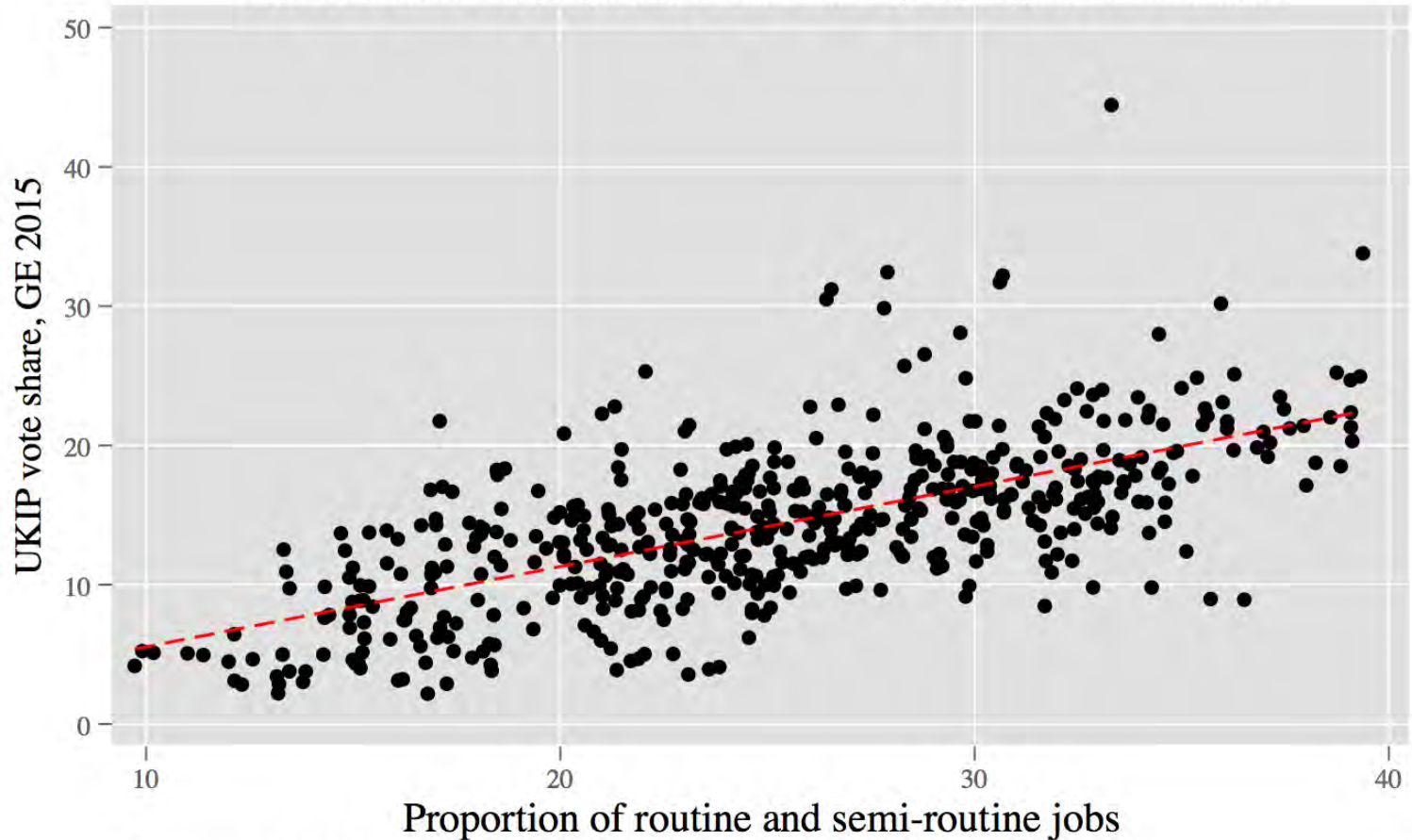


# Right-Wing Populism in Europe and the Battle for the Working Class



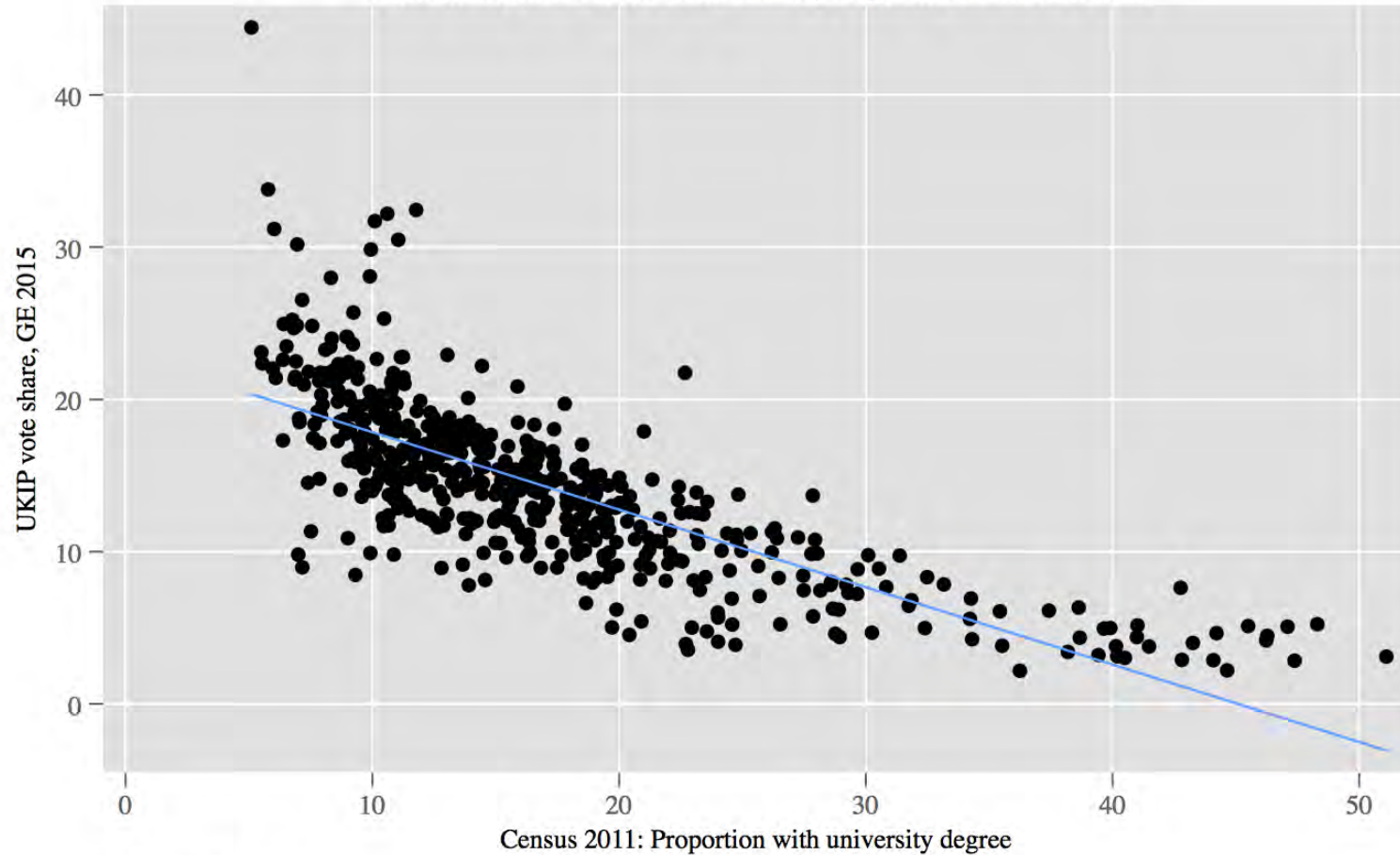
Dr Alexandre Afonso  
Leiden University, The Netherlands  
Fafo Conference, Oslo, 23.3.2017

# UKIP vote share and proportion of low-skilled jobs, English constituencies



R-square: 0.42

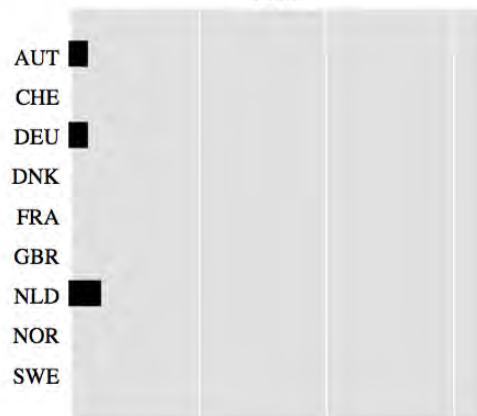
## Education and UKIP vote share, English constituencies



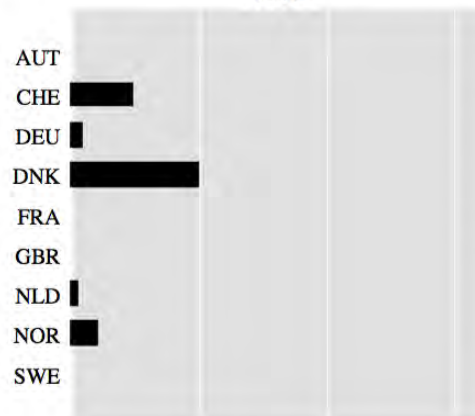
R-square: 0.57

# The Rise of the Radical Right and the Decline of Social Democracy

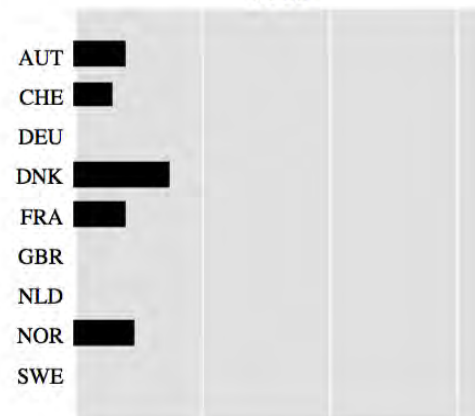
1960



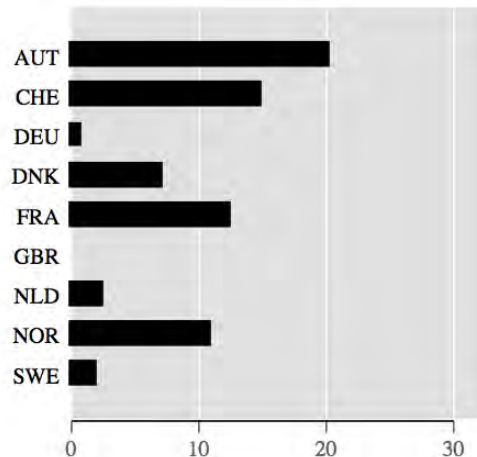
1970



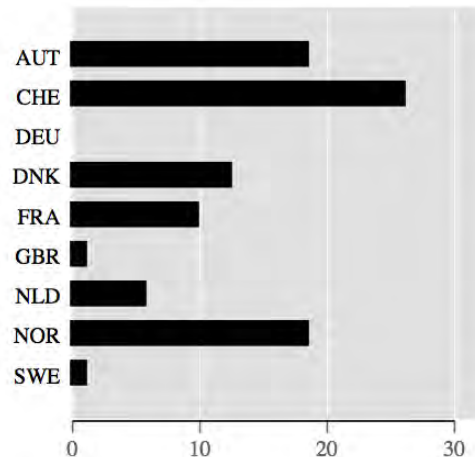
1980



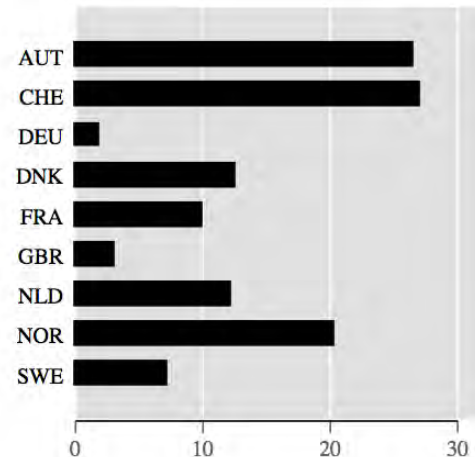
1990



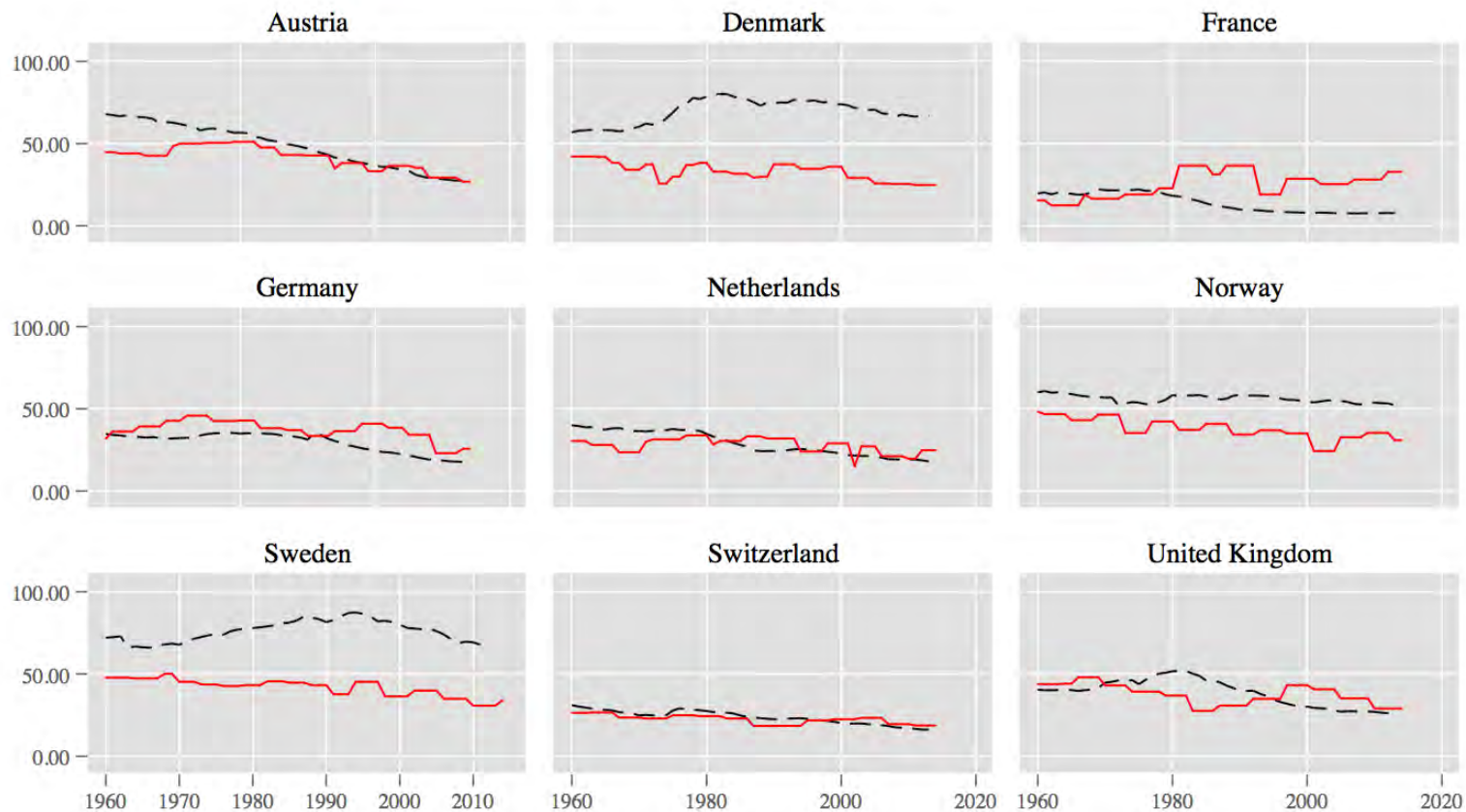
2000



2010

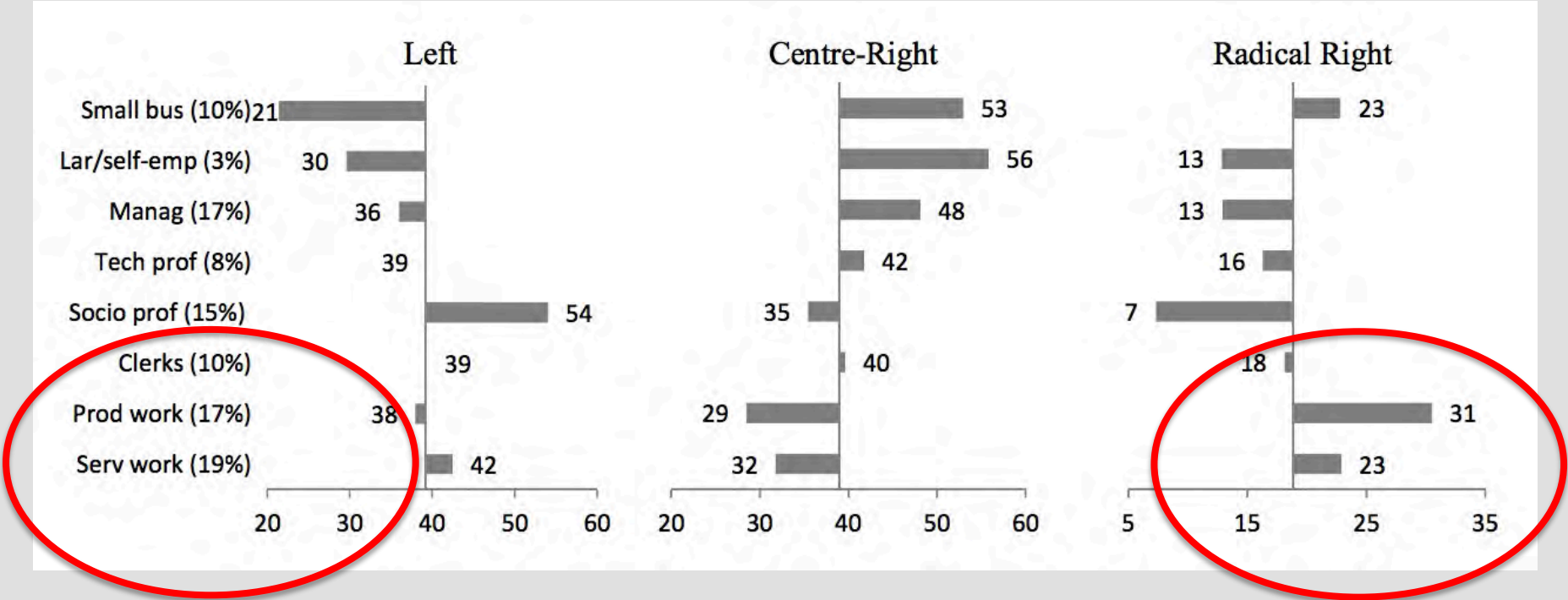


-- Union density (net union membership as % of employees)  
— Electoral share of social democratic/left parties



# The Battle for the Working Class

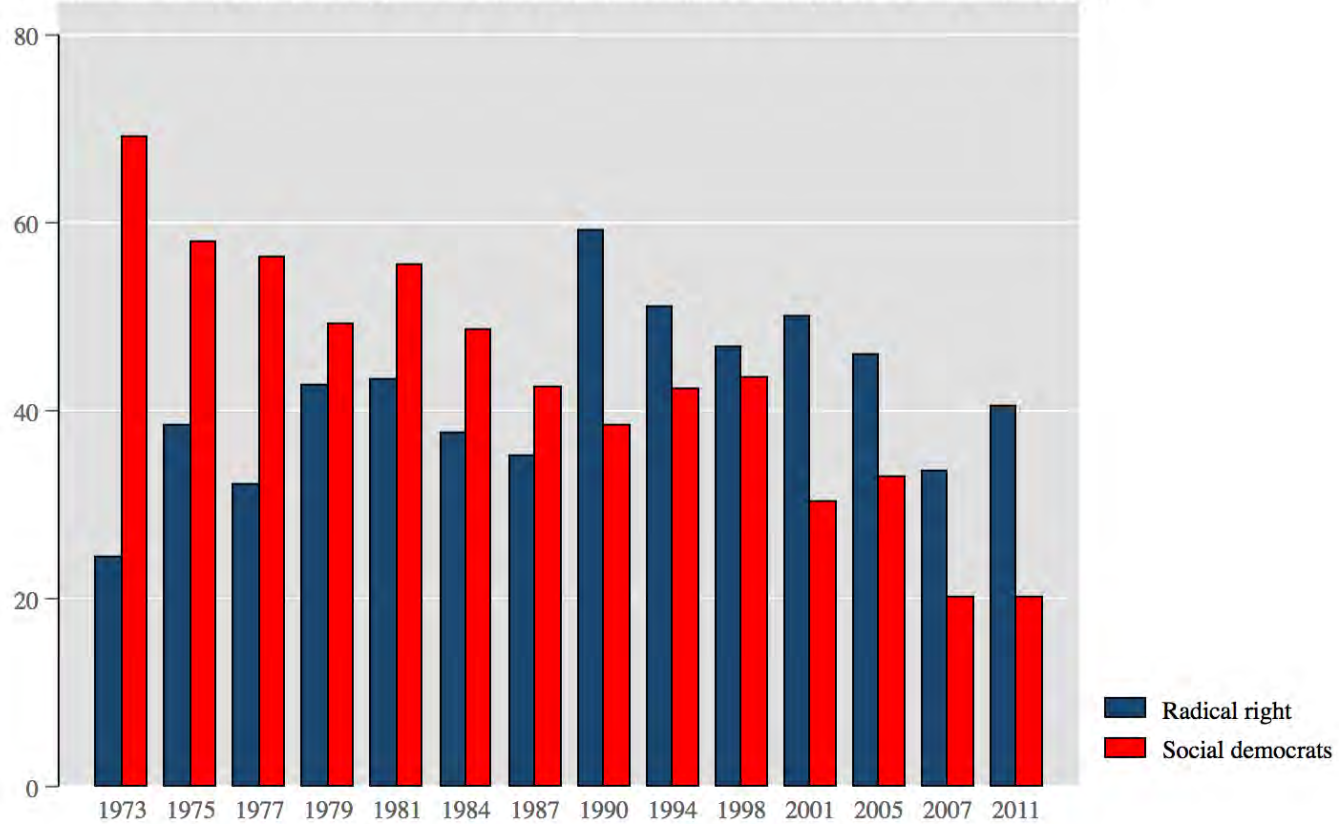
# Class support for left, centre right and radical right parties



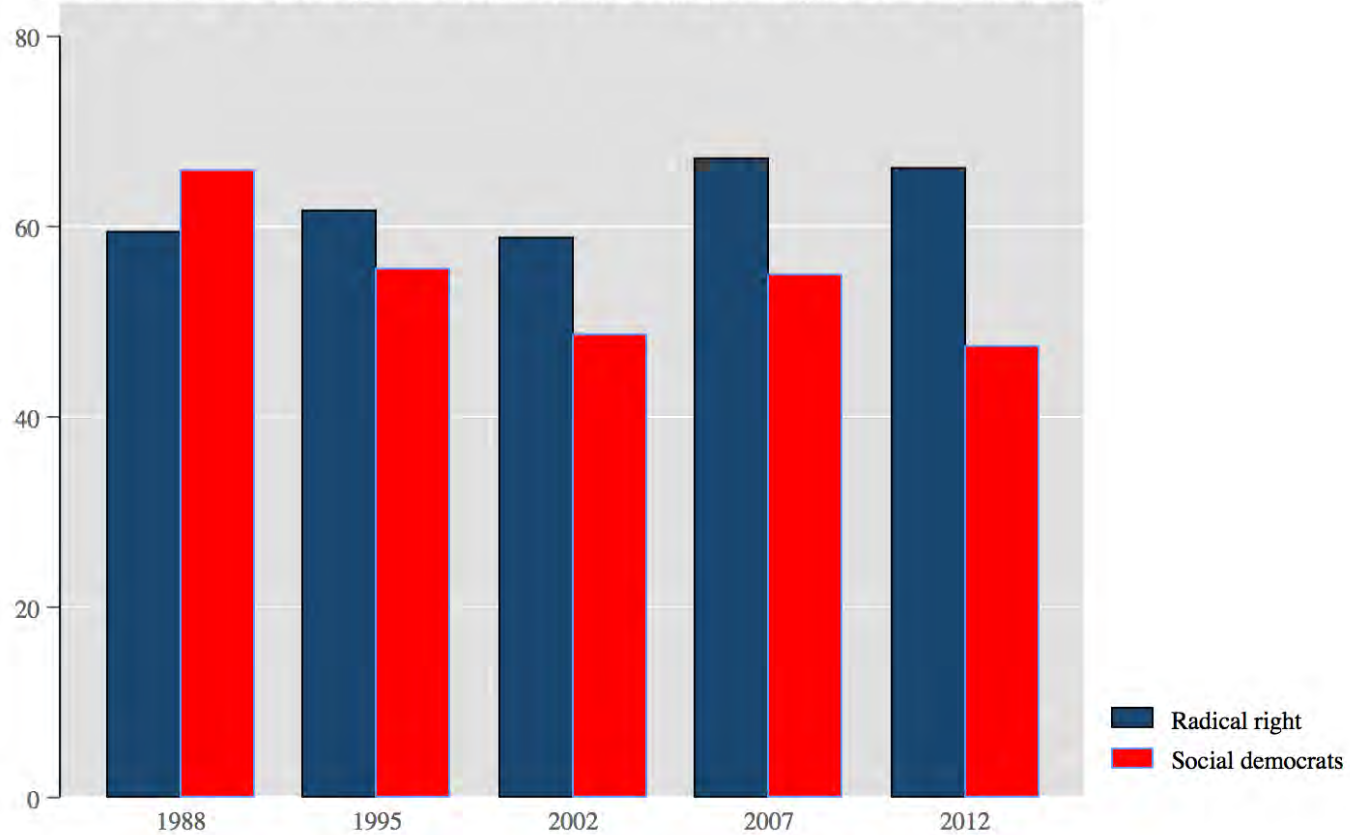
Source: Rennwald & Oesch 2017



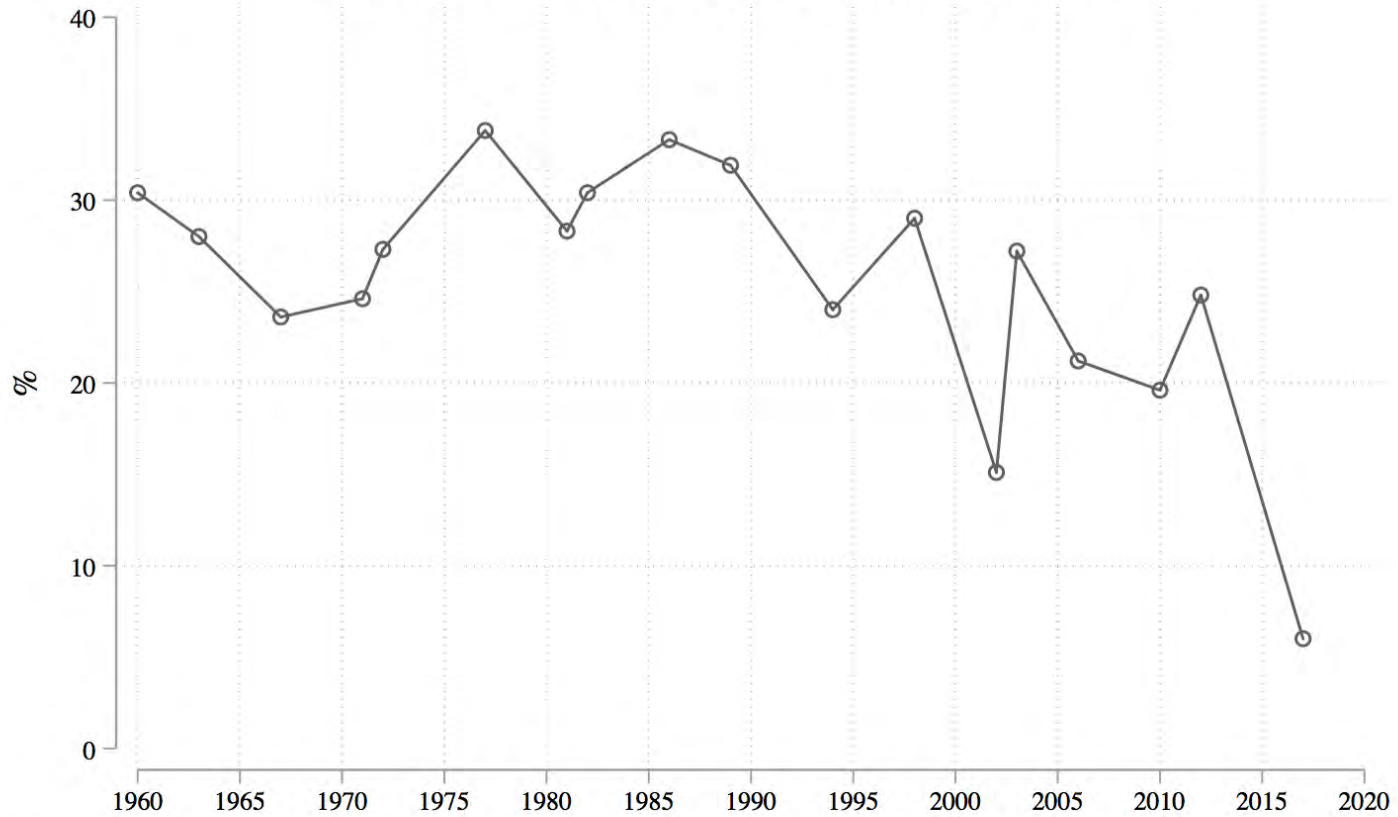
Denmark: Share of working-class voters in electorate of left parties and radical right



France: Share of working-class voters in electorate of left parties and radical right



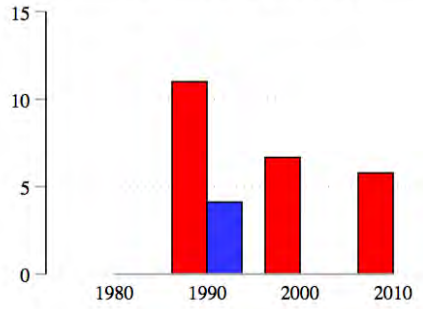
Electoral share of Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), 1960-2017



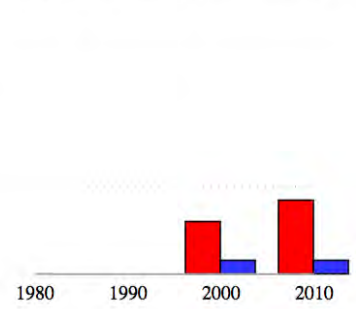
Source: Comparative Political Dataset; 2017 exit poll

### 3. New Working Class Parties?

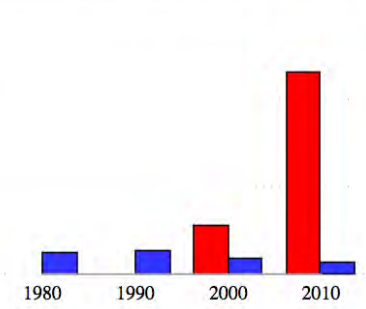
**Danish People's Party**



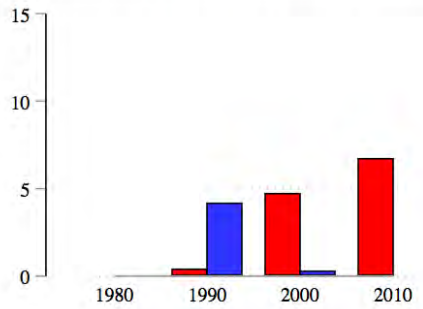
**Party of Freedom (Netherlands)**



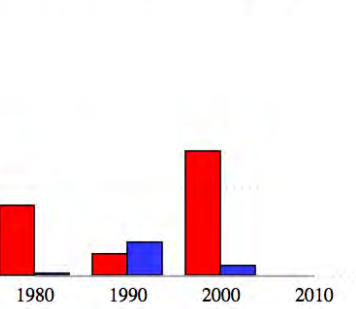
**Front National**



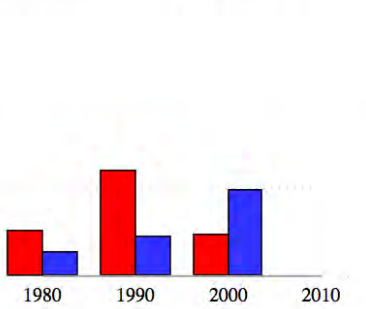
**Northern League (Italy)**



**Austrian Freedom Party**



**Swiss People's Party**



**Red** Number of manifesto statements for welfare expansion  
**Blue** Number of manifesto statements for welfare retrenchment

# Discourse

- Critique of (EU) ultraliberalism
- Defence of health & pension spending
- Strong State to fight inequalities (Le Pen)
- Against increase in retirement age (Wilders)

# Action

- Dismantlement of collective bargaining (Wilders)
- Suppression of union monopoly in bargaining (Le Pen)
- Support for Deregulation (FPö)
- → electoral costs

# Social democracy vs. National protectionism