



Peace, War and the World in European Security Challenges

Far right parties and the securitization of immigration in EU: Some facts and an overview of leading theories

Prof. Gul M. Kurtoglu Eskisar
Dokuz Eylul University
Department of International Relations
Izmir, Turkey

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Let us begin with some questions first:



It's QUESTION TIME !!

Your responses:

1) The rise of far right parties in EU

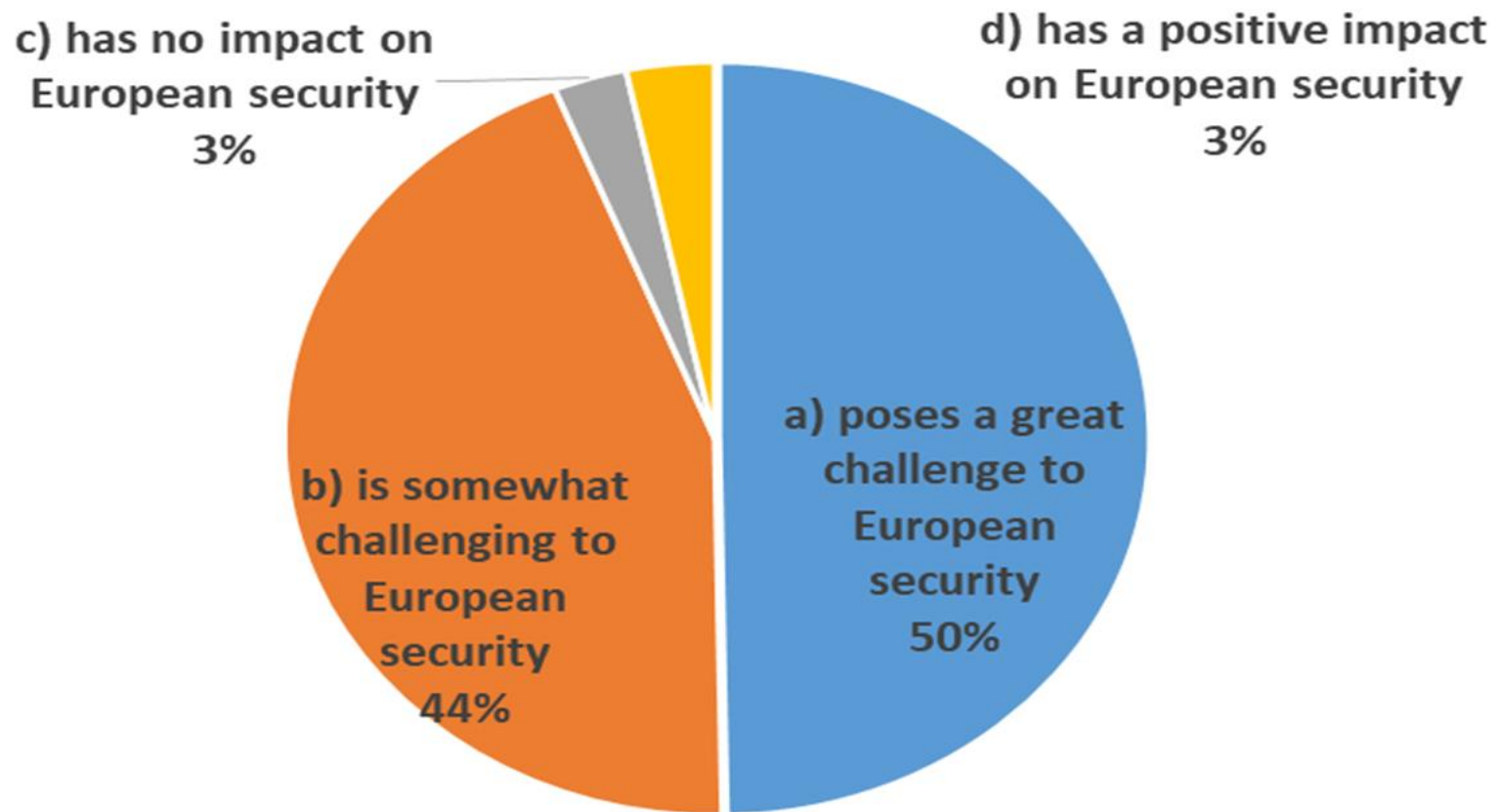


Chart prepared by Res.Asst. Tugcan Durmuslar

2) The rise of far right parties in EU

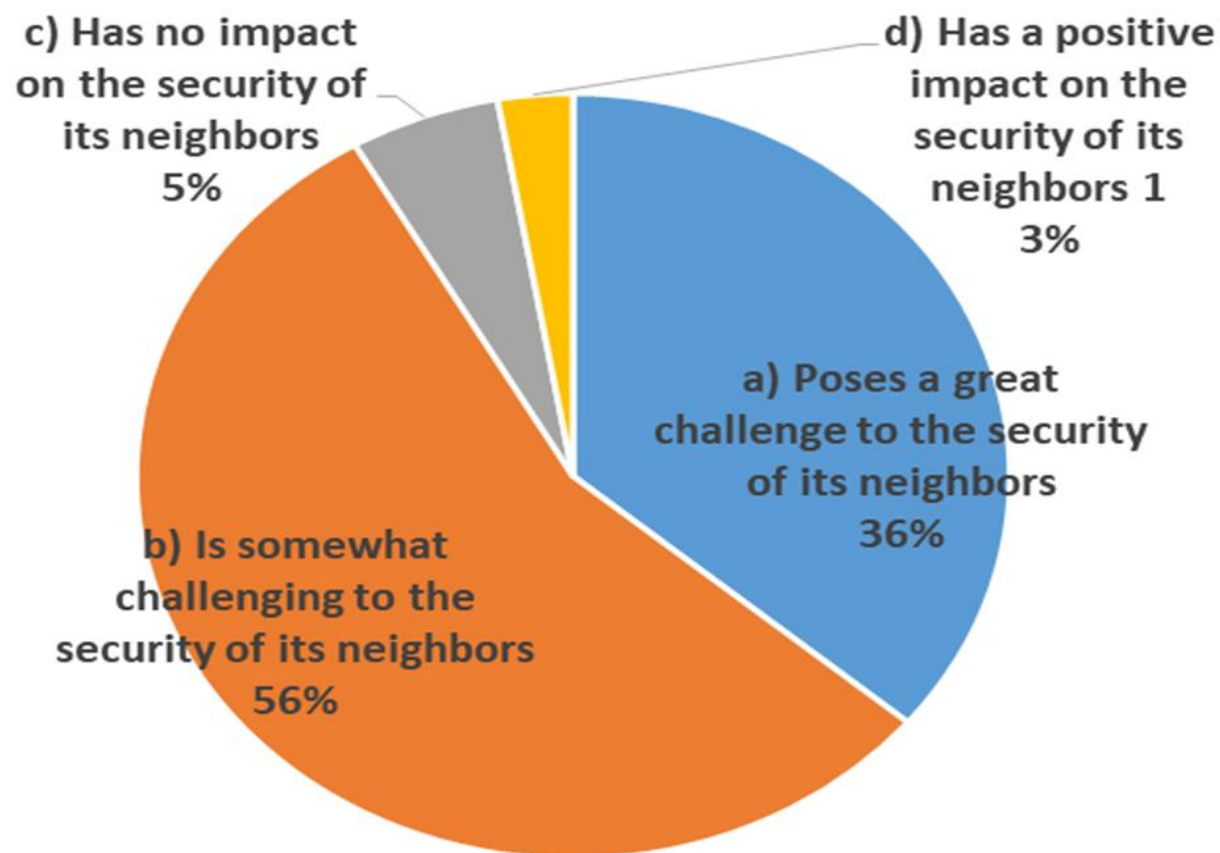
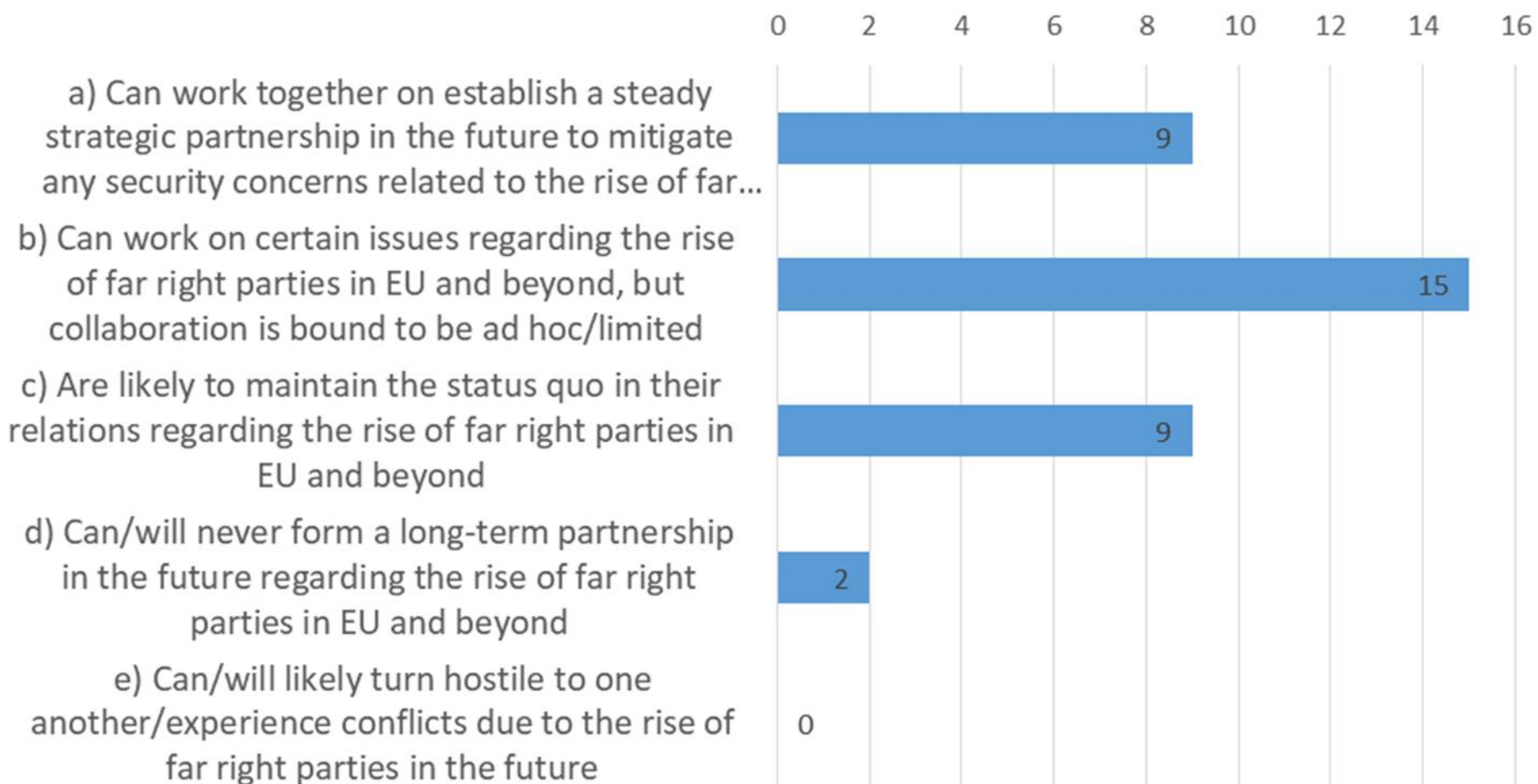


Chart prepared by Res.Asst. Tugcan Durmuslar

3) EU and its neighbors:



Your responses:

4) Which European country, do you think, is most likely to be affected by the rise of far right parties in the foreseeable future? I'm from: ...
Country of choice: ...

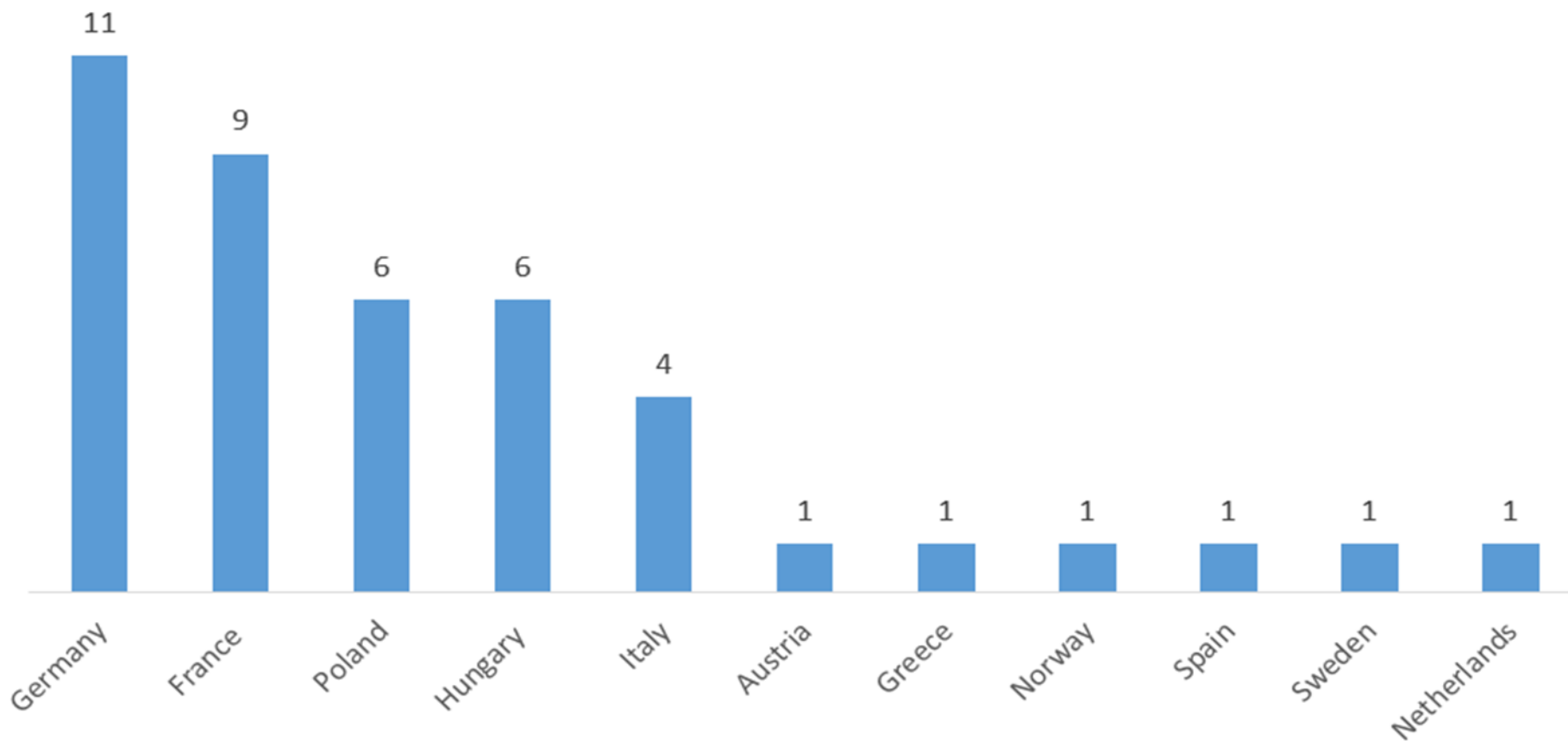


Chart prepared by Res.Asst.
Tugcan Durmuslar

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Your responses:

5) If you think that no European countries are likely to be affected by the rise of far right parties in the foreseeable future, please briefly explain your reason below:



Aim and scope:

- The literature on far right parties: steady expansion
- **Goal:** Overview the existing studies on **far right parties** in **Europe** and their approach towards **immigration**



- This lecture:
- Highlights the **leading contemporary issues /academic debates** in the field
- Speculate on its possible **future course**



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Pan-European ambitions at a nationalist rally in Milan (18 May 19)

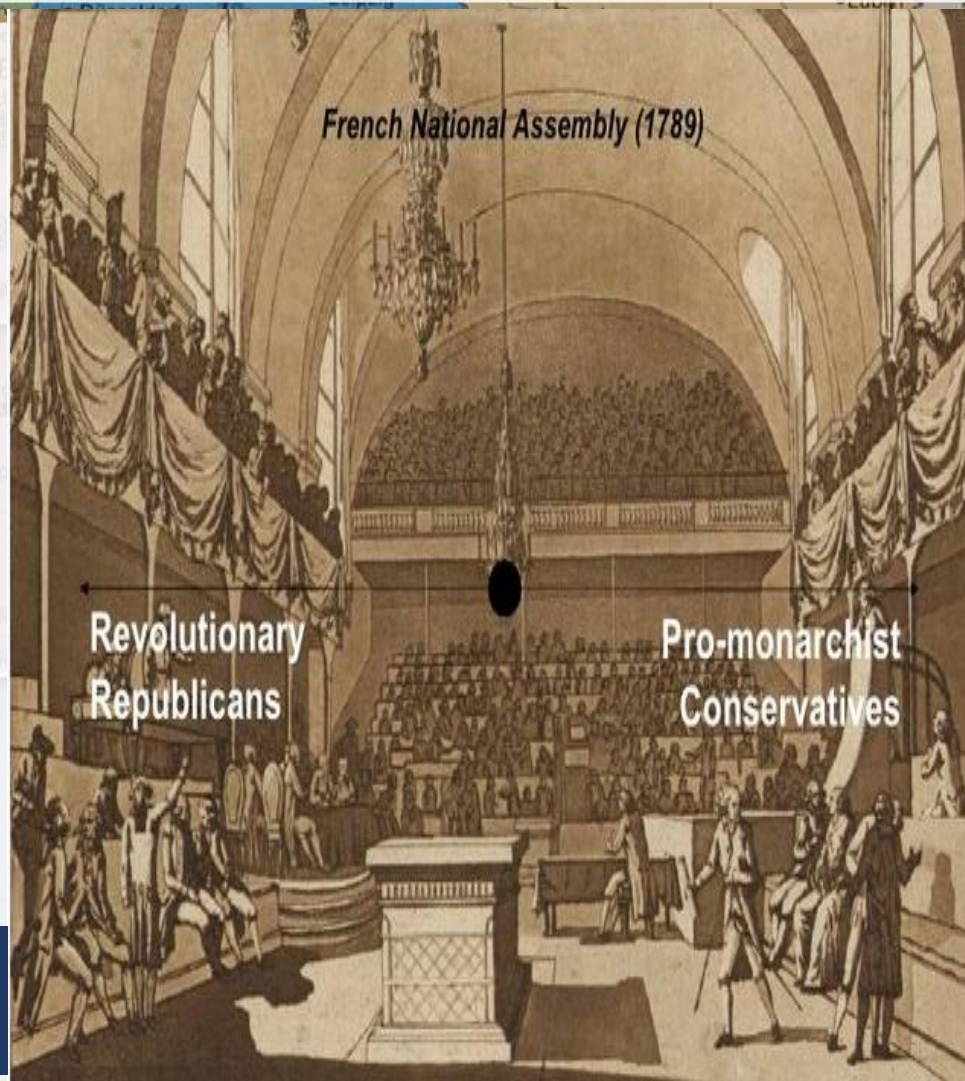
Meeting of Far-Right Leaders in Prague in December 2017



© Reuters/A. Rattay

“Left” and “Right:” Origins

- “Left” and “Right:” Where do they come from?
- French revolution—1789
- Supporters of monarchy sat to the **right** of the president of the National Assembly
- Opponents of monarchy (revolutionists) sat to the **left** of the president of the National Assembly



Interesting tidbit: This sitting plan was criticized even back then

Immigration waves: impact on far right parties

- **War in Syria (15 March 2011-)**: Catalyst for the refugee crisis that affected both EU and its neighbors
- The refugee crisis → increasingly **negative** tone against **immigration** and immigrants by **far right parties** (PBS, 22 January 2018; Krzyżanowski et al 2018)



The results of a YouGov survey, released on Wednesday, showed only a little more than half (58 percent) of British people were aware the war in Syria was still going on. (Reuters/File Photo)



Refugee = Immigrant?

- International organizations (e.g. UNHCR 2016): “refugee” ≠ “immigrant”
- “immigrant”/“refugee” used interchangeably here
- This choice is purely *practical*:
 - Distinctions remain **unclear** to the **lay people** (also promoted by political actors).



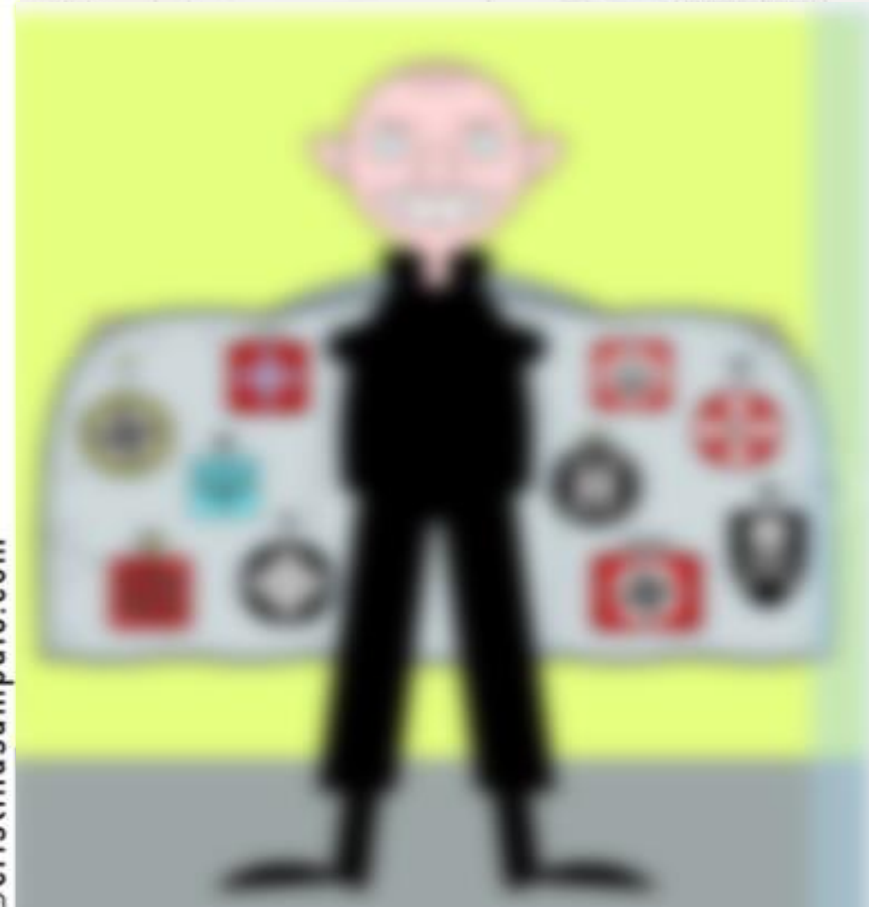
The **legal status** of these people remain unclear in some places (e.g. Syrians in Turkey)



Refugee or Migrant - word choice matters. © UNHCR

Defining “Far Right” Parties: Cas Mudde (1996)

- Term “far right” used for
 - academic
 - political purposes
- General agreement: Right-wing extremism → a type of **ideology**
- The **content** of this ideology → source of **major academic debate**



Defining “Far Right” Parties:



Far-right activists often participate in Poland's annual independence celebrations [Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska/Al Jazeera]

- Cas Mudde (1996)
- 26 definitions for right-wing extremist politics in the literature
- 58 distinct characteristics mentioned
- 5 characteristics stand out in at least half of the literature:
 - Nationalism
 - Racism
 - Xenophobia
 - Anti-democracy
 - Strong state

Defining “Far Right” Parties:



- (Cas Mudde 2016) Common characteristics are “**nativism, authoritarianism, and populism**”
- **Nativism:** targets immigrants/minorities
- (Carvalho 2014) Another common characteristic: **xenophobia**

Nativism: The idea that the interests of the native inhabitants in a setting precede those of outsiders (e.g. immigrants)

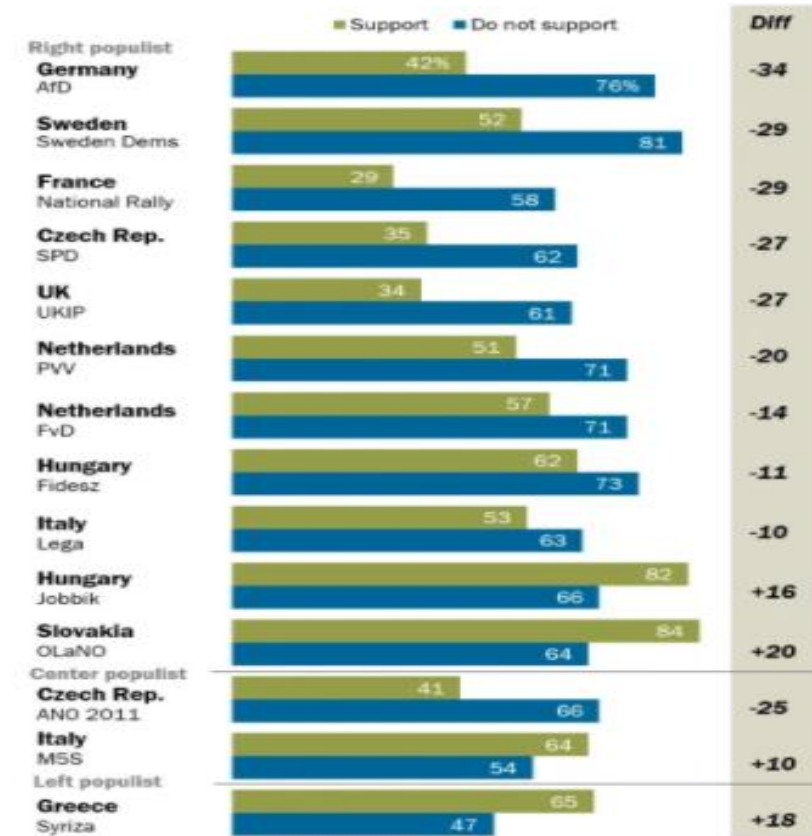
← We will be answering this lady’s question (well, sort of) a couple of slides later)



Pew Research Center Findings on Right-Wing Populist Parties in Europe (2019)

People with a favorable view of right-wing populist parties in Europe tend to be less happy with the EU

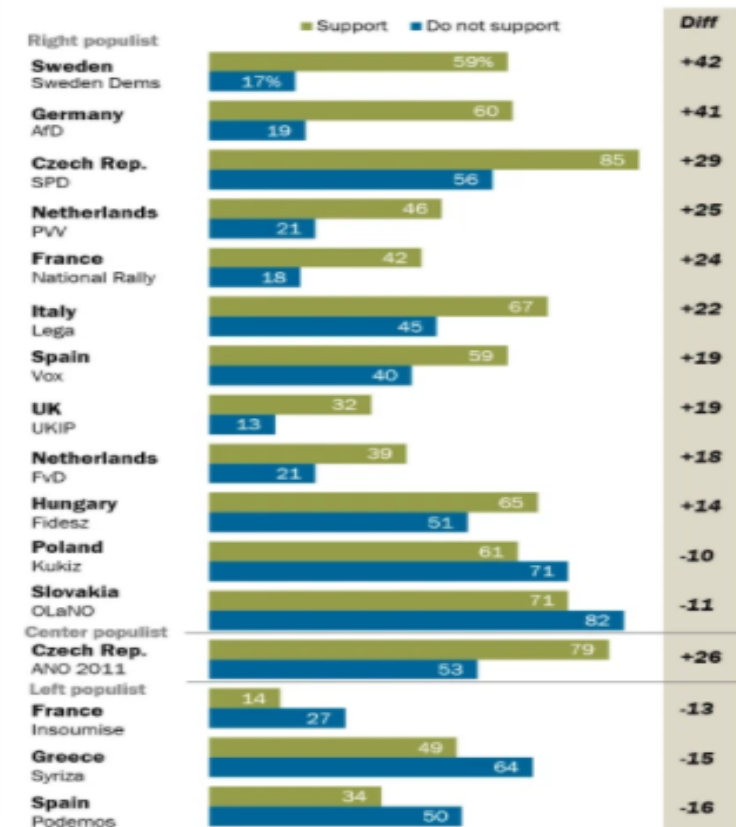
% who have a favorable opinion of the European Union among those who ...



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see "European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism," Appendix A. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey, Q8d.

Supporters of many European populist parties express more negative views of Muslims in their country

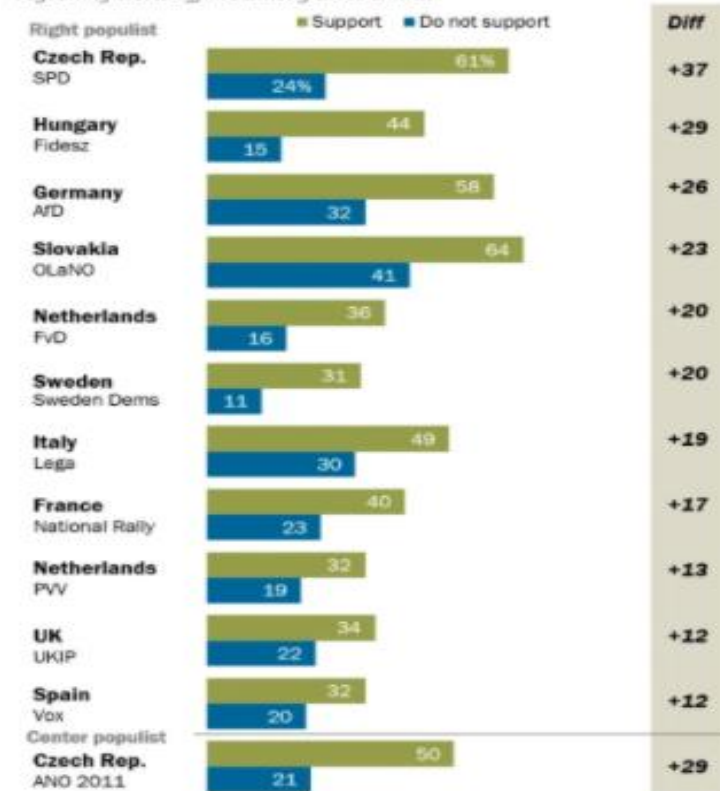
% who have an unfavorable opinion of Muslims in their country among those who ...



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see "European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism," Appendix A. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey, Q48c.

Backers of populist parties in Europe often express more confidence in Putin on world affairs

% who say they have confidence in Russian President Vladimir Putin regarding world affairs among those who ...



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see "European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism," Appendix A. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey, Q38c.



Defining Far Right Parties: An Exercise in Futility?

- **Debates on definitions:**
- **Ignazi (2003):** Earlier categorizations no longer hold. **Extreme right** and **fascist parties** require **separate categorization**
- **Van Spanje (2011):** Distinguish between **far right parties** and **anti-immigration parties** for *methodological accuracy*
- **Messina (2015):** Sub-categorizations are not **functional**, **loose definitions** are better/sufficient



Image source: "Is immigration fueling the rise of nativism in Europe?," 2012,
http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/World_News_3/article_8848.shtml

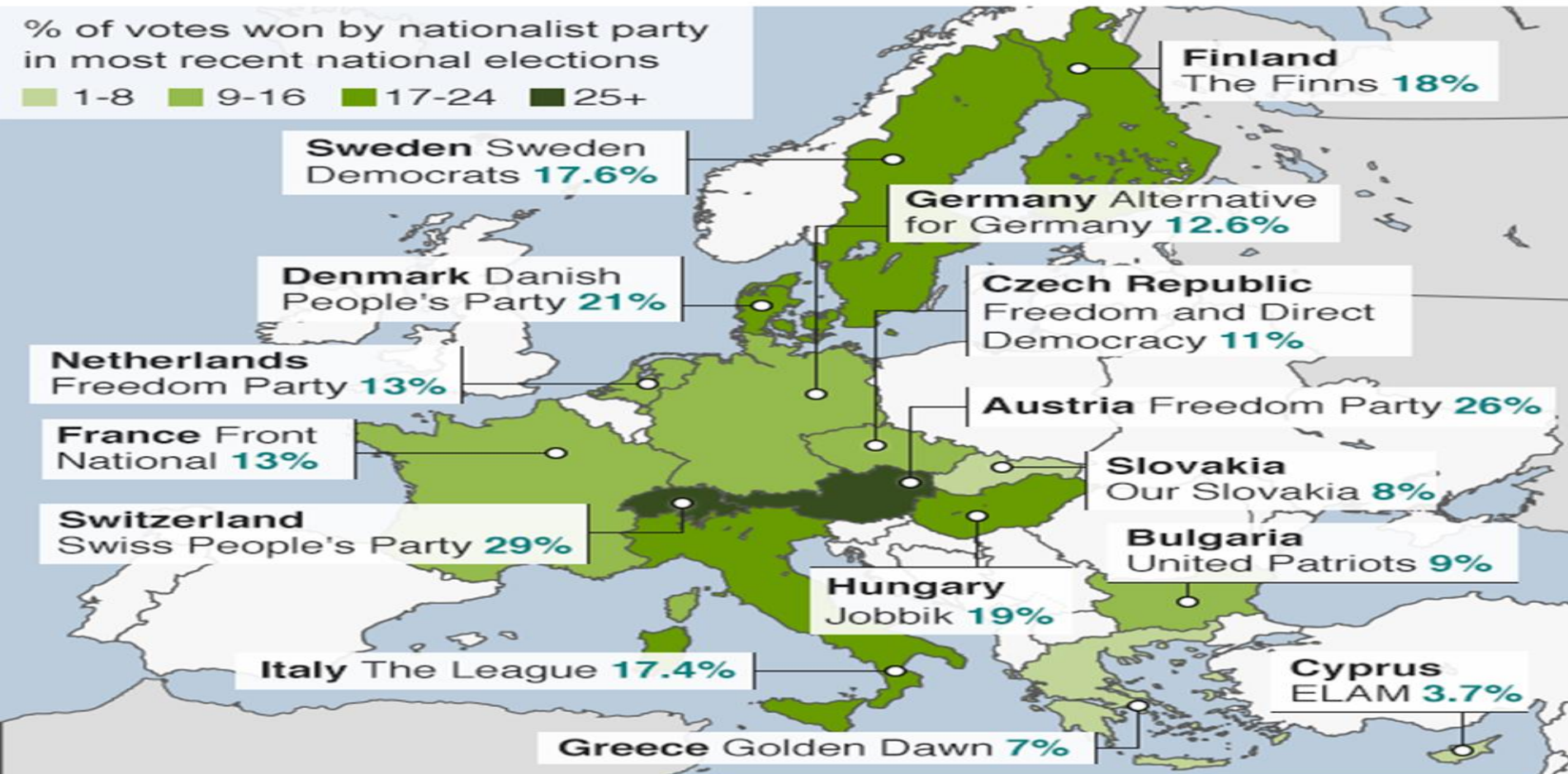
Far Right Parties in Europe: Here to stay?

- (1990-): 17 coalition governments (active participation/lending external backing to minority cabinets)
(Akkerman et al 2016; *New York Times*, 08 October 2019)
- **Far right parties:** Permanent players of the European political scene (Bale 2003; Ignazi 2003; Lutz 2019)
 - pose the **greatest risk to European democracies** (Mudde 2016; Mudde 2019; Minkenberg 2017)



Rise of nationalism in Europe: an overview

Rise of nationalism in Europe



In many countries nationalists got higher scores in European Parliament elections and opinion polls

Last updated: September 2018

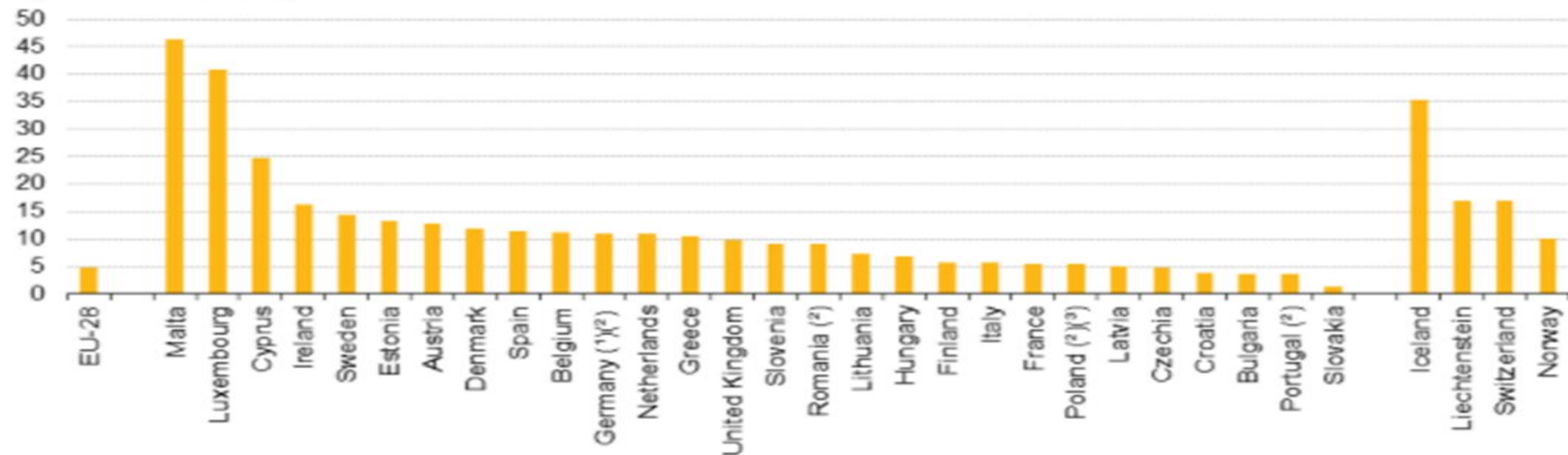
BBC

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“Immigration to EU countries: 4.4 million in 2017,” *Eurostat*

Immigrants, 2017
(per 1 000 inhabitants)



Source: “Immigration to EU countries: 4.4 million in 2017,” *Eurostat*,
<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/DDN-20190321-1>

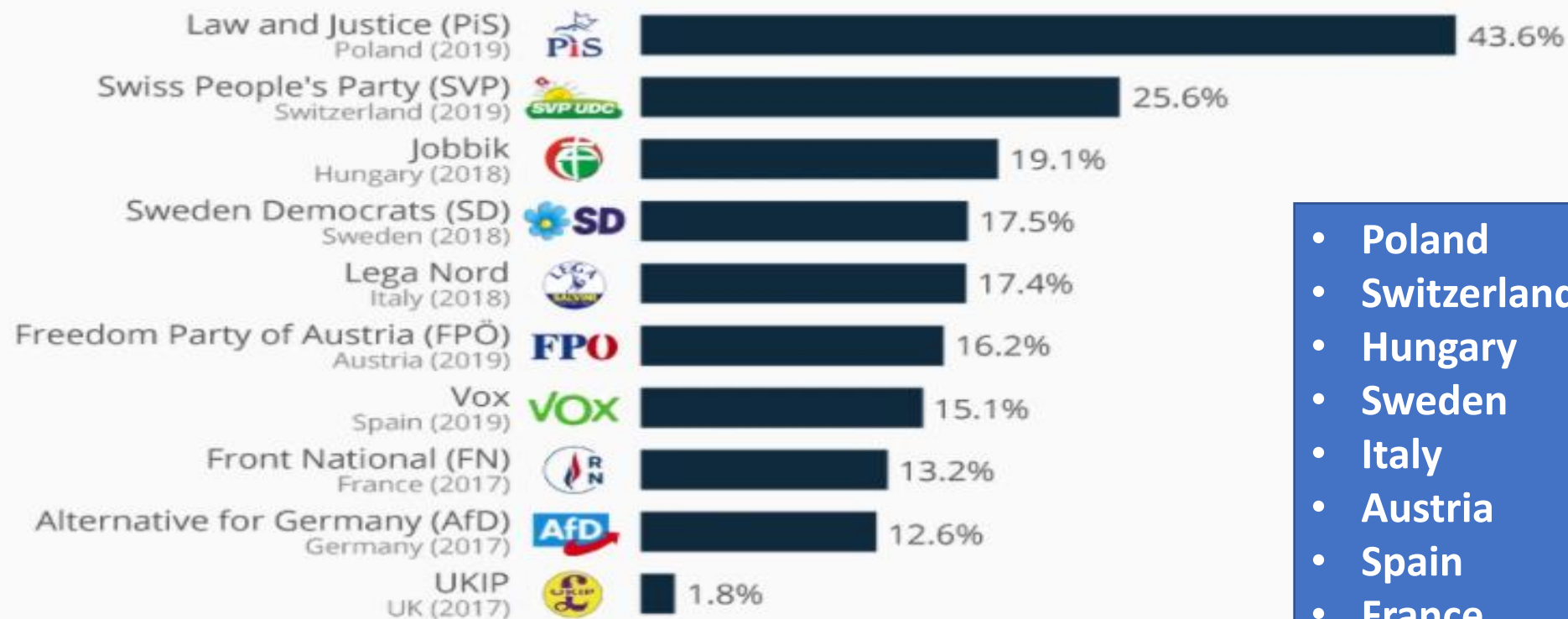
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"Where Have Far-Right Parties Had Most Success in Europe?"

Where Have Far-Right Parties Had Most Success in Europe?

Most recent national election results* of far-right parties in selected European countries



- Poland
- Switzerland
- Hungary
- Sweden
- Italy
- Austria
- Spain
- France
- Germany
- UK

Source: Statista, 25 November 2019,
<https://www.statista.com/chart/20094/national-election-success-of-far-right-parties-europe/>

Dennison and Geddes (2018): “Anti-immigration parties in fifteen western European countries (2005-2018)”

Source: James Dennison and Andrew Geddes, “A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western Europe” *The Political Quarterly*, 2018.

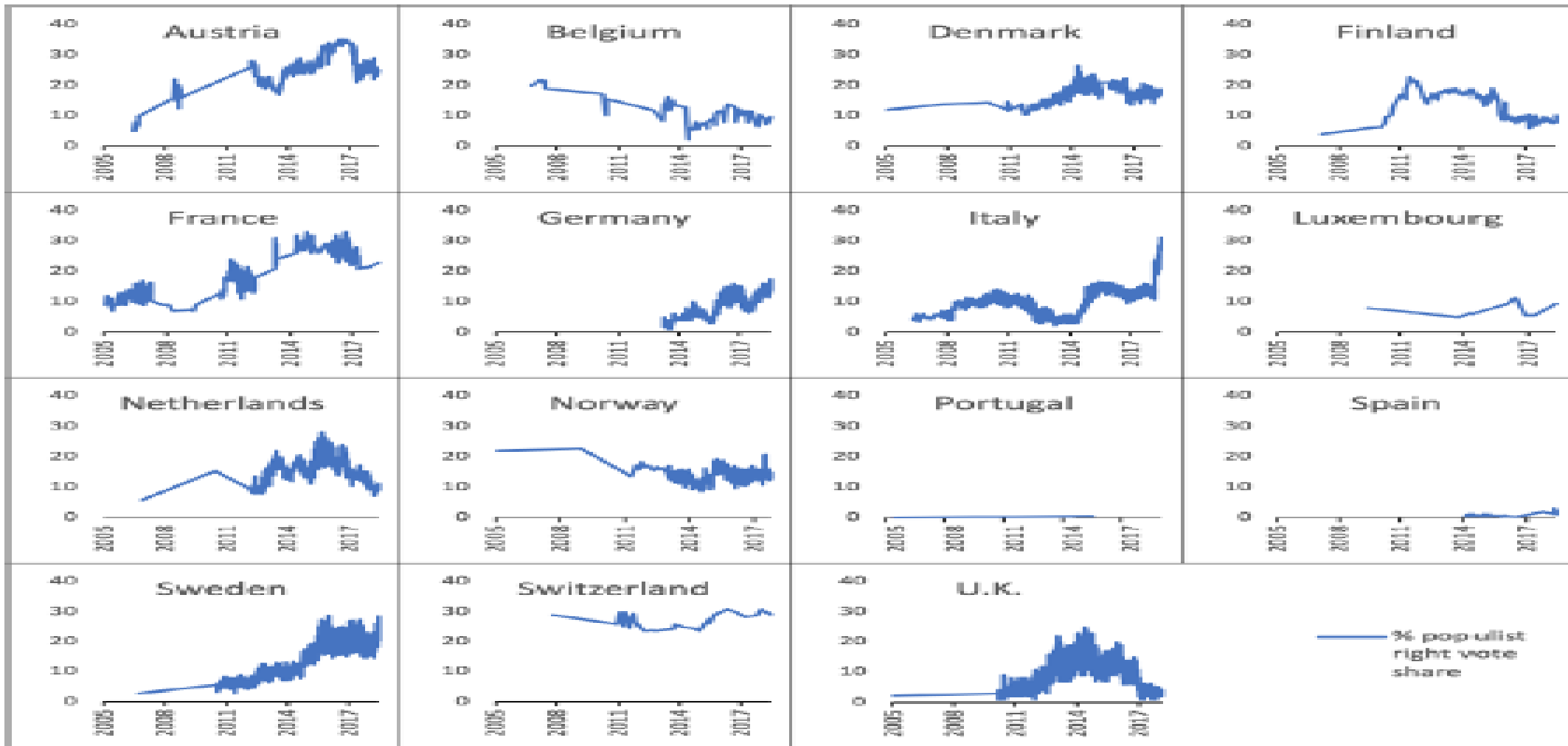


Figure 1: Polling for anti-immigration parties in fifteen western European countries, January 2005 to June 2018

Who votes for far right parties?

- **Interesting fact: Gender gap**—a chronic problem for far right parties
- **Paradox: prominent far right party female leaders**
 - E.g. Pia Kjaersgard (Denmark), Marine Le Pen (France)
- (Mudde 2016): Little information on the impact of women in far right politics



Image: The Guardian

Left: Alice Weidel (Germany)
Middle: Marine Le Pen (France)
Right: Giorgia Meloni (Italy)



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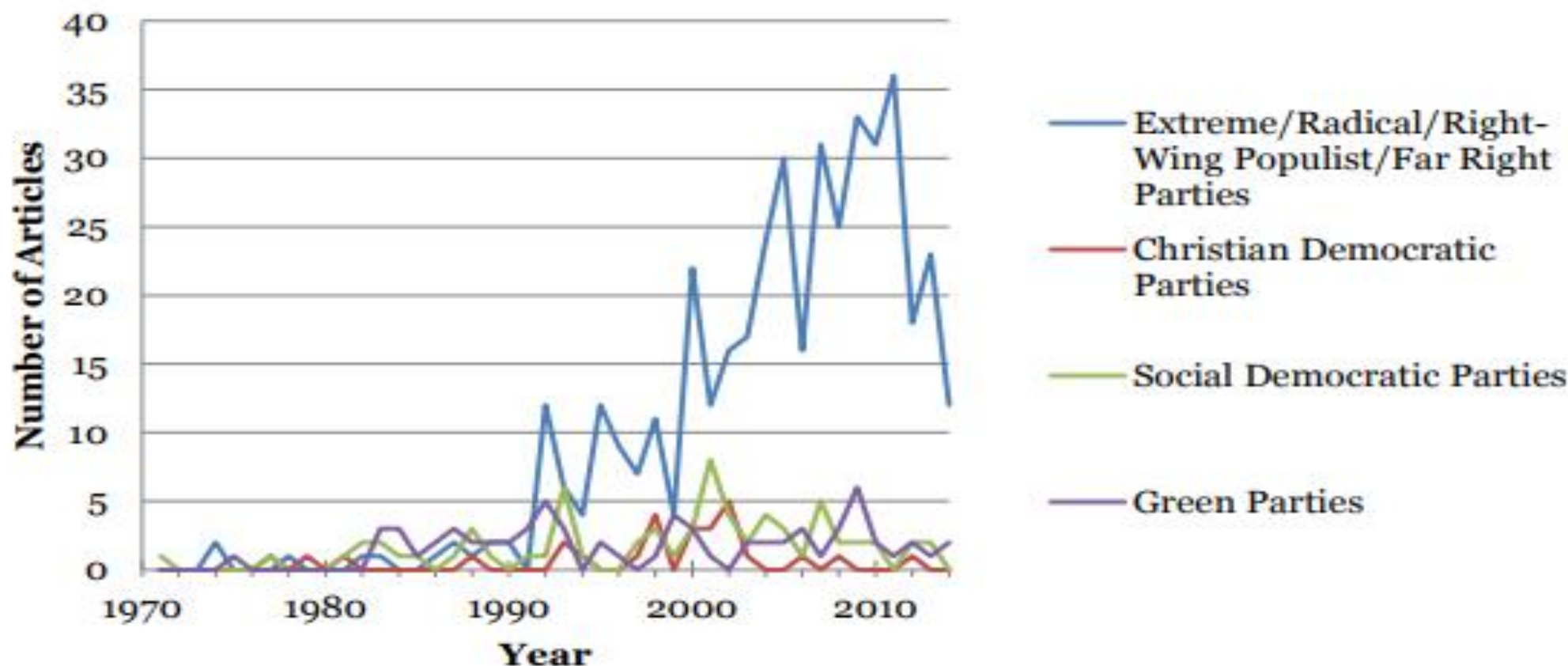


Cas Mudde: Defining Far right parties

- **Fact: More studies** exist on far right parties than **any other party families** (Cas Mudde 2016)
- (The terms far right, extreme right, extremist political parties are used **interchangeably**) → **populism**
 - Some scholars argue that **nuances** exist between these terms (von Beyme 2007)
- Right wing extremist parties in Europe: **not a new phenomenon**
- Rise and retreat in **waves** (Mudde 1996)



Literature on Far Right Parties: An Overview



Source: Cas Mudde, "The Study of Populist Radical Right Parties: Towards a Fourth Wave," C-REX Working Paper Series, no. 1, 2016

Figure 1: Articles on four party families over time

Cas Mudde: Defining Far right parties (2016)

- **Wave #1:
(1945-1980)**

- Historians prevail
- General focus: “historical and descriptive”
- Focus: movements prior to WW2 and after WW2

- **Wave #2: (1980-2000)**

- Social sciences prevail
- Modernization theories prominent (late 1980s) literature produced in USA on “radical right” (1960s works)

Research Question: Explain the success of far right parties in democracies

- Exclusive concentration on the “demand-side” of far right politics

Far right party: the dependent variable

Result: Literature with a lot of “problematic secondary data”



Cas Mudde: Defining Far right parties (2016)

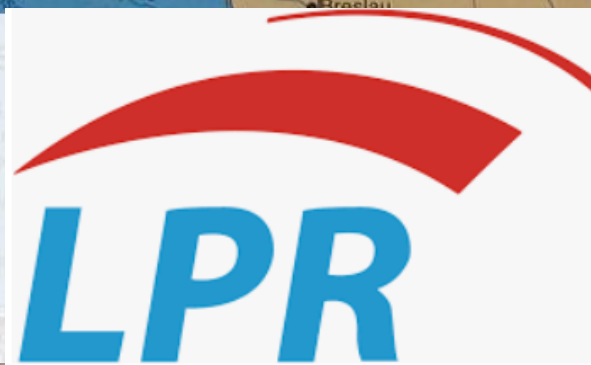
- Wave #3: (1980-2000)
- Focus: “supply-side” of far right politics
- Research question: Explain electoral outcomes (successes) *and* their aftermath
- Result: Far right parties as **dependent** and **independent** variables
- No longer a **marginal** topic examined by **eccentrics**
- Studies on far right parties dominate studies on party families





Mapping the literature on far right parties (Mudde) 2016)

- Country focus: the leading West European states
- Less information on the more successful FR parties (e.g. Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland) than those in the UK, Germany
- New studies on **Central and Eastern Europe** focus on
 - The Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)
 - The Slovak National Party (SNS),
 - Ataka Party (Bulgaria)
 - The League of Polish Families (LPR) (Poland)



Jobbik



Ataka

Mapping the literature on far right parties (Mudde) 2016)

- Studying **Balkans, East Europe** problematic: **rollercoaster party performance**
- E.g. the LPR in Poland:
 - became a governmental party
 - Then left outside the parliament in a relatively short time
- Limited focus** (Third Wave studies on FR parties):
 - Immigration**
 - Ethnic minorities**
 - European integration**

SRS: Serbian Radical Party
HSP: Croatian Party of Rights
BK: National Front (Albania)
SRS CG: Serbian Radical Party
VMRO-NP: VMRO-People's Party (Macedonia)
VMRO: Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
Ataka: Attack (Bulgaria)
PRM: Greater Romania Party

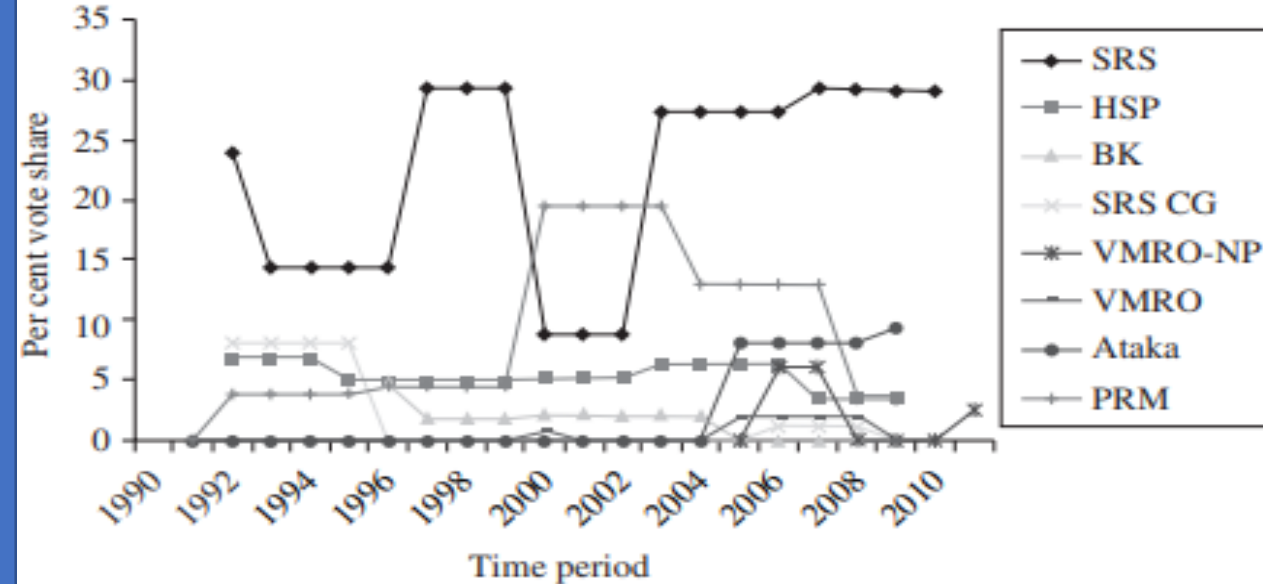


Figure 4.1 Percentage vote share of Far Right parliamentary political parties in the Balkans since 2000. (Data retrieved from the Adam Carr Archive and Šedo 2007 and rounded upwards. Data for 1992 Croatia related to the proportion of votes won, while data for the 1997 Albanian elections relates to the total per cent (both the proportional and majority components) of seats for the party)

Věra Stojarová, *The Far Right in the Balkans*, University of Manchester Press, 2013, p.40

Data and Methods on Far Right Parties Literature (Mudde 2016)

- **Wave #1, Wave #2:** mostly **qualitative, descriptive** methods; most **lack clear research design**
- **Wave #3:** Literature on far right political parties **dominate** the field on party studies
 - Number of **quantitative studies** with **secondary data** spiked
- *Prominent datasets on parties:*
- **Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP):** secondary data
 - Election manifestos, policy priorities
- **The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES):**
 - Country specialist surveys

Qualitative methods: rare, but useful for original findings



Forthcoming in 2021: C-Rex Center for Research on Extremism (Uni of Oslo)

Leading theories on far right parties:

- **Modernization theories** still prevail
- **Globalization:** common factor used for Western Europe
- **Transformation:** common factor used for Eastern Europe
- Most studies: large-n, use hypotheses
- **Economic crisis as a factor remains understudied**



Economic crisis and the Nazis in Greece.
Cartoon by Carlos Latuff (used with permission) first appeared on Brazilian OperaMundi [pt].

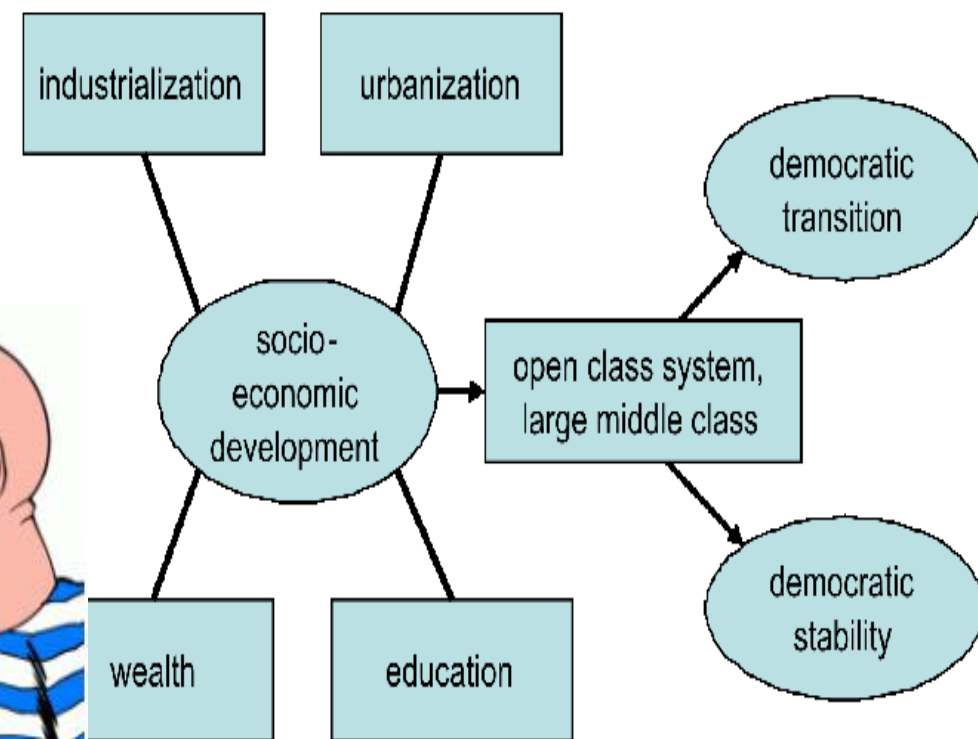


Figure 1: Modernization Theory according to Lipset

Image source: Veroniki Bacharidi-Krikoni "Cartoon: Economic Crisis and the Nazis in Greece," 2012

Impact of far right parties on immigration debates in Europe

- **Far Right Parties**

- overall increase in far right speeches and **politicization of immigration** in Europe
- tightening policies on immigration and asylum in Europe
- Increase votes cast for extreme views
- exacerbate xenophobia (Mudde 2015)

Fringe parties triumph in E.U. elections

28 May 2014



Tags: Crisis, Demonstrations, Elections, Europe, Far Right, Parliament

© Chappatte In The International New York Times

Politicization of immigration: theoretical explanation

politicization: (Hochberg 2019)

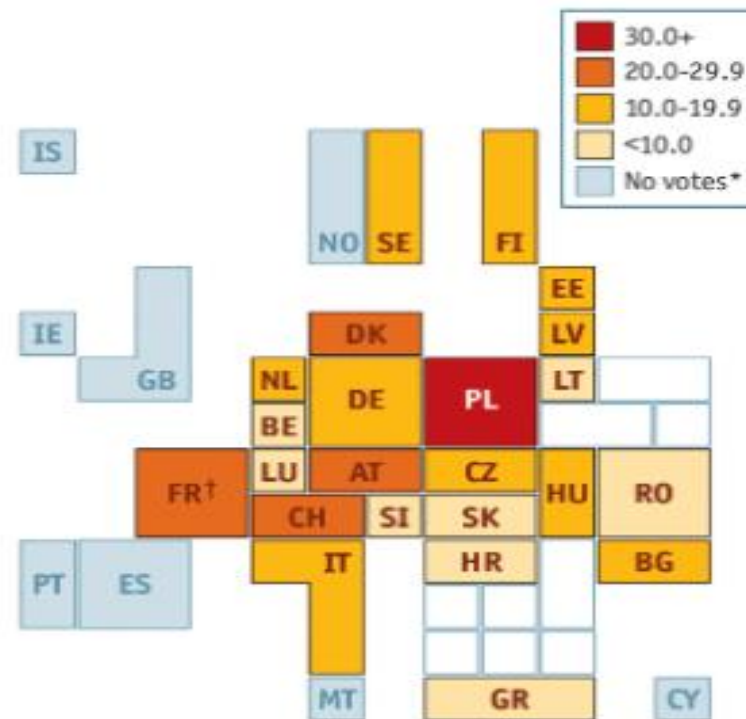
Apolitical/politically neutral issue → contentious/controversial

Image source: "Right-wing anti-immigrant parties continue to receive support in Europe," The Economist, 10 Sep 2018, <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2018/09/10/right-wing-anti-immigrant-parties-continue-to-receive-support-in-europe>

Populist sentiment

Support for right-wing populist parties, selected

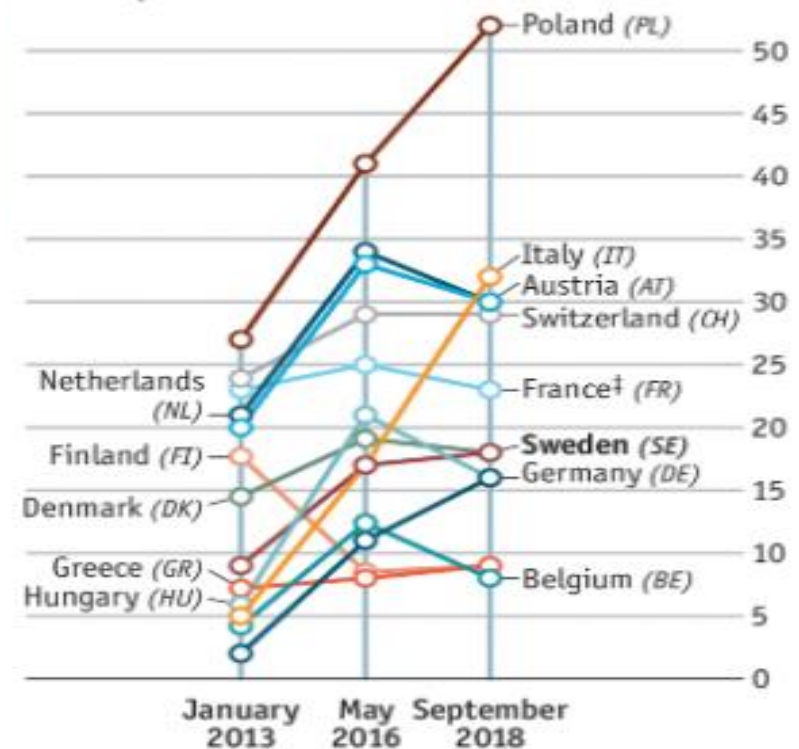
% of votes won by nationalist parties
Most recent national election



Sources: ParlGov; PollofPolls.eu; The Economist

The Economist

Voting intention, selected countries
% of respondents



*Or very low vote share †% with positive sentiment towards
†Presidential election, first round

A theory of politicization process (Van der Brug et al 2015)

- **Process of politicization of immigration: Four possible paths**
- **top-down process:** state institutions/official organizations → society
- **bottom-up process:** the grassroots movements/civil society → policymakers.
- **Further dimension:** structure or agents (e.g. political parties, social elites or civil society)

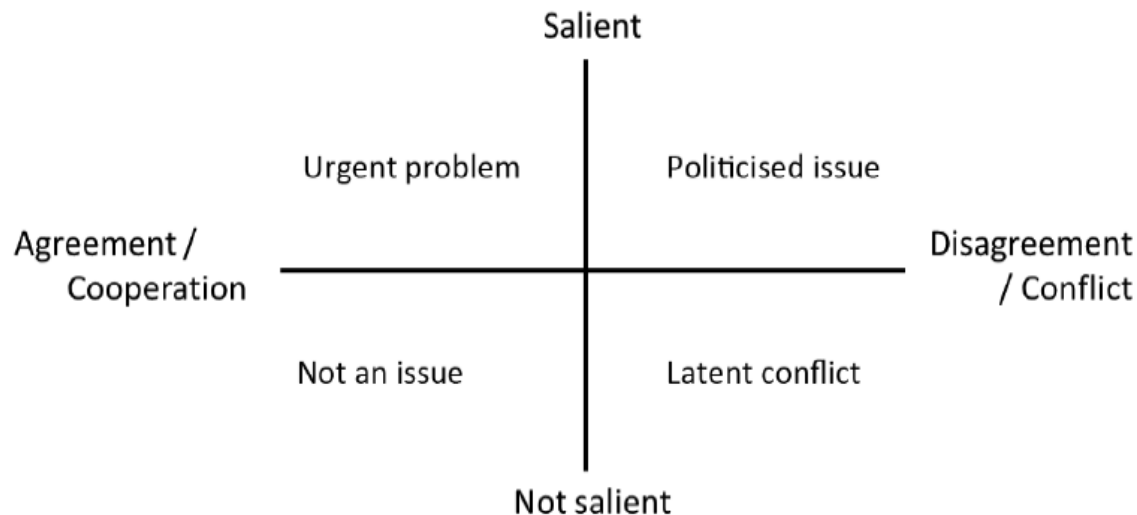


TABLE 1.1 Typology of four types of explanations for politicisation

	Structure	Agency
Initially top down	Political opportunity structure	Initiatives by authorities (e.g. established parties)
Initially bottom up	Societal developments	Actions of specific groups (e.g. new parties, civil society)
Triggering events		

Key issues: Immigration and integration

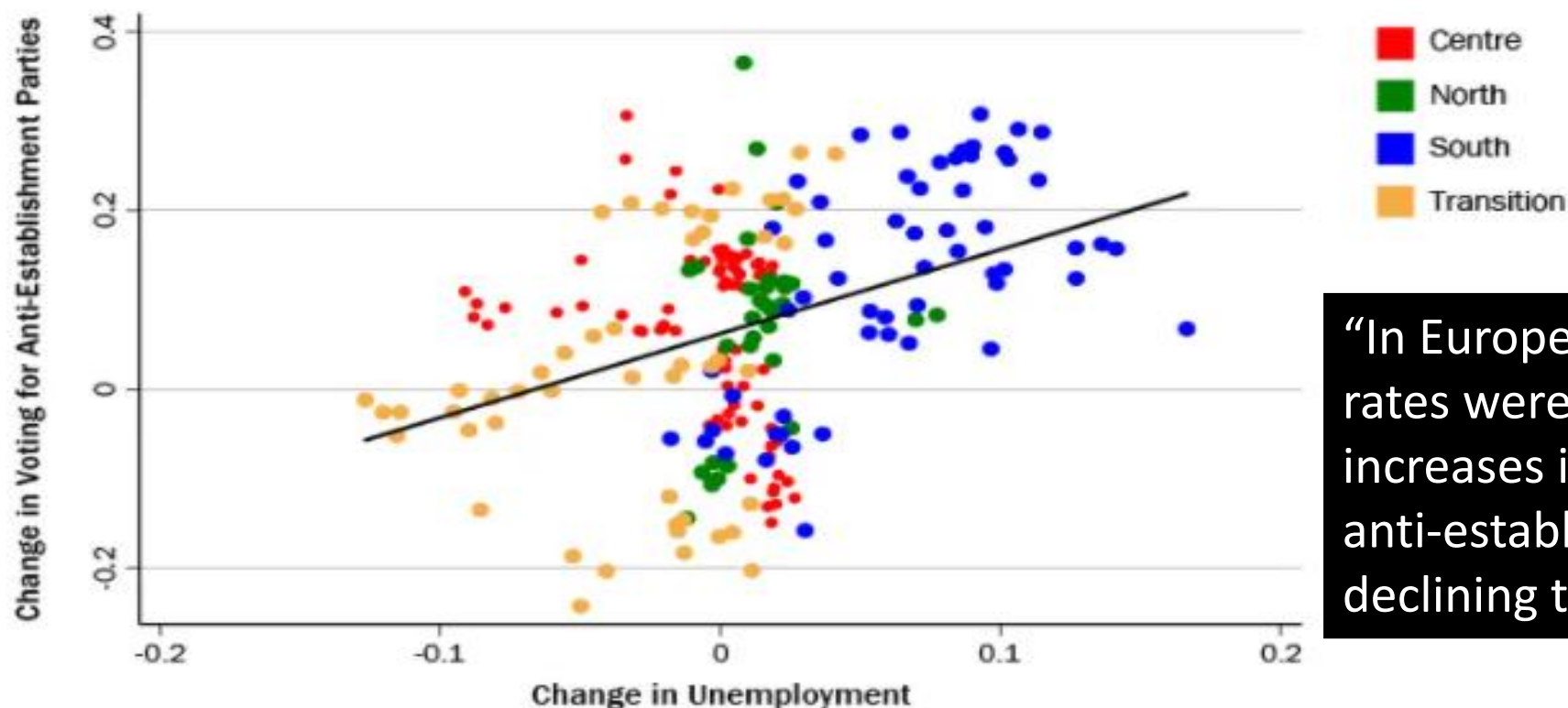


- The impact of recent immigration waves on **the European voting behavior**:
- **(Dinas et al 2019): Positive link** between the **exposure to immigrants** and tendency to **vote for far right parties**
- **(Alonso and Fonseca 2012)**: Far right parties may not be that influential on the voting behavior of people for center-right parties regarding immigration
- **(Steinmayr 2017)** Immigrant-voter **exposure** and **duration** affects the outcome (e.g. Austria)
- **(Steinmayr 2016): Exposure to refugees in Austria** has an impact on the “support for far-right, nationalist, anti-immigration parties”
- Findings: Exposure to refugees decreases the support for the extremist party (FPOE, Freedom Party of Austria) by 4.42%.

Interesting tidbit: Steinmayr (2017) also found that those votes lost by FPOE ended in a center-right conservative party ÖVP (Austrian People's Party)

Voting for anti-establishment parties and change in total unemployment (2000-2017)

Change in voting for anti-establishment parties and change in total unemployment
Before (2000-2008) and after the European Crisis (2009-2017)

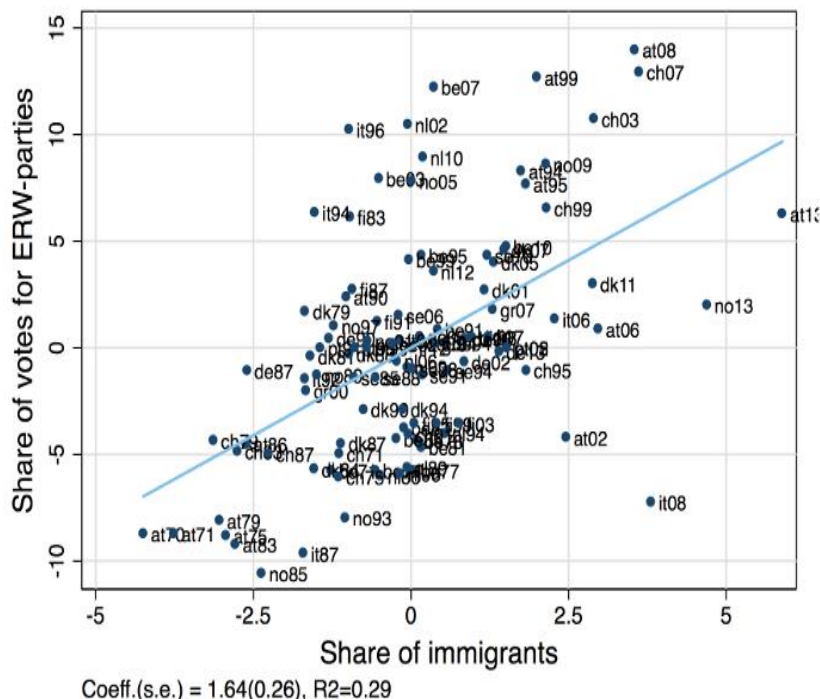


Source: “6 things to know about rising anti-establishment politics in the US and Europe,” *Brookings Institute*

“In Europe, increases in unemployment rates were closely correlated with increases in both support for populist or anti-establishment parties, and with declining trust in political institutions.”



Figure 1. Correlation between election success of far-right parties and immigration



“[T]he proximity of **low- and medium-skilled immigrants** causes Austrian voters to turn to the far right. By contrast, **high-skilled immigration** either has an insignificant or a negative effect on FPÖ votes.”

Martin Halla, Alexander Wagner, Josef Zweimüller (2015)

- Geographic proximity
- Type of immigration
- Total number of immigrants

Voting for far right parties

Voters care about negative effects of immigration on the **labor market** and its effects on the **value of their neighborhood**.

“In communities with larger immigration influx, Austrian children commute longer distances to school, and fewer daycare resources are provided. We do not find evidence that Austrians move out of communities with increasing immigrant presence.”

- Carvalho (2014): Comparative study on British, French and Italian governments during the 2000s
 - Far right parties can have a **measurable impact** on the **policy formation** on immigration
- Minkenberg (2001): Entering the parliament does not yield sharp policy effects, but far right parties have a measurable impact on **cultural policies** of their countries

Mainstream parties: As “innocent” as they seem?



Hint: I will discuss this issue next ;)

Do far right parties monopolize the ability to politicize immigration?

- **Bale (2003):** Far right parties have an **indirect but long-term effect** on the party systems
- Far right parties affect the political opportunity structure for European mainstream parties
- **Center-right parties utilized these new structures and these parties to gain majority**
- **Center parties:** selective utilization of far right themes → legitimization of issues supported by far right parties, increase their importance and seats in the right bloc.
- Once in power, center-right parties have adopted an uncompromising stance on immigration

Do far right parties monopolize the ability to politicize immigration?

- **Grande et al (2019)** Far right parties do not always monopolize the politicization process of immigration
- Center parties can also affect the politicization of immigration process
- **Akkerman (2012)** *Visible policy differences* between *center-left/center leaning governments* and governments with *far right* parties. *But they are not that different from center-right leaning governments*

Far right parties and the voter perceptions: Is there a link?

- Impact of far right parties and authorities and the perception of voters toward immigration and integration
- **Hellwig and Kweon (2016):** **Elites** affect the popular views on immigration (Western Europe)
- Elite influence on people with **better education** on **complex issues** (e.g. immigration)



Image source: "Europe's diminished far right still poses a threat," *Financial Times*, 23 May 2019

Far right parties and the voter perceptions: Is there a link?



GETTY IMAGES

Vrânceanu and Lachat (2018) Longitudinal study
Party positions on immigration influence the attitude of voters

Harteveld et al (2017) Voters are influenced by their parties (the Netherlands, Sweden)

Voters support anti/pro-immigration parties → radicalization of immigration debates for parties → increasing polarization in European societies

Far right parties and the voter perceptions: Is there a link?

- **(Triviño-Salazar 2018)** Pivotal role of local administrations in the management and politicization of immigrants
- **(Betts et al 2017):** Local administrations/actors (e.g. mayors) act as ultimate arbiters to mobilize or refrain their limited resources within the general frame drawn at the capital toward immigrants.
- (Local level): identities, ideologies, the perception of costs/benefits affect the outcome

The future of studies on far right parties: quo vadis?

- Remaining gaps in the literature: (Mudde 2016)
- The ideology, leaders, members, and organizations of several important parties used in large-N cross-national studies (e.g. the Danish People's Party (DF), The Finns (PS), the Progress Party (FrP) in Norway, the Swiss People's Party (SVP)) deserve further study
- Most parties remain understudied, including relatively new parties like
 - the Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE)
 - the Patriotic Front (Bulgaria)
 - (former) governing parties (e.g. the National Alliance (NA) in Latvia)

The future of studies on far right parties: quo vadis?



Thank you

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