Codebook: Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe

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Variables, Variable Construction and Data Sources

Variables

- country = country name
- year = election year
- populist = percentage of vote won by populist parties
- neofascist = percentage of vote won by neofascist parties
- extreme = percentage of vote won by neofascist and populist parties
- immigration = percentage of the population comprised of foreign citizens
- unemployment = percentage of total labor force that is unemployed at the national level
- unempchange1 = change in percentage unemployed over a one year period
- unempchange2 = change in percentage unemployed over a two year period
- unempchangeE = change in percentage unemployed over a one year period lagged by one year
- seats = number of seats in the lower house
- districts = number of lower tier districts
- average magnitude = average district magnitude
- upperseats = number of seats allocated in an upper tier
- uppertier = percentage of seats allocated in an upper tier
- UnempImmig = unemployment * immigration
- unempchange1immig = unempchange1 * immigration
- austria = dummy variable for austria etc.

Variable Construction

1. **Electoral System Variables**

- **Average District Magnitude:**

  If no seats were allocated in upper tiers, then the average district magnitude was simply the total number of seats in the lower house of parliament divided by the number of districts. For example, the United Kingdom had 630 seats in 1970 and 630 districts. The average district magnitude was, therefore, 630/630 = 1. Countries that did not have upper tier seats include Belgium , Finland, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway (until 1989), Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. If some seats were automatically allocated at an upper level, then the average district magnitude was: Total number of seats in the lower house - seats allocated in the upper level all divided by the number of districts. This is because this variable is trying to capture the average district magnitude at the lower level only. Thus, in Denmark where 40 seats are allocated in an upper tier, the average district magnitude = (175-40)/17 = 7.9. In Sweden in 1982 there were 39 seats allocated in an upper tier. Thus, the average district magnitude here was (349-39)/28 = 11.1. Countries that automatically allocated seats in upper tiers are Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy (since 1994), and Norway (since 1989). Figures for Greece came directly from Lijphart (1994) [Greece automatically allocates 12 seats at the national level, but also allocates seats at other upper tiers as well.] If seats were not automatically allocated in upper tiers then they were treated as district level seats when calculating the average district magnitude. These cases tended to involve countries where remainder seats were allocated at the national level. It is not known at the time of election how many seats would be allocated in upper tiers. Thus, the average district magnitude in Austria is 183/9 = 20.3, except

in 1970 when it was 165/9 = 18.3. Countries that do not automatically allocate seats to upper tiers but that do have upper tier seats are Austria and Italy (until 1992). The construction of this variable is almost identical to that outlined by Amorim Neto and Cox (1997).

- **Median District Magnitude:**

  This variable was supposed to capture the district magnitude of the median legislator. If no seats were allocated in upper tiers then the median legislator was taken as the total number of legislators divided by 2. Thus, the median legislator in 1970 in the UK was 630/2 - 315th person. I then took all the district magnitudes in a country and listed them from largest to smallest. I then found the one that would have elected the 315th person. In the United Kingdom, this was simple since all the district magnitudes were one. Thus, the median district magnitude for the UK in 1970 was 1. Another example would be Malta where the median legislator in 1976 would have been the 33rd person i.e. 65/2 = 32.5. I then line up the 13 districts in terms of their magnitude and find the one that would have elected the 33rd legislator. This district in 1976 had a magnitude of 5. If seats were automatically allocated in the upper tier then I found how many legislators were elected at the lower level i.e. total number of seats - number of seats allocated in the upper tier. I then divided this number by two to get the median legislator. Thus, in Denmark the median legislator was (175-40)/2 = 68th legislator. I then listed Denmark's 17 districts by their district magnitude and found the district that would have elected the 68th legislator. In each election in my sample, this was a district with magnitude 8. Another example is Iceland where the median legislator in 1978 was (60-11)/2 = 25th legislator. The district that elected the median legislator had a district magnitude of 5 in 1978. Figures for Greece came directly from Lijphart (1994). If seats were not automatically allocated at the upper tier then the median legislator was calculated based on the

total number of seats in the lower house. For example, the median legislator in Austria in 1983 was $183/2 = 92$nd person. I then listed Austria's 9 districts based on the magnitudes and found that the median legislator was elected in a district with magnitude 28. The construction of this variable is almost identical to that outlined by Amorim Neto and Cox (1997).

- **Upper Tier Seats:**

  These are the number of seats that were actually allocated in upper tiers. These seats include those that were automatically allocated to upper tiers and those that were eventually allocated in upper tiers as part of a remainder system etc.. I include both types of seats since I am trying to capture the proportionality of the system that arises due to upper tier seats. The construction of this variable is almost identical to that outlined by Amorim Neto and Cox (1997).

2. **Immigration Variable**

- Foreign population is measured as the percentage of foreign citizens in each country. Data were taken from two sources. I used data from several SOPEMI publications (SOPEMI 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999) unless individual national statistical offices could provide data with greater coverage.

- For those countries that used census figures to calculate the percentage of foreign citizens, I have interpolated in a linear fashion between the census observations in order to get annual figures. Moreover, if figures on the percentage of foreign citizens were available for a 12 month period either side of an election they were used for that electoral year. This affected six observations. The 1974 figures for foreign citizens in Denmark were used for the 1973 election (but not the 1971 election), the 1983 figures in Ireland were used for the 1982 elections, the 1980 figures in Italy were used for the 1979 election, the 1984 figures in the United Kingdom were used for the 1983 elections, the 1998 figures in Switzerland were

used for the 1999 elections and the 1999 figures in Spain were used for the 2000 election. Even following this approach, there were fourteen elections for which I do not have figures on foreign population from SOPEMI or from national statistical offices (Denmark 1971, Greece 2000, Iceland 1971, Ireland 1973, 1977, 1981, Italy 1972, 1976, Norway 1973, Portugal 1999, and the UK 1970, 1974, 1974, 1979). This is either because the data does not exist or because the figures are not currently available.

- A few words can be said about the SOPEMI data. SOPEMI is a continuous reporting system on migration organized by the OECD. In most OECD countries, national correspondents appointed by the Secretariat collect and interpret available data on international migration. Although SOPEMI compiles national data, it has no authority to impose changes in the data collection procedure or to correct government statistics. As Fassman and Münz (1992) note, the quality of the SOPEMI data heavily depends on the quality of the national data collection procedures. This means that one can generally assume that in countries like Germany and Switzerland, which have population registers for foreigners, the quality of data is higher than in countries like Austria where estimates are based on special labor market data, work permits and police registers (see OECD/SOPEMI 1992: 123-130).

Data Sources

1. **Election Results**
   Election results from 1970 to 1990 were taken from Mackie and Rose (1991). Other results were found in various issues of Electoral Studies and the European Journal of Research (EJPR), as well as several websites. These sources are listed in more detail below.

   Austria
   : Election results for 1990, 1994, and 1995 came from EJPR (1991:318, 1995:277, 1997:311) and those for 1999 came from the Austrian Ministry for the Interior's website at http://www.bmi.gv.at

   Belgium
   : Election results for 1991 and 1995 came from EJPR (1992:363, 1996:287) and those for 1999 came from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel's website at http://www.vub.ac.be/POLI/elections.

   Denmark
   : Election results for 1990 came from EJPR (1991:322) and those for 1994 and 1998 came from Electoral Studies (1999:151).

   Finland
   : Election results for 1991 and 1995 came from EJPR (1992:391, 1996:321) and those for 1999 came from the Finnish National Statistical Office's website at http://www.stat.fi.

   France
   : Election results for 1993 and 1997 came from EJPR (1994:293, 1998:393).

   Germany
   : Election results for 1990 and 1994 came from EJPR (1991:324, 1995:341) and those for 1998 came from the German National Statistical Office's website at http://www.statistik-bund.de.

   Greece
   : Election results for 1990, 1993 and 1996 came from EJPR (1991:323, 1994:313, 1997:375) and those for 2000 came from Wilfred Derksen's website at http://www.agora.stm.it.

   Iceland
   : Election results for 1991 and 1995 came from EJPR (1992:429, 1996:367) and those for 1999 came from Wilfred Derksen's website at http://www.agora.stm.it.

   Ireland
   : Election results for 1992 and 1997 came from EJPR (1993:455, 1998:429).

Italy
: Election results for 1992, 1994 and 1996 came from EJPR (1993:475, 1995:393, 1997:417).

Luxembourg
: Election results for 1994 came from EJPR (1995:415) and those for 1999 came from Wilfred Derksen's website at http://www.agora.stm.it.

Malta
: Election results for 1992 and 1996 came from EJPR (1993:495, 1997:439) and those for 1998 came from the official website of the Maltese Government at http://www.magnet.mt.

Netherlands
: Election results for 1994 came from EJPR (1995:427) and those for 1998 came from Electoral Studies (1999:275).

Norway
: Election results for 1993 and 1997 came from EJPR (1994, 1998:485).

Portugal
: Election results for 1991 and 1995 came from EJPR (1992:505, 1996:445) and those for 1999 came from the website at http://resultados.cne.pt.

Spain
: Election results for 1993 and 1996 came from EJPR (1994, 1997:489) and those for 2000 came from Wilfred Derksen's website at http://www.agora.stm.it.

Sweden
: Election results for 1991 and 1994 came from EJPR (1992:519; 1995:477) and those for 1998 came from Electoral Studies (1999:271).

Switzerland
: Election results for 1991 and 1995 came from EJPR (1992:527, 1996:469) and those for 1999 came from the National Statistical Office of Switzerland's website at http://www2.politik-stat.ch.

United Kingdom
: Election results for 1992 and 1997 came from EJPR (1993:555, 1997:539) as well as from Caramani (2000).

2. Electoral System Data

Data on electoral system variables for the period 1970-2000 were extremely difficult to collect and numerous sources were consulted in order to gather information on each country. I collected data on the number of seats in the lower house, the number of electoral districts, the average district magnitude, the median district magnitude, the number of seats allocated at an upper tier, and the percentage of seats allocated at an upper tier. All the sources consulted are listed below.

Austria
: Information after 1990 was found on the Ministry of the Interior's website at http://www.bmi.gv.at. Data for the period before 1990 came through correspondence with the Department of the Interior.

Belgium
: Correspondence with the Deputy Counselor, Legal Department, Ministry of the Interior and from Jo Buelens, Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Denmark
: Correspondence with Jörgen Elklit (1996, forthcoming).

Finland
: Finnish Library of Parliament, Rein Taagepera, University of California, Irvine, and the website at http://www.stat.fi.

France
: Lijphart (1994) and from Le Monde (1986, 1993, 1997).

Germany
: Lijphart (1994) and Massicote and Blais (1999).

Greece
: Lijphart (1994), the Greek Ministry of the Interior's website at http://194.219.9.83/gr/index.htm, and the website at http://www.electionresources.org.

Iceland
: Caramani (2000: 518-522) and from the website at http://www.hi.is/ magnus/ Kosninger.

Ireland
: Elections Ireland website at http://www.took.net/elections/index.html.

Italy
: Pasquino (1966) and correspondence with Miriam Golden, University of California, Los Angeles.

Luxembourg
: Service, Information et Presse, Ministère d'État website at http://www.etat.lu/SIP/elections/lois.htm.

Malta
: Data came from the website at http://www.maltadata.com.

Netherlands
: Caramani (2000).

Norway
: Correspondence with the Norwegian Parliamentary Library.

Portugal
: Correspondence with Albert Penadés, University of Salamanca, Spain.

Spain
: Correspondence with Albert Penadés, University of Salamanca, Spain.

Sweden
: Correspondence with Statistics Sweden, the Swedish Social Science Data Services at http: //www.ssd.gu.se and from the website at http://www.mai.liu.se/ laale/Val/.

Switzerland
: Correspondence with the Culture, Politics and Living Conditions Section of the Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

United Kingdom
: Caramani (2000).

3. Unemployment Data

Data on unemployment came from DG-II (ECFIN B/5) in the European Commission. These unemployment figures are standardized based on EUROSTAT definitions. The one exception to this is Malta, where the figures were taken from the UN Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.

4. Immigration Data

Data were taken from two sources. I used data from several SOPEMI publications (SOPEMI 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999) unless individual national statistical offices could provide data with greater coverage. The exact sources for the data are listed below.

Austria
: Received from Terri Givens, University of Washington. She received the data from the Austrian National Statistical Office.

Belgium
: Ministry of Economic Affairs, National Institute for Statistics, Diffusion Service.

Denmark
: National Statistics Office at http://www.dst.dk.

Finland
: National Statistics Office at http://www.stat.fi and from the Statistical Yearbook of Finland (Central Statistical Office, Helsinki, 1975, 1977).

France
: Recensement Générale de la Population (Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques, 1962, 1968, 1975, 1982, 1990, 1999).

Germany
: German National Statistics Office at http://www.statistik-bund.de.

Greece
: Director of the General Secretariat, National Statistical Service, Statistical Information and Publications Divisions Section B, Ministry of National Economy.

Iceland
: National Statistics Office at http://www.statice.is.

Ireland
: SOPEMI (1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999).

Italy
: SOPEMI (1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999).

Luxembourg
: Annuaire Statistique du Luxembourg (Statec, 1998) and the National Statistics Office at http://statec.gouvernement.lu.

Malta
: National Statistics Office at http;//www.magnet.mt.

Netherlands
: Statistical Yearbook of the Netherlands (National Central Bureau of Statistics, the Hague, 1974, 1980, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1990, 1995) and the National Statistics Office at http://www.cbs.nl.

Norway
: National Statistics Office at http://www.ssb.no.

Portugal
: Annuaire Statistique (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Lisbon, 1976, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1997).

Spain
: National Statistics Office at http://www.ine.es and http://www.eustat.es.

Sweden
: Statistical Abstract of Sweden (1980, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990), the Statistical Yearbook of Sweden (1992, 1994) and the National Statistics Office at http://www.scb.se.

Switzerland
: National Statistics Office at http://www.statistik.admin.ch and the Swiss Forum for Migration Studies).

United Kingdom
: SOPEMI (1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999).

Do-Files

1. *CPS_results.do*: Provides the correlation between unemployment and immigration noted in a footnote, the results shown in Table 2, results from log-likelihood test of country dummy variable significance, robustness checks dropping Greece and Luxembourg, and the results in Table 3.

2. *logconunemployment_neofascist_ci.do*: This creates Figure 1.

3. *logconimmigration_neofascist_ci.do*: This creates Figure 2.

4. *logconunemployment_populist_ci.do*: This creates Figure 3.

5. *logconimmigration_populist_ci.do*: This creates Figure 4.

6. *magimmigration_ci.do*: This creates Figure 5.

References

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LeMonde. 1986. *Les Élections Législatives du 16 Mars 1986: Le Retour de la Droite*. Paris: Le Monde, Dossiers et Documents.

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