

***Do Radical Right Populist Parties Matter?  
The Case of the European Welfare State***

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Paper prepared for presentation at the 2019 Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, August 29 - September 1, Washington DC. We would like to thank the Marquette University Graduate School for financial assistance, John Shively for exceptional research assistance, and Dennis Quinn for unpublished data.

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## **Abstract**

In this paper, we address three largely unanswered questions about the welfare state consequences of the significant rise in electoral support and government participation of radical rightwing populist (RRWP) parties in western Europe. First, does RRWP party success contribute to the maintenance or expansion of core social insurance programs? Second, do RRWP party electoral success and government cabinet portfolios lead to retrenchments of programs that disproportionately benefit immigrants and other “underserving” groups? Finally, do electorally successful and governing RRWP parties reshape the structure of the welfare state by diminishing universalism? Through extensive analysis of 1975-to-2015 data, we show that the answer to all three questions is yes. We also find support for our argument that the mechanism linking RRWP party success and welfare state outcomes rests with the competition between an ascendant radical populist right and social and Christian democratic parties for votes of core constituencies and how these mainstream parties strategically respond to RRWP party challenges. We conclude by discussing the implications for our findings for sociocultural polarization, political instability, and threats to democratic institutions.

## **Introduction**

Anecdotal evidence as well as systematic qualitative and quantitative analysis suggest that radical rightwing populist (RRWP) parties have contributed to the reduction of social rights of immigrants (Koning 2019; Churi 2019). This is one side of the coin of “welfare chauvinism.” The other side of this programmatic orientation is the notable increase since the mid-1990s in RRWP party support for core social insurance programs of the modern welfare state. In this paper, we address three largely unanswered questions about the consequences of welfare chauvinism in the context of the significant rise in electoral support for RRWP parties and their increasingly frequent participation in government in western Europe.

First, we address the question of whether or not RRWP party electoral success and government participation actually contribute to the maintenance or expansion of core social insurance programs (most of which are disproportionately utilized by native citizens). In fact, some scholars believe that RRWP parties have become part of the contemporary welfare state support coalition (e.g., Gingrich and Häusermann 2015). Second, do RRWP party electoral success and government cabinet portfolios lead to retrenchments of programs that

disproportionately benefit immigrants and other “underserving” groups (for instance, social assistance and some forms of social services)? Finally, do electorally successful and governing RRWP parties reshape the structure of the welfare state? Specifically, do these parties weaken universalism in the structure of social programs, a factor associated with more tolerance of immigrants and undeserving groups (e.g., Larsen 2006) and with less electoral support for RRWP parties, themselves (Swank and Betz 2003; 2018)?

In answering these questions, we take care to assess the mechanisms that link RRWP parties to social welfare policy and structural change. These parties may matter when they enter cabinets and thus into proximity with the levers of policy change; increasing vote and seat shares may also lead to social welfare state impacts as RRWP parties move welfare chauvinist reforms up the national agenda, frame social policy debates according to their ideology, and otherwise put pressure (for instance, through shaping public attitudes) on mainstream parties. Second, and we emphasize this mechanism, RRWP parties may have their greatest welfare state impacts through their effect on the electoral coalitions of mainstream parties. Specifically, RRWP parties have increasingly relied upon working class voters that may otherwise support social democratic parties; they also compete with Christian democratic parties for (Catholic) workers and for votes of the middle class. One viable strategic response of these historically pro-welfare state parties is to increase support for maintenance (or even expansion) of core welfare state programs; this strategy may seem appealing as it may limit increases in RRWP votes among key contested constituencies while being consistent with long-standing orientations of the parties. With regard to welfare state policies for “outsiders,” social democratic parties should blunt efforts by the radical populist right to retrench these programs as social democrats seek to keep or attract this constituency; Christian democrats, given the marginal electoral importance to them of outsiders,

should not blunt (and maybe even facilitate) welfare chauvinism in the case of social benefits for outsider groups.

To assess these questions and to shed light on mechanisms, we draw on the best available data on welfare program income replacement rates, entitlement rights, and program structure as well as political economic determinants of social welfare for the 16 largest west European democracies for the period 1975 to 2015. We proceed as follows. First, we offer a brief overview of RRWP party ideology, post-1970s electoral success and government participation, and core constituencies. We next elaborate our theoretical arguments and our empirical models, measures, and estimation strategies. We then present our findings on the key questions and issues at hand and, in turn, discuss the implications of them for the European welfare state specifically, and for European democracy and politics generally.

### **Radical Right Populism: Ideology, Constituencies and Electoral Success**

Contemporary RRWP parties combine a populist discourse with a variety of nativist narratives (Betz 2017; 2018; Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017). We understand populism as a political doctrine that holds that society is divided into two antagonistic blocs: on the one side ordinary people, on the other a relatively small elite that not only systematically ignores and even goes against the expressed will of ordinary people but more often than not denigrates their values and aspirations and has nothing but contempt for them (Betz 2018). Populism not only claims to subject politics to the will of the people, but also to validate ordinary people and their common sense (Jansen 2001, 83).

Nativism stands for a "complex web of nationalism, xenophobia, ethnocentrism and racism" that informs a variety of narratives (Anbinder 1992, xiv). In a broad sense, nativism refers to an "expressed partiality to the native-born and their culture in preference to the foreign-

born" on the simple grounds that they are native (Loucks 1936, 1). In a narrower sense, nativism is a doctrine that holds that a nation is an organically grown entity, defined by its particular history, a historically evolved culture that must be protected and defended. Politically, nativism finds its most important expressions in welfare chauvinism, support for ethnocracy and "... First" policies, and the denial of rights to non-natives on the grounds of cultural incompatibility.

With respect to the other major element of RRWP party ideology, initial programmatic orientations stressed neoliberalism. The early Scandinavian Progress Parties emerged as tax backlash parties (Wilensky 1976) and the large majority of these parties stressed support for free market policies and economic orthodoxy as far as the domestic economy was concerned well into the 1990s.<sup>1</sup> RRWP parties also commonly supported welfare retrenchment. As Figure 1 shows, even as late as the early 1990s, these parties' manifestos included a fair percentage of statements in support of neoliberalism and, on average, more statements in favor of retrenchment than welfare maintenance or expansion. However, since roughly 1995, RRWP parties' statements of support for the free market have declined and net support for the welfare state has moderately increased.<sup>2</sup>

**-Figure 1 about here-**

It is important to point out two qualifications to this assessment: although welfare chauvinism is growing in importance in RRWP party declarations, several other areas (for instance, various nativist and populist appeals and support for law and order as well as morality) typically make up larger emphases with parties' manifestos (Lefkofridi and Michel 2017).

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<sup>1</sup> As Swank and Betz (2003) point out, these parties typically combined strong support for neoliberalism in the domestic economy and skepticism about internationalization generally, and Europeanization specifically.

<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 uses Party Manifesto Dataset (Volkens et al 2017) information on parties' ideological and programmatic orientations on neoliberalism and welfare state expansion for 1990 to 2015 for the six nations in which RRWP parties have been coded since the 1980s (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, and Norway). If we include newer parties and a more recent time frame, the trend toward general support for the traditional welfare state continues (as manifestos of parties such as the True Finns, the Sweden Democrats, and UKIP show percentages of net welfare state support approaching 15 percent of manifesto statements in the 2010s).

Second, there is some heterogeneity in the degree to which RRWP parties fall in line with the general trend. For instance, among the 13 of 16 west European democracies in our study that have major RRWP parties, the Swiss People's Party (SVP) clearly bucks the trend of convergence toward general pro-welfare orientations. Similar conclusions on Switzerland have been reached by Afonzo and Rennwald (2018), among others, who point out that Swiss SVP statements in favor of retrenchment exceed pro-social welfare declarations in the 2000's.

How successful has the radical populist right been since the 1970s. As Table 1 reveals, if one compares vote shares and government participation across the pre- and post-mid-1990s periods, RRWP parties have won significant and generally increasing vote shares in 13 of the 16 major European democracies.<sup>3</sup> In seven cases, they have approached or exceeded 20 percent of the national vote in at least one election. On occasion, they have reached or surpassed 25 percent (e.g. Austrian Freedom Party [FPÖ], the Belgium Vlaams Block ([VN], Swiss People's Party [SVP]). With a few exceptions (e.g., the 1970s Scandinavian Progress parties), RRWP parties became electorally consequential in the 1980s and have generally experienced increasing levels of support. (See the Online Appendix for notes on measures and sources of all data used in the paper.)

**-Table 1 about here-**

As to government participation, the record is more mixed. Aside from a handful of instances of informal government support by RRWP parties (for instance, Norway in the 1980s), the Italian Lega Nord is the only party to formally enter a cabinet before 1995. In the post-1995 period, RRWP parties have averaged non-trivial shares of cabinet portfolios in five countries (Austria, Belgium, Italy, Norway, and Switzerland). In only Austria and Switzerland have

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<sup>3</sup> We chose the mid-1990s as the period demarcation because as we have argued, this marks an important transformation of the party type on the traditional economic/redistribution cleavage.

RRWP parties averaged in excess of 10 percent of cabinet seats since 1995. That said, the long-term trend certainly leans in the direction of more substantial cabinet participation (and this point is underscored with major new roles for RRWP parties such as the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) and the Italian (Northern) League in governments in the post-2015 era.

*Constituencies.* Successful RRWP parties appeal to the whole electorate. In this sense, they arguably represent a new version of catch-all parties of protest. At the same time, however, not all social aggregates support these parties equally. In early stages of mobilization, support for prominent parties such as the Front national and the Scandinavian Progress parties was largely concentrated among the traditional middle class, farmers, and the self-employed. This was hardly surprising, given these parties' Thatcherite neoliberal program. During the 1990s, with growing RRWP party support from semi- and unskilled workers, academic observers increasingly noted (for instance, see Plasser and Ulram [2000] on Austria) the progressive "proletarianization" of their electoral base -- a notion introduced by Pascal Perrineau (1988, 25) with respect to the Front national in the late 1980s.

Some thirty years later, nothing has fundamentally changed. In the most recent parliamentary election in Austria, for instance, more than 50 percent of working-class voters supported the FPÖ; in 2016, more than a third of German working class voters said they would vote Alternative for Germany, or AfD (DIW 2017, 598). Similarly in France, the progression of the Front national and its president, Marine Le Pen, in the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2012 and 2017 was largely owed to Marine Le Pen's appeal to the lower classes (*couches populaires*) – manual and routine workers – who make up the majority of the party's constituency (Betz 2015).

Comprehensive analysis of survey data for the contemporary period highlights this

evolution and the class bases of RRWP party support. Representative of a larger body of research, Oesch (2008) analyzes the class composition of RRWP parties for seven European democracies in the early 2000s.<sup>4</sup> As expected, production workers and small business owners everywhere disproportionately support the radical populist right; in some countries, so do clerks and services sector workers. This research is significantly extended by Oesch and Rennwald (2018) who show that for nine major European democracies for the 2002-to-2014 period, RRWP parties now heavily depend on working class votes (production and service sector workers) as well as long-standing disproportionate support by small business owners.<sup>5</sup> Finally, it is important to note that some scholars now believe that the proletarianization of the radical populist right significantly pressured most of these parties to move toward clear support of the traditional welfare state (in the context of a general welfare chauvinist orientations). As Afonzo and Rennwald 2018, p. 173) put it, “A more pro-welfare position has emerged as the best strategic option for radical right elites to accommodate the preferences of their growing working class supporters.”

### **Theory**

RRWP parties may well matter for social welfare policy along the lines suggested above when they enter cabinets and thus into proximity with the levers of policy change. In fact, the standard approach to assessing the social policy impacts of a party type is to use shares of party cabinet portfolios in the immediate past (e.g., Hicks and Swank 1992) or a measure of cumulative years of government control (typically since the late 1940s) by pro-welfare state

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<sup>4</sup> The literature on the changing class composition of RRWP parties is extensive. For excellent analyses and discussions of much of the literature, see, for instance, contributions to Rydgren (2013) as well as the studies cited here.

<sup>5</sup> Oesch and Rennwald (2018, Figure 3, p. 11) show that while RRWP parties averaged 18.8 percent of the national vote in the focal nations, 31 percent of workers and 23 percent of both service workers and small business owners voted for these parties, on average, in the nine countries included in their study.



parties (e.g., Huber and Stephens 2001).<sup>6</sup> Increasing vote and seat shares may also lead to social welfare state impacts of RRWP parties. Given that RRWP parties are commonly in opposition, this potential mechanism of policy influence seems particularly important. Indeed, some scholars have noted that general electoral success and associated parliamentary representation are likely to move preferred policy reforms up the national agenda, frame social policy debates according to party ideology, and otherwise put pressure (for instance, through shaping public attitudes) on mainstream parties (Hicks and Swank 1992; Jensen and Seeberg 2015). We, in fact, accept the plausibility of these standard arguments as they pertain to RRWP parties and test for direct impacts of government participation and electoral success.<sup>7</sup>

We also believe that RRWP parties may have their greatest welfare state impacts through their effects on votes for mainstream parties by the core constituencies of these parties. First, as we have discussed, RRWP parties have increasingly relied upon working class voters that may otherwise support social democratic parties. Oesch and Rennwald (2018) and other scholars have actually argued that in the context of the tripolar pattern of European party competition (between left, center-right, and radical populist right ideological poles), the competition for working class votes between the left and radical right is a central area of party rivalry. In fact, mainstream parties of the left (social democratic, socialist, and communist parties) have experienced a net decline in national parliamentary vote share of five percent between the 1955-to-1965 and 2005-

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<sup>6</sup> See Schmitt and Zohlnhöfer (2017) for a new insights (and a review of the literature) on the measurement and estimation of party government impacts on policy.

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent review of the literature on the policy impacts of RRWP parties across a range of policy areas, see contributions to Biard, Bernhard, and Betz (2019). Studies of social welfare policy impacts are far less common than those, for example, of immigration policy. The few studies that exist have shown that RRWP party government participation is associated with constraints on welfare retrenchments by market liberal governments of which they are part (Roth, Afonzo, and Spies 2018) and is positively associated with increases in aggregate welfare spending (Schmitt and Zohlnhöfer 2017). Interestingly, Afonzo (2015) argues that RRWP parties face a tradeoff between office and votes: if they join a center-right government, they may be pressed into retrenchment policies that potentially cost them significant numbers of votes; if they refrain from supporting a retrenchment-minded government, they may lose their opportunity to secure significant leverage over policy.

to-2015 periods. And, based on analysis of 1975-to-2015 election outcomes, RRWP vote shares in the last election are significantly correlated to left party votes in the current election: each additional percent of the vote garnered by RRWP parties is associated with a .32 percentage point decline in the left vote share.<sup>8</sup>

Oesch and Rennwald (2018), among others, also highlight the competition for the votes of the traditional middle class (small business owners) between RRWP parties and the center-right. This contestation seems especially important for (center-right) Christian democratic parties. As Arzheimer (2013) notes, while the overall vote share in western Europe has been stable for the center-right, Christian democrats have experienced a significant decline. Again, comparing the 1955-to-1965 and 2005-to-2015 periods, the Christian democratic electoral support has fallen from a European average of 19 to 11 percent of the vote. Regressing Christian democratic vote share in the current election on RRWP parties' votes in the last election in models identical to those for left party vote, one finds a highly significant coefficient for RRWP party vote: specifically, each additional percent of the vote for RRWP parties is associated with a loss of .44 percent for Christian democrats.

One viable strategic response for these historically pro-welfare state parties is to maintain (or even expand) core welfare insurance programs; this strategy may seem appealing as it may limit increases in RRWP votes among key contested constituencies through, for instance, bolstering programs long-favored by workers and the middle class (pension and sickness benefits) and programs that enhance economic security for middle and lower strata (unemployment compensation). The strategy is also consistent with long-standing pro-welfare

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<sup>8</sup> We estimated a fixed effects model of left vote share where left vote is function of country differences and past RRWP party electoral support. While a full analysis of trends in vote shares of party groups is far beyond the scope of this paper, the highly significant coefficient for RRWP party vote share remains in the presence of other basic controls (for instance, union density).

orientations of the parties. It also potentially overcomes a major electoral dilemma that is especially acute for social democrats.<sup>9</sup> That is, the other major option for social democrats is to engage RRWP parties in the contest for workers' votes on the sociocultural dimension. Bale, Hough and van Kessel (2013) and Schumcher and van Kersbergen (2016), for instance, have offered evidence that a moderate strategic adjustment by Left parties has occasionally occurred on the sociocultural dimension of conflict (e.g., a move to more stringent immigration policy). But, not only does an illiberal, anti-immigrant shift run against the ideology of these parties (e.g., Azheimer 2013), it risks alienating middle class sociocultural professionals, a rising constituency of social democratic parties (see Swank 2020 and the literature reviewed therein).

Does our key assumption that mainstream left parties respond to the RRWP electoral challenge with new support for social protection hold? An important aspect of an answer to this question is to understand that the left may respond by rejecting any retrenchments in social insurance, by embracing some improvements in traditional social provision, or by limiting the shift to a social investment welfare state (for instance, activation and education policies) favored by the increasingly important constituency of sociocultural professionals. In fact, Häusermann (2018) finds that social democratic parties that face a RRWP party challenge maintain an emphasis on traditional social insurance and limit transition to “new social policies.”

We can actually offer some evidence on the programmatic response of left parties to rises in RRWP success (and offer more systematic analysis of social welfare policy impacts below). Regressing the Left's manifesto share devoted to (net) welfare state support on recent RRWP vote shares (average of last five years), the business cycle, and controls for country effects, we

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<sup>9</sup> One study of party manifestos and related documents in a subset of European democracies actually finds little evidence that mainstream left parties become clearly more pro-welfare in response to the adoption of a welfare chauvinist strategy by RRWP parties (Schumacher and van Kersbergen 2016).

find the following (where \*\* indicates significance at the .05 level and \* significance at the .10 level):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Left Social Welfare Support} = & \alpha + .3162^{**}(\text{RRWP Vote Share}) + .2138^{*}(\text{Growth}) \\ & + .0963(\text{Unemployment}) + \varepsilon, \end{aligned}$$

Thus, in this simple model each additional percent of the vote for the populist right in recent years is significantly associated with an increase of roughly one third a percent in the manifesto share devoted to social protection.<sup>10</sup> Given that statements in (net) support of social welfare by the mainstream left average 10 percent of manifestos and that the average increase in the RRWP vote across pre- and post-1995 periods is roughly six percent, this is not a trivial impact. The average shift in the long-term vote share of the RRWP parties translates into a two percent increase left party welfare manifesto share (a 20 percent increase).

With regard to welfare state policies for “outsiders” (programs disproportionately used by immigrants and other undeserving groups), the electoral dynamics are different: social democratic parties should actually blunt efforts by the radical populist right to retrench these programs as social democrats seek to keep or attract this constituency in many countries (and are ideologically committed to extending social protection to them); for Christian democrats, outsiders are of marginal electoral importance. They can be expected not to blunt (and maybe even to facilitate) welfare chauvinism in the case of social benefits for outsiders (especially given budgetary considerations necessitated by maintenance or enhancement of expensive cash social insurance programs).

*The Dynamics of RRWP Party Impacts on Specific Social Welfare Programs: Our expectations for the programmatic impact of electoral success and government participation of*

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<sup>10</sup> As we note below, our fixed effects estimator uses panel clustered standard errors that are robust to serial correlation and heteroskedasticity; estimates are also consistent in the face of unbalanced panels.

RRWP parties are relatively straightforward based on the evidence and theory discussed to this point. *We hypothesize that RRWP parties will have significant positive impacts on core social insurance programs, namely, pensions, sickness benefits, and unemployment benefits.*<sup>11</sup> Pensions and sickness benefits disproportionately flow to natives; and while immigrant households are slightly more likely to receive unemployment compensation than native households, only 11 percent of all unemployment benefits go to immigrant households (Spies 2018, pp. 88-89, Figure 3.5 and Table 3.3). And, as Spies (2018) points out, it is very difficult politically for RRWP parties to cut programs with large shares of benefits flowing to the native working class even if immigrants may disproportionately use those programs. On the other hand, programs heavily oriented to outsiders such as social assistance and some social services seem potentially vulnerable to RRWP initiatives to reduce benefits to immigrants and potentially other undeserving groups (e.g., the long-term unemployed, women who seek to enter and remain in the work force).<sup>12</sup> For instance, Koning (2019, p. 43, Table 2.1)) shows that in many European democracies, immigrants receive on average close to or in excess of 100 percent more in social assistance benefits than natives. Thus, *we expect RRWP electoral success and government participation to negatively affect social assistance and direct government provision of social services (excluding health-related programs) for the unemployed and for families.*<sup>13</sup>

As we have suggested above, these direct impacts of RRWP parties on the welfare state are mediated by time and by the strategic context of party competition. With regard to time and

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<sup>11</sup> To keep the analysis manageable, we do not include additional social insurance programs such as disability benefits which disproportionately go to natives.

<sup>12</sup> While some scholars suggest that the welfare chauvinism of RRWP parties extends beyond immigrants to other undeserving groups like the “losers” of modernization, single parent families, women who seek to break down traditional gender roles (Häusermann, Picot, and Gerring 2012), others argue programs that clearly target social benefits and rights to immigrants are the overwhelming focus of RRWP parties (Fenger 2018).

<sup>13</sup> Some of these services such as day care, for instance, also benefit the broad middle classes and can be construed as part of the new social investment orientation in many welfare states (xxxxx). On the other hand, many of these services benefit immigrants (e.g. labor market services); and, as we show below, the magnitude of inflows of foreign populations is strongly correlated with social service expenditures.

the evolution of RRWP parties, *we expect that positive social policy effects (especially for core social insurance) will be largely felt in the post-1995 period.* In addition, the electoral success of RRWP parties will largely have policy impacts when their prime competitors are in office. That is, *we expect policy influence of RRWP party success will depend on whether social and Christian democratic parties govern.* In fact, the social insurance program effects of the radical populist right should increase as we move to government leadership by social or Christian democratic parties.<sup>14</sup> As we have argued, a relatively viable response to the electoral challenge of the populist right by social and Christian democratic governments is to bolster core social insurance for the workers and, especially in the case of Christian democrats, middle classes. For programs for outsiders, social democrats should defend or even expand social protection as outsiders form a potentially important component of a postindustrial redistributive coalition for the left in many European democracies (Swank 2020). For Christian democrats, as we have noted, outsiders are arguably unimportant electorally; thus, RRWP social welfare impacts under Christian democratic governments should not be significantly different from other governments, or, assuming significant budget constraints as noted), could even facilitate RRWP party-initiated retrenchments in these program social rights as they seek to bolster core social insurance programs.

*Welfare State Structures.* In addition to core dimensions of traditional social insurance and programs substantially benefiting labor market outsiders, RRWP parties' impacts may be felt on the structure of social welfare protection. In the context of Esping-Andersen's (1990) seminal typology of three worlds of welfare capitalism, *we believe the central structural characteristic of the welfare state most likely affected by RRWP parties and most consequential for these parties*

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<sup>14</sup> The dynamics surrounding social welfare policy impacts of RRWP parties are different under secular center-right governments. We defer a systematic analysis of the interplay of a rising RRWP party group and secular center-right parties governments until future work, although we do offer some preliminary evidence and commentary below.

*(and European politics generally) is universalism in provision of social protection.* Indeed, the basic character of RRWP parties is “exclusive solidarity” (Lefkofridi and Michel 2017) and, thus, they directly challenge principles of universalism. Following Esping-Andersen and others, we understand universalism to be comprised of high levels of coverage of risk pools of citizens (the labor force, the whole population) and relative equality in benefits across strata of beneficiaries. It is the heart of a national system of social protection characterized by “inclusive solidarity.”<sup>15</sup>

RRWP populist party success is likely to undercut universalism in two ways. First, restrictions of social rights to benefits for immigrants and potentially other groups who use programs targeted as over-utilized by immigrants or the undeserving should be manifest in declining social protection coverage rates of the population or risk pools. Second, reductions in basic benefits for some programs heavily utilized by immigrants and similar reforms may increase benefit inequality broadly in social protection. In sum, RRWP parties may reduce universalism and, in turn, produce some significant consequences for national politics across long-lived European democracies (we return to this point in the conclusions below).

### **Empirical Models, Measures, and Estimation**

We assess our theoretical expectations about the social welfare impacts of RRWP party electoral success and government participation in 16 west European nations (see Table 1) between 1975 and 2015.<sup>16</sup> Given theory, we focus on three types of social welfare policy. The first is core social insurance programs that formed the bedrock of the 20<sup>th</sup> century welfare state and continue to provide foundational security and income maintenance for the traditional

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<sup>15</sup> See contributions to Banting and Kymlicka (2017) for a full exposition of the concept of inclusive solidarity.

<sup>16</sup> We exclude Iceland and Luxembourg as well as Eastern Europe for a variety of theoretical and methodological reasons. We exclude the non-European Anglo democracies to limit the proportion of zero values for RRWP party variables and to maintain the homogeneity of the sample. We begin the analysis in the mid-1970s because this time frame corresponds with the rise of RRWP parties; we end the analyses in 2015 because of data unavailability issues.

working and middle classes (pensions, sickness, and unemployment insurance). We analyze RRWP party effects on an aggregate measure of “welfare generosity” (an index of insurance program income replacement rates and entitlement rights developed by Scruggs et al [2017]). We also focus on “pension generosity” and “unemployment generosity” (replacement rate and entitlement rights indexes developed by Scruggs et al).<sup>17</sup> As noted above, given the moderately disproportionate use of employment compensation by immigrants, unemployment insurance might be considered as a program that straddles the line between core insurance programs and the second type of welfare state program, namely, social protection for outsiders (including programs notably disproportionately used by immigrants).

In the case of social policies for outsiders, we focus on minimum social protection; this is measured by an index of income replacement by means-tested cash, family, and housing benefits across different household types developed by Nelson (2007). We also focus on social services for outsiders (for instance, programs for the long-term unemployed, single-parent households, new labor entrants such as women), and we measure this by (non-health) in-kind social service spending as a percent of GDP. Finally, we seek to ascertain the impact of RRWP parties on welfare program structure, namely, universalism. In this area, we follow Esping-Andersen (1990) and use a general measure of social insurance program universalism and its components, program coverage and benefit inequality.<sup>18</sup>

We stress the importance of electoral success and government participation of RRWP parties in shaping social welfare state policy and structure. That is, as we have discussed, both

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<sup>17</sup> We exclude a separate analysis of replacement rates and entitlement rights for sickness benefits; a preliminary assessment shows that findings from such an analysis largely duplicates those for pensions.

<sup>18</sup> For general universalism, we use a z-score index of program coverage rates (percent of population or labor force) and benefit inequality ratios across three program areas – pensions, sickness, unemployment compensation. Benefit equality ratios consist of the ratio of minimum or basic benefit for qualified social insurance claimants to the maximum benefit available. Data are from the University of Stockholm’s *Social Entitlement Indicators Dataset* for five-year intervals between 1975 and 2015.



general electoral success of RRWP parties (commonly registered in opposition) and government participation should be important for social welfare policy. We measure electoral success by the vote share of RRWP parties in national (lower chamber) parliamentary elections and, initially, through parliamentary seat share. Given that results for parliamentary seat share are virtually identical to findings on vote shares, we use the percentage of national vote for RRWP parties as our core measure of electoral strength and representation. As in much research on partisan government impacts, we use the share of a government's cabinet portfolios allotted to the focal party type, RRWP parties, as the core measure of government participation.<sup>19</sup>

To assess the RRWP party impacts on social welfare policy and structure, we draw on the large literature on the determinants of welfare state provision in the contemporary era to develop empirical models of key dimensions of social protection (e.g., Hicks and Swank 1992; Huber and Stephens 2001; Iversen and Cusack 2000). Given strong theoretical justifications and extensive attention in the literature, we control for direct effects of political forces: social and Christian democratic governments (indexed by percentages of cabinet portfolios controlled by a category of political party, *SOCIALDEM*, *CHRISTIANDEM*), union organization (an standard score index of union density, centralization, and incorporation in state policymaking forums, *UNIONORG*) and political institutional structure, namely, institutional veto points (an standard score index of dispersion of power across branches and levels of governments, *VETOS*). Our general model also includes an accounting for the effects of needs for social protection: for aggregate welfare generosity and pensions these include the magnitude of the aged population (the population 65+

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<sup>19</sup> See Finseraas and Vernby (2011) and Jensen and Wenzelburger (2020) for reviews of the literature on party government welfare policy impacts. With respect to government participation, one might arguably consider incorporating some measure of informal government participation (that is, RRWP party support of coalition policy without formal cabinet inclusion). In a preliminary analysis, we determined formal government participation was significantly associated with key dimensions of social welfare policy; informal government support was not. We do not include informal support in measures of RRWP party success utilized here.

as a percent of the total population, *OLD*) and unemployment (standardized unemployment rates, *UNEMPLOY*); for unemployment insurance the principal need factor is unemployment rates while we add foreign immigration to unemployment rates for outsider policies (total inflows of foreign immigrants as a percent of the population, *FOREIGN*). To account for potential needs effects on universalism, we control for the size of the aged and unemployed populations (given fiscal, need and demand pressures on social policy associated with these factors).<sup>20</sup>

To tap additional need and demand pressures on social policy we account for business cycle effects through measures of economic growth (percent change in per capita GDP in international dollars, *GROWTH*) and long-term deindustrialization (captured by Iversen and Cusack's [2000] measure of 100 minus industrial and agricultural employment as a percentage share of the working age population, *DEIND*). To control for overarching fiscal constraints, we account for the magnitude of public sector debt (gross public sector as percent of GDP, *DEBT*). Finally, we incorporate controls for economic globalization in the form of trade openness (imports and exports as a percent of GDP, *TRADE*) and capital mobility (Quinn's index of liberalization of capital account restrictions, *CAPITAL*). As noted above, see the Online Appendix for details on measures and data sources for all variables).

On the basis of our theoretical framework and considerations discussed above, we offer the following empirical model of dimensions of social welfare policy and welfare state structure:

*Equation 1:*

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{SOCIAL WELFARE}_{i,t} = & \alpha \text{ +/- } \beta_0(\text{RRWP VOTE/SEATS/CABINET SHARE}_{i,p}) + \beta_1(\text{SOCIALDEM}_{i,p}) + \\
 & \beta_2(\text{CHRISTIANDEM}_{i,p}) + \beta_3(\text{UNIONORG}_{i,p}) - \beta_4(\text{VETOS}_{i,p}) \text{ +/- } \beta_5(\text{OLD/FOREIGN}_{i,p}) \text{ +/-} \\
 & \beta_6(\text{UNEMPLO}_{i,p} \text{ Y}) \text{ +/- } \beta_7(\text{GROWTH}_{i,p}) + \beta_8(\text{DEIND}_{i,p}) - \beta_9(\text{DEBT}_{i,p}) \text{ +/- } \beta_{10}(\text{TRADE}_{i,p}) \text{ +/-}
 \end{aligned}$$

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<sup>20</sup> We also assessed direct impacts of foreign immigrants on aggregate social insurance and pension as well as universalism. Immigrant inflows was insignificant or incorrectly signed in models for these dimensions of the welfare state.

$$\beta_{11}(\text{CAPITAL}_{i,p}) + \varepsilon,$$

where  $i$  denotes one of 16 west European nations,  $t$  denotes years at five-year intervals beginning in 1975 and ending in 2015,  $p$  is a five-year mean of variables for  $t-1$  to  $t-5$ ,  $\alpha$  is the equation intercept, *RRWP* through *CAPITAL* are explanatory variables as defined above,  $\beta_0$  through  $\beta_{11}$  are parameters relating *Social Welfare* to *RRWP* through *CAPITAL*, and  $\varepsilon$  is an error term. While theory stipulates clear direction of social policy effects of some factors (for instance social and Christian democratic party government), the direction of effects is less clear for other factors (and we thus designate these factors' impacts may be positive or negative). For example, need factors may result in automatic extensions of some entitlements and generate demands for more generosity; on the other hand, rising needs may signal significant fiscal problems and, in turn, generate austerity.

It is important to stress that we estimate models based on quinquennial periods and not annual observations. We do so for several reasons. First, data for three of our eight social policy dimensions are only available at five-year intervals and, as such, we use five-year intervals for all dimensions of social welfare to maintain comparability of results. Second, theory suggests that while some of the social welfare impacts of *RRWP* parties will be felt relatively immediately, others will require multiple years to produce significant consequences. In the absence of strong theory on the nature of annual lags, the use of five-year means will arguably better capture the dynamics of complex lag structures. Finally, for many of our measures, annual change and its variation are very small (that is, year-to-year movement in replacement rates, entitlement rights and so forth is notably incremental); quinquennial change and its variance are greater and, as such, increase analytic leverage.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> We also estimated our models based annual data where possible; results are largely identical to those presented here for five-year panels.

To address two sets of hypotheses about mediated policy impacts of RRWP parties, we include interactions in Equation 1. First, we interact measures of RRWP party votes (and seats in initial analysis) with a dichotomous variable coded 0.0 for pre-1995 and 1.0 for post-1994. We do not do so for government cabinet shares because with the exception of about a month at the end of 1994 in Italy, RRWP parties had not entered governments before 1995; they had only informally supported governments in a small handful of cases (e.g., Norway in the mid-1980s). And, as we noted above, these periods of informal support were inconsequential for social welfare policy. Next, we include interactions for RRWP votes (and initially seats), social or Christian democratic government, and the post-1994 dummy. This allows us to assess the core hypothesis that both left and Christian democratic governments will respond to RRWP party success (and their own vote loss) with improved social protection for core social insurance programs; for social policy for outsiders and universalism, these interactions allow us to see if social democratic-dominated governments mute any cuts associated with RRWP party success and whether Christian Democratic governments accept RRWP party preferences for cuts to outsider programs or even facilitate them.<sup>22</sup>

*Estimation.* We estimate models based on quinquennial data that typically cover 1975 to 2015 for four of our welfare state dimensions and 1975 to 2010 for the other four dimensions; for a few countries (e.g., the Mediterranean tier) data series often begin later than 1975.<sup>23</sup> We

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<sup>22</sup> We do not test for party interactions between RRWP and social/Christian democratic party cabinet shares because RRWP parties rarely govern with the left and because estimating an interaction between RRWP and Christian democratic government participation is problematic. Specifically, when one attempts to assess if rising cabinet power of RRWP parties is enhanced at higher levels of Christian democratic portfolios we encounter the reality that the two parties' cabinet shares will be inversely related beyond trivial levels of either. Estimates of these interactions, which might be justified because RRWP party cabinet shares are typically small, reveal that marginal effects of RRWP party government at increasing levels of Christian democratic cabinet portfolios are insignificant or incorrectly signed. (See text on RRWP party participation in center-right-led governments.)

<sup>23</sup> We use the Scruggs et al (2017) Comparative Welfare Entitlement Dataset 2 (CWED 2) for measures of generosity of core social insurance programs; these data are only available through 2011. While five-year data on the components of these measures is available from 1975 to 2015 in our other principle data source, the Social

estimate our models (initially) with both random and fixed effects regression. We use panel-clustered standard errors that are robust to autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity as suggested by Wooldridge (2010). While both random and fixed effects commonly generate very similar coefficient estimates for key variables, Hausman tests suggest that the fixed effects estimator will generally produce more consistent estimates. We initially report results for both estimators and then report findings with fixed effects after that.<sup>24</sup>

## Findings

The initial results of our analysis of the impacts of RRWP vote, seat, and cabinet shares on aggregate welfare state generosity (an index of replacement rates and entitlement rights of social insurance programs) are presented in Table 2. We report the full model results in the main body of the table for both random and fixed effects; we report the marginal effects for RRWP party factors in pre- and post-1995 periods in a supplemental section at the bottom of the table (see Online Appendix for the results of the OLS-LDV estimator discussed above). As hypothesized, RRWP party votes, seats, and government participation all have significant,

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Entitlement Indicators Dataset (SEID), we find the CWED 2 definition of the scope of benefits and computational rules generally preferable (for instance, replacement rates include important means-tested supplements and subnational program benefits). On differences in data sets, see Scruggs (2013) and Wenzelburger et al (2013). We use SEID data for the calculation of universalism because complete information on benefit inequality is not available in CWED 2. Finally, we used measures of minimum social protection (social assistance) developed by Nelson (2007); this data set ends in 2009, and we extrapolate 2010 values for analysis.

<sup>24</sup> Two additional points are in order. First, we also estimated models with the conventional OLS-panel correct standard error estimator where we model social welfare variables as functions of a lagged dependent variable, focal explanatory variables, and country fixed effects. This exclusively dynamic model produces very similar results to those presented below. We also estimated core models with the exclusion of the Mediterranean tier of nations (where a large proportion of 0.0 values for RRWP party votes raises some questions about the influence of these cases). Results for these models are identical to those presented in the paper. (See Online Appendix for full results.). We do not use the OLS estimator as a lead analytic tool for a number of reasons, including excessive multicollinearity, lost cases due to computation of the lagged dependent variable, and related issues. Second, as noted, our panel data are unbalanced as some data series are shorter for some countries. We use the xtreg command in STATA to estimate the random and fixed effects models. This procedure produces consistent estimates for unbalanced panels (for instance, it employs the Swamy-Arora method of computing variance components in random effects models as discussed in Baltagi [2008]).

positive effects on welfare generosity for the entire period.<sup>25</sup> The substantive magnitude of these effects is modest. For instance, keeping in mind the mean of welfare generosity is 34 and its standard deviation is 5.3, a six percent increase in RRWP party vote share (the average long-term change and standard deviation of the radical right vote percentage) is slightly more than one point on the welfare index ( $.1841 \times 6$  if using the fixed effects model coefficient). If we examine period specific effects, our expectation that RRWP political success is positively associated with welfare generosity after RRWP parties became “working class parties” and embraced contemporary welfare chauvinism – that is in the post-1995 period only – is borne out. Using RRWP party vote effects, we see that right populist parties have insignificant impacts prior to the mid-1990s and significant, positive welfare generosity impacts after.<sup>26</sup>

**-Table 2 about here-**

One might briefly comment on welfare impacts of control variables. First, there is a substantial consistency across RRWP party models and across random and fixed effects estimators for the roles of other social welfare policy determinants. By far the most substantively important and highly significant factor is labor organization. A one-unit rise in our (standard score) index of labor organization (density, centralization, and policymaking integration of labor) is associated with, on average, a 3.3 point increase in welfare generosity.<sup>27</sup> In addition, two other factors stand out in our basic models: slow economic growth and high international capital

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<sup>25</sup> We should note that simultaneity bias in our estimates should not be a problem. That is, as Swank and Betz (2003) have shown, generous income replacement and entitlements of social programs directly depress the RRWP party vote and mitigate the effects international economic openness and immigration on RRWP party success. If there is any simultaneity in play, it actually results in underestimates of the strength of positive coefficients. (We return to this below in the case of universalism where simultaneity could be a threat.)

<sup>26</sup> Keep in mind that RRWP party government participation, in effect, only occurs in the more recent period and, as a result, its general effect can be interpreted as the policy effect of RRWP office-holding in the last 20 or so years.

<sup>27</sup> Labor organization captures, of course, many of the long-term impacts of working class mobilization, including legacies of left party government. In the current model specification, therefore, it is not too surprising that five-year averages of left government cabinet shares are not significant. As we shall see below, however, contemporary social democratic governments do indeed play important social policy roles net of impacts of labor organization.

openness are correlated with rises in aggregate social insurance protections captured in our index. In subsequent analysis, we find that other socioeconomic and political factors also play important roles in specific areas of social protection.

Table 3 presents the results of basic models for four additional dimensions of social welfare provision: the generosity of pensions and unemployment compensation (two core components of overall welfare generosity) as well as income replacement rates for basic social assistance and outlays of national resources for social services. As discussed above, we drop systematic presentation of results for RRWP party seats and from random effects models. Analyses using RRWP party seats duplicates for all intents and purposes results for party vote shares. Hausman tests suggest the fixed effects estimator is more appropriate than the random effects approach.

The first two sets of columns of Table 3 provides results of our estimation of RRWP vote and government participation impacts on pensions and unemployment compensation (and recall the measures index income replacement rates and entitlement rights). With respect to pensions, both aspects of radical right populist success have positive and significant effects. For instance, for a six percent increase in the RRWP vote share, one should expect a roughly .7 point increase in the index of pension generosity (the mean for this variable is 12 and the standard deviation is 2). As our estimation of period-specific impacts reveals, this effect bigger in the post-1995 period (although surprisingly significant in both eras). As with aggregate welfare generosity, labor organization, the business cycle, and globalization are significant determinants of pensions.

**-Table 3 about here-**

With regard to income replacement rates and entitlement rights for unemployment compensation, government participation by RRWP parties but not vote shares has a general

positive and significant impact. One should note, however, when examining marginal effects for the pre- and post-1995 periods, RRWP party vote share does exhibit a positive and significant effect after the mid-1990s. We will present some additional information on RRWP electoral success and unemployment compensation when we examine policy responses under left and Christian democratic governments below.<sup>28</sup> Finally, labor organization and international capital openness are both strongly associated with greater program generosity.

We present the results for analyses of social supports for labor market outsiders (including immigrants), namely, social assistance and social services, in the last two sets of columns of Table 3. Neither electoral success nor government participation are significantly related to social assistance benefits. This finding also holds for period-specific effects of RRWP party success. (We will return to this finding below when we examine policy responses to RRWP parties under mainstream left and Christian democratic governments.) As to controls, slow growth increases social assistance benefits as does left party government (but not labor organization). Distinct from findings for traditional social insurance, trade openness is actually associated with cuts in social assistance. Inflows of foreign immigrants are not related to social assistance benefit generosity.

With respect to (non-health) social services such as training, services for single-parent families, and more recent labor entrants such as women, the vote share of the radical populist right is generally not correlated with spending; this holds for both pre- and post-1995 periods. On the other hand, government participation by RRWP parties results in cuts in social services. For instance, an increase of one standard deviation unit (7.4) in cabinet portfolio shares is associated roughly with a .1 of one percent (of GDP) cut in social service spending. The magnitude of

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<sup>28</sup> Recall that unemployment compensation utilization by immigrants modestly exceeds that of the native population; this may explain some of the weaker results in this policy area. As we have noted, however, only 11 percent of unemployment benefits go to immigrants.



foreign immigrants, slow growth, deindustrialization and international capital openness are correlated with increases in social services while public sector debt is associated with reductions in social service outlays.

**-Table 4 about here-**

We turn a central part of our analysis that addresses the hypotheses that the social welfare consequences of RRWP party success will depend up strategic party responses to electoral losses to, or threats from, RRWP parties by mainstream left and center-right Christian democratic parties. The results of our analyses are displayed in Table 4 where we provide estimates of the marginal impacts of RRWP party vote shares at different levels of social and Christian democratic government. So, for instance, marginal impacts at 60, 80 or 100 percent represent social policy responses under majority left or Christian democratic government to electoral gains by the radical populist right. As the table illustrates, RRWP party electoral strength has substantively important and clearly significant impacts on aggregate welfare generosity and pensions under majority social and Christian democratic governments; the RRWP party impact increases as we move from no or minority participation to single party cabinets. These findings are illustrated graphically in Figure 2 as they pertain to aggregate welfare provision. As both the table and the graphic depiction of the findings highlight, the degree of responsiveness for core social insurance (i.e., pensions) is larger under Christian democratic governments than in periods of left rule, but party response under majority governments is significant in both types of government.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> This pattern of results seems generally consistent with the interests of party constituencies; Christian democrats are distinctly more catch-all in nature, appealing to core sector (Catholic) workers and especially the broad middle class who benefit substantially from long-lived generous pensions. We might also note that if we examine the RRWP electoral effect under center-right governments, these positive effects of core social programs significantly decline, as one would expect given the continued orientation of many center-right parties to social program austerity. At a single party (secular) center-right government, RRWP votes shares have no impact. Given the added

**-Figure 2 about here-**

The case of unemployment compensation departs from this pattern. For unemployment generosity (that has strong appeal to labor market outsiders and core sector workers in times of economic insecurity), majority left governments increase benefits and entitlement rights as the electoral challenge from RRWP parties rises. There is an absence of such a pattern under Christian democrats where there is a positive, marginally significant response at moderate levels of cabinet strength but no significant relationship between RRWP party votes and policy at higher (or lower) levels of Christian democratic cabinet shares. Here, the nature of party coalitions – specifically, the combined importance of labor market insiders and outsiders to successful left party coalitions but not those of Christian democrats -- can shed light on this set of results.

The party differences between responses to RRWP party electoral success in the areas of social assistance and social services are also illuminating. First, mainstream left party governments (minority or majority) do not systematically respond to RRWP party electoral success with cuts or increases in programs that disproportionately go to immigrants and other labor market outsiders. In essence, it would not make much sense for left parties to use these programs to counter to RRWP party electoral threats. First, left parties are ideologically committed to helping labor market outsiders; evidence shows that left parties directly bolster social assistance and spending for other programs targeting outsiders such as active labor market policy (see Table 3 above, and Swank 2020). At the same time, the welfare chauvinist appeal of RRWP parties to traditional skilled and semi-skilled workers is to limit programs that benefit outsiders and possibly other undeserving groups (defending core social insurance for natives).

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complexity of assessing RRWP and secular center-right party interactions and policy outcomes (as both a theoretical and practical matter), we defer analysis for the rest of this paper.

Thus, neither increases or retrenchments in the face of RRWP party electoral challenges helps the mainstream left. Increases in benefits do not effectively compete with the radical populist right among traditional working class voters who are lured to RRWP parties by populist-nativist rhetoric and welfare chauvinism; cuts in benefits are ideologically incoherent for the left and threaten a potential winning coalition logic of labor market outsiders, core sector workers, and sociocultural professionals.

On the other hand, Christian democrats (especially when holding the majority of cabinet portfolios) tend to curtail resources for outsider programs as RRWP parties grow electorally stronger.<sup>30</sup> This finding resonates with the general character of Christian democratic parties as cross-class coalitions of skilled workers, major elements of the middle class and, in most countries with larger Christian democratic parties, upper strata groups of high level managers and larger business owners (Manow 2009; van Kersbergen and Manow 2009); it also resonates with the emphases of these parties on (stratified) generous cash social insurance benefits and limited state provision of social services (Huber and Stephens 2001). In the “age of permanent austerity” (Pierson 2001), maintenance of generous pensions and other core social insurance programs by Christian democrats may also require that austerity falls on outsiders.

*Welfare State Structures.* We now turn to our analysis of RRWP electoral success and government participation on universalism in welfare state programs. Universalism is arguably one of the most important attributes of welfare states (a point we discussed earlier and return to in the conclusions). Do RRWP party electoral success and government participation reduce universalism? The results of our analysis of this question is presented in Table 5. For the

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<sup>30</sup> It is useful to note that the magnitude of the effect of RRWP vote on social assistance, for instance, under majority Christian democratic government suggests moderate austerity. Keeping in mind social assistance has a mean of 49 and standard deviation of 9.6, the impact of a six percent gain in RRWP party vote share at single party Christian Democratic government would be roughly 4.2 percentage points.

aggregate index of universalism (program coverage rates and benefit equality), electoral success has a negative and significant effect (although the coefficient for government participation falls just short of significance); as we show by comparing period-specific marginal effects, the negative impact of rising vote shares for the radical populist right is significant in the post-1995 era only, as predicted.<sup>31</sup>

**-Table 5 about here-**

We also assessed the impact of RRWP party electoral success on universalism across party government. Given that theory and evidence (see Table 3) suggest left parties in all likelihood directly bolster social protections for outsiders, one might expect the negative effect of RRWP parties on universalism to diminish under left governments. Given our findings on modest austerity in social protections and services for outsiders under majority Christian democratic governments, we might expect declines in universalism to grow under Christian democrats; completeness of coverage and benefit equality may simply be limited under this political mix. In fact, this is what we find: under majority left governments, the negative effect of RRWP party success on universalism disappears while is magnified under Christian democratic majority rule.<sup>32</sup> As to supplemental factors, increases in the elderly population and pools of unemployed put downward pressure on universalism while labor organization, high economic

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<sup>31</sup> It may be the case that the negative relationship between RRWP party votes and universalism is, in part, a function of simultaneity bias. Universalism is a significant factor limiting the appeal of the radical populist right and is robustly and negatively related to RRWP votes in the post-1970s era (Swank and Betz 2003; 2018). Upon examination, however, we find that simultaneity does not create a problem. In the absence of a reasonable instrumental variable for RRWP electoral success, we simply examined the impact on universalism of lagged changes in RRWP party votes; the lagged change in RRWP vote share between (the average of votes in) t-6 to t-10 and the previous five-year period is virtually unrelated to current levels or changes in RRWP party vote. But, it is negatively and significantly related to current universalism.

<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that these magnitudes of rollbacks of universalism are modest. With a single party Christian democratic government, and six percent increase in RRWP vote share reduces universalism by .1 point where the standard score index of universalism has a mean of 0.0 and standard deviation of 1.0.

growth, deindustrialization, and globalization are positively and significantly associated with universal program structure.

We also present the analysis of RRWP party impacts on the components of universalism, namely, coverage rates and benefit equality. With respect to coverage rates of social insurance, general findings (and period-specific effects) duplicate for all intents and purposes the results we just presented for overall universalism. The one difference is for party governments; while left party governments reduce the negative effect of RRWP parties on both overall universalism and coverage rates, Christian democrats depart from their pattern of influence on overall universalism: RRWP electoral success effects on coverage do not increase at higher levels of cabinet control by Christian democrats. On the other hand, the earlier patterns for left and Christian democratic mediation of RRWP party impacts hold for benefit equality. The negative effects of electoral success of the radical populist right on benefit equality occur when left government control is trivial or where Christian democrats control a majority of cabinet portfolios. We return to the implications of the negative impact of RRWP party success on universalism in the concluding section.

### **Concluding Assessments**

In this paper, we have assessed the welfare state consequences of the rise in electoral success and government participation of the radical populist right in western Europe. We find that RRWP parties are particularly important after their late 1980s-to-mid-1990s transition to “working class party” status and, in most cases, to parties that embrace a particular type of welfare chauvinism. In this programmatic orientation, traditional social insurance programs are favored and social rights for immigrants and perhaps other outsider groups are not. Our findings reveal a consistent pattern of policy and structural impacts. First, these parties generally bolster

overall income replacement rates and entitlement rights of core social insurance programs (programs that provide extensive benefits and general security to natives). Their impact on these programs under governments of social and Christian democrats, with whom they compete for core constituencies (the traditional working class in the case of the left, some workers and the middle class in the case of Christian Democrats), is especially pronounced. As the same time, they have a negative impact on programs such as social assistance and some social services disproportionately used by outsider groups. This is the case in the context of majority Christian Democratic governments who traditionally favor cash transfers for labor market insiders and the broad middle class. All that said, the substantive impact of these parties in most policy areas is moderate. For instance, for social assistance (heavily utilized by immigrants in relative and absolute terms), the long-term growth in RRWP party vote shares is associated with about a four percentage point cut in income replacement rates for means-tested benefits (that typically average about 50 percent of the average production worker's wage) during majority Christian democratic governments.

With respect to universalism, we find that the attributes of high coverage rates and benefit equality are moderately rolled back in the face of RRWP party success (especially outside of social democratic and inside majority Christian democratic governing coalitions). We think the implications of this are important. Recall that the role of universalism in advanced postindustrial welfare states is substantial: for instance, Bo Rothstein's (1998) seminal analysis suggests the political logic of the universal welfare state weds the self-interests of the poor, working class, and middle class through relatively generous and universal social insurance and services. Values of equal respect and concern embodied in program structure, broadly targeted universal benefits, carefully adapted delivery organizations, and participatory administrative

processes achieve relatively high levels of contingent consent from the citizenry. Solidarity, trust, and confidence in state intervention are promoted. These features of universalism, along with the mitigation of postindustrial economic insecurity inherent in the universalist model of social provision, are likely to have two important effects. As Larsen (2006) and others have shown, universalism tends to mitigate anti-immigrant and anti-sociocultural minority hatred. Related, as Swank and Betz (2003; 2018) demonstrate, universalism weakens the resonance for some voters of nativist and populist appeals as well as appeals based on economic insecurities by RRWP parties. The vote shares of radical populist right parties are reduced.

All things considered, and despite the evidence that contemporary political dynamics lead to positive effects of RRWP party success on traditional social protection, our findings indicate that welfare state effects of the rise of the radical populist right are likely to lead to some undesirable outcomes. Specifically, the welfare state outcomes we have documented here may contribute to further sociocultural division, not less. The radical right, themselves, may benefit electorally from specific social welfare reforms (for instance, the decline in universalism) that welfare chauvinism has prompted and favorable political conditions have enhanced. More broadly, these consequences of RRWP party electoral success and government participation may reinforce the continued changes associated with social and economic policy liberalization and austerity in some countries, under some governments. This is especially true in the absence of widespread and relatively equitably distributed economic benefits of market liberalization, itself. As we argued in a recent paper (Swank and Betz 2018), under these circumstances, bolstering institutions of social solidarity such as universalistic welfare state structures and labor organization may significantly contribute to mitigation of intense sociocultural polarization, political instability, and, in the extreme, threats to democratic institutions.

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**Table 1. Electoral Support and Government Participation for Rightwing Populist Parties in Western Europe, 1980 – 2015**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Principal Parties</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Percentage of National Vote and Cabinet Portfolios for RWP Parties in Period</i>				
		1980-1995		1996-2015		Peak Vote
		Votes	Portfolios	Votes	Portfolios	
Austria	Freedom Party (FPÖ)	11.5	0.0	22.4	13.3	31.0
Belgium	Vlaams Block (VB)	3.6	0.0	13.8	2.4	26.0
Denmark	Progress Party (FPd), People's Party (DF)	6.8	0.0	12.0	0.0	21.1
Finland	True Finns/the Finns (PS)	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.7	19.0
France	National Front (FN)	6.8	0.0	9.6	0.0	14.0
Germany	Alternative for Germany (AfD)	0.8	0.0	2.1	0.0	6.0
Greece	Independent Greeks (ANEL)	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.5	9.1
Ireland	None	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italy	Lega Nord/The League (LN)	2.8	1.4	6.8	6.7	10.0
Netherlands	Freedom Party/Group Wilders (PVV)	0.0	0.0	6.4	.9	17.0
Norway	Progress Party (FPn)	6.6	0.0	17.3	4.9	23.0
Portugal <sup>b</sup>	National Renovator Party (PNR)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.5
Spain <sup>b</sup>	National Democracy (DN)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1
Sweden	Swedish Democrats (SD)	1.4	0.0	2.8	0.0	13.0
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party (post-1995), (SVP)	2.7	0.0	25.7	20.2	29.3
UK	UK Independence Party (UKIP)	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	12.6
Average all		2.7	0.1	8.1	3.1	14.5

<sup>a</sup> For references used in party classification, sources of electoral and cabinet data, and a complete list of parties, see the paper's Online Appendix.

<sup>b</sup> Average vote shares less than .5; share rounded to 0.0.

<sup>c</sup> Government participation/cabinet shares does not include periodic informal support of governing coalitions by RRWP parties.

**Table 2. The Impact of RRWP Parties on Aggregate Social Insurance Generosity.**

	Random Effects			Fixed Effects		
	Impact of Votes	Impact of Seats	Impact of Government	Impact of Votes	Impact of Seats	Impact of Government
<b>RRWP Party Political Success</b>						
RRWP Party Vote Shores	.1620** (.0512_)	---	---	.1841** (.0602)	---	---
RRWP Party Seat Shares	---	.1212** (.0469)	---	---	.1462** (.0544)	---
RRWP Party Cabinet Portfolio Shares	---	---	.1176** (.0272)	---	---	.1249** (.0325)
<b>General Model</b>						
Social Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0065 (.0078)	.0062 (.0096)	.0077 (.0092)	.0079 (.0107)	.0081 (.0107)	.0087 (.0104)
Christian Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0124 (.0188)	.0111 (.0181)	.0112 (.0176)	.0180 (.0200)	.0162 (.0199)	.0155 (.0192)
Union Organization $t-1$	3.2824** (.9678)	3.1974** (.9796)	3.5229** (.8941)	3.3665** (.8382)	3.3218** (.8355)	3.4717** (.8199)
Institutional Veto Points $t-1$	1.5814 (1.5917)	1.6624 (1.5707)	2.0411 (1.5460)	2.2653 (1.5457)	1.8709 (1.4849)	2.5745 (2.0254)
Elderly Population	.1556 (.2335)	.1725 (.2936)	.1098 (.2819)	.0769 (.3919)	.0630 (.3951)	.0407 (.3750)
Unemployment	-.0566 (.1540)	-.0816 (.1618)	-.0815 (.1760)	-.0002 (.1499)	-.0203 (.1522)	-.0235 (.1692)
Growth (Percentage Change in Real per capita GDP)	-.1178* (.0936)	-.1147* (.0914)	-.1059* (.0812)	-.1266* (.0927)	-.1302* (.0896)	-.1091* (.0817)
Public Sector Debt	-.0298 (.0246)	-.0304 (.0244)	-.0293 (.0243)	-.0166 (.0205)	-.0135 (.0198)	-.0175 (.0221)
Deindustrialization	.0498 (.1828)	.1088 (.1942)	.1110 (.1992)	-.0934 (.2092)	-.0449 (.2315)	-.0143 (.2390)
Capital Mobility (Liberalization)	.0336* (.0247)	.0277 (.0291)	.0414** (.0251)	.0525** (.0296)	.0481* (.0295)	.0595** (.0355)
Trade Openness	.0258 (.0288)	.0225 (.0227)	.0214 (.0292)	.0426 (.0410)	.0418 (.0417)	.0342 (.0423)

Sigma u	3.0763	2.8947	3.3509	3.9862	3.9918	3.9612
Sigma e	2.1797	2.1712	2.1771	3.6397	2,1713	2.1975
N Periods	112	112	112	112	112	112
R <sup>2</sup>	.4001	.2821	.3966	.2990	.2881	.2856
RRWP Party Effect Pre-1995	-.2327 (.2178)	-.3814* (.2276)	---	.1716 (.1389)	.1027 (.1621)	---
RRWP Party Effect Post-1994	.1170* (.0719)	.0529 (.0845)	---	.2330** (.0913)	.1860** (.0812)	---

The table reports regression coefficients and panel clustered standard errors from random and fixed effects estimation. Standard errors are robust to autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity. Period-specific RRWP party effects reported in the last two rows of table are marginal effects obtained from simple interactions between party variables and a pre-/post-1995 dichotomous variable in the relevant column equation.

**Table 3. The Impacts of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties on Key Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy.**

	<b>Pensions Votes</b>	<b>Pensions Government</b>	<b>Unemploy Vote</b>	<b>Unemploy Government</b>	<b>Min Protect Votes</b>	<b>Min Protect Government</b>	<b>Services Votes</b>	<b>Services Government</b>
<b>RRWP Party Political Success</b>								
RRWP Party Vote Shores	.1132** (.0436)	---	.0250 (.0349)	----	-.0536 (.1409)	---	.0207 (.0163)	---
RRWP Party Cabinet Portfolio Shares	----	.0252* (.0168)	---	.0440** (.022)	---	.0421 (.0856)	---	-.0149** (.0056)
<b>General Model</b>								
Social Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0005 (.0031)	-.0004 (.0036)	.0024 (.0647)	.0033 (.0043)	.0314** (.0116)	.0343** (.0103)	.0007 (.0019)	-.0001 (.0074)
Christian Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0018 (.0066)	-.0012 (.0080)	.0039 (.0062)	.0044 (.0055)	-.0492 (.0437)	-.0457 (.0428)	-.0014 (.0039)	-.0029 (.0034)
Union Organization $t-1$	1.2367** (.03618)	1.0677** (.4196)	1.0052** (.5419)	1.1402** (.5487)	-9.6846 (2.6652)	-9.3381 (2.6466)	.0025 (.2414)	-.1419 (.2015)
Institutional Veto Points $t-1$	1.2598 (.7232)	1.3147 (1.3243)	-.5512 (1.2767)	-.2089 (1.2361)	2.7493 (4.3847)	3.1134 (4.4910)	.5298 (.4683)	.4113 (.5630)
Elderly Population	-.0692 (.1779)	-.0930 (.1943)	---	---	---	---	---	---
Foreign Population Inflows (mean $t-1$ to $t-3$ )	---	---	---	---	3.6634 (3.2492)	3.4305 (2.4283)	.4649** (.1872)	.5879** (.1635)
Unemployment	.0376 (.0433)	.0096 (.0640)	-.0469 (.0720)	-.0424 (.0756)	-.1464 (.2815)	-.1421 (.2975)	-.0494 (.0481)	-.0461 (.0301)
Growth (Percentage Change in Real per capita GDP)	-.1190** (.0536)	-.1125** (.0503)	-.0157 (.0132)	-.0106 (.0308)	-.3021* (.2167)	-.3096* (.2032)	-.0328** (.0174)	-.0289** (.0153)
Public Sector Debt	-.0015 (.0084)	.0013 (.0047)	.0074 (.0151)	.0054 (.0153)	.0285 (.0560)	.0243 (.0515)	-.0068** (.0041)	-.0065** (.0037)
Deindustrialization	.0273 (.1121)	.0774 (.1268)	-.0246 (.0714)	-.0150 (.0722)	-.9600 (.3924)	-.9957 (.3166)	.1367** (.0286)	.1460** (.0290)
Capital Mobility (Liberalization)	-.0014 (.0145)	.0039 (.0153)	.0341** (.0148)	.0359** (.0143)	.0322 (.1114)	.0369 (.1175)	.0075* (.0044)	.0068* (.044)
Trade Openness	.0253* (.0155)	.0244* (.0150)	.0012 (.0152)	-.0021 (.0159)	-.0976* (.0624)	-.1035* (.0740)	-.0074 (.0070)	-.0069 (.0076)
Sigma u	2.4907	2.2238	2.5078	2.4746	15.0248	14.9919	1.7959	1.8142
Sigma e	.9301	1.0481	1.074	1.0616	3.4919	3.4904	.3678	.3703
N Periods	112	112	112	112	72	72	116	116

R <sup>2</sup>	.4705	.3819	.2524	.2699	.4884	.4889	.7869	.7833
RRWP Party Effect Pre-1995	.1153** (.0438)	----	-.0189 (.0434)	---	-.0546 (.1709)	---	.0405 (.0297)	---
RRWP Party Effect Post-1994	.1414** (.0564)	---	.0414* (.0328)	---	-.0957 (.1626)	---	.0178 (.0173)	---

The table reports regression coefficients and panel clustered standard errors from fixed effects estimation. Standard errors are robust to autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity. Period-specific RRWP party effects reported in the last two rows of table are marginal effects obtained from simple interactions between party variables and a pre-/post-1995 dichotomous variable in the relevant column equation.



**Table 4. The Social Policy Impacts of RRWP Party Electoral Success on Key Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy**

	The Impact of a One Percent Change in RRWP Party Vote Share				
	Total Generosity	Pensions	Unemployment	Minimum Protection	Social Services
<b>At Left Party Government Cabinet Shares:</b>					
0	.0933 (.1392)	.0951* (.0618)	.0164 (.0778)	-.1004 (.2133)	.0281 (.0314)
20	.1459* (.0971)	.1146** (.0525)	.0199 (.0440)	-.1190 (.1726)	.0286 (.0237)
40	.1986** (.0741)	.1341** (.0463)	.0249 (.0304)	-.1376 (.1513)	.0192 (.0177)
60	.2512** (.0871)	.1537** (.0447)	.0498** (.0285)	-.1562 (.1545)	.0148 (.0152)
80	.3039** (.1254)	.1732** (.0484)	.0648** (.0148)	-.1749 (.1833)	.0104 (.0181)
100	.3566** (.1725)	.1927** (.0560)	.0780** (.0475)	-.1936 (.2276)	.0060 (.0213)
<b>At Christian Democratic Government Cabinet Shares</b>					
0	.1516* (.1096)	.0982* (.0632)	.0278 (.0459)	-.1097 (.2174)	.0333 (.0191)
20	.2432** (.0839)	.1407** (.0540)	.0477* (.0348)	-.2362* (.1789)	.0118 (.0041)
40	.3347** (.0772)	.1832** (.0462)	.0677* (.0423)	-.3628** (.1939)	-.0096 (.0129)
60	.4462** (.0882)	.2256** (.0526)	.0876* (.0614)	-.4893** (.2532)	-.0311** (.0164)
80	.5179** (.1132)	.2681** (.0629)	.1076 (.0855)	-.6159** (.3390)	-.0253** (.0224)
100	.6095** (.1432)	.3106** (.0734)	.1276 (.1107)	-.7424** (.4239)	-.0741** (.0295)

Table 4 presents coefficients and robust standard errors for the marginal social welfare impacts of RRWP party electoral success and various levels of strength of social and Christian democratic governments. Effects pertain to the post-1994 period and are derived from a fixed effects estimation of the basic models of Tables 2 and 3 with an interaction between RRWP party vote, social /Christian democratic cabinet shares, and a post-1994 dichotomous variable (see Online Appendix for full equation results).

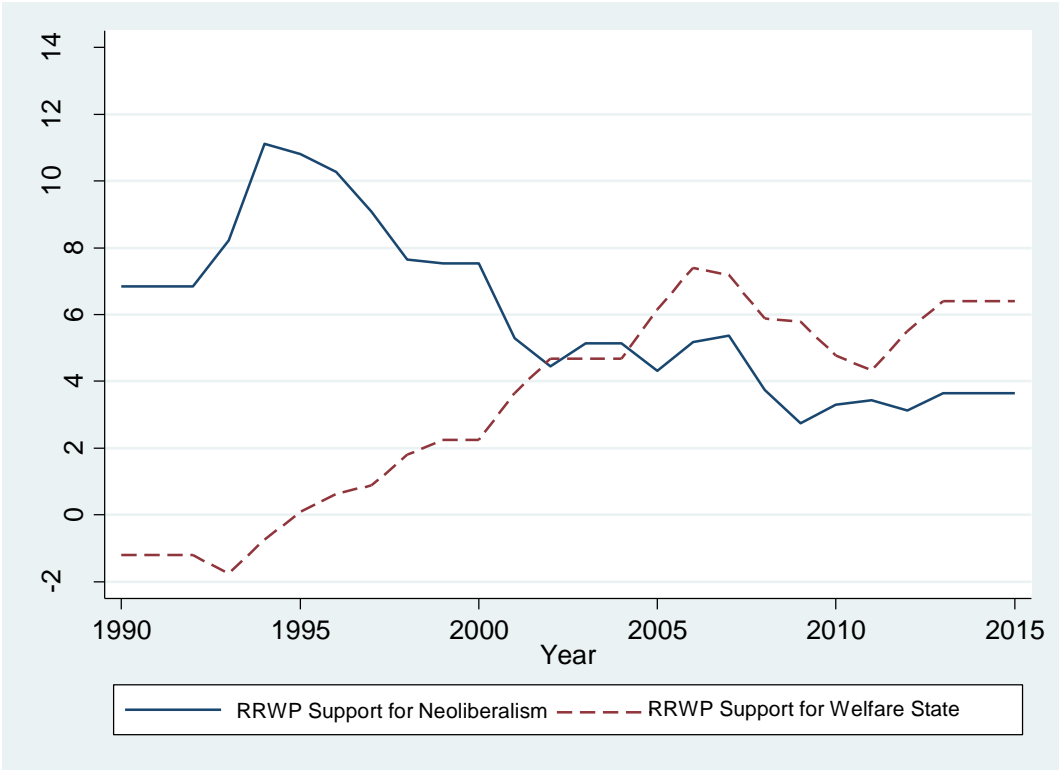
**Table 5. The Impacts of RRWP Parties on Universalism of the Welfare State.**

	Universalism		Program Coverage		Benefit Equality	
	Impact of Votes	Impact of Government	Impact of Votes	Impact of Government	Impact of Votes	Impact of Government
<b>RRWP Party Political Success</b>						
RRWP Party Vote Shores	-.0072* (.0043)	---	-.0199** (.0078)	---	.0049 (.0097)	---
RRWP Party Cabinet Portfolio Shares	---	-.0020 (.0018)	---	-.0018 (.0033)	---	-.0025 (.0042)
<b>General Model</b>						
Social Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0001 (.0005)	.0001 (.0005)	-.0003 (.0008)	-.0012 (.0008)	.0005 (.0006)	.0003 (.0006)
Christian Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0001 (.0008)	.0002 (.0009)	.0003 (.0018)	.0006 (.0015)	-.0001 (.0014)	-.0003 (.0013)
Union Organization $t-1$	.2517** (.0828)	.2661** (.0883)	.2322** (.1040)	.2856** (.1307)	.2779** (.1386)	.2569** (.1330)
Institutional Veto Points $t-1$	-.0115 (.0824)	-.0088 (.0828)	-.1604 (.1338)	-.1276 (.2041)	.1577 (.1723)	.1378 (.1956)
Elderly Population	-.0458** (.0151)	-.0487** (.0167)	-.0768** (.0229)	-.0834** (.0246)	-.0121 (.0350)	-.0104 (.0313)
Unemployment	-.0282** (.0152)	-.0272** (.0132)	-.0761** (.0332)	-.0724** (.0201)	.0209** (.0099)	.0195** (.01056)
Growth (Percentage Change in Real per capita GDP)	.0175* (.0123)	.0172* (.0106)	.0376* (.0242)	.0375* (.0024)	-.0027 (.0024)	-.0016 (.0102)
Public Sector Debt	-.0012 (.0012)	-.0012 (.0014)	.0001 (.0014)	-.0002 (.0019)	-.0027 (.0025)	-.0026 (.0024)
Deindustrialization	.0263** (.0136)	.0240** (.0134)	.0481** (.0238)	.0412** (.0238)	.0044 (.0161)	.0066 (.0172)
Capital Mobility (Liberalization)	.0060 (.0021)	.0058** (.0021)	.0073** (.0034)	.0070** (.0041)	.0044 (.0056)	.0044 (.0058)
Trade Openness	.0074** (.0016)	.0074** (.0016)	.0085** (.0021)	.0082** (.0020)	.0063** (.0034)	.0065** (.0034)
Sigma u	.5355	.5338	.6889	.6746	.5957	.5852
Sigma e	.1537	.1562	.2844	.2954	.2382	.2387
N Periods	127	127	128	128	127	127
R <sup>2</sup>	.6825	.6720	.5611	.5211	.3867	.3828

RRWP Party Effect Pre-1995	.0057 (.0117)	---	-.0120 (.0161)	---	.0023 (.0132)	---
RRWP Party Effect Post-1994	-.0075** (.0037)	---	-.0182** (.0075)	---	.0025 (.0109)	---
<b>RRWP Party Vote Impact at Left Party Government Cabinet Shares:</b>						
0	-.0184** (.0054)	---	-.0202* (.0135)	---	-.0152** (.0084)	---
20	-.0136** (.0042)	---	-.0208** (.0111)	---	-.0069 (.0082)	---
40	-.0088* (.0050)	---	-.0194** (.0081)	---	.0094 (.0099)	---
60	-.0040 (.0071)	---	-.0180** (.0090)	---	.0097 (.0123)	---
80	.0008 (.0098)	---	-.0166* (.0127)	---	.0181 (.0162)	---
100	.056 (.0126)	---	-.0152 (.0174)	---	.0264* (.0199)	---
<b>RRWP Party Vote Impact at Ch. Dem Government Cabinet Shares</b>						
0	-.0056 (.0077)	---	-.0193** (.0100)	---	.0083 (.0128)	---
20	-.0078* (.0048)	---	-.0145** (.0079)	---	-.0013 (.0097)	---
40	-.0101** (.0041)	---	-.0097 (.0107)	---	-.0109* (.0078)	---
60	-.0123** (.0062)	---	-.0049 (.0153)	---	-.0205** (.0092)	---
80	-.0146* (.0094)	---	-.0001 (.0211)	---	-.0302** (.0127)	---
100	-.0168* (.0130)	---	.0047 (.0272)	---	-.0404** (.0169)	---

The table reports regression coefficients and panel clustered standard errors from fixed effects estimation. Standard errors are robust to autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity. Period-specific RRWP party effects reported in the first two rows after the main part of the table are marginal effects obtained from simple interactions between party variables and a pre-/post-1995 dichotomous variable in the relevant column equation. Subsequent rows contain the marginal effects obtained from interactions between RRWP Party Vote Share, social and Christian democratic party governments cabinet shares, and a post-1994 dichotomous variable.

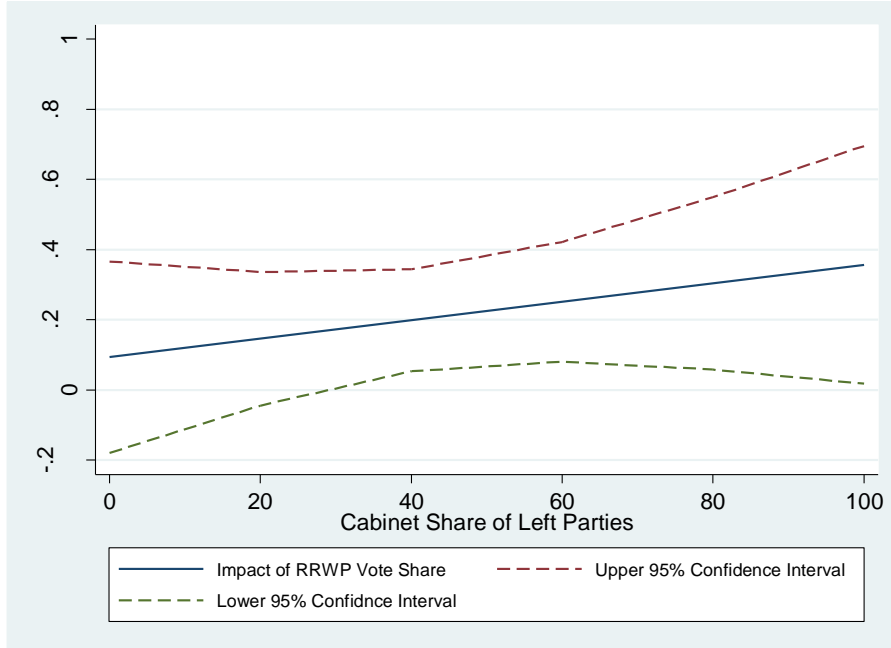
**Figure 1. RRWP Party Support for Neoliberalism and for Social Welfare Protections**



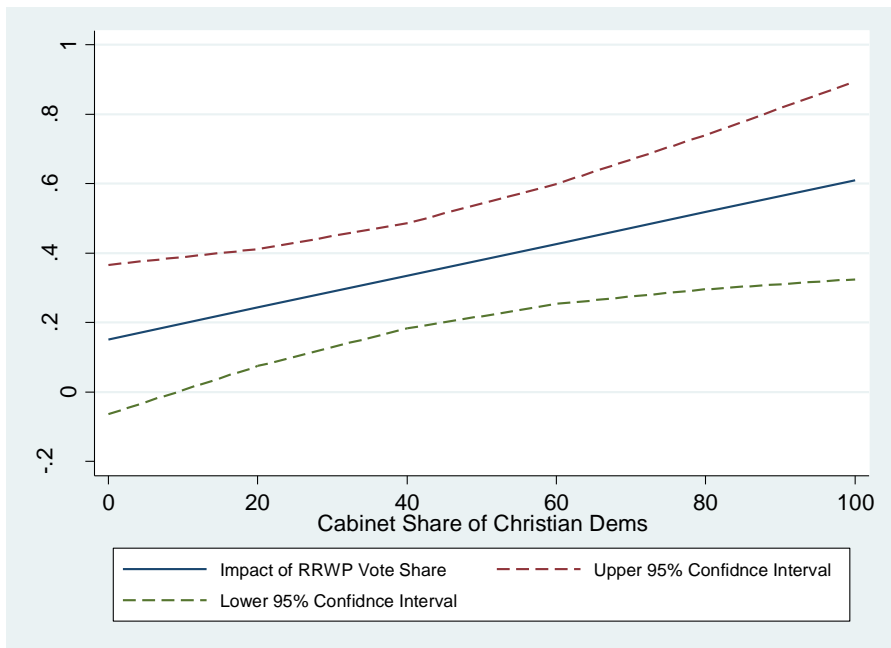
Data are from the Party Manifesto Database (Volkens 2017). The score for neoliberalism combines percent of manifestos comprised of statements in support of the free market and economic orthodoxy; support for the welfare state sums statements in support of maintaining or expanding the welfare state and subtracts statements in support of welfare retrenchment.

**Figure 2. The Impact of RRWP Party Vote Shares on Welfare Generosity under Post-1994 Left and Christian Democratic Governments.**

*Under Left Governments*



*Under Christian Democrat Governments*



## Online Appendix

### Data Sources and Notes

#### Right-Wing Populist Parties

Right-Wing Populist Party votes, seats, and cabinet portfolios:

Duane Swank, (2018). *Comparative Political Parties Dataset: Electoral, Legislative, and Government Strength of Political Parties by Ideological Group in 21 Capitalist Democracies, 1950-2015*. Electronic Database, Department of Political Science, Marquette University, [http://www.marquette.edu/polisci/faculty\\_swank.shtml](http://www.marquette.edu/polisci/faculty_swank.shtml)).

Right-Wing Populist Parties, classification (for sources see Swank *Comparative Political Parties Dataset*):

Austria: Freedom Party, Alliance for the Future of Austria, Team Frank Stronach  
Belgium: Vlaams Block/Flemish Interest; National Front, List De Decker, People's Party  
Denmark: Progress Party/People's Party  
Finland: True Finns  
France: National Front  
Germany: Republicans, Alternative for Germany  
Greece: Popular Orthodox Rally, Independent Hellenes  
Ireland: none  
Italy: Lega Nord (The League)  
Netherlands: List Pim Fortuyn, Freedom Party/Group Wilders  
Norway: Progress Party  
Portugal: National Renovator Party  
Spain: National Democracy  
Sweden: New Democracy, Sweden Democrats  
Switzerland: Automobile/Swiss Moterist Party, League of Tessins, Swiss People's Party (1995 and after), League of the People of Ticino  
United Kingdom: British National Party, UK Independence Party

#### Mainstream Left and Christian Democratic Votes, Seats, and Cabinet Portfolios

Duane Swank, (2018). *Comparative Political Parties Dataset: Electoral, Legislative, and Government Strength of Political Parties by Ideological Group in 21 Capitalist Democracies, 1950-2015*. Electronic Database, Department of Political Science, Marquette University, [http://www.marquette.edu/polisci/faculty\\_swank.shtml](http://www.marquette.edu/polisci/faculty_swank.shtml)).

#### Social Policies

*ALMP*: Active labor market policy spending as a percentage of GDP. Source: OECD iLibrary (Social Expenditures Data Base).

*Aggregate Welfare, Pension, and Unemployment Generosity*: Index of replacement rates and entitlement rights. Source: Scruggs, Lyle, Detlef Jahn, and Kati Kuitto. 2017. “Comparative Welfare Entitlements Dataset 2. Version 2017-09.” University of Connecticut & University of Greifswald.

*Social Services*: Spending on (non-health) in-kind social programs as a percent of GDP. Source: OECD iLibrary (Social Expenditures Data Base).

*Social Assistance Benefits (Minimum Income Protection for Outsiders)*: *social protection data* from Nelson (2007); *average production worker’s wage* is from Van Vliet & Caminada (2012).

*Universalism*: Standard score index of Population coverage rate for pension, sickness, and unemployment insurance and ratio of minimum or basic benefits to maximum benefits in each category, Swedish Institute for Social Research, Social Insurance Entitlements Dataset, Version March 2019., Social Policy Indicators Stockholm University, [www.sofi.su.se/spin](http://www.sofi.su.se/spin); Scruggs and Allen (2008).

### **Union Organization:**

Standard score index of union density and a 0.0 to 4.0 scale of centralization of powers in the largest national peak association (control of affiliate appointments, control over strikes, collective bargaining strategy, conflict funds). Source: All variables are from Visser (2016).

### **Institutional Veto Points:**

Standard score index for temporally and cross-nationally varying measures of federalism/decentralization, bicameralism, presidentialism, and judicial review. Source: Lijphart (2012) and country specific sources.

### **Globalization, Post-industrialization, Business Cycles:**

*International Capital Mobility*: Index of the liberalization of financial and capital controls developed by Quinn (1997) where liberalization is a 0.0 to 100.0 mean scale of the removal of capital controls and restrictions on current account transactions. Source: data from Dennis Quinn, Graduate School of Business, Georgetown University.

*Trade Openness*. Total: exports and imports as percentages of GDP. Source: components from OECD iLibrary. Total Merchandise Trade and imports from (non-oil-exporting) developing countries: Source: IMF, *Direction of Trade Statistics*. Source: <http://www.imf.org/en/data>.

*FDI and Portfolio Capital Inflows and Outflows*: Foreign direct investment outflows as a

percentage of GDP (in current US dollars). Source: foreign direct investment: International Monetary Fund, *Balance of Trade Statistics*; source: <http://www.imf.org/en/data>. GDP: OECD iLibrary (National Accounts).

*Asylum Seekers and Refugees/Total Foreign Immigration*: Asylum seekers and refugees and total foreign immigration expressed as a percentage of the population. Source: OCED iLibrary (OECD Migration Database).

*Aged Population*: Percent of populations 65 and over. Source: United Nations.

*Deindustrialization, Manufacturing Share of Total Employment*: Deindustrialization: 100 minus industrial and agricultural employment as a percentage share of the working age population. Source: employment and populations variables are from OECD iLibrary, (*Employment and Labor Market Statistics Data Base*).

*Unemployment*: unemployed as a percent of the civilian workforce (standardized scale). Source: OECD iLibrary, (*Employment and Labor Market Statistics Data Base*).

*Per Capita Real GDP in International Prices; Chain Index* (levels or growth rates). Source: Penn World Table Version 9.0. Feenstra, Robert C., Robert Inklaar and Marcel P. Timmer (2015).



**Appendix Table 1. The Welfare Generosity Impacts of RRWP Party Electoral Success and Government Participation, Alternative Estimation and Different Sample**

	OLS- Lagged Dependent Variable- PCSE-Fixed Effects Estimator		Fixed Effects with Robust Standard Errors-No Mediterranean Tier	
	Impact of Votes	Impact of Government	Impact of Votes	Impact of Government
<b>RRWP Party Political Success</b>				
RRWP Party Vote Shores	.1055** (.0411)	---	.1970** (.0642)	---
RRWP Party Cabinet Portfolio Shares	---	.0987** (.0305)	---	.1352** (.0301)
<b>General Model</b>				
Social Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0094* (.0072)	.0108* (.0077)	.0115 (.0118)	.0130 (.0118)
Christian Democratic Party Cabinet Shares	.0031 (.0079)	.0067 (.0085)	.0314* (.0224)	.0282* (.0210)
Union Organization $t-1$	.0211 (.9409)	.7636 (.8973)	4.0005** (.9722)	4.2254** (.8971)
Institutional Veto Points $t-1$	1.3167 (1.0502)	1.7159 (1.1639)	2.2515 (1.3193)	2.9180 (2.0737)
Elderly Population	.1003 (.1712)	.0955 (.1768)	.0867 (.4292)	.0514 (.4130)
Unemployment	-.0942 (.1013)	-.0943 (.1024)	-.0840 (.1667)	-.1075 (.1906)
Growth (Percentage Change in Real per capita GDP)	.0551 (.0651)	.0938* (.0698)	-.2165** (.0804)	-.1851** (.0727)
Public Sector Debt	-.0942 (.1013)	-.0132 (.0121)	-.0177 (.0206)	-.0187 (.0222)
Deindustrialization	-.2392 (.0998)	-.2060 (.1075)	-.0765 (.2142)	.0084 (.2706)
Capital Mobility (Liberalization)	.0071 (.9187)	.0148 (.0187)	.0578* (.0345)	.0624* (.0357)
Trade Openness	.0294** (.0140)	.0222* (.0157)	.0412 (.0395)	.0302 (.0404)
Lagged Welfare Generosity	.6405** (.1389)	.6587** (.1350)	---	---
Sigma u	---	---	4.4329	4.3935
Sigma e	---	---	2.1552	2.2016
N Periods	99	99	100	100
R <sup>2</sup>	.9296	.9310	.3969	.3707
RRWP Party Effect Pre-1995	.0844 (.0711)	---	-.3114* (.2251)	---
RRWP Party Effect Post-1994	.1066** (.0412)	---	.1771** (.0758)	---

Models of the first two columns are estimated with OLS and with inclusion of lagged dependent variables and with controls for country fixed effects. Standard errors are panel correct standard errors. The models in the second set of columns are estimated with our standard fixed effects estimator with robust (panel clustered) standard errors and without panels for Greece, Portugal, and Spain.