

IMMIGRATION AND RADICAL RIGHT WING POPULISM IN EUROPE

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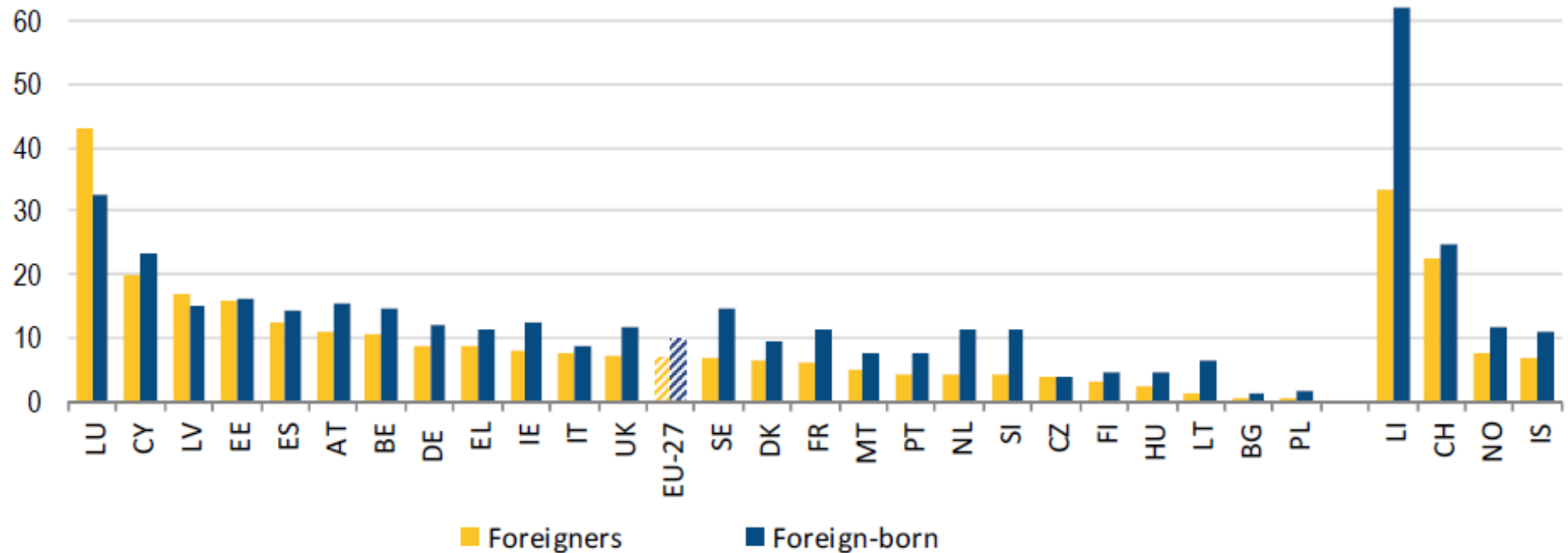
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PLAN OF ATTACK

- × A snapshot of migrants in 2011
- × Waves of immigration in Europe
- × Populist radical right parties
 - + Ideology
 - + Influence
- × Q & A

Proportion of foreigners and foreign-born in total population, 2011

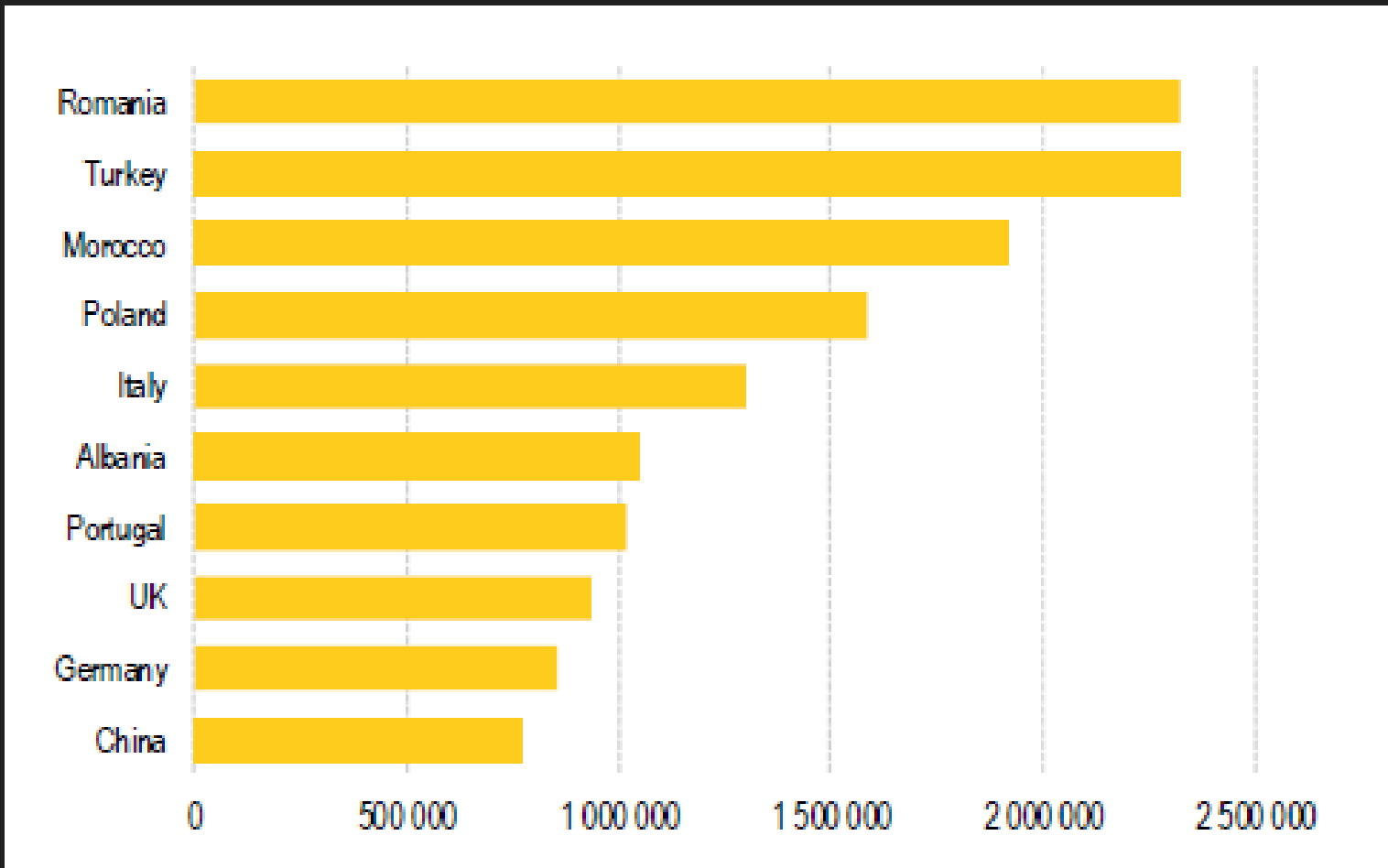


Source: Eurostat (online data code [migr_pop1ctz](#) and [migr_pop3ctb](#))

	Foreigners							Foreign-born					
	Total			Citizens of (other) EU Member States		Citizens of non-EU countries		Total		Born in (other) EU Member States		Born in a non-EU country	
	(1000)	(%) in 2011	(%) in 2001*	(1000)	(%)	(1000)	(%)	(1000)	(%)	(1000)	(%)	(1000)	(%)
EU-27 s	33 306.1	6.6	4.4	12 805.2	2.5	20 500.9	4.1	48 868.6	9.7	16 474.9	3.3	32 393.7	6.4
Belgium	1 162.6	10.6	8.4	749.0	6.8	413.7	3.8	1 628.8	14.8	773.5	7.0	855.3	7.8
Bulgaria	38.8	0.5	0.3	8.5	0.1	30.4	0.4	78.6	1.1	24.1	0.3	54.6	0.7
Czech Republic	416.7	4.0	1.8	135.4	1.3	281.3	2.7	388.0	3.7	124.1	1.2	263.9	2.5
Denmark	345.9	6.2	4.8	125.1	2.3	220.7	4.0	517.2	9.3	160.8	2.9	356.4	6.4
Germany	7 198.9	8.8	8.8	2 628.3	3.2	4 570.6	5.6	9 807.6	12.0	3 362.6	4.1	6 445.0	7.9
Estonia**	208.0	15.7	20.0	12.6	1.0	195.4	14.8	212.7	16.1	17.7	1.3	194.9	14.8
Ireland	361.6	8.1	3.9	292.4	6.5	69.1	1.5	556.7	12.4	434.3	9.7	122.4	2.7
Greece	956.0	8.5	7.0	153.0	1.4	803.0	7.1	1 255.2	11.1	317.1	2.8	938.1	8.3
Spain	5 654.6	12.3	2.9	2 329.2	5.0	3 325.5	7.2	6 555.9	14.2	2 341.6	5.1	4 214.3	9.1
France	3 824.8	5.9	5.3	1 339.9	2.1	2 484.9	3.8	7 289.3	11.2	2 127.8	3.3	5 161.6	7.9
Italy	4 570.3	7.5	2.2	1 334.8	2.2	3 235.5	5.3	5 350.4	8.8	1 721.9	2.8	3 628.5	6.0
Cyprus	167.8	20.0	8.8	105.4	12.5	62.4	7.4	193.9	23.1	105.2	12.5	88.7	10.6
Latvia** p	379.8	17.0	24.6	9.8	0.4	370.0	16.6	334.4	15.0	36.6	1.6	297.8	13.4
Lithuania	33.6	1.0	1.0	1.9	0.1	31.7	1.0	207.9	6.4	32.5	1.0	175.4	5.4
Luxembourg	220.7	43.1	37.0	190.6	37.2	30.1	5.9	166.3	32.5	137.7	26.9	28.6	5.6
Hungary	209.2	2.1	1.1	127.1	1.3	82.1	0.8	443.3	4.4	298.1	3.0	145.2	1.5
Malta	20.4	4.9	2.5	10.4	2.5	10.0	2.4	31.2	7.5	16.2	3.9	15.0	3.6
Netherlands	673.2	4.0	4.2	334.5	2.0	338.7	2.0	1 868.7	11.2	449.2	2.7	1 419.5	8.5
Austria	907.4	10.8	8.9	352.2	4.2	555.2	6.6	1 299.1	15.5	528.0	6.3	771.2	9.2
Poland p	47.3	0.1	0.1	15.5	0.0	31.7	0.1	544.5	1.4	232.9	0.6	311.6	0.8
Portugal	448.1	4.2	2.1	103.2	1.0	344.9	3.2	805.2	7.6	208.6	2.0	596.7	5.6
Romania	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Slovenia	82.7	4.0	2.1	5.4	0.3	77.4	3.8	228.6	11.1	21.2	1.0	207.4	10.1
Slovakia	68.0	1.3	0.6	41.9	0.8	26.1	0.5	:	:	:	:	:	:
Finland	166.6	3.1	1.8	61.2	1.1	105.4	2.0	243.2	4.5	86.3	1.6	156.9	2.9
Sweden	622.3	6.6	5.4	270.0	2.9	352.3	3.7	1 384.1	14.7	483.0	5.1	901.1	9.6
United Kingdom p	4 486.6	7.2	4.5	2 061.4	3.3	2 425.2	3.9	7 244.2	11.6	2 334.4	3.7	4 909.7	7.9
Iceland	21.1	6.6	3.1	16.7	5.2	4.4	1.4	34.7	10.9	22.7	7.1	11.9	3.7
Liechtenstein	12.0	33.2	34.4	5.9	16.4	6.1	16.8	22.5	62.2	7.5	20.9	15.0	41.4
Norway	368.5	7.5	4.1	214.0	4.4	154.5	3.1	568.3	11.6	236.2	4.8	332.1	6.8
Switzerland	1 765.8	22.4	19.8	1 097.8	13.9	668.0	8.5	1 940.3	24.7	1 158.2	14.7	782.2	9.9
Croatia	:	:	0.9	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Montenegro	44.2	7.2	:	0.7	0.1	43.5	7.0	:	:	:	:	:	:
FYR of Macedonia	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Turkey	175.4	0.2	0.4	74.5	0.1	100.8	0.1	:	:	:	:	:	:

Source: Eurostat (online data code [migr_pop1ctz](#) and [migr_pop3ctb](#))

Main citizenships of foreigners residing in the EU-27, 2011



Source: Eurostat, Statistics in Focus-Population and social conditions, 31/2012

Main countries of birth of persons born outside of their country of residence, 2011

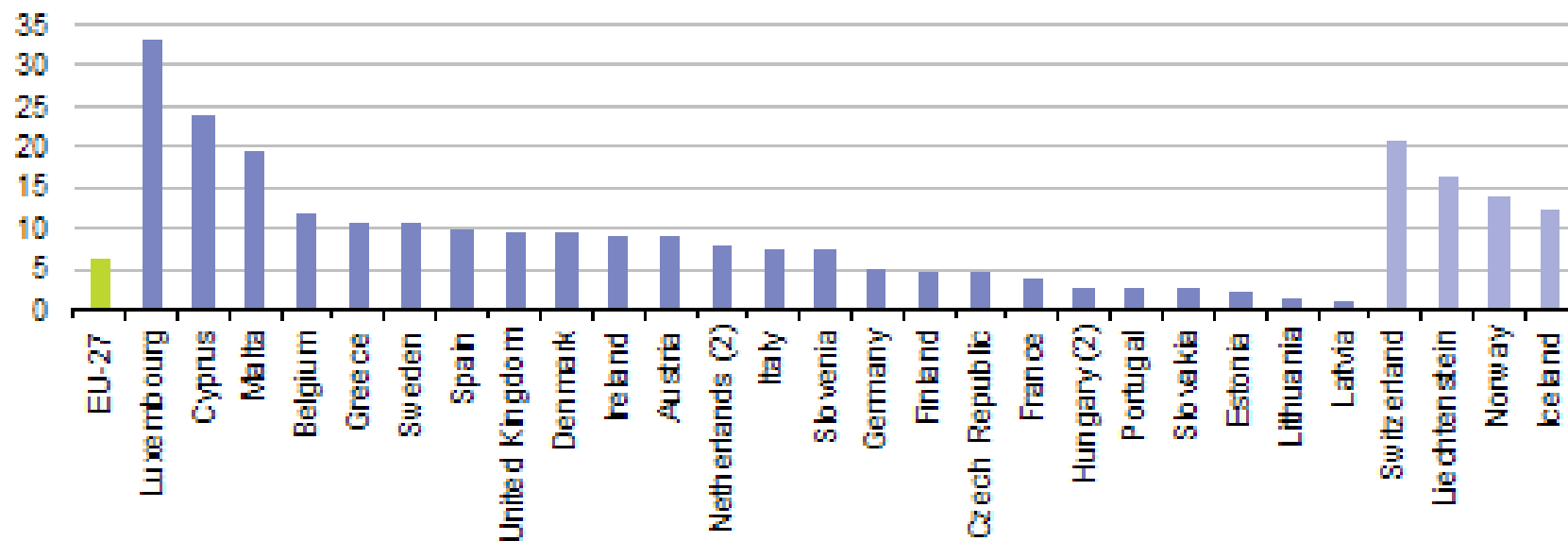
Source: Eurostat (online data code [migr_pop3ctb](#))

		Foreign-born						Foreign-born			
	Country of birth	(1000)	(%)		Country of birth	(1000)	(%)		Country of birth	(1000)	(%)
BE	Morocco	189.1	11.6	IT	Romania	904.0	16.9	SE	Finland	169.5	12.2
	France	175.0	10.7		Albania	421.4	7.9		Iraq	121.8	8.8
	Netherlands	126.4	7.8		Morocco	392.1	7.3		Former Yugoslavia	70.8	5.1
BG	Russia	18.7	23.8	LV ^p	Russia	172.3	51.5	UK ^p	India	705.6	9.7
	Romania	6.0	7.7		Belarus	57.9	17.3		Poland	541.4	7.5
	Ukraine	5.9	7.5		Ukraine	42.4	12.7		Pakistan	439.3	6.1
CZ	Ukraine	116.4	30.0	NL	Turkey	197.4	10.6	IS	Poland	9.5	27.4
	Slovakia	67.5	17.4		Suriname	186.2	10.0		Denmark	2.9	8.5
	Vietnam	51.4	13.2		Morocco	167.7	9.0		Sweden	1.8	5.3
DK	Germany	34.1	6.6	PL ^p	Ukraine	155.5	28.6	LI	Switzerland	12.3	54.6
	Turkey	32.4	6.3		Germany	71.5	13.1		Austria	3.6	16.1
	Poland	26.9	5.2		Former Soviet Union	59.2	10.9		Germany	1.7	7.4
IE	United Kingdom	216.6	38.9	SI	Bosnia and Herzegovina	96.9	42.4	NO	Poland	56.9	10.0
	Poland	74.3	13.4		Croatia	49.2	21.5		Sweden	44.5	7.8
	Lithuania	30.5	5.5		Serbia	26.4	11.5		Germany	26.2	4.6
ES	Romania	791.2	12.1	FI	Former Soviet Union	48.7	20.0	CH	Germany	318.9	16.4
	Morocco	763.5	11.6		Sweden	31.2	12.8		Italy	233.1	12.0
	Ecuador	479.2	7.3		Estonia	25.0	10.3		Portugal	172.3	8.9

FR	Portugal	493	13.1
	Algeria	468	12.4
	Morocco	440	11.7

AT	Serbia & Montenegro	188	14.8
	Germany	187	14.7
	Turkey	158	12.4

Immigrants per 1000, 2010



(1) Data on the number of inhabitants refer to 1 January 2011;

Bulgaria, Poland and Romania, not available.

(2) Data on the number of inhabitants refer to 1 January 2010;

data on immigrants to 2009.

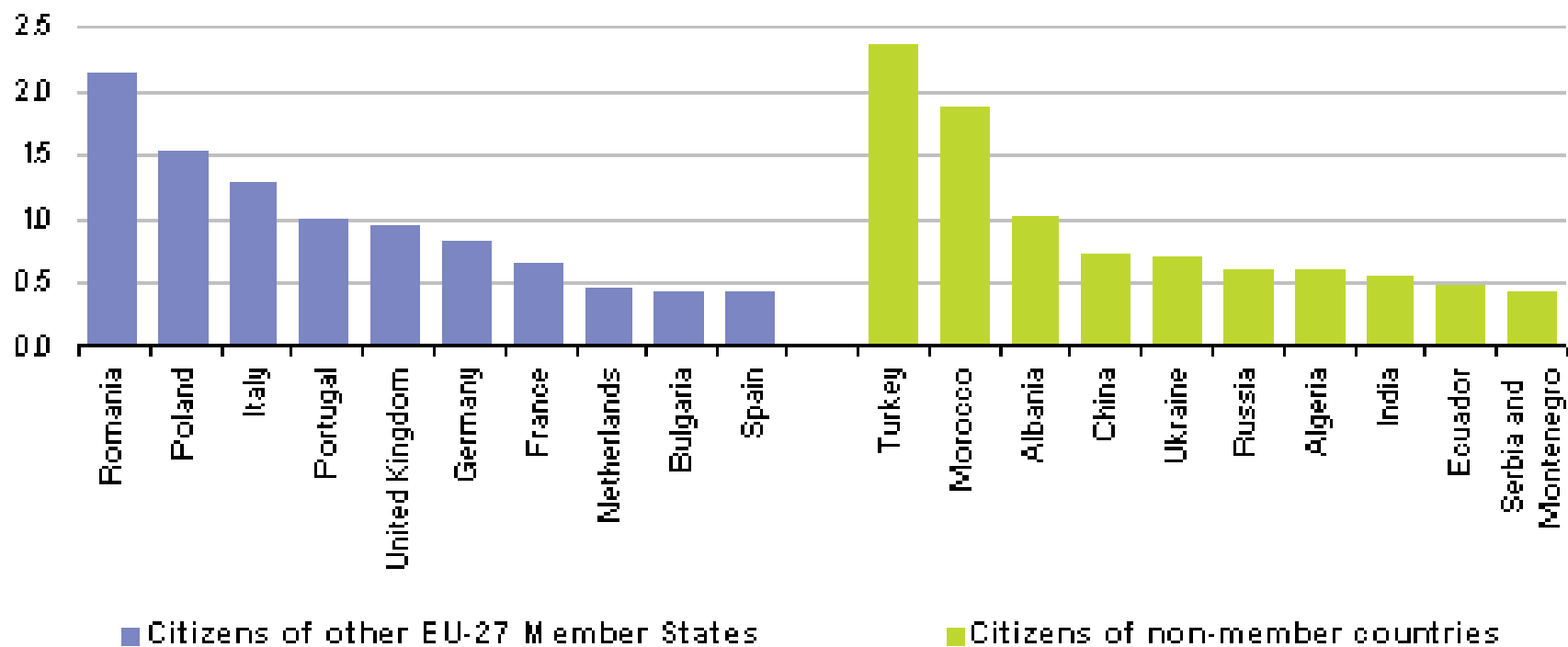
Source: Eurostat (online data codes: migr_imm1ctz and migr_pop1ctz)

Note: UK, Spain, Italy and Germany accounted for 62% of all immigrants in EU member states

	Total immigrants (1 000)	Nationals		Non-nationals					
				Total		Citizens of other EU Member States		Citizens of non-member countries	
		(1 000)	(%)	(1 000)	(%)	(1 000)	(%)	(1 000)	(%)
EU-27	3 000.0	600.0	18	2 500.0	81	1 000.0	31	1 500.0	50
Belgium	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bulgaria	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Czech Republic	75.6	21.7	28.8	53.9	71.2	15.5	20.5	38.4	50.7
Denmark	51.8	19.3	37.2	32.5	62.8	16.2	31.3	16.3	31.4
Germany	347.3	79.2	22.8	267.2	76.9	126.8	36.5	140.4	40.4
Estonia	3.9	1.7	42.6	2.2	57.4	1.0	26.8	1.2	30.5
Ireland	37.4	14.7	39.4	22.5	60.1	16.0	42.7	6.5	17.4
Greece	.	.	.	84.2	.	29.5	.	54.6	.
Spain	499.0	29.6	5.9	469.3	94.1	144.9	29.0	324.5	65.0
France	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Italy	442.9	36.2	8.2	406.7	91.8	136.1	30.7	270.6	61.1
Cyprus	11.7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Latvia	2.7	0.5	19.4	2.2	80.6	1.1	40.2	1.1	40.4
Lithuania	6.5	4.8	74.3	1.7	25.7	0.3	4.0	1.4	21.7
Luxembourg	15.8	1.1	7.1	14.6	92.7	11.9	75.7	2.7	16.9
Hungary	27.9	2.3	8.3	25.6	91.7	14.2	51.1	11.3	40.6
Malta	7.2	1.2	17.0	6.0	83.0	4.0	54.7	2.0	28.3
Netherlands	128.8	36.9	28.7	81.9	63.6	47.3	36.7	34.6	26.8
Austria	73.3	9.5	13.0	63.6	86.9	39.1	53.3	24.6	33.5
Poland	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Portugal	32.3	18.0	55.9	14.3	44.1	4.0	12.4	10.3	31.8
Romania	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Slovenia	30.3	2.9	9.6	27.4	90.3	1.9	6.2	25.5	84.1
Slovakia	15.6	1.2	7.7	14.4	92.3	6.9	43.9	7.6	48.4
Finland	26.7	8.6	32.3	17.8	66.7	6.5	24.2	11.3	42.4
Sweden	102.3	18.5	18.1	83.5	81.6	26.9	26.3	56.6	55.4
United Kingdom	566.5	96.0	16.9	470.5	83.1	167.4	29.6	303.1	53.5
Iceland	3.9	1.4	36.0	2.5	64.0	2.0	51.3	0.5	12.6
Liechtenstein	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Norway	56.0	7.3	13.1	48.6	86.9	26.9	48.0	21.8	38.9
Switzerland	160.6	22.4	13.9	138.3	86.1	91.1	56.7	47.1	29.3

(1) EU-27 rounded totals are based on estimates; the individual values do not add up to the total due to rounding and the exclusion of the 'unknown' citizenship group from the table.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_imm1ctz)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop1ctz)

WAVES OF IMMIGRATION IN EUROPE

- 1) Labor migration (1945-70s)
- 2) Family reunification (1970s-2000s)
- 3) Asylum seekers, refugees, illegal workers (1989s-)

FIRST WAVE – LABOR MIGRATION

- × Driven by war related shortages
- × Primarily intra-European
 - + surplus labor from Mediterranean countries, Eastern Europe
 - + later select parts of the Third World
- × Assumption that workers were guests and would eventually return home
 - + German Gastarbeiter demonstrated shortsightedness
- × Concentrated in industrialized metropolitan areas
 - + magnets for future migration
 - + costs of absorption unevenly distributed

Immigrant labor in selected European countries, 1976

Country	Total Foreign Workers	Primary Labor Source
Austria	185,000	Yugoslavia
Belgium	278,000	Italy
France	1,900,000	Portugal
West Germany	2,171,000	Turkey
Luxembourg	46,800	Portugal
Netherlands	216,000	Belgium
Sweden	204,000	Finland
Switzerland	553,000	Italy

Source: OECD SOPEMI, 1976

SECOND WAVE: FAMILY REUNIFICATION

- × Relatives and dependents of migrant workers reunited with guest workers in host country
- × Once reunited, settled permanently regardless of legal status
- × Favorable naturalization laws for migrants from former colonies, especially UK and France
- × Host governments begin to enact stricter labor migration regulations
 - + families seek reunion and naturalization foreseeing barriers to entry in the future

THIRD WAVE: ASYLUM SEEKERS, REFUGEES, ILLEGAL WORKERS

- ✘ Steady stream of asylum seekers and refugees due to the collapse of communism, Gulf War, Balkan Wars, Afghanistan, Iraq War... Syria
- ✘ Set of host countries expands to include former emigrant nations, e.g. Italy, Portugal, Greece
 - + favorable entry points for illegal migrants
- ✘ Immigration becomes a political issue!
 - ✘ Citizens wake up to the changes in their communities
 - ✘ 9/11 changes how people view the “other”

We know *who* they are, even if we don't know *what* they are. (K. Von Beyme)



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NATIVISM

- ✗ Nationalism + xenophobia
- ✗ Mono-cultural nation-state
- ✗ Fear of „aliens“ (people & values)



ELECTIONS EUROPEENNES - 7 JUIN 2009

A.M.E, C.M.U, LOGEMENT SOCIAL, ALLOCATIONS, PRESTATIONS...

L'IMMIGRATION nous coûte 60 milliards d'€ par an

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Richtige Ehrliche Politik **REP** DIE REPUBLIKANER

MORE SPECIFICALLY, NATIVISM IS...

„...an ideology which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group („the nation“) and that nonnative elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state“ (Mudde 2007: 19).

PAPIST IMMIGRANTS ARE WRECKING OUR ECONOMY WITH THEIR FECUNDITY! WE MUST ERECT A WALL OF BRASS AROUND THE COUNTRY FOR THE EXCLUSION OF CATHOLICS!

1780



("WALL OF BRASS..." IS QUOTED FROM JOHN JAY, THE FIRST CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT.)

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS REFUSE TO ASSIMILATE... AND IF WE LET TOO MANY IN, THEY'LL UNDERMINE OUR ECONOMY!

1850



NOW, I'VE GOT NOTHING AGAINST JEWS... BUT THE JEWS ARE COMING IN HUGE NUMBERS! THE ECONOMY CAN'T TAKE IT!

1920



WE'VE GOT NOTHING AGAINST MEXICANS. BUT THEY REFUSE TO ASSIMILATE! THEY'RE RUINING OUR ECONOMY!

NOW



WE SHOULD ERECT A WALL.

HISTORY MARCHES ON; NATIVISM MARCHES IN PLACE

AUTHORITARIANISM

- ✗ Law and order policies
 - + Higher sentences
 - + More police
 - + Less political oversight
 - + More discipline in schools
 - + Fewer rights for criminals



MORE SPECIFICALLY, AUTHORITARIANISM IS...

„...a general disposition to glorify, to be subservient to and remain uncritical toward authoritative figures of the ingroup and to take an attitude of punishing outgroup figures in the name of some more authority“ (Adorno et al, 1969: 228).

POPULISM

- ✘ The „pure people“ vs. The „corrupt elite“
- ✘ Voice of the people
- ✘ Against corruption
- ✘ For „real“ democracy



MORE SPECIFICALLY, POPULISM IS...

*„...a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous groups, „the pure people“ versus „the corrupt elite,“ and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people (Mudde 2004: 543).*

THE IDEOLOGICAL THREAT

- × Populist rational right parties are essentially democratic, but not in the liberal democratic sense
- × Nativism and populism are monist, i.e. hostile to compromise and diversity
- × Minority rights are seen as special interests and therefore „undemocratic“

Minor parties that succeeded in passing the electoral threshold of representation, even though they are electorally weak, function in various ways...They challenge either the ideological and symbolic aspects of the system or its rules of the game...Because of the ways they bypass obstacles, they are also initiators of new patterns of political competition. As such, they are relevant to the political system and its understanding.

(Herzog 1987: 326)



CONGRES
Nederland, Denemarken, Zwitserland, Italië ...
KORDAAT IMMIGRATIEBELEID WERKT!
10 april 2011 • 14.00 uur • Zuiderkroon • Antwerpen

Europese Unie voor de Vrijheid

Stopp Ja
zum Minarett-verbod



Country	Party	Highest (%)	Most Recent (%)
Austria	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	26.5 (1999)	17.5 (2008)
	Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)	10.7 (2008)	10.7 (2008)
Belgium	National Front (FNb)	2.3 (1995)	0.5 (2010)
	Flemish Interest (VB)	12 (2007)	7.8 (2010)
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DFP)	13.8 (2007)	12.3 (2011)
Finland	True Finns	19 (2011)	19 (2011)
France	National Front (FN)	14.9 (1997)	13.6 (2012)
Germany	The Republicans (REP)	2.1 (1990)	0.4 (2007)
Greece	Golden Dawn (XA)	7.0 (2012)	7.0 (2012)
Italy	Northern League (LN)	10.1 (1996)	8.3 (2009)
	National Alliance (AN)	12.3 (2006)	12.3 (2006)
Netherlands	Party for Freedom	15.5 (2010)	10.1 (2012)
	Pim Fortuyn (LPF)	17.0 (2002)	5.7 (2003)
Portugal	National Renovator Party (PNR)	0.3 (2011)	0.3 (2011)
Spain	New Force (FN)	0.5 (1982)	
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD)	5.7 (2010)	5.7 (2010)
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party (SVP)	28.9 (2007)	26.6 (2011)
United Kingdom	British National Party (BNP)	1.9 (2010)	1.9 (2009)

Country	Party	Periods	Coalition partner(s)
Austria	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	2000-2002	ÖVP
		2002-2005	ÖVP
	Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)	2005-2006	ÖVP
Croatia	Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)	1990-2000	
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DFP)	2001-2005	V & KF
		2005-2007	V & KF
		2007-2011	V & KF
Estonia	Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP)	1992-1995	Isamaa
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	2011-2012	PASOK & ND
Italy	Northern League (LN)	1994	FI & AN
		2001-2005	FI & MDC
		2008-2011	PdL & MpA
Latvia	National Alliance (NA)	2011-	Unity & ZRP
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	2010-2012	CDA & VVD
Romania	Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR)	1994-1996	PDSR & PSM
	Greater Romania Party (PRM)	1995	PDSR & PSM
Serbia	Serbian Radical Party (SRS)	1998-2000	SPS & JUL
Slovakia	Slovak National Party (SNS)	1994-1998	HZDS & ZRS
		2006-2010	HZDS & Smer
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party (SVP)	2000-	SPS, FDP, & CVP

THE ADVENTURES OF
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POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Direct Influence

(limited in scope)

- ✘ Tighten immigration
- ✘ Stricter integration
- ✘ More law & order
- ✘ Euroskepticism

Polarization of politics and society....

Indirect Influence

(difficult to determine)

- ✘ Pushing other parties
- ✘ Changing the discourse
- ✘ Worrying minorities

New issues on the agenda
Mobilizing opponents
(Re) integration citizens



*Geert Wilders,
Founder of Dutch PVV (2006)*



*Pim Fortuyn,
Founder of Dutch LPF (2002)*



*Jean-Marie Le Pen,
Leader of FN (1972-2011);
MEP (1984-present)*



*Jörg Haider,
Chairman of FPÖ (1986-2000);
Founder of BZÖ (2005)*



*Heinz-Christian Strache,
Chairman of FPÖ (2005)*



*Marine Le Pen,
Leader of FN (2011- present);
MEP (2009-present)*

QUESTIONS?
