

The Changing Welfare State Agenda of Radical Right Parties in Europe

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Abstract

The chapter explores the importance of the welfare state as a political issue for radical right parties, a party family that is usually considered to mobilize their voters on cultural issues such as immigration, rather than socio-economic issues such as welfare. Since their constituency has become increasingly working-class, a constituency traditionally supportive of welfare programmes, understanding how radical right parties position themselves on this issue is important. Afonso and Rennevald consider the role of the class setup of parties, party competition and issue salience as possible determinants of welfare state positions. Coalition considerations forces right-wing populist parties to take a clearer stance towards the welfare state, either because they wish to depart from their image as single-issue parties in an attempt to normalize their image, or to increase their attractiveness as coalition partners. Based on an analysis of voter profiles and the economic agendas of right-wing populist parties in recent years, they find that the welfare state tends to gain in importance for a number of right-wing populist parties, and their electorate has become increasingly working class. Yet, there is no mechanistic relationship between voter profiles and the welfare position of parties. Salience is an important determinant in their agenda: the more prominent redistribution is in their agenda, the more left-wing they are. This relationship cannot be observed for other right-wing parties.

1. Introduction

While the left generally stands for state redistribution and the right generally stands for lower taxes, it is difficult to say what the radical right really stands for in the domain of welfare and redistribution. While other party families based on longstanding cleavages usually display a fair degree of consistency in their socio-economic policy positioning, the radical right party family seems to display a much greater degree of variation across countries and across time. Indeed, the economic policies of radical right parties have spanned from libertarian to socialist, with different shades of welfare chauvinism in-between. The objective of this chapter is to assess the socio-economic positioning of radical right parties and to examine the determinants of their turn towards more pro-welfare state positions. We shed light on this mechanism by looking at the composition of their electorate, and the strategic context they find themselves in vis-à-vis other parties.

The ambiguity of the socio-economic positioning of the radical right appears regularly. In the lead-up to the European Parliament elections of June 2014, for instance, UKIP's Nigel Farage said that his party was very different from other parties also labelled as "far right" in

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