expect welfare politics' factors to have significant contrasting effects on voting for the left, the right, or the radical right. The question remains if welfare politics significantly distinguishes radical right voters from other party families and in which direction. The last section deals with cross-country variations since both constituencies and parties display variance within West European cases (3.2.4.).

3.2.1. Voting for the radical right in Western Europe

Voting for the radical right in Western Europe is explained through logistic regressions on a sample of voters (who have expressed a party preferences) comprising between 9133 and 9620 individuals. Using this method, cross-country variations can pose a two problems that may bias the results: there may be country-specific effects that the model would obliterate; and there is a rather large variation of radical right voters in the different country samples. To correct for these issues, the models are run with country fixed-effects. Table 9 presents the results for the six models of the analysis, including the control variables (I), the protection hypothesis variables (II), the exclusion hypothesis variables (III), a combined model (IV), a model including attitudinal interactions (V), and a model with welfare regime type interactions (VI). Since odds-ratio provide more intuitive interpretation for binary or categorical variables in terms of percentages, the odds-ratio derived from these models are presented in Appendix D.

In model I, the control variables confirm existing knowledge of the determinants of the radical right vote in all models (Lubbers and Scheppers 2000, Givens 2004, Norris 2005). Moreover their effect is consistent across all models – with some marginal variation in the size of coefficients. Age (as a numerical variable) is not a predictor of the vote for the radical right. However, Arzheimer and Carter have shown that age has a U-

shaped effect on voting for the radical right: the youngest *and* the oldest age cohorts are more likely to vote for a RRP than middle-aged voters (Arzheimer and Carter 2006). Income does not yield significant results in this model. Possibly, the controls for education, class, and attitudes towards immigration – all positive and significant – capture an effect of income. Indeed, education yields significant and strong effects on the radical right vote, in line with what prior analyses have established: the more voters are educated, the less they vote for the radical right. However, the reciprocal relation is not true, the least educated voters are not the individuals that vote the most for the radical right – they tend to abstain – but it is rather the voters with a “middle-school education” (Arzheimer and Carter 2006, Kriesi and Bornschieer 2013). This trend finds support in all models: there is no significant difference in voting for the radical right between individuals with a secondary level of education and those with a primary level of education. Gender remains a strong determinant of voting for the radical right: women are between 25% and 30% less likely to support a radical right party across all models, which is consistent with previous findings (Arzheimer and Carter 2006; Arzheimer 2009, Harteveld et al. 2015, Immerzeel et al. 2015). However, the gender gap in radical right constituencies is a contested debate: while some authors claim it is closing (Mayer 2013a), others argue that the gender gap persists because of women’s motivation to control their prejudice, i.e. internalized social desirability (Harteveld and Ivarsflaten 2016). Finally, as expected, cultural the anti-migration attitude is strongly and consistently associated with voting for the radical right.

Model II presents the results of the variables derived from the protection hypothesis. Both prospective and retrospective economic insecurity are positive determinants of voting for the radical right. Retrospective insecurity has the strongest effect, and the model predicts that an individual who has experienced a period of at least three months of unemployment in his life is roughly 40% more likely to vote for the radical right than an individual who was continuously employed. Although with lower coefficients, prospective economic insecurity is also positively linked to voting for the radical right. These results confirm that economic insecurity is a significant determinant of voting for the radical right. The effects of occupational class are also in line with existing knowledge of the sociological composition of the radical right electorate. Compared to working class voters, belonging to the middle class or being an employer make it roughly 25% less likely to vote for a radical right party. There is, however, no significant

difference between the working class and routine service workers. There is nonetheless a difference of socio-economic status with regards to the radical right vote: individuals with a lower status (blue-collar workers, routine non-manual workers) are more likely to vote for the radical right than those with a higher socio-economic status (middle class, employers). All things constant, introducing occupational class and variables of economic insecurity in the model reduces the effect of education on the radical right vote (dark grey in table 9). When taking the variables of the protection hypothesis into account, individuals with a tertiary education are 43% less likely to vote for the radical right than individuals with a primary education, whereas this likelihood was of 50% in Model I (odds-ratio, Appendix C of this letter). This, however, does not mean that the effect of education is smaller than the effect of occupational class. Indeed, education is established in the literature as a very significant factor of voting for the radical right. When comparing the predicted probabilities of the vote, being a production worker and holding a primary level of education are associated with the same predicted probability of 9% of voting for the radical right (all else equal). Whereas, the mean probability of the sample is 7%, it increases to 12% for individuals with secondary education (Annex D of this letter). Overall, the variation in levels of education appear to have a stronger effect on the probability to vote for the radical right than belonging to different occupational classes. Yet, occupational class – and particularly being a blue-collar worker - has an effect of their own, which is otherwise partially captured by education in models that do not account for it. Overall, Model II confirms that economic insecurity, measured by occupational class belonging and prospective and retrospective economic insecurity underlies support for the radical right.

Model III presents the effects of the four welfare attitudes derived from the exclusion hypothesis. Previous research had established that welfare chauvinism is a typical attitude of radical right voters, and the model forcefully confirms it. No other variable has a comparable effect to that of holding welfare chauvinist preferences. The introduction of welfare chauvinism in the model also reduces the anti-immigration effect by a quarter, which shows that anti-immigration attitudes capture welfare related concerns. This reduction of the effect of socio-cultural anti-immigration attitudes is mostly driven by the effect of welfare chauvinism. Indeed, the two attitudes have similar trends of effects on voting for the radical right, although the predicted probabilities associated with welfare chauvinism are lower (Annex E). These evidence point to the

fact that some welfare attitudes and particularly welfare chauvinism not just positively associated to voting for the radical right. Welfare politics factors have individual effects that are generally captured by broader factors in the literature, such anti-immigration attitudes. Additionally, the hypothesis on violated reciprocity is supported by the positive – yet smaller - effect of holding welfare populist attitudes on the radical right vote. These two attitudes spur from the same logic – normative prescriptions of reciprocity are being breached – and they are similarly associated with voting for the radical right. On the other hand, egalitarianism and welfare limitation are not significantly associated to voting for the radical right, yet being egalitarian or in favour of welfare limitation is not negatively associated to this vote either. This means that the more distrustful of the welfare recipients (welfare populists), particularly if they are immigrants (welfare chauvinists) are more likely to vote for the radical right. However, at this stage, no conclusion can be drawn on the effect of preferences for extending (egalitarianism) or limiting welfare benefits on the vote.

Model IV presents the combined model establishing the relation between welfare politics and the radical right. On the whole, the effects of models II and III hold, but they are marginally affected. When controlled for welfare attitude, economic insecurity appears to have slightly stronger explanatory power. Welfare limitation and egalitarianism remain without effect in the combined model.

Model V adds interaction terms between attitudes derived from two couples of norms: reciprocity and self-reliance, and reciprocity and egalitarianism. In the case of attitudinal scales, the main terms of the interactions give little information (both egalitarianism and welfare limitation become significant and positively associated to radical right voting). The effect of welfare populism is mitigated when combined with welfare limitations; individuals who perceive that there are welfare abusers and also believe that the state's responsibility for welfare should be reduced are less likely to vote for the radical right. This provides indirect support for the protection hypothesis, since the individuals who do not support the protective vocation of the welfare state and who feel it is being cheated tend to vote for other parties than the radical right. On the other hand, the interaction between welfare chauvinism and egalitarianism is negatively associated to the radical right vote; even if welfare chauvinism is the highest covariate across models, it is mediated by egalitarianism. Individuals who are both welfare chauvinist and egalitarian tend to support other parties (presumably on the left).

Model VI²⁶ tests the effects of each welfare attitude interacted with contextual variables, the welfare regime types. In each welfare regime type, one constitutive norm of the moral economy of the welfare state is the founding principle. The assumption is that the political consequences of the perception of norm violation will be higher where this norm is deemed more important. Because the norm of reciprocity is assumed to be the most important “shared principle” in corporatist continental welfare regime, the effects of welfare populism and chauvinism are expected to be higher. Conversely, the breach of the norm of equality is expected to have a positive influence on the radical right vote in universal Scandinavian regimes. Welfare chauvinism remains a strong predictor of the vote in both welfare regime types. In this model, egalitarianism is negatively associated to the radical right vote, except in Scandinavian countries. However, the positive and significant interactive term result implies the perception of violation of egalitarianism is positively associated to voting for the radical right in universal welfare regimes. Contrary to the expectations, this regime-specific relation does not hold for reciprocity corporatist welfare regimes.

Admittedly, the regression models shown in the models of chapter 3 have rather low R^2 , and the addition of variables in the different models only marginally increase this measure (ranging from 0.13 to 0.18). However, the limited increase does not mean that the additional factors of the model are not decisive. Even with an average R^2 , “noisy” data can have significant trends. Important conclusions can still be drawn on that model under the condition that the factors in the model are statistically significant. This is the case of most factors and attitudes deriving from the protection and exclusion hypothesis, which also tend to have rather high coefficients.

These models however do not fully account for the effects of economic insecurity, and even for welfare attitudes. Most importantly, the effects of these factors cannot be expected to have completely linear relations to voting behaviour; the next section goes further in explaining the effects of these variables by presenting detailed predicted probabilities of the vote.

²⁶ In order to include a welfare regime type dummy, model V does not use country fixed effects. However, the yielded results are extremely similar (with the exception of the interacted variables) which tend to indicate that welfare regime type capture most of the cross-country differences.

	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Education (Primary)						
- Secondary	0.02 (0.10)	0.10 (0.11)	0.02 (0.10)	0.07 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)
- Tertiary	-0.73 *** (0.12)	-0.56 *** (0.14)	-0.69 *** (0.12)	-0.53 *** (0.14)	-0.53 *** (0.15)	-0.53 *** (0.14)
Gender	-0.36 *** (0.08)	-0.31 *** (0.08)	-0.35 *** (0.07)	-0.31 *** (0.08)	-0.31 *** (0.08)	-0.31 *** (0.08)
Income	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 * (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)
Anti-Immigration	0.85 *** (0.04)	0.83 *** (0.04)	0.61 *** (0.04)	0.59 *** (0.04)	0.59 *** (0.04)	0.59 *** (0.04)
Class (Working Class)						
- Employers		-0.27 ** (0.13)		-0.41 ** (0.13)	-0.41 *** (0.13)	-0.41 *** (0.13)
- Middle Class		-0.28 *** (0.10)		-0.27 ** (0.10)	-0.03 ** (0.10)	-0.27 ** (0.10)
- Routine worker		-0.14 (0.15)		-0.14 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.15)
Prospective economic insecurity		0.15 * (0.07)		0.21 ** (0.08)	0.20 *** (0.08)	0.20 *** (0.08)
Retrospective economic insecurity		0.37 *** (0.09)		0.40 *** (0.09)	0.40 *** (0.09)	0.39 *** (0.09)
Welfare Populism			0.30 *** (0.05)	0.33 *** (0.06)	0.32 (0.26)	0.33 *** (0.09)
Welfare Chauvinism			0.73 *** (0.07)	0.72 *** (0.07)	1.60 *** (0.33)	0.61 *** (0.11)
Welfare Limitation			0.03 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)	0.70 ** (0.32)	0.06 (0.06)
Egalitarianism			0.00 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.49 ** (0.28)	-0.10 ** (0.06)
W.Populism*W.Limitation					-0.17 ** (0.08)	
W.Chauvinism*W.Limitation					-0.01 (0.06)	
W.Populism*Egalitarianism					0.01 (0.05)	
W.Chauvinism*Egalitarianism					-0.15 ** (0.07)	
Scandinavian						0.11 (0.96)
W.Populism*Continental						0.01 (0.11)
W.Chauvinism*Continental						0.17 (0.13)
Egalitarianism*Scandinavian						0.24 ** (0.10)
Constant						-7.73 *** (0.64)
N	9601	9117	9601	9117	9117	9117
R ²	0.13	0.13	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.18

Table 9 - Voting for the radical right in Western Europe Notes: * p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; * p < 0.01 Standard errors in parentheses**

3.2.2. Individual effects of the variables of interest

The predicted probabilities for the different levels of each of the variables of interest provide a finer-grained analysis of their effect. Predicted probabilities are also easily interpretable, as they give a predicted share of the vote for the radical for given levels of economic insecurity or welfare attitudes²⁷. However, they are not giving an account of the genuine sample that is analysed, as they are calculated for each variable of interest with all other variables set at means and therefore they are predictions about hypothetical observations. Hence they do not exactly describe the entire population, but rather the specific individual effects of the modalities of each variable. In this sample, the average predicted probability of voting for the radical right is 0.072. Therefore all predicted probabilities should be interpreted with regard to the 7% likelihood of voting for a radical right party.

The computed predicted probabilities of the economic insecurity variables confirm the effects presented in the previous section (figure 2). The working class, as well as individuals who experienced unemployment are more likely to vote for the radical right than others. Among the four broad occupational classes, the working class stands out for its level of support for the radical right. Being a working class voter increases the probability of voting for the radical right to 9%. Yet, this does not mean that 9% of the working class votes for the radical right. Indeed, this is the effect of being a working class voter, all else equal (other variables held at their mean). The radical right vote of the working class is also determined by other factors. In the sample, 15.3% of working class individuals reported voting for radical right parties. However, the large gap between the predicted probabilities for the working class and the average probability shows the specific effect of belonging to an occupational class on the vote. Among the different dimensions of economic insecurity, belonging to the working class is the one that is the more strongly associated to the radical right vote. Prospective economic insecurity is associated to the radical right vote but the predicted probabilities indicate that this effect is concentrated among the individuals who express the highest level of economic insecurity. There is a 2% difference in predicted vote share between individuals with mild economic security (score of 2) and the more economically

²⁷ For this part of the analysis the welfare attitudes scores have been reorganized into quintiles.

insecure (score of 4). Financial hardship, the fear of unemployment and the fear of lacking healthcare are influencing the vote for the radical right for the individuals that feel the greater risks.

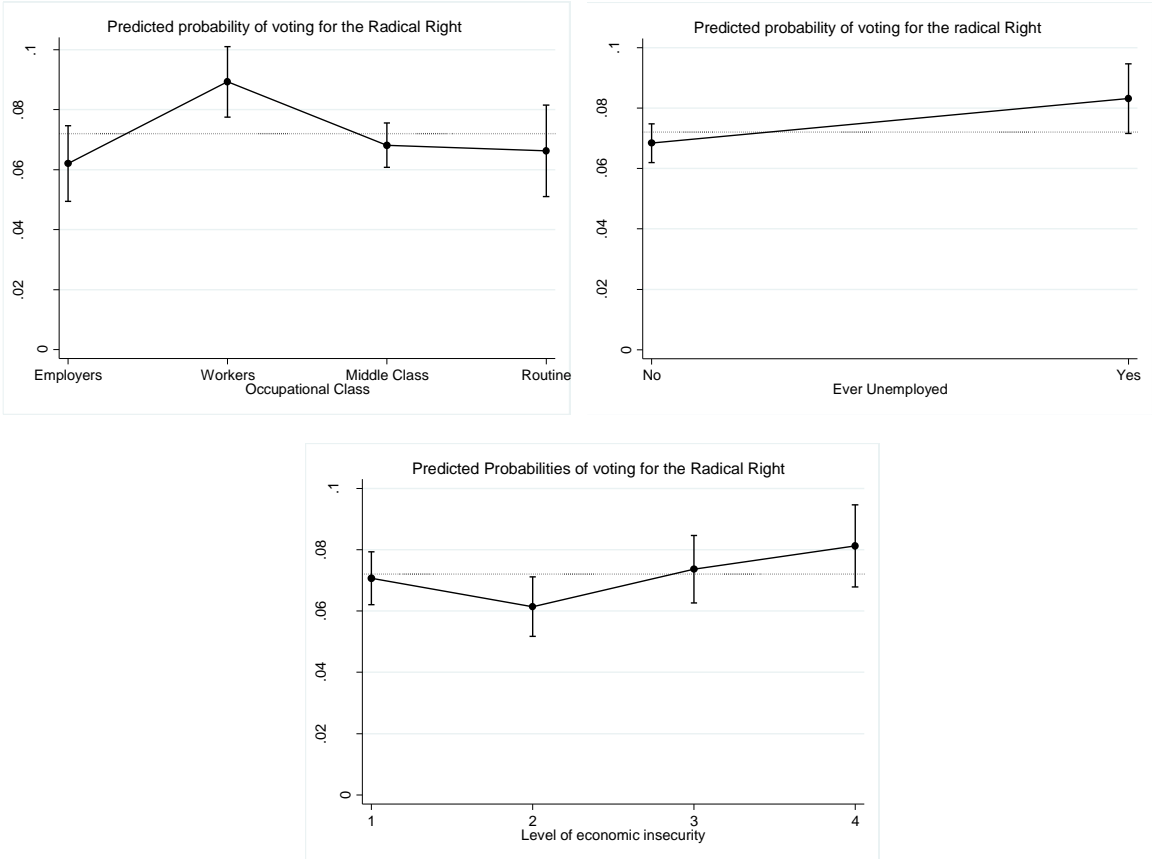


Figure 2 - Predicted probabilities of voting for the radical right by economic insecurity

Each attitudinal variables of the tested models is a 5-point scale of agreement. The predicted probabilities for each level show that the effects of the welfare attitudes on the radical right vote are note always linear (Figure 3). Welfare Chauvinism is the strongest predictor of the radical right vote, and its effect is quasi linear: the more welfare chauvinist one is, the likelier one is to vote for the radical right. In the general models, egalitarianism is not associated to voting for the radical right, which is confirmed by the predicted probabilities. However, the individuals who are the most egalitarian are expected to vote significantly less for the radical right than all others. Welfare populism has a reversed relation: individuals who are the least welfare populist – that is, who do not denounce outgroups of welfare abusers – are the least likely to vote for the radical right.

The relation between welfare limitation and voting for the radical right does not follow a linear pattern. The imperfect U-shaped curve of the effects of welfare limitation is nonetheless an important result, because it shows that radical right voters are more likely to be found among either individuals with the highest level of welfare limitation or those with the lowest. To put it differently, radical right voters are more likely to be found among individuals who have extreme views in terms of the scope of the welfare state.

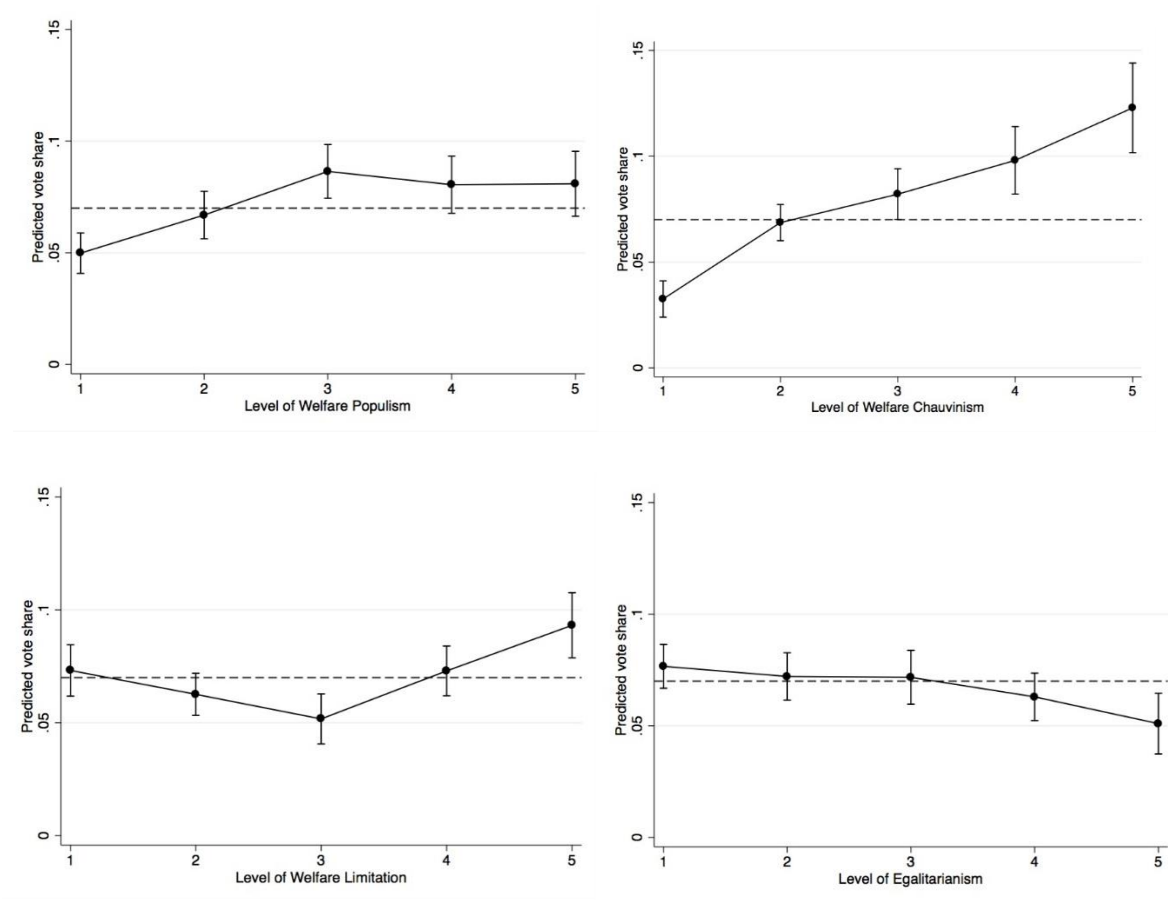


Figure 3 - Predicted probabilities of voting for the radical right by welfare attitudes

3.2.3. Voting for the radical right compared to other vote choices

As the previous section showed, the protection and exclusion hypothesis of voting for the radical right vote are partly supported. Yet a further question is to understand how these factors play in comparison to their influence for other party choices. For instance,

is economic insecurity linked to radical right and radical left votes? Is egalitarianism more relevant to voters of the radical right than to those of mainstream right parties? Which of these factors makes a difference between voting (for the radical right or other party families) and not voting? Multinomial logistic regressions allow to grasp vote choice entirely and in a more dynamic manner (a similar approach, which allows for the comparison of radical right voting behaviour is found in Koster et al. 2013 and Zhirkov 2014). Table 10 present the results of a multinomial logistic regression that explains radical right voting: other voting options (and non-voting) are compared to voting for the radical right (reference category). This table can be read in two ways: columns indicate the contrast between the radical right voters and other electoral constituencies, whereas lines show how each variable of interest distinguishes radical right voters.

Cultural anti-immigration attitudes and welfare chauvinism are the two attitudes that differentiate the radical right voters from every other group. Welfare chauvinism is the attitude that genuinely characterizes radical right voters. Welfare chauvinism is also the only welfare attitude that forcefully distinguishes radical right voters from other mainstream right voters. On the other hand, radical right voters have significant differences on every welfare attitude with the left voters. The variables of economic insecurity show a clear divide between radical right voters and those of mainstream right parties. Being economically insecure (prospective and retrospective) marks a strong difference between radical right voters and those of the liberal, Christian-democratic and conservative parties. In this regard, there is little statistically significant difference between radical right voters and voters of left-wing parties (except with radical left voters who are more prospectively economically insecure, and radical right voters who have been more unemployed than social-democratic voters). Substantially, radical right voters and left-wing voters are similarly economically insecure: as hypothesized, we can argue that their vote is motivated a desire for welfare protection. Welfare populism, the perception of the violation of the norm of reciprocity, also distinguishes radical right voters from the left and the right. Radical right voters are more welfare populists than the left, but there is no difference with the right. The patterns is reversed for welfare limitation: whereas radical right voters are not more in favour of welfare limitation than right-wing voters, left wing voters stand out against welfare limitation. On a more general level, there is an opposition between the electorate of the radical right and those of the left parties, which contradicts previous

works that considered them more similar (Koster et al. 2013). Almost all predictors of the vote for the radical right, when compared to the left, are significant and strong, whereas it is much less the case when compared to the conventional right block. It may be that the working-class supporters of the radical right are akin to those of the left, whereas the self-employed constituency of the radical right resembles the traditional right voters in terms of welfare attributes.

Previous studies have shown that non-voters and radical right electors have somewhat similar sociological profiles (Oesch 2008, Kriesi and Bornschieer 2013). This model therefore allows seeing what elements of economic insecurity or welfare attitudes distinguish these two groups (results of this comparison are located in the right-hand column). If higher levels of economic insecurity distinguish radical right voters from most other constituencies, the relation is reversed with non-voters. This means that the more prospectively economically insecure individuals are more likely not to vote than to vote for radical right parties²⁸. However, non-voters have not been subject to higher retrospective economic insecurity than radical right voters. Non-voters are really different from radical right voters in terms of welfare attitude: they are less chauvinist and proponents of welfare limitation, but more egalitarian.

Overall, the four welfare attitudes have opposite influences on the vote choice following a traditional left/right divide. Assessing the relation of these attitudes to voting behaviour for all types of parties constitutes a wider research agenda than this thesis. Nonetheless, when compared to non-voters, the radical right voters attitudinally side with the other right-wing voters. However, in terms of economic insecurity radical right voters are much closer to the profile of left-wing constituencies.

²⁸ The most economically insecure voters are also more likely to vote for a radical left party.

	Radical Left	Social-Dem.	New Left	Liberals	Christ.-Dem.	Conservatives	No vote
Age	-0.01 *** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 *** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 * (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.03 *** (0.00)
Gender	0.41 *** (0.13)	0.43 *** (0.08)	0.62 *** (0.09)	0.26 *** (0.08)	0.59 *** (0.09)	0.24 *** (0.08)	0.46 *** (0.08)
Education	0.02 *** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 *** (0.01)	0.01 ** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 *** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Income	-0.01 *** (0.00)	-0.01 *** (0.00)	0.00 ** (0.00)	0.00 ** (0.00)	-0.01 *** (0.00)	-0.01 ** (0.00)	0.01 *** (0.00)
Anti-Immigration	-0.70 *** (0.08)	-0.56 *** (0.04)	-0.96 *** (0.05)	-0.73 *** (0.05)	-0.52 *** (0.05)	-0.57 *** (0.05)	-0.46 *** (0.04)
Prospective eco. insecurity	0.34 *** (0.12)	0.08 (0.07)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.43 *** (0.08)	-0.42 *** (0.09)	0.08 (0.08)	0.32 *** (0.07)
Retrospective eco. insecurity	-0.01 (0.15)	-0.17 * (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.36 ** (0.10)	-0.57 *** (0.11)	-0.41 *** (0.10)	-0.11 (0.09)
Welfare Populism	-0.41 *** (0.09)	-0.36 *** (0.05)	-0.64 *** (0.07)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)
Welfare Chauvinism	-0.99 *** (0.11)	-0.82 *** (0.07)	-0.92 *** (0.08)	-0.45 *** (0.07)	-0.63 *** (0.08)	-0.26 *** (0.07)	-0.64 *** (0.07)
Welfare Limitation	-0.35 *** (0.10)	-0.28 *** (0.05)	-0.34 *** (0.07)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.20 *** (0.05)
Egalitarianism	0.33 *** (0.08)	0.24 *** (0.05)	0.30 *** (0.06)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	0.31 *** (0.05)
Constant	4.73 *** (0.58)	6.06 *** (0.36)	7.36 *** (0.42)	5.06 *** (0.39)	4.51 *** (0.41)	2.34 *** (0.38)	4.33 *** (0.36)

Table 10 - Voting for the radical right in Western Europe: Multinomial logistic regression; reference category: radical right vote

Notes: * p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; * p < 0.01 Standard errors in parentheses**

3.2.4 Differences among radical right voters

The previous sections give partial support to the hypotheses of the relation between welfare politics and radical right parties among Western European countries. Yet these parties are not entirely similar, and most certainly their electorates also differ. In addition, the disparities of effects of attitudinal variables seem to match the different welfare regime types: welfare normative prescriptions – egalitarianism – are more significant for Scandinavian radical right voters. The following step of the analysis breaks down the explanations of voting behaviour by countries. Table 11 shows the effects of welfare attitudes and economic insecurity variables on the radical right vote for each country of the sample following model IV. These models cannot be fully statistically fit, as country samples are somewhat limited, and the proportion of radical right voters is small in some cases.

The strong impact of welfare chauvinism on the radical right vote holds in every considered country except for France²⁹. The violation of the welfare norm of reciprocity by immigrants is even more relevant in continental welfare state, where the effect of welfare chauvinism on the vote is particularly strong. Previous studies had already shown the critical influence of welfare chauvinism in some countries (Andersen & Björklund 1990, Mau & Mewes 2012, Rydgren 2013), yet results are extended to most significant radical right parties. In three of the eight countries selected, welfare limitation, and thus the violation of the norm of self-reliance, is also a determinant of the vote for the radical right. The country level models do not confirm the specific effect of egalitarianism in Scandinavia. However, this also implies that holding an egalitarian attitude is not contradictory to a radical right vote. This is in line with previous work that showed how welfare chauvinism and critical views pertaining the welfare state institutions (welfare limitation and populism) can be combined to egalitarianism as determinants of the radical right votes (Achterberg et al. 2011).

²⁹ This is likely to be explained by the small numbers of respondents who voted for the radical right in the sample. With only 37 Front National voters in the sample, only one predictor is statistically significant.

Welfare Regime type		Welfare Chauvinism	Welfare Limitation	Welfare Populism	Egalitarianism	Retrospective economic insecurity	Prospective economic Insecurity	N	R2
Scandinavian	Denmark	++	+			+		1244	0.16
	Finland	++				+		1356	0.15
	Norway	+		+			+	1102	0.22
Continental	Austria	++	+			+		1112	0.26
	Belgium	++						1156	0.14
	France						+	1145	0.13
	Netherlands	++		+				1298	0.16
	Switzerland	++	+	+				720	0.23

Table 11 - Breakdown by countries off the effects of economic insecurity and welfare attitudes on the radical right vote³⁰.

The pattern of effects of economic insecurity is less evident; economic insecurity – prospective or retrospective - is however a determinant of the vote in all Scandinavian countries.

3.3. Conclusion and discussion

This first empirical chapter has shown that welfare politics does matter when studying the determinants of the radical right vote. The account of this vote cannot be limited to the already deeply scrutinized cultural aspect of the radical right support. In order to demonstrate this, I put forward two hypotheses on the relation between welfare politics and the radical right: protection and exclusion. The first states – through the mechanism of *precarization* of voters - that because some individual feel economically insecure they may be inclined to support radical right parties that stand out to mainstream parties and represent the status quo (against the process of globalization that increases economic risks and against further change of the welfare arrangements). The second hypothesis states – through a mechanism of *scapegoating* of out-groups - that because individuals feel some core norms of the welfare state are being violated; by identifying a responsible and norm-violating out-group, which are also singled out by radical right parties, they are more inclined to support these parties. These claims were tested in this chapter with 14 verifiable voting behaviour hypotheses.

Supported hypotheses: The most remarkable results are the high significance welfare chauvinism and individual prospective and retrospective economic insecurity as determinants of the radical right vote in Western Europe. H2, H3 and H5 are

³⁰ Effects reported if $p < 0.05$

consistently confirmed. The relevance of welfare chauvinism does not constitute an original finding, but it is now generalized to most major West European radical right constituencies. In addition, the mechanism of scapegoating of an out-group extends beyond immigrants, and following a similar logic of violated reciprocity, welfare populism is another predictor of the radical right vote and H4 is also supported. Welfare chauvinism has often been linked to the working-class support for the radical right, which is a well-documented phenomenon. However, even controlled for cultural and welfare attitudes, being a blue-collar worker remains a significant determinant of the vote. This effect may capture the perception of labour-market instability, which would then translate into support for parties that oppose globalization, H1 is therefore considered supported.

Partially supported hypotheses: A second interesting finding relates to the attitudes of welfare limitation and egalitarianism. Radical right do not really distinguish themselves from the mainstream right in terms of welfare attitudes, but they are much more economically insecure. Radical right voters have the opposite relation with left-wing voters: they display similar levels of economic insecurity, but they are opposed on every welfare attitude. These results make an interesting contribution with regards to the singularity of radical right voters and their distance or proximity to mainstream left and right-wing voters. In addition, egalitarianism is positively associated to voting for the radical right in Scandinavia (H14 confirmed), but has a negative effect on this vote when combined with welfare chauvinism (H11 rejected).

Rejected hypotheses: the interaction of welfare chauvinism with welfare limitation does not yield significant results, H9 is therefore rejected. Finally, the hypothesis that breached normative prescriptions about the welfare state would be stronger in welfare regime type where these norms are grounding principles – H12, H13 – does not find empirical support for continental welfare regimes.

As a first empirical chapter, this analysis also raises a number of questions to be solved in the next chapters. Do radical right parties compete specifically in the electoral arena on welfare attributes? Do they adapt to the welfare preferences of their national constituencies? These interrogations are at the core of chapter 4. The *protective* radical right support of the working class entails a competition with mainstream left-wing parties who used to represent the ‘parties of welfare and solidarity’. Chapter 5 looks more closely into sectional support of the radical right constituencies by adopting a

class-based approach: looking at the welfare attitudes of different occupational classes of voters (blue-collar, self-employed).

APPENDIX A: Classification of Political Parties in seven Party Families

	Non-Governmental Left	Socialist/Social-Democratic	New Left	Liberals	Christian-Democrats	Conservatives	Radical Right
Austria	KPÖ	SPÖ	Grüne	LIF		ÖVP	FPÖ, BZÖ
Belgium		SP.A Spirit, PS	Groen!, Ecolo	Open VLD, MR	CDH	CD&V + N-VA, List Dedecker	VB, FN
Denmark	Ø (Red-Green)	A (Soc-Dem)	F (SF)	B (Rad. Venstre), V (Lib), I (Lib. Alliance)	K (Krist.-Dem)	C (Cons.)	O (DF)
Finland	SKP, KTP	SDP	Vihri, Vas	RKP, Keski-Liberals	KD	Kok. (Nat. Coalition)	TF
France	LCR, LO, PCF	PS, PRG	Les Verts	UDF-Modem, NC		UMP, CPNT, MPF	FN
Netherlands	SP	PvdA	D66, GL		CDA, PVV, CU	SGP	LPF, PVV
Norway	RV	A	SV	V, Sp	Krf	H	FrP
Switzerland	PdA	SPS/PSS	GPS/PES, GLP/PVL	FDP/PLR	CVP/PDC/PPD, CSP/PCS, EVP/PEV		SVP/UDC, SD/DS, EDU/UDF, Lega

APPENDIX B: Statistical summary of independent variables

Variables of interest ³¹	Obs.	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	15039	1	5	3.2	0.72
Welfare Chauvinism	15039	1	5	3.3	0.66
Welfare Limitation	15039	1	5	2.9	0.80
Egalitarianism	15039	1	5	3.8	0.71
Prospective economic insecurity	15039	1	4	1.8	0.56
Retrospective economic insecurity	15039	0	1	0.25	0.43
Attitudes toward immigration	15039	1	5	2.6	0.99

APPENDIX C: Statistical summary of attitudinal variables per country

Independent Variables (AT)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	2255	1	5	2.9	0.94
Welfare Chauvinism	2255	1	5	3.3	0.77
Welfare Limitation	2255	1	5	2.1	0.92
Egalitarianism	2255	1	5	3.1	0.94
Prospective economic insecurity	2255	1	4	2.1	0.52
Retrospective economic insecurity	2255	0	1	0.27	0.44
Attitudes toward immigration	2255	1	5	2.8	1.1

³¹ In order not to lose information and maintain the sample size, missing values of the independent variables were replaced by the mean value.

Independent Variables (BE)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	1760	1	5	3.1	0.72
Welfare Chauvinism	1760	1	5	3.4	0.63
Welfare Limitation	1760	1	5	2.2	0.62
Egalitarianism	1760	1	5	3.3	0.80
Prospective economic insecurity	1760	1	4	1.8	0.59
Retrospective economic insecurity	1760	0	1	0.26	0.43
Attitudes toward immigration	1760	1	5	2.7	0.92

Independent Variables (DK)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	1610	1	5	2.6	0.74
Welfare Chauvinism	1610	1	5	3.3	0.71
Welfare Limitation	1610	1	5	2.1	0.61
Egalitarianism	1610	1	5	2.9	0.77
Prospective economic insecurity	1610	1	4	1.6	0.5
Retrospective economic insecurity	1610	0	1	0.25	0.43
Attitudes toward immigration	1610	1	5	2.6	0.98

Independent Variables (FI)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	2195	1	5	2.9	0.77
Welfare Chauvinism	2195	1	5	3.4	0.59
Welfare Limitation	2195	1	5	1.8	0.58
Egalitarianism	2195	1	5	3.5	0.72
Prospective economic insecurity	2195	1	4	1.7	0.52
Retrospective economic insecurity	2195	0	1	0.3	0.46
Attitudes toward immigration	2195	1	5	2.1	0.82

Independent Variables (FR)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	2073	1	5	3.1	0.91
Welfare Chauvinism	2073	1	5	3.4	0.69
Welfare Limitation	2073	1	5	2.3	0.71
Egalitarianism	2073	1	5	3.4	0.91
Prospective economic insecurity	2073	1	4	1.9	0.63
Retrospective economic insecurity	2073	0	1	0.34	0.47
Attitudes toward immigration	2073	1	5	2.8	1

Independent Variables (NL)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	1778	1	5	2.9	0.67
Welfare Chauvinism	1778	1	5	3.3	0.60
Welfare Limitation	1778	1	5	2.3	0.56
Egalitarianism	1778	1	5	2.8	0.74
Prospective economic insecurity	1778	1	4	1.7	0.52
Retrospective economic insecurity	1778	0	1	0.18	0.38
Attitudes toward immigration	1778	1	5	2.6	0.83

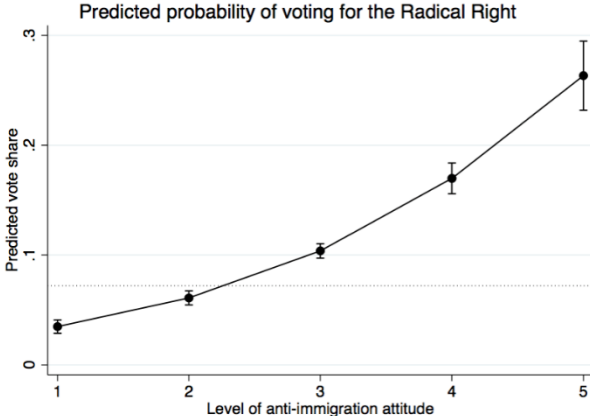
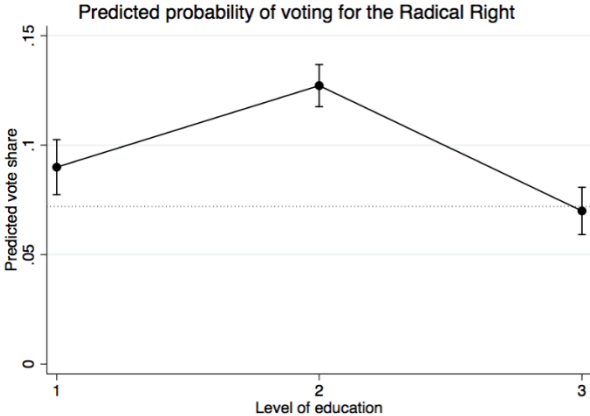
Independent Variables (NO)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	1549	1	5	2.9	0.65
Welfare Chauvinism	1549	1	5	3.4	0.62
Welfare Limitation	1549	1	5	1.9	0.58
Egalitarianism	1549	1	5	3.1	0.58
Prospective economic insecurity	1549	1	4	1.6	0.48
Retrospective economic insecurity	1549	0	1	0.19	0.4
Attitudes toward immigration	1549	1	5	2.6	0.96

Independent Variables (CH)	Obs	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Welfare Populism	1819	1	5	2.8	0.77
Welfare Chauvinism	1819	1	5	3.2	0.62
Welfare Limitation	1819	1	5	2.5	0.76
Egalitarianism	1819	1	5	3	0.86
Prospective economic insecurity	1819	1	4	1.6	0.5
Retrospective economic insecurity	1819	0	1	0.16	0.37
Attitudes toward immigration	1819	1	5	2.5	0.92

APPENDIX D: Voting for the radical right in Western Europe, odds-ratio of models from table 9

	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)
Age	0.99 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	0.99 (0.00)
Education (Primary)						
- Secondary	1.04 (0.10)	1.11 (0.12)	1.00 (0.10)	1.08 (0.12)	1.09 (0.12)	1.08 (0.12)
- Tertiary	0.50 *** (0.06)	0.57 *** (0.08)	0.50 *** (0.06)	0.58 *** (0.08)	0.59 *** (0.09)	0.59 *** (0.09)
Gender						
- Male	0.70 *** (0.05)	0.73 *** (0.06)	0.71 *** (0.05)	0.73 *** (0.06)	0.73 *** (0.06)	0.73 *** (0.06)
Income	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 * (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Anti-Immigration	2.33 *** (0.09)	2.30 *** (0.09)	1.85 *** (0.08)	1.81 *** (0.08)	1.80 *** (0.08)	1.80 *** (0.08)
Class (Working Class)						
- Employers		0.76 ** (0.09)		0.66 ** (0.08)	0.66 *** (0.09)	0.66 *** (0.09)
- Middle Class		0.75 *** (0.07)		0.77 ** (0.08)	0.77 ** (0.08)	0.77 ** (0.08)
- Routine worker		0.86 (0.13)		0.87 (0.13)	0.87 (0.13)	0.87 (0.13)
Prospective economic insecurity		1.15 * (0.09)		1.23 ** (0.09)	1.22 *** (0.09)	1.23 *** (0.09)
Retrospective economic insecurity		1.45 *** (0.13)		1.48 *** (0.13)	1.49 *** (0.14)	1.48 *** (0.13)
Welfare Populism			1.34 *** (0.07)	1.39 *** (0.08)	1.38 (0.36)	1.39 *** (0.20)
Welfare Chauvinism			2.01 *** (0.14)	2.05 *** (0.15)	4.90 *** (1.64)	1.84 *** (0.06)
Welfare Limitation			1.03 (0.06)	1.07 (0.06)	2.02 ** (0.65)	1.06 (0.06)
Egalitarianism			1.00 (0.04)	0.97 (0.05)	1.64 ** (0.46)	0.90 ** (0.05)
W.Populism*W.Limitation					0.84 ** (0.07)	
W.Chauvinism*W.Limitation					0.99 (0.06)	
W.Populism*Egalitarianism					1.00 (0.06)	
W.Chauvinism*Egalitarianism					0.86 ** (0.06)	
Scandinavian						1.11 (0.11)
W.Populism*Continental						1.00 (0.11)
W.Chauvinism*Continental						1.19 (0.17)
Egalitarianism*Scandinavian						1.27 ** (0.13)
Constant						0.00 *** (0.00)
N	9601	9117	9601	9117	9117	9117
R ²	0.13	0.13	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.18

APPENDIX E: Predicted probabilities of voting for the radical right



4. The welfare agendas of radical right parties in Western Europe

This chapter tackles the supply side of the protection and exclusion hypotheses. As argued in the introduction, the electoral success of radical right parties cannot be explained without examining the parties themselves and particularly the role of welfare politics for their success. Indeed, the electorates of these parties have dramatically changed – in size and composition - over the last three decades, and radical right parties cannot be assumed to have remained unaffected by this transformation.

This chapter deals with radical right parties' positions on welfare issues, and their potential evolution across time and countries. Since the radical right does not constitute an ideologically homogenous party family, cross-country variance is particularly relevant. Although there is a consensus in the literature on which these parties are (see introduction), they do not share a common determined ideology. The affiliation to parliamentary groups in the European Parliament (EP) is a good indicator of these parties' programmatic heterogeneity. In EP, radical right parties are scattered in at least three groups: the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR, including the Danish People's Party), Europe for Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD, including the Swedish Democrats) and Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF, including the Vlaams Belang, the Front National, the Austrian and Dutch Freedom Parties). The divergence of radical right parties is not just strategic and institutional, it also applies to concrete policy orientations, especially in the programmatic area of welfare politics. For instance, among these parties we find preferences for lowering (FN), maintaining (FPÖ) or increasing retirement age (SVP).

The goal of this chapter is therefore to analyse what radical right parties “offer” voters in terms of welfare politics. In order to characterize the positions of radical right parties, I rely on two sub-hypotheses about the radical right welfare programs. First, the programmatic shift sub-hypothesis expects that radical right parties have curbed their welfare positions to address structural growing economic insecurity and their

constituents' preferences. The *programmatic shift* sub-hypothesis is examined through the evaluation of the 'quantitative' aspect of party positions: how much do radical right parties put forward their welfare agenda and preferences. Second, the exclusion hypothesis expects that radical right parties' welfare preferences to be grounded in normative beliefs of exclusion, defining boundaries and restrictions between (groups of) welfare recipients. The *exclusive solidarity* sub-hypothesis is examined through the in-depth case study of the normative justifications of radical right parties' welfare preferences. This chapter is based on a realignment driven puzzle: the changing sociological composition and attitudinal profile of the radical right constituencies is expected to influence the parties' preferences. Radical right parties are expected to update their programmatic positions in order to adapt to changing voters. However, this assumption does not neglect historical and ideological aspect of party preference, and does not imply that there is a unilateral bottom-up link between the profiles of the voters and the party positions" (Häusermann 2014). Chapter 5 addresses the issue of party-voter linkage more extensively.

Parties and welfare politics: determining preferences

Conventionally, party preferences have been determined largely by the (assumed) interest of their respective constituents (Häusermann et al. 2013). This assumption builds on the "power resource" school of the political sociology of the welfare state (already presented in chapter 2), which emphasizes the role of class mobilization as the basis of party politics. Korpi argued that policy preferences were the result of the class struggle and defined party politics "as a simple transmission belt conveying the preferences and demands of various interest groups to the leaders, who implement them" (Korpi 1989). In a renewed perspective, Esping-Andersen considered parties as a link between class mobilization and policy preferences (Esping-Andersen 1999). These influential theories have contributed to the "postulate" that the left parties mobilize the lower earners (Pontusson and Rueda 2008).

This approach considers – and limits – political parties simply as a function of representation of their voters. Indeed, most studies of welfare preferences rely on this static assumption; and particularly they expect the mainstream left to represent working-class interests. However, since the 1980's, the social structure and the preferences of voters have changed, and the electorates have dramatically 'dealined' and

realigned (Evans 1999, Kitschelt 1994, Kriesi et al. 2008). Indeed, social-democratic parties were historically the agents for welfare issues and redistribution politics, and the working class constituted their core constituency. Socialist and social-democratic parties were thus considered to be highly in sync with the working class. However, West European electorates have deeply realigned, in two different ways. First, because of the deindustrialization of Western Europe, the proportion of blue-collar workers has starkly diminished and the working class electoral basis of social democratic and socialist parties has shrunk. Second, because of the tertiarization of economies and the diffusion of education, there has been an important occupational upgrading of the social democratic voters (Kitschelt 1994, Häusermann 2010)³². This second aspect of the sociological realignment of social-democratic voters is often neglected, even though it is at least as relevant for parties (Gingrich and Häusermann 2015). Social democratic parties have experienced a major re-composition of their constituencies: the share of educated middle-class voters increased, while the share of working class voters shrunk. Arguably, the dramatic realignment of the working class has benefitted radical right parties in every country. Indeed, a large proportion of working class citizens, who had been assumed to support the left, tend to either abstain or support other parties, such as radical right parties.

There are two possible consequences in terms of party positions to this transformation. Social-democratic parties may have updated their preference to their changing middle-class constituents; on the other hand and radical right parties may have updated theirs to increasingly blue-collar constituents. This study only addresses the second, and the following section deals with the potential consequences of this electoral realignment on radical right parties. Although this chapter partly relies on a comparison between the

³² Social Democratic parties had to respond to the preferences of the middle class for cultural liberalism (Kriesi et al. 2008); a fine grained analysis of class voting in Germany, Switzerland and Britain (Oesch 2008) shows that, within the middle class, it is especially salaried professionals in the social and cultural services that rally the libertarian left. To put it simply, there are two general theories to explain the programmatic shift of the social democratic parties (Häusermann 2014). First is a constraints based argument: all mainstream parties have converged because of exogenous constraints in terms of social and economic programs, therefore social democratic parties cannot push for more welfare expansionist agendas anymore (Mair 2008). Second, social democratic parties are expected to adopt more centrist strategies in order to strategically respond to the changing preferences of their voters.

radical right and the social democratic parties; it focuses on the impact of electoral realignments on radical right parties.

This partial realignment of voters from the left to the radical right, is supported by the left-authoritarian views of a large segment of the working class, namely left-wing positions on socioeconomic issues (pro-welfare) and authoritarian positions on sociocultural issues (law and order, immigration, etc.). Some fifty years ago Lipset (1960: 101-2) wrote that

“The poorer strata everywhere are more liberal or leftist on economic issues; they favour more welfare state measures, higher wages, graduated income taxes, support of trade-unions, and so forth. But when liberalism is defined in noneconomic terms - as support of civil liberties, internationalism, etc. --the correlation is reversed. The more well-to-do are more liberal, the poorer are more intolerant.”

The average “authoritarian worker” described by Lipset would be best represented by parties with left-wing positions on the socioeconomic dimension and right-wing positions on the sociocultural dimension. Yet the left-authoritarian voters used to support communist and social democratic parties (Lipset 1960; 1959a, 1959b). Such a group of voters still exists but, in the absence of parties combining such views, it is underrepresented (Kriesi *et al.* 2008, Van der Brug and Van Spanje 2009, Thomassen 2012). In 2009, the left-authoritarian combination of views could not find correspondence at the party level: no party in Western Europe offered at the same time left-wing and authoritarian policy proposals (Lefkofridi *et al.* 2014). While parties on the left advocated pro-welfare economic positions but progressive stances on sociocultural issues (e.g. women’s and gay rights’, social diversity); the right, which is more traditional/authoritarian in the cultural sphere, supported free market economy and a small state. Hence, left-authoritarians were cross-pressured between different issue dimensions: they had to make a choice between either parties on the radical right (who advocated their authoritarian sociocultural views) or on the social-democratic and radical left that supported a strong state (left-wing socioeconomic views). Their party choice depended on prevailing concerns; voters chose those parties that had similar views on the issue that they consider salient to them personally (Giger and Lefkofridi

2014): those concerned more about immigration, would support the radical right; the same type of voters, however, who were more concerned about the economy, chose parties on the left.

Formerly the key electoral clientele of parties on the left, blue-collar workers now constitute the core supporters of the radical right in Western Europe. Authors have investigated this realignment, to the point that studying the radical right's working class voters has almost become a subfield: the radical right is often studied through its working class electorate (most notably Oesch 2008, Mau and Mewes 2012, Rydgren 2013). This, in turn, has raised the question of how the radical right parties, which typically support free-market economy, appeal to the working class on economic, and especially welfare issues. As the working class is most exposed to market risks, its support for radical right parties opposing left-wing policies (e.g. state intervention in the economy) has been puzzling. Oesch (2008) investigated why workers are more likely than other classes to support the RR and found that "questions of community and identity (the defence of national identity against outsiders and the upholding of an exclusive form of community)" seem to be more important than "economic grievances" in motivating the working class to cast a radical right vote in Austria, Belgium (Flanders), France and Norway (Oesch 2008a: 369). Yet radical right parties achieve high degrees of congruence with their supporters on all issue dimensions (Lefkofridi and Casado-Asensio 2013). Thus, they cannot be too distant from their voters' economic preferences and chapter 3 showed how welfare attitudes and feelings of economic insecurity influence radical right voters. The relevance of welfare related concerns of radical right voters is also not restricted to the blue-collar among them, but applies to all radical right constituents. The guiding questions of this chapter are to understand if the attention radical right parties pay to welfare politics increase over time? Do they promote welfare protection? And what type of welfare solidarity do they promote?

The expectation is that radical right parties have undergone a programmatic shift from their 1980's electoral success, which were was mainly due to the mobilization of voters on sociocultural issues and immigration. Their contemporary strategy is expected to rely on a combination of (left-wing) socioeconomic and (right-wing) sociocultural ideas. In addition, this socioeconomic shift bears the trademark of the radical right by producing an anti-immigrant, exclusionary approach to welfare politics. By framing redistributive solidarity in such a way, that is promoting a welfare state for "blood and

soil” nationhood, radical right parties have “energized” the division between diversity and solidarity (Banting and Kymlicka 2016).

The *programmatic shift* and the *exclusive solidarity* sub-hypotheses build on existing studies of the programmatic positions of radical right parties and transpose the protection and exclusion hypotheses at the party level (4.1.). The second section of the chapter presents the design of the analysis, the different methods and the data employed (4.2.). The programmatic shift hypothesis is tested by looking at the salience of welfare politics for radical right parties, and their partisan positioning on these issues. Finally, the exclusive solidarity hypothesis is tested by looking in-depth at the exclusionist modalities of radical right parties’ manifestos (4.3.).

4.1. The welfare preferences of radical right parties: hypotheses

In order to study how radical right parties tackle welfare politics - who gets what, when, and how – this chapter focuses on welfare entitlements, deservingness criteria and the reach and scope of welfare policies. To verify the protection and exclusion hypotheses applied to political parties, this chapter answers two more specific sets of questions. First, testing the protection hypothesis refers to the “*what*” dimension of welfare politics. What are the positions of radical right parties on welfare issues, redistribution, social benefits? What is the extent to which they promote welfare redistribution? Are they proponents of expanding the welfare state, that is, are they holding positions that are protective from economic insecurity? Second, testing the exclusion hypothesis refers more to the “*who*” dimension of welfare politics. What distinctions are made between individuals, and what does it entails for them in terms of redistribution? Who is deserving of welfare benefits? More precisely, are radical right parties singling out any particular groups (negatively or positively) when dealing with redistribution? I first review existing studies on the radical right parties’ welfare agenda (4.1.1.), then elaborate the programmatic shift sub-hypothesis (4.1.2.) and the exclusive solidarity sub-hypothesis (4.1.3.)

4.1.1. Radical right parties' welfare agendas

The historical position of radical right parties with regards to globalization and European integration has traditionally been to promote a rightist path on both economic and cultural issue dimensions. Indeed, long standing radical right parties emerged from liberal parties (FPÖ), anti-tax or even anti-statist movements (FrP and DF) or agrarian conservative parties (TF and SVP). In parallel, other radical right parties were influenced by the *Nouvelle Droite* and genuinely spurred from extreme right movements. They were fiercely motivated by anti-communism and therefore proponents of very liberal market positions (see for instance the FN's charismatic leader Jean-Marie Le Pen who described himself as the "French Reagan" in the 1980's). In a seminal piece, Kitschelt (1995) argued that the winning formula for radical right parties was the combination of neoliberal views on socioeconomic issues and authoritarian views on sociocultural issues. While they advocated free market economy, radical right parties capitalized on the cultural threats of globalization (e.g. on how immigration threatens national identity and way of life. Radical right parties have managed to shift voters' focus on the cultural dimension of political conflict from the 1980's onward (Kitschelt 1995): they emphasized tradition, cultural heritage, law and order as well as a negative perception of immigration.

Indeed, the key factor of their electoral success which has reshaped political cleavages is "not the economy, stupid!" (Mudde 2007). The most salient issues in their electoral campaigns were sociocultural; namely law and order, morality and authority, national way of life and opposition to immigration. Through the advocacy of authoritarian and nationalistic imageries of society radical right parties have not only have rendered sociocultural issues highly salient – especially immigration - but they have even shifted entire party systems towards their preferred positions on these issues (e.g. Lefkofridi and Horvath 2012; Van Spanje 2010). The consequence of the pressure exerted by the radical right, traditional right-wing parties have shifted or followed to the right. Following the contamination hypothesis: mainstream parties react and adapt by copying the radical right's agenda on immigration (Mudde 2004, 2007, Van Spanje 2010, however this theory is contested by De Lange 2007). Arguably, some radical right parties are even successful in implementing restrictive immigration policies while not being part of government (Minkenberg 2001).

Although they emerged as the opponents of cultural globalization, radical right parties later also tackled the consequences of economic globalization (Kriesi *et. al.* 2006) to respond to changes on the demand side, where the boundaries between economic and cultural conflict started being increasingly blurred (Häusermann and Kriesi 2015). On the one hand, the cultural dimension of conflict in Europe today encompasses questions beyond cultural liberalism (e.g. immigration, European integration) such as issues of distribution (welfare chauvinism and welfare misuse). On the other hand, voters' contemporary preferences on distributive issues fail to form a single economic dimension (*ibid.*). Hence, welfare issues are hard to classify either on the socioeconomic or sociocultural dimension (see also Koster *et al.* 2013).

Since the mid-1990s, radical right parties started revising their electoral agendas to fully exploit the left-authoritarian niche in the electoral market. Compared to other party families, the radical right nowadays frames economic globalization in terms of "labour and social security" more than any other party family besides the radical left (Höglinger *et al.* 2012). Some scholars have argued that new radical right parties have adopted "leftist" preferences in terms of redistribution (Derks 2006). The development of welfare agendas helped the radical right expand its competitive strategy against parties of the left, and especially mainstream social-democratic and socialist parties who had traditionally been the main proponents of the welfare state and its expansion. If radical right parties tried to adapt to the views of these (potential) supporters (Rydgren 2007), it follows that over time we should observe an increase of attention paid to welfare state issues by radical right parties.

Yet, radical right parties face important constraints in their pursuit of a programmatic shift towards the left on issues of redistribution: the two core groups voting for the radical right, namely blue-collar workers, and the self-employed and small-business-owners, have opposite preferences on welfare issues, with the former supporting extensive redistribution and the latter favouring limitation of the welfare state (Ivarsflaten 2005). Hence, radical right parties have to resolve the problem of accommodating the contradictory preferences on welfare issues of these two groups (Afonso 2015). If radical right parties move too far left to match social-democratic parties on welfare state expansion, they are in danger of alienating their conservative supporters.

4.1.2. The programmatic shift sub-hypothesis

Hence, although I expect radical right parties to pay increasing attention to redistributive issues and to promote welfare expansion, I acknowledge that they have to do so carefully, so that their gains among industrial workers would not be offset by losses among conservative supporters in small business, rural areas and middle class voters. In this regard, while some scholars have argued that radical right parties abandoned formerly market liberal positions in favour of more centrist positions on the economy (de Lange 2007; Kitschelt 2007), others have talked about radical right parties “masking” their economic platforms via position “blurring” (Rovny 2013). For instance, they promoted protectionist trade policies that would benefit certain groups while at the same time they supported cuts on welfare policies (Heinisch 2003). Over time, the strategy of the radical right has deviated from Kitschelt’s (1995) winning formula of neoliberal views in support of free market economy (socioeconomic right) combined with illiberal views on society (sociocultural right). The “new winning formula” of the radical right (de Lange 2007) sought to respond to the aforementioned changes at the level of their electorates. Based on these evolutions, I develop the sub-hypothesis which expect a *programmatic shift* of radical right parties on welfare positions: that *welfare state expansion becomes an increasingly important policy issue for radical right parties*.

Note that it is very likely that the programmatic shift hypothesis does not apply to all radical right parties; and substantive variation across cases can be expected. Because these parties want to keep their voters’ preferences equilibrium, or because they are institutionalized parties with conservative ideological heritages, some radical right parties might be very averse to such programmatic change. In addition to these constraints (institutionalization and conservatism) arguing for more extensive welfare benefits is also context dependent. In hard times, most parties of the spectrum might be tempted to do so, but mostly, increasing welfare provisions can be less relevant in good economic times. This might prove relevant for the Swiss case, where there is less need than in other countries for more protective welfare provisions. Hence, there are three possible outcomes to the hypothesis: promoting more welfare protection (programmatic shift), blurring welfare positions (programmatic blurring), or simply maintaining a limited welfare state (no programmatic shift). Another way to put this hypothesis is to consider that a party family (the radical right) reacts to the issue

ownership of another party family (the social-democrats) in order to compete for its constituents. In general, when parties take up an issue that is “owned” by another party, they usually reframe it in their ideological perspective (see Spoon et al. 2014 for a similar argument on party competition over environmental issues). Radical right parties’ support for welfare state expansion could compete against Social Democrats, the historical proponents of the welfare state, by tactically trying to integrate their preferences and rhetoric on sociocultural issues to it.

4.1.3. The exclusive solidarity sub-hypothesis

If radical right parties have expanded to the welfare policy space, they are expected to do so with an agenda of *exclusive solidarity*, because radical right parties are essentially movements of exclusion (Rydgren 2005), this should be reflected in their discourse about redistribution. In addition to their well-documented cultural preferences they have developed more generous, yet ethnically exclusive preferences regarding the welfare state (Svallfors 2012; de Koster et al. 2013). These results concur with the expectation that radical right parties would move towards a ‘nationalist-interventionist’ position (Kriesi et al. 2012, Chapter 1). Using their best weapon (immigration) in political competition radical right parties seek to mobilize globalization and European integration ‘losers’ by appealing simultaneously to their cultural fears (e.g. erosion of traditional cultural and national way of life) and their economic insecurities (need for protection). Drawing on their issue competence in the area immigration, radical right parties are expected to frame the politics of solidarity in an anti-immigrant way so that they can be perceived as “owners” of a refined, exclusionary concept of solidarity. For this general exclusive solidarity, the literature has coined the term “welfare chauvinism” (Kitschelt and McGann 1995, Mau and Mewes 2012). In this way, their electoral discourse would promote an exclusive conception of solidarity that is specifically directed against migrants who are deemed to usurp social benefits. It follows that the pro-welfare agenda advocated by radical right parties should be clearly a chauvinist one (only for the natives). Yet in the framework of the exclusion hypothesis, immigrants (and welfare chauvinism) are just one out-group that would be “excluded” from welfare benefits under the norm of reciprocity. Under this logic, immigrants would be deemed less deserving, because they have contributed less to the welfare system. Similarly, other

outgroups, such as civil servants, may be considered to be receiving more benefits than what they are perceived to contribute, which would result in welfare populist preferences. Some groups may be positively perceived: following the norm of equality, the radical right might single out outgroups that are considered particularly deserving. The normative beliefs about deserving or undeserving outgroups may then be entangled. For instance, welfare populist attitudes could find their translation in praising some groups such blue-collar workers or farmers as particularly deserving of welfare protection and currently being entitled to less than they should. The same groups could be deemed to deserve more under the norm of equality, but with a different normative justification. On the other hand, needy groups may be perceived not to be genuinely in need, and just to be taking advantages of welfare benefits when they would be expected to rely on themselves (e.g. “false handicapped”). Under the norm of self-reliance, some individuals or outgroups may be considered to be “assisted”, those that fake or cheat the system (the unproductive “social parasites” in the words of Saint-Simon). The violations of the norms of reciprocity and self-reliance could result in targeting very similar groups, yet the normative argument underlying the exclusion – “singling out” – are different. On the one hand, it is a matter of those that contribute less than what they receive; on the other hand, they are perceived as having renounced to personal autonomy in order to rely on the collectivity.

Hence, the radical right parties are expected to put forward non-inclusive welfare schemes and a conception of the welfare state based on *exclusive solidarity*, that would set apart some social groups (positively or negatively). Consequently radical right parties would oppose an inclusive welfare state that gives broad access to welfare benefits, and rather strive to redefine its boundaries and the criteria of deservingness. The deserving recipients of welfare benefits should be clearly defined and differentiated from the undeserving ones according to the core norms of the welfare state. In general, support for welfare policies depends on how the individuals perceive other “social groups according to a deservingness scale” (Van Oorschot 2000). Among all social groups, the immigrants and the unemployed are always at the bottom of the deservingness scale, whereas the elderly and disabled are at the top (Van Oorschot 2006). The exclusionist welfare conception of the radical right would distinguish groups that should be more deserving along ethnic/national lines or because of belonging to a

fantasized conception of the people, and groups that should be less deserving because they did not contribute enough or because they are deemed unreliable.

4.2. Data and methods

In order to test the programmatic shift and exclusive solidarity hypotheses, I rely on mixed-method approaches based on multiple data sources (4.2.1.) which rest on a nested research design (4.2.2.)

4.2.1. Multiple data sources

To test both hypotheses, I rely on a mixed method approach; using different sources and type data, and both quantitative and qualitative methods.

To analyse the manifestos, I rely mainly on the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) database³³. It consists of quantitative codes generated from counts of sentences and quasi-sentences where parties position themselves on policy issue. These have been collected and coded by the CMP and include political programs of parties from around fifty countries since 1945 (Volgens et al. 2013). The quantitative codes of party positions on policy issues is essentially salience-based (Laver 2013). These party manifestos have been coded in a similar, systematic way across countries, and are thus comparable - notwithstanding language differences and manifestos' length variance across countries (Budge et al. 2001). The score associated with each issue represents the percentage of manifesto length devoted to such issue. Thus, the higher the score, the more salient an issue is to the party (Spoon *et al.* 2014). This constitutes an ideal data collection for investigating the evolution of issue salience in parties' electoral discourse, and more precisely preferences regarding the redistributive and welfare politics (Nygård 2006). The salience of welfare politics over the 1980-2012 period provides a measure to evaluate to what extent radical right parties adopt pro-redistribution agendas. The CMP data has nonetheless been criticized, mainly for two reasons. First, it relies on the assumption that parties' positions can be inferred from salience, and therefore parties with similar salience scores are expected to hold the same preferences. This measure is

³³ Lehmann, Pola / Matthieß, Theres / Merz, Nicolas / Regel, Sven / Werner, Annika (2015): Manifesto Corpus. Version: 2015-1. Berlin: WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

imperfect, but I argue that it is still very relevant to show long-term evolutions. These long-term evolutions are also subject to qualifications, since inter-coder reliability has proven to be rather low (Benoit et al. 2009). Yet, this critique mostly concerns the categorization of issues which dates from the 1970's, and which may have become politically irrelevant (Krouwel and van Elfrinkhof 2013). In the case of welfare politics, the item of "welfare expansion" used in the following analysis can nonetheless be considered as still politically relevant. In addition to the longitudinal data on manifestos, the following analysis is completed with party positions extracted from the **euandi** data. **euandi** is a Voting Advice Application (VAA) launched for the 2014 European Parliament Elections developed at the European University Institute (for full data collection methodology and presentation of the dataset see Garzia et al. 2015). The recent emergence of VAAs has contributed to novel and more refined methods of identifying party preferences. Notably, **euandi** offers voters the possibility to compare their political preferences with the positions of the 246 parties competing in this election. Party positions have been estimated by experts, in collaboration with the political parties themselves, through an *iterative* method. Each individual party has been asked to place itself on the 30 issues selected, motivating their choices by providing supporting party material. Simultaneously, teams of country experts have positioned the parties on the same issues and provided supporting campaign material (manifestos, party platforms, and other party documentation)³⁴. Once these two stages were completed, results were confronted during a calibration phase, and parties were asked to provide additional evidence in the case of discrepancies. Overall, 55% of all the parties contacted engaged in this cooperative coding scheme. This dataset thus provides 30 issue positions of all European political parties for the year 2014 collected through a rigorous methodology. It is a useful qualitative complement to the quantitatively measured positions of the CMP data. A left/right scale of welfare issues is derived from the different items of welfare position and deservingness of the data, in order to refine the welfare preferences. The last section of the analysis relies on three case studies of in-depth analysis of three recent manifestos of radical right parties: Front National (FR), Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (AT), and Schweizerische Volkspartei (CH). They constitute the main source to investigate the exclusion hypothesis, and identify the

³⁴ The political parties of each countries were coded by a team of 4 political scientists selected by the project team at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. For further details, see the official website of **euandi**, URL: <http://euandi.eu/abouteuandi.html>.

groups of individual that are specifically targeted (positively or negatively) by radical right parties when it comes to redistribution.

	Saliency based analysis (CMP 1980-2012)	Expert survey (euandi 2014) 35	In-depth manifesto analysis
Austria (FPÖ)	1980-2009	X	X
Belgium (VB)	1980-2003 / 2007-2010	X	
Denmark (DF)	1998-2011	X	
Finland (TF)	1999-2011	X	
France (FN)	1986-2012	X	X
Netherlands (LPF, PVV)	2002-2003 / 2006-2010	X	
Norway (FrP)	1980-2009		
Sweden (SD)	2010	X	
Switzerland (SVP)	1983-2011	X	X

Table 12 - Cases and data of radical right parties for chapter 4

Relying on multiple data sources helps capturing the party positions in the most reliable way. This means not only relying on different datasets, but also on different data collection methods to increase the reliability of the analysis. Here, in addition to the manifestos themselves (for case studies), I rely on saliency-based coding of party manifestos and expert positioning. In order to assess the preferences of radical right parties, Carter opts for expert surveys among all options on the basis of their scope and availability (Carter 2005). I argue that the combination of expert survey, text analysis of party programs, and saliency-based data provides richer information.

The cases retained in the cross-country comparison need to have an electorally significant right-wing party, setting the threshold of electoral significance at 5 % in the

³⁵ Switzerland’s parties were not originally coded in the **euandi** data; placing its parties on welfare issues is however much needed in this analysis, since the SVP is one of the in-depth cases studied in the last part of the chapter. To fill this missing data, I have asked three Swiss experts on political parties to follow the same coding procedure followed by the teams of the **euandi** project. As a result, I can identify the major Swiss parties on welfare issues. I therefore thank Hanspeter Kriesi, Jasmine Lorenzini, and Swen Hutter for their contribution. It was unfortunately impossible to gather such panel of experts on Norwegian parties.

latest national parliamentary elections. Table 12 presents the cases selected: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. Some countries did not have radical right parties as early as the 1980's, therefore party position indicators are only calculated from the years they reached the 5% threshold.

4.2.2. Research design

This chapter follows a “nested research design”; combining large-N and small-N studies adds a “synergetic value” to the analysis: while the statistical analysis can guide case selection for in-depth research and provide direction for more focused case-studies, the (b) small-N analysis can be used to assess the plausibility of observed statistical relationships between variables (Lieberman 2005).

The test of the protection hypothesis proceeds in three steps. First, I compare the salience of welfare expansion across party families, the CMP data provides the five most salient issues in the radical right parties' manifestos in the nine countries under study; three points in time are selected to grasp the evolution of agendas: early 1980s, mid-1990s and the most recent election available in our data³⁶. The frequency of each of the top five issues mentioned in radical right manifestos is also compared to the mean salience of this issue in the system (by taking into account all the other parties competing in that election) (for a similar type of analysis see Cole 2005).

The second step focuses exclusively on the salience of welfare politics for the radical right parties. To do this, the evolution of salience in radical right manifestos is compared to that of social-democratic parties in the same system. The salience theory of party competition posits that parties *selectively* emphasize topics where they feel they have a *good reputation*, while deemphasizing those that may be electorally costly/put them at disadvantage against their competitors. Thus parties emphasize some issues more than others in their competition against each other (Budge and Farlie 1983; Petrocik 1996; Bélanger and Meguid 2008). In this way, parties seek to prime their “own issue's” salience in the decisional calculus of voters. Parties' tendency to focus on the issues of electoral advantage is relatively path-dependent given the role of parties' institutional and organizational legacies in determining their policy package (Marks and Wilson

³⁶ In some cases, RR parties did not compete in elections as early as the 1980s. It is replaced with the closest election they competed in.

2000). Traditionally, social democratic parties are considered to “own” the issues of welfare politics. Thus, the comparative approach in this part of the analysis is double: a comparison of the salience of welfare state expansion across radical right parties, but also with social democratic parties.

The key variable in this step of the analysis from the CMP data is ‘welfare state expansion’ examined from the 1980’s to the latest available codings³⁷. This item refers to “*favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain, or expand any public social service or social security scheme. This includes, for example, government funding of: health care, child care, elder care and pensions, social housing – but this category excludes education*” (CMP Codebook).

Third, to better understand radical right parties’ agendas, their current substantive preferences on welfare issues are examined. The data collected by the **euandi** project allows mapping and comparing the welfare preferences of radical right and social-democratic parties on a left-right scale based on their positions on five welfare issues. The specific items used to construct the welfare preferences’ index are: (1) *social programs should be maintained even at the cost of higher taxes*; (2) *pension benefits should be reduced to limit the state debt in [country]*; (3) *government spending should be reduced in order to lower taxes*; (4) *government should reduce workers’ protection regulations in order to fight unemployment*; and (5) *the state should provide stronger financial support to the unemployed workers*³⁸.

The exclusive solidarity sub-hypothesis is explored in two steps. As welfare chauvinism is the principal exclusionary preference expressed by radical right voters, it is specifically tested at the party level through a cross-party family comparison based on the **euandi** data. It evaluates the positions of parties on the issue about whether immigrants should have harder access to social benefits compared to the country’s citizens³⁹. This question allows us to see whether and to what extent the two party

³⁷ Another item, ‘welfare state limitation’ could have been included as a counterpart. However it is left out of the analysis, since it is of negligible proportions for most parties (and never exceeding 3% of manifestos).

³⁸ Items selected form a homogenous scale (Cronbach’s alpha of 0.81, confirmed by factor analysis).

³⁹ The exact wording of the question in English is “*It should be harder for EU immigrants working or staying in [country] to get access to social assistance benefits than it is for [country]’s citizens*”. This question targets immigrants from within the EU, but it can be used as a proxy of inclusiveness/exclusiveness of welfare benefits. Most likely, the exclusiveness of radical right

families that compete on the welfare state subscribe to a concept of solidarity that includes immigrants or not.

Second, I conduct three case studies of party manifestos: the French Front National (FN), the Austrian FPÖ and the Swiss SVP. These three countries are continental welfare states and have important radical right parties. However, they diverge in political characteristics, especially with regards to electoral rules (proportional representation versus majoritarian system). This has had consequences for the opportunities (e.g. participation in government) available to the radical right. In the Austrian case the radical right can in theory even participate in government coalitions provided that the mainstream parties coalesce with it (for instance the Schüssel government 2000-2005). In the Swiss case, the SVP is de facto part of the government, as it is one of the four parties included in the “magical formula”. In France, the two round majoritarian system has long prevented the FN from obtaining seats in parliament despite their electoral results. The case selection primarily derives from the testing of the protection hypothesis. Following a nested research design, these parties are three characteristic examples of the three possible outcomes of the assumed increased welfare protection offered by radical right parties: favourable to welfare expansion (FN), or blurred welfare preferences (FPÖ), or in favour of welfare limitations (SVP). I examine the content of these parties’ most recent programmes and analyse how they frame arguments, and to what extent they differentiate groups when considering deservingness of welfare benefits.

The FN case study is based on the document entitled “*Notre Projet: Programme Politique du FN*”. It contains 106 pages and was issued for the purpose of the 2012 presidential campaign; at the time of writing, it is still considered the major and most up-to-date programmatic document of the party in 2014⁴⁰. Contrary to the FN, the FPÖ program is comparatively rather short, but this length is typical for this party. The 16 page electoral program issued for the legislative 2013 election is entitled “*Österreich im Wort*”⁴¹. The

parties for EU immigrants is at least as strong, if not much stronger, for immigrants coming from non-EU countries. Due to missing data, the Finnish parties of interest (SDP/TF) are not included from this step of the analysis.

⁴⁰ The document is available on the party’s official website: <http://www.frontnational.com/pdf/Programme.pdf>

⁴¹ The document is available on the party’s official website: http://www.fpoe.at/fileadmin/Contentpool/Portal/wahl08/FP-Wahlprogramm_NRW08.pdf

SVP “Wahlplattform 2011-2015” is a 129 pages programme used for multiple elections⁴². When reporting qualitative findings, specific words or phrases are cited in quotation marks (translated from the original texts) for the purpose of illustrating the language used to frame redistributive solidarity.

4.3. Protection hypothesis: salience of welfare politics for the radical right

In order to examine the protection hypothesis, this section addresses the following questions: to what extent do radical right parties emphasize redistributive politics in their manifestos compared to other parties (4.3.1.)? Is the salience of the welfare state stable over time, or is it changing? Is there a strong difference between the issues emphasized by radical right parties compared to the rest of the party system? How ‘leftist’ are radical right parties on welfare issues (4.3.2.)?

4.3.1. Are radical right parties proponent of redistribution and protection?

The first step of the analysis is to compare the salience of “welfare state expansion” the radical right to other party families. It is a simple measure of the proportion of manifestos devoted to welfare expansion over the period 1980-2012.

Two clear patterns emerge from figure 4: expanding the welfare state is increasingly important for radical right parties over time, but it remains the party family for which it is the least salient. Between the 1980’s and the 2000’s, the salience of ‘welfare expansion’ in radical right parties’ manifestos has increased by 70%, which corresponds to the average rate for other party families. This increase is still higher for the radical right than for social-democratic, liberal and Christian-democratic parties. This first overview of salience shows that welfare politics concerns an increasingly relevant in radical right parties’ manifestos, but it obliterates country variation, and the relative salience of this item in each manifestos.

⁴² The document is available on the party’s official website: <http://www.svp.ch/positionen/partieprogramm/>

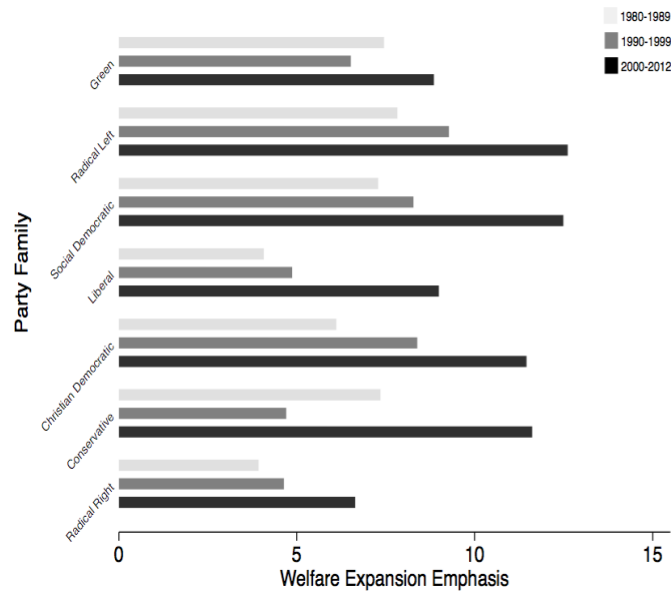


Figure 4 - Salience of welfare state expansion in party manifestos in Western Europe (1980-2012)

Table 13 provides the ranking of the top five issues of each radical right party at three points in time: in the early 1980's, the early 1990's, and the latest manifesto available in the CMP data. It shows that welfare expansion is an increasingly salient component of manifestos, and even the most salient issue for some parties. Furthermore, the traditional liberal/market-oriented economic and welfare limitations preferences that are salient concerns in the 1980's tend to fade away in more recent manifestos. However, this programmatic evolution of radical right parties does not apply to every party in Western Europe. Moreover, the next sections show that this evolution is not as linear as the aggregated results of figure show.

	Early 1980's			Mid 1990's			Latest election		
Austria	1983	Frequency Radical Right	Average Party System (std. dev.)	1993	Frequency Radical Right	Average Party System (std. dev.)	2008	Frequency Radical Right	Average Party System (std. dev.)
	1. Traditional Morality: Positive	8.1	8.5 (7.8)	1. Traditional Morality: Positive	11.4	9.9 (7.7)	1. National Way of Life: Positive	11.3	17.6 (5.7)
	2. Free Market Economy	7.9	7.6 (1.5)	2. National Way of Life: Positive	11.0	5.5 (8.8)	2. Political Authority	7.8	8.3 (3)
	3. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	4.8	4.3 (3.6)	3. Law and Order: Positive	8.1	6.8 (5.8)	3. Traditional Morality: Positive	7.5	3.2 (2)
	4. National Way of Life: Positive	4.6	5.9 (3.5)	4. Free Market Economy	5.3	4 (3)	4. Traditional Morality: Negative	6.9	3.7 (2.2)
	5. Law and Order: Positive	4.2	3.5 (3)	5. Environmental Protection: Positive	4.7	5.6 (6.3)	5. Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	6.6	4.7 (4.1)
Belgium	1981	Frequency Radical Right	Average Party System (std. dev.)	1995	Frequency Radical Right	Average Party System (std. dev.)	2010	Frequency Radical Right	Average Party System (std. dev.)
	1. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	11.1	5.6 (3.9)	1. Political Authority	14.9	5.8 (5.2)	1. Political Authority	18.9	8.1 (6.3)
	2. Education Expansion	7.9	3.9 (1.8)	2. Federalism	10.9	4.8 (4.4)	2. Law and Order: Positive	18.6	7.4 (4.8)

3. Welfare State Expansion	6.1	4.2 (2.7)	3. Environmental Protection: Positive	9.9	5.4 (4.4)	3. Federalism	14.5	5.4 (5.4)
4. Freedom and Human Rights	5.0	2.5 (1.7)	4. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	9.7	11 (3.5)	4. Multiculturalism: Negative	7.8	1.9 (2.9)
5. Culture: Positive	5.0	2.9 (2.6)	5. Welfare State Expansion	9.2	9.4 (4.1)	5. National Way of Life: Negative	4.0	0.5 (1.1)
Denmark								
<i>1998</i>								
			1. Multiculturalism: Negative	15.1	5.3 (2.3)	1. Multiculturalism: Negative	16.1	3.3 (6.2)
			2. European Community/Union: Negative	13.7	2.8 (4.6)	2. Law and Order: Positive	12.4	3.8 (6.1)
			3. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	11.0	4.1 (3.7)	3. Freedom and Human Rights	10.4	7.6 (9.3)
			4. Welfare State Expansion	11.0	6.6 (3.8)	4. Political Authority	8.6	6.1 (4.4)
			5. Free Market Economy	6.8	1.9 (2.6)	5. Education Expansion	7.8	9 (5.3)
Finland								
<i>2011</i>								

	1986	1993	2012
France			
	1986	1993	2012
1. Traditional Morality: Positive	8.1	1.6 (3.2)	11.4
2. Free Market Economy	7.9	4.8 (5.1)	11.0
3. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	4.8	2 (2.5)	8.1
4. National Way of Life: Positive	4.6	2.3 (1.9)	5.3
5. Law and Order: Positive	4.2	2.7 (2.3)	4.7
1. National Way of Life: Positive	10.5	1.5 (3.6)	13.1
2. Agriculture and Farmers: Positive	10.2	2.5 (3.4)	11.7
3. Welfare State Expansion	9.6	12.9 (6.4)	11.4
4. Democracy	6.7	2.5 (2.3)	9.4
5. Market Regulation	5.7	3.2 (1.8)	8.1
1. Law and order: Positive		2.2 (4.6)	4.2 (3.9)
2. Welfare State Expansion		2.2 (4.4)	11.7 (3.9)
3. National Way of Life: Positive		1.7 (3.1)	2.4 (3.3)
4. Market Regulation		2.2 (2)	9.4 (5.3)
5. Agriculture and Farmers: Positive		5.3 (5.3)	7.1 (3.8)

Netherlands

	2002	2010
1. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	15.0	15.5
2. Technology and Infrastructure	8.7	13.6
3. Political Authority	7.1	6.5
4. Welfare State Expansion	7.1	5.5
5. Equality: Positive	5.5	5.3
	6.7 (4.6)	6.8 (3.7)
	7.6 (2.2)	2.6 (4)
	4.5 (2.8)	2.9 (2.4)
	6.4 (2.3)	5.7 (2.5)
	2.6 (1.3)	1.5 (1.6)

Norway

	1981	1993	2009
1. Free Market Economy	16.0	4.2 (6.3)	10.4
2. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	13.7	4 (4.5)	9.4
3. Economic Orthodoxy	11.5	2 (4.2)	8.4
			14.4 (2.1)
			5.8 (1.8)
			10.6 (1.8)

4. Welfare State Limitation	4.8	1.2 (1.9)	4.9	4.6 (2.5)	7.8	2.3 (2.7)
5. Military: Positive	4.7	2 (1.5)	4.4	2.3 (1.3)	6.8	1.7 (2.5)
<hr/>						
Sweden						
<hr/>						
2010						
1. Welfare State Expansion			13.7		15.2	(5.1)
2. National Way of Life: Positive			12.3		1.7	(4.3)
3. Law and Order: Positive			8.8		4	(3.4)
4. Non-economic Demographic Groups			8.3		4.4	(2.8)
5. Multiculturalism: Negative			7.4		0.9	(2.6)
<hr/>						
Switzerland						
<hr/>						
1983						
1. Non-economic Demographic Groups	10.0	5 (5.1)	11.5	4.8 (5.2)	35	4.4 (10.8)
<hr/>						
1995						
1. Economic Orthodoxy						
<hr/>						
2011						
1. European Community/Union: Negative						

2. Environmental Protection: Positive	6.9	12.8 (9.5)	2. Law and Order: Positive	10.8	4.1 (4.3)	2. Democracy	27.5	3.8 (8.5)
3. Culture: Positive	5.6	1.8 (1.9)	3. Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	8.1	4 (5.9)	3. Political Authority	16.7	5.6 (8.7)
4. Freedom and Human Rights	5.4	8.9 (14)	4. Welfare State Expansion	5.8	7.7 (5.7)	4. Law and Order: Positive	6.0	6 (7.1)
5. Education Expansion	5.1	2.1 (1.8)	5. Education Expansion	5.5	2.3 (1.7)	5. Multiculturalism: Negative	5	0.6 (1.6)

Table 13 - Top five issues in RR parties' manifestos since the 1980s (CMP)

The classification of the top five most salient issues in party manifestos over time produce three patterns of evolution. The first pattern applies to the French FN and the four Scandinavian radical right parties, and supports the protection hypothesis: welfare state expansion, is gradually becoming a central feature of the radical right's agenda. In this respect, the Norwegian Progress party (Fremskrittspartiet (FrP)) and French Front National are model cases. In the case of Norway, "free market economy" and "economic orthodoxy" made up more than 25% of the FrP's manifesto in 1981, but this proportion shrunk in 1993, and in 2009 welfare state expansion constituted the most important issue for the FrP. In the case of France, free market economy ranked among the top-5 most salient issues in the 1980s and it constituted 7.9 % of their manifesto. In 2012, however, free market economy does not appear among the top-5 issues; welfare expansion has become the second most salient issue with 11.4% of the manifesto devoted to it. In both cases, we see a clear shift from the liberal economic agenda of the 1980s to a more welfare-oriented manifesto in the most recent election. Because the Danish People's Party (DF), the True Finns (TF), and the Sweden Democrats (SwD) are younger parties, the changes in manifestos are not as marked as for the FrP, but these parties all advocate welfare state expansion. Welfare expansion is even the top-issue for the SwD in 2010 – the year when this party achieved its electoral breakthrough. Second, Austria constitutes a category of one, where pro-redistributive policy preferences do not appear among the top five issues of the FPÖ. Still, the FPÖ evolved on these issues: it used to be a fervent proponent of free market economy in the 1980s, but this position's salience decreased in the 1990's. Support for free market economy has disappeared from recent manifestos. The question remains, however, whether the shift away from more right-wing economic policies has been accompanied by an increase in redistributive and pro-welfare preferences – a question, which is addressed in the following section. The third group of countries in the sample includes Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Contrary to the protection hypothesis, the relevance of welfare-oriented issues for the SVP, the PVV, and the VB decreases over time. Although these parties ranked welfare expansion among their top priorities in the 1980's, it is not the case anymore in their more recent manifestos. We must note however, that in Belgium and the Netherlands, the parties themselves have changed over this period. Arguably, in Belgium, as the Vlaams Belang (VB) is the direct successor Vlaams Block and

this party transformation has limited impact; but it is more significant in the case of the Netherlands, where the PVV replaced the List Pim Fortuyn (LPF). Not only did the LPF promote welfare state expansion and social justice (salience of ‘equality positive’) but it did so in greater proportion than other parties competing in the same election (salience is higher than the average in the party system); whereas, the PVV does not emphasize these issues in its manifesto.

4.3.2. The welfare preferences of radical right parties and social-democratic parties

Overall, radical right parties in Western Europe cannot means be considered indifferent to issues of redistribution, although different patterns emerge over time and across countries. The next section narrows the analytical lens and focuses on the salience of welfare state expansion. To recall, this item refers to introducing, maintaining or expanding any type of social service or social security scheme (except for education). This indicator allows for measuring to what extent the radical right parties promote welfare protection, and for comparing radical right parties with social-democratic parties. Indeed, the programmatic shift sub-hypothesis expects that the radical right parties challenge the left on the issue they ‘own’. Figure 5 presents the salience of welfare state expansion in the manifestos of radical right and social-democratic parties for every election they competed in since 1980. Two patterns emerge in Figure 5: ‘inverse’ and ‘concurrent’ evolution of salience of welfare state expansion. ‘Inverse evolution’ occurs when the evolution of salience is opposite for radical right and social-democratic parties. In most cases, the salience of welfare expansion increases for the radical right parties, while at the same time it decreases for social-democratic parties (e.g. Austria, Belgium, and Finland); but the opposite also occurs (e.g. Switzerland). In Austria and Finland, for instance, the salience of welfare state expansion of social-democratic parties declines, and it is even surpassed by that of the radical right parties in the late 2000s. This is less evident in Denmark and the Netherlands, although the patterns look similar evolutions. In the case of the Netherlands, the LPF in the early 2000s had similar levels of salience of welfare expansion as the PvdA, the PVV seems to be following a similar trend. Though in Denmark the evolution is less clear, the gap in salience between the two parties is decreasing. In the case of Switzerland the salience levels of

welfare expansion between the SVP and the PSS are also clearly diverging. However, over time, the salience of welfare expansion for the SVP is decreasing neatly, and it reaches the lowest level of any radical right party considered in this study, while the PSS increasingly promotes it. The second pattern which emerges from these data is the concurrent evolution of social-democratic and radical right parties' advocacy in favour of welfare state expansion. This is very clear in France and Norway (where salience increases for both parties). The case of France is an illustration of a dramatic change: the FN did not advocate welfare state expansion in the 1990s but in 2012 it reached a similar level of salience as the PS. Salience of welfare expansion for radical right parties is highest in Norway as well as in Sweden, where it is the most salient issue (albeit of lower salience than for social-democratic parties). The Belgian case provides the example of a reverse trend in concurrent evolution: the salience of welfare expansion is decreasing for both parties. Salience-based analyses show that radical right parties vary in their emphasis of welfare protection in their manifestos. There are three clusters of countries: 1) welfare expansion becomes an increasingly salient issue, comparable to the levels of social-democratic parties (Scandinavian radical right and FN), 2) welfare expansion remains undetermined showing no clear evolution trend (FPÖ and the Dutch cases), 3) parties that contradict the protection hypothesis, expanding the welfare state is not a salient issues (SVP, VB).

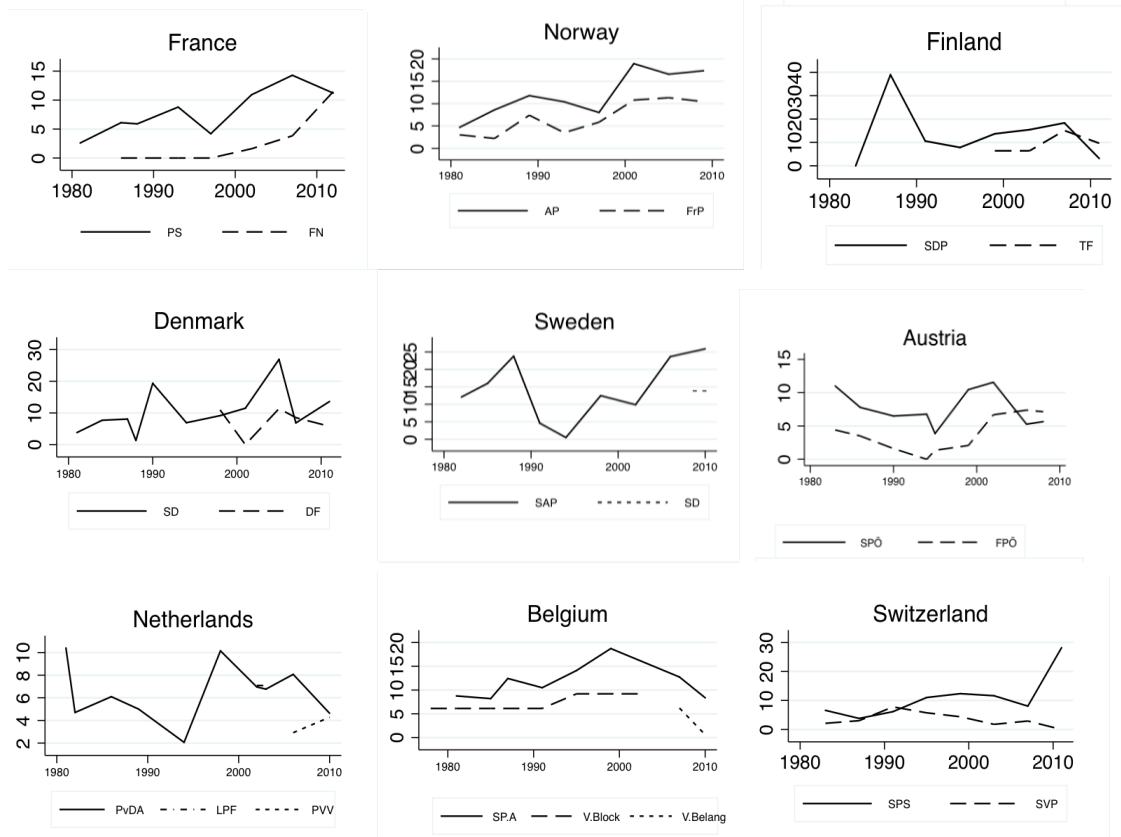


Figure 5 - Evolution of the salience of welfare expansion for radical right and social-democratic parties in Western Europe

The relevance of welfare expansion is particularly increasing for Scandinavian radical right parties. One explanation may be that radical right parties align to their party systems, since welfare expansion is promoted by almost all Scandinavian parties. It also echoes the results of chapter 3, which showed that welfare normative concerns are more influential for Scandinavian radical right voters than in continental welfare states. The Front National is following a similar pattern, but this trend is not a clear-cut for the other radical right parties. Trends of salience over time are a good indicator to show the importance of welfare issues for the radical right parties; yet, they are not sufficient to substantially document party positions. The third step of the cross-country and cross-party comparison compares radical right, social-democratic and mainstream right parties' positions on welfare state issues in 2014 (figure 6). Negative values (-10) represent left wing positions on welfare issues, and positive values (+10) represent right-wing positions.

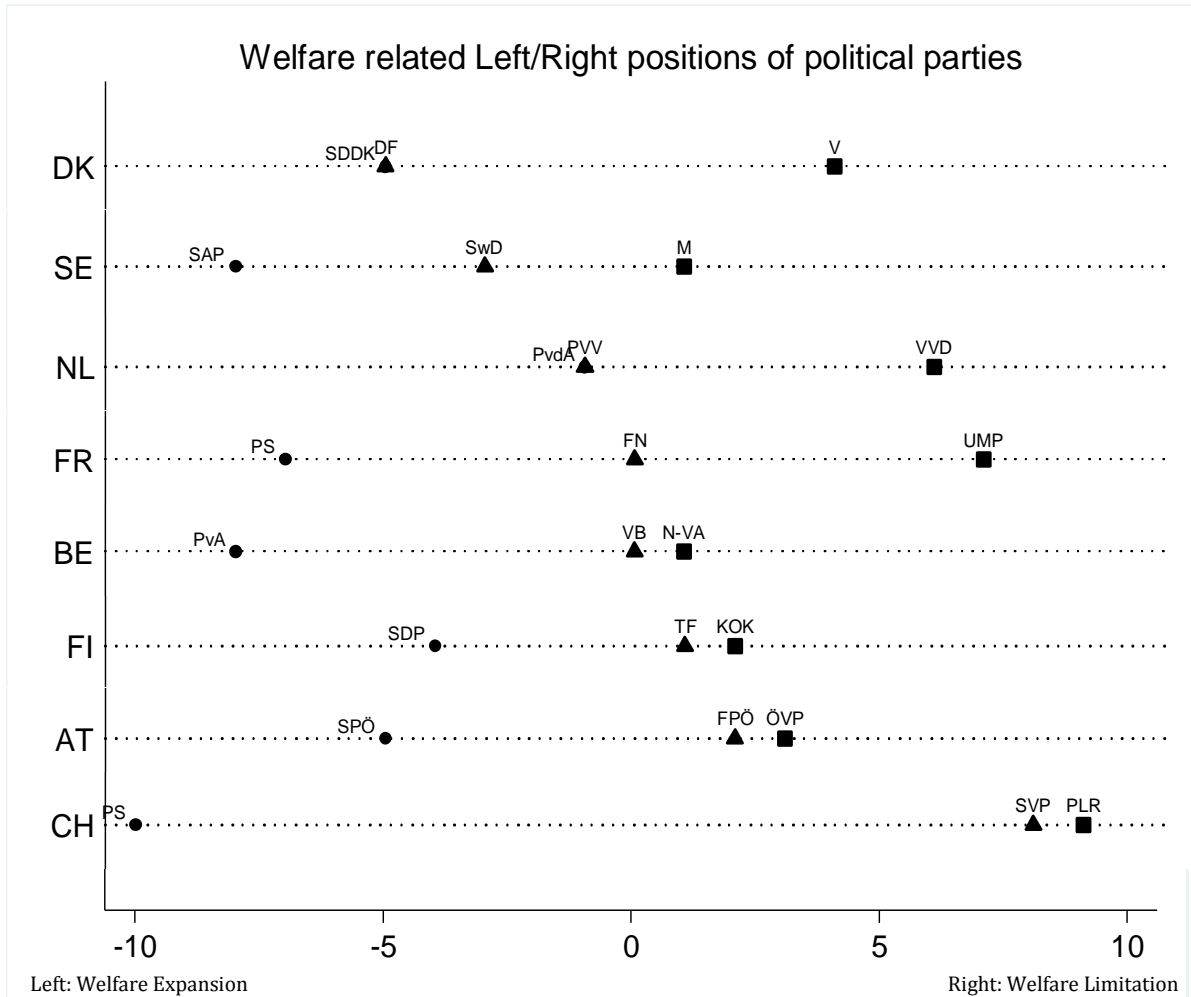


Figure 6 - Position of radical right, social-democratic and conservative parties on a left/right welfare scale

The left-right positioning of radical right and social-democratic parties reveals that parties from both families are located on the centre or the left side of welfare politics. As expected, all of the social-democratic parties position themselves on the left side of welfare politics, and so do three out of the seven radical right parties under study (DF, PVV, SD). French FN and Belgian VB are exactly at the centre of the left/right welfare scale, whereas the True Finns and the FPÖ have slightly more right-wing welfare positions compared to all other radical right parties in the sample (respectively scores of +1 and +2 on the right on a 20-point scale). We should underline, that apart from the SVP, no radical right party is located on the extreme right of the axis. Indeed, the Swiss party system is the most polarized with

regards to welfare issues, and the SVP lies with the PLR at the very right side of the political spectrum. Looking at the distance between the national pairs of parties, we observe that on this 20-point scale, the mean distance between the radical right and the social-democratic parties on welfare issues is 6.25. There are outliers however, since this difference is of 18 points in Switzerland, but there is no difference in the left-right positioning of the two party families in Denmark and the Netherlands.

Parties	Protection Hypothesis
DF	+
FrP	+
SD	+
TF	+
FN	+
LPF/PVV	.
FPÖ	.
VB	.
SVP	-

Table 14 - The protection hypothesis by country

The programmatic shift sub-hypothesis, and more precisely the challenge of radical right parties to social-democratic parties on the issues they ‘own’, find partial support in the data. Welfare expansion – increased protection - is an increasingly salient issue for some radical right parties, and their position on this issue is very close to that of the social-democratic parties. In particular, this hypothesis is confirmed in the Scandinavian countries and in France. The FPÖ and the PVV present more contrasting cases: these parties tend to maintain a blurred position on welfare politics. The Belgian VB is another contrasted case: welfare expansion is less salient over time, but the party holds rather centrist positions in terms of welfare left/right positioning. The Swiss SVP is an outlier to

this regard: not only is welfare expansion not salient for this party, but the SVP also promotes a very limited and rightist conception of the welfare state.

4.4. Exclusion hypothesis: solidarity with an exclusive trademark

This section tests the exclusion hypothesis by assessing if radical right parties promote a model of exclusive solidarity in two steps. Since welfare chauvinism is the most relevant attitude for the radical right voters, the preferences towards the exclusion of migrants from welfare benefits are compared for the radical right and the social-democratic parties (4.4.1.). Then, following the principle of nested analysis, three case studies of manifestos provide in-depth knowledge on the nature of radical right parties' welfare positions (4.4.2.). The selection of cases derives from the previous sections; the three cases represent each of the three possible outcomes of the protection hypothesis: increasing salience of welfare expansion (FN), blurred welfare preferences (FPÖ) and decreasing salience of welfare preferences (SVP). The focus is on indicators of inclusiveness and mentions of groups that are positively or negatively targeted by radical right parties.

4.4.1. Party preferences for welfare chauvinism

The party positions on the restriction of welfare benefits for migrants is a good indicator of welfare chauvinism. Thanks to the **euandi** data it can be calculated for six pairs of social-democratic and radical right parties: Austrian SPÖ and FPÖ, Belgian SP.A and VB; Danish SDDK and DF; French PS and FN; Dutch PvdA and PVV; Swedish SAP and SwD. Table 15 shows clearly that all radical right parties (marked in bold) either tend to agree or strongly agree with the exclusion of immigrants from welfare benefits. As much as radical right voters are welfare chauvinist, the parties also differentiate themselves with this preference. Radical right parties are in congruence with their electors: they all single out immigrants as being underserving of welfare benefits. On the other hand, social-democratic parties are supportive of an inclusive concept of solidarity, with the exception of Austrian SPÖ which positions itself in the middle of the scale, thus supporting neither harder nor easier access of immigrants to social benefits.

Completely disagree	Tend to disagree	Neutral	Tend to agree	Completely agree
PS, SAP, SP.A	PvdA, SDDK	SPÖ	SwD, FPÖ	PVV, FN, DF, VB, SVP

Table 15 -Restriction of social benefits for migrants (euandi, 2014)

Exclusiveness is a critical aspect of the radical right's welfare preferences, be it the voters or the parties. It is also what clearly distinguishes the radical right from other parties. Yet, expecting that radical right parties promote an exclusive solidarity goes further than welfare chauvinism. In a logic of exclusion, other groups should be targeted, and their access welfare benefits limited (or they should be granted limited solidarity) according to the perceived violation of welfare normative beliefs. The next section assesses the exclusion of welfare groups by radical right parties, relying on three recent manifestos of electorally successful radical right parties that hold diverging positions on welfare issues.

4.4.2. Three cases of exclusive solidarity

In order to understand the nature of the welfare preferences of radical right parties, it is necessary to look more closely into their manifestos. Saliency based analyses give a good insight of the importance parties devote to an issue, but provide more limited information on the content of their positions. These sections investigate if and who are the groups the radical right blames and wants to exclude from redistribution. The quantitative analysis of saliency of welfare expansion for Austria, Switzerland and France showed change over time (Figure 5): while radical right parties in these countries used to have economically liberal preferences in the 1980s, the FN shifted to favouring welfare state expansion, the FPÖ remains blurred on welfare issues, whereas the SVP does not promote welfare expansion (and never did). This change is very clear in the case of the France: for the FN, which used to hold an economically orthodox neoliberal position in the 1980s, welfare state expansion became a prominent issue in more recent decades (Table 12 and Figure 5). Marine Le Pen's takeover of the party presidency in 2011 seems to trigger the welfare protectionist turn of the FN (chapter 6 addresses the question of causation in greater detail). In Austria,

the FPÖ and the SPÖ have been converging regarding their degree of attention to welfare state extension. In terms of positions on welfare issues, the FN is exactly at the 0 point on the left/right scale, and the FPÖ is only slightly more on the right side of the scale, while the SVP is at the very right extreme (Figure 6).

FN's left-wing economic turn

The FN's manifesto confirms its left-wing shift in terms of welfare issues and it is a clear example of programmatic shift. The FN promotes expansive and protective welfare policies, which is a dramatic rupture with former references to free market economy. One of the major economic argument of the program is to re-build a strong state, and to protect the public services "that have been decimated by privatization and three decades of ultraliberal politics". Another example of FN's turn is its determination to keep the 35-hour working week. This policy is a symbolic indicator of the left-right economic divide for parties in France: it was implemented by a socialist government in 1998 and has been hardly fought against by all centrist and right parties since then. The FN claims to be a forceful proponent of "social justice" and advocates rather progressive social policies, such as higher taxes for the wealthiest, return to a full retirement age of 60, and an ambition to defend and improve social security.

A textbook case of welfare chauvinism.

In the case of the FN, immigration is undeniably one of the most salient issues in the program and it is primarily framed in economic terms. For the FN, immigration is a tool of "big corporate interests" to exert pressure and lower the wages. Immigration is presented as a "weapon in the service of capital"⁴³. From the perspective of immigrants, the FN explains that they move to France because of the "most generous social advantages in Europe". FN claims that social programs would function as a "sucking pump" driving legal and illegal immigrants to France.

The case of French public housing for the less well-off is a good illustration of how immigrants are blamed for ineffective social justice and failed social programs. The FN

⁴³ Both terms "*grand patronat*" (big corporate interests) and "*grand capital*" (big capital) are symbolically associated with the rhetoric of the left.

considers that immigrants, both legal and illegal, are the first cause of the housing crisis. The FN claims that immigrants are even favoured in terms of housing compared to French citizens. Thus the FN's economic framing of immigration is expressed both in terms of causes and consequences: immigrants move to France because of generous social benefits, and they threaten social security and welfare programs by abusing it.

FN's generous but exclusive welfare policy preferences

The FN builds its argument around claims specific to two groups: to increase the benefits for the less well-off and to ensure "national priority" for French citizens. The concept of 'national priority' also labelled 'national preference' or 'citizen priority' and it is the core argument of the welfare agenda of the FN. Healthcare and family policy give two good illustrations of the FN's preference for exclusion of social groups. The FN claims that "securing" social security and health insurance is one of its priorities. But the social model of solidarity that FN seeks to defend is explicitly exclusive. One of the main proposals of the FN – repeated in several instances of the manifesto - is to suppress the *Aide Médicale d'Etat* (AME), a medical insurance for the poorest, whatever their legal immigration situation. Indeed, this universalistic policy is designed for illegal immigrants, and it is antithetical to the FN's welfare chauvinist positions. The suppression of AME would, according to the FN, not only improve the social security's finance, but on a normative level it would also mean stopping the assistance of individuals that are 'undeserving' of national solidarity. This measure is characteristic of the FN's welfare's ideology of restricting benefits for immigrants and undeserving groups, but it is a one-time policy to suppress one (rather limited) welfare scheme.

Indeed, the FN position on social security goes far beyond in terms of exclusiveness: the suspicion that the immigrants are benefiting from the system goes hand in hand with the claim that they are "undeserving". The FN wants to set up an "observatory for the social rights of foreigners". Its mission would be to control immigrants more thoroughly and make sure that they are not "abusing" the system. For instance, one of its measures would be to make identity check more strict (e.g. with biometric documents) to ensure that "immigrants do not multiply their IDs" in order to benefit from the same social service several times. The immigrants are deemed to cost more than they contribute, but they are also the object of cultural prejudice. Indeed, immigrants are essentially perceived as

dishonest, and the FN's rhetoric doesn't rely only on the principle of reciprocity, but also on cultural prejudices. With regards to social security, immigrants are not considered to be as deserving as French citizens, even when they are not breaking any rule. For instance, the FN wants to introduce a one-year period of extra contributions in which immigrants would work and pay taxes to social schemes, without receiving any benefits. Once this extra contribution would be paid, immigrants would be seen as more fit to integrate the reciprocal system of social security.

Family policy is another example of the FN's exclusive redistributive solidarity. The party is proponent of a very generous family policy: large increase of family subsidies, but also of subsidies for people with special needs, and for the elderly. All these financial or fiscal aids should, however, should be restricted to French citizens. The FN details their exclusiveness by considering that a family needs "a least one French parent" to be eligible to family-related social benefits. This is a very clear case of welfare chauvinism, expressed through the FN's motto of "national preference".

In addition to being a textbook example of welfare chauvinism, the FN argues for greater welfare protection for other social groups that are insufficiently covered. They define, in a populist way, groups of "forgotten citizens" that are not granted the welfare protection they should. Thus, the FN insists on the norm of equality for those "crushed by the system". These needy groups are mainly the blue-collar workers, the farmers and the lower income earners. Stressing the norm of equality, the FN makes a territorial argument and calls for greater protection of "relegated areas" (poor peri-urban) where the state is considered to have given up on its citizens.

FPÖ's *'blurred' economic policy*

The FPÖ has a more inconsistent economic messages compared to the FN. Its manifesto preserves some key elements of neoliberal rhetoric: it argues in favor of a "thin" state that should limit itself to its "actual" tasks in order to reduce administration costs and taxes. The argument relies on a conventional liberal economic approach: private investments will follow tax cuts, and in turn jobs will be created, which would lead to greater prosperity. Contrary to the FN, the FPÖ does not travel to the left on the economic dimension, however it sends blurry messages: on the one hand it seeks to reduce taxes whereas on the other it

wants to maintain the existing social security and pension systems. The solution to this paradox is to confine the welfare state to the natives. More specifically, the FPÖ considers immigration to be a “sucking pump” which justifies its opposition to a basic social security for all people living in Austria: FPÖ opposes such a scheme as it would create “an unequal form of redistribution” and would provoke immigration of people who are “exclusively interested in the Austrian social services”.

Immigration: a cultural problem?

Contrarily to the FN, FPÖ frames immigration essentially in cultural-religious terms: decades of immigration from foreign cultural circles, the FPÖ argues, brought about “radical changes in the structure of the population”, whereby Islam is now the second biggest cultural community in Austria. The FPÖ perceives this as a threat for the (cultural) future of Austria: the Islamic community would, by the end of the century have become the “strongest” group in the entire country. Moreover, the FPÖ portrays peoples of Islamic culture as non-conforming to the Austrian constitutional principles and as undercover “conquerors”⁴⁴. In its chapter “Women- Men-Partnership-Family”, the FPÖ states clearly that immigration from non-European countries has even endangered the equality of opportunities between women and men in Austria⁴⁵.

Although having framed immigration as a cultural threat in the introduction of its electoral program, the FPÖ also links immigrants to economic problems, such as abuse of the welfare state and unemployment. In the first chapter entitled “Austria first” the FPÖ begins with facts about immigration to elaborate more on the extent to which immigrants are welcome and under what conditions⁴⁶. The FPÖ proposes that Austria should start sending foreigners back to their countries of origin: foreigners who misuse the social system, those who break the law, those whose asylum application was rejected, and those for whom

⁴⁴ The FPÖ opposes the construction of anything that symbolizes the desire to conquer Austria that are masked under the freedom of religion, such as Minarets. Also, it clarifies that violation of the Austrian constitutions, such as violence against women, the lack of respect towards the freedom of press and opinion and the torment of animals, are not covered by freedom of religion and should thus be punished.

⁴⁵ The FPÖ specifically refers to forced marriage and headscarf as well as genital mutilation as “clear signs” of women’s oppression, which cannot be accepted in Austria.

⁴⁶ Every sixth resident of Austria and every third resident of Vienna have foreign roots; in 2007 there were 820.000 legal and 100.000 illegal immigrants in the country.

there is no job or humane home in Austria should be repatriated. Moreover, The FPÖ's chapter "social justice" resembles very much the FN in that it emphasizes the economic aspects of migration. Without presenting any specific statistics, the FPÖ writes that "a large part" among migrants either has no job or is over- proportionately hit by unemployment due to its low education level. It is in this context where the FPÖ places the image of a "strained social system" – a welfare state under pressure *because* of "economic refugees" (Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge). Doing so, the FPÖ make an explicit argument about violated reciprocity: on top of cultural opposition to immigration, immigrants are perceived to be more dependent and cost more, because they contribute structurally less.

"Austrians first", the FPÖ's welfare chauvinist motto extends beyond the distribution of social benefits to labour-market policies, such as priority allocation of private sector jobs. For instance, the FPÖ proposes that in sectors where there is strong need for labour (e.g. health and care), the AMS (Austrian unemployment agency) should, based on long-term planning, train Austrians to get the qualification for these jobs and prevent immigrants from accessing them. In other words, rather than give the jobs to qualified immigrants, more public money should be spent to train Austrians so that they get the available jobs instead.

Saving the strained welfare state

The FPÖ's plan to save the "strained welfare state" is to create a social security tailor-made for "temporary" *Gastarbeiter*, which would give them access to medical care and would be financed by their own contributions. Again, the FPÖ makes a clear call for reciprocity as main criteria of welfare deservingness. Non-natives who are frequently or long-term unemployed should lose both their residence and working permits. The FPÖ makes very clear that the Austrian social security system should not include immigrants, for whom different arrangements should be made. Although the FPÖ does not go into as much detail as the FN does (note that however the FPÖ program is only 16 pages), in the FPÖ's ideal world immigrants should be nothing more than temporary workers⁴⁷ who will soon leave and should not be part of the Austrian welfare system. The "already expensive welfare state

⁴⁷ For an analysis of conflicting rationalities and the role of the radical right in the case of the Austrian Seasonal Worker Scheme, see Horvath (2014).

(7 billion per year)” should target those really in need and the FPÖ does support social programs for the elderly, the people with special needs and the unemployed – but membership in all these categories is reserved to native Austrians. Although the FPÖ is not as “left” on welfare issues, it shares the concept of exclusive solidarity based on reciprocity with the FN, which expresses even greater degrees of distrust against immigrants.

The FPÖ does not argue more based on the norms of self-reliance and equality. Its positions are truly that of the status quo: the goal is to “save the welfare state”. Their solutions include the exclusion of immigrants from most benefits, and providing training to Austrian nationals with low qualifications. In addition to its reciprocity based conception of welfare chauvinism, the FPÖ puts forward blurred preferences: it promotes concurrently the “reduction” of the state’s administration, while seeking to “save” all its welfare programs.

SVP: limiting a welfare state responsible for abuses

Contrarily to the FN and the FPÖ, the Swiss SVP is a clear proponent of welfare limitation and provide a textbook example of Kitschelt’s ‘winning formula’. As previous sections have shown, welfare expansion is a decreasingly salient issue for this party over time. The analysis of the 2011-2015 party manifesto also show that the SVP is a clear proponent of welfare limitation. The argumentation relies heavily on normative beliefs of self-reliance, and individuals and groups breaching this principle. In the SVP manifesto immigration is essentially a distinct issue which is not tackled together with welfare issues, contrary to the case of FN and to a lesser extent for the FPÖ. Immigration is treated in a separate chapter, distinct from the one relating to the social security system and the one on healthcare.

The argumentation of the SVP in favour of welfare limitation is based on two pillars: welfare spending has increased in too great proportions over the years, and the social security system has created too much dependence. As an introduction to their proposals for social security, the SVP claims that the aim of this system is to support those who are “genuinely” in need, because “the system is being abused and the lazy are growing at the expense of the hard-working, and they are rightly unwilling to play along”. The SVP thus argues for a general decreasing of the “ballooning welfare system” listing almost all the types of benefits to be reduced. More specifically, they propose the increase of retirement age (AHV) which could not be spelled out more clearly in terms of violation of the norm of

self-reliance. While insisting on the “limits of social welfare”, they quote article 6 of the Swiss Federal Constitution: “all individuals shall take responsibility for themselves, and shall, according to their abilities contribute to achieving the tasks of the state and society”. Because the SVP perceives the norm of self-reliance to be breached, it argues, for instance, in favour of a “self-financing healthcare system”. Remarkably, the SVP targets a specific category of abusers, which is not often argued against by other parties: the abusers of Disability Insurance (IV). It targets specifically the abusers of this scheme because they are considered to be “false handicapped”.

However, when illustrating their manifesto with real-life examples, the SVP shows how they consider the link between welfare abuse and immigration to be self-evident. When targeting abusers, the manifesto example pertains to pensioners from the Balkans “who can afford to support half a village at Switzerland’s expense”. Another illustration of the anti-immigrant twist of their welfare position is an example of a “real situation, according to a police report” of differences of treatment among pensioners. The names they give to the characters of the story leave no doubt about the message behind welfare abuse: “Fritz Schoch” is a disadvantaged pensioner in comparison to “Hakan Fenaci” and his wife, who receive disability pension (IV) granted by “Dr. Narsalaam Kusayi”. Overall, while insisting on the norm of self-reliance, and how the social system perverts the behavior of individuals, the SVP clearly states that “poorly qualified foreigners are leading to a steady rise in welfare costs”.

Immigration remains at the core of the FN and FPÖ and the SVP’s programs. Radical right parties in the three countries perceive immigration, and consequently also diversity, as a threat to the welfare state and thus propagate an exclusive, chauvinist concept of solidarity. These parties are very similar in that they portray social programs as “endangered” by immigration. In that sense, they mirror perfectly the welfare chauvinist preferences of their voters. Each of these parties, although promoting different level of welfare protection, differentiates among social groups when evaluating welfare deservingness. Table 16 recapitulates the conception of solidarity these parties put forward, which norm of the moral economy of the welfare state they mobilize to justify their positions, and which groups are differentiated (positively or negatively).

Parties	Type of redistribution favoured	Core normative argument	Exclusiveness/Inclusiveness of outgroups
Front National	Exclusive and expansive solidarity.	Reciprocity and equality	Targeted undeserving groups: immigrants, welfare scroungers. Positively viewed groups: extended redistribution for farmers, blue-collar workers, low-income.
FPÖ	Exclusive and blurred solidarity.	Reciprocity	Targeted undeserving groups: immigrants. Positively targeted groups: low-skilled
SVP	Exclusive and restricted solidarity.	Reciprocity and Self-Reliance	Targeted undeserving groups: immigrants, welfare scroungers/abusers, "false handicapped". Positively viewed groups: farmers.

Table 16 - The differentiation hypothesis by country

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that that the radical right grasped the opportunity to appeal to its constituencies by offering protective welfare policies, while remaining on the right on sociocultural issues and especially immigration. The descriptive analysis showed that over the last 30 years, radical right parties are generally increasingly proponents of welfare protection. These parties seem to be aligning or getting closer to social-democratic parties on socio-economic issues, or at least for most cases to dissociate themselves from conventional right-wing welfare positions. More precisely, there is a shift to the

traditionally left side of welfare politics (e.g. in favour of more generous redistribution) of the radical right parties (with some notable exceptions like the Swiss SVP). Some radical right parties have gradually invaded the political space traditionally occupied by social-democratic parties: over time, welfare state expansion became a salient topic for many radical right parties. While social-democratic parties did not abandon economic equality and the promotion of welfare state expansion, some radical right parties made a gradual yet radical move towards the left on social policy, abandoning their pro-market neoliberal ideology to adopt pro-welfare positions. The *programmatic shift* sub-hypothesis is validated in some cases only. Radical right parties in Scandinavia and the French Front National have operated a genuine programmatic shift in terms of welfare preferences. However, other some seem to engage in more modest blurred programmatic shifts (FPÖ and PVV), while the welfare preferences of some parties have not evolved towards protection (SVP and VB).

In addition, this positional shift comes with the definition of a strictly restrictive concept of redistributive politics: radical right parties frame welfare policies in terms of exclusiveness of undeserving outgroups, whatever their preferences for more or less redistribution are.. All radical right parties target immigrants as undeserving of welfare benefits. Their justifications do not lie only in the cultural rejection of immigration, but are also motivated by the idea of violated reciprocity. Immigrants are considered as a burden on the welfare state, because they are considered to be highly dependent while contributing minimally. Welfare preferences of radical right parties are guided by welfare chauvinism, which shows a high level of congruence with their constituents. As welfare limitation and egalitarianism partly determined some voters' preference for the radical right, some parties are proponents of an extended (FN) or limited (SVP) welfare state. All parties, however, identify groups within the population (low-skilled, blue-collar workers, farmers) who are considered to be more deserving than the actual level of benefits they enjoy. *Exclusive solidarity* is a common feature of all West European radical right parties.

5. Welfare politics and the radical right: a class based approach

The class structure of the radical right constituency has become a prominent subfield in the study of the radical right's success. This debate is largely articulated around the working class, and how it came to become the core electorate of radical right parties. The analysis of chapter 3 confirmed this overrepresentation of the working class: being a worker is the very significant determinant of voting for the radical right. There is an extensive literature that studies the working class as the core clientele of radical right parties. This class structure of radical right constituencies is working class oriented in most West European cases: French Front National (Mayer 2002, Gougou and Mayer 2013), Flemish Vlaams Block (Swyngedouw 1998, Lubbers et al. 2002), Norwegian Progress Party (Bjorklund 2011), the Danish People's Party (Andersen and Bjorklund 2000, Meret 2010), the Sweden Democrats (Oskarson and Demker 2015) and the Austrian FPÖ (Scheuregger and Spier 2007). The field of study of the class composition within radical right constituencies is not limited to case studies and provides the opportunity for rich cross-country comparison (Oesch 2008, Rydgren 2013).

However, the overrepresentation among radical right voters does not apply to every West European cases; and, more importantly, many of the aforementioned studies point to the proletarianization of these constituencies in the 1990's. In the cases of the Italian Lega Nord and the Swiss SVP, the class composed of small-business owners, artisans, and independents counted for a higher proportion of radical right voters than the working class (Kitschelt and McGann 2005). It also cannot be claimed that radical right parties are genuinely considered as working class parties. First, as stated in the introduction, they are still not the "parties of the working class", since they are not its preferred voting choice (not voting is the modal electoral outcome among the working class). Moreover, the class composition of these parties is diverse, as it is the case for most party families. Even if the

largest share of radical right voters belongs to the working class, they do not make up more than the majority of voters. The literature on class composition of the radical right constituency also indicates that the sociological profile of the voters is changing. This evolution is striking in the case of France, between the 1990's when the Front National found its core electoral clientele in the "small shops and the workshops" (Perrineau and Mayer 1992), and to 2012, when party leader Marine Le Pen claimed her party was "the party of the working class" (Mayer 2013a). Betz has coined this transformation process as the "proletarianization" of the radical right constituencies. The most important aspect of this concept is that it describes a process of change.

With Western societies becoming increasingly "classless" (Kingston 2000), social classes – from a key factor in the "sociological model of voting" (Lazarsfeld et al. 1944) – would have become less and less important for explanations of political preferences. Some authors even wrote about the "death" of class voting (Franklin, Mackie, Valen 2009; Knutsen 2006; Thomassen 2005, see also Dalton 2008, Katz and Mair 2009). However, others have contradicted this theory (Hout et al. 1993, Evans 2000). Over the years, nonetheless, social scientists provided more and more evidence that RRP were turning into "working class parties". This "proletarianization" of RRP constituencies in the 1990's was documented extensively in many West European cases, such as the French Front National (Mayer 2002), Flemish Vlaams Block (Swyngedouw 1998), the Norwegian Progress Party (Bjorklund 2011), the Danish People's Party (Meret 2010), and the Austrian FPÖ (Scheuregger and Spier 2007). By now, a broad consensus exists among scholars that workers have become "the core clientele" of radical right-wing parties (Bornschieer and Kriesi 2013, see also Oesch 2008).⁴⁸

This consensus is strongly interwoven with theories that consider workers as the principle "*Modernisierungsverlierer*" (Betz 1994) or "losers of globalization" (Kriesi et al. 2008; 2012). Yet, empirical evidence pertaining to the assumed growth of workers as a clientele

⁴⁸ It has often been argued that this transformation occurred at the expense of the political Left. According to several authors, many working class voters of RRP used to support left-wing parties (Betz 1994, see also Betz and Meret 2012. For a critique of similar theories concerning the French case – especially pertaining to the idea of "communicating vessels" between former communist voters and "clienteles" of the Front National – see Lehingue 2003.

of radical right-wing parties from the moment of their electoral breakthroughs until today remains scarce.

The increasing importance of the working class in radical right's constituencies raises questions that are still not completely answered. This chapter addresses several aspects of the relation between class politics and the radical right that have remained understudied. First, how has the class profile of West European radical voters evolved since their initial electoral breakthroughs of the 1980's? Second, how is the transformation of the class distribution of radical right voters related to welfare preferences? And finally, what are the party level consequences of these transformations? More precisely, has the changing class structure of the radical right constituencies caused change for the parties' welfare preferences?

In order to answer these questions, this chapter looks at the dynamic dimension of the *precarization* sub-hypothesis. Chapter 3 has shown that radical right voters were influenced by their economic insecurity in their voting decision, but this chapter deals with the aggregated level. The expectation is that radical right constituencies are increasingly composed of working class voters. Chapter 4 has shown that many radical right parties adopt more protective preferences in terms of welfare politics. The *programmatic adaption* sub-hypothesis expects that this evolution is the consequence of the precarization of their constituents.

In order to evaluate precarization, programmatic shift and how they are linked, this chapter is structured in two parts. First, I look at the class structure of radical right constituencies at an aggregated level, and over time. Overall the working class' weight in radical right constituencies is growing (5.1.). The second part of the chapter follows Kitschelt's call to give more attention to the supply side of the study of radical right parties (Kitschelt 2007, 2013). The first section of this chapter shows that there are some clear class patterns among the radical right constituency; I thus analyse, in a second step, the relation between welfare preferences of social classes and party politics. I find that some radical right parties adopt protectionist and pro-welfare positions because of the changing class structure of their voters (5.2.).

As shown in chapter 3 and consistent with the literature on individual-level determinants of the vote, the working class is strongly associated to the radical right vote. The vote of the

working class has been the heart of class-based analysis for at least two reasons: it was strongly associated to voting for the left for most of the post-war period, and this support was considered to be the basis of political coalitions that developed the welfare state. This is the core of the 'power resource' theory, also discussed in chapter 1. In the *Three worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Esping-Andersen showed how the working class vote for the left created the basis for the transformation of capitalism through the development of the welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1990). However, when this work was published, not only had the class structure of advanced democracies evolved, but the electoral alignment of the working class had somewhat 'dealined'. The decrease in electoral importance of left wing parties – parallel to the gains of the radical right – is a first indication of this electoral shift. Figure 7 shows these trends for nine Western European democracies. The vote for the mainstream left, which was strongly associated with the working class, is steadily decreasing in most countries. On the other hand, these countries have all witnessed the rise or the appearance of radical right parties. This is particularly striking in the cases of Belgium, Finland, and Switzerland, where radical right parties have reached similar or superior electoral levels compared to the left from the 2000's onward.

These descriptive trends point to the transformation of the class alignments in Western Europe, keeping in mind the growing importance of the working class in the determinants of the radical right vote. However, they do not demonstrate that the working class has shifted its electoral support to the radical right parties. The next section looks in detail at the class composition of radical right constituencies in Western Europe between 1992 and 2014. In addition to refining knowledge on the radical right vote, this section contributes to the wider debate on class voting. Considering the dealignment of the working class with the left, some authors argued that traditional class voting had faded (Dalton 2008, Katz and Mair 2009).

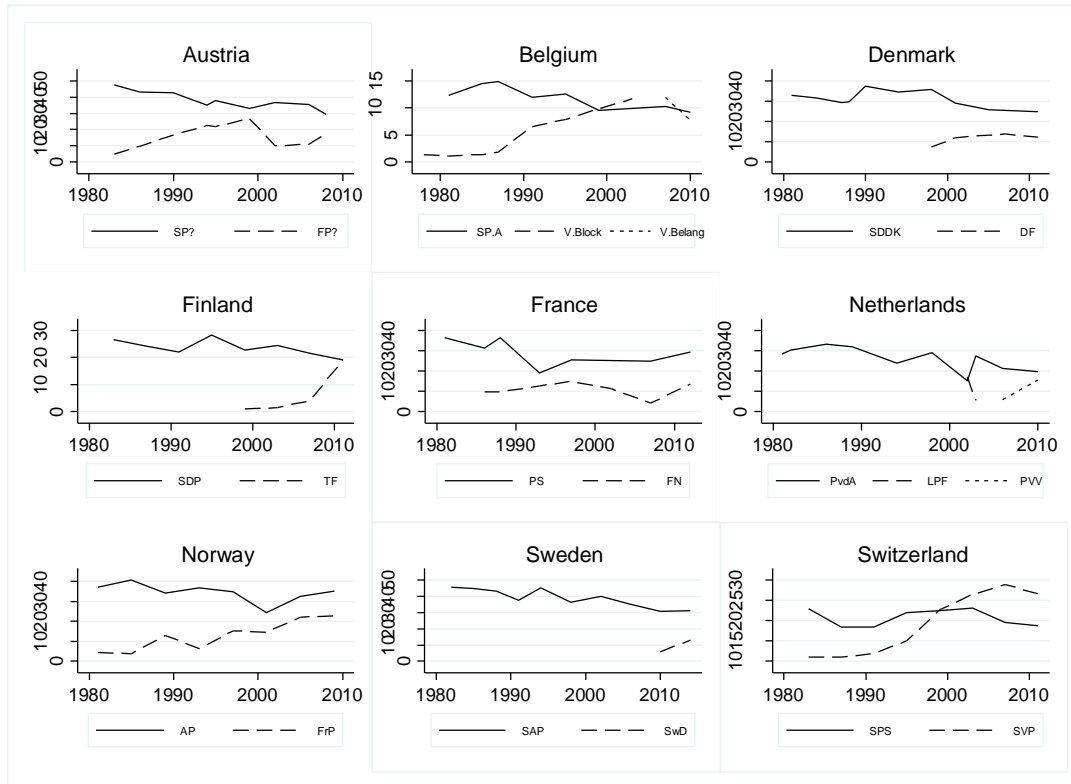


Figure 7 - Electoral evolution of the left and radical right parties in Western Europe

Regarding socio-economic preferences on the demand side, research has already shown that the working class is not the only overrepresented occupational class within radical right constituencies. Radical right parties are expected to be cross-pressured by heterogeneous constituencies in terms of occupational class and attitudes. Ever since the electoral breakthrough of contemporary radical right parties, researchers in several European countries have distinguished socially *and* attitudinally diverging subgroups within radical right constituencies. Plasser and Ulram (2000), for instance, not only found strong support for the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) among “*Wohlfahrtsstaatliche Chauvinisten*,” i.e. relatively young, low skilled “welfare state chauvinists,” supporting government intervention to protect their jobs, but also among “*Systemverdrossene Rechte*,” i.e. authoritarian and ethnocentric “rightists who are disillusioned by the system,” mainly workers, whose protest votes and penchant for a strong leader would go hand in hand with a strict rejection of egalitarian tendencies and welfare state interventions. Similarly, in France, Nonna Mayer (2002) discerned two opposite blocs within the same electoral front.

On the one hand, lower educated, non-religious “*ninistes*” (“neither left nor right”), politically uninterested workers who would mainly vote Le Pen out of protest and despair, yet with leftist socio-economic preferences. On the other, relatively high educated, religious and bourgeois “*droitistes*” (“rightists”), stemming from the higher middle class, who, hostile to public services and public servants, would be sociologically and ideologically closer to supporters of the “classic,” governmental right. These studies thus suggest that instead of one single “winning formula”, multiple formulas exist for different social groups within radical right constituencies. By testing the precarization over time hypothesis, I aim at getting a better grasp of the class-based heterogeneity within the RRP constituencies.

5.1. The radical right constituency: a class-based approach

The following analyses look at evolutions of the class composition of radical right constituencies in Western Europe from 1992 to 2014 using a combination of *Eurobarometer* data (EB, 1992-2000) and the *European Social Survey* (ESS, 2002-2014). No other existing datasets allow for longitudinal class-based descriptive statistics of the constituencies of West European party constituencies. An ideal analysis would have presented findings on the class composition of radical right parties in all relevant countries since their electoral breakthrough of the 1980’s. Unfortunately, this analysis had to be restricted to the 1992-2014 period, for two main reasons. First, the number of radical right voters in the Eurobarometer data before the 1990’s is too limited. Second, radical right parties had not yet appeared on the democratic scene in all countries under study in the 1980’s (Belgium’s VB and Finland’s TF notably). Integrating data of the 1980’s would thus be country-biased and unreliable. I nonetheless have to acknowledge that the sample is still slightly unbalanced: not all the country-specific cases are included in all the survey waves. There is no data on Swiss voters before 2002, for instance, whereas, in the case of Norway, Austria and Finland, a few years are missing in the Eurobarometer data of the 1990s. Table 17 presents the radical right parties considered in this section, and the years for which comparative data on their voters is available.

Despite these quasi-inevitable shortcomings, this dataset provides a reliable picture of the cases under study. Moreover, this unique dataset allows for the operationalization of social classes over the time period 1992-2014.

Despite the fact that available occupational information in the Eurobarometer is more limited than in the ESS, it is still possible to operationalize this social characteristic into four coherent categories: employers (small and large), middle-class, working class (manual workers) and routine workers (low-skilled non-manual). Due to a lack of information concerning the sector of employment as well as the respondents' previous employment, retired respondents and non-employed are not kept in the sample (following the classification of Gingrich and Häusermann, 2015, see table 7 of chapter 3 for the recoding of ISCO class schemes. Class distribution between the two datasets is consistent, see Appendix A)

Country	Presence of country in data	Radical right parties	Presence of radical right in data
Austria	1994-2010, 2014	Freiheitliche Partei Österreich (FPÖ)	1994-2014
		Bündnis Zukunft Österreich (BZÖ)	2005-2014
Belgium	1992-2014	Vlaams Blok (VB)	1992-2003
		Vlaams Belang (VB)	2004-2014
Denmark	1992-2014	Fremskridtpartiet	1992-1995
		Dansk Folkeparti (DF)	1995-2014
Finland	1993-2014	Suomen maaseudun puolue (SMP)	1993-1995
		Perussuomalaiset (TF)	1995-2014
France	1992-2014	Front National (FN)	1992-2014
Netherlands	1992-2014	Centrum Democraten (CD)	1992-2002
		Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF)	2002-2004
		Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV))	2006-2014
Norway	1992-1996, 2002-2014	Fremskrittspartiet (FrP)	1992-2014
Switzerland	2002-2014	Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP)	1992-2014

Table 17 - Description of selected cases and parties of chapter 5

Subsequently, in order to refine the class-based analysis of radical right-wing voters, I rely on multivariate analysis covering a more restricted time period. Accordingly, the second part of the analysis, relies on the ESS data (2002-2014), with an elaborated 8-class occupational positions scheme (based on Oesch 2006a, b). This second step thus allows for a finer-grained estimation of the relevance of belonging to a social class for the radical right vote. To estimate the effect of the 8-position occupational class classification on voting for a radical right party, I use a binomial logistic regression model with country fixed effects.

The first empirical research step describes the class patterns within the radical right constituencies, by using two descriptive indicators: the *political distinctiveness* and the *class distinctiveness* of RRP of the different social classes within radical right constituencies, calculations are presented in table 18 (following Korpi 1972). The political distinctiveness of a class corresponds to the proportion of voters for a specific party among each of the different social classes. For instance, the political distinctiveness of the working class voting for the radical right is $a/(a+c)$. The class distinctiveness, by contrast, of the radical right is the proportion of each social class within the radical right constituency. For instance, the share of working class voters among all radical right voters is calculated by $a/(a+b)$. Both indicators are calculated for each year between 1992 and 2014, using a 3-year average in order to balance the smaller samples of the early years of the datasets.

Classes	Radical right	Other parties / no vote	Total
Workers	a	c	a + c
Other classes	b	d	b + d
Total	a + b	c + d	N

Table 18 - Calculating class and political distinctiveness

5.1.1. Evolution of the class composition of radical right constituencies

The political distinctiveness of occupational classes confirms the *relative proletarianization* of radical right constituencies (Figure 8). In the early 1990's, blue-collar workers vote in much higher proportions for the radical right than the average population, or any other

social class. In the later years of the sample, the radical right vote of the working class is twice the size of that of the voters at large. However, from the 2000's onwards, the low-skilled routine class reached similar levels of electoral support radical right than that of the working class. By contrast, the distinctiveness of the employer class – which mainly comprises craftsmen and shopkeepers – follows the evolution of the average vote for the radical right. Finally, the middle class constitutes the only category that systematically votes less for the radical right than any other social group. Indeed, West European middle classes constitute the core electoral support of social-democratic parties during the past decades (Gingrich and Häusermann 2015).

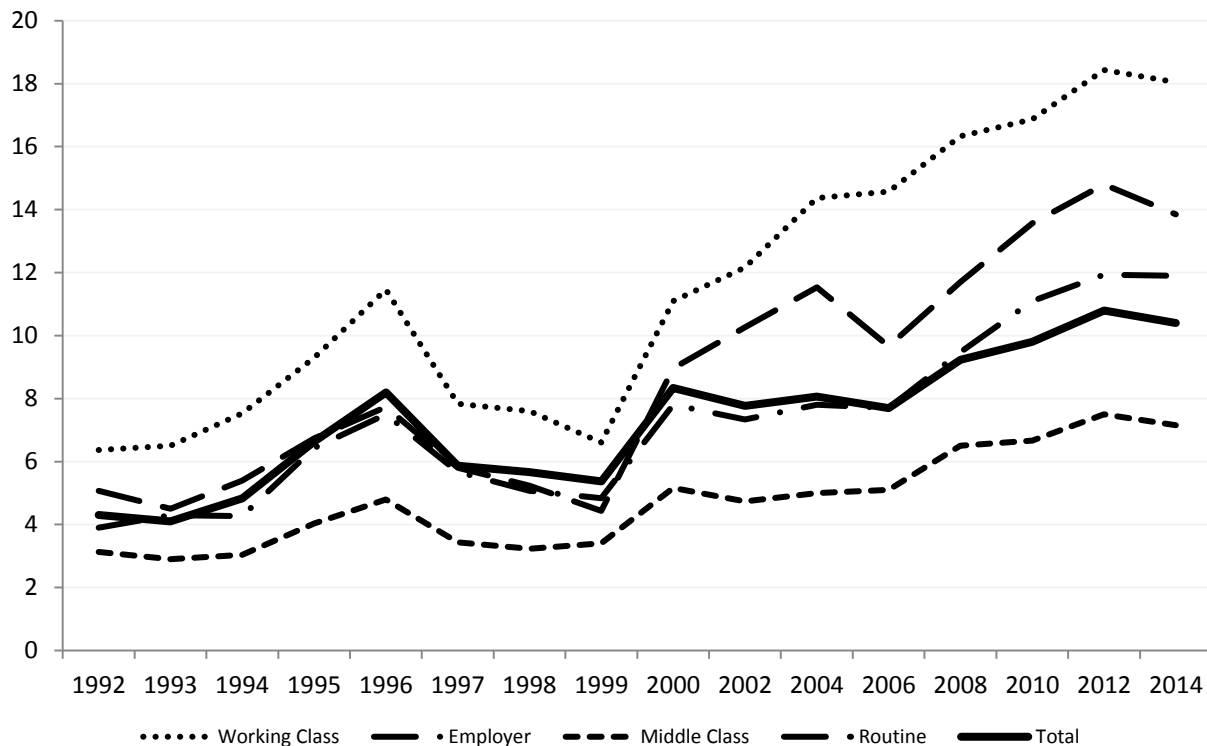


Figure 8 - Evolution of political distinctiveness of occupational classes (1992-2014)

Figure 9 shows that the evolution of class distinctiveness is actually rather stable between 1992 and 2014. Throughout the period, workers make up about 35 percent of radical right voters. Interestingly, however, routine service workers represent a similar share of radical right voters during the 1990's. From the early 2000's onwards the latter even constitute the largest occupational class within radical right constituencies. This partly contradicts the proletarianization theory, but not necessarily the expectation of precarization, as a large

share of economically insecure voters are found in the service sector. One should note, however, that – even though the proportion of blue collar worker workers within radical right constituencies is somewhat constant –, the absolute number (and relative share) of working class voters within West European democracies has slightly decreased during the period under study (‘structural’ or ‘ecological realignment’, Evans 2000). This implies that the *relative* number of workers voting for the radical right is increasing. Still, the claim that workers would constitute the new *core clientele* of radical right-wing parties does not correspond to the empirical findings.

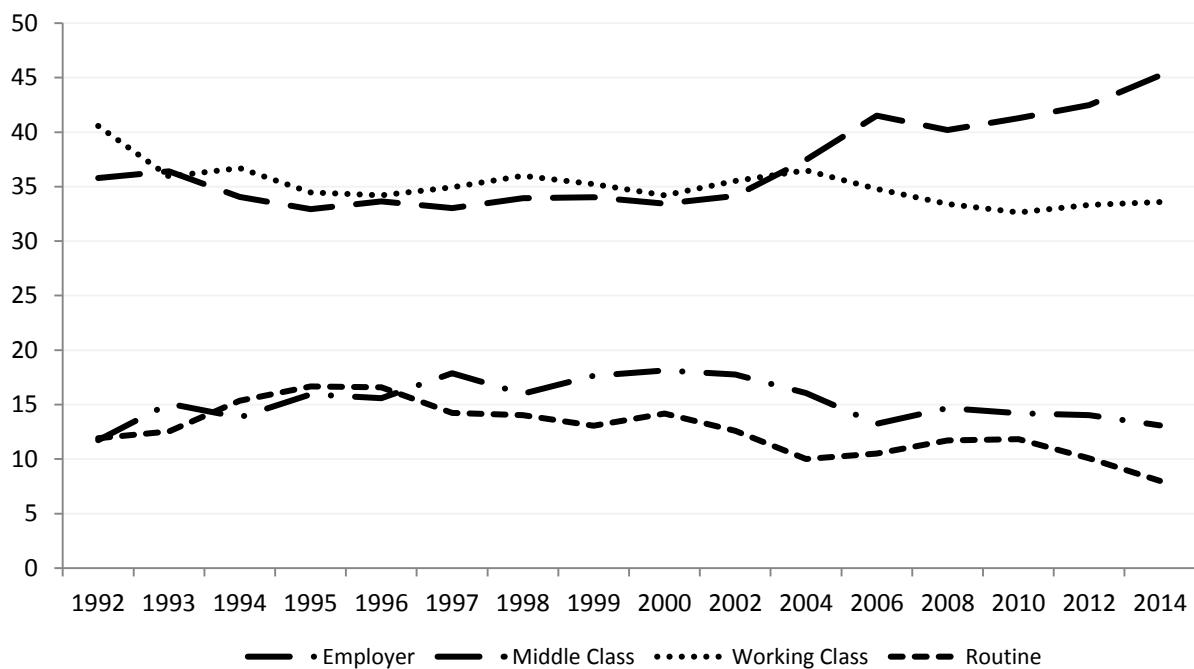


Figure 9 - Evolution of class distinctiveness within radical right constituencies (1992-2014)

The Alford Index provides further confirmation to the relative proletarianization theory and by extent to the precarization of radical right constituencies. It is a simple indicator of class voting, but it is very useful for large-scale longitudinal analyses of class voting (Dalton 2013). The original Alford Index illustrates the left-wing electoral alignment with the left, and is the difference between the share of non-manual voters of the left and the working class voters of the left (Alford 1962, 1963). I adapt this indicator and create a “radical right

Alford Index” of the working class vote for the radical right, calculated by $a/(a+b) - c/(c+d)$ (table 16).



Figure 10 - Alford Index of the radical right⁴⁹

The evolution of the Alford Index adapted to the West European radical right constituencies shows a clear pattern: the working class votes substantially and increasingly more for the radical right than other social classes (Figure 10). From 1992 onward, the radical right appeals more and more to working class voters. This trend is inversely proportional to that of the classic Alford Index (working class vote for left parties). Gingrich and Häusermann have computed the Alford Index with the similar social classes: the decline of the classic Alford Index is very neat over the same time frame. Their analysis is divided between the four welfare regime types but shows a common trend: the Alford Index was close to 20 in Western Europe in the 1980’s, closer to 10 in the 1990’s, and is close to 0 in the 2010’s (except in Southern welfare regimes, where it remains high, around 10) (Gingrich and Häusermann 2015). The present analysis shows cases from continental and Scandinavian welfare regimes, but the contrast between the two Alford indexes in the

⁴⁹ Graph shows the Alford Index of the Radical Right with a 3-year moving average to compensate for unbalanced samples by year.

2010's is striking: it at its highest – around 7 – for the radical right, when the working class is not aligned with the left anymore (Alford Index of zero).

In sum, the working class is clearly more likely to vote for the radical right. The eroding support of the working class for the left parties has been – at least partly – replaced by support for radical right parties. If the (voting) working class is increasingly supporting radical right parties, it does not mean they are “working class parties”. Indeed, as the class distinctiveness of the radical right showed, other social classes, like the low-skilled service workers, also composed a significant share of the radical right constituencies. The radical right constituencies are not composed of a majority of working class voters.

5.1.2. Belonging to a class and voting for the radical right

Whereas the previous section showed that class patterns have not disappeared and that the radical right constituency consists increasingly of routine workers, the following section will use a more fine-grained scheme of class distribution among radical right voters. Through logistic regression analysis, I test the determinants of radical right voting in Western Europe between 2002 and 2014. Unfortunately, this model cannot include the refined welfare variables used in chapter 3 (attitudes and indicators of economic insecurity), and thus provide a simpler explanation of the radical right vote. The dependent variable is thus coded as a dummy: voting for a radical right-wing party against all other choices (that is, other parties and no vote). The model comprises four socio-demographic control variables that are conventionally used in the analysis of electoral behaviour: age, gender, household income (in deciles) and education level (low, intermediate, high). These variables account for a – minor but relevant – portion of the variance (Van der Brug et al. 2005). Besides these socio-demographic factors, three attitudinal variables were integrated in the model, corresponding to the three dominant branches of existing theories explaining radical right support (see Oesch 2008). That is: *cultural* conflict (captured by the variable: ‘Immigrants make country worse or better place to live’), *protest* voting (‘Satisfaction with the working of democracy in country’), and *economic* protectionism (captured by the only socio-economic attitudinal variable that was available in all the seven ESS rounds, namely: the preference for governmental redistribution of income). Finally, an additional variable

measuring the experience of unemployment accounts for economic insecurity. This model is innovative because, thanks to the rich ESS dataset, it can test the relevance of more precise occupational positions on voting behaviour. Occupational class is coded in 8 positions, with production workers as the reference category. Finally, in order to account for contextual level variations, the model includes country fixed-effects and year dummies for the seven waves of data. (See Appendix B for a detailed account of the used variables).

This model supports the findings of chapter 3 and it largely confirms the expectations derived from existing studies (Table 19). Gender and age are significant determinants of the vote: radical right voters are more frequently male and generally younger. The results show that being a production worker constitutes a strong determinant of radical right support. Production workers are more likely to vote for a radical right party than any of the other seven occupational classes. In this regard, the former are particularly opposed to sociocultural (semi-)professionals. This observation is in line with the theory of transformation of political conflicts, in which the emergence of the cultural conflict pits these two social categories against each other in the political space (Kriesi et al. 2008; 2012). Controlling for the major attitudes that traditionally explain the radical right vote (anti-immigration, protest), it is thus safe to claim that class-based voting is not entirely dead.

This model however does not show the full account of the class-voting for the radical right. The categorical variable of 8 occupational classes at this stage only shows class positions with regard to production workers. To specify the effect of occupational classes more precisely predicted probabilities of voting for the radical right for each class are presented (figure 11).

Voting for the radical right	Coef.	Std. Err.
Gender (male)	-.32***	(0.03)
Age (years)	-.01***	(0.00)
Income	-.01	(0.01)
Level of education (low)		
- Intermediate	.08	(0.04)
- High	-.47***	(0.05)
Occupational class (prod. workers)		
- Service workers	-.15**	(0.05)
- Clerks	-.27***	(0.05)
- Small business owners	-.12***	(0.05)
- Socio-cultural professional	-.82***	(0.07)
- Technical professional	-.43***	(0.06)
- (Assistant) managers	-.47***	(0.05)
- Self-employed and large employers	-.49***	(0.10)
Negative perception of immigrants	.31***	(0.01)
Dissatisfied with democracy	.12**	(0.01)
In favour of income redistribution	-.22***	(0.03)
Faced unemployment of more than 12 months	.13**	(0.05)
Year (2002)		
- 2004	.10	(0.05)
- 2006	.23**	(0.05)
- 2008	.64***	(0.05)
- 2010	.45***	(0.05)
- 2012	.52***	(0.06)
- 2014	-.32***	(0.05)

Pseudo R²=0.13

N=59,978

Table 19 - Binomial logistic regression with country fixed effects; Reference categories of categorical variable in parentheses * p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.01**

It should be emphasized that predicted probabilities are predictions about hypothetical observations; they are not predictions about each of the specific subgroups. The effect of each occupational class is computed with every other variable set at their mean value. Hence predicted probabilities are a statistical tool that allows for singling out the effect of

each occupational class on voting for the radical right, but it does not predict the exact vote share for each of the occupational classes. In the sample, the average predicted probability of voting for a radical right party is of 0.07, but as figure 11 shows, there is substantial variation across occupational groups.

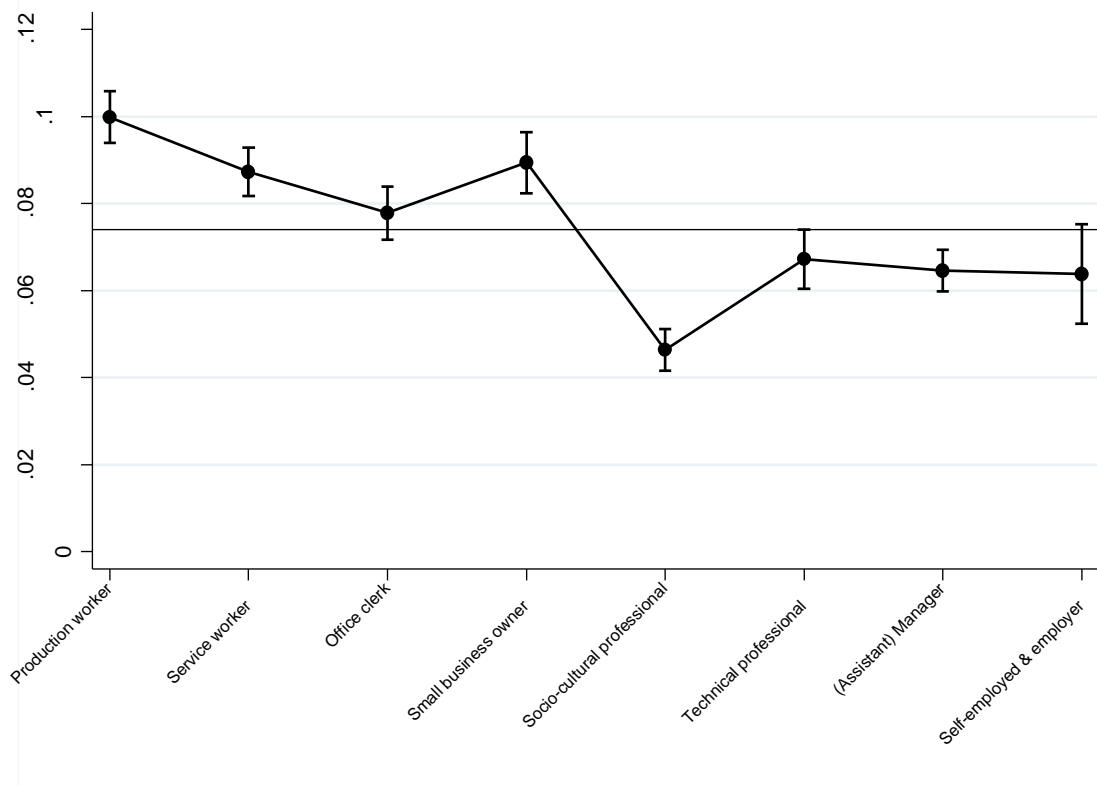


Figure 11 - Predicted probabilities of voting for radical right by occupational class

Out of the eight occupational classes, four have significantly different predicted probability of voting for the RRP than the average sample. This means that controlling for other factors; belonging to one of these four occupational classes has a particular influence on the probability of voting for a radical right party. As previously confirmed, production workers and sociocultural (semi-)professionals display the starkest differences in these matters. The probability of voting for the radical right for a production worker (.10) is 3 points above the average and twice the size of that of a socio-cultural professional (.05). Importantly, the predicted probabilities of voting for the radical right among routine service workers and small business owners are also significantly higher than the average,

whereas they are significantly lower for (assistant) managers. This confirms the cross-class hypothesis stating that sociologically (very) different classes are significantly overrepresented within radical right constituencies. Interestingly, all these four classes are situated in the relatively lower regions of the social space: they are likely to be the most exposed to economic insecurity.

In order to assess the specific class profiles that influence the probability of voting for the radical right, Table 20 presents these statistical ideal types of radical right voters for different occupational classes. For each of the overrepresented occupational classes within the RRP constituency (production workers, service workers and small business owners), the profile of the voter that is most likely to support the radical right is identified. Additionally, in order to test if there is a specific relation between working in the industrial sector and radical right support, the profile with the highest probability of voting for the radical right within the technical worker category was also identified. Interestingly, there are different factors within each of these classes which contribute to the highest probability voting for the radical right. Being male and retrospectively economically insecure (having faced unemployment during one's career) increases the chance of voting for the radical right among all four of the categories. However, education, which is often considered a linear predictor (the less educated are expected to vote more for radical right-wing parties, e.g., Ivarsflaten and Stubarger, 2013) has contrasted effects across different occupational categories (confirming results of chapter 3).

The statistical ideal type that is the most likely to vote for the radical right is lower educated production workers who faced unemployment (probability = .20). However, when it comes to service workers, technical professionals and small business owner classes, having an *intermediate* level of education (and not low) increases the likelihood of voting for a radical right party.

To sum up, the class structure of the radical constituencies has evolved over the last 30 years: as the support of the working class for the left was eroding, radical right parties have gained increased support from this class. These specific voter types support the precarization sub-hypothesis: among lower social classes, the more economically insecure individuals are more likely to vote for the radical right. The next section investigates how

the shifting class structure of the radical right constituency – and chiefly the support of the working class for radical right parties’ - influences the parties’ preferences on welfare issues.

	Predicted probability to vote for a RRP	95% Conf. interval	
Mean	.07	.07	.08
Production worker	.10	.09	.11
Production worker, lower education, faced unemployment, male	.20	.18	.22
Service worker	.09	.08	.10
Service worker, intermediate education, faced unemployment, male	.18	.16	.20
Small business owner	.09	.08	.09
Small Business owner, intermediate education, faced unemployment, low income, male	.18	.16	.20
Technical professional	.06	.06	.07
Technical worker, intermediate education, faced unemployment, male	.14	.12	.16

Table 20 - Predicted probabilities of voting for the radical right

5.2. The party-level consequences of class-based constituencies

The previous section has shown class politics is increasingly important in radical right constituencies, yet the consequences at the party level remain unclear. This second step of the analysis focuses on the importance of the working class for radical right parties, and tests how it affects the preferences of Western European radical right parties. I find that some radical right parties have adopted protectionist positions and support for the expansion of the welfare state.

This question addresses the debate on the congruence of preferences between parties and their voters. Do parties represent their voters? Or do voters follow their parties? The question of linkage between parties and their voters originates in Sartori's statement that "citizens in modern democracies are represented *through* and *by* parties. This is inevitable" (Sartori 1968, italics in original). Thus, I ask the question to know whether it is inevitable that radical right parties take up on the interventionist preferences of their working class voters. This linkage however can work in two directions: top-down and bottom-up. Top-down conceptions of party linkage posit that the voters adapt to the views of the parties and their leaders. The bottom-up theory argues that political elites adopt the positions of the mass public, and more precisely, parties adopt the preferences of their constituents (or electoral base). Both these processes are largely supported by evidence, and since both mechanisms seem to work simultaneously, the analysis has shifted to the sequencing of specific policy areas, to understand "who's cueing whom?" (Steenbergen et al. 2007). The following analysis therefore addresses the dynamic between the two sub-hypotheses of the protection hypothesis. Both the *precarization* and the *programmatic shift* have found empirical support in the previous chapters, but the question remains if one is causing the other. Are precarious – working class – voters incited to vote for radical right parties because they promote welfare protection? Or are radical right parties strategically adopting protective welfare politics to match their constituents' economic insecurity? Based on the previous chapters and other works, I expect the parties to pursue a *programmatic adaptation*. More than a general model of bottom-up linkage between parties and voters, I propose a more modest mechanism of party realignment with its constituency.

Class voting has direct consequences on party politics because of the particular welfare preferences of social classes. The wider debate on the class profile – and the expected welfare preferences – of a constituency and its relation to party politics have been comprehensively reviewed and discussed by Häusermann, Picot and Geering. They present the variation between an "old school" and a "new school" (Häusermann et al. 2013). The former is at the core of the work of Korpi and Esping-Andersen. To put it simply, parties are expected to reflect the preferences of their base, and more particularly, the left represents the "struggle for distributions of workers in the political arena" (in the words of Korpi

1983). In a simplified way, parties are just the translation – the “conveyor belt” - of the preferences and demands of different groups. This conception is now largely outdated, because the electoral constituencies of parties have substantially evolved in Europe. Häusermann et al. address the broader question of support and development of welfare policies. By criticizing the simplistic model of a “conveying belt” between voters interest and policy implementation, they also argue that the political context (institutions and party systems) and new types of party-voter linkage (particularistic or cultural ties to parties) have complicated the oversimplified link between class representation and welfare state policies (Häusermann et al. 2013).

I argue that, at least to some extent, the preferences of the working class in terms of welfare politics are conveyed by the radical right. In a bottom-up mechanism, parties of the radical right adapt to their new and increasingly working-class tainted constituencies, who are assumed to have pro-redistributive preferences. This assumption is still widely supported: at aggregated levels, workers and low-wage earners display high support for welfare redistribution (Van Oorschot 2008, Svallfors 2012). More precisely, the workers who have shifted from the left to voting for the (radical) right are “insiders (...) in defence of the status quo and welfare chauvinism” (Häusermann and Walter 2010).

A major qualification of the hypothesis that radical right parties have partly taken on the working class’s welfare agenda lies in the individual-level determinants of the vote for radical right parties. Indeed, the driving force of the support of the working class for the radical right lies in the cultural cleavage (Bornschiefer 2010). Authors argue that the support by the working class support for the radical right is “ideational in nature” rather than related to material conditions (Ivarsflaten and Stubager 2013). Despite these individual-level factors that point to the limited significance of the economic and redistributive preferences of the radical right working class, it is unlikely that their stable and interventionist positions on redistribution do not affect the radical right parties in any way. In addition, chapter 3 has shown that the welfare preferences of the radical right voters are not only grounded in self-interest, but they are also ‘ideational’ normative beliefs.

To assess the transformations of radical right welfare preferences and the dynamic influence of the party-voter linkage, I first show the evolution of radical right parties towards protectionist preferences (5.2.1.) In a second step, regression models evaluate the

direction of the mechanism of influence of the precarization of radical right constituencies and programmatic shifts of parties (5.2.2.)

5.2.1. Radical right parties and protectionism

The section investigates how the programmatic preferences of radical right parties have evolved between 1980 and 2012. Because of the growing relevance of the working-class in their constituencies (increasing political distinctiveness of the working-class towards the radical right, increasing Alford index), I expect that some of these parties will adopt preferences that are in line with the more interventionist preferences of the working class. This expectation follows on the analysis of chapter 4, and it should be read in light of the precarization of constituencies shown in the first section of the present chapter.

Because the working class is more the most exposed and threatened by economic globalization, it tends to adopt more protective positions on socio-economic issues. Indeed, in order to attract working-class voters, some radical right parties have adopted positions that are in the defence of the welfare state and generally economically protectionist (Betz and Meret 2013). I expect three possible outcomes for the evolution of protectionist preferences for radical right parties: adoption of protectionism, indifference, or rejection. To measure the preferences of radical right parties, I look at the manifestos, relying on the *Comparative Manifesto Project* database. As outlined in chapter 4, this data provides salience-based coding for each manifesto. The higher the percentage of a manifesto is devoted to an issue, the more salient it is for the party (Spoon et al. 2014). Protectionism is measured in two ways. First, the item *Planned Economy* is composed of favourable positions towards 'market regulation', 'economic planning', and 'controlled economy' (three different codes from the CMP). The second item considered is a negative measure of protectionism: *Market Economy*, it is composed of the codes for favourable positions on 'free market economy' and 'economic orthodoxy'. Figure 12 presents the evolution of the salience of preferences for market economy and planned economy for 8 radical right parties in Western Europe between 1980 and 2012.

In France, Finland and Austria, the radical right parties appear to adopt a protectionist shift. The FN, PS and FPÖ have abandoned pro-market economy positions at the same time

as they have adopted preferences for planned economy. In two Scandinavian cases, Denmark and Norway, this transformation is not as clear-cut. The DF and the FrP have not adopted preferences for a planned economy, but the salience of market economy in their programs has drastically decreased. In the case of the Netherlands, the two parties, the LPF and the PVV, seem to have a rather neutral position towards protectionism. Although the SVP displays variations on these two measures, it is hard to conclude on their position on protectionism; apart that do make any claims for a planned economy. In Belgium, the VB seems to adopt a position of rejection of protectionism, being increasingly in favour of market economy.

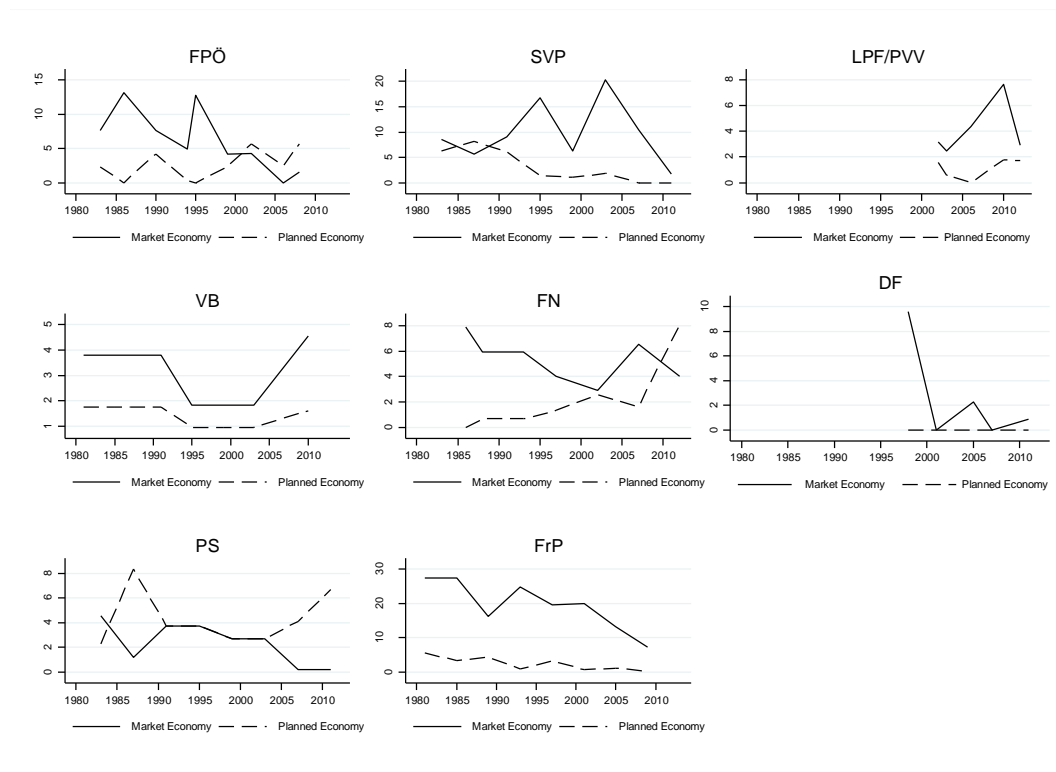


Figure 12 - Evolution of protectionism in radical right parties' manifestos

These patterns are consistent with the results of chapter 4, which showed that some radical right parties promote the expansion of the welfare state. Scandinavian parties and the Front National have turned their backs on pro-market and limited welfare policies, whereas the VB and the SVP have not.

However, adaptation to protectionist preferences is simply a trend that follows the evolution of the class structure presented in the first section; it does not demonstrate a causal mechanism between the two observed phenomena. The rest of the section presents a model that explains programmatic shift by the composition of the electorate.

5.2.2. Appeal to economically insecure voters or programmatic adaptation?

In order to see how the changing class structure of the radical right constituencies affects these parties' positions, I have gathered a dataset combining the aggregated descriptive data on the radical right voters presented in the first section (extracted from the EB/ESS data) with data on preferences of parties for welfare redistribution (extracted from the CMP). I take the radical right Alford Index as the indicator of changing class structure, and focus on the item *welfare state expansion* for the party preferences (salience indicator used in chapter 4). The units of analysis are elections over time. For each election, the data informs on the class structure of voters and the preferences of parties, which gives 52 observations: every election between 1980 and 2013 in which one of the cited radical right parties competed⁵⁰. Figure 13 shows two scatter plots of the relation between the party preferences for welfare expansion and the working-class overrepresentation of their constituencies for elections between 1980 and 2013 in Western. The scatter plot on the left includes the 52 elections, and the statistical relation between the two variables is not self-evident. However there is an evident outlier in the score of salience of welfare expansion in the party manifestos (True Finns Party in 1991). When this outlier is taken out (N=51), the correlation between the Alford index of radical right constituencies and the salience of welfare expansion party manifestos appears to be positive.

⁵⁰ Because of missing data on Switzerland (unavailable data on voters from the EB), the SVP is left out of the analysis, which focuses on Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Netherlands, and Norway.

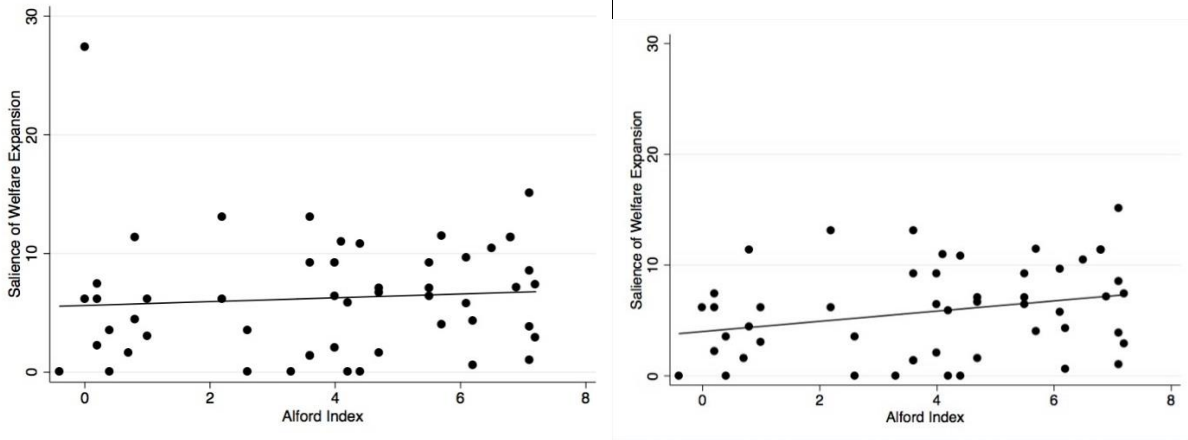


Figure 13 – Class composition and party preferences of the radical right

As Häusermann et al. argue, welfare preferences of political parties are determined by political and contextual factors (Häusermann et al. 2013). Therefore the following models includes measures the lagged electoral results of the radical right parties, economic growth (GDP, data from the World Bank) and a dummy variable that accounts for the participation of the party in government to account for the saliency of welfare expansion in radical right parties' manifestos. Through OLS regression models, the effect of the class structure of constituencies on the welfare preferences of parties can be assessed. The following regression models are particular, because they include a finite population; this means that the 51 observations in the models compose the universe of cases (except for the excluded outlier). Furthermore, because the lagged variable is included in the model to account for the past level of saliency of welfare expansion, the number of cases included drops to N=44. Table 21 present the results of two model explaining the evolution of welfare expansion in radical right parties' manifestos. Model I includes a dummy for Scandinavian countries, whereas model II includes country dummies.

Because of the small sample size, the contextual and political control variables yield no significant effect in the model. However, the sign of the coefficients are in line with existing theories about the radical right parties' welfare preferences. Membership to a cabinet (only a few cases: Austria and the Netherlands) increases the saliency of welfare expansion in radical right manifestos. One possible explanation is that participation to a government makes radical right parties more 'responsible', and inclined to integrate positions on all

issues in their manifestos, whereas parties that remain in the opposition can frame their manifestos on their own issues only (such as immigration).

Welfare Expansion	(I)	(II)
Lagged DV	0.28 ** (0.13)	0.13 (0.18)
Cabinet member	2.71 (3.49)	2.37 (3.9)
% vote	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.12)
GDP growth	-0.07 (0.29)	-0.33 (0.34)
Alford Index	0.40 * (0.23)	0.55 ** (0.28)
Scandinavian Country (ref=Austria)	2.43 ** (1.24)	
- Belgium		1.73 (2.22)
- Denmark		0.64 (2.48)
- Finland		4.69 (2.97)
- France		-0.89 (2.25)
- Netherlands		-1.22 (2.71)
- Norway		3.65 * (1.91)
Cons.	2.35 (1.82)	2.58 (2.86)
Adj-R ²	0.34	0.33

Table 21 – Explaining the evolution of welfare expansion in radical right’s party manifestos

This effect has been identified as the dilemma of radical right parties regarding social policy-making when they participate in government: trade-off between, on the one hand, cooperation with right-wing partners in a coalition government and, on the other hand, keeping office-seeking preferences targeted at the working-class voters (Afonso 2015). On the other hand, these parties tend to reduce the salience of these preferences with higher economic growth (welfare protection being a less politically salient issue; negative effect). Nonetheless, this model does not support these theories with significant results.

In both models, the Alford Index however, has a strong and positive effect on the salience of welfare expansion in radical right parties' manifestos⁵¹. The higher the share of working-class voters for the radical right, the more salient welfare expansion is for these parties. The country variables confirm the important country variation of the previous findings: the salience of welfare expansion for the radical right is higher in Scandinavia, and particularly in Norway. The effect of the working-class composition of radical right constituencies on the parties' preferences for welfare expansion is significant and consistent across models. This gives reliable support to the programmatic adaption hypothesis.

Models I and II provide evidence that the working-class oriented class structure of the radical right constituencies influences the parties' preferences on and for welfare. Yet, it does not solve the question of "who's cueing whom?" Indeed, there is an alternative to the bottom-up linkage between constituents' and parties' preferences; it may be that working-class voters support radical right parties because the latter put forward preferences for welfare expansion. This top-down party-voter linkage cannot be ruled out by models I and II, and their results could be interpreted the other way around. In statistical terms, it means that models I and II could be violating the OLS condition that independent variables are exogenous. To put it simply, the Alford Index may be an endogenous variable in the model, and it could vary simultaneously with the variable of salience of welfare expansion. If the key variable is endogenous, the model would be biased, and it would not be possible to conclude that the class composition of constituencies influences the parties' preferences. The next step of this analysis will show that the Alford Index is an exogenous variable to the model explaining the salience of welfare expansion by using the Hausmann Test for endogeneity (derived from Hausman 1978). This test follows two steps to show that the variable of interest (the Alford Index) is exogenous in the model explaining the dependent variable (salience of welfare expansion). The first step is to identify a good instrument for the variable of interest through an OLS regression, the second step is to include the residuals of this model explaining the Alford Index into our initial models (Wooldridge 2002).

⁵¹ When the same models are performed with N=52 (including the Finnish outlier), none of the variables of interest have significant results.

In order to identify a strong instrument for the Alford Index, an OLS model is performed with the Alford Index as a dependent variable including all the exogenous variables of models I and II and the lagged Alford Index as potential instrument.

Alford Index	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t
Cabinet Member	0.46	1.50	0.30	0.763
% vote	0.02	0.05	0.37	0.716
GDP growth	0.04	0.13	0.30	0.767
Country (ref=Austria)				
- Belgium	0.05	0.86	0.06	0.956
- Denmark	0.34	0.97	0.35	0.728
- Finland	0.37	1.15	0.32	0.752
- France	0.48	0.86	0.56	0.580
- Netherlands	0.31	1.07	0.29	0.775
- Norway	0.04	0.73	0.05	0.959
Lagged Saliency welfare expansion	0.04	0.07	0.54	0.590
Lagged Alford Index	0.80	0.11	7.58	0.000
Constant	0.74	1.11	0.66	0.513
N=44		Adj-R ² =0.68		

Table 22 – Finding a strong instrument for the Alford Index

Table 22 shows that the lagged Alford Index is a strong predictor of the Alford Index; it is significant at $p < 0.001$ level with a high t-statistic. The lagged Alford index is therefore a well fitted instrument in the model. Moreover, the fact the lagged saliency of welfare expansion is not significant is another indication that welfare expansion does not explain the Alford Index.

The next step of the Hausman Test is to test the residuals of the equation of table 22 in the original equation of the relationship between saliency of welfare expansion and contextual and political factors, i.e. the structural equation (Table 21). The null-hypothesis of the test entails that the residuals have no effect, and that therefore the Alford Index is exogenous. Given that the residuals are not significant and therefore not associated to the saliency of welfare expansion, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the Alford Index is exogenous

in this model. The Alford Index However remains a positive and significant predictor of the salience of welfare expansion (Table 23).

Salience Welfare Expansion	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t
Cabinet Member	2.14	4.00	0.54	0.596
% vote	-0.07	0.13	0.55	0.584
GDP growth	-0.35	0.35	1.00	0.326
Alford Index	0.63 *	0.35	1.80	0.081
Country (ref=Austria)				
- Belgium	1.59	2.29	0.70	0.491
- Denmark	0.38	2.62	0.15	0.885
- Finland	4.48	3.07	1.46	0.154
- France	-1.06	2.33	0.45	0.653
- Netherlands	-1.56	2.89	0.54	0.594
- Norway	3.61 *	1.94	1.86	0.072
Lagged DV	0.12	0.18	0.67	0.507
Residuals	-0.22	0.58	0.37	0.713
Constant	2.63	2.90	0.91	0.372
N=44		Adj-R ² =0.31		

Table 23 - Explaining the evolution of welfare expansion in radical right's party manifestos with Hausman test

The previous test allows to conclude with confidence that the Alford Index is a strong exogenous predictor of the salience of welfare expansion in radical right parties' manifestos. In other words, the higher the share of working class voters in radical right constituencies, the higher these parties emphasize the expansion of welfare benefits. This gives however reliable support to the programmatic adaption theory.

5.3. Conclusion

As the class structure evolved in Western Europe, the class profile of radical right constituencies has also changed. Even though it is shrinking in society, the working class' importance among radical right voters is has been on the rise since the 1990's. In response, some radical right parties have updated their socio-economic preferences to be more in line with their core voters. Most radical right parties have renounced supporting

open market economy, and some have adopted preferences for economic protectionism. In general, their shift towards the adoption of pro-redistribution preferences is determined by the share of working class voters among their voters.

The important contribution made by this analysis is the effect of the Alford Index on welfare expansion. We can conclude that overall, in Western Europe, the more the radical right constituencies are composed of working class voters, the more the parties are proponent of the expansion of the welfare state. Certainly, this result does not hold for all cases, but it seems to be very relevant for the Scandinavian parties and the French Front National. In these cases, the programmatic shift sub-hypothesis can be refined into a theory of programmatic adaptation to changing constituencies. The next chapter gives an overview of the expectations of the protection and exclusion hypothesis, and addresses more specifically the question of the strategic adaptation of parties, through a case study of the Front National.

Appendix A –Distribution of occupational groupings in 2002 across surveys

Country	<i>Eurobarometer (%)</i>				<i>European Social Survey (%)</i>			
	Employers	Middle class	Workers	Routine	Employers	Middle class	Workers	Routine
Austria	17.67	47.53	19.12	15.68	12.27	49.74	20.96	17.02
Belgium	16.29	46.38	27.89	9.45	12.81	41.91	31.95	13.32
Denmark	7.1	58.22	22.27	12.42	13.91	53.71	20.63	11.75
Finland	15.59	50.67	23.87	9.88	9.63	46.69	29.32	14.35
France	12.05	53.42	26.13	8.41	10.88	39.31	33.74	16.08
Netherlands	14.17	53.91	15.24	16.67	10.77	51.83	16.62	20.79
Norway								
Switzerland					10.13	49.12	25.36	15.4

In order to validate the measure across the EB and ESS, I examine the distribution of each category in 2002, the 1 year of overlap between the ESS and EB surveys. The coding scheme yields roughly equivalent numbers of workers across the two samples in 2002. There are larger discrepancies in the middle-class and routine categories.

Appendix B – Description of the variable used in the logistic regression

	Obs.	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Voting for RRP	66005	0	1	0,11	0,31
Gender (m/f)	65992	0	1	0,51	0,49
Age	66005	18	102	51	17
Income	66005	1	10	6,41	2,34
Education level	65853	1	3	2,14	0,77
8 occupational classes	60086	1	8	-	-
Negative perception of immigrants	66005	0	10	4,88	2,08
Dissatisfied with democracy	66005	0	10	3,78	2,16
In favour of income redistribution	66005	0	1	0,64	0,47
Faced unemployment of > 12 months	66005	0	1	0,11	0,29

In order to maximize the number of cases missing data of each of the numerical independent variables was replaced the mean value of the sample. The number of missing responses does not exceed 2% for these variables. “*don’t know*” responses, are also quite marginal: for no single class the percentage of don’t know answers is above 0.86 percent.

6. The Front National and welfare politics

“I walk on both my legs. On one side unemployment, public debt, and purchasing power. On the other, immigration and insecurity.”

Marine Le Pen⁵²

The final chapter of this study provides a case study of the Front National (FN) in order to bring together both hypotheses, on the demand and the supply side of electoral politics. Chapter 3 tested the protection and exclusion hypotheses at the individual level: radical right voters are determined in their vote choice by economic insecurity (precarization of constituencies) and attitudes resulting from the perception of breached welfare norms (scapegoating of norm-violating outgroups). Chapter 4 assessed the evolution of (some) radical right parties' for protective welfare policies (programmatic adaptation) and the specific way in which radical right parties frame welfare politics (exclusive solidarity). Chapter 5 confirmed the precarization of radical right constituencies in Western Europe, and found it to be (partially) responsible for the programmatic adaptation of their welfare preferences. The present chapter intends to bring together the demonstration of both hypotheses in one in-depth case study. Previous results have shown that the Front National and its voters fitted most expectations of the both hypothesis. Moreover, the Front National has a historical legacy within West European radical right: it is one of the oldest (founded in 1972) and most successful radical right parties. The success of the West European radical right has been extensively studied, and the FN is often considered as an emblematic case.

⁵² Statement pronounced during a TV interview during the 2012 presidential campaign (TF1, 03.06.2012)

In addition, this chapter follows the epistemological directives to consider both demand and supply sides within the same analysis (Sartori 1969, Kitschelt 2007, Mudde 2007). The collection of the previous chapters constitute such a comprehensive approach; however this chapter gathers an analysis of ‘both sides of the coin’ using multiple data sources.

The in-depth study of the FN aims at confirming the expectations entailed in both the protection and exclusion hypotheses. Has the FN constituency undergone a process of precarization? To what extent is economic insecurity driving its voters’ support? What preferences does the party hold for welfare politics? Chapter 4 has shown that the FN had adopted protective welfare preferences and framed welfare politics in an exclusionist fashion. But to what extent has this programmatic shift been determined strategically to match the FN voters’ welfare preferences and economic insecurity?

To answer these questions I rely on different data sources. Some analyses rely on secondary data partly presented in previous studies while others are based on original data collected for the purpose of this chapter. On the demand side, the results are based on surveys in order to assess the precarization and the scapegoating attitudes of FN voters, these findings are extracted from the numerous works on the sociological profile of FN voters. On the supply side, the present chapter is based on the collection of party campaign material and the transcription of speeches from its leader Marine Le Pen.

The first section of the chapter focuses on the demand side, and provides yet another confirmation of the precarization of the FN’s constituencies and their attitudes towards immigration and welfare out-groups (6.1.). The second section evaluates the programmatic shift and exclusive trademarks of the FN’s welfare preference through salience-based analyses of manifestos and in-depth studies of party campaign material and speeches (6.2.). Finally, I conclude that the FN and its constituents constitute a symptomatic example of the protection and exclusion hypotheses (6.3.)

6.1. Front National and the demand side of welfare politics

The following section make use of secondary survey data analyses. The sociological composition of FN’s voters is extracted from the series of post-electoral studies conducted either by the CEVIPOF (*Centre de Recherches Politiques de Sciences Po*) or by the CEE

(*Centre d'Etudes Européennes*) in Sciences Po. Notably, these data have constituted the core of the analysis of each presidential campaign since 1995 (published under the collection *Chroniques électorales*). The data on the presidential elections from 1988 to 2007 of CEVIPOF post-electoral surveys is found in a series of books (Perrineau and Ysmal 1995, Perrineau and Ysmal 2003, Perrineau 2008). Data for the 2012 election is extracted from the *Enquête électorale française* (CEE) (see Mayer 2015a). These data allow to test trends of precarization of FN voters over time (6.1.1.). This section also relies on a composite measure of precariousness: *Evaluation de la précarité et des inégalités de santé pour les centres d'examen de santé* (EPICES index, Mayer 2013b, Braconnier and Mayer 2015). It allows to present finer-grained details about preferences and attitudes of precarious voters (6.1.2.)

6.1.1. Front National and the precarization of voters

The precarization of voters is a long studied aspect of the studies of the Front National constituencies. More precisely the working-class composition of the FN constituencies has been long established: the core of the FN's constituency is to be found among lower classes ("*électorat populaire*", Perrineau 2013). The sociological profile of the FN voters is in line with the results of chapter 3. Yet, as Betz argued of the proletarianization of the radical right voters in the early 1990's, the working class dimension of the FN constituencies is a long-term phenomenon. Based on the 1995 results, Perrineau had identified the "*second lepénisme*" (as an opposition to a more traditional petty bourgeois electorate, Perrineau 1997), or more precisely described the working-class vote for the FN as "*ouvriero-lepénisme*" (Perrineau and Ysmal 1995). These authors argued that the working-class sociological profile of the FN voters had consequences in terms of political preference, and labelled it "*gaucho-lepénisme*" to stress the economically left oriented preferences of these voters. Some authors argue that at the aggregated level, there is a cleavage between industrial regions (higher proportion of workers and long established heavy industries) and other regions in the propensity to vote for the FN. The FN obtains its higher electoral scores in region (rural or urban) which have the most established "industrial tradition" (Schwengler 2003)

Figure 14 shows the evolution of the FN vote of different occupational groups between 1988 and 2012. As expected, blue-collar workers and the routine service workers vote for the FN in higher proportions than other social classes. Conversely, the service middle-class is increasingly less supporting the FN. (Farmers' vote not reported due to statistically too limited samples, although the FN enjoys increasing support among farmers and rural populations, see Barone and Négrier 2015; data and sources reported in Appendix A).

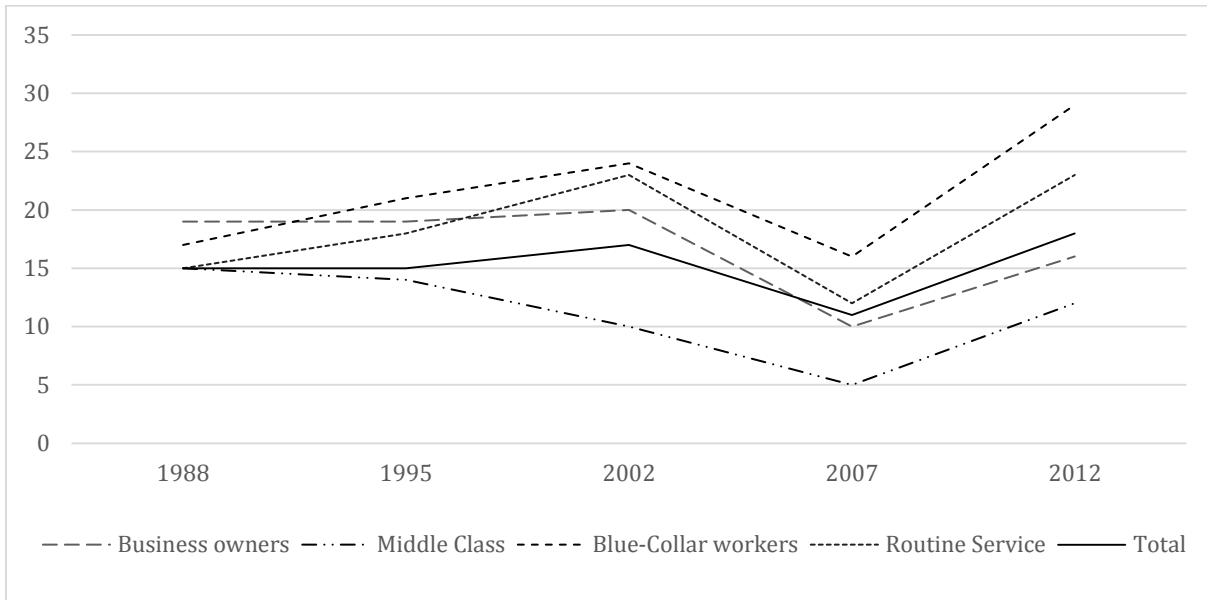


Figure 14 – Evolution of the political distinctiveness of the FN constituencies (1988-2012)

The increase of the working-class vote for the FN is also steady over time. The gap between the working-class vote for the FN and the total vote is higher at every presidential election from 1988 to 2012. Additionally, the political distinctiveness of the working class is increasingly in favour of the FN. Whereas the average overrepresentation of worker for the FN was of around 5% between 1988 and 2007 (i.e. the difference between the total score and the working class vote for the FN is around 5%), it reached 13% in 2012 (see Gougou 2015). Interestingly, the overrepresentation of blue-collar workers in the FN constituencies increases independently of the party's electoral result. Indeed, the FN's electoral progression suffered from Sarkozy's victory in the 2007 presidential election. Yet the gap between blue-collar FN voters and the rest of FN voters is constant, which indicates that

Sarkozy managed to attract every segment of FN voters (and not primarily working class voters).

Chapter 3 showed the effects of occupational class on the radical right vote as a proxy for precarization; yet it was combined with measures of economic insecurity to give a better account of precariousness. The occupational class divide among FN voters is not a sufficient measure to conclude that this constituency is genuinely precarized. Indeed, at the aggregated level, the FN increases its share of votes the most in regions where unemployment is also increasing, which indicates that the regions where economic insecurity and unemployment are the high constitute a “fertile ground” for the FN (Leger 2015). In order to capture economic insecurity, I rely on a unique measure of precariousness that goes beyond strictly economic factors, to include broader social aspects of precariousness.

The *Epices* index is a measure of precariousness that includes items on financial hardship and healthcare coverage, but also the frequency of social interaction and inclusion in society (Mayer 2013b, see Appendix B for the list of items included in the index). It is therefore very well suited to study precarization in the context of welfare politics.

This index is positively associated to the FN vote: the more precarious individuals are more likely to support the FN (Mayer 2014). Figure 15 shows the association between precariousness and support for the FN. Note that the data does not ask respondents about their retrospective vote, but presents a composite indicator of appeal for the FN. It is measured by liking of the FN, liking Marine Le Pen, wishing to see Marine Le Pen win the election, and partisan proximity with the FN.

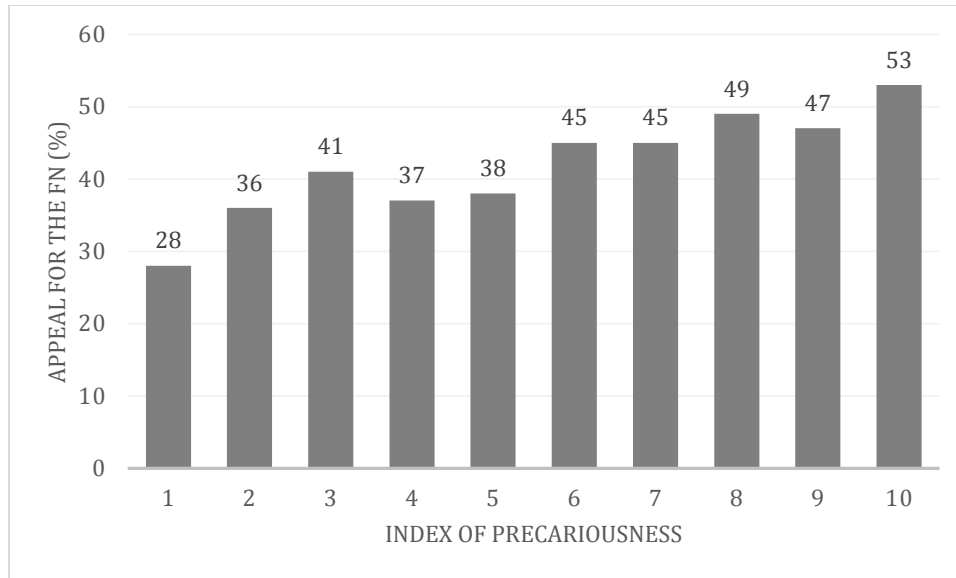


Figure 15 – Precariousness and appeal for the FN (2012)

The relation between precariousness and appeal for the FN appears very clearly. As the average appeal for the FN is around 41%, it is 12 points higher for the most precarious individuals. Figure 15 shows that the appeal for the FN can be divided into four groups of different levels of precariousness: the least precarious (index=1) are the least appealed by the FN (28%), the appeal reaches an average of 38% for non-precarious individuals (index=2-5), but it reaches an average of 46.5% for precarious individuals (index=6-9); whereas the FN appeals to 53% of the most precarious decile of the population (Mayer 2015b). Using the ‘appeal for the FN’ instead of vote choice gives an advantage because the less well-off tend to abstain rather than vote (Kreisi and Bornschier 2013); ‘outsiderness’ has a negative impact on voter turnout (Mayer et al. 2015). Nonetheless, this indicator shows the appeal for the FN of the most precarious, whether they cast a vote for this party or not.

Overall, the presentation of this secondary data shows that the precarization hypothesis is verified for the case of the FN. Its constituencies are increasingly marked by lower occupational status; and precariousness is a significant indicator of appeal for this party. The latter result also points to the direction that there may be a stock of voters for the FN among precarious ‘outsiders’ who usually do not cast a vote but are responsive to the FN’s appeal.

6.1.2. Front National and voters' scapegoating

Chapter 3 provided empirical support for the scapegoating hypothesis on the basis of four elaborated welfare attitudes. These attitudes were theoretically deduced, yet they are also data-dependent. Indeed, only ESS4 provides detailed questions about welfare preferences. In order to further inquire the demand side of the exclusion hypothesis for the FN, the attitudes of welfare populism, chauvinism, limitation and egalitarianism cannot be tested in the same way as in the previous steps of the analysis. Indeed, “unfavourable attitudes towards outgroups” have been shown to be a singular feature of FN voters. In the works of Lubbers and Scheepers, *“people who experience a discrepancy between their actual and subjectively claimed socio-economic position may perceive ethnic minorities as a competitive threat as well, and therefore are more unfavourable towards ethnic minorities and are more likely to vote for the Front National”* (Lubbers and Scheepers 2002)

Unfortunately, the models tested in chapter 3 cannot be reproduced here with satisfactory sample sizes or over time. However, based on secondary data established by Mayer (2013b, 2015a), the exclusionary welfare preferences of FN vote can be confirmed.

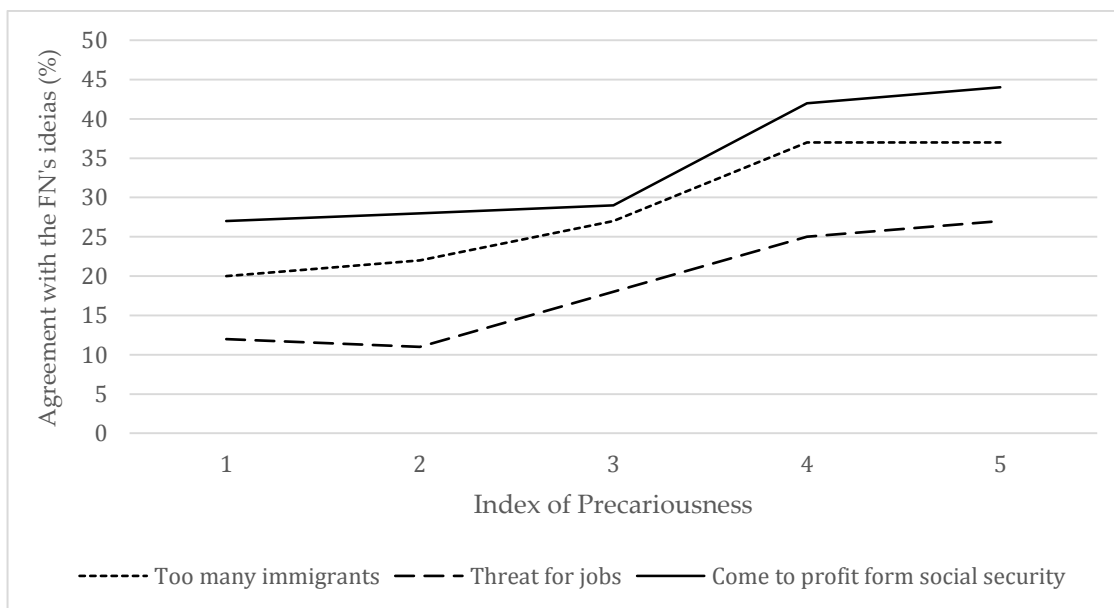


Figure 16 - Precariousness and agreement with the FN's ideas

Again, this data does not capture vote choice, but different measures of “agreement with the FN’s ideas”, and particularly, they assess the link between welfare politics and immigration. Figure 16 shows the attitudinal preferences towards immigration of individuals by their level of precariousness. As expected, based on the results of the previous section, the more individuals are precarious, the more opposed to immigration they are. However, the anti-immigration attitudes appear to be closely linked to welfare preferences: the more precarious individuals reject immigration, but they also consider it to be a threat for their job security. Interestingly, a higher proportion of individuals considers that immigrants come to France to “profit from social security” than they think there are too many immigrants in France. If these results do not test directly the exclusion hypothesis, they indicate that part of the anti-immigration attitudes are determined by welfare concerns, and more precisely the fact that immigrants “profit” from benefits and that immigration increases levels of economic (labour-market) insecurity.

6.2. Front National and the supply side of welfare politics

The recent literature studying the FN on the supply-side is unanimous in describing the radical transformation the party has undergone in the 2010’s. This transformation affects most aspects of the party. Its organisation has been modernised (hierarchy of party leaders, integration of activists) and normalised (it resembles more the functioning of other French political parties as opposed to the ‘one-man organisation’ of former charismatic leader Jean Marie Le Pen) (Dézé 2016). Arguably, the FN has transformed from an anti-system party to a mainstream conservative party (although this process is still ongoing according to Shields 2014). One manifestation of this modernisation is the capacity to better organise and present candidates in all local elections, which the FN had failed to do beforehand (Brouard and Foucault 2014). Marine Le Pen herself has claimed to transform the party, and engaged in a strategy of *dédiabolisation* (‘de-demonisation’) in order to break with the party’s reputation of scandals mainly due to Jean-Marie Le Pen’s

use of provocation and racial slurs. This shift also translates into the program of the party, which has been updated, and more specifically regarding welfare preferences (indeed, on its core issue of immigration, the FN maintains its historical anti-immigration position). The remainder of this section gives additional empirical support to the claim that the FN is a symptomatic example of programmatic shift (6.2.1.) and exclusive solidarity (6.2.2.). Finally, it investigates campaign speeches of Marine Le Pen to assess the extent to which this transformation is the result of a declared strategy of the new party leader (6.2.3.). The last two sub-sections rely on Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA). A variety of techniques are used to assure the trustworthiness of the analysis of political texts, of which I retain the two most important ones (Morse et al. 2002). First is “explicating the process of analysis”: I resorted to “quantifying” the different themes in the documents. Second, I make available the data I rely on, particularly for documents that are not easily accessible. QDA is a useful method to refine party preferences and complement quantitative and salience-based methods. As Gerring (1998: 298) argues: “to make claims about party ideologies, one must involve oneself in the meat and gristle of political life, which is to say language. Language connotes the raw data of most studies of how people think about politics, for it is through language that politics is experienced”.

6.2.1. Front National and programmatic adaptation

Chapter 4 has shown that the Front National had operated a dramatic programmatic shift from neo-liberal economic policies in the 1980’s towards protective welfare preferences in the 2010’s. Relying on CMP data of the party manifestos, figure 17 confirms this radical transformation. The salience of preferences for welfare expansion have increased from 0 in the 1980’s and 1990’s to around 12% in 2012 (which constitutes the second most salient issue in the manifesto after ‘law and order’). The evolution of preferences for ‘planned economy’ follow the exact same trajectory. On the other hand, positive references to the ‘market economy’ have decreased over the period.

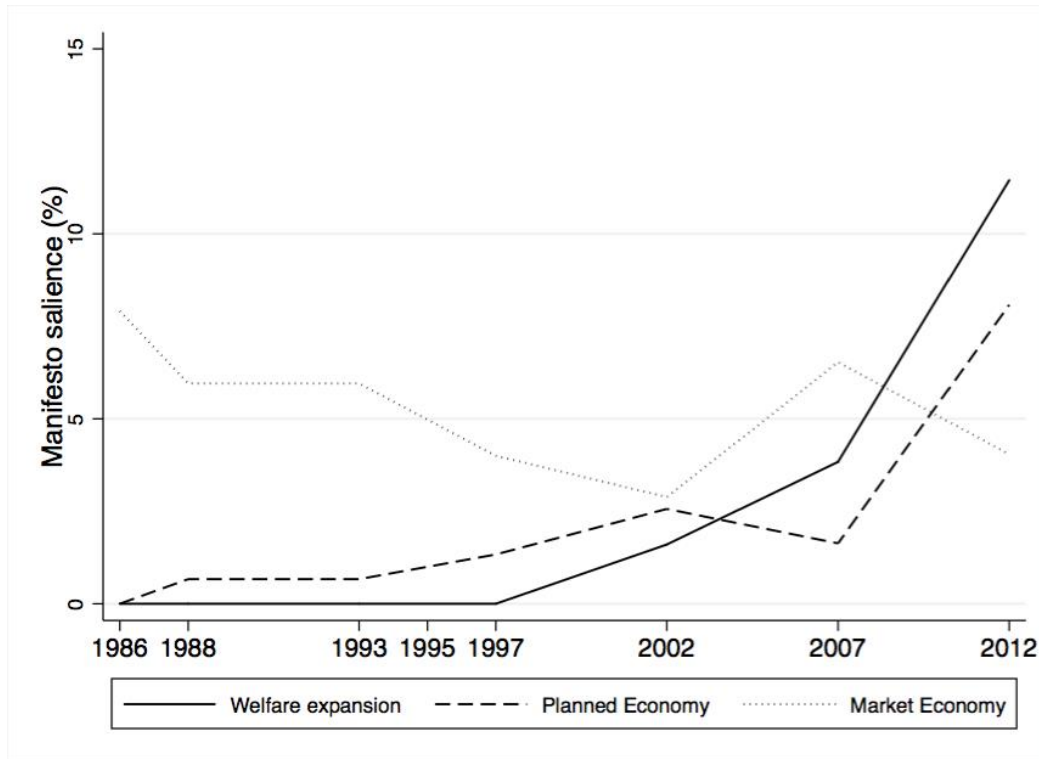


Figure 17 - Evolution of welfare protection in the FN's manifestos

The programmatic shift of the FN towards an economic agenda and welfare policies closer to that of the left is gradual, yet it has starkly accelerated between the 2007 and 2012 election manifestos. It is likely that this change is the consequence of the takeover of Marine Le Pen as party leader and candidate for the 2012 presidential election. If the socio-cultural positions of the FN remained the same, some authors have tried to characterize the new ideology of the FN on socio-economic issues. It has been labelled 'ethno-socialism' (Reynié 2011) or 'social-populism' (Ivaldi 2015a). Arguably, the transformation of the FN corresponds to the 'interventionist-nationalist' shift of radical right parties predicted by Kriesi et al. (2012). This study does not claim that this transformation constitutes a new party ideology, but rather that it is a clear example of the programmatic adaptation entailed in the protection hypothesis.

6.2.2. Front National and exclusive solidarity

In order to confirm the exclusive solidarity hypothesis, this section analyses the FN party and campaign documentation from 1988 to 2012. Chapter 4 argued that salience-based analyses could not give a full account of the substantive party positions, and complemented it with the case study of the 2012 campaign manifesto. This sections takes a longitudinal approach and expands the nature of analysed party documents to show how exclusiveness is the trademark of the Front National's welfare preferences.

Table 24 presents all the party documentation collected in the electoral archives which give a finer-grain assessment of the party's positions⁵³. Statements of principle are standardized 4-pages documents that are sent by mail to every registered voter: each party gives a condensed version of their program. Statements of principle are the most widely diffused campaign material. Electoral leaflets are distributed by the parties themselves, and complement the statement of principles. In most cases for the FN, the texts are very similar between leaflets and statements of principle.

Year	Type	Title
1988	Statement of Principle	
	Electoral leaflet	<i>Avec Jean-Marie Le Pen Défendons nos Couleurs</i>
1995	Statement of Principle	
	Electoral leaflet	<i>Tournons la Page, En Avant pour un 6ème République</i>
2002	Statement of Principle	
	Electoral leaflet	<i>La France Retrouvée</i>
2007	Electoral leaflet	<i>Le Pen, Le Vote Vital</i>
	Statement of Principle	
2012	Electoral manifesto	<i>Mon Projet pour la France et les Français</i>

Table 24 - FN electoral documentation

⁵³ I thank Odile Gaultier-Voituriez in charge of documentation at the CEVIPOF (Sciences Po, Paris) for her assistance in collecting the electoral archives of the FN. Scans of campaign material archives available on demand.

The 2012 campaign is the only one for which – to my knowledge – the FN distributed a comprehensive manifesto (in previous elections, there is existing extensive party material, which however is not used for electoral propaganda). In itself, this is the evidence of a programmatic transformation of the party, which has evolved from a purely single issue – anti-immigration – party, to providing an extensive and detailed program which lists concrete policy decisions.

The Front National, one of the oldest radical right parties in Europe, which has achieved major electoral success from the mid 1980's, has long been a single-issue party. Anti-immigration stances – i.e. closing down the borders and preventing newcomers in the country, as well as sending immigrants back to their country of origin – have originally constituted the core of the FN's program. In terms of welfare politics, and the redistribution of state benefits, the anti-immigrations preferences have translated into “national preference”. It is clearly spelled out in campaign material since 1988. Since then, this welfare chauvinist policy is the cornerstone and trademark of the welfare policy preferences of the FN.

The evolution of the welfare policies of the FN is marked by an important transformation, in form (from vagueness to an extensive detailed program) and content (increasingly in favour of extended welfare policies) The remainder of this section details this evolution, with a specific interest in which social groups – or types of benefits – are deemed more important. Overall, the FN's welfare agenda is marked by an exclusive conception of solidarity, and the blaming of certain outgroups.

In the 1980's, the Front National generally held right-wing economic policies. FN's charismatic leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen claimed to be the “French Reagan”, and pledged to cut back all dimensions of a state described as “overreaching and impotent”. The 1988 program for social policy is articulated around two main concepts. First, social security is considered to be “mismanaged”. In order to improve the system, the FN identifies scapegoats, chiefly the immigrants. In order to reduce the level of spending, the FN introduces the concept of national preference, particularly for welfare benefits, access to jobs and to social housing. Interestingly, another group is singled out in the program: people infected with AIDS. Since the FN attributes the cause of their disease to be their personal responsibility (by condemning their behaviour in a direct targeting of

homosexuals), their medical treatments should not be paid for by social security. The second proposal of the FN regarding the issue of unemployment fits the traditional economically liberal agenda: by cutting corporate taxes, businesses will be able to create jobs.

From this typically right-wing welfare agenda focused on economic policies, which should boost supply and individual responsibility of welfare claimants, the FN has gradually shifted to more generous welfare policies while insisting on the national preference. The FN's welfare chauvinist concept is somewhat ill-named; indeed it proposes full exclusion of immigrants from social security schemes rather than a preference for national citizens. The 1995 program for welfare policies is entirely built around the idea of national preference, and directly addresses most types of benefits: jobs, unemployment benefits, social assistance benefits, and public housing. If the reduction of social charges for business is still included in the program, it is alongside the creation of a new social assistance benefit – restricted to French nationals.

The party documentation for the 2002 campaign is slimmer and vaguer on all policy issues, and specifically on economic and welfare proposals. The most salient issue of this campaign was growing insecurity and law and order, which benefitted Jean-Marie Le Pen who entered the second round of the presidential election for the first and only time. However, the charismatic leader also claimed to be “economically on the right, and socially on the left”. Without giving more precisions, apart from calls to save the pension system, Le Pen had operated a radical shift from his earlier policy views.

This transition is accentuated in the 2007 campaign material, in which Le Pen argues in favour of increasing the minimum salary together with national preference for all social security benefits. To stress his point that the FN is the party defending welfare, one of the political leaflet is modelled on the format of the “*carte vitale*”, the official document that gives access to all healthcare benefits. Voting for Le Pen is presented as the “vote vital”.

The 2012 manifesto of the FN marks the radical shift in welfare policies operated by Marine Le Pen. Diverging from the usual strategy of short party documents articulated around immigration and national preference; it provides extended policy preferences, including on all aspects of welfare policies. Proposals focus particularly on senior citizens and pensioners. The FN positions on the pension system is in line with the usual stance of

the left: “preserve the system of generational solidarity”, increase the pension benefits, and come back to the full retirement age of 60 year old or 40 years of contribution (which had been increased by the outgoing right-wing government). But Marine Le Pen’s FN goes further than maintaining and preserving the current system and calls for additional benefits for French pensioners, and creating a 5th pillar in social security for old age and dependence. Because they have contributed the most, and are in need, pensioners and senior citizen have become one core population targeted by the FN. The 2012 manifesto also clearly points to the poorer citizens as deserving increased benefits. Within the framework of national preference, they follow the focus of previous programs on the “French excluded poor” (the 1995 manifesto focused on the “French homeless”, and following manifestos specifically addressed of the “lower earning French citizens”). The novelty of the 2012 manifesto is that the specific welfare measures intended to relieve the poorer citizen (such as increase of the minimum wage, lower retirement age for poor working families, lower VAT for products of “first necessity”) are combined with specific policies aimed at making the richer citizens contribute more. For the first time the FN calls for higher income tax for the richest households, and a new rate of VAT for “luxury products”.

One of the markers of the FN welfare policies had always been family policy. In the 1980’s, the FN proposed a “maternal salary” for French stay-at-home mothers with several children. This proposal was amended over the years (extended to fathers in 1995), and really defined the fertility politics the FN envisaged as both a solution to immigration and to save the social system (2002 program). The 2012 version of the maternal salary really marks the toning down of traditional right-wing welfare policies for the FN: the maternal salary should be set at 80% of minimum salary and accessible to families with “at least one French parent”. By taking into account societal change – such as international marriages, the FN also introduces in 2012 the first breach in the sanctified “national preference”, which is gradually replaced by the term “citizen priority”.

To sum up, the welfare agenda of the FN has evolved in the direction of more protective measures and more generous welfare benefits for specific outgroups. However, the exclusive dimension of the FN welfare agenda is constant over time, and reflects the idea that some outgroups are more or less deserving than others. “National preference” for

welfare benefits is the direct policy translation of welfare chauvinism. Yet other groups are positively singled out as deserving increased benefits: low wage earners, farmers, pensioners.

6.2.3. Marine Le Pen's influence?

The programmatic shift of the FN has been operated under the influence of Marine Le Pen. The leader, elected at the head of the party in 2011 has triggered the shift towards more economic interventionism and welfare oriented policy preferences (Ivaldi 2015b, 2016). This shift is the result of the *dédiabolisation* strategy: the FN has diversified its policy agenda which includes more economic and welfare preferences with a renewed and more technocratic language (Alduy 2016). Indeed, Marine Le Pen is considered to have 'de-demonised' its party in order to transform it into a mainstream political party (Shields 2013). Most of the previous studies that have described the programmatic shift of the FN – including previous chapters and sections of this book – have done so on the basis of official party documentation. The following section offers to assess the strategic shift operated by Marine Le Pen on the basis of her public speeches for the internal party campaign. This analysis does not only provide additional confirmation of the strategic adaptation of the FN, it also evaluates the strategy elaborated by Marine Le Pen herself.

The QDA is based on a corpus of 10 public speeches given by Marine Le Pen between late 2008 and 2011. These speeches were archived at the time of publication and are not available on the party's website anymore⁵⁴. These speeches have been pronounced in different contexts (to the press, in front of activists or on online videos, during local campaigns) but they are representative of Marine Le Pen's strategic vision for the party. Indeed they have been pronounced during the year when Marine Le Pen campaigned for the party leadership, or right after her election in early 2011. The speeches have been analysed with computer assisted qualitative analysis. Each statement has been coded along three axes subdivided into sub-categories: theme (unemployment, public services, immigration...), argumentation (examples mobilized, political references, ideology...), and

⁵⁴ A full transcript of the speeches is available on demand.

political strategy (rupture, political implications...). Table 25 details the speeches, their dates, and particular context. These speeches are mostly general, and they do not address specifically the welfare politics issues – although welfare concerns are always mentioned. However, this analysis is still useful to demonstrate that the programmatic adaptation of the FN’s program spurs from a genuine top-down strategic decision by Marine Le Pen. Discourse analysis has produced three central dimensions of Marine Le Pen’s speeches: claimed political rupture, development of an economic and welfare agenda, and building of credibility.

Title	Date	Context
<i>Discours à l’Université d’été d’Evian</i>	09.14.2008	-
<i>Discours à la Convention Européenne d’Arras</i>	03.15.1009	-
<i>Discours sur l’école publié</i>	11.11.2009	Published online
<i>Discours de campagne à Paris</i>	03.02.2010	Local elections
<i>Discours « L’esprit du 29 mai »</i>	05.28.2010	Published online
<i>Discours devant le Conseil National</i>	03.04.2010	-
<i>Discours prononcé à Paris</i>	11.14.2010	Official internal campaign
<i>Discours de clôture du Conseil National</i>	02.12.2011	-
<i>Discours de campagne à Bompas</i>	03.11.2011	Local elections
<i>Discours sur l’immigration à Six-Fours</i>	03.12.2011	Local elections

Table 25 - Corpus of Marine Le Pen's speeches

Claimed political rupture

During the internal campaign for party leadership, Marine Le Pen was opposed to Bruno Gollnisch, a long-time member of the FN and partisan of the traditional political line of the French radical right. Even though Marine Le Pen bears the same name as the founder and historical party leader, during the internal election she is the candidate of a political rupture. The claim of a “political rupture with the FN’s past” is among the most salient coded item in the corpus of speeches, both during the internal campaign, and once she won the party leadership. Marine Le Pen uses the claim for rupture both strategically to distinguish herself from her opponent during the campaign, but also after her election as a

strategic objective. Indeed, she mentions change and rupture to the greater extent in the speech after her election given in front of journalists: she presents the new program of the party and aspires to change its ideology and media communication. During the internal campaign, Marine Le Pen mentions “elements of rupture”, in an implicit contrast with the legacy of her father. She specifically denounces the conception of party leader as a “moral authority”, whose role is to tie together the different tendencies in the party; her objective is renewal, whether all members accept it or not. She openly admits that some activists’ ideology will be “shaken up”. Marine Le Pen claims the time of the “awakeners” who made the message of the FN publicly known is over, and that her election marks the time of the “builders”. This rupture is therefore not intended as a radical shift (it builds on the past), but she uses strong expressions to characterize it: “political recomposition” or “unprecedented efforts to change the FN”. Regularly, she uses the word “revolution” (whether “deep” or “pacified”), a concept which is not in the conventional repertoire of the French radical right (Marine Le Pen even compares this renewal with the ongoing Arab Spring at the time). The objective of Marine Le Pen’s project are spelled out directly: she aims at “making the political project evolve” and build a “renewed, open and efficient party”. Concretely, Marine Le Pen calls for the transformation of the party into a “large republican party”, which contradicts with the anti-system origins of the FN. Additionally, she calls members of other parties (which are usually fiercely denounced) to join the FN, with a direct call to the members of the *Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste*, the major Trotskyist radical left party. This appeal to leftist activists shows how Marine Le Pen intends to ground the political transformation of the FN in a left-leaning economic tendency.

The development of an economic and welfare agenda

The shift proposed to party members by Marine Le Pen is revealed in the saliency she puts on issues that were formerly somewhat neglected by the FN: unemployment, saving the social security system and public services. Unemployment had always been a concern for the Front National, yet the framing of this issue in Marine Le Pen’s speeches contrast with the previous references which were always linked to immigration. She refers to unemployment in order to denounce the record of mainstream political parties. She does not refute the party position that “immigration causes unemployment”, but tones it down

(immigration is only an “adjustment variable” of economic problems). The references to social security contrast to a larger extent with the party’s traditional positions in favour of more limited social security schemes. She calls the tentative reforms of social security “social aggressions” or “social wreck done in the back of French citizens”. Marine Le Pen openly calls for the “defence of social security” by using terms usually associated with left-wing parties: “guaranteeing welfare benefits” or “not distinguishing the economy and social progresses”. Marine Le Pen claims clear welfare chauvinist policies, and argues in favour of a “welfare protectionism”. Moreover this theme becomes particularly salient in Marine Le Pen’s speeches in 2011 after her election at the head of the party. Additionally, and contrary to the first coding expectations, the “defence of public services” proves to be a very salient issue in Marine Le Pen’s programmatic positions.

Welfare politics thus constitutes a new central dimension in the FN’s discourse with the upcoming of Marine Le Pen. Both the father and the daughter provided anti-system preferences, but while Jean- Marie Le Pen limited himself to denouncing and opposing, Marine Le Pen’s argumentation is more elaborated and ideological. She defines the new ideology of the FN as the opposition to an identified and theorised enemy: ‘*mondialisme*’. This renewed theory follows the historical opposition to the EU, immigration and the defence of national sovereignty which constituted the core of the FN program, but she frames it in a proposition to reform economic liberalism. The renewed ideology of the FN – which clashes with the neo-liberal positions of the party in the 1980’s is summarized in a campaign statement she repeats in several speeches:

“Free movement of people means immigration. Free movement of brains means emigration. Free movement of capital means speculation. Free movement of goods means deindustrialization. Clearly, freedom of movement means our liquidation”

This statement combines the historical preferences of the FN (anti-immigration, threat to national identity) with the new ones (extended critique of finance in her speeches, deindustrialization and welfare concerns).

The political objective of the programmatic shift

The welfare oriented program of the FN under Marine Le Pen is based on a renewed discourse method, with clear political objectives. In terms of style, the political references

of Marine Le Pen contrast with that of Jean- Marie Le Pen: she relies extensively on political and intellectual references that did not belong the FN's tradition beforehand. Marine Le Pen uses – almost abuses – consensual intellectual and cultural references (Chateaubriand, Platon, and Jacques Brel on several occasions). This strategy not only makes her positions appear as mainstream, it frames her arguments with references that political opponents cannot reject. Additionally, she makes extensive references to political figures of the left such as writers Emile Zola and Norbert Elias or statesmen such as Danton or Jean Jaurès. Marine Le Pen makes extensive references to the French Revolution and compares the political struggle of the FN to the battle of Valmy, the first decisive victory of the new French Republic. Jean-Marie Le Pen never illustrated his speeches and positions with such examples or references⁵⁵. Additionally, Marine Le Pen makes reference to academics, and most notably to Hayek, but only to fiercely oppose his theories. Overall, the political references of Marine Le Pen mark a clear shift of political strategy towards consensual and left-leaning figures. Her arguments are also strengthened by using “official reports” and “expert report” and the abundant use of public sources and statistics in order to increase the credibility of her program, which is another contrast to the discursive style of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The renewal of the party's strategy have two identified objectives: extending the potential support of the FN outside of its traditional support base, and give more credibility to the party's program. Indeed, the coding of “change in power” is one of the most salient in the speeches, and often associated to the ambition of transforming the FN vote from a “protest vote” into a “support vote”.

To sum up, the programmatic shift which is evident in analyses of the 2012 FN manifesto spur from strategic adaptation guided by Marine Le Pen. Her internal campaign and speeches show increasingly salient and left-leaning preferences in terms of welfare politics, combined with an ambition to professionalize and give more credibility to her party. This supply-side strategy has proven to be successful, as the FN under Marine Le Pen has widened its electoral base, and attains more successful electoral results.

⁵⁵ Although it is to be noted that Jean-Marie Le Pen organised his 2007 presidential campaign launch in Valmy, under the explicit influence of Marine Le Pen.

6.3. Conclusion

The Front National is considered as a characteristic radical right party: the party and its constituents encompass all the features of the definition of radical right parties in Western Europe. It has long mobilized its voters on socio-cultural issues (immigration, law and order), and it was led by a charismatic leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen. Populism is at the core of its ideology and has been an example of a single issue party. In addition to its academic relevance, the FN has always held a central position in the political agenda in France, and is therefore the subject of an extensive literature (for an up to date comprehensive analysis of the party, its voters and its political relevance, see Crépon et al. 2015).

However, this chapter has shown that the FN has starkly evolved since its electoral breakthrough of the early 1980's; this transformation corresponds fully to the expectation of the protection and exclusion hypothesis. Regarding its constituents, the precarization of its voters is steady. Working-class and lower-skilled voters constitute the core of the FN's electoral support. Moreover, precariousness appears as a critical factor in supporting the FN through exclusionary and scapegoating attitudes. If these demand-side processes have been ongoing since the early 1990's, the radical shift operated by the FN regarding its political preferences is more recent. Because of this sequencing, one can argue that the FN has adapted its positions to its changing constituencies. The FN has developed a protective programmatic shift on economic and welfare issues while framing it in exclusive terms. The study of the claimed strategy of the new party leader Marine Le Pen enables to conclude that the protective and exclusive welfare politics promoted by the FN is the result of a strategic shift, which represents a genuine programmatic adaptation.

Appendix A: Sociological profile of FN voters 1988-2012

(%)	1988	1995	2002	2007	2012
Total	15	15	17	11	18
Sex					
Male	18	17	20	13	19
Female	12	12	14	8	18
Age					
18-24	14	18	13	10	26
25-34	15	20	17	10	20
35-49	15	16	18	11	18
50-64	14	14	21	12	20
65+	16	10	15	9	13
Occupation					
Farmer	10	10	21	10	21
Employer	19	19	20	10	16
Manager	14	4	12	7	6
Middle-class	15	14	10	5	12
Routine service	15	18	23	12	23
Blue-collar worker	17	21	24	16	29
Education					
Primary	15	17	24	24	19
Upper Primary	17	20	21	21	27
Secondary	13	12	15	15	19
Upper secondary	10	13	11	11	13
Tertiary	9	4	7	7	7

Sources: CEVIPOF post-electoral survey (1988-2007), CEE electoral survey (2012)

Appendix B: Items in the EPICES score of precariousness

Do you sometimes meet with a social worker?
Do you have complementary healthcare?
Do you live in couple?
Are you a home owner?
Do you sometimes face real financial difficulties to cover your needs (housing, food, bills...)?
Did you practice sports over the last 12 months?
Did you go to a show or event in the last 12 months?
Did you go on holidays over the last 12 months?
Did you have contacts with family members other than your kids or parents over the last 6 months?
In case of difficulties, do you have persons around you that could host you for a few days?
In case of difficulties, do you have persons around you that could help you materially?

Sources: Mayer 2013b, 2015a.

7. Conclusion

Bringing welfare politics back in the debate

This book provides a renewed account of the radical right success in Western Europe, through the specific perspective of welfare politics. It shows that concerns over who gets what types of benefits and under what circumstances are relevant concerns for radical right voters and translate into party positions. However, the purpose of this demonstration is not to claim that welfare politics is the structuring political cleavage that explain how these parties rise. The contribution this books makes is more modest: the success of radical right parties cannot be fully explained by the appeal of voters for their conservative and authoritarian cultural positions. Yet welfare politics proves to be a conflict dimension which differentiates radical right voters and parties in the electoral arena. Because welfare concerns are relevant for the voters and the parties, welfare politics factors should not be ignored or discarded, but on the contrary should be considered with greater attention in the in the radical right scholarship. This demonstration may also prove to be of social relevance, indeed debating – arguing against ? – radical right parties should also take welfare politics into consideration – and notably by being able to address the economic insecurities and breached normative beliefs of their voters.

In order to bring welfare politics back in the debate, I resorted to the most comprehensive analysis as possible. This imply considering the supply and demand sides of the electoral arena. Yet I do not claim this constitutes the entire array of factors necessary to fully evaluate electoral success; notably, greater attention should be devoted to macro-level characteristics such as institutional effects and media systems. In order to provide the most compelling evidence of the relevance of welfare politics for the radical right success, I relied on a variety of methods (quantitative and qualitative) and data (accumulation of surveys, party manifestos, electoral propaganda material, party leader speeches).

Findings and contributions

The demonstration in this book has followed an inductive reasoning based on two main hypotheses. Bridging the extensive literature on the radical right and the political sociology of the welfare state, I elaborated the protection and exclusion hypotheses, which are specified at the voter and party levels. To recall, the protection hypothesis expects that the success the radical right in Western Europe is explained by the successful mobilization of voters of are economically insecure, i.e. who are seeking protective and risk-reducing welfare arrangements and who are opposed to change. This implied that the radical right constituencies are expected to undergo a process of precarization, and that parties responded accordingly with a programmatic shift. The exclusion hypothesis expects that this success is explained by the successful mobilization of voters who perceive that other individuals or outgroups are violating the shared normative welfare beliefs, and therefore should be excluded from welfare schemes. This implies that radical right voters scapegoat certain groups when assessing (un)deservingness to welfare benefits, and the radical right parties matched these preference with the promotion of an exclusive conception of solidarity. Both hypotheses find substantial, but partial, empirical support on both levels on analysis. Indeed, all expectations do not apply to the eight cases of pairs of radical right parties and their constituencies that have been examined in this book.

Protection hypothesis: the precarization sub-hypothesis has been validated at the individual and aggregated levels. Analyses of voting behaviour have shown that individual-level economic insecurity was positively associated with voting for the radical right. More precisely, complex measures of precariousness drive support for these parties. However belonging to certain occupational sectors, which are exposed to globalization and its subsequent revived economic competition, is another factor associated with voting for radical right parties. In Western Europe, the constituencies of radical right parties are increasingly consisting of blue-collar workers and lower skilled service workers. Chapter 5 has taken class-based approach to assess the precarization of the radical right constituencies: based on the previous works that had established the dealignment of the working class with parties of the left, it shows that, although not complete, there appears to be an ongoing process of realignment of the working class with radical right parties. Not voting remains a prevalent choice among the working class, but the proportion of blue-

collar workers voting for the radical right is increasingly growing. Furthermore, the appeal of precarious voters for the ideas of radical right parties (shown in chapter 6) indicates that there is a substantial stock of votes for these parties among non-voters. The appeal of economically insecure voters for the radical right is grounded in their perception that these parties represent the parties of the status quo (refusal of change) and the only political alternative (the radical right parties denounce mainstream parties and attribute them the blame for the contemporary social and economic problems). The subsequent programmatic change sub-hypothesis, at the party level, is verified in some countries only. Incidentally, it is in the countries where welfare politics is the most relevant for voters (Scandinavia, France), that the radical right parties promote extensive and protective welfare policies (FrP, DF, TF, FN).

Exclusion hypothesis: the theory grounding the exclusion hypothesis brings an important conceptual clarification to the empirical studies that linked welfare politics to the radical right vote. By establishing that welfare attitudes are determined by the perception of norm violation of shared beliefs that constitute the moral economy of the welfare state, I present a mechanism of exclusion and scapegoating of outgroups. Indeed radical right voters and parties distinguish themselves by their welfare chauvinist attitudes. Analyses of the demand- and supply-side show that this attitude is not just a reflection of anti-immigrant preferences, but express preferences that stem from normative beliefs about welfare redistribution, chiefly the principle of reciprocity. Attitudes tied to the breach of the norms of equality and self-reliance are relevant only for some radical right parties, and some groups of voters. However, the mechanism of exclusive solidarity is common: scapegoating of perceived norm violating outgroups. This perception can be associated with preferences for either generous or limited welfare benefits, but it stems from the same logic of perception that some individuals or outgroups have broken the social contract. Welfare chauvinism entails that immigrants are not part of the social contract, and relies on a nationalistic conception of solidarity. This study shows that it constitutes the cornerstone of welfare politics for radical right parties and voters, yet exclusive solidarity is not restricted to ethnic or national boundaries.

Further perspectives

The relevance of protective and exclusive welfare politics to explain the radical right success acts the dawn of Kitschelt's 'winning formula'. Even if it may still apply to some cases (e.g. the Swiss SVP), most radical right parties have shifted their position in order to appeal to economically insecure voters. However, not all radical right voters are precarized and economically insecure, which puts radical right parties in tension not to alienate parts of their constituents. Radical right constituencies cannot be considered as a homogeneous whole. As Ivarsflaten (2005, p. 490) put it: "The germ of destruction or limitation that these [radical right-wing] parties carry within them is without doubt their electorates' deep division over taxes, welfare provisions and the desirable size of the public sector." In view of their recent electoral successes and the possibility of several radical right parties entering office of certain West-European countries in the near future, it is highly relevant – both academically and socially – to develop more precise knowledge about the internal class-based divisions within radical right-wing constituencies.

This study has provided a generalization of protection and exclusion dynamics which had only been considered through limited case studies. The scope of conditions to which these theories apply could be qualified. Such a comparative approach should be expanded to missing – yet highly relevant – cases in which welfare politics seems to have influenced electoral successes, such as the Brexit vote or the election of Donald Trump. Additionally, it is very possible that these theories apply particularly to a certain period, or particular dispositions of the political and party systems, which can only be assessed through further study of the relevance of the welfare politics for the radical right's electoral successes. Such an endeavour should rest on even more diversified methodological approaches: survey experiments would offer a critical addition to the exclusive preferences of voters, and analyses of media coverage or leader interview would strengthen expectations that the programmatic shifts of radical right parties is the result of a strategic adaptation.

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