

# Value Change and Extreme Right Voting in Europe: 1990-2010

Boris Sokolov  
LSCR HSE / SPbU

[bssokolov@gmail.com](mailto:bssokolov@gmail.com)  
[bssokolov@hse.ru](mailto:bssokolov@hse.ru)

# Table of Contents

- Previous Findings
- Definition of the extreme rights
- Index of Tolerance/Xenophobia
- Measuring Polarization
- Data, Sample and Variables
- Modelling
- Discussion
- Further steps

# Nationalism, Xenophobia and Modernization

- Various theories of modernization predict decrease of nationalism, xenophobia and intolerance along with the economic and technological development and cultural evolution (Inglehart 1990, 1997; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Beck, 1998; Beck, and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002)
- However, there is a number of evidences that there is at least temporal rise of nationalism and xenophobia even among citizens of the most prosperous countries

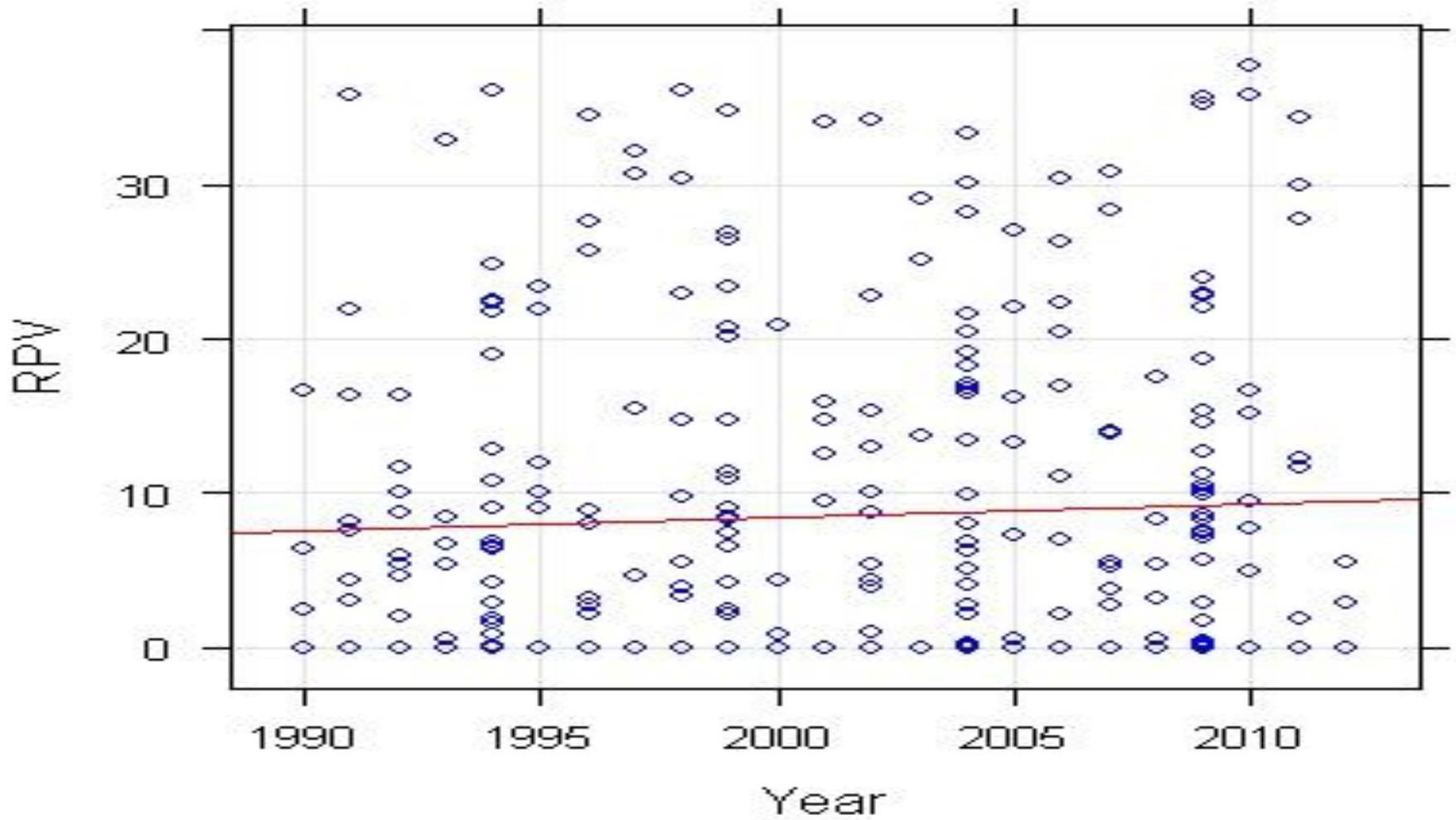
# Research Question

- Whether economic conditions are the main determinants of negative out-group attitudes like xenophobia and nationalism or some cultural factors also do matter?

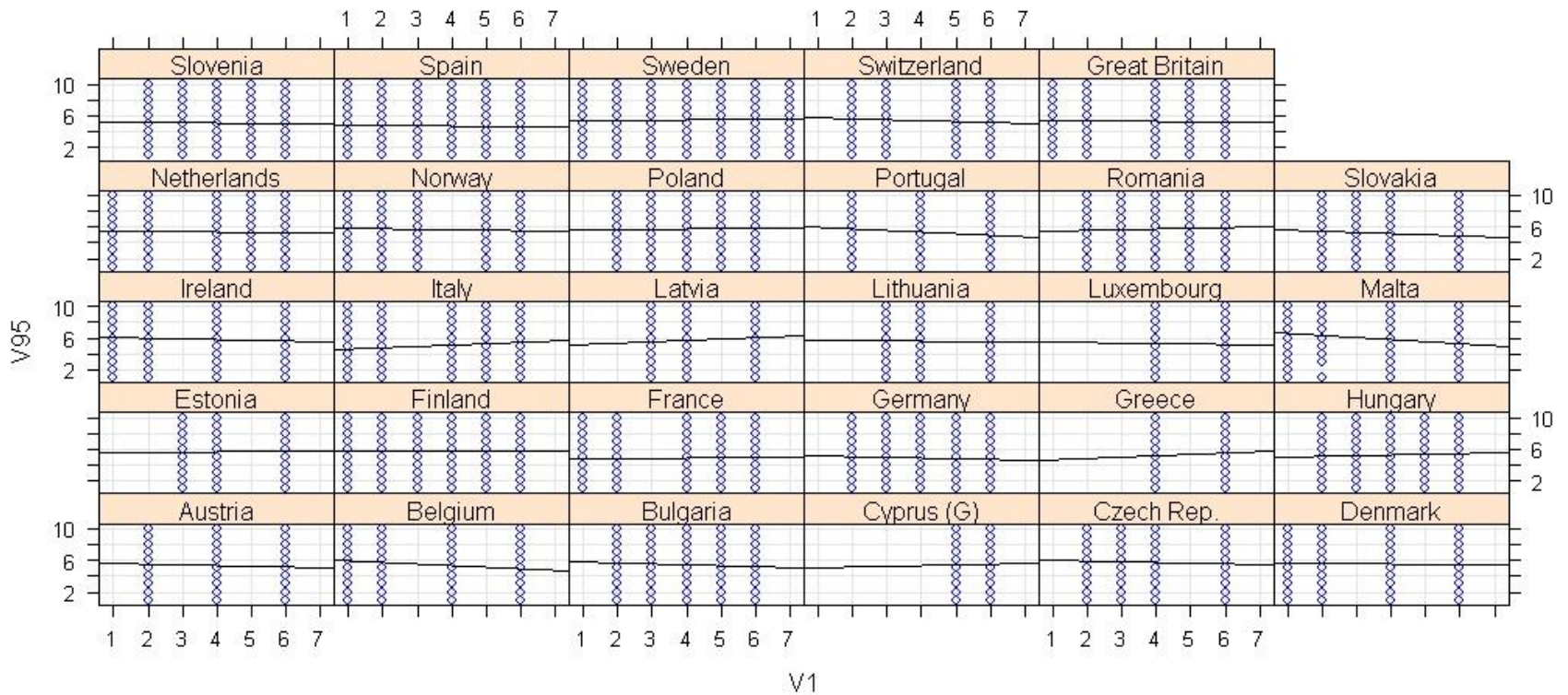
# Previous Findings

- Postmaterialism effect disappears while controlling on GDP. However, in interaction with GDP it is still highly significant
- GDP appears to be a slightly stronger predictor of voting for far rights than unemployment rate
- Delta PPP or Delta Unemployment are insignificant – only absolute level of GDP and unemployment affects far right voting. Current trends seem to be insignificant.
- Majoritarian electoral system significantly reduce electoral support for extreme right

# Extreme Right Voting in Europe 1990-2012



# Left-Right Ideology Scale trends (WVS)



# Why people adopt nationalistic views?

- Inglehart's theory of modernization – back to survival values in times of economic recessions (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005).
- Ethnic competition: Impact of unemployment (Olzak 1992; Fennema 2005; Koopmans et al. 2005; Kriesi 1999)
- Decrease of trust resulted from growth of immigrant population provoke negative attitudes toward out-groups (Putnam, 2007)



# Extreme Right Voting

## When economic models fail?

- Far right parties are more successful in times of economic prosperity than in periods of recession (Knigge 1998; Coenders & Scheepers 1998; Lubbers et al. 2002, Arzheimer & Carter, 2006).
- Not only workers vote for Extreme Right [Oesh, 2008]
- Effects of electoral system (Kriesi et al., 1992; Tarrow, 1996; Arzheimer and Carter, 2006)

# Hypotheses

- Standard ERP voting research hypothesis:
  - (H1) Unemployment increases RPV
  - (H1a) GDP per capita affects RPV negatively
  - (H2) Migration affects RPV positively
  - (H2a) Trust affect RVP negatively depending on immigrants stock
  - (H2b) Unemployment increases RPV depending on immigrant stock
  - (H3) Majoritarian electoral system restrict success of right-wing parties
- Value-based hypotheses:
  - (H4) Postmaterialism affects RPV negatively
  - (H5) Value polarization is positively associated with RPV

# Sample

- 29 countries: 27 EU-members, Switzerland and Norway
- All parliamentary and Europarlament elections (1990 to 2011)

# Defining extreme right parties

- Expert Surveys
- Content Analysis of Party Manifestos
  - 1) Handled
  - 2) Computational
- Roll-Call data
- Politician Survey

# CMP Index

- Basic CMP Party Classification (Budge et al., 1987, 2001)
- Arzheimer and Carter (2006). Four CMP categories to measure ideological position on nationalist dimension: multiculturalism, internationalism, the 'national way of life' and law and order
- Alternative Version: multiculturalism, internationalism, the 'national way of life' (standardized sum of "+" and "-" sentences percentage).

# Comparative Right Party Scores I

Country	Party Name	Family (CMP)	Nationalism Index	Van Spanje
Bulgaria	ATAKA Coalition	70	2,60	
Great Britain	UKIP UK Independence Party	95	2,56	YES/NO
Poland	PZZ Western Union	70	2,55	
Denmark	DF People's Party	70	2,41	YES/NO
Estonia	EK Citizen Coalition	80	2,23	
Netherlands	PVV Party of Freedom	70	2,16	
Sweden	SD Sweden Democrats	70	2,10	YES
Poland	LPR League of Polish Families	50	2,07	
Switzerland	SD Swiss Democrats	70	2,03	YES
Finland	True Finns	80	1,97	YES/NO
Latvia	Nat. Independence Movement	60	1,82	
France	FN National Front	70	1,75	YES
Romania	Party of Romanian National Unity	70	1,67	
Poland	RDR Movement for Res Publica	50	1,67	

# Comparative Right Party Scores I

Country	Party Name	Family	Nationalism Index	Van Spanje
Lithuania	LTSS National Union List	70	1,57	YES/NO
Hungary	Jobbik	70	1,57	
Slovakia	SNS National Party	70	1,56	
Hungary	MIEP Justice and Life Party	70	1,55	
Austria	FPO: Freedom Party	40	1,51	
Lithuania	SK Sajudis Coalition	40	1,48	
Greece	Pola Political Spring	50	1,43	
Slovakia	KSS Communist Party	20	1,37	
Greece	KKE Communist Party	20	1,36	
Romania	FSN National Salvation Front	30	1,35	
Estonia	Rahvaliid People's Union	80	1,33	
Finland	PS True Finns	80	1,27	
Denmark	EL Red-Green Unity List	20	1,23	
Luxembourg	ADR	90	1,23	
Austria	Alliance for the Future of Austria	70	1,22	

# Selection of Right Parties

- Van Spanje (2011) based on previous expert surveys (Mair and Castels, 1984, Laver and Hunt, 1992; Huber and Inglehart, 1995; Lubbers, 2000; Benoit and Laver, 2004(2006)) provide a meta-analysis of trends in ideological positions of right wing parties and selected 30 ERP in 17 European countries
- All parties at least one scored as extreme right (> 0.8 on left-right 0-1 scale)

*Conservative (GB), and People Party (Spain) were excluded.*

*Party for Freedom (Netherlands) were included*

- For Eastern Europe typology provided by CMP team were used (All Parties scored as Nationalist by CMP team)
- In sum, 74 (47 + 27) parties were marked as right-wing for 1990-2010



# Xenophobia Index (WVS items)

- V37 – Neighbours: different race
- V39 – Neighbours: foreign workers
- V40 – Neighbours: homosexuals
- V46 – Job scarce: employers should give priority to (nation) people than immigrants

# Xenophobia Index: Model Fit

- Chi-Square Test of Model Fit 140.814\*  
Degrees of Freedom 1  
P-Value 0.0000
- RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation) 0.029  
90 Percent C.I. 0.025 0.033  
Probability RMSEA <= .05 1.000
- CFI/TLI 0.999/0.992
- Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model 105619.668  
Degrees of Freedom 6  
P-Value 0.0000
- WRMR (Weighted Root Mean Square Residual) 2.345

# Xenophobia Index: Factor Loadings

	Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	P-Value
• V37	0.709	0.006	115.096	0.000
• V39	0.694	0.006	118.816	0.000
• V40	0.734	0.006	127.398	0.000
• V46	0.468	0.005	100.337	0.000

\* Without V40 factor loadings are still high but model is not identified

\*\* Measurement Invariance was not tested

\*\*\* Willingness to fight for country and national pride are not associated with negative nationalist attitudes – an evidence in favour of constructive patriotism theory (Davidov, 2009)

# Polarization I

## Concepts of measurement

- Gini Index and Lorenz Curve
- RQ Index (Reynal-Querol,2001; Montalvo and Reynal-Querol,2005)
- Four principles of polarization measurement: dispersion, bimodality, constrain, and consolidation (Di Maggio et al., 1996)
- Probit regression model with allowed change in cutpoints (Mouw & Sobel, 2001)
- Relative distribution method (Hao & Naimann, 2010; Lee, 2012)

# Polarization II

- Gini Index and RQ Index: not indicate differences between categories
- Variance, kurtosis and other summary statistics: nominal scales are treated as interval data
- Kurtosis does not capture bimodality well (Balanda & MacGillivray, 1988)
- Mouw and Sobel's method: how to use their results as predictor?
- Relative Distribution Method: what is a reference distribution for cross-national comparison?

# Polarization Iii

## Index of Polarization for Cross-National Research

- It should capture bimodality but also a distance between homogeneous groups
- It should be an integer to allow comparison and using as independent variable
- Multidimensionality

# Polarization IV

- Index of polarization as average distance of individual scores for every possible pairs of individuals from the sample
- It can be calculated by dividing of sum of partial distance (measured as Euclidean distance) by the total number of pairs

- (1) 
$$\sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i < j} d_{ij}^2}{\binom{N}{2}}}$$
,

- $n = \frac{N!}{m!(N! - m!)} = \frac{n!}{(2n! - 4)}$  - a total number of combinations
- $N$  – total number of observations,
- $m = 2$  – number of elements in a combination (in a pair),
- $d$  – number of dimensions (items) included in index

# Variables: WVS 2008-2009

## Dependent

- V95 - Self-positioning in Left-Right Scale

## Individual

- Pmat –materialism/postmaterialism index (four items)
- WeightXen (weighted by factor loadings)
- V23 – Satisfaction with life (0 to 1 recoded)
- V24 – Most people can be trusted
- V59 –Satisfaction with financial situation of household

## Socio-Demographic

- Sex
- Age
- Migrant or Not *No available for this wave*
- *Education: binary (University alumni/other) No available for this wave*
- Employment status: 8 categories /binary (full time/other)
- Subjective social class *No available for this wave*

## Aggregate Level

- Log(GDP) – in time of survey
- Gini – In time of Survey
- Unemployment – In time of Survey



# Variables: Electoral Data 1990-2010

- **RPV** – share of votes achieved by all right parties in a country on a given election
- **Postmaterialism** – WVS 4-items materialism/postmaterialism index mean aggregated by countries and waves
- **PostMat\_polarized** – standard deviation for individual postmaterialism scores grouped by waves and countries
- **Xenophobia** – aggregated xenophobia index weighted by factor loadings (0 to 1)
- **Xenophobia\_polarized** – standard deviation for individual xenophobia scores grouped by waves and countries
- **Distrust** – WVS V24 mean by countries and waves
- **Unemployment** - unemployment rate for a given country in an year of election
- **GDP** – natural logarithm of GDP per capita in an year of election (in 2000 constant prices)
- **Immigrants** – immigrant stock in an year of election
- **ES** – electoral system (majoritarian, mixed, proportional)
- **LastElections** – share of votes achieved by ERP in a given countries on the previous elections

# Left-right position: WVS 6 wave

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	0.530***	0.464***	0.484***
PmatMixed	-0.010***	-0.012***	-0.012***
PmatPostmat	-0.051***	-0.055***	-0.055***
WeightXen	0.097***	0.105***	0.106***
TrustCareful			0.003
HappyQuite			-0.012***
Not very happy			-0.023***
Not happy at all			-0.030**
Age		0.000***	0.000***
EMPOther			0.002
SexFemale		-0.011***	-0.011***
SWL		0.008***	0.006***
R-square	0.01328	0.02021	0.02071
Adjusted R-square	0.01318	0.02002	0.02034

# ERP voting in Europe 1990-2010 Part I

Variable	Model 1	Model2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Postmat_SD	0.0242 (0.063)				
Postmat_mean		0.1966** (0.067)			
Xen_SD			-0.2298 (0.062) ***		-0.0999* (0.0495)
Last Elections				0.75238*** (0.05)	0.68061*** (0.0000)
R-square	0.0000	0.04387	0.05731	0.5691	0.5279
Adjusted R-square	0.0038	0.03884	0.05306	0.5669	0.5223

# Elections: interaction effects

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	8.989***	-0.234**	-0.208***
Pmat	0.811	0.125	-0.050
LogGDP		0.141	0.235
Trust	-0.684	-0.007	-0.033
Unemployment	-2.982 **	-0.217*	-0.140
MigrationStock	-0.661	-0.108	-0.080
ESMajor	-7.334	-0.650	-0.721
ESMixed	-3.136	-0.260	-0.468*
XenSD	-2.072*	-0.151*	-0.071
<b>Last Elections</b>			0.487***
Pmat:LG			0.313*
Trust:Emp		0.367**	0.068
Trust:MIG		-0.383'	0.257
Emp:MIG		-0.201'	-0.047
Trust:Emp:MIG		-0.013	-0.058
R-square	0.247		0.6445
Adjusted R2	0.1982		0.5867

# Main Findings

## Values and Radical Right voting

- On individual level postmaterialism and xenophobia affect ideological position in opposite way
- On aggregated level polarization of postmaterialism is insignificant while xenophobia polarization is robust predictor of voting for radical rights
- Country mean of postmaterialism index is still significant but its effect disappears controlling for GDP or unemployment level
- Generally speaking, it seems that polarization does matter

# Why we should be skeptical?

- If included **results of last elections** is the only significant predictor of given electoral outcomes: how to model time and country effects?
- Reasonable number of missing data – low number of observations
- Possibility of ecologic fallacy: analysis on the country level doesn't allow us to make conclusions on the individual level process

# Future Steps

- Development of categorical polarization Index instead of SD measure
- Including Time into model
- Individual-level analysis: another data set
- Interpretation of results: how polarization may right-party voting?

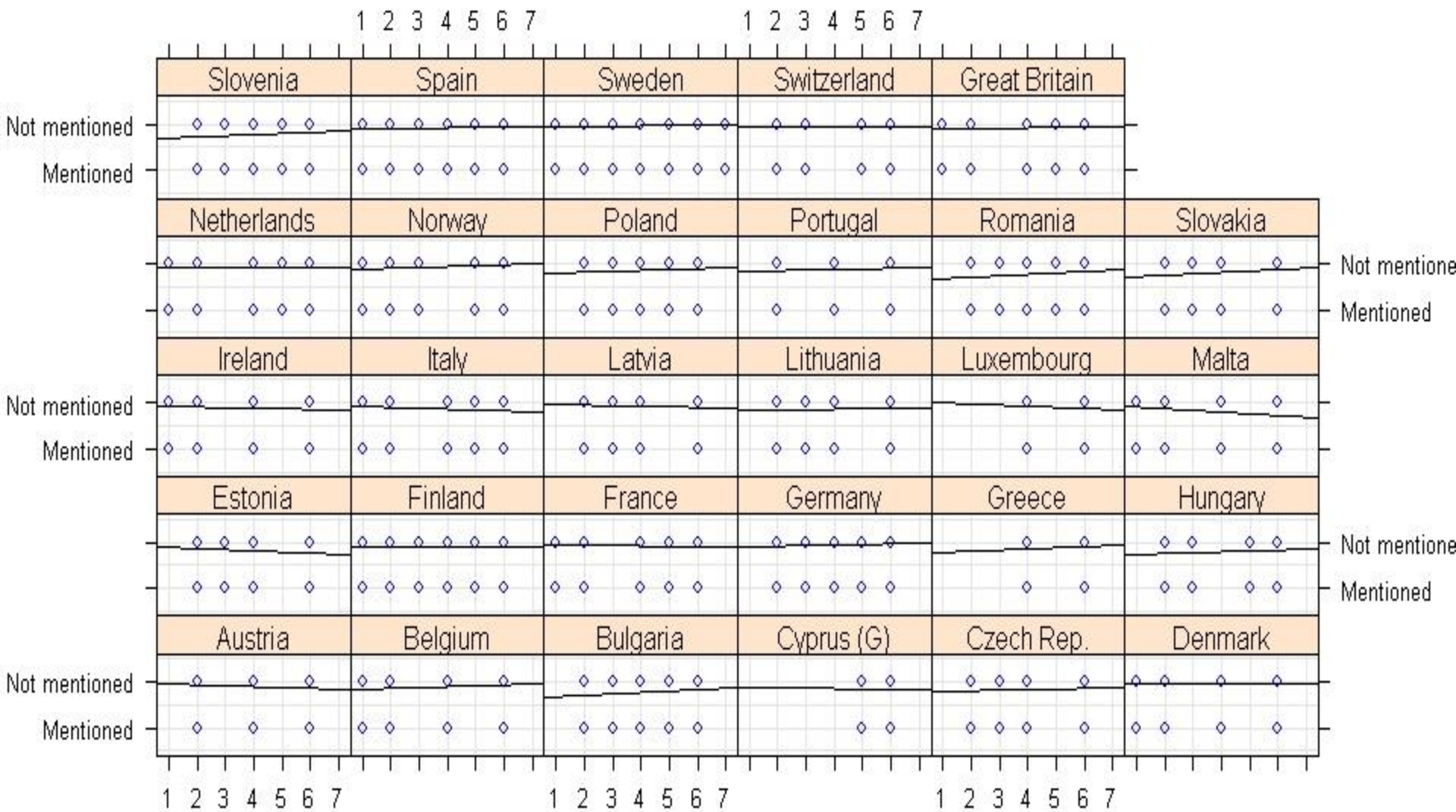
Thank you for your attention!



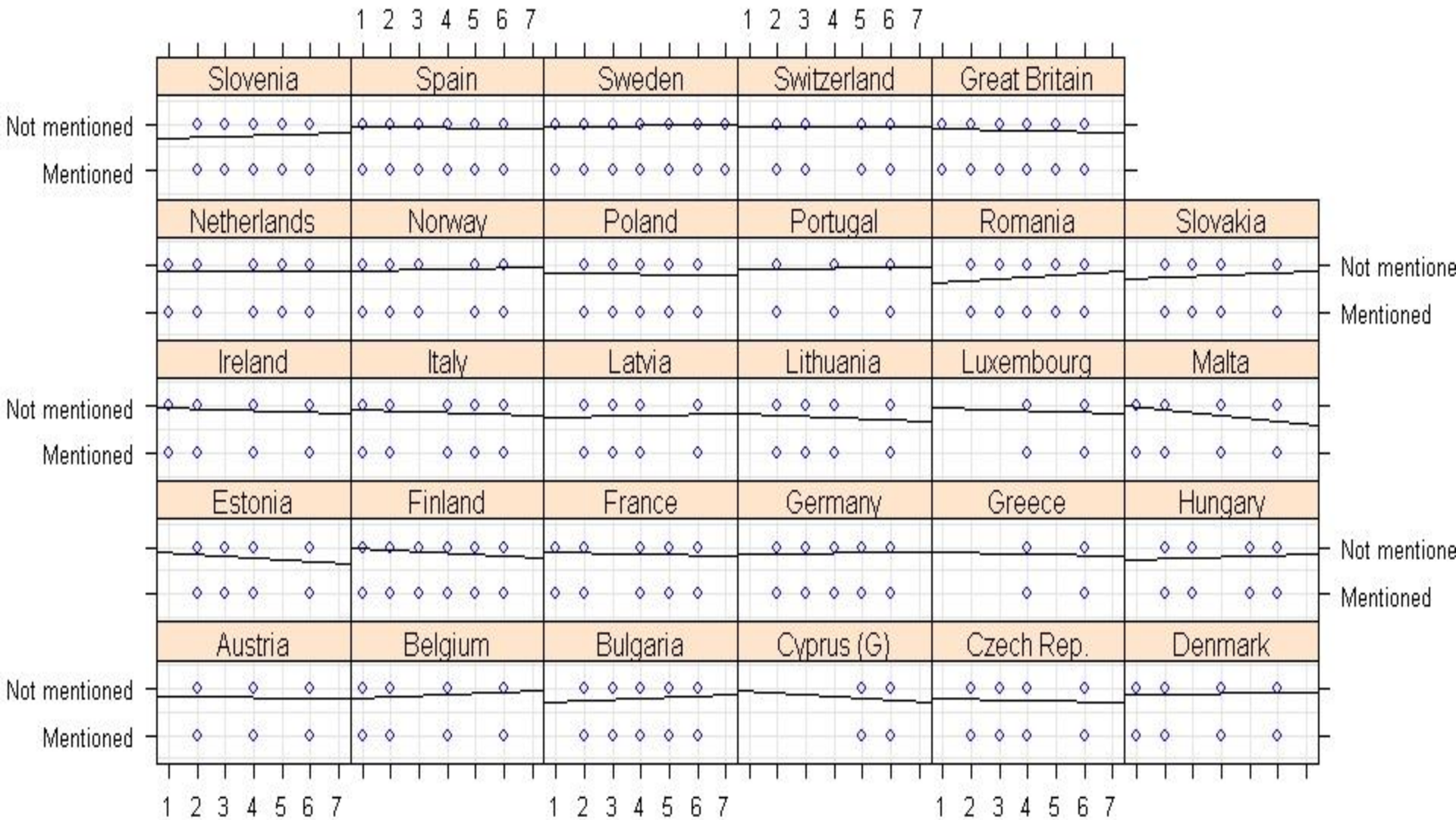
# Appendix A

## Trends

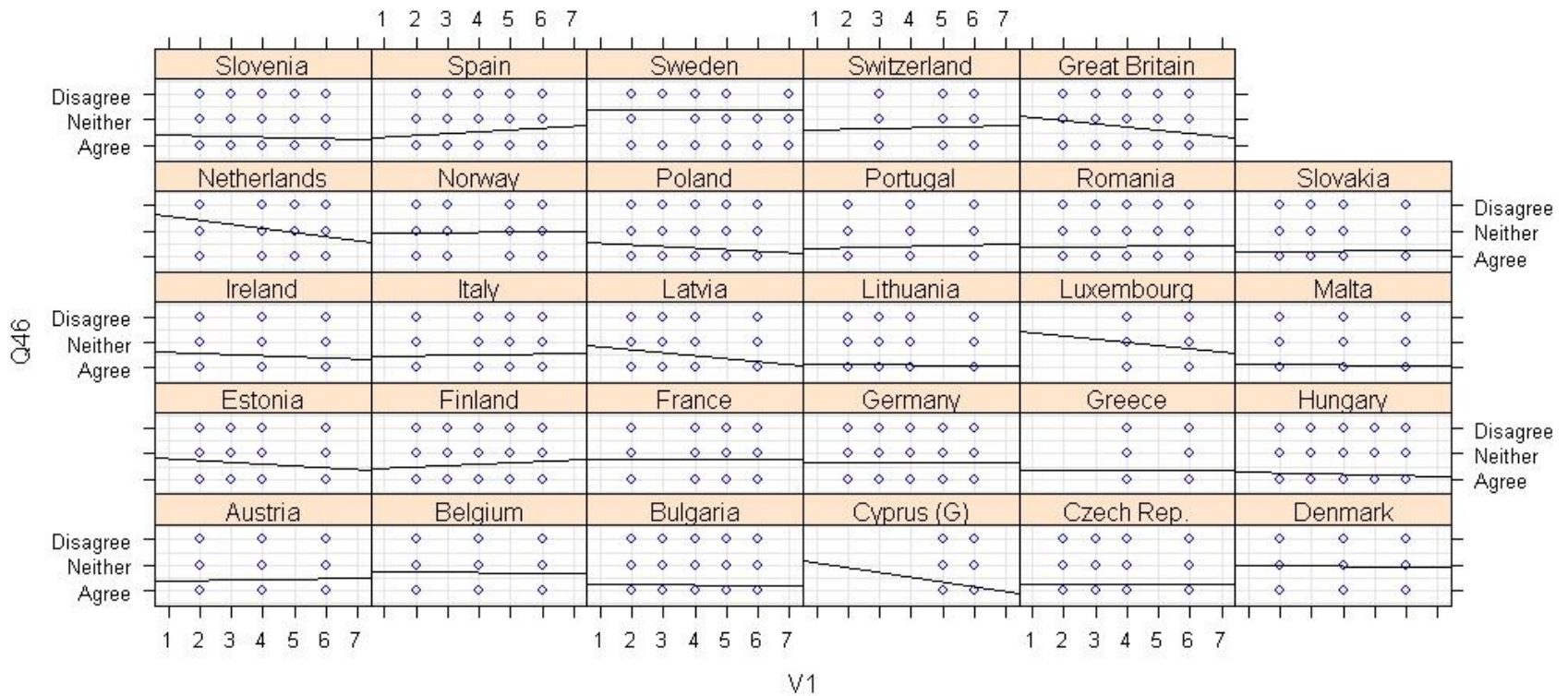
# Neighbors: People of different Races



# Neighbors: Foreign Workers



# V46 Labour priority



# Appendix B

## Right-Wing Parties

# Van Spanje I

- Austria **Freedom Party of Austria** FPÖ
- Belgium **Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour** RAD-UDRT YES
- Belgium **Flemish Bloc** / Flemish Interest VB YES
- Belgium **National Front** FN YES
- Britain **British National Party** BNP YES
- Britain **Conservative Party** C
- Britain **United Kingdom Independence Party** UKIP
- Denmark **Danish People's Party** DF
- Denmark **Progress Party** FrP YES
- Finland **Patriotic Popular Movement** IKL YES
- Finland **True Finns** PS
- Finland **Finnish Christian Democratic Party** SKL

\* YES indicates parties included in final list by Van Spanje

# Van Spanje II

- France **National Centre of Independents and Peasants** CNIP **YES**
- France **National Front** FN **YES**
- France **Republican National Movement** MNR
- France **Movement for France** MPF **YES**
- France **Party of New Forces** PFN **YES**
- France **Rally for France** RPR
- Germany **German People's Union** DVU **YES**
- Germany **National Democratic Party of Germany** NPD **YES**
- Germany **Republicans** Rep **YES**
- Greece **Greek Front** EPEN / EM **YES**
- Greece **Populist Orthodox Rally** LAOS

# Van Spanje III

- Ireland **National Party of Ireland** NPI YES
- Ireland **Progressive Democrats** PD
- Italy **Northern League** LN
- Italy **Italian Social Movement / National Alliance** MSI / AN YES
- Italy **Social Movement-Threecoloured Flame** MS-FT YES
- Luxembourg **Action Committee for Democracy and Pensions Justice** ADR
- Netherlands **Centre Democrats** CD
- Netherlands **Reformed Political Alliance** GPV
- Netherlands **List Pim Fortuyn / List Five Fortuyn** LPF / LVF YES
- Netherlands **Reformed Political Federation** RPF
- Netherlands **Political Reformed Party** SGP
- Netherlands **People's Party for Freedom and Democracy** VVD
- *Netherlands **Party for Freedom** PVV (not in original Spanje's list)*
- Norway **Progress Party** FrP
- Norway **Fatherland Party** FLP



# Van Spanje IV

- Portugal **Democratic and Social Centre – People’s Party** CDS-PP
- Portugal **Party of the Christian Democracy** PDC YES
- Portugal **Party of National Solidarity** PSN YES
- Spain **Popular Alliance / People’s Party** AP / PP
- Spain **National Democracy** DN YES
- Spain Sp. **Traditionalist Phalanx of Assemblies of Nat’l-Syndicalist Offensive**  
FEJons YES
- Spain **Aragonese Regionalist Party** PAR YES
- Spain **National Union-New Force** UN-FN YES
- Sweden **Moderate Party** M
- Sweden **New Democracy** NyD YES
- Sweden **Swedish Democrats** SD YES
- Switzerland **Car Party / Freedom Party of Switzerland** APS / FPS YES
- Switzerland **Federal Democratic Union** EDU YES
- Switzerland **League of Ticinesi** LdT YES
- Switzerland **Nat’l Action Against Überfremdung of People**  
**and Homeland / Swiss Democrats** NA / SD YES
- Switzerland **Swiss People’s Party** SVP

# Additional CMP Data

- Bulgaria **ATAKA Coalition**
- Bulgaria **NS People's Union**
- Cyprus **Democratic Coalition**
- Czech **Coalition for the Republic - Republican Party**
- Estonia **Estonian Independence Party**
- Hungary **Jobbik**
- Hungary **MIEP Justice and Life Party**
- Latvia **TB-LNNK Alliance**
- Latvia **TUB For the Fatherland and Freedom**
- Latvia **TKL Popular Movement**
- Lithuania **LTSS National Union List**
- Malta **National Action**
- Malta **Imperium Europe**
- Poland **PZZ Western Union**
- Poland **KPN Confederation for Independent Poland**
- Poland **PX Party X**
- Poland **Law and Justice (PiS)**
- Poland **United Poland**
- Romania **PUNR Party of Romanian National Unity**
- Romania **AUR Unity Alliance**
- Romania **PRM Greater Romania Party**
- Romania **PR Republican Party**
- Slovakia **SNS National Party**
- Slovakia **HZDS Movement for a Democratic Slovakia**
- Slovakia **NDS National Democratic Party**
- Slovenia **SNS National Party**