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A Transformative Effect of Migration on Tolerance? Theory Building on Democratic Learning with Empirical Investigation in Romania

Raluca Miller

A TRANSFORMATIVE EFFECT OF MIGRATION ON TOLERANCE?

THEORY BUILDING ON DEMOCRATIC LEARNING WITH EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION IN ROMANIA

by

RALUCA VIMAN MILLER

Under the Direction of Dr. William Downs

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the reciprocal relationships between tolerance and democracy. It examines how tolerance influences democracy and how democratic socialization influences tolerance. The concept of tolerance often becomes most important when it is weakened or missing. Intolerance presents a problem not only to less democratic countries but to established democracies as well. Its effects are visible in many ways, including support for illiberal political parties that, where sufficiently influential, can establish rejectionist and exclusionary policies. While threats to tolerance as a hallmark of liberal democracy appear in different forms across a wide range of countries, the present study analyzes contemporary European cases. There in/tolerance has an especially important place in political communication, with xenophobia fueling the success of influential parties in old and new democracies alike. Based on contemporary theoretical and empirical debates, this study's first goal is to analyze causal connections between (in)tolerance, satisfaction with democracy, party system characteristics, type of electoral system, partisan preferences, and democracy. A second and necessary purpose of this study is to identify the importance of a previously unexplored potential contributor to tolerance: temporary migration. This dissertation offers an original test of the impact of temporary migration on tolerance. It confirms through empirical evidence that migration to more democratic countries than one's country of origin enhances tolerance via the process of democratic socialization. The findings of this dissertation are based on a blend of primary and secondary sources and uses a multi-method empirical approach in order to investigate the research questions posed.

INDEX WORDS: Social tolerance, Political tolerance, Democracy, Migration, Transformative effect, Socialization, Party system, Electoral system

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RALUCA VIMAN MILLER

Committee Chair: Dr. William Downs

Committee: Dr. Henry Carey

Dr. Charles Hankla

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

To my family! Thank you for being the most wonderful and supportive people in the world. I love you!

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1.   THE PROBLEM OF (IN)TOLERANCE IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY

Previous research has shown an apparent causal relationship between tolerance and democracy (c.f., Stouffer 1955; Huntington 1991; Inglehart 1997). Given empirical validation of such a relationship, an important and enduring imperative for political scientists is to investigate tolerance and its determinants. The essential question is: What makes people more tolerant? Some researchers focus on the impact of micro-level variables such as education, while others analyze the impact of macro-level variables such as democracy – i.e., the relation between tolerance and democracy works both ways. This dissertation provides an analysis of how tolerance, via the party system, impacts democracy, on the one hand, and how democracy, via the process of democratic socialization, impacts tolerance, on the other.

The study of tolerance becomes even more important in the light of current findings and events. Modernization theory predicts that, as countries develop, attitudinal change follows, by bringing in more tolerant, pro-democratic citizens (Stouffer 1955; Inglehart 1997; Fish 2005). Relatedly, previous research appeared to indicate that, beyond a certain threshold of economic development, democratic backsliding is no longer possible (Przeworski et al. 2000). New developments, however, appear to challenge both assertions. To illustrate, recent surveys conducted in Romania indicate that the youngest cohorts are less tolerant and less pro-democratic than older cohorts (Fesnic 2010). In Hungary, considered a success story of democratization in the post-Communist region during the 1990s and 2000s, we witness a significant reversal of this evolution since 2010 with Viktor Orban's return to power.[1]

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[1] Measures taken by the Orban administration prompted the European Union to take legal actions against Hungary in an attempt to limit the damage resulting from those measures. Orban, the leader of the ruling party Fidesz, monopolized power, transformed the legislature into a submissive institution, nationalized private assets and limited the freedom of action of democratic institutions such as labor unions (*The Guardian*, January 17, 2012, "Viktor Orbán has crushed Hungary's 1989 dream," <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/jan/17/viktor-orban-hungary-eu-legal-action>, accessed February 1, 2012).

Accordingly, this dissertation investigates the reciprocal relationships presumed to exist between tolerance and democracy. At issue is how tolerance influences democracy and, in turn, how democratic socialization influences tolerance. Tolerance, as an object of study for political science, often becomes most important when it is diminished or absent.[2] Intolerance presents a problem not only to less democratic countries but to established systems as well. Its effects manifest in many forms, including support for illiberal political parties that where sufficiently powerful, can translate into rejectionist and exclusionary national policies. While threats to tolerance as a hallmark of liberal democracy appear in different guises across a wide range of states, the present study restricts the analysis to contemporary European cases. There in/tolerance occupies an especially important place in political discourse, with xenophobia fueling the fortunes of influential parties in old (e.g., France, Austria) and new (e.g., Hungary, Romania) democracies alike.

Emerging from ongoing theoretical and empirical debates, this study's first goal is to analyze causal connections between (in)tolerance, satisfaction with democracy, party system characteristics (e.g., policy distance between mainstream right and radical/extreme right[3]), type of electoral system, partisan preferences, and democracy. A second and necessary goal is to isolate the influence of an overlooked potential contributor to tolerance. To this end, this dissertation offers an original test of the impact of temporary migration on tolerance. It seeks empirical confirmation for the argument that migration to more democratic countries than one's country of origin enhances tolerance via the process of democratic socialization. This first chapter presents an overview of the theoretical questions raised by

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[2] Gibson (1992, 560) referring to the measurement of tolerance versus intolerance finds that "traditional predictors of intolerance perform very similar irrespective of which of the tolerance measures are used. Since substantive conclusions about the origins of intolerance are insensitive to the index employed, this study argues that future tolerance research can profitably utilize either measurement approach."

[3] The distinction between radical right and extreme right parties will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Whether they accept or not the rules of the democratic game, both types of parties are dangerous for democracy.

the issues mentioned above, the results of the research conducted so far, and what problems still need to be addressed.

1.1 The research question: the causes and consequences of (in)tolerance

A democratic country (more specifically, a liberal democracy) needs a democratic citizenry. Democratic citizens must accept the views and political participation of others, particularly when they feel threatened by, or disagree with these other groups' views (Stouffer 1955; Inglehart 1997; Fish 2005). Building on previous studies, the working definitions for this research is that tolerance equals the acceptance of worldviews, people and behaviors that one dislikes. Tolerance is multidimensional: it has a political and a social component. Political tolerance refers to refusing to impose limits to the expression of ideas (for instance, Communism or fascism) or the rights of people (for instance, ethnic minorities) that are disliked. Social tolerance refers to a refusal to legislate behaviors (such as homosexuality or prostitution) that not liked.

In the end, individual level intolerance translates into institutionalized limitations on political rights or civil liberties (Guerin, Petry and Crete 2004). Such gap of democratic principles makes the polity less democratic, even when we use a simple, purely institutional definition of democracy. But more subtle forms of intolerance, which may be present only at the level of the attitudes of some members of society, can be a threat to democracy. In these scenarios, parties with an intolerant agenda can join the government or the electoral advance of such parties is avoided only at the cost of mainstream politicians and parties moving themselves in a more extreme position by embracing, even if only partially, the agenda of extremist parties. Rational players, politicians try to satisfy their constituencies, so parties

with an intolerant agenda tend to have intolerant voters. Thus, the different forms of intolerance are politically consequential, and therefore it is essential to study them.

Thus, tolerance has an indirect impact, and it is manifested in part through the party system. At the most basic level, the purported causal path proceeds as follows: intolerant citizens vote for radical or extreme right-wing parties. Greater support for these parties translates, *ceteris paribus*, into less democratic institutions and policies. Alternatively, more tolerant citizens should marginalize extremist parties, reinforce support for more democratic institutions, and encourage liberal policies. If this essential calculus is indeed accurate, then political scientists—of both normative and empirical preoccupations—should have a vested interest in mapping the processes whereby citizen tolerance can be increased. This study proposes temporary migration to a more democratic society as one such source of democratic socialization capable of enhancing tolerance. Citizens from less democratic countries migrating temporarily to a more democratic country will be socialized in this new environment and as a result become more tolerant, with the key catalyst being exposure to new information through immersion.

This dissertation's focus on temporary migration as an informational source capable of altering individual-level degrees of tolerance is nested within a much larger causal model (Figure 1.1). Tolerance is antecedent to democracy. It impacts democracy in a multitude of ways, and this study focuses on the dynamic interactive relationships connecting attitudes, preferences, and democratic quality. It recognizes the important intervening effects of party and electoral systems, and it highlights the critical "feedback loop" dominated by exposure (or denial) to new information. These are brief introductions that will be detailed in a later chapter. The core components of this model are elaborated below:

Figure 1.1. The model of the impact of political and social tolerance on democracy, and the impact of democracy on tolerance
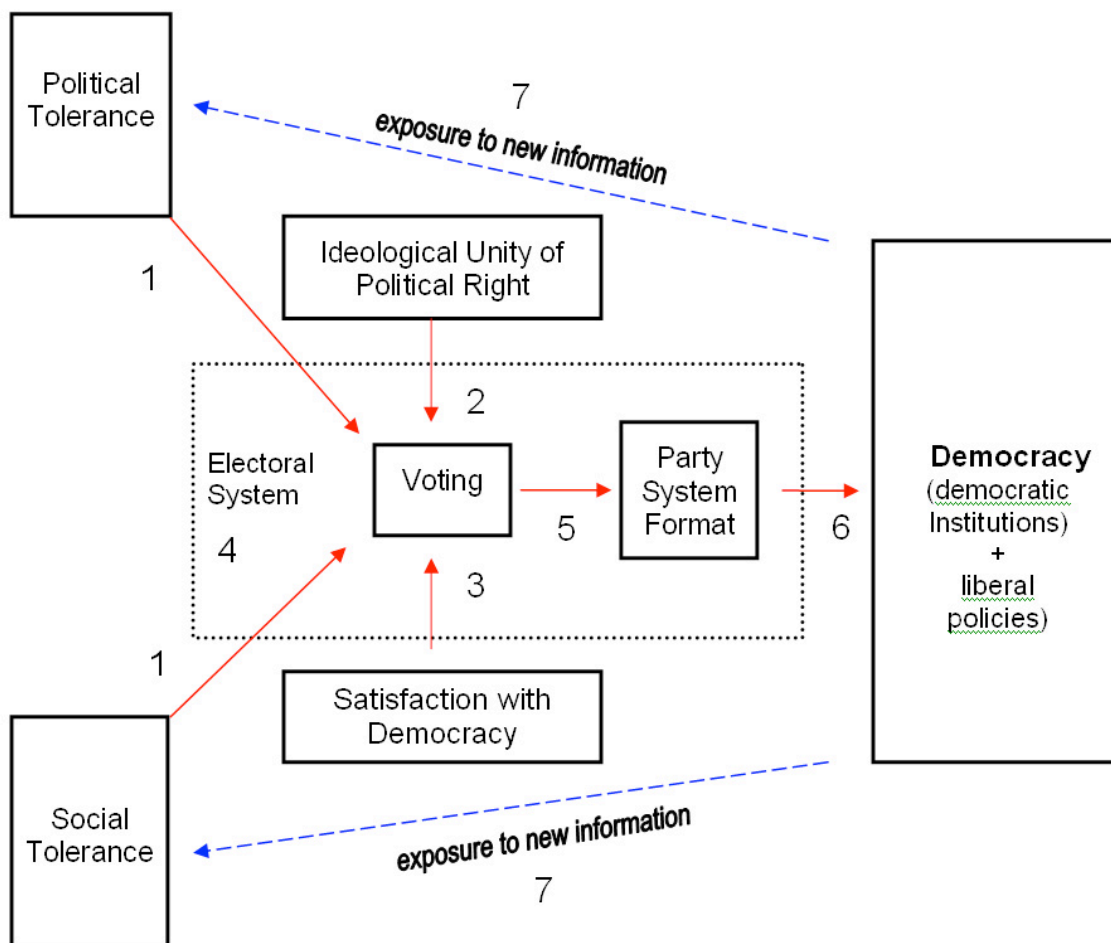
1. The *impact of tolerance on voting* is shaped by the level of support for radical/extreme right-wing parties. Lawson (1980) defines parties as the link between government and society. Parties are seen as "agencies for forging links between citizens and decision makers" (Von Beyme 1985, 13). They shape voters' preferences and implement their desired policy choices. Goodwin (2011) finds that support for what he calls Populist Extremist Parties (PEP) comes from those who share profound hostility towards immigration, multiculturalism and diversity in general. They tend to frame members of different communities as enemies of social order and economic betterment. Consequently, tolerant citizens

vote for mainstream parties, while intolerant citizens vote for radical/extreme right-wing parties (Kitschelt 1995, Norris 2005).

2. The *ideological unity of the political right influences voting* by creating an opening in the party system for radical right parties. While extreme left parties can also be intolerant, they have in many countries become at best politically marginalized since 1989 March (2008). Moreover, their radicalism is mostly economic. Therefore, the focus of this dissertation will be on radical and extreme right parties. Kitschelt (1995) advances the hypothesis that, as the distance between the mainstream ideological parties is reduced, the opened space is filled by the radical right. This hypothesis is challenged by Norris (2005) who does not find evidence to back the claim that radical right parties perform better electorally when mainstream parties converge. Art (2006, 2007) argues that the evolution of radical right parties is path dependent and hinges on different historical interpretations of the past. He shows major differences between how Germany and Austria approached their political past, which in turn shaped the political present. Germany chose to assume its past and employ a "culture of contrition" to the Nazi past. This approach prevented the radical right from strengthening its roots in post-unification Germany. In contrast, Austria assumed a culture of "victimization" which allowed the far right to compete successfully with mainstream parties and make significant electoral gains.

3. *Satisfaction with democracy influences voting*. Previous research concludes that citizens who vote for mainstream parties are more satisfied with democracy and the democratic processes compared to the citizens who vote for radical right parties (Ignazi 1992; Betz 1994; Billiet and De Witte 1995; Lubbers et al. 2002). These studies show that the level of satisfaction with democracy is an important predictor for the radical right support: the stronger the dissatisfaction with democracy, the greater the likelihood of support for radical right (Lubbers et al. 2002).

4. *The impact of all these determinants of support for radical right parties is mediated by the electoral system*. The degree to which actual support translates into votes is a function of the permissiveness of the electoral system. Dow (2001; 2010) demonstrates that the type of electoral system makes a difference in voting behavior: majoritarian electoral systems place parties and candidates closer to the center compared to proportional representation. Ezrow (2010) contends that in addition to the traditional approach, that compares the impact of the electoral system on party system format in a number of countries, a longitudinal analysis employed in countries that have experienced a change in the electoral system can offer additional valuable insight on the impact of the electoral system on party polarization.

5. *Voting impacts party system format.* This can happen in two scenarios – though these two are not mutually exclusive. The first scenario is one in which there is high electoral support for a radical right-wing party and this party ends up in the government (such as the Austrian Freedom Party). A second scenario is when the moderate right moves away from the center in an attempt to capture radical right votes and consequently modifies its policy positions to answer the needs of this new electorate (as it happened in 2007 and 2012 in France with Sarkozy and his UMP). At this point of the analysis, voting behavior becomes the independent variable, impacting party system format (the dependent variable).

6. *The party system format biases the production of il/liberal policies*. The hypothesis here is that greater support for moderate parties translates into the rejection of radical right-wing policies. Conversely, if radical right parties gain representation in the legislature, or even in the government (as in Austria or Hungary), they have a platform for promoting or implementing illiberal and exclusionary policies. In other cases (e.g., France), mainstream parties and politicians may implement such policies as a preventive measure. In either case, the result is an undermining of the core principles of the liberal

component of democracy, which requires that all citizens (and, for that matter, even non-citizens) must be treated equally.

7. *Democratic exposure.* If the electoral system artificially dilutes citizen support for extremist parties or blocks the translation of votes into representation, then it can diminish democratic quality. If intolerance breeds support for extremist parties, and the state's response is to limit such parties' institutional voice through the electoral rules rather than to address the underlying causes of intolerance, then system quality is imperiled. Likewise, where the mainstream right is tempted to close the gap in the policy space between itself and its far right flank, then the medicine may prove to be as deadly as the disease. Instead, from a normative perspective, a much better remedy is to *increase the underlying individual-level tolerance* which, in turn, should translate into decreased support for extremist parties. More tolerant citizens move away from extremist parties neither because the electoral system makes it more difficult to support the extremes, nor because the mainstream parties have moved towards the extreme, but simply because they are tolerant. Even if extremist parties would develop, they would find little support in the electorate. According to such logic, democracy is defended not by restricting the supply of intolerant alternatives but by decreasing the demand of intolerant attitudes in the electorate. If one demand-side remedy is *exposure to new information*, then researchers must systematically explore opportunities for such exposure. Recognizing temporary migration as one of many possible opportunities, it is probable here to envision gains in tolerance deriving from extended travel to more democratic countries. If a genuine feedback loop does indeed exist, then a kind of democratic remittance process may be said to take place after temporary migrants return home.

Obviously, this research does not exhaust the list of potential explanatory variables. There are many other candidates and to give just a few examples, previous regime type, educational system or the role of the predominant religion. These variables can influence tolerance, democracy or both. More

specifically, the educational system is entrusted with forming the citizens of tomorrow. In the case of Germany students are socialized to acknowledge the negative repercussions of the Nazi regime while this is not the case in Austria (Art 2007). In Hungary history teachers teach civic culture. They have a tendency to present the glorious past of the Hungarian state in a very subjective and nationalist fashion. The role of the dominant church can also constitute a predictor since the Orthodox Church in a comparative perspective is considered to authoritarian and non-democratic. Between the Catholic Church and the Protestant church, the later is considered more authoritarian and intolerant. Church can play a crucial role in forming citizens' views. Regime type can also dictate the contemporary political realities. France has a recent colonial past; Romania was included in a special theoretical category because of the brutality of the Communist system (Linz and Stepan 1996) and Hungary despite its perceived more open and liberal Communist system did not liberalize politically (like Poland) but economically.

In some of the analyses presented in this study, democracy is the dependent variable. In others, such as the assessment of the impact of transition to democracy on the political and social tolerance of the population, democracy is the independent variable. The older the democracy the better the chances that its citizens are more tolerant because through the process of democratic learning these citizen were exposed to democratic values. The dual direction of causal arrows is characteristic of a dynamic model such as the one proposed here.[4] In either case, the working definition of democracy is based on Dahl's (1971, 1-9) conceptualization of liberal democracy as requiring both inclusiveness and contestation. In view of that, the World Bank's "Voice and Accountability" scores are an appropriate measure for democracy ("accountability" for the liberal dimension, or contestation, and "voice" for the democratic dimension, or inclusiveness).

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[4] Political culture was treated as both, independent and dependent variable by Almond and Verba (1989).

The new democracies in the East had a relatively short period of time to expose their citizens to the democratic learning process. The new generations exposed to this process are among the first to learn democratic values in the newly democratized countries. In the more democratic West, many more generations of citizens were exposed to the process of democratic learning producing a more democratic citizenry. Previous research by Viman-Miller and Fesnic (2010) indicates that, on average, citizens from the more developed Western countries are significantly more tolerant, politically and socially, compared to their Eastern counterparts and this is reflected in their better democratic scores. Nonetheless, it would be imprudent to conclude that these countries have reached a point of no return, where their protection against the ills of intolerance is foolproof. That this is not the case is illustrated by the examples of France, where Jean-Marie Le Pen, the then-leader of the authoritarian and xenophobic Front National, finished second in the 2002 presidential runoff, and Austria, where the extreme right-wing Freedom Party entered the national government in 2000. Clearly, these results are a symptom of an increase in intolerance in these polities, as shown, for instance, by the recent anti-Roma policies implemented in France or in Austria laws that drastically tightened the immigration policies and reduced the number of asylum applications.[5]

The European Union harshly criticized France's then-president Nicolas Sarkozy, and the European Parliament formally reprimanded him and denounced France's anti-Roma policies in the summer of 2010. According to the official figures, France expelled 977 Roma and demolished 128 squatter camps. The criticism underlined the fact that these Roma populations, known as Gypsies or Travelers, are EU citizens and enjoy certain legal rights which were ignored by French authorities. The European Union blamed Sarkozy for putting short-term, narrow partisan interests above the core principles of liberal democracy and, by doing this, France broke EU laws regarding freedom of movement and anti-

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[5] http://vbn.aau.dk/files/20049801/spirit_phd_series_25.pdf. Consulted June 23, 2013.

discrimination.[6] This seems to be a more generalized phenomenon than initially expected. Although France and Austria are prime examples of the danger faced by democratic societies that have to contend with radical right parties, Romania is a different case that raises similar questions. The Romanian leading coalition[7], a center-left alliance, fell into similar temptations and it is criticized for enacting non-democratic policies in order to gain and maintain voters positioned in the extreme.[8]

Another way to test the impact of political regime on tolerance is to see whether travel (i.e., exposure through temporary immersion) from a less democratic to a more democratic country has any transformative influence on the values of temporary migrants. As a core component of globalization, migration is an increasingly important phenomenon (Figure 1.2). Whether the focus is on permanent or temporary migration, each may entail significant social, economic and political consequences, for both the countries of origin and the countries receiving the migrants.

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[6] Ian Traynor, "French 'anti-Gypsy policy' denounced by European parliament." *The Guardian,* September 9, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/sep/09/french-anti-gypsy-european-parliament>, accessed May 8, 2011.
[7] A center-right coalition led Romania's government at the time but a center-left coalition replaced them in June 2012.
[8] Voices in Romanian national media argued that the center-right PNL (part of the governing coalition) radicalized its discourse in a nationalist direction in order to attract the radical votes of the defunct PRM. Soon after, the PNL leadership agreed to negotiate the inclusion of Gigi Becali in its party structures (a misogynistic, xenophobe, self-declared homophobe political character) in order to secure a seat in Parliament. http://www.ziare.com/pnl/crin-antonescu/becalizarea-pnl-1209379. Consulted November 19, 2013.

Figure 1.2. International migration[9], 1960-2010, by destination: less developed versus highly developed countries
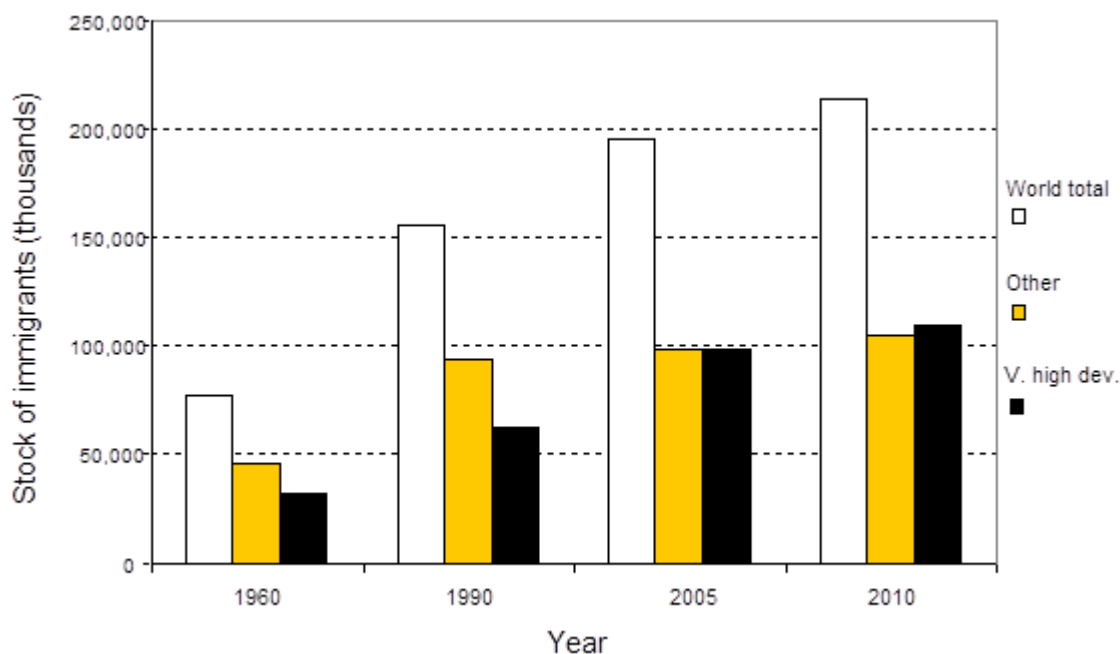
"World total": total number of immigrants in the world ("other" + "v. high dev.")
"V. high dev.": countries with a Human Development Index score of .900 or above (2010)
"Other": countries with a Human Development Index score of less than .900 (2010)

Data source: UNDP ("Human Development Report 2010, Statistical Tables,"
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_Tables_rev.xls>; Accessed April 23, 2010).

The driving force behind the migratory phenomenon is primarily economic; among the most important pull factors are: personal satisfaction or benefit, an increase in the economic opportunities in the receiving countries, and individual's decision to maximize income (Lewis 1952; Todaro 1969; Borjas 1989; Mayda 2005). Neoclassical economic analysis sees migration as an individual decision seeking to maximize benefits, while the economics of migration sees migration as a family decision influenced not

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[9] UNDP defines international migration as, "human movement across international borders, resulting in a change of country of residence." The data includes statistics for foreign-born individuals, as enumerated by the censuses of each country (UNDP, "Human Development 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human mobility and development", <http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Complete.pdf>; accessed March 29, 2010).

only by the labor market, but also by the market conditions in the receiving country (Stark 1991). There-

fore, in the absence of any other pushing agents such as war or extreme natural disasters, the economic

factors seem to prevail. Consequently, the countries with the highest levels of socioeconomic develop-

ment receive a disproportionate share of the world's total number of immigrants (Figure 1.2), while the

majority of migrants come from less developed countries (Figure 1.3). However, the strong correlation

between socioeconomic development, on the one hand, and democracy, on the other, means that these

immigrants are also exposed to the influence of more democratic institutions, and interact with people

who are more tolerant, politically and socially, and have more democratic attitudes, in comparison to

the institutions and the people of the migrants' home countries.

**Figure 1.3. Top Twenty Countries of Origin for Immigration in OECD Countries
(By number of migrants[10])**
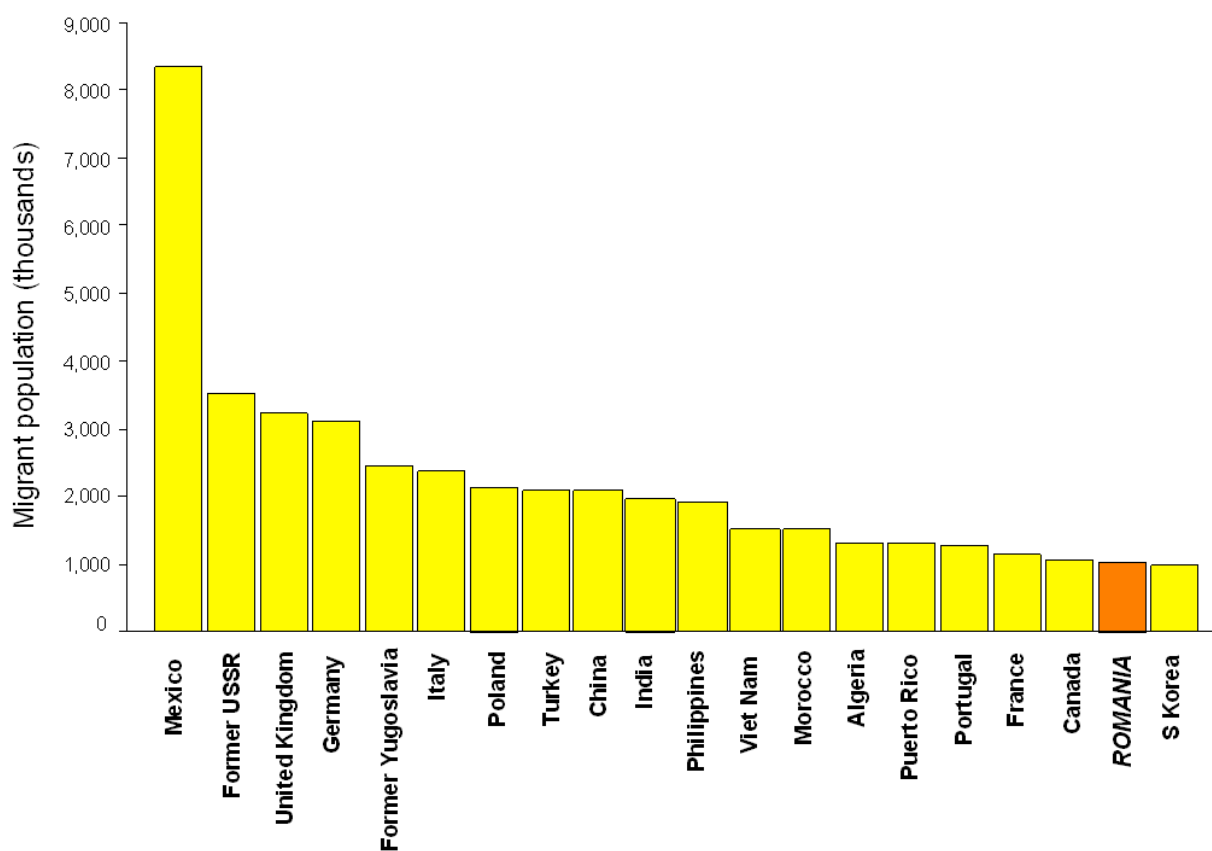
Source: OECD, "A Profile of Immigrant Populations in the 21st Century: Data from OECD Countries," <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/15/60/40647145.xls>. Accessed March 23, 2010.

In light of the above argument, it is not surprising to see that the main migration influx is from less developed and less democratic countries to more developed and more democratic countries, as Figure 1.3 indicates. This is further illustrated by Table 1.1, which offers data on immigration into the United States of America. There are several reasons for choosing the US to illustrate this phenomenon.

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[10] The OECD acknowledges the existence of significant cross-national differences in the criteria that various governments use in order to define who is an immigrant. For instance, in Austria an immigrant is anyone who is "holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least six weeks." In Belgium, an immigrant is someone who is "holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least three months," while in Germany, the statistics for immigration include all those "holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least one week" (OECD, "International Migration Data 2009: Sources and comparability of migration statistics," <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/42/47/42286309.pdf>; accessed March 29, 2010).

First, the United States has an established tradition as a receiving country.[11] Second, it is by far the larg-

est country among the most democratic (countries having a maximum democratic score on Freedom

House's rankings, 1.0), and therefore, in a sense, the most "representative." Last, but not least, the final

part of this study is using an original survey seeking to capture the impact of democratic socialization on

the values of students who spent time in the US in the Work and Travel program.

Table 1.1 Immigration in the United States by country of origin (top nine countries)

Country	Percent	"Development"[1] (USA = 0.908; VH)	"Democracy"[2] (USA = 1; "Free")
Mexico	13.3	0.767 (H)	2.5 (F)
China	6.8	0.682 (M)	6.5 (NF)
India	6.6	0.542 (M)	2.5 (F)
Philippines	5.6	0.641 (M)	3.5 (PF)
Cuba	3.2	0.773 (H)	6.5 (NF)
Vietnam	2.9	0.590 (M)	6.0 (NF)
S. Korea	2.1	0.894 (VH)	1.5 (F)
El Salvador	1.8	0.672 (M)	2.5 (F)
Canada	1.3	0.907 (VH)	1.0 (F)
Total top nine:	43.6		
Remaining:	56.4		

[1] Socioeconomic Development is operationalized using the UNDP's Human Development Index; VH: very high HDI (900 and above), H: high HDI (800-899), M: medium HDI (500-799), L: low HDI (500 and below)

[2] "Democracy" is measured using Freedom House scores (the average for civil liberties and political rights); NF: not free, PF: partially free and F: free

The data are for 2000 in order to match the rest of the data available for the forthcoming analysis.

Table 1.1 shows the profile of the immigrants into the United States. The Human Development

Index informs us about the economic status of the sending countries, and Freedom House illustrates the

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[11] http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/charts/5.1.shtml. Consulted February 28, 2012.

level of democratization for these countries of origin.[12] The data from 2010 show that immigrants make up 13.5% of the total population of the US; the top sending countries to the United State (by number of migrants) are Mexico, China, the Philippines, India, Puerto Rico, Vietnam, El Salvador, the Republic of Korea, Cuba, and Canada; these nations amount to 43.6% of the total migration.[13] The numbers under-score the fact that, with the exceptions of Canada and South Korea, the rest of the countries are not comparable to the United States' level of economic wellbeing and democracy. Canada and South Korea, the more developed nations, add up to a meager 3.4% of the total number, compared to the rest of the sending nations which add up to more than 40%. Even though the data are only available for the top sending countries, a reasonable expectation is that the remaining half will mirror this pattern, with most immigrants coming from countries less economically and politically developed than the US.

  Romania is a good example of a country whose workforce did not escape this migratory trend, a phenomenon accelerated by the process of political and economic integration of the country in the EU. The number of Romanian migrants to Western countries is significant, whether we measure it in abso-lute numbers or as a percentage of the total population. Some estimates put this figure as high as two million people, or around ten percent of its workforce.[14] Researchers can therefore test whether the migration of Romanians to more developed (and especially more democratic) countries has a trans-formative effect on their values, making them more tolerant.

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[12] Immigration data are available for all of the selected countries at
http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/countrydata/data.cfm.

[13] http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/UnitedStates.pdf. Consulted Febru-ary 27, 2012.

[14] "By 2014, all restrictions on the free movement of people within the EU will have been removed, thus, contributing to anoth-er wave of labor migration from Romania. Between 2006 and 2020, Romania's population is expected to decrease by 5.7% from 21.6 million to 20.4 million: although Romanian wages are rising, they will remain lower than those in Western European countries, so that migration incentives will remain high for Romanians" (Media Eghbal, "Romanian migration raises concerns over labour shortage"; September 3, 2007.
<http://www.euromonitor.com/Romanian_migration_raises_concerns_over_labour_shortage>; accessed March 29, 2010).

One such possibility is offered by the thousands of Romanian students who enroll annually in Work and Travel programs in order to gain employment in the United States for several months during their summer break. The last part of this dissertation compares a group of students who were enrolled in this program with a control group, students who did not travel to the US. After controlling for the effects of other independent variables such as education, gender, residence, and religiosity, the study tests whether the "treatment" (migration) does have an impact on the dependent variable – (political and social) tolerance. This is the third contribution of the dissertation to the scholarly literature on tolerance and its determinants.

1.2   Dissertation overview

The next chapter is a critical review of the existing literature on micro- and macro-level determinants of tolerance, on the one hand, and of the debates about the precise conceptualization and operationalization of tolerance itself, on the other. It will organize and evaluate what previous research has found in regards to the impact of tolerance on democracy, and the links between voting, party choices, tolerance and democracy. Previous research has shown that tolerance is multidimensional; more specifically there is political tolerance and social tolerance (Fesnic and Viman-Miller 2009). It shows that the higher the level of intolerance, the greater the support for radical parties, and that (dis)satisfaction with democracy is an important predictor of support for these radical parties. The electoral system mediates the actual support for radical parties. One question still unanswered by previous studies is the specific causal mechanism linking tolerance with democracy. This will be addressed as a major contribution of this dissertation. This new approach argues that tolerance, via party preference, influences democracy, particularly the institutions and policies dealing with the equal treatment and opportunities for minorities (ethnic, political or social) and the tolerance of unorthodox social behavior – e.g., homosexuality.

Chapter 3 presents the explanatory framework driving this dissertation, and it then describes the formalization of hypotheses, the methods used and the operationalization of variables. The chapter also weighs the advantages and disadvantages of single-case versus large-N approaches, and it explains why the best methodology for this study is a multi-method approach. It justifies a focus on the study of political tolerance and its determinants in the particular case of Romania, a country that has comparatively high rates of reported intolerance. Thus, the country presents itself as an especially suitable case with which to test whether, to what extent, and how these citizens do become more tolerant.

Chapter 4 starts with a cross-national, macro-level, multivariate analysis of the impact of three independent variables--level of tolerance, ideological distance between mainstream right and the extreme right, and satisfaction with democracy--on support for extreme right parties, taking into account the intervening effects of electoral system. A country score will be obtained and this part of the analysis will only ask the question, does the intolerance of citizens translate into intolerant institutions and policies? The argument here is that, the more tolerant the citizens of one nation are, the more democratic that country is. The first part of this chapter does not look at individual-level measurements; it seeks to compare the level of tolerance across states in order to check the link between tolerance and democracy. Therefore, this study complements the micro-level analysis with a macro-level analysis.

The second part of this chapter moves the analysis from the country level to the individual-level and seeks to find if individual-level tolerance has an impact on voting behavior, the hypothesis being that a decrease in tolerance leads to an increase in support for radical parties. Multivariate regression controls for rival explanations (e.g., economic status, education). The second part of this chapter will use a longitudinal approach with datasets from 1990s compared to those from 2000s in order to observe changes in the level of tolerance. Specifically, this second part seeks to find out whether an in-

crease of intolerance independently increases support for radical right parties, which in turn translates into the formulation and implementation of illiberal and intolerant policies.

Chapter 5 presents four case studies analyzing the evolution of radical right-wing parties in France, Austria, Hungary and Romania in order to answer the question if the rise in support for such parties affects the quality of democracy. This is an essential component of this dissertation's dynamic model. Established democratic settings are represented by the French and Austrian cases, while Hungary and Romania are illustrative of post-communist contexts. The first two are older established democracies while the last two are younger democracies that started the democratization process at the same time. In France and Romania, the radical right managed to influence government policies, while in Austria (and, arguably, in the last two years in Hungary as well), the radical right actually governed. The chapter analyzes the evolution of electoral support for the radical parties such as the French National Front, the Austrian Freedom Party, the Hungarian Jobbik, and the Greater Romania Party in the last two decades. These four case studies will show that in addition to tolerance, party strategies and the electoral system can have important intervening effects on the level of support for the radical right.

While Chapter 5 employs qualitative analysis in order to assess the impact of party preference and voting behavior on democracy, Chapter 6 seeks to validate the findings by using quantitative analysis at the individual-level. The hypothesis here is similar to the one used in Chapter 5. It looks at the impact of political and social tolerance, satisfaction with democracy, socio-economic and demographic variables on the support for the radical right parties. Using the same four cases, this analysis identifies and isolates potential differences between voters in a longitudinal perspective. It seeks to find out the differences or similarities among the supporters for the radical right in the four countries.

Chapter 7 adds yet another dimension to the study of tolerance– i.e., the impact of migration. Does temporary migration influence the level of tolerance of migrants? In order to answer this ques-

tion, this chapter analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data, comparing the tolerance of Romanians who have migrated to that of Romanians who have never left the country, seeking to isolate the independent effects of migration on attitudes, and using data provided by an original survey of Romanian college students. More specifically, the first group included students who travelled to the United States with the Work and Travel program, and the second group included students who never traveled to the US. The design approximates a natural experiment, in which "nature" (in this case, the subjects themselves) has made the assignment to the "treatment" and the "control" group, respectively.[15]

The final chapter returns to core arguments of the dissertation, synthesizing the main findings and their relevance, and advancing suggestions for further improvement. To this end, a promising avenue for a future research project is to apply a similar investigative design in a longitudinal study. Such a study would span through a number of years (thus offering an opportunity to test whether any observed impact of migration on political tolerance is long-lasting), and compare the political tolerance of a representative sample of respondents not involved in Work and Travel programs with a representative sample (ideally, with the whole population) of respondents who would be involved in such programs. This future project will include multiple measurements of political tolerance in the two groups, allowing evaluation of migration's impact; the use of representative samples will ensure external validity and the generalizability of the results.

1.3   Importance of this study

This dissertation makes several contributions to the study of the relation between tolerance and democracy. The literature review indicates that tolerance has a great deal of importance to democracy.

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[15]The risk that the assignment itself is correlated with some of the subjects' characteristics (i.e., that the students enrolled in Work and Travel differ in some important respects from students who were not enrolled in the program) is mitigated by the use of control variables in the analyses – though, obviously, the fact that the assignment was not done by the researcher is still potentially problematic. By selecting students from the same university center who have been exposed to the same educational process, while verifying for the impact of the background variables, ensures that the data set can produce reliable and accurate results.

It also suggests that the existence of extremist parties jeopardizes the actual fabric of the democratic process, but there is no discussion in the extant literature regarding the link between the three elements. This dissertation does just that, it links political and social tolerance to party choice, showing that less tolerant citizens support extremist parties and this support, in turn, endangers democracy. This link has not been previously researched. Additionally, as the literature review will indicate tolerance is multidimensional. There are no studies looking at the impact of social or political tolerance on democracy and assessing if they have similar or diverse effects. It is proven in this dissertation that they have a different impact on voting behavior hence the study of tolerance and its effects should take into account this multidimensionality.

This study also looks at the link between the three elements in a longitudinal perspective; it evaluates the evolution of the relationship between tolerance, party choice and democracy. It seeks to understand in detail the impact of tolerance on democracy by analyzing specific cases such as France, Austria, Hungary and Romania. This analysis also offers a cross-sectional perspective by looking at western settled democracies such as France and Austria and emerging democracies such as Hungary and Romania. It is important to evaluate the impact of these concepts from a longitudinal perspective and see how in time tolerance has influenced voting behavior and democracy in time. The longitudinal perspective is a novel approach and despite lack of perfect data it shows that the institutional approach as well as the attempt of the mainstream right parties to capture votes from radical or extremist parties might fail and intolerant voters will continue to support their ideological choices.

Conversely, it also underlines the importance of finding ways to increase the level of tolerance among citizens in order to shore the democratic process. This study does just that by employing the results of an original study of Romanian students who traveled to the US for a determined amount of time. This original survey looks at the impact of socialization of attitudes and seeks to find if there is an

impact of temporary work migration on tolerance. It offers an assessment of the transformative effect of temporary migration on tolerance.

Romania is a relevant case study because it has less tolerant citizens as demonstrated previously (Viman-Miller and Fesnic 2010) and because in today's Romanian politics the international community observes democratic setbacks. These democratic devolutions are observed at elite level, which is an expected phenomenon given the less tolerant society. If even the center-left coalition derails off the democratic path, it means that nobody is safe. Romania as a case study offers the possibility of answering some of the questions.

This study is important because it can offer policy prescriptions. For instance, if there is indeed a transformative effect of migration on tolerance, this could mean that open borders at least for the more educated populations of the younger democracies could benefit these countries not only the individuals. If this exposure proves to be beneficial there could be practical implications of these findings such as a renewed trust in the Work and Travel programs and an increase in the number of visas allotted to younger democracies. The newer democracies could consolidate the democratization process by socializing their young educated generations among citizens of older more established democracies.

2   Critical Evaluation of the Extant Literature:

Micro and Macro Determinants of Tolerance, Partisanship, and Democracy

This chapter provides a review of the literature on tolerance and democracy. It begins by presenting the evolution, throughout the second half of the last century and up until today, of the discussion of the concept "tolerance," starting with Stouffer's (1955) classic operationalization, moving on to other scholars' subsequent clarifications and refinements. More specifically, it will evaluate the previous literature and what was established beforehand in regards to the impact of tolerance on democracy. It seeks to underline the connection between tolerance and democracy, and how this is mediated by the party system format and the level of support for the radical right. The second part will critically evaluate the determinants of tolerance in comparative analyses, with a focus on the impact of migration. The chapter goes well beyond a mere presentation of previous research; it is also a derivation of the research question through critical evaluation of what we know, what we do not know, and what remains contested by scholars who study tolerance, partisanship, democracy and migration, and how these variables affect one another.

Scholarly literature fails to connect migration with social and political tolerance, and there are remarkably few studies that compare new democracies to older democracies' levels of tolerance. There is also room in adding to the studies that seek answers to these questions in a longitudinal perspective and studies that analyze the impact of democracy on the levels of tolerance and of tolerance on democracy. There are few studies that employ both a micro and a macro analysis level, comparing countries and individual-level variables. Filling this apparent gap in the literature allows researchers to observe if

the individual-level findings translate at macro-level. At individual-level as intolerance levels increase so does the support for radical or extremist parties and the same direction should be reflected at macro-level with countries that have a well developed radical right supported by higher levels of intolerant population.

2.1 Tolerance and Democracy in Comparative Perspective

A liberal democracy needs a democratic citizenry. Democratic citizens are expected to tolerate the views and political involvement of others, especially when they feel threatened by, or oppose, these other groups' views (Stouffer 1955; Inglehart 1997; Fish 2005). In its more egregious forms, individual-level intolerance translates into institutionalized limitations on political rights or civil liberties (Guerin, Petry and Crete 2004).

The very existence of such transgressions of democratic principles makes the polity less democratic, even when a minimalist, purely institutional definition of democracy is used, since the exercise of political rights and civil liberties by all the members of the polity is a core part of the very definition of liberal democracy. What is observed in practice is a substantial amount of cross-country variability in terms of the level of tolerance of the citizens and also in the level of electoral support for radical right parties and the types of governmental policies affecting marginal groups such as immigrants or ethnic, religious and sexual minorities. Historically, there are examples where ethnic, racial or religious intolerance has led to ethnic cleansing (as it happened in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s) or even genocide (as it has happened in a more distant past in Germany).

There is no consensus on measuring and defining tolerance. In general, scholars have interpreted political tolerance as extending political rights and freedoms to those groups that one dislikes and social tolerance as acceptance of unconventional social behavior. Fesnic and Viman Miller (2009) show

that social and political tolerance are two separate dimensions, conceptually and empirically, thus re-

quiring a multidimensional measurement of tolerance.

Unfortunately, even liberal democracy is no panacea for the ills of intolerance. There are similar

phenomena, albeit in milder forms, even if the analysis is confined to the advanced liberal democracies

of the West. There are, on the one hand, countries such as Austria or France, with less tolerant publics

and very successful radical right-wing parties. Then, on the other hand, there are countries, such as Ice-

land or Ireland, with more tolerant publics and insignificant radical right-wing parties.[16]

Thus, tolerance (political and social) is consequential for politics. What follows is a presentation

of how each of the components of the theoretical framework of this dissertation, as presented in Figure

1.1, derives from the literature. Before that, a useful and important point of clarification is the distinc-

tion between radical right and extreme right.

2.2   Extreme right versus radical right parties

For the purpose of this study the parties included in the analysis will be identified using Carter's

definition (2005: 208), which employs three criteria to define radical or extremist parties. She identifies

these parties based on the presence or absence of (1) nationalism in a xenophobic way, (2) racism or at

least culturally conformist, and (3) rejection of democracy or at least call for its institutional modifica-

tion.

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[16] Mudde, Cas. Radical Right Parties in Europe: What, Who, Why?
http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1066&context=cas_mudde&sei-
re-
dir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.bing.com%2Fsearch%3Fq%3Dcountries%2Bwith%2Bno%2Bradical%2Bright%2Bparties%2
6pc%3DMOZI%26form%3DMOZSBR#search=%22countries%20no%20radical%20right%20parties%22. Consulted November 19,
2013.

Table 2.1. Ideological differences between mainstream, radical right and extreme right-wing parties[17]

Characteristics	Mainstream	Radical	Extremist
Xenophobia	-	+	+
Authoritarianism	-	+	+
Ultra-Nationalism	-	+	+
Rejection of democratic institutions	-	-	+
Rejection of democratic values	-	-	+

Mainstream parties are inherent inclusionist. Radical right parties do not have to fulfill all three criteria and reject democratic institutions; they could embrace democracy, but continue to display xenophobic messages and maintain as a key part to their policy formation the mandatory belonging to a central national culture. They are instrumentalist democratic while extreme right parties are inherent rejectionist. Kitschelt (2007) argues that "radical right parties either explicitly reject democracy (regardless on their stance on xenophobia and racism), or they embrace democracy, but make xenophobic mobilization against immigrants and insistence on a dominant national cultural paradigm obligatory for all residents the central planks of their policies" (1178). The fact that the radical right parties accept the democratic game does not mean that, if the opportunity shows, they would not implement policies that would discriminate against certain groups. Simply accepting the rules of the democratic game does not mean tolerance. Radical right parties accept democratic values but do not accept liberal democratic values. They accept democratic values such as elections, in which they compete, and the fact that a majority wins, but they do not accept the liberal values which prevent a dictatorship of the majority. St. Augustine said that "an unjust law is not a law at all" because it strips away liberties and causes harm. Radical right parties are a threat to liberal democracy by refusing to accept its values while the extreme right parties are a threat to democracy in general. The more radical a political formation the better the chances it could become extremist. Although all main categories are present in Kitschelt's definition, he

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[17] A list of all parties included in the analysis is presented in Appendix 4.1 at page 123.

does not distinguish between extreme and radical right. He uses an all-inclusive category of radical par-

ties for all parties, irrespective of whether they accept or reject the democratic game. As depicted in

Table 2.1, both radical and extreme right parties are dangerous for liberal democracy. The radical right

parties' characteristics are found in extreme right parties and for the sake of a clear differentiation this

study refers to radical right parties as those who accept the democratic game (while still keeping radical

elements on their agenda) and extreme right parties as those who reject the democratic game. These

parties are not fixed, they can evolve and travel along the conceptual continuum. One example is

FIDESZ in Hungary, the party from which Viktor Orban emerged and that moved from the liberal dimen-

sion to the radical right dimension in short time. Another example is Haider's party in Austria, which

from a conservative party became radical once Haider became its leader. The focus is on both radical

right and extremist parties, but individual parties' placement under relevant labels can be fluid.

2.3   Micro and Macro Determinants of Tolerance, Partisanship, and Democracy: Previous Research

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to an analysis of previous research on the two-way

relationship between tolerance and democracy. On the one hand, tolerance affects democracy, an im-

pact mediated by voting and the party system. On the other hand, democracy also affects tolerance, via

the process of democratic socialization. The argument of this research is that one possibility to actively

promote this process is to encourage migration to more democratic countries than the migrants' coun-

tries of origin.

2.3.1   Tolerance and Voting

The previous discussion indicates that the connection between tolerance and democracy is

made by the party preference of the voters because previous research shows that those who are intol-

erant are more likely to vote for radical right parties. These votes end up reflected in policies, either

directly, as in Austria, where the high support for the Freedom Party in 1999 led them to participate in

the government, and thus became creators of policies, such as anti immigration and anti-asylum poli-

cies[18] or indirectly, as in France, where from 2007 to 2012 President Sarkozy sought to "steal" some of

Le Pen's radical right votes and, in order to do that, promoted illiberal polices such as anti-immigration

and anti-Roma policies among others. European Union criticized both, the Austrian and the French gov-

ernments, and their inclinations towards radical right policies were not left unnoticed.

Gibson and Anderson (1985) argue that "political tolerance ought to be conceptualized as a mul-

tidimensional system of beliefs, and further inquiry into the structures of these beliefs ought to be con-

cluded" (141). They also conclude that political tolerance contributes to political culture and that treat-

ing political tolerance as an independent variable shows how it is one of the determinants of individual-

level political freedom (141).

2.3.2   Individual determinants of tolerance, partisanship and voting

It is important to notice that tolerance itself is determined by factors such as education or age.

Moreover, in addition to tolerance, these factors also influence partisanship and vote choice. Therefore,

it is important to take into account the role of these independent variables in determining tolerance and

voting. The list includes some of the same individual-level demographic and socioeconomic characteris-

tics that are typically used in analyses of voting behavior: education, urbanization, age, gender, resi-

dence and religiosity.

Education. Lipset (1963, 100-104) found a positive correlation between education and toler-

ance. This finding was subsequently confirmed in established democracies (Erikson and Tedin 1995,

156), emerging democracies (Colton 2000, 76), and large-N, cross-national studies (Inglehart 1997, 151-

53; Todosijević and Enyedi 2008, 10-17). Education, especially higher education, has a fundamental im-

pact on people's worldview. Increased education brings with it a broader, more sophisticated and liber-

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[18] Meret 2010 http://vbn.aau.dk/files/20049801/spirit_phd_series_25.pdf. Consulted June 27, 2013.

al perspective on controversial issues, an increased emphasis on self-expression values, and an apprecia-

tion of diversity (Inglehart and Welzel 2005, 37-38; Dalton 2006, 92-93).

Urbanization. In addition to education, modernization theorists see urbanization as the other

key ingredient of modernization (Deutsch 1961; Lipset 1963, Ch. 2; Handelman 2006, 12-15). Stouffer

(1955) was among the first to report a positive correlation between urbanization and political tolerance.

A more recent study examining the impact of urbanization on tolerance in the US using survey data from

1976 to 1988 found that "modest effects of community-size measures on tolerance were found among a

national sample, but far stronger effects were found among a subsample for whom the size measures

adequately reflected urban experience" (Wilson 1991, 122). Rather surprisingly, although the forces of

modernization narrow the gap between urban and rural (Dalton 2002, 162), a large-N study of political

tolerance in Europe (29 cases) concludes that there is a significant difference between urban and rural in

the more developed West (where that gap is presumably narrower), while in Eastern Europe the differ-

ences are negligible (Todosijevic and Enyedi 2008, 10).

Age. In most societies surveyed, younger generations are more tolerant compared to older

generations (Inglehart and Welzel 2005, 97-114). Notable exceptions in this respect are Muslim socie-

ties which, for the time being, appear to escape this worldwide trend (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Real-

istically, we should expect the impact of age on tolerance to attenuate somewhat after we control for

education, since younger generations tend to be better educated than older generations (Dalton 2006,

90; Inglehart 1997, 151-56) and, in turn, education impacts tolerance. Nonetheless, increased education

is but one of the major factors which explain why the young are more tolerant.[19] Additionally, we must

also consider broader formative conditions, such as more diverse cultural experiences (Dalton 2006, 90)

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[19] In terms of their social profile, supporters tend to be young or old men, have very few or no formal educational qualifications, are pessimistic about their financial prospects, and come from the economically insecure "petite bourgeoisie" or the skilled and unskilled working classes. The most successful radical right parties have patched together a coalition of these groups, the lower middle classes and blue-collar workers. (Goodwin 2001 p.4).

and, in most cases, living in more liberal regimes than previous generations – conditions which, in turn, are considered to make people more tolerant (Stenner 2005, 130-33). There are two implications that follow from this. First, in a cross-sectional comparison of generations, younger generations should be more tolerant in comparison to older generations, even after controlling for education. Second, longitudinal comparisons should reveal that today's young are more tolerant when compared to people of the same age from older surveys. The modern "skinheads" and perpetrators of hate-crimes are part of the younger generation compared to the hate-crime perpetrators of the 1980s. Watts (2001) argues that data shows they are part of an aggressive subculture and that they do not act primarily from racism or ideological motivation but are motivated by "thrill-seeking" and other criminal motives. He also finds that younger persons, particularly males confronted with economic modernization and dislocation for which they are ill prepared and where "scapegoats" in the form of "outsiders" are perceived as threats, will continue to produce aggressive subcultures.

Gender. Whether the subjects of the analysis are American men, men from Western Europe, or men from the former Soviet Union, males are more supportive than females of civil liberties issues (Shiraev and Sobel 2006, 146-47; Todosijevic and Enyedi 2008, 10-17). Nonetheless, "Americanists" tend to describe women as being overall more tolerant than men, based on their positions on issues such as support for the death penalty or a more conciliatory foreign policy (Erikson and Tedin 1995, 208-12; Shiraev and Sobel 2006, 266). However, this result appears peculiar to the American context. Cross-national studies conclude that, in both Western Europe and Eastern Europe, women tend to be more authoritarian compared to men (Todosijevic and Enyedi 2008, 10-17; Mayer 1999, 130).

It is, nonetheless, important to note that these analyses tend to have a narrower notion of tolerance than that discussed throughout this dissertation, i.e., political tolerance in the former case versus both political and social tolerance in the latter case. In her study of gender realignment in the US in the

last decades, Kaufman (2002) explains this phenomenon as a result of the increased salience of social issues (reproductive rights, female equality, legal protection for homosexuals), and the different ways in which the two genders have reacted to this political development. Therefore, the above conclusion can be nuanced, and instead of answering the question, "are women more intolerant than men?" with a resounding "yes," it is more sensible to answer, "it depends." If we conceptualize tolerance as multidimensional, then the answer may well be that women are less tolerant than men on political issues, but more tolerant on social issues.

Religiosity. While this variable is often analyzed as a determinant of tolerance, the results are ambiguous, in large measure because various scholars analyze different dimensions of the concept, without always being careful in specifying their dependent variable (and this observation applies more generally to the discussion of the impact of the other variables, as already pointed out in the case of gender). Not surprisingly, when tolerance is defined as permissiveness toward homosexuality (or unconventional social behavior more generally), religiosity has a strong and negative impact (Erikson and Tedin 1995, 203; Flanigan and Zingale 1998, 119). However, when tolerance is defined as willingness to extend civil liberties to outgroups, religiosity has no impact in Eastern Europe, while its impact in Western Europe is strong and positive (Todosijevic and Enyedi 2008, 17). An indirect, but important piece of additional evidence indicating the ambiguous impact of religiosity is offered by the analysis of the profile of the voters of the radical authoritarian French National Front. While the left is overrepresented among the voters detached from religion and the moderate right is overrepresented among regular churchgoers, the National Front is overrepresented among non-practicing Catholics (Boy and Mayer 2000, 167-69).

These seemingly contradictory results point out once more the need to distinguish between political tolerance and social tolerance. If we think of tolerance as essentially one-dimensional, the studies

described above appear to contradict each other. However, if we think of tolerance as a multidimensional concept, with social and political facets, then it is not implausible to see the same independent variable (here, religiosity) having a positive impact on one dimension (political tolerance) and a negative impact on another dimension (social tolerance). Importantly, this result is also an important empirical confirmation that tolerance is indeed multidimensional.

2.3.3   Ideological unity and voting

Kitschelt (1995) advanced the hypothesis that radical right parties are favored when the ideological distance between mainstream parties is reduced, thus opening a space for the radical right. Carter (2005) tests various supply side explanations for the electoral success of what she calls right-wing extremists. With rigorous scientific precision she employs multiple regression analysis and shows that only a few variables matter. She finds that party organization and leadership matter for the electoral accomplishments of these parties but the most important factor that makes radical right/extremist parties successful is the ideological convergence between mainstream left and mainstream right parties. Van der Burg et al. (2005), who analyze electoral results of 25 radical parties in 22 elections, come up with the same conclusion that the ideological position of the mainstream competitor matters. They find that when the large mainstream party moves more to the right on the ideological spectrum this translates into less votes for the radical right party. Koopmans et al. (2005) find that strong discursive opportunity structure combined with ample political space leads to institutionalization (i.e. party formation), that weak discursive opportunities and restricted political space leads to marginalization and, finally, weak discursive opportunities combined with ample political space leads to populism (p.149). Meguid (2008) finds that institutions and traditional predictors such as immigrants, value orientation, and economic

prosperity do not explain the success of small niche parties.[20] She argues that it is the mainstream par-

ties' strategies that determine the success of these small parties, as they can shift their position and al-

ter the salience of the issues. Meguid uses the French political system to exemplify how large ideologi-

cal distance between radical right and moderate right solidifies the radical right party's platform. She

argues that mainstream parties' adversarial policies towards the National Front especially on the issues

of immigration solidified the radical right's party ownership on the issue.

Downs (2012, 20) argues that "strategies of isolation, ostracism, and demonization prove sur-

prisingly ineffective at rolling back or even containing threats to the democratic order from party-based

extremism." Furthermore, he finds that attempts to quarantine radical parties pushed the mainstream

parties in the position of looking for alternatives in order to preserve the democratic order. One alter-

native that was considered in the contemporary political system is the inclusion of these "pariah" parties

in the government structures. Using examples from Austria, Switzerland and Denmark, Downs finds that

"a consistent but surprising finding is that strategies of regulated inclusion, can remedy some of the un-

intended pathologies of ostracism, setting in motion dynamics that divide parties new to government

and exposing them as ill-prepared to deal with the responsibilities of every day policy-making" (21).

Norris (2005) challenges these claims and finds that "there are grounds for skepticism surround-

ing the claim that the ideological positions of the mainstream parties provide automatic opportunities

for radical-right parties" (196). Kitschelt's claims are not supported by the reproduction of the analysis

initiated by Norris. She states that "this evidence therefore fails to support the Kitschelt prediction that

the radical right will flourish most successfully where the ideological gap between the main parties is

smallest" (196).

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[20] Meguid (2008) defines 'niche parties' as parties that (1) reject the traditional class-based orientation
of politics, (2) raise issues that are outside of left-right political divisions, and (3) focus on a more limited set of issues. Given
these restrictions, the niche group includes three party families—greens, ethnoterritorial parties, and radical right parties (3–4).

Art (2007) also contradicts Kitschelt's original findings and proves that radical right parties' success is dependent on the position of the mainstream parties and that they are more successful in countries where the coalition markets are more open towards collaboration. He finds that there is an "interaction" argument that weakens or consolidates newly formed radical movements. The interaction of the mainstream political parties, reactions of the print media and civil society are important factors in determining the far right's trajectory (332). "Conversely, when mainstream political forces either cooperate with or are agnostic toward the far right, right-wing populist parties gain electoral strength, legitimacy and political entrepreneurs that can transform them into permanent forces in the party system" (332). Art uses two case studies, Austria and Germany, to support his argument that the two decades of growth and success for the Austrian radical right FPO and the two decades of stagnation and failure of the German REP[21], are a result of deliberate choices made within the political system. What determines the reactions of the political parties, the media and the civil society is the perception of legitimacy of the radical right parties in the mainstream politics. Art (2006) argues that these ideas of legitimacy are direct products of the dramatically different ways in which Germany and Austria chose to confront their Nazi past. In Germany, the examination of the past produced a "culture of contrition" amongst all political elites, and sensitivity to any political party that resembled the Nazis or tried to downplay the connotation of the Nazi past. In Austria, amnesia about the Nazi period and a defensive attitude produced a "culture of victimization". This attitude, coupled with a permissive position of political elites toward the radical right, paved the way for the far right in becoming a legitimate actor in the mainstream politics.

In contemporary Austrian politics the danger of radicalism is real and tangible. In Germany political elites, left and right, the media leaders, and the civil society decided to confront the Nazi past and marginalized the radical right parties. In Austria they did the opposite, some of them mainly the moder-

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[21] Republikaner Party (REP)

ate right did not do that and they decided to cooperate with the radical right and the result was that the radical right ended up in the government. Based on Kitschelt's original argument the radical right parties should have been more successful in Germany where the moderate right and the moderate left converged in the center refusing to cooperate with the radical right. In Austria, Kitschelt's theory would argue that the radical right parties have no chance simply because the distance between moderate right and the moderate left increased, the moderate right moved toward the right in an attempt to capture some of the radical right votes.

Art's theory is also supported by France. Today in France we have a situation more similar with Austria, rather than Germany. France used to be more similar to the German case when under Chirac the mainstream political forces employed a strategy of marginalization of the radical right. Once Sarkozy took power, the moderate right French political elites became increasingly more involved with the radical right, precisely the National Front, just like in the Austrian case. They argued that National Front is not as big of a villain as everyone once to make it out to be, that NF electorate has the right to be represented properly as French citizens, or that NF is a party just as any other political party.[22]

2.3.4   Satisfaction with democracy and voting

Two obvious candidates for other variables that also affect the preference for extremist parties are the format of the party system and satisfaction with democracy, with the important observation that the effect of all three variables is mediated by the electoral system. Mainstream parties' voters are more satisfied with democracy than radical right parties' supporters, as shown by Ignazi (1992), Betz (1994), Billiet and De Witte (1995), Lubbers et al. (2002). These studies show that the level of satisfaction with democracy is an important predictor for radical right parties' support and the stronger the dis-

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[22] http://www.thelocal.fr/3188/20120425/, consulted 04/28/2012
  http://en.mercopress.com/2012/04/24/extreme-right-wing-national-front-kingmaker-of-next-french-president, consulted 04/28/2012

satisfaction with democracy, the larger the support for the radical right in a country Lubbers et al. (2002). They use a multi-level approach, bringing together large amounts of individual-level survey data and country characteristics from mass surveys and census as well as expert judgment surveys. They find that a multitude of traditional factors contribute to support for the right-wing vote. Among the traditional predictors they find unemployment, lack of education, lack of religious beliefs, young age, and being a male are significant determinants of radical right support. Besides these factors that are traditionally investigated as stimulators for the radical right vote, they find that at country level the "stronger the popularity of anti-immigrant attitudes and the stronger the dissatisfaction with democracy, the larger the support for the extreme right in a country" (371). Kessler and Freeman (2005) find the same evidence and explain support for the extreme right parties in Europe as a result of individual characteristics among which dissatisfaction with the present national political system. They find that "regardless of respondents' gender, education, or standing in the labor market, anti-immigrant sentiment and political disaffection drive support for the extreme right" (283). Norris (2011) finds that there are many claims that can be made as for what determines an increase in the radical right parties support. Analyzing the democratic deficits she finds that satisfaction with perceived democratic perception leads to a core argument that "the most plausible potential explanations for the democratic deficit claim that this phenomenon arises from some combination of growing public expectations, negative news, and failing government performance" (2). According to Norris, satisfaction with democracy is indeed an indicator of "public evaluations of how well autocratic or democratic governments work in practice."[23]

Some authors find that satisfaction with democracy, as a measurement of the legitimacy of the government, reveals multiple dimensions of the political support. The item is interpreted differently

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[23] See Pippa Norris, "Support for Democratic Governance: Multidimensional concept and survey measures", Paper for the LAPOP-UNDP workshop on *Candidate Indicators for the UNDP Democracy Support Index (DSI)*, Center for the Americas at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, May 5-6 (2006), p. 6.

among individuals and countries. This diversity in interpretation renders the measurement unreliable and limits the capacity of the analysis to derive meaningful inferences (Canache et. al. 2001). These findings are criticized and ample support for the measurement "satisfaction with democracy" was brought soon after Canache et al. found it problematic. Anderson (2001) called Canache et al.'s doubt unfounded. Andersen believes that "satisfaction with democracy measure is a reasonable (albeit imperfect) indicator that we can use to test our theories" (11). In fact, Anderson finds that the measurement is validated by the same research that meant to dismantle it. He finds that "satisfaction with democracy" is proven by Canache et. al.'s research to measure "regime performance and is somewhere in-between specific support and institutional confidence" (12).

2.3.5   Voting, Electoral Systems, and Party Format

The electoral system is an institutional framework that constructs the rules that translate votes into legislative seats. These rules bias the chances that the radical right parties could gain representation, and to what extent, in the national legislative bodies. The rules of the democratic game are defined and set partially by the electoral system which provides one of the most important sources of protection against non-democratic elements. They help determine who governs, who is elected, and the roles of the parties in the electoral process. There is a large variety of electoral systems; however, they can be grouped in a few major categories. The typical approach is to use the electoral formula: majority systems, mixed systems, and proportional systems (Lijphart 1999: 145; Norris 1997; Hague and Harrop 2010: 181). However, for the purpose of this dissertation, it makes more sense to take into account the incentives offered by different systems to voters and parties (especially the radical right parties and their constituents): single-member district plurality (or relative majority), SMD majority-runoff (absolute majority), and multi-member district proportional representation (Table 2.2):

Table 2.2.Major Electoral Systems

Type of electoral system:	How it works	Examples
Simple majority (SMD plurality)	Winner-take-all, no matter the percentage of the total vote	UK, USA, Canada, India, other former British colonies
Absolute majority (SMD majority runoff)	If no candidate gets an absolute majority in the first round, (typically) the top two candidates get to the runoff[24]	France, former French colonies, Louisiana
Multi-member district proportional representation	Each party gets seats in proportion to its share of the votes (though most countries adopt a threshold)	Norway, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Israel, Portugal, Spain

Each electoral system influences the voters' support for radical right parties and their strategic considerations at the time of voting. In proportional representation, each party receives the amount of seats proportional to its electoral winnings. The voter who supports the radical right parties in a proportional system will be less likely to vote strategically because his/her party has equal chances with any other party to obtain representations. In simple majority systems there is only one chance to vote for the party of choice and so the voter can not afford to strategies and delay its support, there are either sincere or strategic in this first round. In majority runoff systems in the first round supporters will be sincere and vote for their favorite candidate. In the second round the voters will strategize and vote against the candidate which they dislike the most even though this means they cast their vote for a least favored candidate.

The simple majority system (SMD) has its origin in the British political system and it not incidentally that former colonies adopted it and refined it to their needs. United States of America, Canada,

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[24] France constitutes a particular case in this system. It has what is known as majority-plurality. They have a majority runoff for the presidential elections. For the legislative, France can have sometimes three candidates in the runoff. Candidates that qualify for the second tour must gain at least 12.5% of the registered votes which translates into 17%-18% actual support. If this situation develops, moderate parties agree to drop the weakest of the three candidates and the runoff happens between the two top candidates.

India, some African nations and New Zeeland (till they adopted a new system), just to name a few were inspired in their choice by the former colonial power. The choices of electoral systems have reflected in this case the impact of colonialism and in other cases just the influence of neighboring states. Countries in general have designed electoral systems based on historical circumstances or social conditions of the country. Each choice of an electoral system has been inspired by desired outcomes. SMD relies on single member districts and the winner of that specific district, indifferent of the percentages wins the seat. This is the electoral system that posits the dilemma of "sincere" versus "utilitarian" vote expressed by the electorate. A sincere vote in many cases might mean betraying the allegiances toward a smaller party in order to vote for a larger party which has a better chance at winning the seat. SMD allows the candidate with the highest number of votes to win a seat even when he or she does not have a majority. This system proves to be very unfriendly to smaller parties in general and to radical parties in particular. SMD triggers strategic voting on the part of the electorate, determines fewer political parties and simplifies the representation formula.

The absolute majority with a runoff is an electoral system that relies on single member districts, just like the simple majority system, but the candidates must obtain a majority in order to win the seat for which they compete. If none of the candidates obtains the majority of votes the system provides for a second round of voting, a runoff, between the top two candidates. This system is employed for either legislative or presidential elections. In France it is used for both legislative and presidential elections while in Romania and Austria it is used exclusively for the presidential elections. This system is present in former French colonies from the African continent but also is a system adopted and maintained in the American state of Louisiana. In the case of Louisiana the runoff system happened to decide which party gains the control of the Senate simply because if no candidate wins the absolute majority the runoff de-

lays the results for the entire legislative chamber[25]. This electoral system is just as unfriendly to small parties and radical parties in particular as the simple majority system.

Proportional representation (PR) tends to encourage a larger number of political parties compared to majoritarian electoral systems. Smaller parties tend to find proportional representation electoral systems friendlier compared to any of the majoritarian ones. In order to control and limit the access of the smaller parties to the legislative bodies, most countries adopt a threshold where these parties must obtain a minimum percentage of votes in order to obtain seats in the legislatures. Some countries adopt very low thresholds such as the Netherlands with 0.67 at national level, or Israel where the 2% threshold was adopted after many years of keeping it at 1% and 1.5%. Other nations, such as Turkey and the Seychelles islands have a 10% threshold.[26] It has a tendency to allow a better representation of a plurality of interests and it represents the interests of the constituency more accurately. Therefore, if radical right parties are small any given PR system will favor them. The only way to prevent them or lower their chances to gain representation is to raise the threshold above their level of electoral support.

Ezrow (2010) argues that the electoral system does not directly influence the nature of representation but it influences the mixture of parties in the system. He finds the left-wing or right–wing parties tend to be more successful under proportional representation (11). He argues that the role of the electoral system is to limit or expand the electoral presence and the parliamentary representation of the niche parties. Ezrow finds that mainstream parties cater to the mean voters preferences while niche parties cater to non-centrist policy positions.

Electoral systems mediate the effect of all these variables on radical right parties. All discussions about the electoral systems must mention Duverger and his famous law. Duverger mentions the me-

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[25] http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1259902/posts. consulted 06/01/2012.
[26] http://www.idea.int/esd/world.cfm. Consulted 06/3/20012.

chanical effect of the electoral system which means that a less friendly electoral system produces reductionist effects. If the system is set up to require a threshold (3% or 5%), then if a party does not meet that requirement it simply does not get included in the legislative branch. Duverger also mentions the psychological effect. The electorate adjusts its voting behavior in accordance with the opportunities offered by the electoral system. Citizens despise wasting their vote and they vote with the next best choice in order to be presented. The mechanical effect and the psychological effect are determined by the electoral system, and in turn they largely determine the party system. It is important to see how Duverger's law (1954) applies to the party system in general and the radical right parties in particular. The general observation based on empirical findings of many studies, is that Duverger's logic matches very well the mainstream parties' behavior but it offers less of a prediction for the radical right parties. The first law states that the plurality single-ballot rule tends to party dualism and the second claims that the double-ballot system and proportional representation tend to multipartyism.

Regarding the mainstream parties and their representation in legislative branches, Lijphart (1994) studied 27 advanced industrialized democracies between 1945 and 1990 and measures the "effective number of parliamentary parties" (ENPP), which measures not only of the number of parties but also their size. Lijphart found that the ENPP was an average of 2.0 in plurality systems, an average of 2.8 in majority system and an average of 3.6 in proportional systems. For the proportional systems he found that imposing a minimum threshold has an effect on the inclusion of smaller parties. Also, supporting Duverger's law and Lijphart's classic studies are Jackman and Volper (1996) and Ignazi (2003) who state that proportional representation systems are conducive to radical right parties' electoral success provided that they offer low thresholds.

Other authors contradict those findings and find no evidence of an influence of the electoral system on support for the radical right parties. Kitschelt (1995) looked at support for radical right parties'

votes in the 1980s in Western Europe and found that it did suffer a major impact as a result of majoritarian, mixed, or proportional electoral systems. He states "while electoral laws have a non-negligible impact on party formation and the fragmentation of party systems taken by themselves, they explain very little about the actual dynamics of competition." (60) Later, Carter finds evidence in support of Kitschelt's findings and argues that PR systems do not promote party extremism. Norris (2005) brings even more evidence to the theory that radical right votes are not influenced by the type of electoral systems debunking the myth that voters hate to waste their vote and so they vote "strategically". That type of electoral behavior works among the supporters of mainstream political parties while the supporters of the radical right parties tend to continue to sustain their parties indifferent of the electoral outcome. Norris finds that "contrary to the conventional wisdom, the share of the vote achieved by radical right parties in the most recent national legislative elections was similar under majoritarian (7.2%) and proportional (7.1%); [therefore], the effect of majoritarian systems was [...] not to depress the popular vote for radical right parties, contrary to expectations of strategic voting, but rather to limit their access to legislative office and all the trappings of power and legitimacy that flow from this position" (107-108).

2.3.6   Party System Format on Democracy

Thus far, it has been established that tolerance, ideological distance and satisfaction with democracy as independent variables, as well as electoral system as an intervening variable, influence electoral behavior. In turn, electoral behavior influences the party system. Advancing this model, this literature review discusses how electoral behavior reflected in the party system influences democracy. It seeks to understand the measure in which electoral behavior is reflected in support for radical right parties or radical policies. It is important to point out that it is not just radical right parties promoting (or implementing, when they have the opportunity) radical right policies. This can also be done by other

parties (especially center-right parties), in an attempt to "steal" the radical right votes, as for instance was the case with Jose Maria Aznar of Spain and Tony Blair in Britain who pushed for a strict EU-wide immigration policy (Mudde 2011 p. 10).

Austria is an example of an established liberal democracy where a radical right party joined the government. In 1999, Jörg Haider's Freedom Party won 27 percent of the vote in parliamentary elections, thus becoming the second largest party in the country at the time. The entering of the party in the governing coalition led to widespread international condemnation and mass protests in Vienna (Schudel 2008). The data for both the party's constituents and the party itself indicate that these concerns were well-founded. The party was successful in distinguishing itself from the rest of Austrian parties using a virulent anti-European and anti-immigration rhetoric. In their survey of parties and party systems in various polities around the world, Benoit and Laver (2006) asked country experts to place political parties on various policy dimensions. In the case of Austria, when looking at the "immigration" policy dimension, the distance between the two major mainstream parties, the center-left Social Democratic Party and the center-right Popular Party, was actually smaller than the distance between the latter and the Freedom Party (Benoit and Laver 2006, Appendix B). With respect to the party's constituents, studies reveal that the most significant predictors of their vote were antiforeigner feelings and cultural protectionism (Norris 2005, 182-84).

In other cases, the electoral advance of such parties is avoided only at the cost of mainstream politicians and parties moving themselves in a more extreme position by embracing, even if only partially, the agenda of radical right parties. One such example is offered by the 2007 French presidential election, in which a key ingredient of Nicolas Sarkozy's success was the winning of a substantial share of the vote from the former National Front constituency, the so-called *lepéno-sarkozystes*. Survey data show

that these voters were far more authoritarian and xenophobic than the rest of Sarkozy's electorate

(Mayer 2007).

This is not surprising: as rational actors, politicians try to please their voters. Parties with an in-

tolerant agenda tend to have intolerant constituents. Figure 2.1, which presents the level of political

and social tolerance of the main partisan constituencies in France, is a clear indication that the extreme

policy positions endorsed by parties such as the National Front are a reflection of the positions of their

adherents. With the partial exception of their position toward homosexuality, where they do not distin-

guish themselves too much from other voters, the constituents of Le Pen appear far more intolerant in

comparison to the voters of the socialist Jospin, the centrist Bayrou, or even the conservative Chirac.

Figure 2.1. Political and social tolerance of French partisan constituencies (by vote in the first round of the 2002 presidential election)
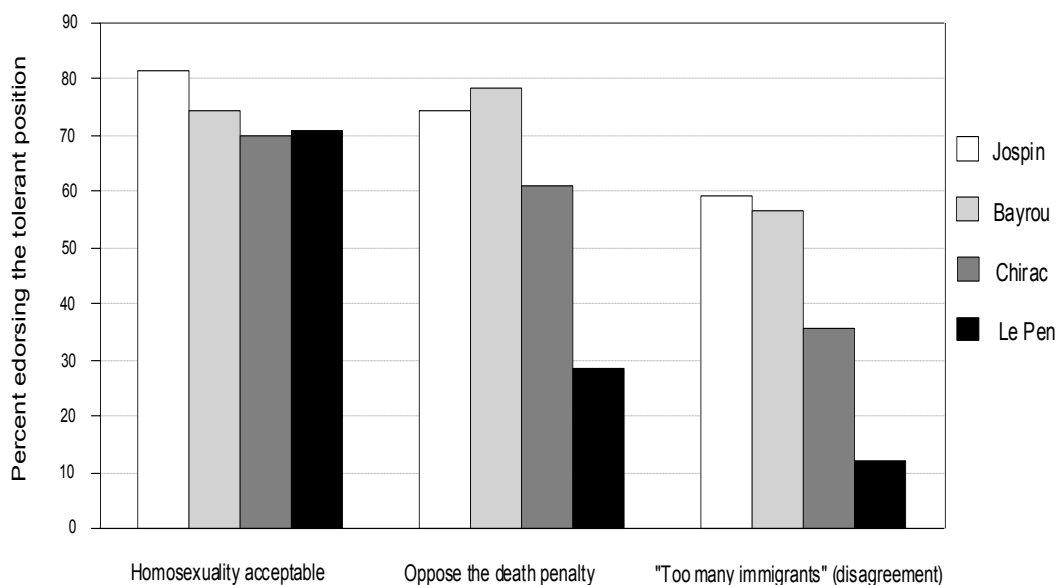
Source: CEVIPOF, "Baromètre Politique Français 2002" (French Political Barometer), First Wave [computer file].

The various forms of intolerance are politically consequential; Sarkozy's positioning closer to the radical right compared to that of his predecessor Chirac, in search for the *lepéno-sarkozyste* vote, may have been successful from an electoral perspective, but it did come at a cost. Sarkozy's subsequent politics were influenced by this portion of his winning electoral coalition, as indicated by the recent wave of expulsions of ethnic Roma from France,[27] which the EU officials in Brussels consider as a disgrace. Viviane Reding, the European Commissioner for Justice, went so far as to compare the deportations of Roma to Romania and Bulgaria "to Vichy France's treatment of Jews in the second world war. She said Brussels had no option but to launch infringement proceedings, meaning that France could be hauled before the European court of justice" (Traynor 2010).

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[27]John Lichfield http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/sarkozy-under-fire-as-roma-crackdown-fails-2330877.html
Consulted October 25, 2012

Moreover, during his presidential campaign for the 2012 elections, Sarkozy continued to tilt his discourse to the right in hopes of attracting some of Marine Le Pen's votes. Marine Le Pen is the daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen and she was the presidential candidate for the National Front and she managed to increase her party's visibility during this campaign. Marine Le Pen enjoys a party in the electorate formed by working class and middle class who believe that migration threatens their traditional way of life. Sarkozy subscribed to a false rumor that half the meat consumed in Paris is prepared by traditional Islamic rituals (halal), and he threatened to withdraw France from the Schengen agreement if it will not manage to improve the migration situation for France.[28] The 2012 presidential elections sent waves of shock around the world as Marine Le Pen came in third in the first round of elections. She managed to get the support of around 20% French voters, which amounted to over six million votes. The only chance left for Sarkozy to defeat the socialist candidate Hollande was to attract at least some of the National Front supporters for the second round. Marine Le Pen did not endorse Sarkozy showing that she is ready to trade her support only for the right price.

This phenomenon is also present in Hungary and Romania. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Orban, enjoys a great deal of support from the extreme right party Jobbik and in turn he implements policies that are being characterized by European leaders as radical. Romania on the other hand allows for a more interesting theoretical perspective. Romania is led by a center left coalition that is accused of implementing radical and undemocratic polices. This adds additional incentives to the reasons why Romania makes a good case study. These cases will be addressed in great detail in chapters five and six.

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[28] Michelot, Martin. Analyst at The German Marshal Fund of the USA
http://www.euractiv.ro/index.html/articles%7cdisplayArticle?articleID=24149, consulted 03/23/2012.

2.3.7   The Impact of Democracy on Tolerance

So far this dissertation has addressed the impact of tolerance on democracy, but it is equally important to see if democracy has an impact on tolerance as well. Previous literature established that being socialized in a democratic society has an important impact on the democratic behavior. This renders the logical expectation that democratic socialization produces more tolerant citizens. One venue for improving the levels of tolerance and, by extension, the levels of democratization in the country of origin is through exposure to more democratic countries where through the process of democratic socialization citizens will become more tolerant.

Regime type. If having more tolerant citizens tends to make countries more democratic, is it also the case that democracy fosters tolerance? Many scholars argue that this is indeed the case, and that people socialized in a democracy are more tolerant than those who are socialized in an authoritarian regime (Marquart-Pyatt and Paxton, 2007; Stenner 2005, 132). While the younger generations tend to be more tolerant in the vast majority of societies in the world, the widest gap between the values of younger and older generations is observable in advanced industrial societies which have made a recent transition from an autocratic to a democratic regime – Germany, Spain, South Korea (Inglehart and Welzel 2005, 112-13).

In a similar vein, Peffley and Rohrschneider (2003, 244) argue that "political tolerance at a more concrete level is extremely difficult and […] consequently, citizens must be exposed to experiences that encourage the application of democratic norms to specific instances." These differences determined by the process of democratic learning could produce different levels of political tolerance in countries with different democratic histories, and for different individuals based on their personal level of exposure and experience with a democratic regime (Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003; Weil 1991). If that is the case, we can think of migration to a more democratic country than one's country of origin as the func-

tional equivalent, albeit temporary, of a transition to democracy at the individual-level, and we can study whether those migrants do in fact become more tolerant than their compatriots who stayed home.

Migration. There are a number of studies that indicate that this phenomenon does indeed happen. The impact of migration extends to a whole range of political and social attitudes. Furthermore, migration has spillover consequences, affecting the sending countries as well. What follows is a critical analysis of the literature on the aforementioned effects of migration.

Among the micro-level effects of migration discussed in the literature are changes of attitudes toward gender equality (Levitt 1996), transformations in the migrants' views of democracy (de la Garza and Yetim 2003; Jimenez 2008), changes in partisan preferences and voting behavior (Lawson 2003; Fidrmuc and Doyle 2004) and, last but certainly not least, changes in the level of tolerance and openness (Watson and Lippitt 1958; Gmelch 1987). One major finding of Levitt's study of migrants from the Dominican Republic to the US, more specifically Boston, was that Dominican women in the US play a much more important role in public and family life compared to the non-migrant Dominican women. Even more importantly, they acquire an emancipated view of what it means to be a woman (Levitt 1996, 15).

In a study comparing Mexican-Americans and Mexicans, de la Garza and Yetim wanted to find out whether the political culture of the former group differs from the latter's. To this end, they used survey data to see how the two groups differ along "three dimensions of democracy: how they define it, what they say are its essential characteristics, and how they define its principal tasks" (de la Garza and Yetim 2003, 85). They found out that Mexican-Americans do indeed conceptualize democracy differently than Mexicans. Moreover, multivariate analysis of political attitudes reveals that the influence of migration remains substantial, even after controlling for the effect of socioeconomic and demographic variables (de la Garza and Yetim 2003, 93-98). This led the authors to conclude that the Mexican Ameri-

cans' views of democracy "differ significantly from those of Mexicans because of their exposure to the political institutions and culture of the United States" (de la Garza and Yetim 2003, 81). These findings echoed those from Watson and Lippitt's (1958) study of a group of German students who visited the United States. The subjects showed evidence that they had acquired a more cosmopolitan world view as a direct consequence of their American exposure. This was indicated, on the one hand, by their self-reporting during interviews with the authors and, on the other hand, by their responses to various questions (this was a longitudinal study and, as such, able to capture attitudinal changes). That being the case, these studies support Diamond's (1994) claim that "there is no better way of developing the values, skills, and commitments to democratic citizenship than through direct experience with democracy" (de la Garza and Yetim 2003, 81).

Other scholars have looked at the impact of migration on partisan preferences and voting behavior. In cases such as Poland and the Czech Republic, and using a dataset that shows results for the national elections with results for emigrant votes reported separately, Fidrmuc and Doyle (2004) analyzed the difference between Polish and Czech migrants' voting patterns and those of their domestic counterparts. They found striking differences between the two groups, and tried to understand these changes by examining three alternative explanations: political re-socialization, economic self-selection and political self-selection. There is little evidence that migrants' political attitudes are due to self-selection, pre-migration political attitudes or economic characteristics. That being the case, a promising candidate for explaining these emigrants' vote is the experience of migration itself, which changed the political attitudes of the migrants, as reflected in their vote. Indeed, that was what the authors concluded: "the results give strong indication that migrants' voting behavior is shaped by the institutional environment of the host countries […] in particular the tradition of democracy and the extent of economic freedom" (Fidrmuc and Doyle 2004, 34).

In a similar fashion, Lawson (2003) compared the partisan preferences of the Mexican immigrants in the United States to those of the Mexicans living in Mexico. He found significant differences between the political preferences of the two groups, with Mexicans living at home more inclined to vote for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and the immigrants preferring the National Action Party (PAN). This appears as prima facie evidence that migration did have an important impact on the political values and partisan preferences of Mexican migrants. However, Lawson is cautious in attributing the observed differences to migration; rather, he argues that an equally likely explanation is one rooted in differences in the educational attainment of the two groups and the media messages to which they were exposed (Lawson 2003, 65). Be that as it may, media exposure should then have a significant impact on political values, whether the focus is on Mexican immigrants in the US or Romanian students enrolled in Work and Travel programs – as a matter of fact, the latter group's better education opens up the possibility of an even greater effect. Moreover, media exposure can be looked at as a proxy for the broader exposure to a political environment like the American one, more liberal and democratic compared to what we find in either Mexico or Romania. Other scholars found out that this is indeed what happens – namely, that the political attitudes of migrants change as a result of the process of socialization in the new environment, and that media exposure is one of the driving forces behind this process (Glazer and Giles 1997).

In their study of political resocialization of immigrants in Canada, White et al. (2008) were interested in finding out answers to two questions. Their first research question was how migrants adjust to their new political environment; the second, to what extent the process is affected by the political environment of their country of origin. They found that the degree of exposure to the new environment was the strongest causal factor of partisan strength among immigrants. Moreover, "when it comes to

interest in elections and voting, immigrants from quite different political systems appear to adapt to their new host political environment in remarkably similar ways" (White et el. 2008, 277).

The effects of migration are not limited to the individual-level (i.e., these effects are not confined to the migrants themselves). Additionally, scholars have identified macro-level effects; that is, migrants have a significant impact on their countries of origin, by bringing back and spreading democratic ideas (Dominguez 1996) or even, in some cases, contributing to a democratic transition (Richmond 2003). In his study of the impact of return migrants in Barbados, Gmelch (1987, 138) concludes that "Barbadian return migrants have a positive impact at home, and […] return migration, involving the transfer of ideas, attitudes, work skills and capital, can represent an important resource in the nation's development." The impact of return migrants is perhaps most visible in politics, where all four of the country's prime ministers since independence (1966) until the writing of the article (1987) were return migrants, and so were the majority of the country's members of parliament Gmelch (1987, 138).

Richmond (2003) argues that Soviet citizens who traveled to the United States and Western Europe in the decades before the fall of Communism were instrumental in its demise. These were mostly members of the intellectual and political elite – scholars, students, journalists, scientists, and government and party leaders. As Richmond's publisher put it, "they came, they saw, they were conquered, and the Soviet Union will never again be the same. Those exchanges changed the Soviet Union and prepared the way for Gorbachev's glasnost, perestroika, and the end of the Cold War."[29]

2.4   Conclusion

This chapter has been dedicated to a critical evaluation of previous research on the two-way relationship between tolerance and democracy. On the one hand, tolerance affects democracy, an impact mediated by voting and the party system. On the other hand, democracy also affects tolerance, via the

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[29] http://muse.jhu.edu/books/9780271052809. Consulted June 21, 2013.

process of democratic socialization. One possibility to actively promote this process is to encourage migration to more democratic countries than the migrants' countries of origin. This dissertation seeks to strengthen the existing literature regarding the impact of democracy on tolerance and of tolerance in democracy at both micro- and macro-level as well as a longitudinal analysis of the relations between these two variables. It also offers a systematic comparison between newer democracies in Eastern Europe and the older democracies in Western Europe and the different levels of tolerance among their citizens that ultimately translate into polices.

This chapter presented a critical review of the literature on tolerance and democracy. It started by presenting the development, throughout the second half of the last century and up until today, of the concept "tolerance", beginning with Stouffer's (1955) classical operationalization and progressing on to other scholars' subsequent clarifications and refinements. Particularly, it reviewed the earlier literature and what was established beforehand in regards to the impact of tolerance on democracy. It has underscored the link between tolerance and democracy, and how this is reconciled by the party system format and the level of support for the radical right. The second part critically assessed the determinants of tolerance in comparative analyses, with a focus on the impact of migration. The chapter exceeded a simple presentation of previous research and existing literature. Instead, it has served as a source for the research question through critical evaluation of what we know, what we do not know, and what remains contested by researchers who study tolerance, partisanship, democracy and migration, and how these variables impact one another.

The next chapter focuses on formalization of a causal model based on this review. It offers a description and rationalization for the main hypotheses which will be tested in a subsequent chapter. The chapter includes a presentation and operationalization of variables used in the analyses.

3   Explanatory Model, Data, Methods, and Operationalization of Variables

In spite of half of a century of research on this topic, there are still important questions, even in the comparative politics literature, that need to be answered (Gibson 2006). Accordingly, this study makes a contribution to the literature on tolerance and the relationship between tolerance and democracy in Romania as a case study and also cross-nationally. This chapter starts with the explanatory model employed in this study and then offers the theoretical justification for the main hypotheses tested in subsequent chapters. It then moves on to a description of the datasets used in order to test those hypotheses empirically. After that, it presents the methods employed in these analyses. The chapter ends with a presentation of the operationalization of variables.

3.1   The study of tolerance: a theoretical roadmap

Scholars have analyzed the role of tolerance in the proper functioning of democracy for at least half a century (e.g., Lipset 1963, 94-95; Huntington 1991, 37; Dahl 1998, 157). We now have a consensus that tolerance is a crucial ingredient for democracy.[30] This section starts with a theoretical model, which presents the two-way link between tolerance and democracy mediated by voting and party system format on one hand, and on the other, the impact that democratic socialization has on the levels of tolerance. It continues with the formalization of hypotheses derived from the theoretical model presented in the first part. The general model was presented in Figure 1.1. Figure 3.1 is a summary of H_1-H_7, introducing the general explanatory framework driving this research.

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[30] That is, "ingredient" as in "determinant" rather than "constitutive element" In the latter case, tolerance is part of the definition, and so the statement 'more democratic countries have more tolerant citizens' is tautological; in the former case, it is a theoretical statement that can be tested empirically.

Figure 3.1. The reciprocal relation between democracy and tolerance
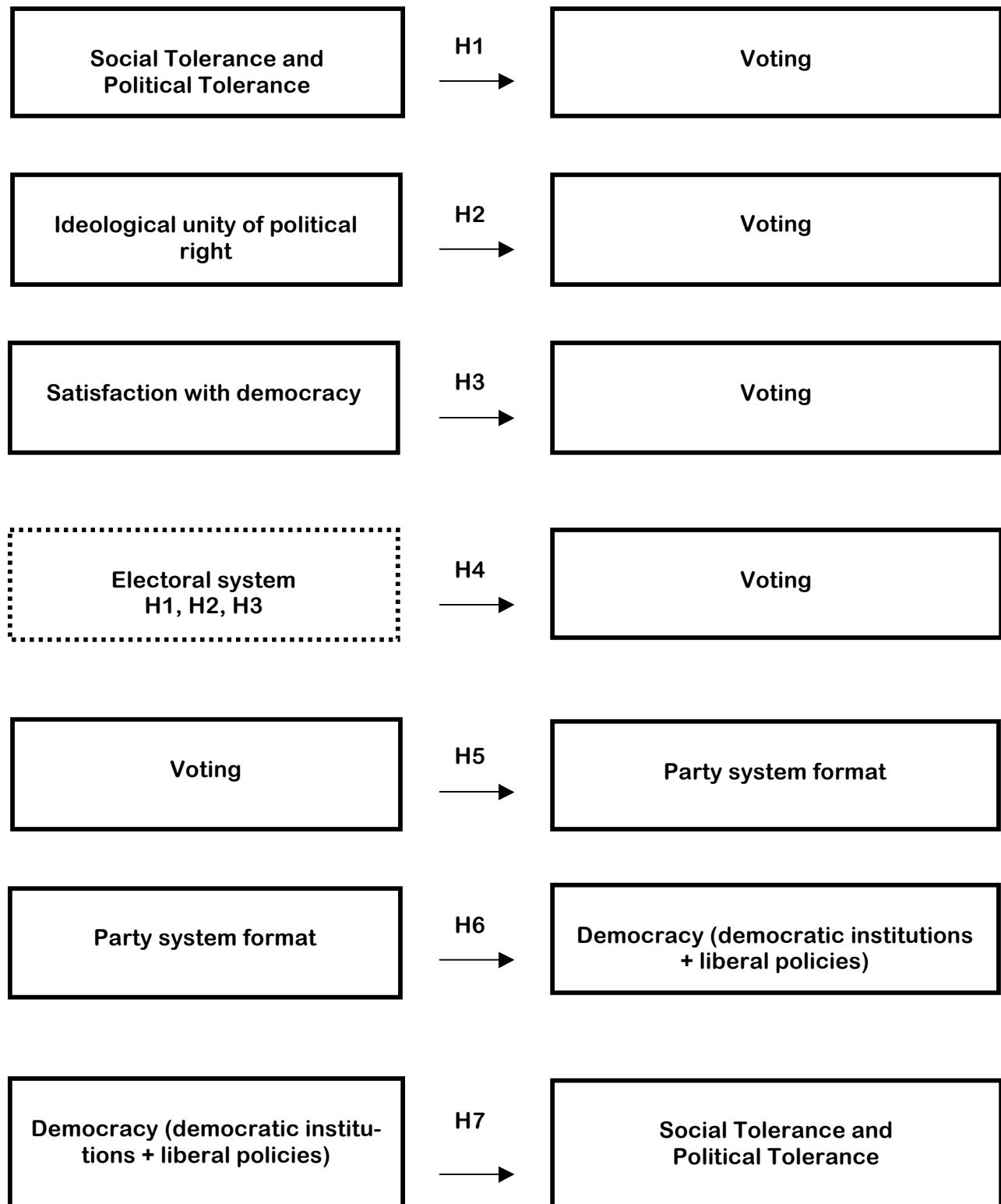
This is not the outline of a research design *per se*; this study does not test just one question but, rather, several (closely related) questions, moving dynamically between, on the one hand, the micro and the macro and, on the other hand, between cross-national and national levels of analysis. Therefore, at this point the study has presented only the broad outline of the project; what follows is the introduction of the formalization of the hypotheses and the detailed research design.

H1. Tolerance has an independent effect on voting preferences, with greater intolerance increasing the likelihood of electoral support for radical right parties

An increase in the levels of intolerance among voters determines an increase in support for the radical right parties. The support for moderate parties is preferred because these parties support moderate policies.[31] Intolerance is linked with support for radical right parties and these preferences end up reflected in votes for these kinds of parties. For instance, the French moderate voters vote with moderate right parties and moderate right candidates like Chirac and Sarkozy, while the intolerant voters support the National Front and Le Pen. The level of tolerance is reflected in voting behavior, as tolerance is an important factor in reflecting support for the radical right. This is one of the main factors that determine the support for radical right.

H2. The closer the ideological distance between moderate right parties and radical right parties, the more votes the radical or extreme right loses to the benefit of moderate right parties

There are two scenarios: the first one with a big ideological distance where the radical right supporters view the radical right as a distinct alternative, with the moderate right parties not representing their views, and the second one when the ideological distance is smaller and the radical right sup-

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[31] These are policies that refer to attitudes towards minorities, migrants etc. and not economic policies.

porters consider lending their support to the moderate right parties. If the ideological distance is large, the voters consider their views represented and do not employ a strategic voting. The best examples are the French elections of 2002 and 2007. In 2002 when Chirac won the presidential seat, the ideological distance between radical right and moderate right was large and this meant that the National Front voters continued to support Le Pen as opposed to transferring their votes to Chirac. The messages that Chirac and his Socialist opponent Jospin sent to their electorate did not have an impact on the radical right vote. None of their messages reverberates with their agenda, and both candidates kept their campaign goals close to the center. Griggs (2004)[32] researches the media at the time and finds that "in an end of March poll, approximately three-quarters of those interviewed labeled the Chirac and Jospin programme as 'not very different' or 'almost identical'" (140).

If the ideological distance is short in between the moderate right parties and the radical right parties, it means that the moderate right parties came closer on the ideological line to the radical right parties. If this is the case, it is expected that the voters will prefer the moderate right party simply because it has better chances to win. Under Sarkozy in France, the ideological distance between the radical and moderate right decreased and some of National Front voters migrated to Sarkozy simply because of the ideological proximity. As Zuquete (2007) pointed out the National Front leadership was not excited to observe this migration of votes and vouched to revitalize their message (110). He quotes a critic of the campaign who states that "we let Sarkozy run on a platform that belongs to us: immigration, insecurity, national identity. Le Pen's message didn't distinguish itself: he was not perceived as a voice against the system" (*Le Monde*, April 25, 2007).

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[32] In John Gaffney editor.

H3. *The higher the satisfaction with democracy the higher the support for moderate parties*

Previous literature (Ignazi 1992, Betz 1994, Billiet and De Witte 1995, Lubbers et al. 2002) states that there is a direct connection between the level of satisfaction with democracy and vote choice. The prediction is that a higher level of personal satisfaction with the democratic system translates into moderate votes, and the lower the level of satisfaction with democracy the higher the support for radical right parties. As shown in the previous chapter, decreased satisfaction with democracy was found to have direct links with decreased levels of sympathy towards immigrants or other races, a clear sign of increased support for the radical right. Although "satisfaction with democracy" was criticized and considered an imperfect measurement when it comes to measuring the legitimacy of the government, there are sufficient arguments to sustain and continue to support this measurement in relation to voting behavior.

H4. *The electoral system mediates the influence of tolerance, satisfaction with democracy and ideological distance on voting, with more restrictive (i.e., less proportional) electoral systems decreasing the likelihood of support for radical parties*

The type of electoral system has an important influence on the level of success of the radical right parties. Although each electoral system has its negatives and positives, there is a general tendency to consider proportional representation as a more "friendly" system when it comes to the existence of radical right parties (Lijphart 1994, Jackman and Volper 1996, Ignazi 2003, Ezrow 2010). A simple majority or an absolute majority system tends to filter out a little better the radical elements of the national politics. The electoral system is the filter that conditions electoral behavior.

H5. *Greater support for moderate parties and exclusion of illiberal political[33] parties translates into the rejection of illiberal exclusionary policies.*

H5a. If higher support for moderate right is a consequence of increased tolerance of voters, then it further translates into the rejection of illiberal exclusionary policies (there is no demand for such policies)

H5b. However, if moderate right parties are put in the position to outbid the far right for the votes of an increasingly intolerant electorate, a logical ingredient of this outbidding is the promotion of illiberal policies

Broad and sustained voter support for moderate parties reduces pressures on mainstream political elites to deviate from their core positions. In such cases the temptation to promote illiberal institutions and policies for short-term electoral gain is diminished. One potential source of sustained or even increased support for mainstream right parties as opposed to radical right parties is the magnitude of tolerance in society. Increased levels of tolerance in this scenario are posited to translate into support for moderate right and fewer deviations from liberal policy norms, ceteris paribus. Demand for radical right parties or illiberal policies will accordingly be negligible in such a political system. Another scenario envisions that if citizens are increasingly intolerant then the mainstream right will have incentives to co-opt some of the illiberal polices of the radical right in order to more effectively compete on the electoral market and thereby ensure their own success.

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[33] It refers to exclusion of illiberal parties as a result of increased levels of tolerance among voters who refuse to vote for them. It does not refer to the exclusion of illiberal parties by the legislative system of the country (like Germany where extreme right is banned by law).

H6. *Party system format influences democracy*

      H6a. If there is high support for radical right parties and the electoral system permits it, this support translates into high representation for the radical right parties in the legislative bodies

      H6b. If there is high support for radical right parties but the electoral system does not permit representation, this high support can still influence the political system indirectly by negotiating with mainstream parties

Party system format is both a cause and a consequence of voting behavior. Party system format ultimately influences democracy through support for radical right parties or their illiberal policies. It is important to mention that radical right parties are not solely responsible for illiberal policies; at times center-right parties will adopt illiberal policies in an attempt to capture votes. In the case of support for radical right parties that was translated ultimately into leadership, we have the Austrian example with a constituency that had as a main vote predictor anti-foreigner feelings and cultural protection. Another example that differs yet it underlines the effect of party system on democracy is France during president Sarkozy once more, with a center-right candidate and party moving towards the extreme in order to capture these votes. Another obvious example is the Hungarian system where Prime Minister Orban, although part of the center right party (FIDESZ), manifested clear tendencies towards radicalism. From the time Orban took over the presidency of the party[34] he enjoyed clear support from the extreme right party (Jobbik) and in turn, Orban tolerated behavior and implemented policies that have been at times compared to the old Fascist[35] regime. Romania offers another example of a mainstream party coalition implementing policies in order to capture votes from the extremes. In Romania, the leading coalition constituted by a center-left party and a center-right party is criticized by civil society and mainstream

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[34] Bakke, Elisabeth (2010), "Central and East European party systems since 1989", *Central and Southeast European Politics Since 1989* (Cambridge University Press): 79, Consulted November 17 2013.
[35] http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2011/06/rebranding-hungary. Consulted July 11 2012.

media for having abandoned democratic principles and implementing non-democratic measures.[36] All these examples will be analyzed and discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters. There is a rational expectation that parties and candidates seek to please their electorate and capture votes. Studies presented in the previous chapter show that the constituencies for these extreme right parties and illiberal radical rightist policies have as a source the intolerant voter (Stouffer 1955, Gibson and Anderson 1985, Inglehart 1997, Guerin, Petry and Crete 2004, Fish 2005).

H7. *Direct exposure to a context more democratic than one's country of origin via the process of migration increases the likelihood of change from less tolerant attitudes to more tolerant attitudes*

The electoral system artificially alters the impact of citizens' support for radical and extremist parties by preventing the representation of these parties into the legislative branch. This approach in itself can be argued, is an encroachment on the liberal democratic principles. Similarly, when mainstream parties alter their policy in order to capture votes from the radical/extreme right they lose the very reason why they are considered mainstream political parties. These alterations can prove as dangerous as the reasons why they happen. In the end the better solution would be removing the very reasons of existence for these radical or extreme right parties, the intolerant voters. Tolerant citizens do not reject radical right parties because the electoral system prevents them to support them, nor do they reject those ideologies because the mainstream parties have adopted them, but because they simply are tolerant. Following this logic, democracy is defended by the lack of support for radical right parties, deeming them a natural death. If tolerance comes as a result of direct exposure temporary, migration presents just the opportunity to explore the relationship between democratic environment and more

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[36] http://www.ziare.com/pnl/crin-antonescu/becalizarea-pnl-1209379. Consulted November 19, 2013.

tolerant attitudes. There is an expectation that exposure to more democratic countries and societies produce an authentic democratic remittance process. H7 can also be operationalized in such a way as to make it testable empirically. A quasi-experiment using students as subjects is used, (though the nature of the data means that the results must be interpreted with caution, even more than it would be the case when dealing with a representative sample or the results of a genuine experiment).[37]

According to King, Keohane and Verba (1994) endogeneity is a general problem affecting the entire discipline. Unless you have a true experimental design which is rarely the case in political science and is not the case in this research, endogeneity is virtually always an inherent problem. This is reiterated by Przeworski (2007) and he agrees with these fundamental problems plaguing the discipline and he offers a way out. The idea is to study causes of effects as well as effects of causes in order to answer questions off causality and identity. For instance, he offers the example of the impact on political regime growth which in order to be studied we must know how political regimes die or survive.[38] (148) This model implements Przeworki's recommendation for instances when there is endogeneity. So, it looks at both the impact of tolerance on democracy and democracy on tolerance. The quasi-experiment tests the "democracy produces tolerance" direction, and here there is no endogeneity problem. The reason is because it looks at individuals before and after an experience in an established democracy, and so that is the only thing varying. There is no chance that the results here could somehow be produced by tolerance causing democracy.   Also, the operationalization of democracy, namely percentage of votes and seat share for extremist parties, is not likely to produce tolerance directly. In other words, the chances that someone's vote choice caused their tolerance seem much more remote than the chances that their tolerance produced their vote.

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[37] In practice, resource limitations prevent such a test.
[38] http://dingo.sbs.arizona.edu/~ggoertz/qmir/przeworski2008.pdf

3.2   The datasets employed in this study

This section describes the datasets employed in the following chapters of this dissertation: the World Values Surveys, the Voice and Accountability Index, and the Human Development Index. Additionally, it will evaluate an original survey administered to Romanian students from a large state university ("Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj, Romania), during the Spring and Fall semesters in 2009. These brief analyses will present not only the most significant technical details regarding those datasets, but they will also provide some background information regarding their origin. For a succinct view, Table 3.1. summarizes the datasets employed in this study.

Table 3.1. Datasets used in this research

Data set	Year	Number of Countries	Level of analysis
World Values Survey	1989-1993 (wave 2)	4	Micro (individual)
World Values Survey	1994-1999 (wave 3)	36	Micro (individual) & aggregate (country)
World Values Survey	1999-2004 (wave 4)	4	Micro (individual)
Voice and Accountability	1999	36	Macro (country)
Human Development Index	1998	36	Macro (country)
CSES	2001-2006	40	Micro (individual) & aggregate (country)
Gallagher's Index	2000-2004	40	Macro (country)
Benoit and Laver	2000-2004	34	Macro (country)
Original survey	2009	1	Micro (individual)

In his account of the emergence of World Values Surveys, Inglehart (1997, 343) describes them as an outgrowth of the European Values Surveys project. The widespread interest evoked by the latter study resulted in its replication in other, non-European countries. The first wave of the World Values Survey was implemented between in just 22 countries between1981-1984 (Inglehart 1997, 343). By the

time of the most recent wave (the fifth, 2005-2008), the number of countries surveyed increased almost

three-fold, reaching 57 cases from all continents (World Values Survey 2010).

The traditional approach to measuring political tolerance is to use questions about the respond-

ents' attitudes toward the least-liked group. These questions were present in only one wave of the

World Values Survey, the third (1996-1999). If the goal is to analyze the evolution of tolerance, then

having just one survey is problematic. Moreover, more recent studies have criticized the least-liked

group approach. Thus, in order to address these shortcomings, this study is using both the data from

the third survey (least-liked group approach), as well as questions from other waves (alternative opera-

tionalizations of political tolerance, which also enable a longitudinal analysis, using questions that were

asked in more than one survey).

In order to measure democratic development, this study uses the Voice and Accountability In-

dex developed in the mid-1990s by a group of researchers working for the World Bank. It captures the

"perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their govern-

ment, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media" (Kaufmann, Kraay

and Mastruzzi 2009, 6). From 1996 onwards, researchers replicated the study every two years (annually

since 2002) for most of the countries in the world (the latest survey took place in 2008 and analyzes 209

countries and disputed territories). For measuring socioeconomic development, a control variable, the

study employs the Human Development Index, launched in 1990 by the United Nations Development

Programme. Taking into account the inherent limitations of any one-dimensional measure of develop-

ment that would, by its very definition, ignore either economic or social aspects, the ambition of this

index is to offer a single, yet multidimensional and comprehensive, measure of development.

The Comparative Study for Electoral Systems (CSES) offers post-election national studies data

from around the world. It offers a great deal of information in a comparative manner for variables that

travel unmodified from one country to the other. Its first module was released in 2003 (it contains elec-

toral data from 1996-2001), the second module was released in advance in 2004 (it contains data from

2001-2006 and includes five additional countries compared to the first one) and the third module was

released in 2010 (it contains electoral data from 2006-2011). Over 601 publications, working papers and

presentations rely on data offered by the three CSES modules.[39] This study uses data from the second

module of the CSES studies which contains data from elections that took place in 40 nations. It seeks to

identify the level of satisfaction with democracy and the impact it has on democracy at macro-level.

Gallagher's Index or the Least Square Index "is a measure of the amount of disproportionality

generated by an election outcome, by which is meant the disparity, if any, between the distribution of

votes at the election and the allocation of seats."[40] This measurement is used in order to measure the

impact of the electoral system on voting behavior. *The Politics of Electoral System* published in 2005 by

Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell was received by the academic community with great deal of enthu-

siasm and the calculations for the Index continue to be source of the most reliable electoral dispropor-

tionality data. Although the book only analyzes 22 countries over two decades of elections, the authors

offer calculations for over 900 elections in over 100 countries on their web site.[41] The dates range from

1945 to 2011 and they are kept updated on constant bases as democracies continue to hold elections.

In 2006 Benoit and Laver published *Party Policies in Modern Democracies* and offer an update to

a classical measurement of the policy positions of the political parties. They report the policy positions

of the parties in the system for 47 old and new democracies, including the countries from Central and

Eastern Europe for elections in the early 2000. For the purpose of this study this data set is used in or-

der to obtain information on the ideological unity of extreme and mainstream parties. Benoit and Laver

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[39] http://www.cses.org/resources/results/results.htm. Consulted July 11, 2012.
[40] http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/Docts/lsq.php Consulted July 15, 2012.
[41] http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/index.php. Consulted July 15, 2012.

continue and expand the work of Hunt and Laver (1992) which were a typical data source in comparative political science.[42]

One opportunity to test whether temporary migration to a more democratic country than one's country of origin enhances tolerance is offered by the Work and Travel program, which brings every summer in the United States a large number of students from various countries, including a few thousands from Romania. To this end, a survey among students from a large state university ("Babeş-Bolyai" University Cluj) is a good investigative method. About 12 % of the respondents were enrolled in the program; they were asked whether they were enrolled in a Work & Travel program and, if they did, for how long. They were also asked about other "Western" (i.e., non-Work & Travel) experiences. Data were also collected on the respondents' social and demographic characteristics (years spent in college, age, gender, residence, and religiosity), their position toward granting political rights to their least liked group (political tolerance) and the acceptability of homosexuality, prostitution, abortion and divorce (social tolerance).

3.3   Methods employed

This dissertation employs a mix of quantitative (multivariate linear regression and factor analysis) and qualitative (case study) methods, in addition to data collection techniques such as questionnaires and interviews.

Multivariate linear regression analysis. Bivariate linear regression analysis offers an estimate of the change in the dependent variable when the independent variable increases by one unit (Pollock 2006, 139). For example, when the impact of country-level political tolerance[43] (tolerance toward the least-liked group) on democracy is analyzed, the b coefficient (i.e., the slope of the regression, which

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[42] Benoit and Laver (2006, pg. 3).
[43] Operationalized using the scores of factor analysis of the 1995-98 WVS data (political tolerance factor).

indicates the magnitude of the aforementioned effect) is 1.7. That is, for every one unit (standard deviation) increase in the level of tolerance towards least liked groups, the model predicts, on average, a 1.7 units increase in the level of democracy (operationalized using Voice and Accountability scores). So if the average political tolerance of the citizens of country X is one unit higher than the political tolerance of the citizens of country Y, then country X will be more democratic with 1.7 units on the Voice and Accountability scale.

It is seldom the case in social science to be able to offer a satisfactory and comprehensive account for variability in a dependent variable in terms of a single independent variable, and the above example is no exception. What is also known is that tolerance is usually positively correlated with development and, in turn, development is positively correlated with democracy. That being the case, in order to obtain an unbiased estimate of the impact of tolerance on democracy, development must be included as a control variable in a multivariate regression model, even if the impact of development is not an object of interest.

Indeed, data analysis confirms these contentions. The two independent variables, degree of tolerance towards least liked group and Human Development Index, are highly correlated (0.33), and both are also highly and positively correlated with the dependent variable (0.42 and 0.72, respectively). When both independent variables are included as predictors for democracy, the estimated impact of tolerance (partial regression coefficient), which describes the contribution of this independent variable on the dependent variable, controlling for the impact of development, is only 0.81. This indicates that half of the (apparent) impact of tolerance in the original bivariate model was actually due to development, rather than tolerance. Table 3.3 shows the relationship among the three variables and depicts the importance of introducing control variables.

Table 3.3. Bivariate Correlations

	Democracy	Tolerance
Tolerance	.421*	
Development	.725**	.330*

**Significant at p=0.01 level
*Significant at p=0.05 level
N=36

The above example has important substantive implications for this study. For instance, Chapter 4 presents a multivariate analysis of cross-national levels of democracy as a function of the average levels of political tolerance and social tolerance in those countries, controlling for the level of socioeconomic development.

Factor analysis. The goal of factor analysis is the identification of underlying dimensions among a number of variables. These dimensions, called factors, can be seen as "averages" of closely related variables (Lijphart 1999, 245). Often, the factors obtained using the initial factor extraction may be difficult to interpret. Consequently, most researchers use rotation, a technique that helps in obtaining factors that are easier to interpret. In cases such as the study when there are prior expectations about the number of factors, the most appropriate approach is using confirmatory factor analysis.

The *comparative method* is the "method of testing hypothesized empirical relationships among variables on the basis of the same logic that guides the statistical method, but in which the cases are selected in such a way as to maximize the variance of the independent variables and to minimize the variance of the control variables" (Lijphart, 1975, 164). This study benefits from the comparative method first because "the comparative method does not select its cases in random ways (as do experimental and statistical studies). Rather comparative studies unabashedly select their cases on the dependent variable" (Moses and Knutsen, 2007, 95). The ability to select the cases included in the analysis is considered one of the main strengths of the comparative method. It also allows the researcher to compare the selected cases in more detail and underline the specific findings either by analyzing most similar cas-

es or most dissimilar cases. In general the shortcomings of this methodological approach are avoided by the researcher employing both deductive and inductive directions of determining the relationship between the variables.

Case study. Two important ways in which a variable like tolerance can be analyzed are multi-case comparisons and single-case studies. Scholars such as Inglehart (1997; 2005) and Huntington (1991) looked at dozens of cases to explain cross-national differences in political culture or patterns of democratization. One major advantage of this approach is the possibility of testing hypotheses on a large number of cases, thus opening up the prospect of generalizing the results. However, while broad in scope, such studies tend to be short on details, lacking an in-depth perspective on processes and individual cases. This is exactly one of the strengths of case studies, which offer the researcher the opportunity to conduct a fine grained analysis of a single-case and subsequently to offer a comprehensive account of the findings. Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work* is one of the finest examples of using a multi-method approach to explain why the same institutions work well in the North of Italy but poorly in the South. Arend Lijphart is one of the most influential authors in comparative politics; however, the starting point for the development of his typology of democratic regimes (1984; 1999) was *Politics of Accommodation* (1968), a book on his native Netherlands.

Both multi-case comparisons and single-case studies are valuable tools for research. The two methods are complementary, rather than mutually exclusive. Often, a case study is only the first step in a long term research project, as it was, for instance, in Lijphart's case. This is also the direction of this research. The main focus of this dissertation is the study of political tolerance and its micro- and macro-level determinants in general, not just in Romania. This study only uses Romania, a country whose citizens are comparatively intolerant as previous research demonstrates (e.g. Viman-Miller and Fesnic

2010), yet it has not been studied extensively so far, as an exemplary case to develop and test hypotheses which can be tested subsequently in other countries.

Quasi-experiment. Previous studies on immigration in Western Europe show that the newcomers adopt a more democratic profile of citizenship. The final part of this dissertation seeks to add a new dimension to study of political tolerance – i.e., the impact of migration. *Does temporary migration influence the level of political tolerance of migrants?* In order to answer this question, this study will analyze both qualitative and quantitative data, comparing the tolerance of Romanians who have migrated to that of Romanians who have never left the country, seeking to isolate the independent effects of migration on attitudes. Based on the overview of the literature on socio-economic, demographic, and attitudinal determinants of political tolerance, Figure 3.2 presents a recursive model of political tolerance derived from my theoretical argument. The social and demographic characteristics of respondents are control variables, while exposure to the ideas and institutions characteristics for a more democratic society is the intervening variable which increases the political tolerance of migrants.

Figure 3.2. Migration and political tolerance: a recursive model
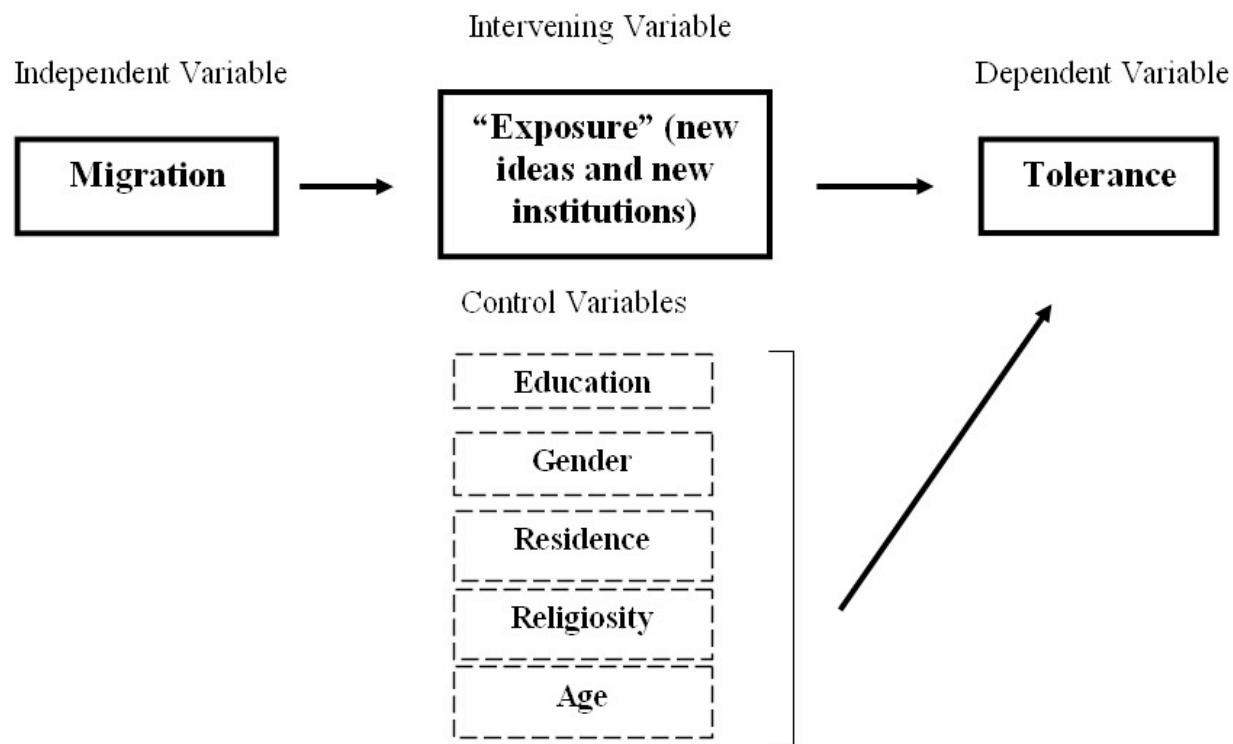
This model is tested in Chapter 7 using data provided by an original survey of Romanian college students. This is a quasi-experimental design, and the survey was conducted in Cluj, Romania using students from "Babes-Bolyai" University, a state university[44] which is the largest institution of higher education in the region of Transylvania, with over 50,000 students enrolled in 2008. Two groups were used, a "treatment" group and a "control" group. The first group included students who have traveled to the

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[44] To see how representative this sample is for the population of state university students in Romania, or for the broader student population in the country, there are surveys conducted on nationally representative samples of students at our disposal. One such example is a survey conducted on two samples, one that is representative for students enrolled in Romanian state universities, while the other sample is representative for students enrolled in Romanian private universities. (Direcţia pentru strategii guvernamentale, <http://www.publicinfo.ro/pagini/sondaje-de-opinie.php>. Accessed February 11, 2011).

US with the *Work and Travel* program[45] and the second group included students who have never traveled to the US.

  The survey. The practical means of implementing the survey were self-administered questionnaires, and the setting was group administration in classes with large enrollment. The cost of this approach was very low and the completion rate was near 100%, and these were major advantages under conditions of limited time and resources (Johnson and Reynolds 2008, 303). Moreover, unlike face-to-face interviews, self-administered questionnaires facilitated asking sensitive questions (Johnson and Reynolds 2008, 318) and alleviated the pressure to give "socially desirable" answers (Traugott and Price 1992, 246).

  To address the problem of an absence of a pre-test, multiple items in the questionnaire asked the respondents to self-assess their position at the moment of the questionnaire administration compared to what it was before their American experience. The survey used a combination of questions to assess students' political tolerance before and after their involvement in the Work and Travel program. This approach is not novel; social psychology and political psychology research often rely on information obtained from surveys using recall. Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) employed the recall method and researched the level of influence that negative advertisement had on voter turn out. They found that negative advertisement tends to depress the voter turnout. Later, Wattenberg and Brians (1999) found that negative campaign advertisement stimulates voter turnout. They based their research on the same methodological approach as their predecessors. Druckman et. al (2011) debate thoroughly the pros and cons of subjects' memory recall in applied social sciences. They find that in experimental political science recall cannot be avoided and that researchers must pay more attention to data interpretation.

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[45] The jobs are offered through seasonal contracts and they do not require special qualifications or experience. They are mostly low-income jobs, such as hotel housekeepers or fast food cooks. (The American Experience Romania, "Work and Travel: Jobs and Working Places." <http://www.americanexperience.ro/en/work-and-travel/job/>. Accessed February 1, 2011).

They make a distinction between recall and recognition (100). A similar approach is also used in political sociology, especially in studies of voting behavior, where survey respondents are often asked how they voted in the last election. Lizotte, Lodge and Taber (2005) argue that results from emotional recall cannot be trusted if they are obtained from a format that asks direct questions. However, their attempt to demonstrate this experimentally was unsuccessful. Table 3.4. presents a summary of the research design, comparing current political tolerance of the treatment group with that of the control group.

Table 3.4. Assessing the impact of *Work and Travel* experience: a quasi-experiment

Time: Group:	$t-1$ *(before Work and Travel):*	*t: Work and Travel* *("Treatment"?)*	*t +1* *(present):*
"Control"	Tolerance $_{C, t-1}$	No	Tolerance $_{C, t+1}$
	≈		≠
"Treatment"	Tolerance $_{T, t-1}$	Yes (democratic exposure & learning)	Tolerance $_{T, t+1}$

A major advantage of surveys is the fact that they provide a large number of cases which enable multivariate analyses – here, testing the impact of migration on tolerance using background and attitudinal variables as controls. Survey data are helpful to answer the "if" question, but is less helpful to answer the "why" question. If statistical analysis indicates that migration does have an impact on tolerance, it is still to be determined why that is the case, and the processes through which greater exposure to a democratic culture via migration leads to a change of the migrant's level of tolerance. Thus, a multi-method approach was necessary, one that included both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Interviews. To complement the data provided by the surveys, twenty systematic semi-structured interviews were conducted, trying to get a more in-depth understanding of the processes that may lead to an increase in tolerance, and also to assess whether such an increase has indeed occurred in the first

place. The richness of interview data collection allowed a better understanding of the impact of toler-

ance at the individual-level. These were "nonscheduled standardized interviews," defined by Gray et al.

(2007, 161) as a method by which "all questions are asked of each respondent, but they may be asked in

different ways and in different sequences." According to Manheim and Rich (1995, 162), the central

goal of this kind of interviewing is not so much "the collection of prespecified data, but the gathering of

information to assist in reconstructing some event or discerning a pattern of specific behaviors" – in this

case, how migration affects tolerance. Among other advantages of qualitative interviews is the fact that

it allows the interviewer to become more personal and gain the trust of the interviewees. This allows

and encourages introspection from the respondents (Gray et. al 2007). For this study, respondents who

were previously enrolled in *Work and Travel* programs were selected, discussing with them how this

experience has changed their political and social tolerance.

To minimize any bias in the selection of respondents for these interviews, every student previ-

ously enrolled in the Work and Travel program who filled the questionnaire was asked if he or she was

willing to be interviewed. Given the time and financial constraints, on the one hand, and the relatively

low number of people in this sample with previous *Work and Travel* experience, on the other hand, it

was unrealistic to try to interview more than thirty people. The expectation was that, if at least half of

those from whom an interview were requested would answer affirmatively, taking into account the goal

of having at least one hundred students with Work and Travel experience filling the questionnaire, this

should have also ensured about twenty interviews. In actuality, the total number of students from the

total sample (N = 1,514) with at least one Work and Travel experience was 129 (8.5%), and the number

of interviews completed was 20. The main point of these interviews was to get additional insights on

the respondents' experience in the US (qualitative information), in addition to the quantitative infor-

mation provided by survey data. The interviews were not meant to be representative, but they were

designed to provide important additional contextual information that could help illuminate patterns in the survey data.

3.4 Operationalization of variables

The last section of this chapter presents the operationalization of the independent and dependent variables used in subsequent chapters. It explains why, in some cases, certain measures were chosen (e.g., the Human Development Index as an overall measure of socioeconomic development, or the Voice and Accountability score as a measure of democracy).

Table 3.5. The list of variables and their operationalization

Variable	Operationalization
Democracy	Voice and Accountability score
Socioeconomic development	Human Development Index
Education	Chapter 4: three categories ("lower," "average" and "higher"); Chapter 7: years in college
Age	Continuous variable (in years; range from 18 to the age of the oldest respondent in the sample)
Gender	Dichotomous variable (male/female)
Residence	Three categories: "rural," "town/small city" (under 100,000), "large city" (over 100,000)
Religiosity	Church attendance (four categories: "almost never/never," "seldom," "more often," "very often")
Democratic exposure	Quasi-experiment (Romanian students): number of years spent in the West (either in Work & Travel programs or otherwise); Longitudinal study (the impact of the length of democratic experience on tolerance): number of years the country (in this case, Romania) was democratic
Political tolerance	One of two factors resulting from factor analysis (questions relating to the respondent's willingness to grant civil liberties to the least-liked group)
Social tolerance	One of two factors resulting from factor analysis (questions relating to the respondent's willingness to tolerate unconventional social behavior – homosexuality, prostitution, abortion and divorce)
Satisfaction with democracy	Four categories: "not at all satisfied", "not very satisfied," "fairly satisfied," "very satisfied"
Electoral system	Gallagher disproportionality index
Ideological unity	The distance between mainstream right and radical right
Party system format (party votes)	The effective number of parties at the electoral level
Party system format (party seats)	The effective number of parties at the parliamentary or legislative level
Party system format (% votes)	Percentage votes obtained by radical right in legislative chambers
Party system format (% seats)	Percentage of seats obtained by the radical right in legislative chambers

Democracy. Scholars[46] prefer the Voice and Accountability scores rather than Freedom House scores as a measure of a country's democracy; this study takes a similar view – for instance, if we compare Romania and Sweden using Freedom House scores (2010), Sweden has a score of one (most democratic) and Romania a score of two on a six-points, one-to-seven scale. The difference between Sweden and Romania is one point, which represents about 17 percent of the maximum empirical range. However, if we compare these two countries using the latest (2008) Voice and Accountability scores instead, the difference between Sweden's score (1.53) and Romania's (0.48) represents about 28 percent of the maximum empirical range, 3.77 or the difference between Sweden's score and Burma's score (-2.24). In the light of this example, which of the two scores gives a better image of Romania's level of democracy? Clearly, if regular Romanian citizens, scholars studying Romania or EU officials were asked, they would all say that the Freedom House scores underestimate the differences between Sweden and Romania in terms of their democratic performance. This indicates that the Voice and Accountability scores provide a better measure for democracy.

Development (economic and social). Any measure of economic or social development, such as per capita GDP, educational attainment, or life expectancy, is inherently one-dimensional. In order to obtain an accurate result of the impact of tolerance on democracy the level of development must be controlled for. Therefore, this study uses a more refined measure, the Human Development Index, developed by the UNDP, which offers an overall measure of socioeconomic wellbeing in a country. It does so by using a formula that combines indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a composite human development index […]. The breakthrough for the HDI was the creation of a single statistic which was to serve as a frame of reference for both social and economic development.

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[46] Fish 2005 argues that "the Freedom House data are neither as finely differentiated nor based on as many sources as the VA scores" (pg 22)

The HDI sets a minimum and a maximum for each dimension, called goalposts, and then shows where

each country stands in relation to these goalposts, expressed as a value between 0 and 1 (UNDP 2010).

Education. In the cross-national survey (World Values Survey) data, used in Chapter 4, educa-

tion was operationalized in three categories: "low," "medium," and "high." In the data from the original

survey of Romanian students, analyzed in Chapter 7, the variable is operationalized as years in college

(from zero, in the case of first-year students, to four or more).

Age. Continuous variable, ranging from 18 (the youngest respondents in the sample) to the old-

est respondent in the sample (which varies from one country to another, in the case of cross-national

surveys, or from one survey to another).

Gender. Dichotomous variable (1 = "male," 2 = "female").

Residence. In all surveys, residence operationalized using three categories: "rural" (less than

5,000 residents), "town" (5,000 to 100,000), and "city" (over 100,000). The only exception was Sweden

(in the World Values Survey), which had a country-specific coding for this variable.

Religiosity. The typical approach toward the operationalization of religiosity is to use the re-

spondent's answer to the question about his or her frequency of attending religious services (rather an-

swers to questions such as the importance of religion or God for the respondent, or the respondent's

religious affiliation). This is true for scholars studying the United States (Flanigan and Zingale 1998: 118;

Sabato 2006: 110) or Western Europe (Boy and Mayer 2000: 155; Dalton 2006: 162-64). As Flanigan and

Zingale (1998: 118) put it, "the real impact of religious differences is seen when the frequency of church

attendance is taken into account." Accordingly, this study will also use church attendance as the meas-

ure of religiosity. In some surveys, such as the survey of Romanian students, religiosity was measured

using four categories. In other cases (the World Values Survey), the variable was recoded into the

above-mentioned categories: "almost never/never" – at most once a year or never, "seldom" – only on

special holidays such as Christmas or Easter, "often" – once a month, and "very often" – at least once a week.

Democratic exposure. In Chapter 7, the impact of democracy (democratic exposure) on tolerance will be tested in two ways. First, the chapter tests the hypothesis that the process of socialization in a democratic regime differs from that under a non-democratic regime, having a positive impact on tolerance. In this case, the independent variable will be operationalized as the number of years that the country (in this case, Romania) was democratic, i.e., the number of years since Romania has made a transition to democracy. Second, the chapter uses a quasi-experiment focusing on the impact that the extent of Western exposure of Romanian students (either in Work & Travel programs or otherwise) has on their tolerance. In this case, democratic exposure is operationalized as the number of years each respondent has spent in the West.

Social and political tolerance. Two widely used approaches for operationalizing tolerance are willingness to extend civil liberties to the least-liked groups and tolerance of unconventional social behavior[47] such as homosexuality. Social intolerance can be as pernicious for liberal democracy as political intolerance is. If the citizens do not tolerate unconventional social behavior such as homosexuality, politicians responsive to the policy preferences of their constituents are more likely to design institutions, make legislation, or implement policies that depart from the democratic ideal where all citizens are treated equally (e.g., "don't ask, don't tell"). In addition to tolerance for the political rights of disliked groups, tolerance of unconventional social behavior such as homosexuality is equally important for de-

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[47] As discussed later in more detail, scholars such as Fish (2008, 88) or Inglehart and Baker (2000, 29) claim that social tolerance is as important for democracy as political tolerance. Subsequent empirical analysis of cross-national survey data shows that this is indeed the case. "since opposition to *homosexuality* – in contrast to opposition to given racial or ethnic groups, immigrants, or even to *homosexuals* – is still socially acceptable outside a few cities in a handful of countries," agreement with the statement 'homosexuality is never justifiable' may be a better measure for intolerance, since "people are more likely to be honest about their intolerance if expressing it seems socially acceptable" (emphasis in original). Inglehart finds that"[as]…surprising as it may seem, tolerance of homosexuality is a considerably stronger predictor of stable democracy than any of the items that tap overt support for democracy." (2003, 54).

mocracy. The working definition for tolerance for the least-liked group is based on Sullivan et al.'s no-

tion that, in order to be considered tolerant politically, one must be willing to "put up with" those things

that one rejects (1979, 784). Therefore, "political tolerance exists when respondents allow the full legal

rights of citizenship to groups they themselves dislike" (Sullivan et al. 1982, 2). Nonetheless, as the

abovementioned scholars themselves point out, they "do not mean to argue that [their] content-

controlled measurement strategy is the only valid way to measure political tolerance" (Sullivan and

Marcus 1988, 28). An equally justified way to conceptualize and measure tolerance is by focusing on the

social dimension. Unlike the previous type of tolerance (tolerance toward the least-liked group), social

tolerance is not explicitly political. Nonetheless, as the above analysis has suggested, social tolerance

does have important political consequences. Throughout this dissertation, the working definition of so-

cial tolerance is permissiveness toward alternative lifestyles such as homosexuality or prostitution (In-

glehart and Welzel 2005, 126-30; Fish 2005, 88).

Satisfaction with democracy, as mentioned in Chapter 2, is considered a controversial measure-

ment. Still, attachment to democratic values is expected to be reflected in the level of satisfaction

(however interpreted) of citizens with their national democratic system, and it remains one of the most

widely used measurement indicating citizens' satisfaction with their political system. For the purpose of

this research, the question "On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or

not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in [country]?" from the Comparative Study for Elec-

toral Systems (CSES) second module offers the proper information. In order to match the measurement

direction of this study, the original variable must be recoded. The recoding transforms the original cate-

gories of (1) very satisfied, (2) rather satisfied, (3) not very satisfied and (4) not at all satisfied, into (1)

not at all satisfied, (2) not very satisfied, (4) rather satisfied and (5) very satisfied. The following catego-

ries (6) variables notes, (7) refused, (8) don't know and (9) missing, were recoded (3) neither satisfied

nor unsatisfied. The third category that was added in the recoding process includes all the answers that

did not fall into any of the 1 to 4 original categories. This methodological artifice was found to benefit

empirical research by including those respondents who considered that the best answer was some-

where in the middle of the offered scale. This practice is widely used in empirical research studies.

Electoral system has a great deal of importance when it comes to electoral behavior because

electoral behavior translates into seats in the legislative chambers. The impact of electoral system is

both mechanic and psychological. The mechanical effect translates into institutional regulations and the

psychological effect is translated by voters into strategic participation. Theory shows that the more

proportional an electoral system the better the chances for small parties (and implicitly radical right par-

ties) to win representation in the legislative branch.

In this study the electoral system impact is measured by Gallagher's Index (or least squares

index) that shows how proportional or disproportional the electoral system is. The index calculates the

square root of half the sum of the squares of the difference between percent of vote and percent of

seats for each of the political parties. The lower the index value the lower the disproportionality and the

higher the index value the higher the disproportionality index value[48].

$$\mathrm{LSq} = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{n} (V_i - S_i)^2}$$

The index results for majoritarian systems and proportional systems are not absolute numbers.

They exist in a continuum format where proportional systems could severely limit the small parties ac-

cess to the legislative by imposing an electoral threshold that could vary anywhere from 1% to as much

as 10% of votes necessary to qualify for a seat.

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[48] Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (eds). 2008. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Ideological unity refers to the distance between mainstream right and radical right. The measurement is based on an original data set obtained by using Benoit and Laver's (2006) original measurements. The number represents the difference between the mainstream right and radical right for each country. The radical/extremist parties are selected based on the calculations provided by Benoit and Laver. Their research provides a scale from 1 to 20 where based on policy dimensions they classify the existing parties. With the lowest score possible 1 and the highest score possible 20, the average is 9.75 and the quarter is 4.75. This allows the score of 16 to define a party as radical/extremist right on the chosen dimensions. The parties were chosen as radical right if they met a score of 16 or higher on policy dimensions that are considered to oppose liberal democratic values. Examples of dimensions considered authoritarian, anti-democratic for the Western European party systems are immigration and for the eastern systems mostly attitudes towards nationalism and the social dimensions. The legislative election years were chosen in order to assure that the data supplied by Gallagher and Benoit and Laver matches (it does not exceed 2005).   This data set looks at the first tour of election for those countries that have two rounds. It follows Gallagher's argument (first round is always the sincere voting as opposed to the second round which is calculated, rational) which contradicts Lijphart's argument that only the second round transforms these votes into seats in the legislative bodies.

Party votes is a measure adopted from Gallagher "the effective number of parties at the electoral level."[49] *Party seats* is a measure adopted from the same source and refers to "the effective number of parties at the parliamentary or legislative level. As Gallagher mentions, both these measures were first mentioned by Markku Laakso and Rein Taagepera, in their 1979 article *"Effective" number of parties: a measure with application to West Europe.* This study uses these two measurements in order to establish the impact of the electoral system on voting. It is important to consider both measure-

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[49] Gallagher, Michael. http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/Docts/ElectionIndices.pdf, the same source for party seats.

ments because at times the support for a certain party does not necessarily materialize in representation at legislative level.

Party system format is operationalized by looking at the radical right parties' electoral success or failure in each country. The success or failure is measured by the amount of votes won during the elections and how these votes translate into legislative seats. There are two kinds of successful elections, where the radical right parties win a great deal of votes that in the end translate into seats in the legislative body, and when the radical right wins votes that do not necessarily translate into seats because of the provisions of the electoral system. An original data set was created based on information and measurements gathered by Benoit and Laver (2006).

3.5   Conclusion

This dissertation employs large-N analysis as well as case studies. The focus is primarily on four cases: France, Austria, Hungary and Romania. Romania receives special attention as the study of political and social tolerance in Romania and its impact on democracy is limited and the findings are not conclusive. This research also relies on field work findings from Romania. This situation is not specific to Romania alone; in general the study of tolerance still has unanswered questions that need to be addressed. This study proposes to answer some of these questions not only for Romania but in general, too. This chapter presented an explanatory model, it justified the theoretical need for filling the gap and it formulated the main working hypothesis that will be tested in the subsequent chapters. In the second part, this chapter presented the data sets employed in the empirical analysis and it followed with a description of the methods used in the analysis. The last part presented and operationalized the variables used in this research. In the first part of Chapter 4, the analysis turns to a cross-national approach in order to compare tolerance among nations and investigate the link between tolerance and democracy. The second part of Chapter 4 looks at individual-level tolerance as a predictor for partisan preferences.

4   Macro- and Micro-Level Determinants of Support for Radical Right Parties

The first part of this chapter analyzes the impact of country-level independent variables on party system format. It seeks to measure the impact of political and social tolerance, level of development, ideological unity and satisfaction with democracy on support for the radical right parties and radical right legislative representation, controlling for the effects of the electoral system. This macro-level analysis uses country scores and seeks to find out whether an increase in the independent variables translates into a decreased support for radical right parties and which in turn translates into a more democratic system. The country-level comparisons allow an analysis of the impact of macro-level variables (such as electoral system or the aggregate level tolerance,) on voting behavior at national level. It seeks to test the hypothesis that the more intolerant a nation is the higher the support for radical right parties. This is preliminary research as the macro-level analysis is limited to a reduced number of cases and it will be completed later in the study by micro-level variables in order to confirm or disconfirm the hypotheses.

The second part of this chapter completes the macro-level analysis with a micro-level analysis and measures the impact of individual-level tolerance on voting behavior more specifically in the support for the radical right parties. The main hypothesis is that an increase in tolerance leads to a decrease in support for radical right parties. This micro-level analysis comes in to complete the macro analysis and to confirm or disconfirm the findings from the first part of this chapter.

4.1   Determinants of electoral support for radical right, macro-level

One of the main arguments of this study is that tolerance has an impact on democracy. Previous studies demonstrated that tolerance is multidimensional, more specifically that there is social and political tolerance. These two dimensions of tolerance were obtained using factor analysis. The main hypothesis is that tolerance has an independent effect on voting preferences and an increase in levels of tolerance increases the likelihood of support for moderate parties. For a macro-level analysis this chapter relies both on bivariate linear regression and multivariate linear regression. Multivariate linear regression results show the impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable after controlling for other independent variables.

Bivariate linear regression is a weaker form of depicting the relationship among variables but it does offer the opportunity for a preliminary analysis and the ability to identify the specific position of each country on the regression line. Bivariate linear regression allows an analysis of the impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable in isolation of other control variables and it offers an opportunity to see if the bivariate coefficients change in a multivariate linear regression involving the same variables.

4.1.1   Bivariate linear regression

Bivariate linear regression allows the positioning of various cases present in the data sets on diverse dimensions. All cases are important but France, Austria, Hungary and Romania are especially important for this study and bivariate linear regression allows the depictions of their positions among the rest of the cases. This macro-level analysis relies on available data that travels well among measurements but it offers a limited amount of cases. Unfortunately at times some of the four main cases are missing from the bivariate regression and are not depicted in the graphs. The analysis changes from one

figure to the next based on data availability. Despite these insufficiencies, the data available does make the point in the desired direction. Additional cases would strengthen the arguments but the lack of these cases does not weaken the argument.

Figure 4.1 is a scatter plot and the results of bivariate linear regression between the levels of political tolerance, an aggregate measurement and percentage votes for the radical right parties. Data availability allows this analysis in the case of Romania and Hungary but it is missing in the case of France and Austria. Although two important cases are missing in this analysis the correlations presented for the other two confirm the hypothesis and show the strength of the relationship.

Fig. 4.1. The impact of political tolerance on support for radical right parties
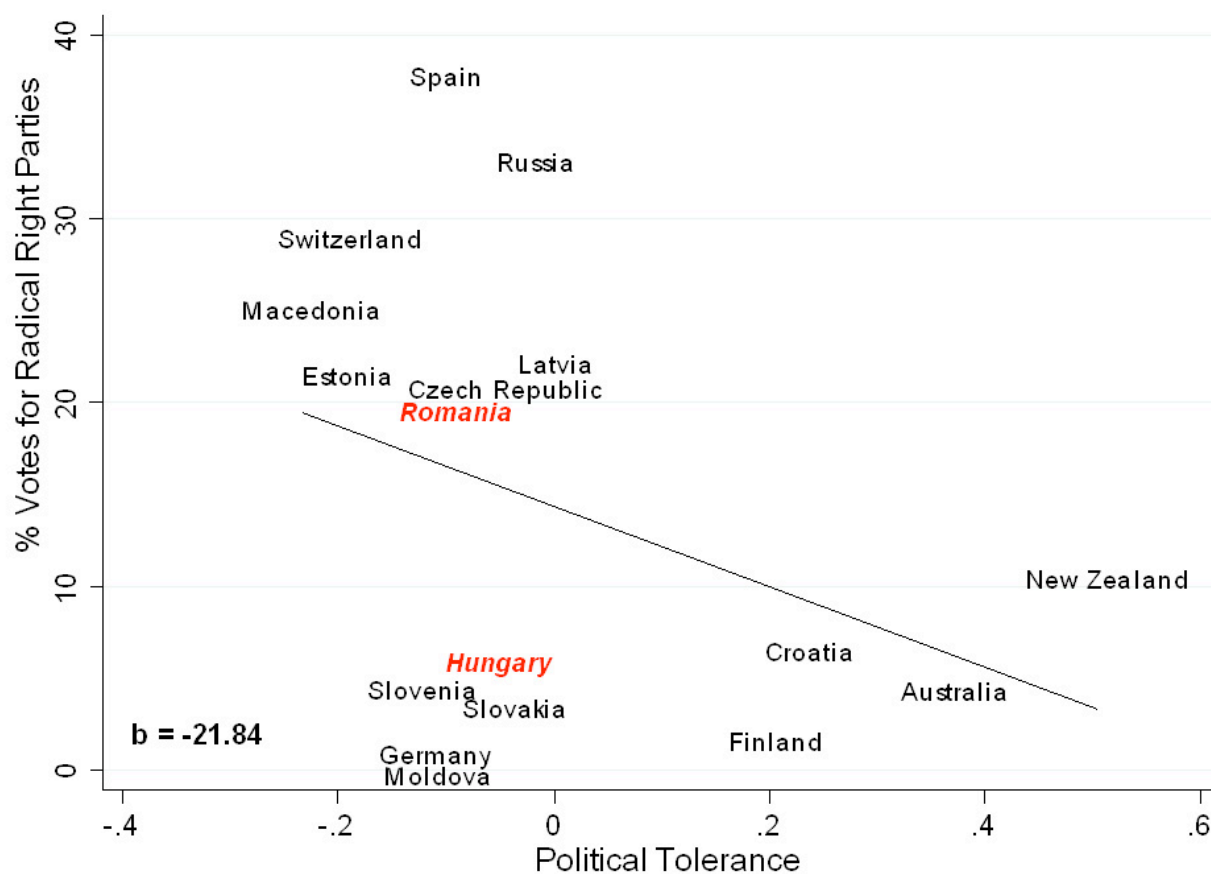
N=17

Data sources: *Political tolerance*: country means for individual-level factor analysis scores computed in (Viman-Miller & Fesnic 2010)[50] using data from World Values Survey, third wave (1996-99); *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus

Figure 4.1 shows the negative correlation between political tolerance and support for radical right parties. The magnitude of the coefficient at -21.84 indicates political tolerance does have a strong impact on the voting behavior, more specifically support for radical right parties despite it being statistically insignificant (p = 0.147). It indicates that there is need to continue exploring this relationship in a multivariate model. The magnitude of the coefficients brings more information about the relationship

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[50] The individual-level factor analysis scores were computed in Viman-Miller & Fesnic 2010. Here they are used to take forward the model and look at the link between political tolerance and social tolerance and support for radical right parties.

between the variables compared to the lack or borderline statistical significance. A large impact of the

coefficient with a low statistical significance continues to offers promises about future findings in a

model which would include additional control variables. In this case, a one unit increase of the factor

for political tolerance translates in a 21.84% decrease of support for radical right parties. This hypothe-

sis is mostly confirmed in the case of Romania while for Hungary support for radical right is overpredict-

ed. Throughout this section the results obtained for Hungary are potentially skewed because FIDESZ

and MDF were calculated as a mainstream party although the results for the dimension that was consid-

ered key for their level of radicalism was slightly over the middle range of 16 chosen for this analysis. At

16.2 for FIDESZ and 16 for MDF on the "nationalism" dimension in Benoit and Laver, the two parties

were considered mainstream in order to allow a comparison with the radical right parties in the Hungar-

ian political system FKGP 18.2 and MIEP19.8. One noticeable outlier is Spain, based on data the expec-

tation was that Spain will be close to the regression line but the results show that this relationship is un-

derpredicted, the prediction value is lower than the reality in the Spanish political system.

The next step is to test the hypothesis stating that the greater the social tolerance the higher

the likelihood of electoral support for moderate parties. In this case a more detailed explanation of the

expected relationship is that the more tolerant the citizens of one country the less likely they are to vote

with radical right parties. Figure 4.2 is a scatter that also presents the relationship between social toler-

ance and support for radical right parties. Appendix 4.1 presents a list of all parties that fall under this

label.

Fig. 4.2. The impact of social tolerance on support for radical right parties
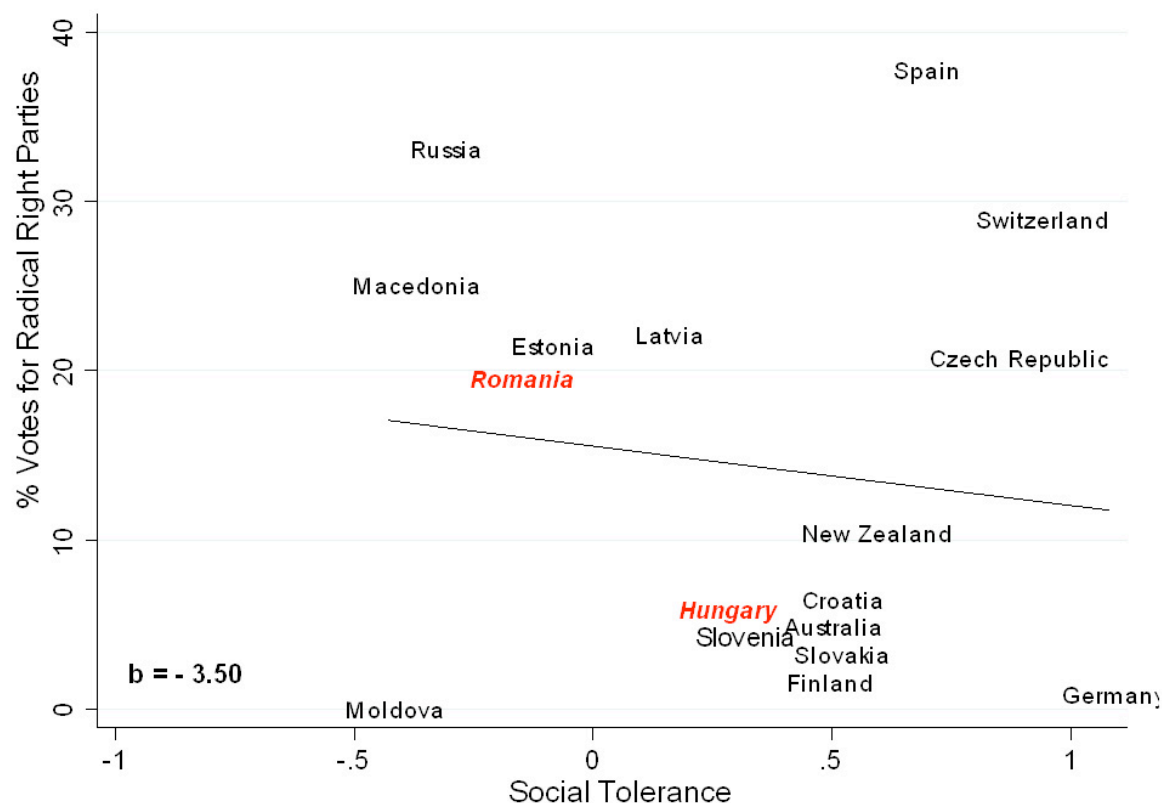
N=17

Data sources: *Social tolerance*: country means for individual-level factor analysis scores computed in (Viman-Miller & Fesnic 2010) using data from World Values Survey, third wave (1996-99); *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus

The coefficient shows that there is a negative relationship between the two variables but it is not statistically significant (p = 0.613). Still the coefficient shows that there are reasons to consider this relationship important. In the case of Romania the results are where they are expected, the support for radical right during those specific elections matches the level of tolerance showed by the survey for Romania. In the case of Hungary the relationship is much less, as the support for radical right in Hungary is overpredicted. The expectation based on the independent variables value is that Hungary would be positioned near Romania. In the case of Spain the relationship between support for radical right and social tolerance is underpredicted. The expectation is that Spain would position itself (based on the inde-

pendent variable value) near where Romania is situated. Because both political and social tolerance are obtained as a result of factor analysis, one standard deviation translates into a decrease of 3.5% of votes for radical right parties.

The bivariate analysis shows that political tolerance has a much higher impact on support for radical right parties. The correlation is in the expected direction for both variables political and social tolerance yet, political tolerance has a considerable more impact on the dependant variable compared to social tolerance. The coefficient for political tolerance bivariate analysis is -22 while the same coefficient for social tolerance is -3.5. The difference shows that political tolerance has more than 6 times more power of predicting support for radical right compared to social tolerance.

The level of development is a control variable. It must be controlled for the levels of social and Human Development Index in order to obtain an accurate result of the impact of tolerance on democracy. As shown in the previous chapters, literature finds that more tolerant countries are also more developed and also more democratic. In order to establish the correct impact of tolerance on democracy the model must control for the level of development.

Fig. 4.3. The impact of development on radical right voting
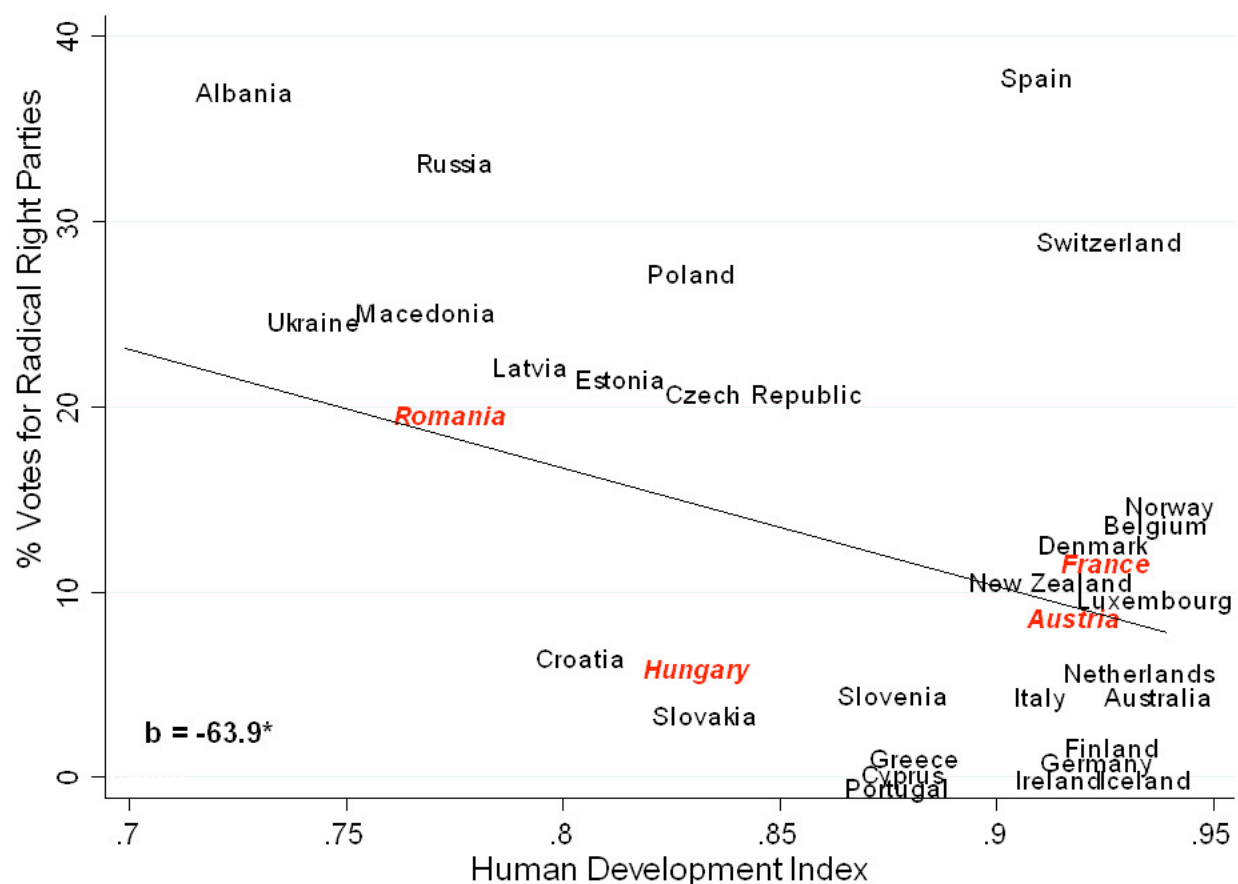
N=32
Data sources: *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus and *Human Development Index* :
UNDP 1999.

The scatter plot and the coefficient of the bivariate linear regression in Figure 4.3 show that the

level of development and radical right voting are strongly correlated. The coefficient shows that Human

Development Index, measured on a scale from 0 to 1, where 0 is a theoretical absolute, with an increase

of 0.1 (about 10%) on the total scale determines a decrease of 6.4 percent support for radical right par-

ties. This relationship is statistically insignificant with a $p = 0.25$ but the magnitude of the coefficient

shows that further investigation could yield additional information about this relationship.

Figure 4.4 presents the results for bivariate linear regression which tests the hypothesis that

states that the closer the ideological distance between moderate right parties and radical right parties,

the more votes radical right parties lose to the moderate right parties. The scores for the *ideological distance* variable were obtained using the party scores offered by Benoit and Laver. They offer scores for a multitude of dimensions for each individual party. Relying on the scores between 16[51] and 20 in order to define a radical party dimension the measurement is the result of subtracting the closest moderate party score for the same dimension from the radical right party's score. The moderate party must be the largest, the most successful party and the closest to the radical party.[52]

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[51] 16 is the number that divides Benoit and Laver's scale of 20 point in half and the later half in half again in order to obtain a quantifiable level of radicalism (between 16 and 20) for the dimensions offered by these two authors.

[52] For instance, in the case of Belgium, the party with the highest score on the "migration" dimension (opposed to migration) in Benoit and Laver is Vlaams Belang (VB). They score 19.8 from a possible 20. The largest moderate right party (with a score under 16 on the same scale) is Flemish Liberals and Democrats (VLD) with a score of 12.9 on the "migration" dimension. The ideological distance between the radical right party and the moderate right party in this case is 6.9 (19.8-12.9). Another example, this time from the newly democratized European countries, illustrates the same calculation for the ideological distance between radical right and mainstream right but it relies on the measurement of "nationalism" (the higher the score, the more nationalism), a much more proper form of measuring radicalism in Central Eastern Europe. The Czech Republic's Republicans of Miroslav Slodek (RMS) scored 19.2 out of 20 on the "nationalism" dimension and the closest important mainstream right party, Civic Democratic Party (ODS) scored 15.3. The ideological distance between these two parties is 3.9 (19.2-15.3).

Fig. 4.4. The impact of ideological distance on support for radical right parties
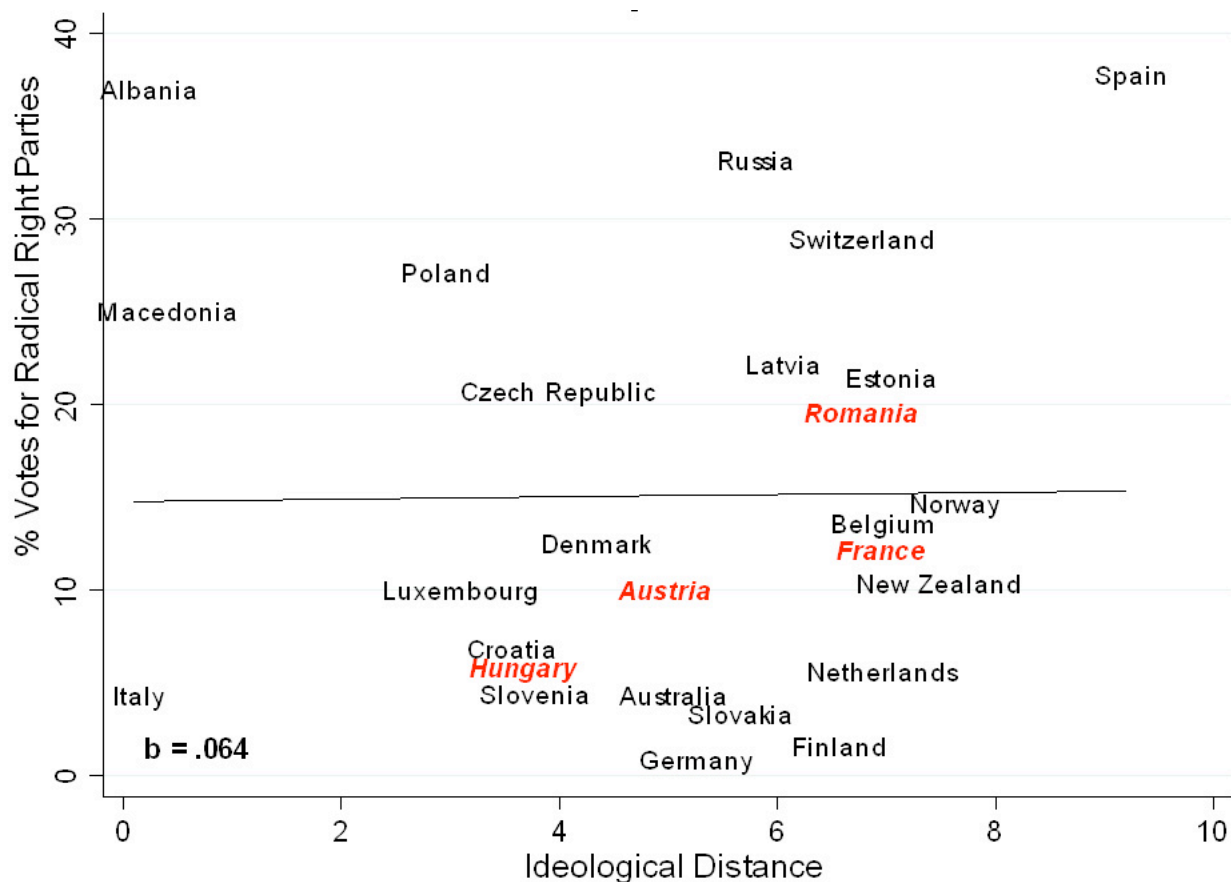
N=26
Data sources: *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus and *Ideological distance:* Benoit and Laver (2006)

The hypothesis is not verified in this case too, although the coefficient is minimal and the relationship is not statistically significant (p = 0.947). A one measure increase in ideological distance (measured by Benoit and Laver on a scale of 1-20, meaning approximate 5%) translates into a relative small 0.064 increase in support for radical right parties. Ideological distance does not seem to have an impact on the support for the radical right parties. This weak relationship is observable from the graph as the line depicting the regression is almost parallel to the X axis representing the ideological distance. Spain is an influential case in this analysis.

As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the expectation is that there is a positive correlation between the level of satisfaction with democracy and the support for mainstream parties. The hypothesis states that the higher the levels of satisfaction with democracy the higher the support for moderate parties. Figure 4.5 shows the results of bivariate linear regression between the two variables.

Some of the results presented in this bivariate analysis so far indicate a large impact of the coefficient yet are statistically insignificant. These results prepare the forthcoming multivariate analysis which will offer significant findings.

Fig. 4.5.The impact of the level of satisfaction with democracy on radical right voting
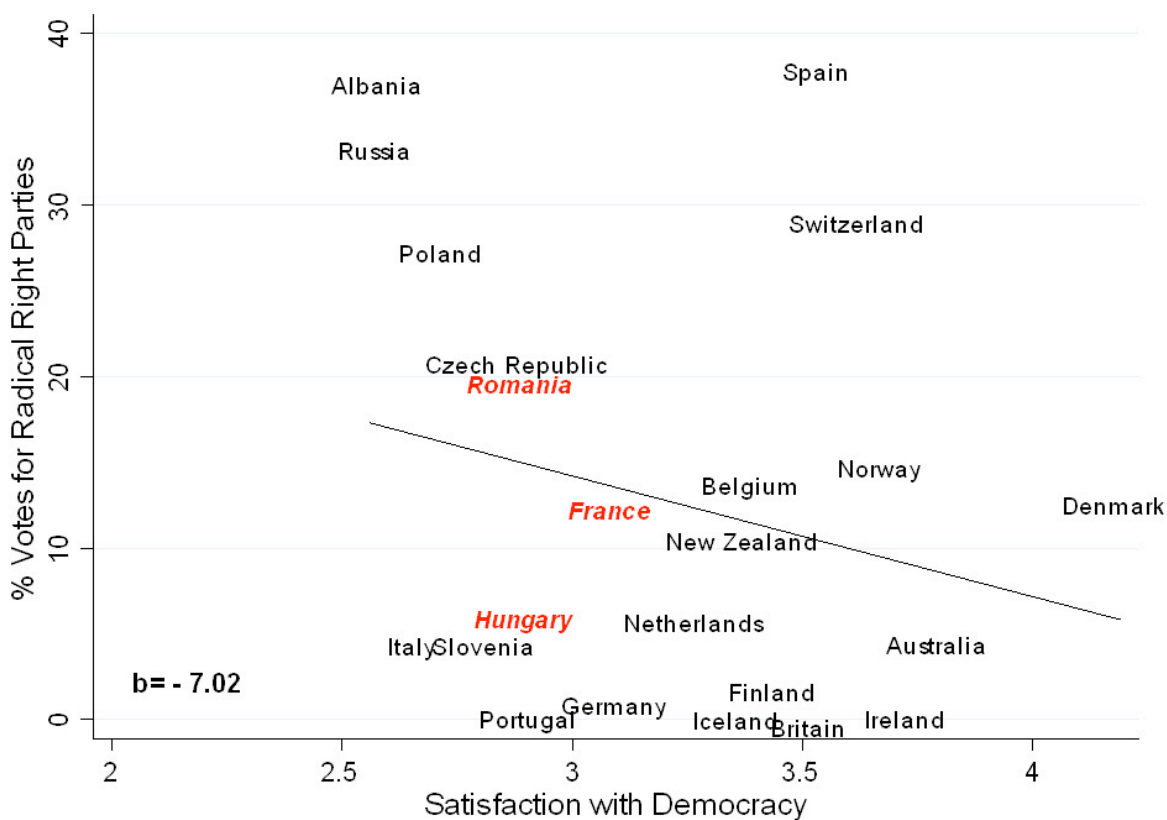
N=23
Data sources: *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus and *Satisfaction with Democracy*: CSES 2004.

The result of the analysis presented in Figure 4.5 shows that there is indeed a correlation between the level of satisfaction with democracy and support for radical right parties. The results of the linear regression show that the hypothesis is confirmed and the magnitude of the coefficient shows that there is a strong relationship predicted between the two variables. In this model the results for France are slightly overpredicted just as are the results for Hungary, while Romania is underpredicted. Satisfaction with democracy is measured on a scale from 1-5. A one point increase in satisfaction with democracy translates into a 7% decrease in support for radical right parties. This is a substantial prediction as shown by the slope depicted in the graph despite the fact that the relation is not statistically significant ($p = 0.257$).

Figure 4.6 shows the results of the bivariate linear regression for the impact of support for radical right parties on the percentage of seats won by the radical right parties in the legislative chambers. The hypothesis states that the higher the support for radical right parties the higher the number of seats won by these parties.

Fig. 4.6. The impact of radical right voting on percent seats for radical right parties
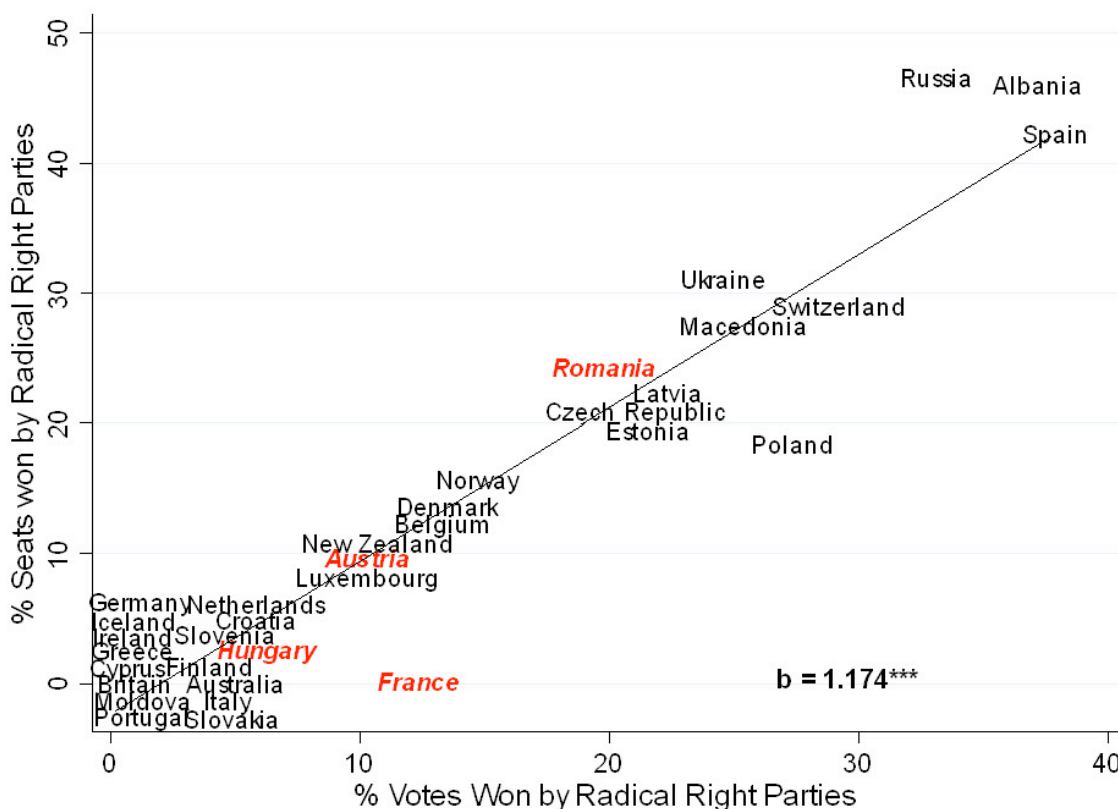
N=33
Data sources: *Percent votes for radical right*: *Percent seats for radical right:* National Election Bureaus

Figure 4.6 is a scatter plot that also shows the bivariate linear regression result. One percent increase in votes for radical right parties translates into 1.174 percent seats in the legislative. As expected and not surprisingly, this relationship is highly statistically significant with p = 000. This coefficient shows that in average the radical right parties are overrepresented and that they win more seats than some of the mainstream parties. Each one percent increase in votes for the radical right translates in more than one seat for the radical right party in the legislative.

The following section discusses the impact of electoral system on voting behavior. Voting behavior in turn formed by four dependent variables, the effective number of electoral parties, the effective number of legislative parties, the percent votes for radical right parties and the percent seats won

by radical right parties in the lower chamber of the legislative body of that specific country. The expectation is that the larger the disproportionality of the electoral system the lower the chances for small parties to be represented as voters in general will strategize and vote with larger parties which have a better chance at representation. This theoretical expectation is valid for both effective number of electoral parties as well as effective number of legislative parties.

Figure 4.7 is a scatter plot that also shows the impact of the electoral system on vote in general. The magnitude of the coefficients shows a minimal impact of the independent variable on the dependent variable. The "effective number of parties in one country" is measured using Gallagher's calculations which account for the size of the party too in the measurement.

Fig. 4.7. The impact of the electoral system on the effective number of electoral parties
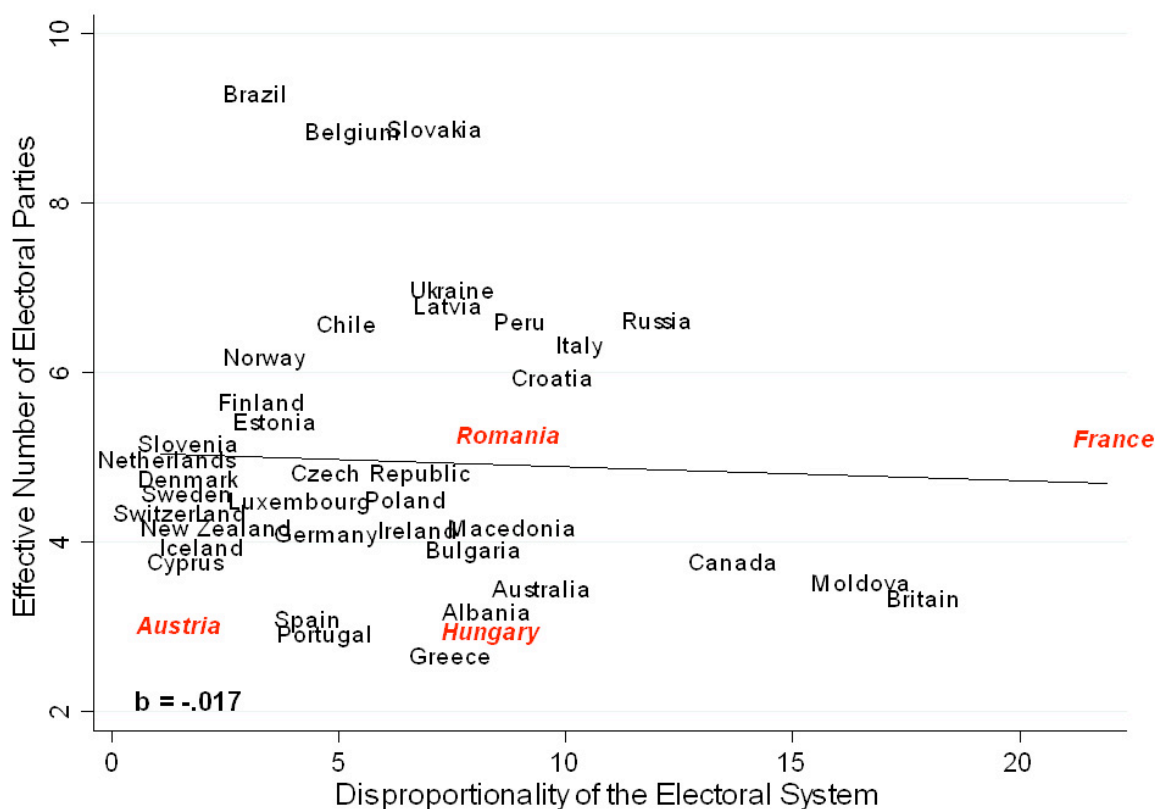
N=40
Data sources: *The effective number of electoral parties* and *Disproportionality of the electoral system*: Gallagher (2012)

The magnitude of the coefficient is insignificantly low and the relationship is statistically insignificant (p = 0.773). In this graph depicting the relationship between the disproportionality of the electoral system and the effective number of parties, Slovenia and Netherlands with a very proportional electoral system (positioned somewhere in between 4-5 parties) have the same amount of parties as France with a very disproportional electoral system. France is an influential case. If this case would have been positioned anywhere on the lower parts on the Y axis the slope would have been more inclined making the relationship more relevant. An increase from the lowest level of the disproportionality of the electoral system, nearing zero, to the highest disproportionality of the electoral system (20) translates into 0.34,

meaning a third of a party. The substantive magnitude of the coefficient is at best modest. This suggests that the bivariate relationship might not yield any surprising results even when included in a multivariate model. The expectations are low. What cannot be extrapolated from this analysis is the impact of the influential case, France. It is not clear how much of the magnitude of this relationship is due to the inherent disproportionality of the system or certain particularities specific to the French system itself.

The theoretical expectation is that the more disproportional the electoral system in a country the lower the effective number of parties in the lower chamber of the legislative body. As votes translate into seats in the legislative chamber it is expected that this hypothesis is confirmed in the expected direction.

Fig. 4.8. The impact of the electoral system on the effective number of legislative parties
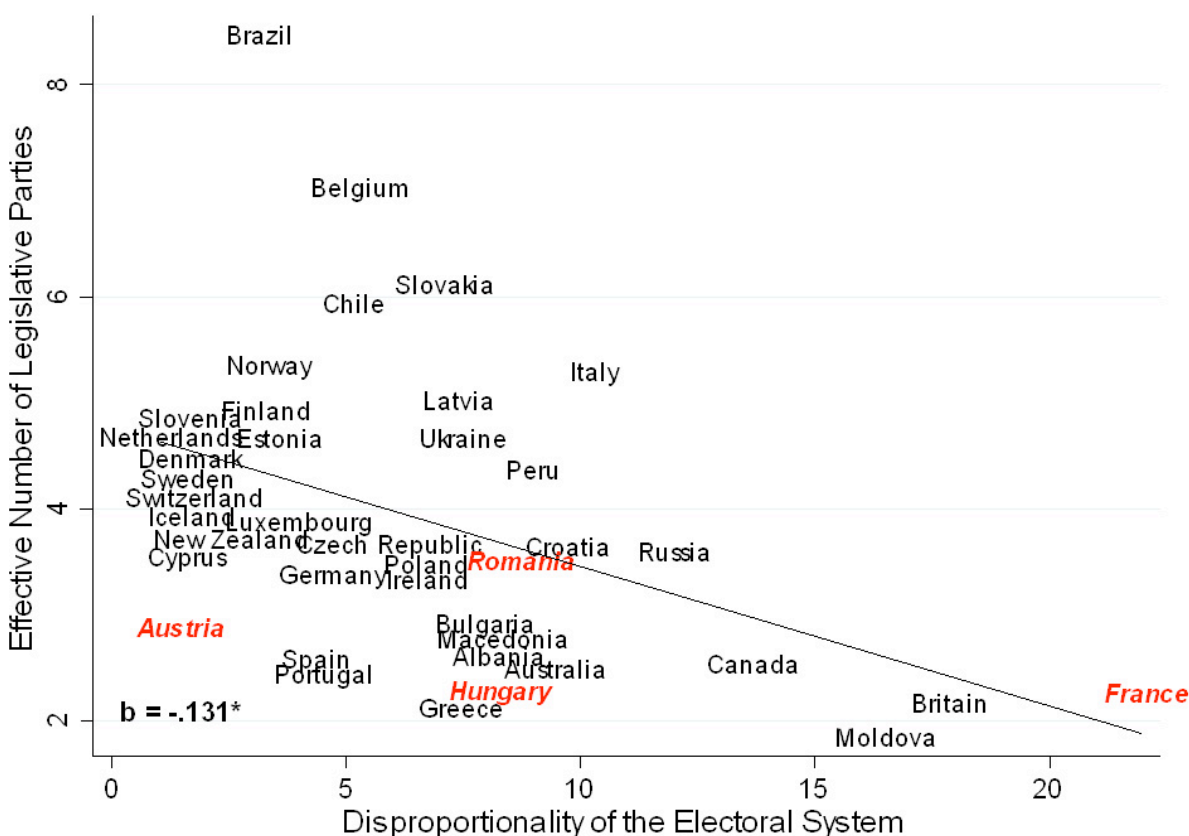
N=40
Data sources*: Effective number of legislative parties* and *Disproportionality of the electoral system:* Gallagher (2012)

The magnitude of the coefficient presented in Figure 4.8 shows that one measure increase in the disproportionality of the electoral system suggests a decrease of .131 effective number of legislative parties. With a statistical significance of .005 this regression shows that even though the disproportionality of the electoral system does not have an impact on the way people vote in general it does have an impact on the way votes translates into seats in the lower legislative chamber. It shows that it is possible to decrease from a five-party multisystem to a bipartisan system as a result of the impact of the electoral system. Looking at the position France takes on the graph compared to Slovenia or Netherlands, and comparing Figure 4.7 to Figure 4.8 it is observable that the electoral system does have an important impact on the way votes translate into seats. If the scores for ideological unity increases so does the support for radical right parties. This means that the moderate right should reduce the ideological distance in order to recapture these votes. This is what former French president Sarkozy did with relative success. The solution is as bad as the problem; the moderate right parties should position themselves on radical dimensions in order to recapture radical right votes. It would mean that the mainstream should strive to become similar to the radical right. The best solution so far seems to be an attempt to mitigate intolerance in order to eliminate the electoral source for these radical right parties.

Figure 4.9 shows the results of the bivariate linear regression of electoral system's impact on the support for radical right parties. The expectation is that the electoral system impacts the level of support for radical right parties as the supporters vote strategically.

Fig. 4.9. The impact of the electoral system on the percent votes for radical right parties
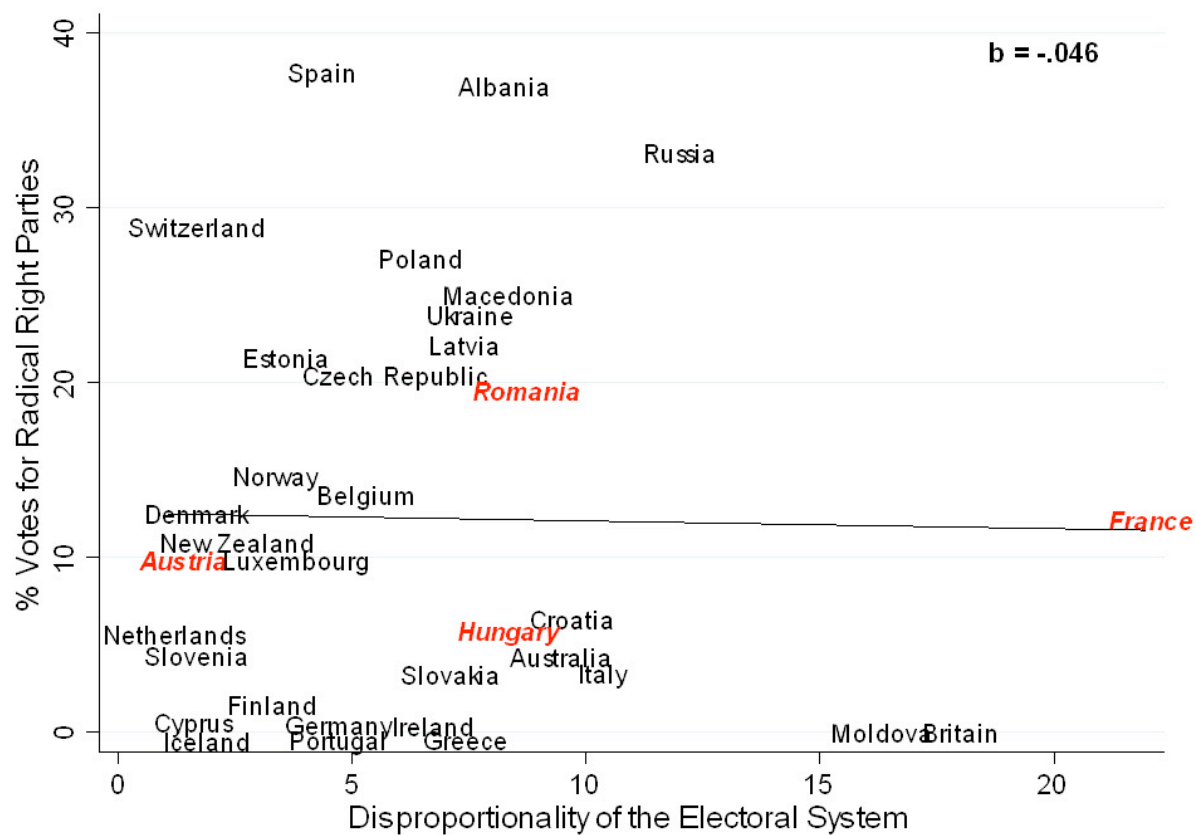
N=34
Data sources: *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus and *Disproportionality of the electoral system:* Gallagher (2012)

The impact of the electoral system on votes for radical right parties indicated by the coefficient

.046 is practically zero. Statistically insignificant (p 0.914) the relationship indicates that the radical right

voters cannot be convinced by a change in the electoral system to switch allegiances. This finding is

consistent with previous findings (Kitschelt 1995, Norris 2005) that the radical right voters are a different

breed and they do not easily give in for a second choice. If the moderate voters act strategically in a

disproportional system, the radical right voters seem to employ no voting strategy. The maximum effect

is the result of coefficient (b = -.046) times maximum disproportionality which is 20, the result is less

than 1, it shows the distance between minimum and maximum impact, in this case the vote for radical

right in Denmark and France. The figure shows clearly that there are countries where there are propor-

tional electoral systems but the support for the radical right remains high (Spain, Switzerland). On the

other hand there are countries with very proportional system (Netherlands, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Ice-

land) where the percentage of votes for the radical right is very small, or almost zero like in the case of

Cyprus. This shows that the electoral system does not offer a valid explanation for the support for the

radical right parties and that the explanations might lie within each individual case.

Besides the scatter plot Figure 4.10 also shows the coefficient and the direction for the impact

of electoral system on the percentage seats won by radical right parties. The disproportionality of the

electoral system is expected to be translated on more or leas seats for the radical right parties in the

lower legislative chambers for each country that has a radical right party.

Fig. 4.10. The impact of the electoral system on the percent seats won by radical right parties

N=33
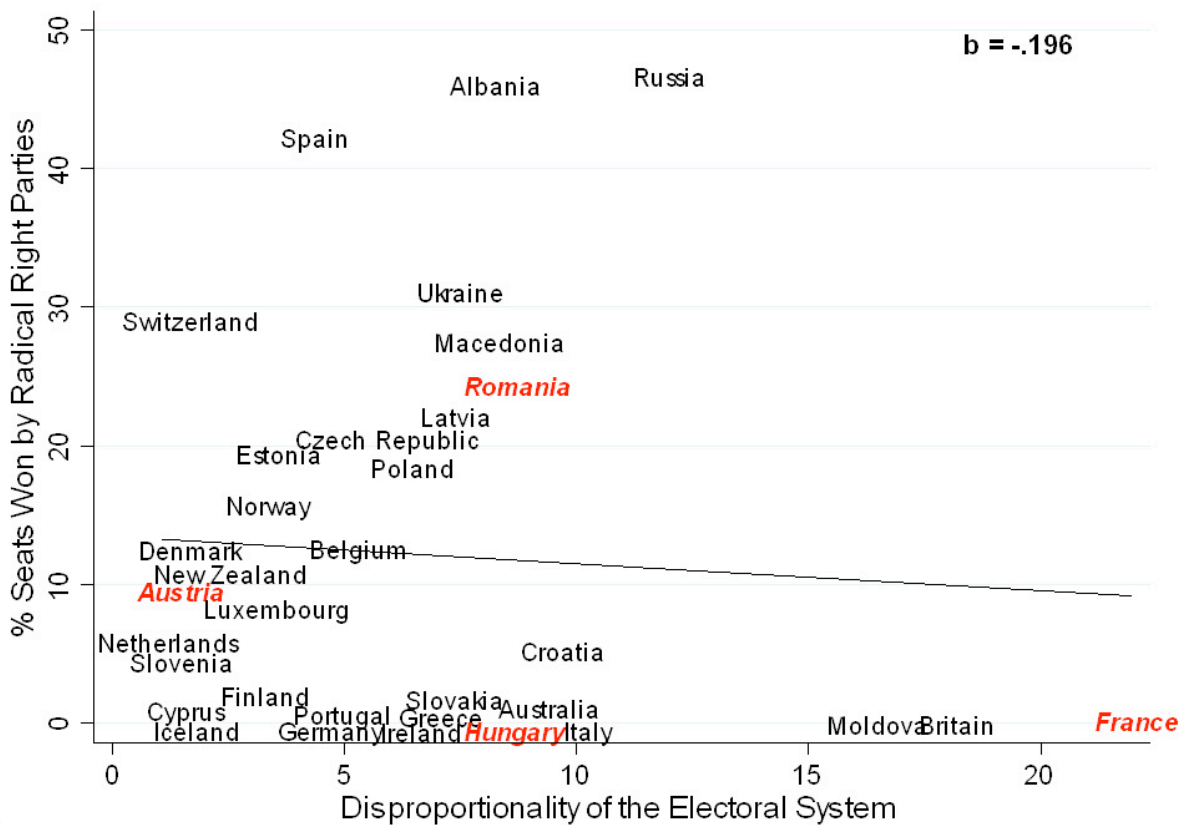
Data sources: *Percent seats for radical right*: National Election Bureaus and *Disproportionality of the electoral system: Gallagher (2012)*

For a very proportional system, closest to zero, Denmark is almost perfectly predicted while Slovenia and Netherlands are overpredicted and Switzerland is underpredicted. The prediction is that the proportion of seats for the radical right parties in the lower chambers of the legislatives is slightly influenced by the proportionality of the electoral system. The regression is statistically insignificant (p = 0.707). The coefficient of -0.2 says that the percent seats for the radical right will decrease by 5% between Denmark and France.

The better part of this study so far focused on determinants of the radical right votes and the percentage seats in the lower legislative chambers for these parties. The interest for the radical right has one final goal, to ultimately determine its effects on democracy. It is important to study if support for radical right does translate in democracy or not so much. Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12 show the impact of support for radical right on democracy.

The expected direction of the relationship between democracy and support for radical right is that as support for radical right increases, democracy decreases.

Fig. 4.11. The impact of support for radical right on democracy
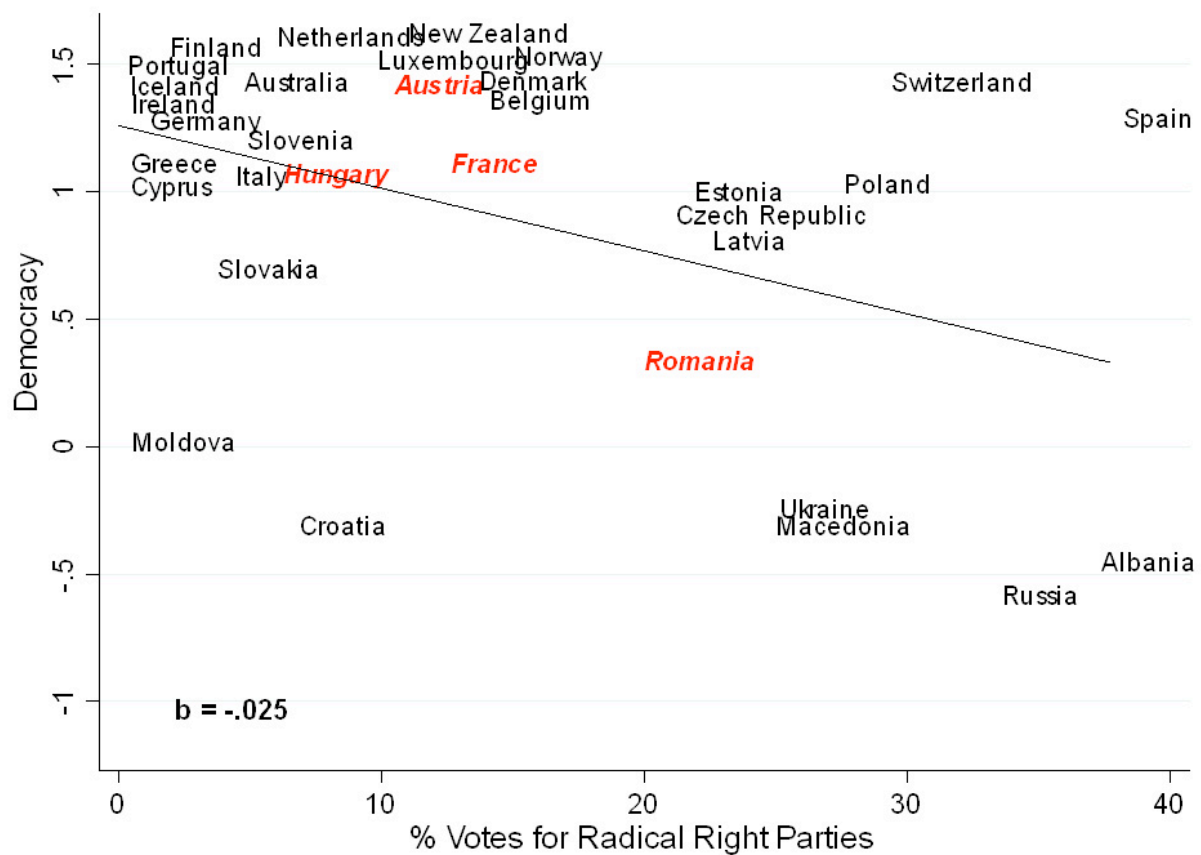
N=33
Data sources: D*emocracy,* Voice and Accountability scores 1999 and *Percent votes for radical right*: National Election Bureaus

Figure 4.11 is a scatter plot that includes the coefficient for the bivariate linear regression which shows that an increase of the vote for the radical right determines a decrease in the level of democracy. Where support for radical right increases from 0 to 40%, democracy decreases one unit. It is obvious that support for radical right parties does not explain democracy in its entirety. It is noticeable that most of the countries that are overpredicted by this model are former communist countries from Central Eastern Europe. They tend to have less consolidated institutions, with weaker civil society. High levels of democracy and less support for the radical right is predicted in countries that have consolidated older democracies. It is obvious that the support for the radical right is not a complete predictor by itself but this regression shows an expected pattern. It is important to mention that even though some of this support for the radical right does not translate into legislative representation, they can influence the policies of the mainstream parties such as in the case of France. In France the radical right won slightly under 20% electoral support, but it does not translate into 20 percent of the legislative seats gained by the National Front. As a result former French president Sarkozy saw the opportunity to gain additional electoral support by implementing some of the radical right's policies.

Another classic example comes from Great Britain, where most of the time only two major parties, the Conservatives and the Labour Party, dominate the Parliament, yet there are three major parties running in elections (the Conservative Party, the Labour Party and the Liberal Democratic Party). The Liberal Democratic Party wins a significant share of votes (sometimes as high as 25%) but only a minimal share of seats in the Parliament. In 1983, the Labour Party obtained 27.6% support that was translated into 32.2% seats (209 out of the total 650). During the same election, the Alliance (the Liberal Democratic Party predecessor) won 25.4% votes which translated in only 23 seats (3.5%). For each percent of votes, the Labour Party obtained 1.16% representation (32.2/27.6=1.16) while the Alliance won 0.14% representation for each percent support.

The percentage of votes for radical right is less important in this relationship up until these votes translate into seats at legislative level. Figure 4.12 shows the relationship between the numbers of seats that the radical right won in the legislative bodies and democracy.

Fig. 4.12. The impact of percentage seats for radical right on democracy
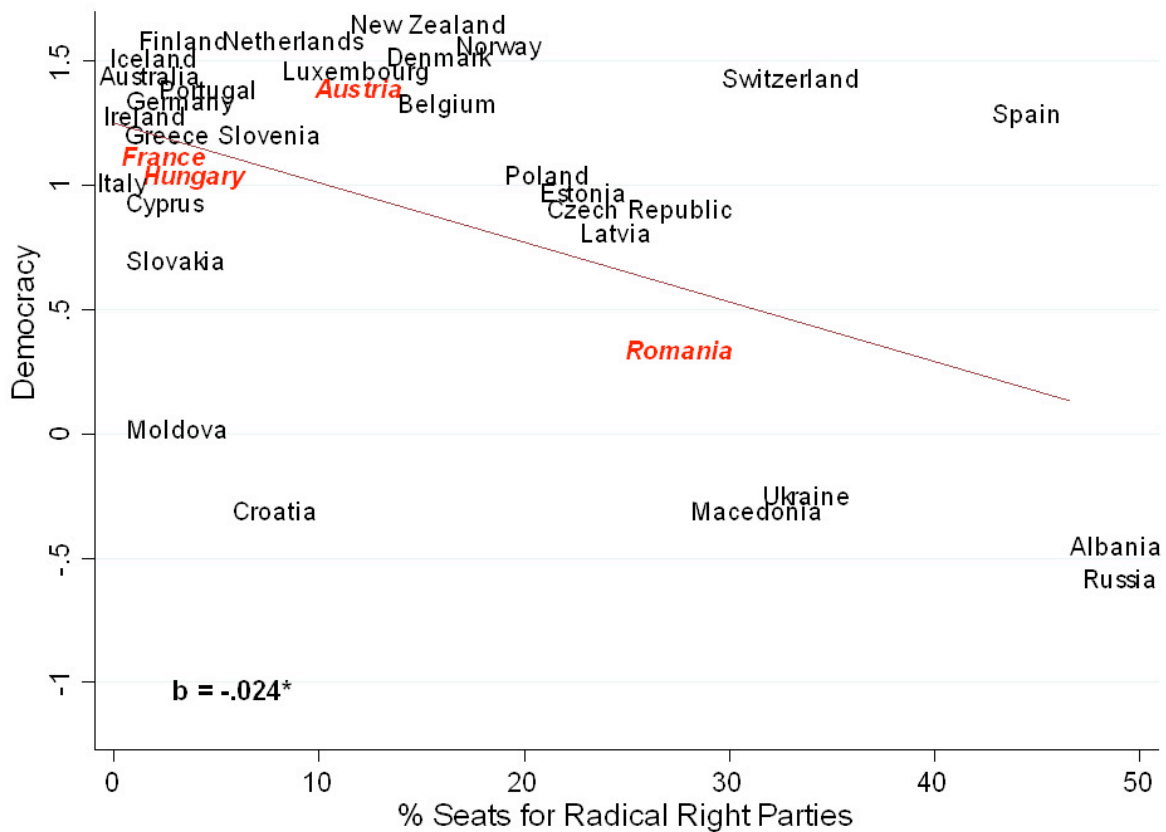
N=33
Data sources: D*emocracy,* Voice and Accountability scores 1999 and *Percent seats for radical right*: National Election Bureaus

Figure 4.12 is a scatter plot and it also illustrates the coefficient and the direction for the bivariate linear regression which shows that the higher the level of legislative representation for the radical right the lower the scores for democracy. This relationship is confirmed and it is expected since if the radical right is represented at legislative level it means it has the chance to govern as it happened in the

Austrian case, or at least it has the ability to influence the policies through the voice it was given in the parliament. This possibility is measured here by the percentage of seats that the radical right occupied in the legislative body.

This section presented the macro-level analysis of the impact of tolerance on democracy. Linear bivariate regression showed that in most cases the relationship was either weak or statistically insignificant. The results obtained are not very convincing as if there is a great deal of impact of both social and political tolerance on democracy. The magnitude of the relationship depicted by the coefficients in general proved negligible. The bivariate linear regressions presented in this section were statistically insignificant in general. This calls for additional analysis and the next logical attempt is to see if multivariate linear regression can tease better results out of the variables presented even though the analysis relies on a reduced number of cases.[53] Controlling for a variety of independent variables should provide stronger results for the relationship between social and political tolerance and democracy.

4.1.2   Multivariate linear regression

This section relies on multivariate linear regression in order to analyze the impact of each the independent variables discussed in the previous section on support for the radical right parties controlling for the effect of the other independent variables. It seeks to complement the macro-level bivariate linear regression presented in the first part of this chapter. This macro-level multivariate regression seeks to control for a variety of independent variables in order to observe a more clear relationship between support for the radical right and democracy. The first multivariate linear regression presented in Table 4.1 includes all the predictors for radical right parties support in an attempt to control the effect of other independent variable where there might have been correlation.

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[53]The data set does not offer data for all variables for all countries

Table 4.1. Predictors of the electoral support for the radical right parties

	% votes for radical right	*Statistical significance*
Social tolerance	9.10	.570
	(15)	
Political tolerance	-17.46	.410
	(19.44)	
Human Development Index	-200.59	.249
	(153.8)	
Ideological unity[54]	4.53	.125
	(2.47)	
Satisfaction with democracy	13.08	.521
	(18.98)	
Adjusted R square	.345	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=32

A one unit increase in social tolerance translates into approximately nine percent increase in support for radical right. Social tolerance is a result of factor analysis and so one unit means one standard deviation. Multivariate linear regression shows a positive coefficient between social tolerance and support for radical right. As previously discussed tolerance is a multidimensional concept and in this case it is proven once more that social and political tolerance are uncorrelated. That being the case, the expectation is that those who are socially intolerant tend to vote more with conservative parties as opposed to those who are politically intolerant and who form the voters supports for radical right parties. Those who dislike certain social behavior (homosexuality, prostitution, abortion etc) vote with parties that uphold their values while politically intolerant voters who do not agree to extend civil rights and liberties to certain disliked groups (immigrants, gypsies, Jews etc) find their best match in the radical

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[54] For ideological unity, the higher the number the bigger the distance between the radical right and the moderate right. If ideological unity would be 0 there would be no difference between the moderate right and the radical right.

right parties ideologies.[55] A one standard deviation increase in political tolerance translates into approx-

imately 17.5 percent decrease in support for radical right parties as expected, after controlling for the

rest of the independent variables.

A one unit increase in Human Development Index translates into 200 percent decrease in sup-

port for radical right parties. The theoretical margins are very different compared to the empirical mar-

gins. This is a measurement that theoretically stretches from 0 to 1 where 0 for a nation means it has an

absolute lack of education, 100% infant mortality and 0 performance for the rest of the elements that

compose the Human Development Index. Perfect 1 means 100% achievements for a nation on all the

measurements that compose the Index. The empirical sample used for this analysis includes countries

with the lowest score around 0.7 (South Africa 0.702) and the highest score around 0.9 (Norway 0.939).

Countries with Human Development Index below 0.7 are with no exceptions lacking free democratic

elections. The empirical distance between the lowest and the highest scored case is around 0.2 from

the theoretical margin of 0 to 1. If 200 is the coefficient and 0.2 is the empirical distance the real coeffi-

cient is 200 X 0.2 = 40. This coefficient shows that when Human Development Index increases from the

lowest scores in the sample which is South Africa (0.702) to the highest country included in the sample

Norway (0.939) the prediction is that the vote for radical right will decrease with approximately 40%.

A one unit increase in ideological unity translates into 4.5 percent increase in support for radical

right parties. It actually measures disunity, the further apart the radical right and the moderate right the

higher the number for ideological unity. With each point increase between the moderate right and the

radical right the prediction is that the support for radical right will increase with about 4.5%. For satis-

faction with democracy, after controlling for the rest of the independent variables the coefficient shows

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[55]For an illustrative example see Figure 2.1 which depicts the electoral support of the mains presidential candidates for the French presidential elections in 2002. For social tolerance Chirac's supporters were very similar to those of Le Pen's but very different when it comes to political tolerance.

that a one measure increase in the levels of satisfaction with democracy translates into 13 percent increase in support for radical right parties. Satisfaction with democracy is measured using a 1-5 scale. This is a counterintuitive result as the bivariate analysis (Fig.4.5) shows that there is a negative and strong relationship between satisfaction with democracy and support for radical right. The strong positive relation observed in the multivariate analysis might very well be influenced by other exogenous factors such as the case selection and the timing of the data collection. This analysis relies on CESE data, the second module, containing data from 2001 to 2006. In Hungary the data was collected in 2002. At that time Viktor Orban is the elected prime-minister. This could trigger the Hungarian respondents to answer that their level of satisfaction with democracy is high as they are represented in the government by the leader and party of their choice.

Table 4.2 shows the coefficients for the impact of electoral support translated into votes when controlling for political and social tolerance, Human Development Index, ideological distance, satisfaction with democracy and the electoral system. The electoral system is an important predictor of voters support translated into seats at legislative level.

Table 4.2. Predictors of the percentage seats in the legislative chambers for the radical right parties

	% seats for radical right	*Statistical significance*
Social tolerance	6.68	.763
	(20.72)	
Political tolerance	-22.27	.459
	(27.20)	
Human Development Index	-117.96	.669
	(255.97)	
Ideological unity	7.6	.110
	(3.70)	
Satisfaction with democracy	-3.38	.916
	(29.99)	
Disproportionality of the electoral system	1.09	.650
	(2.23)	
Adjusted R square	.265	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).

N=32

One standard deviation increase in social tolerance translates in 6.68% more seats in the legislative for the radical right parties. The explanation for this coefficient is similar with the one offered for Table 4.1, where the socially intolerant voters find that conservative parties represent their views more consistently. One standard deviation increase in political tolerance translates into 22.27% decrease in seats for the radical right. Human Development Index remains a strong and important predictor of radical right support and in this case its translation into seats into the legislative chambers. The empirical coefficient (118 x 0.2 = 23.6) predicts that between when Human Development Index increases from the lowest scores in the sample which is South Africa (0.702) to the highest country included in the sample Norway (0.939), that the percent seats for radical right in legislative chambers will decrease with approximately 23.6%. A one point increase in the ideological distance between radical right and the moderate right translates into an increase of 7.6% seats for the radical right. The coefficient for satisfaction with democracy measured on the 1-5 scale shows that a one unit increase in satisfaction with democracy translates in 3.38% decrease in percentage seats for the radical right.

The disproportionality of the electoral system, Gallagher's measurement, is measured on a scale from 0 to 20 where 0 is the perfect proportionality and 20 is the least proportional for this group of countries. The coefficient shows that a one measure increase in the disproportionality of the electoral system means an increase of 1.09% seats for the radical right. Electoral system is the filter that mediates the translation of the electoral support for radical tight into actual legislative seats in one country. Table 4.3 shows the impact of the electoral support translated into seats at legislative level when controlling for the electoral system.

Table 4.3. The impact of the electoral support for the radical right and electoral system on the number of seats gained by the radical right in the legislative chamber

	% seats for radical right	Statistical significance
Disproportionality of the electoral system	-.142 (.146)	.338
Percent votes for radical right	1.173 (.061)	.000
Adjusted R square	.918	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=32

When controlling for the support for the radical right, a one unit increase in the disproportionality of the electoral system translates into a 0.142 decrease in seats for the radical right. Support for radical right, when controlled for the disproportionality of the electoral system, yields a coefficient that shows an increase of 1.173% seats for radical right. This is an important result which shows that after controlling for the electoral system, the radical right is not only proportionally represented in the legislative chambers but it is overrepresented. A 10 percent increase in support for radical right parties translates into almost 12 percent increase of seats won by the radical right. The expectation is that the higher the percentage of votes for the radical right parties, the higher the percentage of seats won by them in the legislative. The unexpected result is in the fact that the radical right parties seem to be

overrepresented in the legislative chambers. Logic says that this overrepresentation happens at the expense of other mainstream parties. The relationship is statistically significant and it confirms the results obtained using bivariate linear regression in the first part of this chapter.

Multivariate linear regression shows the level of electoral support for radical right parties after controlling for social and political tolerance, Human Development Index, ideological unity and levels of satisfaction with democracy. It is also important to see how the electoral support for radical right parties translates into representation. It is imperative to see if this support has any institutional consequences precisely in representation of these parties in the legislative bodies. Electoral system must be added to the analysis because it influences the way into which electoral support translates into representation. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 contain only one variable which comes close to being statistically significant. It is ideological unity which is significant at $p = .1$. This result shows that one possible solution to eliminating radical right parties would be for the moderate right parties to move towards the extreme right in order to capture those votes. This medicine seems to be as dangerous as the problem. Besides ideological distance the only one relationship that proves statistically significant is the impact of support for radical right parties on the percent of seats won in the legislative chambers, after controlling for the electoral system. Given the limited number of observations, there are only a handful of countries, statistical insignificance is not unexpected. This analysis must be completed by micro-level analysis in order to see the impact of individual-level tolerance on democracy. Individuals are more or less tolerant; they are the ones that lend their support to radical right parties. This makes the individual-level analysis ideal in determining if aggregate level results are replicated at individual-level. The next section will show that some of these results do no match, such as the impact of levels of satisfaction with democracy where the counterintuitive aggregate result becomes intuitive once more.

4.2   Determinants of electoral support for radical right, micro-level

Table 4.4 presents the results of the micro-level analysis that seeks to complete the macro-level analysis presented previously. The multivariate linear regression looks at the impact of education, gender, residence, level of religiosity, age, levels of satisfaction with democracy, social and political tolerance on party choice. The dependent variable party choice was obtained by using the scores provided by Benoit and Laver and the individual-level data from World Values Survey, the third wave. The data set has 55,000 respondents. They are respondents from each country where the dependent[56] and independent variables were asked. In a new data set, the responses provided as their first party choice were replaced with the party scores from Benoit and Laver. Following the previously established parameters, for nations in the Western hemisphere the dimension that defined a party more or less radical is the attitude towards immigration and for the parties from the Eastern hemisphere the dimension chosen was the level of nationalism. Benoit and Laver offer a scale of 20 points. The higher the score the more radical a party is considered.

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[56] The question used for the dependent variable party choice is "Which party would you vote for: first choice"

Table 4.4. The impact of individual-level variables on party choice

	Party choice	*Statistical significance*
Education	-.238	.000
	(.074)	
Female	-.496	.001
	(.102)	
Urbanization	-.595	.000
	(.064)	
Religiosity	.556	.000
	(.045)	
Age	-.008	.013
	(.003)	
Social tolerance	-.926	.000
	(.051)	
Political tolerance	-.260	.000
	(.049)	
Satisfaction with democracy	-.186	.042
	(.091)	
Adjusted R square	.107	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=55,000

A one unit increase in education coded lower, middle and higher, determines a decrease of -.238 in support for more radical parties. The relationship is highly statistically significant and it shows that more educated individuals chose to vote with moderate parties. The coefficient of -.496 for gender is statistically significant and it shows that men tend to vote with parties that are more radical. As expected, women in general seem to be less convinced by the radical right message. For residence the coefficient of -.595 shows that support for radical right parties tends to come more from the smaller urban area than from the larger cities. As urbanization increases the level of support for radical right parties decreases. The coefficient for religiosity, at .556, shows that the more religious an individual, the higher the chances that this individual will support radical parties. Although a rational thought would dictate that a religious person in general should also be a more tolerant, altruistic and charitable being,

the statistical results prove the opposite.   Age is statistically significant and the coefficient of -.008

shows that there is a tendency that younger the individual the higher the chances to lend his or her sup-

port to more radical parties. This result indicates that younger generations are more supportive of radi-

cal right parties forming an important electoral base. The coefficient for the factor social tolerance

shows that one increase in standard deviation in the level of social tolerance translates into -.926 de-

crease in support for radical right parties. One standard deviation increase in political tolerance trans-

lates into -.260 decrease in support for radical right parties. Both social and political tolerance variables

are highly statistically significant. These results are significant because of at least two important ele-

ments. Once, it shows that social tolerance in general is more important when it comes to party choice

and voting behavior than political tolerance. And second, the direction of the relationship between so-

cial tolerance and party choice changed at micro-level compared to the macro-level analysis. It shows

that social attitudes do translate into voting behavior. It shows that political tolerance issues might have

reached potentially a consensus. Issues such as minorities' rights to vote have been resolved a couple of

decades ago in all countries. For instance, in the USA the right to vote extended to all minorities is not a

debate anymore, just as well as these are non-issues in Romania. Meanwhile social tolerance issues

(such today's debate over gay marriage in both the USA and Romania) continue to have a divisive effect

in society and this translates into party politics. Satisfaction with democracy is statistically significant

and its coefficient of -.186 suggests that a one measure increase in satisfaction with democracy trans-

lates in less support for parties radical parties. Individuals that are satisfied with the way democracy

develops in their country tend to support moderate parties as opposed to radical right parties.

4.3   Conclusion

This chapter employed two levels of analysis, a macro-level analysis that measured the impact of political and social tolerance, development, ideological unity and satisfaction with democracy on support for radical right parties controlling for the effects of the electoral system. The second analysis is a micro-level analysis that completes the macro-level analysis and looks at the impact of education, gender, residence, religiosity, age, satisfaction with democracy and social and political tolerance on vote choices. The results obtained at country level are not very persuasive in regards to the ways tolerance impacts support for radical right parties. Although the coefficients obtained are large, the lack of statistical significance can cast doubt on the macro-level results. A more conclusive result was offered by the individual-level analysis and it is expected because research on tolerance in general yields more convincing results when it is analyzed as an individual characteristic. The individual-level analysis shows that tolerance is very important in determining party choices for the electorate and moreover, social tolerance in particular has four times over the impact on voting behavior compared to political tolerance. This shows that social tolerance, defined by acceptance of homosexuality, prostitution and abortion does impact the political behavior of an individual. The acceptance of unconventional social behavior is directly linked with support for moderate parties as opposed to right parties. This chapter shows once more that social and political tolerance are important elements for democracy. Undemocratic institutional solutions such as hiking the electoral threshold do not seem to offer the key to minimizing the presence of the radical right parties in the political system. The other solution offered by the macro-level analysis is an attempt by the moderate right to capture the votes from the radical right pole which does not seem to be a rational answer if we look at the French example during the Sarkozy presidency. The only reasonable solution seems to be eliminating the reason of existence of these parties, increasing the level of social and political tolerance at individual-level.

Chapter 5 of this study looks at four cases, France and Austria for the West and Hungary and Romania for the East, in order to follow the development of radical right parties and their access to the government or governmental policies. They offer the distinction between the Western and the Eastern party systems. Since Kitschelt (1992, 1995) definition of party systems, specialized studies have confirmed that there is a distinction between the Western party systems and the Eastern party systems. The Socialists in the East are not similar to the Socialists in the West. The radical right parties in the West are not similar to the ones in the East where a party such the Greater Romanian Party was associated at the Socialist Labor Party in Romania a predicament never possible in the West. Besides these systemic differences it is important to observe if there are differences or similarities at how political and social tolerance transforms the system; what are the causes, what are the consequences on the party systems and on the electoral behavior through the individual support of diverse radical right parties. The cases depict examples where the radical right acceded to the government like in the case of Austria for the West and Hungary for the East or influenced the moderate right policies like in the case of France under president Sarkozy and more recently Romania accused by the international community of having fallen back on its consolidation of democracy.

Appendix 4.1 List of all parties used in Chapter 4 from Benoit and Laver[57]

Country	Party	Benoit and Laver score
Australia (immigration[58])	ON (Pauline Hanson's One Nation)	17.0
	NP (National Party of Australia)	12.7
	LPA (Liberal Party of Australia)	12.0
	ALP (Australian Labor Party)	6.9
	AD(Australian Democrats)	4.5
	GRN (Australian Greens)	4.2
Bosnia and Herzegovina (nationalism)	SDS (Serbian Democratic Party)	20.0
	HDZ (Croatian Democratic Community)	20.0
	SDA (Party of Democratic Action)	19.0
	SPRS (Socialist party of Republic of SRPSKA)	16.0
	SBiH (Party of Bosnia and Hetzegovina)	15.0
	SNSD (Party of Independent Social Democrats)	13.0
	PDP (Party of Democratic Progress) Party	13.0
	SDP (Social Democrat Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina)	5.0
Bulgaria (nationalism)	VMRO (Bulgarian National Movement)	18.6
	BKP (Bulgarian Communist Party)	16.8
	BBB (Bulgarian Business Bloc)	13.9
	BSP (Bulgarian Socialist Party)	11.9
	BZNS (Bulgarian Agricultural National Union)	10.2
	BSDP (Bulgarian Social Democratic Party)	9.1
	G (St. George Day Movement)	8.8
	BNDP (Bulgarian National Democratic Party)	8.0
	DPS (Movement for Rights and Freedoms)	8.0
	ODS (Union of Democratic Forces)	7.1
	NDST (National Movement Simeon II)	6.6
Croatia (nationalism)	HSP (Croatia Rights Party)	19.0
	HB (Croatia Bloc)	19.0
	HDZ (Croatia Democratic Community)	15.7
	HSLS (Croatia Social Liberal Party)	15.7
	HSS (Croatian Peasants Party)	15.3
	DC (Democratic Center – formed in 2000)	12.5
	SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia)	6.3
	LIBRA (Party of Liberal Democrats or HSLS 2002)	6.2
	LS (Liberal Party)	3.7

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[57] For individual-level analysis each party was replaced in World Values Survey (where it has a unique value assigned in the questionnaire) with the values found in Benoit and Laver
[58] Dimensions that differentiate between mainstream parties and radical parties (from Benoit and Laver)

	HNS (Croatian People's Party)	2.8
	IDS (Istrian democratic Union)	2.3
Czech Republic (nationalism)	RMS (Republican dos Miroslav Slodek)	19.2
	SZJ (Party for Security in Life former Pensioners for Security in Life)	18.0
	MDS (Moravian Democratic Party)	17.0
	KSCM (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia)	16.6
	ODS (Civic Democratic Party)	15.3
	CSSD (Czech Social Democratic Party)	10.5
	SNK (Association of Independents)	10.0
	KDU (Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People)	9.8
	SZ (Green Party)	6.1
	US (Freedom Union – Democratic Union)	5.6
Estonia (nationalism)	Isam (Fatherland Union)	19.1
	ERL (People's Union of Estonia)	17.6
	EKRP (Estonian Christian People's Union)	16.7
	KESK (Estonian Center Party)	11.9
	MOOD (Social Democratic Party)	10.7
	ESDTP (Estonian Social Democratic Labour Party	9.2
	Ref (Estonian Reform Party)	9.1
	EURP (Estonian United People's Party)	3.3
Finland (immigration)	PS (True Finns)	18.8
	KOK (The National Coalition Party)	12.8
	KESK (The Centre Party)	12.3
	KD (Christian Democrats)	11.5
	SDP (Social Democratic Party of Finland)	7.9
	VAS (The Left Alliance)	6.5
	SFP (Swedish People's Party)	6.0
	VIHR (The Green League)	3.8
Hungary (nationalism)	MIEP (Hungarian Justice and Life)	19.8
	FKGP (Independent Smallholders)	18.2
	FIDESZ (Fidesz Civic Party)	16.2
	MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum)	16.0
	CENTR (Center Party)	10.4
	MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party)	8.4
	MUNKAS (Workers Party)	8.1
	SZDSZ (Alliance for the Democrats)	4.8
Latvia (nationalism)	TB/LNNK (Alliance Fatherland and Freedom – LNNK	19.3
	TP (People's Party)	16.0
	ZZS (Green and Farmer's Union)	15.0
	TSP (People's Harmony Party)	4.4

Lithuania (nationalism)	LKD (Lithuanian Christian Democrats)	15.9
	TS (Homeland Union)	14.8
	VNDPS (Union of Peasants and New Democracy Party)	13.1
	LKDS (Union of Lithuanian Christian Democrats)	11.0
	LSDP (Lithuanian Social Democratic Party)	9.4
	NS/LS (New Union Social Liberals)	8.4
Germany (immigration)	NPD (National democratic Party)	19.8
	DVU (German People's Union)	19.5
	Rep (Republicans)	19.4
	CDU/CSU (Christian democratic Union/Christian Social Union)	14.6
	FDP (Free Democratic Party)	7.9
	SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany)	7.7
	DKP (German Communist Party)	5.7
	PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism)	5.1
	GRU (Green Party)	2.7
Moldova (nationalism)	PPCD (Christian Democratic People's Party)	13.4
	PDAM (Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova)	13.0
	PDM (Democratic Party of Moldova)	12.1
	PSDM (Social Democratic Party of Moldova)	11.5
	ASLMN (Social Liberal Alliance "Our Moldova")	11.3
	PCRM (Party of the Communists of the Republic of Moldova)	11.0
	PSD – P (Social democratic Party – Social Liberal Party)	9.3
New Zealand (immigration)	NZFP (New Zealand First Party)	17.0
	NP (New Zealand National Party)	9.6
	ACT (Act New Zealand)	9.5
	UF (United Future New Zealand)	7.8
	NZLP (New Zealand Labor Party)	6.5
	ALLE (Alliana)	5.1
	GPA (Green Party of Aotearoa)	4.4
Poland (nationalism)	S (Self Defense of the Polish Republic)	16.1
	PSL (Polish Peasant Party)	16.1
	AWS (Solidarity Election Action)	15.7
	UPR (Union for Real Politics)	11.0
	SLD (Alliance of Democratic Left)	7.0
	UP (Labor Union)	5.9
	UW (Freedom Union)	5.3
Romania (nationalism)	PRM (Greater Romania Party)	19.6
	PSD (Social Democratic Party)	12.9
	PNTCD (Peasant's National Democrat and Christian Party)	11.3
	PD (Democrat Party)	7.9
	PNL (National Liberal Party)	7.3

	UDMR (Democratic Union of Hungarians from Romania)	2.5
Russia (nationalism)	LDPR (Liberal Democratic Party of Russia)	17.5
	KPRF (Communist party of the Russian Federation)	16.3
	YABLOCO	4.7
Slovakia (nationalism)	SNS (Slovak National Party)	19.4
	KDH (Christian Democratic Movement)	15.7
	HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)	13.8
	KSS (Slovak Communist Party)	11.3
	SDL (Party of Democratic Left)	10.1
	SMK (Party of the Hungarian Coalition)	6.4
Slovenia (nationalism)	SNS (The Slovenian National Party)	17.1
	SLS (The Slovenian People's Party)	14.3
	SDS (The Slovenian Democratic Party)	13.4
	DeSUS (The Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia)	11.1
	ZLSD (United List of Social Democrats)	7.7
	LDS (Liberal Democracy of Slovenia)	6.2
Spain (immigration)	PP (People's Party)	16.6
	PNV (Basque Nationalist Party)	12.9
	CIU (Convergence and Union)	12.6
	PSOE (Socialist Worker's Party)	7.4
	IU (United Left)	3.4
Sweden (immigration)	M (Moderate Party)	11.0
	C (Center Party)	10.0
	KD (Christian Democrats)	9.5
	SAP (Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party)	7.4
	FP (Liberal People's Party)	6.0
	MP (Green Party)	5.2
	V (Left Party)	4.2
Switzerland (immigration)	SD (Swiss Democrats)	19.7
	SVP (Swiss People's Party)	18.8
	FDP (FDP.The Liberals)	13.0
	LPS (Liberal Party of Switzerland)	12.8
	CVP (Christian Democratic People's Party)	10.4
	EVP (Evangelical People's Party)	9.0
	SPS (Social Democratic Party)	3.2
	PdA (Swiss Party of Labour)	3.1
	GPS (Green Party)	3.1
United States of America (immigration	R (Republican Party)	12.3
	D (Democratic Party	6.8

5   Tolerance, party system and democracy: four case studies

Tolerance has a substantial impact on democracy, as shown by previous literature and as demonstrated in the previous chapters. The previous chapters have also shown that an important intervening variable between tolerance and democracy is the party system. More precisely, the linking mechanism is the presence or the absence of the radical right parties in the party system. This chapter will bring further evidence that will confirm the findings of other scholars that voting behavior and the rise of radical right parties impact democracy. This is an important component of the dynamic model of this dissertation. The cases selected for this analysis will show that in addition to tolerance, party strategies and the electoral system can have an important impact on the level of support for the radical right parties in that particular country. The results will confirm previous studies in that countries with more tolerant citizens there is less support for radical right parties and this translates further into more liberal policies and vice-versa. Higher levels of intolerance among citizens will determine an increased support for radical right parties.

Political parties have been defined in many ways, either normatively or descriptively. In general political parties are perceived as one of the links between citizens and their government with parties being influenced by the citizens' preferences and in turn parties have the ability to shape the citizens preferences. In 1976 Sartori defines parties as "any political group identified by an official label that presents itself at elections, and is capable of placing through elections (free or non-free), candidates for public offices" (63).

Radical right parties have grown in importance in contemporary politics. They have gained sufficient support in some countries in order to participate directly or indirectly in the affairs of the state, to win seats in the legislative bodies at national level or win elections at local level running alone or in coa-

lition with other parties. They become increasingly more powerful actors threatening the very fabric of democracy. This chapter presents four case studies that analyze the progress of radical right-wing parties in France, Austria, Hungary and Romania in order to see if an increase in support for such parties actually affects the quality of democracy defined through its liberal component regarding the rights and protection of minorities. The French, Austrian and German cases are established Western democracies while Hungary and Romania are illustrative of the newly formed democracies from the post-communist area. In France and Romania, the radical right managed to influence government policies and the mainstream parties paid close attention to the radical right voters, while in Austria, and in the last few years in Hungary as well, the radical right actually governed, a phenomenon that created a high level of anxiety among democratic leaders and their supporters. The chapter shows the evolution of electoral support for the radical right and its influence on the political system in the last two decades. It will analyze the party system in general for each country and this discussion will be followed by a section which looks at the evolution of the radical right in each case.

5.1   France

5.1.1   French party system

France is a semi-presidential republic with proportional representation in the legislative body. The party system in the Fifth French republic is characterized by two political groups, a left-wing centered around the French Socialist party and a right-wing centered around Rassemblement pour la République (RPR) and now its successor, the neo-Gaullist Union for a Popular Movement (UMP). The French political system has been formed along the dual cleavages of social class and religion since the nineteenth century, producing this strong left–right polarization. Andersen and Evans (2003) found that "in keeping with the general pattern found in predominantly Catholic countries, left voting had traditionally been broader than just the working-class, encompassing a secular and often overtly anti-clerical

component composed of public sector employees and educators. Thus, the French left had always

played host to a middle-class voter with a socially liberal value system focused upon individual equality

and enlightened rationalism, as well as to the lower-class voter concerned more with economic equality

and state-controlled protectionism" (173). Even the newer parties that emerged as a result of the evo-

lution of the traditional political system were attracted to one side of the traditional coalitions or the

other. Grunberg and Schweisguth (1997) look at the evolution of the National Front and its electoral

success and conclude that a combination of elements such as economic policies, shifts in social bases of

the extreme right support and changes in the traditional electoral support values determined a change

in the traditional left-right politics and added a third player transforming the system into a tripartition by

adding the extreme right to the left and moderate right. Table 5.1. presents the contemporary French

party system; it shows that there are two main ideological poles and that there are smaller parties that

organize themselves around these two main tendencies. The elections results reflect the percentages

obtained by these parties in the first round. The second round is less relevant because strategic voting

intervenes and the electoral behavior becomes less sincere.

Table 5.1. French party system

Party Name[59]	Ideology	Last elections result[60]
NPA (Nouveau Parti Anticapital-iste)	Radical Left	0.98%
The French Communist Party (PCF)	Left	3.40%[61]
The Greens	Left	5.46%
Socialist party (Parti Socialiste, PS)	Left	30%
The Democratic Movement (Mouvement Démocratique, MoDem)	Center	1.8%
New Centre (Nouveau Centre).	Center Right	2.20%
The Union for Popular Movement (UMP - Union pour un Mouve-ment Populaire)	Right	27%
The National Front (FN - Front National - FN)	Radical Right	13.60%

Since June 2012, France is governed by the center left Socialist Party and its allies.[62] The main political party on the extreme right is the National Front (Front National. On the right there is the Popular Union Movement (UMP - Union pour un Mouvement Populaire), and New Centre (Nouveau Centre). On the center left is the Democratic Movement (Mouvement Démocratique, MoDem), and on the left are the French Communist Party (parti Communiste Français - PCF) and the Green Party (Europe Ecologie Les Verts). On the extreme left there are the NPA (Nouveau parti anticapitaliste) and the trotskyist Workers' Party (Lutte ouvrière).

The Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS) is characterized by a social-democratic platform. It is the largest party of the French centre-left. The PS is one of the two major contemporary political parties in France, along with the centre-right Union for a Popular Movement (UMP). The PS is a member of the

[59] http://about-france.com/political-system.htm. Consulted September 30, 2012
[60] http://www.electionresources.org/fr/. Consulted October 3, 2012.
[61] Part of the results reported as "other left wing parties" Left Front
[62] Angelique Chrisafis "Socialist party win absolute majority in French parliament"
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jun/17/socialist-party-french-parliament. Consulted September 30, 2012.

Party of European Socialists (PES) and the Socialist International (SI). The PS first won power in 1981,

when its candidate François Mitterrand was elected President of France. Under Mitterrand, the party

achieved a governing majority in the National Assembly from 1981 to 1986 and again from 1988 to

1993. PS leader Lionel Jospin lost his bid to succeed Mitterrand as president in the 1995 presidential

election against Rally for the Republic leader Jacques Chirac, but became prime minister in a cohabita-

tion government after the 1997 parliamentary elections, a position Jospin held until 2002, when he was

again defeated in the presidential election. In the 2007 presidential elections, the party's presidential

candidate, Ségolène Royal, was defeated by conservative UMP candidate Nicolas Sarkozy[63]. Then, the

Socialist party won most of regional and local elections and it won control of the Senate in 2011 for the

first time in more than fifty years[64]. On 6 May 2012, François Hollande, the Socialist presidential candi-

date, was elected President of France, and the next month, his party won the majority in the National

Assembly[65].

The Union for the Popular Movement (UMP) is one of the largest French political parties and it

addresses a large political audience. It has a traditional conservative ideology but it also finds ways and

addresses social liberals and the neo-conservative right. It is considered a "Gaullist" party, a type of pol-

icy lead by strong patriarchic and nationalistic feelings and benevolent social conservatism[66]. UMP was

formed in 2002 as a result of the unification of several center right parties under the presidency of

Jacques Chirac. It supported the second term of president Chirac (2002-2007) and in 2007 it stood be-

hind its leader and successful presidential candidate Nicholas Sarkozy (2007-2012).

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[63] http://www.parti-socialiste.fr/notre-histoire
Consulted October 3, 2012.
[64] http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/25/us-france-senate-idUSTRE78O2G620110925
Consulted October 3, 2012.
[65] http://www.electionresources.org/fr/
Consulted October 3, 2012.
[66] http://about-france.com/political-parties.htm. Consulted, September 30, 2012.

Around these two major political parties, the runoff electoral system allows the creation of a multiparty system. The smaller parties align themselves around the two main ideologies and create alliances in order to survive. The only party that does not align with a mainstream pole in order to survive is the National Front. It forms what Grunberg and Schweisguth (1997) called the tripartition together with the two main political parties. On the far left there are the New Anticapitalist Party (Nouveau Parti anticapitaliste; NPA) founded in 2009 and the Workers' Party (Lutte ouvrière) decreasing in power considerably compared to their historical importance in the French political system. During the last elections they ran on the same lists with the Socialist party. Compared to other leftist parties, closer to the center, is the French Communist Party (PCF). Although its electoral support has declined in recent decades, the PCF retains a large membership. It continues to lose ground to the Socialists.[67] The Greens is a party on the center-left of the political spectrum that has been in existence since 1984 and, in 2010, just before the presidential elections, merged with Europe Écologie to become Europe Ecology – The Greens[68]. In the center, there is the Democratic Movement (Mouvement Démocratique, MoDem) a social liberal and pro-European party that was founded by centrist politician François Bayrou to succeed his Union for French Democracy (UDF). The New Centre (Nouveau Centre) is a centre-right political party, created by a majority of the former members of the Union for French Democracy (UDF) who did not stand with François Bayrou's (the president of UDF) decision to found the Democratic Movement (MoDem) and wanted to continue to support the newly elected president Nicolas Sarkozy.[69] Their support of the presidential candidates divided the political formation showing that Sarkozy had strong supporters.

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[67] http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/pcf.htm Consulted October 3, 2012.
[68] http://www.english.rfi.fr/environment/20101113-french-green-parties-merge-ahead-presidential-poll
Consulted October 3, 2012.
[69] http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/elections-2007/20070529.OBS9176/les-udf-rallies-a-sarkozylancent-leur-nouveau-parti.html Consulted October 3 2012

5.1.2   Radical Right

The French National Front was founded in 1972 and struggled to enhance its importance in French politics for the first decade of its existence. It started winning local level elections and later it became the third political force in France after the Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) and the Socialist Party (PS). Its most important success so far was during the presidential elections of 2002 when the National Front candidate and party leader Jean-Marie Le Pen came second in the first round of presidential elections eliminating the socialist candidate. In the second round the radical right candidate was defeated by a large margin by the moderate right candidate Jacques Chirac. Yet, these were the first presidential elections to feature a radical right candidate in the runoff.

The National Front and its leaders are considered xenophobic and anti-European by other European leaders and by country specialists (Shields 2007). Their discourse includes remarks regarding the superiority of the white race, Holocaust denial, and a clear hatred towards immigrants. Their electoral base is expanding and despite their large numbers of voters the National Front is underrepresented in the legislative and the public institutions.[70] Although the electoral system is arguably successful at limiting the access of the radical right to the national government, its electoral base is large enough to trigger the desire of some mainstream politicians to include some of the radical right agenda into mainstream politics in order to secure these votes.

Besides its actual electoral support, the National Front does matter in French politics. The main reason is because at regional level the FN grew from 137 deputies in 1986 to 275 in 1998 and 156 in 2004. At the national level the FN had 25 deputies in 1986 and then dropped to zero because of the changes to the electoral system which was a return to the original electoral system. In the European Parliament the National Front had 7 representatives in 2004 including Le Pen himself. Last but not least

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[70] Jerome Jamin, "The extreme right in Europe: fascist or mainstream" The Public Eye, Vol 19, No.1, http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v19n1/jamin_extreme.html. Consulted September 30th, 2012.

at presidential level Le Pen managed to secure 17% of the votes in the first round of elections in 2002 and maintained this support with a slight increase in the second round. These figures show that the National Front has a considerable importance in French politics and it is not negligible.[71] The 2002 presidential elections are the only time a National Front candidate succeeded to make into the second round of presidential voting.

The National Front champions ultra-nationalism in order to offer protection to the French people against immigrants and other kinds of enemies such as homosexuals or pro-abortion activists. It has direct involvement to World War II fascists and it displays openly nostalgia for fascist leadership. Its rhetoric is racist and it links immigration to criminality while they call for a strengthening of the laws of the nation and an increased police force[72].

The electoral system in France is the two-round voting. The French system is unique in the fact that it has a two round system for both its executive and legislative elections. Duverger (1951: 269) asserts that two rounds, like proportional representation, lead to a multiparty system. However, similarly to plurality elections, the French system leads to two stable political poles, one on the right and the other on the left as opposed to proportional electoral systems where multiparty systems prevail, and where the coalitions are volatile and constantly searching for new partners. The similarity between a runoff electoral system and a simple majority electoral system is that it produces the same type of incentive for political actors. The mechanical effect of this electoral system is that "small parties are systematically underrepresented and large parties systematically overrepresented in the French two-round system. From that perspective, the electoral system works very much like the first past the post. There is an important difference, however. Electoral alliances are much more frequent in a two-round than in a one-

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[71] Ibidem.
[72] Jerome Jamin, "The extreme right in Europe: fascist or mainstream" The Public Eye, Vol 19, No.1, http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v19n1/jamin_extreme.html. Consulted September 30th, 2012.

round system. And the vote/seat relationship is much more predictable for parties that belong to an alliance" (Blais and Loewen, 2009, 352). For the psychological effect the same authors find that "indeed, strategic voting may be more common in a two-round system. Despite its frequency, however, strategic voting probably has weaker effects than in a plurality system, as it as much about influencing the positions of strong parties as it as about reducing the number of parties effectively competing in the system" (357).

The National Front success in the French political system has been influenced by the type of electoral system chosen at national level. In 1986 the electoral system changed from a single-member constituency, two ballot system, to proportional representation. It generated a storm from the political elites, indifference from the public and haste to change legislation in order to be able to get rid of it by the next government (Frears 1986: 489). This change survived only two years. National Front sent 35 deputies to the National Assembly as a result of this electoral system change (Mayer, Sineau 2002; 46 and 49). By 1998 most of the electoral system was reverted and the National Front sent less and less representatives to the national legislature. In 1988 and 1997 they sent one representative and since then their highest representation reached two seats in 2012. These institutional changes were meant to limit the access of the radical right in the representative body. These changes in the electoral system worked if we consider that it prevented the accession of the National Front at national level politics. Some critics see the French electoral system changes mere tampering as means of marginalizing opponents and securing partisan advantage (Criddle 1992: 108). Yet, tampering with the electoral system is one form of controlling the access of undesired political forces to the national government. Tampering with institutional arrangements contradicts the actual definition of a democratic system. Although the electoral system changed, it seems that the electoral support for National Front kept steady. In the first

round of elections[73] they obtained 9.8% in 1986 and 1988, 12.7% in 1993, 14.9% in 1997, 11.1% in 2002, a noticeable decrease at 4.3% in 2007 and back at 13.6% in 2012[74]. The percentages of those in favor increased in time although the electoral system should have forced them into past. It proves that the radical right supporters are not influenced in their electoral behavior by electoral system changes.

Another source of electoral power for the radical right in general is the mainstream parties' strategies. Jacques Chirac, the center-right French president, in office between 1995 and 2007 made no concessions to the radical right. He defeated the National Front presidential candidate, Jean Marie Le Pen, in a landslide victory of 83% to 17%. The mainstream right under Chirac made no concessions to the French National Front. Their enmity was well known. Although a candidate from the right-wing of the political spectrum, president Chirac's moderate positions were in clear contrast to the issues sup-ported by the National Front and Le Pen. The deep rivalry could be tracked back to 1988 when Chirac, prime minister of France at the time changed the electoral system causing the National Front to lose most of its 35 representatives at national level. The deep rivalry strengthened voters' support for the National Front and during the 1997 legislative elections they registered 14.9% votes in the first round and 5.7% in the second round, the highest level of support ever. Le Pen accused Chirac of betrayal claiming that Chirac's party employed the support of the radical right but categorically refused to set up a formal alliance[75]. Le Pen also accused president Chirac of being on the payroll of Jewish organiza-tions[76]. President Chirac refused categorically to face Le Pen in a televised debate arguing that the radi-

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[73] Gallagher argues that the first round is more sincere and that the second round is less sincere, as opposed to Lijphart who considers the second tour relevant because it is the level where the seats distribution happens.

[74] http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/country/france/
Consulted October 5, 2012.

[75] Jon Henley. 2002. "Grudges resurface as things get really nasty" The Guardian 23 April 2002. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/apr/24/france.jonhenley
Consulted October 5, 2012.

[76] Backgrounder: Jean-Marie Le Pen and the National Front http://www.adl.org/international/le-pen_new.asp Consulted October 14, 2012

cal right candidate's intolerant views made the debate impossible[77]. The refuse of the mainstream right

to collaborate with the radical right translated into an increased support for the National Front. The fur-

ther apart these two political parties the more consolidated the radical right became.

This trend was changed by the next center right president, Nicolas Sarkozy. His attempts to win

the radical right votes are well known. Sarkozy won the presidential elections in 2002 against his Social-

ist opponent Segolene Royal and he blended his discourse with messages carried by the radical right.

Sarkozy's presidency was characterized by anti-immigration measures, nationalistic speeches, anti-

democratic actions dictated by the need to capture the radical right votes. As the election results show,

the support for the National Front decreased as the mainstream right continued to incorporate its mes-

sages. In 2007 presidential elections, the National Front registered the lowest level of support ever with

10.4% in the first round. At legislative level they also registered poor performances with the lowest vot-

er support ever at 4.3% in the first round and 0.1% in the second round. During his presidency, Sarkozy

was harshly criticized by the European Union for taking measures that defied the democratic norms[78].

His decision to keep clearing camps of illegal immigrants brought the criticism of the E.U. Justice Com-

missioner Viviane Reding who compared these actions to the mass deportations that took place during

World War II. Sarkozy defended his measures and continued to make use of the same tone despite the

European criticism that France is using racism and it unfairly targets Roma or Gypsies[79]. During the 2012

presidential elections Sarkozy made a direct appeal for the support of the National Front voters[80]. He

was unable to secure the radical right vote and as Sarkozy lost the presidential elections in 2012 the Na-

tional Front electorate returned to its base. This resulted in almost 18% of the votes in the first round

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[77] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/apr/24/media.france
Consulted October 14, 2012
[78] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/16/AR2010091607385.html
Consulted, October 18, 2012.
[79] ibidem
[80] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/video/2012/apr/27/nicolas-sarkozy-francois-hollande-tv-video?intcmp=239
Consulted October 15, 2012

going to the National Front presidential candidate Marine Le Pen. This demonstrates that if the main-stream right would move closer to the radical right ideas it could marginalize it in the political life. However, the blend of radical messages in the mainstream politics will only come with a price. The mainstream will replace the radical right only by becoming as radical right causing the medicine to be just as deadly as the disease.

Downs (2012) argues that a solution to the radical right parties is offered by the possibility of the mainstream right to marginalize the radical by taking over some of its messages. This scenario is a better solution to the possibility that the radical right parties gain political support in the tens of per-centages or succeed to the second round of presidential elections. Yet, the best-case scenario would be the one when the radical right electorate would just disappear, a transformation obtained by the fact that the citizenry would be much more tolerant. This would prevent the need for a mainstream right political party to leave its central positions in order to occupy the more radical space to the right in an attempt to capture those radical votes.

The French case shows that the political climate allows the existence of parties such the National Front, respectively an intolerant citizenry. The National Front continues to be relevant in the French political system enjoying a substantial electoral support. As shown, the electoral system can prevent their representation in the legislative branch but it can not prevent their influence on politics. If the electoral support decreases it happens at the expense of the radicalization of the mainstream right. The French case shows that the electoral system influences the electoral behavior but not in the positive expected direction. The radical right is left without representation in the national legislative but its ideas are adopted by the mainstream right parties. The electoral system, in the case of France, barely changes the actor which implements the potential intolerant radical policies.

5.2   Austria

5.2.1   Austrian Party System

Austria is a federal parliamentary republic. Austria has a multi-party system, with proportional representation. Despite a large number of registered parties, only few of them have consistently performed well enough to be able to obtain seats in the parliament.   Since the creation of the Second Republic in 1945, the two main parties in the Austrian political system were the center-left Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) and the center-right Austrian People's Party (ÖVP). These two parties, accompanied by smaller parties, led the main electoral contests between the center-left and the center-right tendencies among voters until mid 1980s when changed social conditions triggered a reorientation of the Austrian electorate preferences.[81] The contemporary Austrian political system produced coalition governments and SPÖ and ÖVP are traditionally the leaders of these alliances. These arrangements produce high levels of political stability. Sartori (1976) claims that "Austria is, so far, the only Western entry" (342) close to a two-party system. He also states that there is a "centripetal competition" which indicates reduced fragmentation as the "ideological distance among its relevant parties" is diminished and thus, "moderate pluralism" emerges (336).

Since 1986 the Austrian party system was characterized by a constant presence of four to five parties in the National Council, the more influential of the two chambers of the legislative body of the federation.[82] In order for a party to win a seat they must pass the electoral threshold of 4% or they must have gained at least one representative in the regional parliaments. Economic and social trends influence the country's political system. As a result, smaller parties such as Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs--FPÖ), led by Jörg Haider a radical right populist politician who appealed to

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[81] http://www.doew.at/english/pdf/pelinka.pdf (pg. 5)
Consulted November 12, 2012.
[82] http://electionresources.org/at/#ASPECTS
Consulted November 12, 2012

nationalist feelings, made their way to power and continued to enjoy a steady stream of support. The

relevance of the new trends in Austrian politics was underlined by the fact that smaller parties contin-

ued to gain support and maintain a role in the political system.[83] Table 5.2 presents the contemporary

Austrian party system and the ideological landscape. It also presents the results of the last national

elections for the National Council in order to emphasize the relevance of each party in the system.

Table 5.2. Austrian Party System

Party Name	Ideology	Last elections results[84]
Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ)	Left	0.76%
Animal Rights Party (TRP)	Left	0.05%
Left	Left	0.04%
The Greens – The Green Alternative	Center left	10.43%
Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ)	Center left	29.26%
Citizens' Forum Austria Fritz Dinkhauser's List (Fritz)	Center	1.76%
Liberal Forum (Lif)	Center right	2.09%
Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)	Center right	25.98%
The Christians (CPÖ)	Right	0.64%
Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	Radical right	17.54%
BZÖ – Jörg Haider's List (BZÖ)	Radical Right	10.70%

With only a brief interruption, since 2006 Austria has a coalition government led by the center-

left SPÖ with ÖVP as a junior member. While the Austrian political system was readjusting to the chang-

ing electoral needs an electoral reform was put in place. As a result of the 2007 electoral system reform

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[83] http://www.doew.at/english/pdf/pelinka.pdf (pg. 5)
Consulted November 12, 2012.

[84] http://electionresources.org/at/
Consulted, November 12, 2012.

the members of the legislative branch have a mandate of five years. As Table 5.3 depicts, the Austrian

party system is polarized on the ideological left and right spectrum. The main political parties on the

center-left are the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), the main center-left party followed by the

Greens. On the left there are the Communist Party of Austria, the Animal Rights Party, and the Left coa-

lition. Citizens' Forum is considered a center party. On the center-right the main party is Austrian Peo-

ple's Party (ÖVP) together with the Liberal Forum followed by the Christians on the right and the radical

right parties Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) and BZÖ – Jörg Haider's List (BZÖ).

The Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ) is one of the oldest parties in the Austrian party

system and it is the main center-left political formation in the country. It presents a mainstream social-

ist ideology, among the very few of its kind in Europe. SPÖ belongs to the Socialist International and

Party of European Socialists. Starting in 2006, together with ÖVP, the main center-right party, they

formed a grand coalition which led Austria till 2008 when ÖVP decided to go its separate way. Starting

with 2008, SPÖ is the party that forms the government coalition and refused to form a coalition with the

contested FPÖ. The results obtained by both the center-left and the center-right parties were consid-

ered among the worst in the history.[85] The main winners were considered to be the radical right par-

ties.[86]

The Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) is the main center-right party in the Austrian politics. It alter-

nated at forming the coalition government with the SPÖ and it withdrew from the grand coalition in

2008 in an attempt to form a three party coalition and recapture the government. After unsatisfactory

results obtained in 2008 the reformed ÖVP returned to governments together with SPÖ. ÖVP is a Chris-

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[85] http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/austria-election-results-far-right-benefits-from-voter-dissatisfaction-a-581098.html
Consulted November 12, 2012.
[86] http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/europe/article2597935.ece
Consulted November 17, 2012.

tian democratic and conservative party with roots going back to the late 19th century politics. It defines

itself as a supporter of Catholicism and anti-socialist. Its electoral support comes from white collar,

small business owners and small farmers; the blue-collar demographic tends to support the center left

SPÖ.

The leftist Communist Party (KPÖ) enjoys a constant level of support during the parliamentary

elections. Yet, the communists have not won a seat in the parliament since 1959 and this is a result of

the rules of the electoral system which requires a 4% minimum support in order to pass over the

threshold which KPÖ fails to meet. Animal Rights Party (TRP) obtained its best results in the 2008 elec-

tions gaining 1.34% support in Vienna while the Left coalition, an attempt of the leftist parties to unify

their forces did not come up to fruition for the 2008 elections. The largest center-left party, following

SPÖ, is the Green party. They refuse to collaborate with the radical right parties and their main goal is

to continue to be a viable partner for a coalition government. In the center there is the Citizens' Forum

Austria Fritz Dinkhauser's List (Fritz) which is a party that activates mainly at regional level but which

after a successful round of elections in 2008 is considering entering federal level politics.[87]

On the right side of the ideological spectrum, next to ÖVP, there is the Liberal Forum, which

with barely over 2% electoral support is the second largest center-right party but which won a seat in

the legislative body because of a pre 2006 electoral agreement with SPÖ. The Christians are a minor

political party with less than 1% electoral support which fights for ultra conservative Christian values

such as no women in ministry, anti-abortion and anti-gay legislation. Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)

and BZÖ – Jörg Haider's List (BZÖ) are the two main radical right parties in Austria. BZÖ was born as a

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[87] http://electionresources.org/at/
Consulted November 12, 2012.

result of the split that happened within the FPÖ in 2005. Their ideology is profoundly anti-liberal with

clear nationalistic statements and anti-immigration attitudes.[88]

5.2.2   Radical right

Founded in 1956, the Austria Freedom Party (FPÖ), lead by Jorg Haider, won 26.9% support in

the1999 national elections and was invited to participate in the government fact which determined a

surge of concern across Europe. This constituted by far its best results considering that up to this point

FPÖ has obtained minimal results as a third party in the political system. Historically, FPÖ started to reg-

ister better results as soon as it started moving toward the center of the ideological world in an attempt

to legitimize its discourse and capture discontented votes.[89] A radical shift in the party's ideological con-

formation happened as soon as the Jorg Haider a right-wing nationalist took the leadership position.

FPÖ retuned to its initial radical right position among the Austrian political parties. Haider has set his

mind to improve the party's political stance basing its voter support on those who agree with a populist

style and an anti-establishment message.[90] With the new leadership FPÖ adopted a more radical stance

on issues such as migration, employed messages with a very clear radical right propaganda proclivity

and a xenophobic attitude. The radicalization of the FPÖ message led to the formation of the Liberal

Forum in 1993 constituted by members of FPÖ who did not agree with the direction the party was tak-

ing. FPÖ, lead by Haider, continued to take advantage of the economic and social opportunities created

in the system that benefited the smaller parties. FPÖ's success continued to soar as the electoral base

expanded exponentially, especially once the opponents left and gave Hider the liberty to lead unhin-

dered. "It went on to win 26.9 percent of the ballots in the federal election of October 1999 and, by so

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[88] http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1842189,00.html
Consulted November12, 2012.
[89] Carter, Elisabet, http://www.politik.uni-mainz.de/ereps/download/austria_overview.pdf. Pg 1. Consulted November 19, 2012.
[90] Idem, pg 2.

doing, caused both national and international uproar and condemnation."[91] These results placed FPÖ

on the second place after SPÖ. SPÖ did not have sufficient support to form the government by itself and

that gave the ÖVP the opportunity to extend a proposition to FPÖ offering a coalition which would place

the radical right in the government. The success of radical right FPÖ shocked the democratic world

which reacted immediately as "the other fourteen members of the European Union imposed sanc-

tions on Austria and ceased all bilateral relations. The USA soon followed suit. Sanctions were only

lifted in September 2000."[92] This alliance caused widespread outrage in Europe and determined the

European leaders to take position against Austria. For the first time ever, the European Union imposed

sanctions on a member state. There were informal diplomatic sanctions, the Austrian candidates for

European level posts lost all their support from the European counterparts, intergovernmental meeting

were suspended and bilateral relations were frozen. The "Haider affair", as it became known, worried

the democratic European leaders who decided to protest the fascist party in power in Austria. Still, the

European leadership lifted the sanctions worried that isolationist policies could lead to an increase in the

anti-European sentiments.[93]

Despite poor results in the 2002 federal elections the ÖVP-FPÖ government coalition continued

to function. This cooperation came to an end in 2005 when Haider decided to form a new political par-

ty, The Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ).[94] The ÖVP leadership decided to follow Haider and it

formed a new coalition with BZO, replacing FPÖ from the government coalition. With the departure of

Haider the FPÖ's new leadership became even more radical and retuned to a tactic of vote maximization

[91] Idem. Pg 4.
[92] Ibidem
[93] http://www.wsws.org/articles/2000/sep2000/haid-s15.shtml
Consulted November 18, 2012.
[94] http://www.dw.de/the-latest-incarnation-of-j%C3%B6rg-haider/a-1542552-1
Consulted November 20, 2012

which paid off.[95] FPÖ and BZÖ became opposition parties as soon as the new grand coalition SPÖ-ÖVP was formed in 2006, yet the election results in 2008 showed that about one third of the Austrians support the radical right parties in one form or another.[96]

David Art (2006) argues that the success registered by the radical right parties in Austria has as a main source the culture of victimization which allowed these parties to increase in importance in Austria as opposed to Germany, where public debate and a culture of repentance blocked the rise of the radical right. Art finds that in Germany the radical right was marginalized by the media, the elites in general and the mainstream parties in particular while the civil society ostracized them. By contrast, in Austria, the mainstream parties collaborated with the radical right more so, they included them in coalition governments more than once. The Austrian media hubs supported their endeavors and the civil society ignored them.

In the case of Austria the political system accepted the direct involvement of the radical right into the government. The government coalition that was formed and included the FPÖ raised concerns across the democratic world. This inclusion demonstrates once more that the intolerant citizenship can gain direct access to leadership positions even into an older established democracy such as Austria. FPÖ managed to fulfill one of its important goals, to implement tighter immigration and asylum policies.[97]

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[95] http://pjmedia.com/blog/austrian-party-that-wants-to-bring-back-nazi-imagery-wins-big/
Consulted November 20, 2012.
[96] http://www.haaretz.com/news/one-third-of-austrians-vote-for-extreme-right-in-parliamentary-elections-1.254721
Consulted November 20, 2012.
[97] Luther 2011.

5.3   Romania

5.3.1   Romanian Party System

Romania is a semi-presidential republic with proportional representation in the bicameral legislative. Since 1989, after the demise of Communism, Romania continued to consolidate a democratic state. The political system is polarized around a mainstream center right party, the Democratic Liberal Party (PDL) and a center left mainstream party, the Social Democratic Party (PSD). Besides the mainstream parties the Romanian political system experienced its share of radicalism and nationalistic sentiments. Yet, King (2011, 5) finds that the Romanian democracy evolved unchallenged as "the only game in town." The Romanian radical political parties managed to survive but as a result of the reform of the electoral system they are mainly extra parliamentary formations. In Romania, a semi-presidential republic, the president is the head of state and the prime minister is the head of the government. Lately the two leaders originate from the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum and the cohabitation has proven to be challenging. The Romanian head of the government was from the same center-right Democratic Liberal Party as the president, but in February 2012 the prime minister resigned and a new government was formed initially by a center right coalition followed shortly in June 2012 by a center-left coalition. In December of 2012 Romania had legislative elections which selected representative to both Senate and Chamber of Deputies for four years and in 2014 it Romania will have presidential elections. The electoral threshold in Romania is 5%. "Romania reformed the law governing its parliamentary elections between 2004 and 2008, shifting from a complex proportional representation system based on country-level party lists to a complex uninominal system in which each district for the Chamber of Deputies and Senate elect one representative" Marian and King (2010, 7). Table 5.3 presents the contemporary political party system from Romania and their success during the last parliamentary elections in 2012. It shows the results from the 2012 elections for the lower chamber on the legislative, Chamber of Deputies.

Table 5.3. Romanian Party System

Party Name	Ideology	Last elections result
Social Liberal Union (USL)[98]	Center	66.3%
Right Romanian Alliance (ARD)[99]	Center right	13.6%
People's Party –Dan Diaconescu (PP-DD)	Radical right	11.4%
Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania	Center	4.37%

The Social Liberal Union (USL) is a political alliance that includes parties from both, center right and center left ideological spectrum. It was formed in February 2011 and it included initially the Social Democratic Party, National Liberal Party and Conservative Party[100]. Within the alliance the National Liberal Party and the Conservative Party formed the Center Right Alliance in August 2012 while the Social Democratic Party and the National Union for the Progress of Romania formed the Center Left Alliance. Together they won the local elections (June 2012) and the legislative elections by a landslide.

The Social Democratic Party (PSD) is one the main political parties in Romanian politics. It has its origins in the political formations that were created right after the 1989 revolution. It has a center left ideology and it governed Romania between 1992-1996, 2000-2004 and since May 2012, it is the party that forms the government coalition. During the 2008 legislative elections in Romania the Democratic Liberal Party won more seats in the Parliament despite the fact that the Social Democratic Party had higher percentage votes.

The National Union for the Progress of Romania (UNPR) is a political party that was formed by dissidents from the PSD and PNL in 2010 who supported president Traian Basescu. After a brief participation in the Ungureanu government coalition, in 2012 they formed the center Left Alliance with PSD.

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[98] USL members: Center-Left Alliance (Social Democratic Party, National Union for the Progress of Romania) and Centre Right Alliance (National Liberal Party, Conservative Party).
[99] ARD members: (Democratic Liberal Party, Civic Force, Christian-Democratic National Peasants' Party).
[100] http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/newsbriefs/setimes/newsbriefs/2011/02/06/nb-12

The National Liberal Party (PNL) is a center right party, the third largest formation based on the electoral support in Romania at this time. It has deep historical roots and it is the successor of the National Liberal Party formed in 1875. It has a classical liberal doctrine and it focuses mainly on social liberalism. As a result of its participation in the coalition government after the 2004 elections, it managed to fulfill its electoral promises and pass legislation that placed Romania among the countries with the most liberal tax polices in Europe.

The Conservative Party (PC) was formed in 1991 but it took the name it has today in 2005. It has a traditional, conservative, family oriented center right ideology but it also displays center left tendencies. It has participated in the coalition government with the center left in 2000 but it has also attacked the mainstream center left party and considered an alliance with the center right alliance in 2004. It has never been a major political party in Romania yet it enjoyed sufficient electoral support that allowed PC to play the political game.

The Democratic Liberal Party (PDL) is a relatively young party in Romania. It was formed in 2007 as a result of the union between the Democratic Party and the Liberal Democratic Party. It is the party of provenience for the Romanian president Traian Basescu and one of the largest parties in the system. It has a center right ideology and it governed Romania between 2008-2012. The Civic Force is a center right political formation that came into existence in 2004 but failed to perform locally, nationally or at European level. In 2012 it entered the ARD coalition gaining parliamentary representation.

Christian-Democratic National Peasants' Party is center right historical party that was active in Romania between the two world wars and which became illegal during Communism. It was revived in 1989 by former members who were still alive and it attempted to continue the center right historical activity. It is a member of European People's Party. Its success was hindered by multiple factions and internal dissent among the actual leaders.

People's Party-Dan Diaconescu is a populist political party created by a popular media mogul Dan Diaconescu. Although the party was officially constituted only in 2012, it has registered great success during the local elections of 2010 coming in on the third place based on the number of local officials elected on its ticket. During the parliamentary elections of 2012, PP-DD managed to secure an overwhelming third position in the legislature. Diaconescu leads a party from which's tribune "flows a demented nationalism, waves of insults and abject calumny regarding his adversaries – real or imagined. But all this, rather than revolting it, seems to please a good part of the population."[101]

Before PP-DD, Greater Romania Party (PRM) and the New Generation Party-Christian Democratic (PNG-CD) were the two main radical right parties in Romania. Sum (2010, 20) stated that "public opinion polls show these to be the two relevant Romanian radical right parties. Both assume the exclusive, ethnic based nationalism characteristic of radical right parties despite some differences on economic policy. These two parties are emblematic of the radical right in the Romanian political system." PRM came into existence in 1991 started by Corneliu Vadim Tudor who continues to be the leader of the party. It is characterized by strong nationalistic messages despite attempts to steer the direction of the party on towards a more centrist ideology. PNG-CD was created in 2000 and since its leadership was entrusted to the businessman Gigi Becali it devolved into a more nationalist, xenophobe and homophobe political formation.

The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) is the main political formation representing the largest minority in Romania. It is officially a union not a political party and it encompasses the interests of most Hungarians in Romania. It was formed in 1989 after the revolution that overthrew the Communist party and it was part of almost every government coalition either formally or just by

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[101] http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/article/1756351-dan-diaconescu-goes-trash-tv-shock-politics

showing support. Despite formally not being a political party UDMR runs in elections under a statute that allows minority population organizations the same rights as a political party. UDMR has represent-atives in both chambers of the Parliament. It is one of the largest political parties in Romania and its influence is often used in order to stabilize or destabilize coalition governments.

5.3.2   Radical Right

Romania provides another example of the scenario where the radical right parties influence the government similar to the situation that unfolded in France during the presidency of Sarkozy. This ex-ample offers enforces the general finding that the radical right intolerant attitudes are dangerous for democracy indifferent of their direct participation in the government. The radical right in Romania rein-vents itself and finds various ways of leaving its print on the political system.

It is essential to clarify that in Central Eastern Europe in general and in Romania in particular, the radical right parties do not necessarily respond to the classical definitions for right radicalism developed in the specialty literature so far. Mudde (2005) states that in post-communist societies, the radical right shares the definitional features of the European radical right parties. Commonly, their brand of pater-nalistic nationalism blends with the authoritarian tendencies of the former communist states.[102] Gal-lagher (2005: 269-270) argues that Romania's legacy of communism under the Ceausescu regime made an easy marriage between leftist economic appeals and political intolerance among radical right leaders many of whom had been loyal to the former dictator.

The radical right in Romania came into existence in the contemporary political system at the same time with the rest of the political parties, right after the 1989 revolution. It started with Party of

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[102] Colton (2000: 146) finds it intriguing that in Russia the citizens do not have any trouble positioning Russian political parties where they belong on the left right ideological spectrum. Yet, he finds that "dismayingly, almost equal numbers held Vladimir Zhirinovskii, the ranting leader of the LDPR, to be an extreme rightist, a centrist, and a rabid leftist, and his average score falls a hair to the left of center. In a well-ordered European polity, he surely would be reckoned a mainstay of the fascistic far right, in the mold of a Jean-Marie Le Pen in France or a Jörg Haider in Austria."

Romanian National Unity (PUNR) and PRM in the early 1990s. PUNR was generally considered of a more

leftist economic beliefs and it was in general closer to the direct successor of the Romanian Communist

party, the Socialist Labor Party (PSM). They collaborated and were part of the center left government

between 1994-1995. After 2000 they were able to dominate the various Senate commissions where

laws were prepared before being sent on for full debate" (Gallgher, 2005: 303 found in Sum 2010. 21).

Besides PUNR and PRM there were other smaller political entities that were less successful. There was a

well known political rivalry between the two main radical right parties. Eventually PUNR disappeared as

an important rival because the more nationalist elements from PUNR together with their leader joined

PRM. "Initially the fusion of the parties paid off electorally in 2000. Taking advantage of Romanian dis-

enchantment with the mainstream political parties, Tudor and the PRM were successful in shaping the

dialog of the campaign and ultimately tenor of opposition in parliament" Sum (2010: 21). This success

was followed by an even more important victory for the radical right. In 2000 Tudor came in second in

the first round of the presidential elections with 28% but lost in the second round to PDSR candidate Ion

Iliescu. Comparable to the success of Le Pen in France, in 2004 Tudor came in third in the presidential

elections with 12.6%. PRM continues to gain representation in parliament till 2008 when it failed to

meet the 5% threshold.

The electoral base of the radical right in Romania shared its support for PRM with the newly

formed PNG-CD. As already mentioned, PNG-CD it grew in importance once the businessman Gigi Becali

took charge. In a country report on human rights, U.S. Department of State called PNG-CD an extreme

nationalistic party[103] and Cinpoes (2012: 6)[104] states that "under the leadership of Becali, the ideology of

the party has come close to that of the inter-war fascist legionary movement with an added twist of op-

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[103] http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2006/71402.htm
Consulted November 26, 2012
[104] http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id-moe/09408.pdf
Consulted November 27, 2012

portunism, demagogy and gutter talk. In the past, Becali has appropriated symbols and slogans of the Iron Guard, and the party slogan currently displayed on its official website – Serving the Cross and the Romanian Nation! – reflects this fusion of conservative Christian Orthodoxy and mythologised nationalism." In 2009 Becali ran for European Parliament elections in coalition with PRM and together they won 8.65% which resulted in three seats. Now Becali and Tudor seat in the European parliament as representatives of Romania. The European radical right expected that these seats would provide the number of MPs necessary to form a long desired formal caucus with the EU.[105]

Despite the fact the Romanian radical right parties failed to meet the rather high threshold of 5% (as a result of the electoral reform from 2008) and failed to send representatives to the national parliament, they are present in other structures such as the European parliament. The Romanian mainstream political scene attempts to capture these extreme votes by tilting their discourse towards this electorate. Recently Cinpoes (2012: 10) finds that intolerant and discriminatory tendencies and practices are still very much present in the discourse and actions of public figures, and – despite existing anti-discrimination legislation – are still treated with leniency or outright indifference by the authorities while the culprits often carry on in their public positions with impunity. One need look no further than the racist comments made, among others, by two former foreign ministers – Adrian Cioroianu in 2007, and Teodor Baconschi in 2010 – directed at the Roma minority, or the case of PSD Senator Dan Sova who – after having been involved in a public scandal due to his denial of the Jewish Holocaust in Romania – was appointed Minister for Relations with Parliament (Barbu, 2011; Mihăilescu, 2012).

Besides examples of intolerant speech from personalities of the mainstream politics there is a well known phenomenon after 1989 of political migration where members of radical parties shed their allegiance to the radical right and cross over to mainstream politics in order to assure their electoral

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[105] http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2007/jan/08/uk.eu
Consulted November,22 2012.

success. "The fact that extreme right parties are not successful does not necessarily mean that people holding extreme views do not find their way into mainstream politics. One characteristic of post-1989 Romanian politics is what has been dubbed traseism politic (political cruising). Thus, several former members of extreme right-wing parties have subsequently found refuge in other political parties" and "it is hard to believe that the extreme views held by some of these people while they were active in extreme right-wing groups have not found – at least to some extent – support in the political parties where they currently operate" Cinpoes (2012:12). Recently, Gigi Becali the controversial leader of the New Generation – Christian Democrat Party (PNG-CD) was elected as a member of the parliament on the USL ticket by the virtue that he became a member of the National Liberal Party. He fused PNG with the Liberal Party, effectively leading to PNG's disappearance from the national politics as this party lacks any independent structures that could assure its existence outside Becali's leadership.

Cinpoes (2010:179-182) shows how President Basescu has played the nationalist card in the past in several occasions by stressing the "national unitary character of the Romanian state; and his hints on the mobilisation of the ethnic Hungarian community on nationalist lines by the Hungarian government fuels the sensitivity of a large number of Romanians concerning territorial integrity and possible Hungarian secession plots". On the center left dimension, the new government in its attempts to overthrow the current president engaged in actions that were characterized by the international community borderline undemocratic while others have found that the new center left coalition denying the role of the Constitution in the state.[106]

The Romanian electorate seems to have lost trust in the centrist parties and their sorts of politics and as a result they punish them with a constant support for radical parties. As one radical party diminishes in importance, another one springs up. Cinpoes (2012: 6) finds that "the controlling character

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[106] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jul/17/romania-eu-report-constitution-abuse
Consulted November, 23, 2012

of the PRM leader and his increasingly erratic behavior have led to a significant drop in both member-

ship of and support for the party. The main beneficiary of the PRM's decline is the People's Party – Dan

Diaconescu (PP-DD), which is also gathering support from among those disgruntled with the Social Lib-

eral Union (USL) and the Democrat Liberal Party (PDL)." PP-DD has registered a disturbing support in

the local elections. They managed to place 31 mayors, 3126 local councilors and 134 county counci-

lors.[107] This placed PP-DD as the third strongest political party in the nation. Their nationalistic message

is posted on the first page of the official party website. There, Dan Diaconescu expresses his dream that

the UDMR (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania) would fail to meet the electoral threshold and

not be represented in the Parliament.[108] During the December 9 national elections, PP-DD gained suffi-

cient support not only to surpass the electoral threshold and send representatives to Parliament but

also to maintain its third place in Romanian politics.[109]

In the case of Romania, some old radical parties lose their appeal but new ones appear in their

place and the radical message continues to be propagated and can be recognized throughout the entire

political system from the center right president of the republic to the center left prime minister. This

trend is worrisome because these messages influence negatively the democratic climate in Romania.

Romania proves that it is more than capable of turning the desires of its intolerant citizens in political

realities. The entire Romanian party system competes for these intolerant citizens and this translates

into a weakening of the democratic principles.

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[107]http://www.beclocale2012.ro/DOCUMENTE%20BEC/REZULTATE%20FINALE/10%20Iunie%2024%20Iunie/PDF/Statistici/Situatie_mandate_part.pdf
Consulted November, 23, 2012
[108] http://partidul.poporului.ro/
Consulted November, 24, 2012
[109] http://www.romania-insider.com/opinion-poll-support-for-romanias-ruling-coalition-drops-but-usl-still-well-ahead-of-the-competition/66368/
Consulted November 24, 2012.

The 2008 electoral system reform in Romania effectively crippled PRM. The new single member district rules asked citizens to express their votes not for a list but for an individual. PRM, the party with one single dominant leader, was unable to come up with charismatic candidates in the territory and so it lost its parliamentary representation. Also, the fact that the presidential elections and the parliamentary elections time do not overlap anymore created another way of eliminating the influence of one man parties in the system. In the old system the president and the representatives were elected for 4 years and the elections were organized simultaneously. Since 2004, the president is elected for five years while the parliament is elected for four. This means that the charismatic figure heads of radical right parties such as PRM were not able to lend their support to their candidates for the Parliament while engaged themselves in electoral competition for the presidency.

5.4   Hungary

5.4.1   Party system

Hungary is a parliamentary republic with proportional representation in a unicameral national assembly. Hungary's contemporary political party system started to take shape even before the fall of Communism in 1989. It experienced a peaceful transition from Communism to democracy. Hungary has a unicameral Parliament with 386 members elected for four years. From the total, 176 seats are elected in single-member districts with a run-off, 152 are distributed by proportional representation in twenty regional multi-member constituencies and 58 are won from a national list in order to make sure that the proportionality of seats in the Parliament reflects the proportionality of votes in the population. After 2002 the members of the national assembly split into two coalitions. The two political groups are formed around the two main ideological preferences, on the left the leader is the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP) and the right is polarized around the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party also know as FIDESZ.

Ten years after the fall of Communism, Markus concluded that the Hungarian party system development was following "a classical sequence of European cleavage formation"[110] (54). Since 1990 the elections were dominated by the center left and the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) won the parliamentary elections or was part of the coalition governments until 2010.[111] The Hungarian electorate grew disappointed in the center left leadership and the broking point happened in 2006 when the Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány admitted to have lied to the Hungarian electorate in order to secure reelections. The prime minister addressed a crowd of party members in what he believed to be a closed door meeting, but his discourse was taped and broadcast by the national radio station. In this speech he admitted that the socialists used lies and omissions about the state of the economy in order to get reelected.[112] This triggered street protests and uprisings culminating in an electoral landslide win by the opposition party, center right FIDESZ with 52.76% to the Socialists 19.30%. Table 5.4 presents the list of the parliamentary parties which obtained a seat in the legislative as a result of the 2010 elections. It reports the percentages obtained by these parties in the first round of elections. As already mentioned, the Hungarian electoral system has three sources for the Parliament members.

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[110] http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/96-98/markus.pdf
Consulted November 21, 2012
[111] http://www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/country/hungary/
Consulted November 21, 2012
[112] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/5354972.stm
Consulted November 20, 2012.

Table 5.4. Hungarian Party System

Party Name	Ideology	Last elections results
Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)	Center left	19.30%
Politics Can Be Different (LMP)	Center left	7.47%
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	Center right	2.67%
Civil Movement	Center Right	0.89%
Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union	Right	52.73%
Christian Democratic Party's People-KDNP		
Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)	Radical right	16.67%

Since 2010 Hungary is governed by the center right alliance of FIDESZ—KDNP which combined won more than two thirds of the seats in the Parliament. The main opposition parties are the center left Socialist Party-MSZP and the radical right party Jobbik. The other parties on the ideological spectrum of the Hungarian politics are LMP in the center left and Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) on the center-right, both with sufficient electoral support to make it in the parliament.

The Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) is the main center left party with controversial origins in the Communist Party that ruled Hungary until 1989. It is characterized by a liberal ideology and advocated for free markets more so than the center right opposition. While in power, the Socialists implemented reforms that transformed the state social policies available to all citizens into policies that were awarded bases on need. Politically, MSZP rejects the nationalistic approach that is adopted by the center right opposition and this can be exemplified through the fact that it opposed the legislation meant to extend citizenship right to the Hungarian minorities that live in the neighboring countries. MSZP is member of the Socialist International and the Party of European Socialists and has four members in the

European parliament. It lost elections in favor of FISESZ in 2010 and it is currently the largest opposition party.

Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union-KDNP is the winner of the 2010 parliamentary elections. They hold a super majority because they are controlling more than two thirds of the seats in the unicameral Parliament. Today, the FIDESZ government is considered to have taken a dangerous turn for the democratic development of the republic. The legislation enacted during this government and the severe alterations of some of the fundamental democratic institutions, including the Constitution, are considered democratic transgressions. The party was initially an anti-Communist, liberal youth league with a democratic discourse and a membership limited at up to 35 years of age. Poor electoral results triggered a party reform and since 1994 it changed its ideology from liberal to conservative and removed the age requirements. FIDESZ gained more power under the leadership of Viktor Orban and it ended up forming a coalition government between 1998 and 2002. In 2000, FIDESZ joined the European People's Party and gave up its membership in the Liberal International.

Politics Can Be Different (LMP) is a liberal party with interest in ecological welfare and one of the four parties that won seats in the parliament as a result of the 2010 elections. It started as a non governmental organization and they believe in deliberative democracy. LMP refuses to form a coalition with either the right or the left parties in Hungary. The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) is a center right political party with conservative and nationalism ideology. Since 1990 MDF had a constant parliamentary representation and it was part of the government coalition with FIDESZ between 1998 and 2002. It is a member of the Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists. The Civil Movement is a center right extra parliamentary political party which competed in the 2010 elections. They tend to keep their political options opened to either a left or a right potential coalition. The Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik) is a radical right party with nationalistic ideology, often described as fascist,

neo-fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Roma, homophobic by it political opponents Lendvai (2010). At this time it is Hungary's third largest party.[113]

5.4.2   Radical Right

The case of Hungary shows further the perils coming from a deep rooted support for a radical right ideology. At the beginning of 1990s Hungary was one of the most hopeful cases for democratization and liberalization. Today, Hungary is watched with concern by the democratic European leaders as the government is enacting legislation which is considered radical. Hungary is a parliamentary republic and in charge of the executive branch is the much disputed prime minister, Viktor Orban. He is also the leader of the majority party Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union), which originally was a moderate center right party. In the mid 1990s Viktor Orban led Fidesz from a young liberal party to a conservative movement in order to capture the more radical votes. This transformation proved to be politically successful and the party continued to gain increased importance and a larger support base. In 2010, together with the Christian Democratic People's Party, the newly formed alliance won two thirds of the seats in the legislative body. Since winning the elections, Fidesz has managed to pass over 200 laws and change the Constitution. The new Constitutional changes were widely disapproved of by both European and American leaders for its tendencies to centralize power in the hands of the few. More precisely the concerns were addressed at the ruling party Fidesz for limiting the power of the Constitutional Court and for removing checks and balances from various areas. The European leaders contacted Prime Minister Orban and threatened to enact formal punitive actions meant to return the democratic process in Hungary.

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[113] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/5372983/Feminine-face-of-Hungarys-far-Right-Jobbik-movement-seeks-MEPs-seat.html
Consulted November 23, 2012.

Besides the constitutional changes already mentioned there are many other controversial laws that were passed by the Parliament and which triggered considerable attention through the fact that they limit democratic freedom. "The European commission cited specific concerns about dilution of the Hungarian central bank's independence, influence on the country's judiciary by forcing judges in office before the Orban government took power to retire early, and data protection laws that critics say are a snooping charter for the government."[114] Hockenson[115] remarks that the new constitution is construct- ed in such way that it absolves the Hungarian state from any responsibility towards the Jewish popula- tion that suffered during the Second World War and any other historically persecuted communities. He also quotes Lendvai, a successful Hungarian author who, while citing surveys, writes "that never since WWII have so many Hungarians thought in ethnic and nationalist categories." The difference between Fidesz and Jobbik, he says, is a "question of nuances."[116]

Immediately after winning the power in 2010 one of the first actions of Fidesz was to declare a "Day of National Belonging" on the 90th anniversary of the Trianon treaty, a treaty that reduced Hungary from an empire to the territories of today. Trianon has a profound resonance in the hearts of those who desire a Greater Hungary with territories that are now parts of neighboring countries Austria, Slovakia, and Romania which are also European Union members. This gesture reinforces the support of those who harbor deep feeling of ethnic nationalism and who lend their support to Fidesz as well as the radical right party Jobbik and its illegal neo-Nazi street armed force. Jobbik is the main radical right party in Hungarian politics. Although Jobbik was never part of any coalition government their electoral support is increasing showing that the Hungarian society is ready to accept the radical right message. In 2009 Jobbik managed to send three representatives to the European Parliament a success comparable to the

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[114]Ian Traynor, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jan/18/hungary-viktor-orban-eu-backlash. consulted Sept. 25, 2012
[115] Paul Hockenson. "On the March Hungary's Ascendant Right Wing".
http://www.bostonreview.net/BR36.4/paul_hockenos_hungary_europe_right_wing_extremism.php consulted Sept 25.2012
[116] ibidem

one registered by the main center left party MSZP. During the 2010 national election Jobbik became the

third largest party in Hungarian politics. Just as in the case of Austria, radical right forces are involved at

the government level. The transformations initiated by FIDESZ and their government partner are dan-

gerous democratic transgressions.

Like Austria, Hungary is another example of a nation where the radical right party is a member

of the government. Fidesz's radicalization and their complete take over of the democratic institutions

determined international leaders, as previously discussed, to officially request that the anti-democratic

measures be reversed. Despite multiple signs of concern, the level of electoral support behind Fidesz

gives this party the ability to continue on their path of radicalization of the national government. The

Hungarian mainstream left continues to have weak electoral support and their performance is compa-

rable to the radical right party which is in the opposition, Jobbik. Jobbik is even a poorer alternative to

the contemporary government. Cas Mudde[117] finds that Jobbik is even more radical than other far right

parties. Recently Jobbik'a party leader requested the government to put together lists of Jews "who

pose a national security risk" an action which enraged not only the centrist Hungarian nationals but the

international community once more.[118]

5.5   Conclusion

As shown by the French and Romanian cases, the institutional solution to the problem of radical

right parties can present viable answers. The political institutional solution can prevent radical right par-

ties from gaining power in the government yet; it does not offer a permanent fix. The demand for this

type of party can not be removed from the political life by implementing institutional limitations.

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[117] http://www.eurotopics.net/en/home/presseschau/archiv/article/ARTICLE104408-For-Cas-Mudde-Jobbik-is-more-radical-than-other-far-right-parties
Consulted December 3, 2012
[118] http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/27/us-hungary-antisemitism-idUSBRE8AQ0L920121127
Consulted December 3, 2012

Another solution presented was the attempt of the mainstream right parties to move towards a more radical ideology and attempt to steal the radical right electorate. This solution presents its own problems as well as the institutional solution. The mainstream right will have to become less mainstream in order to support and sustain the dissolution of the radical right in the system. If mainstream right continues to accept radical right messages it quits its moderate position.

The best potential solution for the problem of the radical right parties would be a lack of request for the radical right messages on the political arena. An increased level of tolerance among the citizens would translate into a decreased request for radical right parties. An increased level of tolerance would offer a solution for the radical right problem for a medium and long term. If there is no request on the political arena for these types of parties they will naturally disappear. With an increased level of tolerance among the voters even if the electoral system would become purely proportionally representative these radical right parties would have to support in the population and the mainstream right parties would not need to compromise their political message in order to capture the radical right voters.

6   Individual-level analysis of tolerance, party system and democracy; four case studies

These four case studies will show that in addition to tolerance, there are other factors that can have an important impact on the level of support for the radical right. For each of these cases it is important to look the individual-level of support of radical right and determine the most important factors that trigger this support. This individual-level analysis will constitute the purpose of this chapter.

The individual-level analysis looks at the impact of social and political tolerance on support for the radical right parties from a longitudinal perspective using quantitative analysis. It also seeks to identify additional factors that might contribute to an increase or a decrease in the level of support for less democratic political formations. The social and political tolerance variables were obtained using factor analysis. The "political tolerance" factor based on least liked group questions is present in the third wave of the World Values Survey, and only for two countries included in this analysis Romania and Hungary.[119] The theoretical claim is that tolerance is multi-dimensional, and that each of these dimensions has an impact on democracy. A fully democratic polity/liberal democracy requires citizens who allow their political enemies (AKA "least-liked group") the full rights to compete for political power (Gibson 1998), and also the acceptance of principles underlying freedom of speech, media, assembly, and the rights of opposition parties (Lipset 1994) – i.e., support for the more general principles of political contestation (Dahl 1971). Conversely, if we have intolerance of the political rights of either a very specific group or those of the opposition in general, this is indication of a politically intolerant citizenry – and this, in turn, is a threat to democracy. The political tolerance factors in wave two and four were obtained using variables that define the level of acceptance of the principles of the democratic process and

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[119] The data used for these analyses comes from World Values Survey, waves 2, 3 and 4. The first wave data was collected before the fall of communism in Central Eastern Europe and the last wave available, number 5, does not include the sufficient of the needed variables.

the political tolerance factor for the third wave was obtained by grouping questions that refer to the level of freedoms extended to the least liked group. Last, but certainly not least, in addition to the dimensions of political (in)tolerance, social tolerance is equally important. Intolerance of non-mainstream social behavior (e.g., homosexuality) does not only imply that some members of the society are valued less than others, it can also translate into policies directed against such groups.

Grunberg and Schweisguth (2003, 346-54) identify three major partisan blocs in France: left, right, and extreme right. Their analysis indicates that economic policy positions separate mostly the left and the right electorates, but that the electorate of the National Front is located in the center. Their feelings of resentment toward homosexuals and attachment to traditional values separate the left from the right and extreme right electorates. They also find that authoritarianism (what they label "anti-universalism") separates the extreme right from both the left and the right electorates. Stenner (2005, Ch. 5) established a dissimilarity between authoritarianism and status-quo conservatism. She finds out that this difference is identifiable among the respondents from both Western and Eastern Europe.

The dependent variable is a manifestation of authoritarian tendencies among voters. Authoritarianism tendencies are exhibited in the support for extreme right parties. The dependent variable "party choice" was obtained by replacing the original party codes (each party has one code in the original data set) with the scores for these parties allocated by Benoit and Laver in *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*, 2006. Benoit and Laver use a range between 1-20 to position political parties and their policy positions, with 1 meaning completely liberal and 20 completely extremist.[120] Each one unit increase or decrease in the independent variables is reflected in an increase or decrease on the aforementioned scale of 1-20. This is a continuous variable and the political parties present in the system at the time of the survey were categorized by country experts as more or less nationalistic respectively propa-

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[120] The parties were chosen as radical right or above if they met a score of 16 or higher on policy dimensions that are considered anti-democratic.

gating anti-immigrant feelings. For the purpose of this research in Eastern Europe radical right parties

are measured based on the nationalism dimension, their policy positions towards nationalism and in

Western Europe the radical right parties are measured against their positions towards immigration. The

more nationalist or anti-immigrant a political party, the higher the score on the Benoit and Laver scale.

Following Lijphart's (1999, 278) example, this research will discuss variables that are statistically signifi-

cant at least at the ten percent level.

Romania

Table 6.1. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Romania wave 2

	Votes for radical right parties	*Statistical significance*
Political tolerance*	-	-
Social tolerance	-.202	.218
	(.164)	
Satisfaction with democracy*	-	-
Education	-.032	.586
	(.058)	
Urbanization	-.214	.002
	(.070)	
Female	-.243	.423
	(.304)	
Age	.029	.005
	(.010)	
Religiosity	-.442	.008
	(.166)	
Adjusted R square	.049	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
*not asked in this wave
N=1103

Table 6.1 presents the multivariate regression results for Romania based on the data available in

the World Values Survey, the second wave. In this model, social tolerance, the level of education and

gender are statistically insignificant. Urbanization measured on a scale from 1 to 8 shows that a one

measure increase in the size of town produces a .2 unit decrease in support for radical right parties de-

fined on the nationalist dimension in the case of Romania. The total effect of this variable on the model

is (-.214*7 = -1.68) which represents the difference between the party preference for a voter who lives

in the smallest rural setting (1) and a voter who lives in the largest urban setting (8). The voter who lives

in the smallest village, on average, prefers a 1.7 more nationalistic party compared to the capital city

voter. Age is also a statistically significant variable for which a one unit increase produces a .029 in-

crease in preference for a more nationalistic party. In order to obtain a more precise impact of the age

on the model 18 (the age of the youngest) will be subtracted from the life expectancy for Romania

which is 74.[121] The impact of age on the model (.029*56 = 1.624) shows that the older respondent pre-

fers a party which is ranked almost 2.0 higher on the nationalistic scale compared to the youngest re-

spondent. Although religiosity is not statistically significant at a preferable .005 level it is still a good in-

dicator of the impact of religiosity on the support for radical right parties. The level of religiosity is

measured on a four interval scale with 1 representing non religious views and 4 representing very reli-

gious views. A one unit increase in the level of religiosity would determine a .45 unit decrease in sup-

port for nationalistic parties. The total effect of the variable shows that (-.442*3 = -1.326) the difference

between the least religious voter and the most religious voter is approximately 1.5 units decrease in

support for radical right parties. The less religious a voter is, the higher the chances that this citizen

might support the radical right. The cumulative effect of the variables that are statistically significant on

the support for radical right parties in Romania for the second wave of the World Values Survey is of

about 4.5 units (1.68+1.624+1.326 = 4.63). An individual who is around 74 years old living in the small-

est village and who is non religious will on average vote for a party that is ranked about 4.5 higher on

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[121] http://www.indexmundi.com/romania/life_expectancy_at_birth.html
This research uses the contemporary life expectancy for each of the four cases. Life expectancy variations for the period under investigation are negligible. Life expectancy is used to determine the oldest respondents and 18 is considered the youngest respondent because that is the age when an individual gains its political rights. Life expectancy is used in order to avoid an arbitrary decision as to what age interval should be used to multiply the age coefficient.

the nationalistic scale compared to an individual who is about 18 years old, religious and resides in the

largest urban setting.

Table 6.2. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Romania wave 3

	Votes for radical right parties	*Statistical significance*
Political tolerance (LLG)	.070	.532
	(.112)	
Social tolerance	.111	.466
	(.153)	
Satisfaction with democ-racy*	_	_
Education	-.051	.565
	(.089)	
Urbanization	-.025	.706
	(.067)	
Female	.223	.485
	(.319)	
Age	.010	.360
	(.011)	
Religiosity	-.439	.004
	(.151)	
Adjusted R square	.005	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
*not asked in this wave
N=1239

Table 6.2 presents the results for the multivariate regression for Romania using data from the

third wave of the World Values Survey. Most of the variables presented in the model are statistically

insignificant. The only variable that influences the support for radical right parties in Romania is the lev-

el of religiosity experienced by an individual. On the scale of 1 less religious to 4 more religious, a one

measure increase in the level of religiosity triggers a .45 decrease in support for nationalistic parties.

This result is consistent with the previous result for the second wave for Romania. The total effect for

this analysis relies on the level of religiosity alone since the rest of the independent variables were sta-

tistically insignificant. The difference between the least religious individual in the sample and the most

religious individual in the sample (-.439*3 = -1.317) shows that the less religious individuals will support

parties that are on average 1.5 more nationalistic than their more religious peers.

Table 6.3. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Romania wave 4

	Votes for radical right parties	*Statistical significance*
Political tolerance	-.466	.004
	(.159)	
Social tolerance	-.339	.077
	(.191)	
Satisfaction with democracy	-.371	.021
	(.161)	
Education	-.067	.477
	(.094)	
Urbanization	.071	.406
	(.085)	
Female	-.319	.385
	(.367)	
Age	.014	.229
	(.012)	
Religiosity	-.454	.028
	(.205)	
Adjusted R square	.042	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=1146

Table 6.3 presents the results for multivariate regression analysis for Romania for the data pre-

sent in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey. Both social and political tolerance factors have an

impact on the support for radical right parties, as well as the levels of satisfaction with democracy and

religiosity. Urbanization, gender and age do not show a statistical significant relationship with voting

preferences for the radical right parties. If political tolerance decreases with one unit the likelihood that

these voters will favor nationalistic parties increases with .466 units. The general effect of political tol-

erance on voting for nationalistic parties is of almost 2 units (-.466*4 = -1.864) meaning that between

the least tolerant voter and the most tolerant voter there is a difference of almost 2 points. The most

tolerant voter would most likely choose a party that has been coded two points lower on the national-

istic dimension on Benoit and Laver scale. For social tolerance, a one unit decrease in the level of toler-

ance would translate into support for parties that are .339 more nationalistic. The general effect of so-

cial tolerance shows that between the least socially tolerant citizens and the most socially tolerant citi-

zens there is a difference (-.339*4 = -1.356) of almost 1.5 units which means that on average the least

tolerant citizen would prefer a political party that was coded 1.5 lower, compared to the most tolerant

citizen, on the nationalistic dimension on the Benoit and Laver scale. Satisfaction with democracy shows

a positive impact on support for mainstream parties. As satisfaction with democracy increases one

measure there is an expectation that the voters will prefer a party that is .371 lower on the Benoit and

Laver scale. Satisfaction with democracy was coded 1 for least satisfied and 5 most satisfied. The gen-

eral effect shows that the difference between the those that are most satisfied with the way democracy

works in this country and voters who are least satisfied with democracy is (-.371*4 = -1.484) almost 1.5

units in party preference. A least satisfied voter is likely to support a party which is 1.5 more national-

istic compared to the least satisfied voter. For the impact of religiosity on support for parties that dis-

play nationalistic messages, a one measure increase determines a .45 decrease in support for national-

istic parties. An cumulative measure shows that (-.454*3 = -1.362) the difference between the least re-

ligious voter and the most religious voter is approximately 1.5 units decrease in support for radical right

parties. The less religious a voter is, the higher the chances that he or she will support the radical right

parties. The total effect of the variables that are statistically significant on the support for radical right parties in

Romania for the fourth wave of the World Values Survey is a difference of about 6 units

(1.864+1.356+1.484+1.362 = 6.066). An individual who is both socially and politically intolerant, is very

unsatisfied with democracy and is non religious will on average vote for a party that is ranked 6.0 higher

on the nationalistic scale compared to an individual who is socially and politically tolerant, satisfied with

the way democracy works and very religious.

Table 6.4. Total effect longitudinal Romania

	Wave2	Wave 3	Wave 4
Political tolerance	NA	NA	-1.864
Social tolerance	NS	NA	-1.356
Satisfaction with democracy	NA	NA	-1.484
Education	NS	NA	NA
Urbanization	-.168	-1.317	NA
Female	NA	NA	NA
Age	.1.624	NA	NA
Religiosity	-1.326		-1.362
Total	**4.63**	**1.317**	**6.066**

The Romanian voters who displayed tendencies to lend their support for more nationalistic parties, between 1990 and 1994, were from smaller urban settings, older and not very religious. Between 1995 and 1998 the only tendency that repeats is that support for nationalism tends to come mostly from voters who live in smaller urban settings or villages. A more complex data set for the fourth wave of the World Values Survey shows that political tolerance, social tolerance, satisfaction with democracy are important determinant of the level of support for parties displaying nationalistic messages. Religiosity returns as a predictor in the fourth wave showing that non religious voters are more likely to support radical right parties compared to those who are very religious. The fact that a less religious voter will tend to support radical right parties comes from the fact that these parties have a Communist legacy. The nationalistic tendencies displayed by the radical right in Romania are an inheritance of the Communist party and in general the supporters of the radical parties in Romania are Communist nostalgic who believe that Communism was an acceptable form of government. Communism rejected religion and this tendency is transferred by the nostalgic supporters onto the new radical right parties.

Hungary longitudinal

Table 6.5. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Hungary wave 2

	Votes for radical right parties	*Statistical significance*
Political tolerance*	missing	
Social tolerance	-.106	.596
	(.200)	
Satisfaction with democracy*	missing	
Education	-.093	.291
	(.088)	
Urbanization	-.157	.081
	(.090)	
Female	.446	.275
	(.409)	
Age	.024	.091
	(.014)	
Religiosity	-.068	.723
	(.191)	
Adjusted R square	.011	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
*not asked in this wave
N=999

Table 6.5 presents the results for multivariate linear regression for Hungary in the second wave of the World Values Survey. The only two variables that are statistically significant in the model are urbanization and age. Questions relating to political tolerance and satisfaction with democracy were not asked in this wave; social tolerance, education, gender and religiosity are not statistically significant. Urbanization measured on a scale from 1 to 8 shows that a one measure increase in the size of town produces a -.157 unit decrease in the support that the voters lend to the radical right parties defined on the nationalist dimension. The total effect of this variable on the model is (-.157*7 = -1.099) which represents the difference between the party preference of a voter who lives a village (1) and a voter who lives in Budapest (8). The smallest rural setting voters, on average, prefer a party that is more national-

istic with one unit compared to the voters from the largest urban setting. In order to obtain a more pre-

cise impact of the age on the model 18 (the age of the youngest) will be subtracted from the life expec-

tancy for Hungary which is 75.[122] The impact of age on the model (.024*57 = 1.368) shows that the old-

er respondents prefers a party that was ranked about 1.5 higher on the nationalistic scale compared to

the youngest respondents. The cumulative results for this model show that an 75 years old individual

from a small village is (1.099+1.368 = 2.467) more likely to prefer a party ranked 2.5 higher on the na-

tionalistic scale compared to an 18 years old young individual residing in Budapest.

Table 6.6. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Hungary wave 3

	Votes for radical right parties	Statistical significance
Political tolerance (LLG)	.145 (.159)	.360
Social tolerance	-.447 (.210)	.033
Satisfaction with democracy	Missing	
Education	-.249 (.098)	.012
Urbanization	-.050 (.087)	.567
Female	-.378 (.412)	.359
Age	-.036 (.012)	.003
Religiosity	.725 (.192)	.000
Adjusted R square	.062	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=650

[122] http://www.indexmundi.com/hungary/life_expectancy_at_birth.html

Table 6.6 presents the results for multivariate linear regression for Hungary in the third wave of the World Values Survey. The political tolerance factor proves to be statistically insignificant while social tolerance shows a statistically significant impact on the party choice. Satisfaction with democracy, urbanization and gender are also statistically insignificant. Education, age and religiosity contribute to the model explaining the support for radical parties in Hungary. For social tolerance, a one unit decrease in the level of tolerance would translate into support for parties that are .447 more nationalistic. The general effect of social tolerance shows that between the least socially tolerant citizens and the most socially tolerant citizens there is a difference (-.447*4 = -1.788) of almost 2 units which means that on average the least tolerant citizen would prefer a political party that was coded 2 units lower, compared to the most tolerant citizen, on the nationalistic dimension on the Benoit and Laver scale. Education too is a predictor of support for radical right in this model. On average, a one unit increase in the level of education translates into a preference of .249 less nationalistic parties. Education is measured on a scale of 1 to 8 with 1 least educated and 8 most educated. As a cumulative measure, this coefficient shows that the difference between the least educated respondent and the most educated respondent is of (-.249*7 = -1.743) about 2 units when it comes to party preferences sorted on the nationalistic dimension. The least educated individual, on average, will choose a party that is two units more nationalistic than the most educated individual. In order to obtain a more precise impact of the age on the model 18 (the age of the youngest) will be subtracted from the life expectancy for Hungary which is 75. The impact of age on the model (-.036*57 = -2.052) shows that the younger respondent prefers a party ranked 2.0 higher on the nationalistic scale compared to the oldest respondent. Religiosity has a positive impact on the support for radical right parties. A one unit increase in religiosity levels translate into voters support for parties with .7 more nationalistic attitudes. At cumulative level, the difference between the most non religious voter and the most religious voter is (.725*3 = 2.175) more than 2 units when it comes to sup-

port for nationalistic parties. The more religious voters are, the more likely they are to support the radi-

cal right parties. This model shows that an intolerant citizen, uneducated, older and with strong reli-

gious beliefs will prefer a political party that is (1.788+1.743+2.052+2.175 = 7.758) 8 times more nation-

alistic on the Benoit and Laver scale compared to an tolerant citizen, highly educated citizen, younger,

non-religious individual.

Table 6.7. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Hungary wave 4

	Votes for radical right parties	*Statistical significance*
Political tolerance	-.053	.824
	(.237)	
Social tolerance	-.361	.144
	(.247)	
Satisfaction with democracy	.570	.001
	(.172)	
Education	-.036	.725
	(.102)	
Urbanization	-.186	.018
	(.079)	
Female	-.007	.985
	(.378)	
Age	-.015	.200
	(.011)	
Religiosity	.756	.000
	(.174)	
Adjusted R square	.079	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=1000

Table 6.7 presents the results for multivariate linear regression for Hungary in the forth wave of

the World Values Survey. This model shows that satisfaction with democracy, urbanization and religiosi-

ty are predictors of the support for the radical right parties. Political and social tolerance, education,

gender, and age are not statistically significant. Satisfaction with democracy has a positive impact in

support for radical right parties. A one measure increase in the levels of satisfaction with the way de-

mocracy works for the Hungarian voters brings support for more nationalistic parties up by .570. The aggregate results for this independent variable show that (.570*4 = 2.28) the difference between the citizen who is less satisfied with the way democracy works and those who are very satisfied with the way democracy works is more than 2 units when it comes to preference for parties that display a nationalistic message. A voter that is more satisfied with democracy will vote with parties that are on average more than two units higher on their nationalism compared to those who are not satisfied with the way democracy works. Urbanization measured on a scale from 1 to 8 shows that a one size increase in the size of town produces a -.186 unit decrease in support for radical right parties defined on the nationalist dimension. The total effect of this variable on the model is (-.186*7 = -1.302) which represents the difference between the party preference of the voters who live in the smallest rural setting (1) and voters who live in the largest urban setting (8). The voter who lives in a small village, on average, prefers a party that is more nationalistic by more than one unit compared to the voter from Budapest. The results for the impact of religiosity are consistent with the previous wave. Religiosity shows a positive impact on the support for radical right parties. A one unit increase in religiosity levels translate into support for parties with .7 more nationalistic positions. On average the difference between the least religious voter and the most religious voter is (.756*3 = 2.268) above 2 units when it comes to support for nationalistic parties. The more religious a voter is, the more likely he/she is to support the radical right parties. An individual very satisfied with democracy, from a very small rural setting and very religious will support a party that is (2.28+1.302+2.268 = 5.85) ranked 6.0 higher on the nationalistic scale than his counterpart an individual who is not satisfied with the way democracy works, lives in a large urban setting and is not religious.

Table 6.8. Total effect longitudinal Hungary

	Wave 2	Wave 3	Wave 4
Political tolerance	NA	NA	NA
Social tolerance	NA	-1.788	NA
Satisfaction with democracy	NA	NA	2.28
Education	NA	-1.743	NA
Urbanization	-1.099	NA	-1.302
Female	NA	NA	NA
Age	1.368	-2.052	NA
Religiosity	NA	2.175	2.268
Total	**2.467**	**8.118**	**5.85**

In the case of Hungary between 1900 and 1994, the support for nationalist radical right parties comes from voters who live in small rural settings and are older. Between 1995 and 1998 the profile of the supporter of the radical right party changed and the new supporter is socially intolerant, has less education, it is young and very religious. This change is parallel with the consolidation of the role of FIDESZ in the Hungarian society, the changing of the message they transmit and with the further radicalization of Jobbik. Between 2000 and 2004 the fact that satisfaction with the way democracy works becomes a predictor for support for radical right parties shows that those who support the radical right nationalistic parties are happy with their government which is FIDESZ. Urbanization returns as a predictor and shows the same tendencies as in the second wave, where the support for the nationalistic parties is shown to come from smaller rural settings as opposed to large urban settings. Another variable that returns in this model is religiosity showing that the support for the radical right parties comes from highly religious voters.

France longitudinal

Table 6.9. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in France wave 2

	Votes for radical right parties	*Statistical significance*
Political tolerance*	-	-
Social tolerance	-.077	.672
	(.183)	
Satisfaction with democracy*	-	-
Education	.041	.521
	(.063)	
Urbanization	.082	.189
	(.062)	
Female	.421	.192
	(.323)	
Age	.014	.226
	(.011)	
Religiosity	.387	.020
	(.165)	
Adjusted R square	.018	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
*not asked in this wave
N=1002

For France, the multivariate linear regression for the second wave of the World Values Survey shows that religiosity is the only statistically significant variable that influences the support for radical right parties. Religiosity shows a positive impact on the voters support for radical right parties. A one unit increase in voters' religiosity level translates into support for parties that display .4 more anti-immigrant attitudes. As previously mentioned, for Western Europe radical right parties were categorized using their anti-immigrant messages. At aggregate level the difference between the most non religious voter and the most religious voter is (.387*3 = 1.161) a little over 1 unit increase when it comes to support for radical right parties. The most religious voters vote with parties that are one unit more radical compared to the non religious voters. Social tolerance, education, levels of urbanization, gender and age are variables that are not statistically significant in this model.

France wave 3

France is not present in the 3rd wave

Table 6.10. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in France wave 4

	Votes for radical right parties	Statistical significance
Political tolerance	-.720 (.175)	.000
Social tolerance	-.335 (.192)	.081
Satisfaction with democracy	-.149 (.123)	.226
Education	-.089 (.066)	.177
Urbanization	-.080 (.054)	.139
Female	-.674 (.289)	.020
Age	.008 (.009)	.398
Religiosity	.716 (.164)	.226
Adjusted R square	.063	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=1615

Table 6.10 presents the results of a multivariate linear regression for France using data present in the fourth wave of the World Values Survey. The levels of satisfaction with democracy, education, urbanization age and religiosity are statistically insignificant in this model. Social and political tolerance factors show an impact on the support for radical right parties, as well as gender. With a statistical significance of zero, the relationship between support for radical right parties and political tolerance has no real chances of being accidental. If the level of political tolerance of the voters decreases with one unit it is very likely that these voter will prefer parties that are categorized .720 more to the right compared to the more politically tolerant voters. The general effect of political tolerance on voting for radical right parties is (-.720*4 = -2.88) meaning that between the least tolerant voter and the most tolerant voter

there is a difference of almost 3 points. The most tolerant voter would most likely choose a party that

has been coded three units more tolerant on the anti-immigration dimension on Benoit and Laver scale.

For social tolerance, one unit decrease in the level of tolerance would translate into support for parties

that are .335 more anti-immigrants. The general effect of social tolerance shows that between the least

socially tolerant citizens and the most socially tolerant citizens there is a difference (-.335*4 = -1.34) of

almost 1.5 which means that on average the least tolerant citizen would prefer a political party that was

coded 1.5 less tolerant, compared to the most tolerant citizen, on the anti-immigration dimension on

the Benoit and Laver scale. The dichotomous independent variable for gender shows that women are

less supportive of radical right parties compared to men. The difference between male and female pref-

erences is of .674. The total effect of social, political tolerance and gender variables (2.88+1.34+.674 =

4.894) on support for radical right parties in France for the fourth wave of the World Values Survey

shows that a more socially and politically tolerant woman will tend to vote for parties that are coded 5

units less anti-immigrant compared to politically and socially intolerant men.

Table 6.11. Total effect longitudinal France

	Wave 2	Wave 4
Political tolerance	NA	-2.88
Social tolerance	NA	-1.34
Satisfaction with democracy	NA	NA
Education	NA	NA
Urbanization	NA	NA
Female	NA	-.647
Age	NA	NA
Religiosity	1.161	NA
Total	**1.161**	**4.894**

In France during the second wave of the World Values Survey the most important determinant

of the support for radical right parties was the level of religiosity. The more religious voters were more

likely to lend their support to parties whose discourse was anti–immigration. During the fourth wave of

the World Values Survey the profile of those who lend their support to radical right parties changed to

include socially and politically intolerant individuals and it underlines the expected tendency that the

radical right parties tend to attract mostly male voters. This evolution shows a more polarized party sys-

tem where voters who grant their support to the radical right are characterized by more acute differ-

ences compared to the past voters.

Austria longitudinal

Table 6.12. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Austria wave 2

	Votes for radical right parties	Statistical significance
Political tolerance*	Missing	
Social tolerance	-.295	.041
	(.145)	
Satisfaction with democracy*	Missing	
Education	.018	.765
	(.059)	
Urbanization	-.116	.115
	(.073)	
Female	-.369	.166
	(.266)	
Age	-.004	.640
	(.008)	
Religiosity	.467	.000
	(.120)	
Adjusted R square	.035	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
*not asked in this wave
N=1460

Table 6.12 presents the results for multivariate linear regression analysis for Austria using data

present in the second wave of the World Values Survey. Political tolerance and satisfaction with democ-

racy questions were no asked in this wave. Education, urbanization, gender and age are statistically in-

significant. Social tolerance and religiosity are the statistically significant predictors of support for radi-

cal right parties. For social tolerance, one unit decrease in the level of tolerance translates into support

for parties that are .3 more anti-immigration. The general effect of social tolerance shows that between the least socially tolerant citizens and the most socially tolerant citizens there is a difference (-.295*4 = -1.18) of more than one unit which means that on average the least tolerant citizen would prefer a political party that is one unit less tolerant toward immigration, compared to the most tolerant citizen, on the Benoit and Laver scale. A one unit increase in the level of religiosity translates into support for parties that are coded .5 higher on the level of anti immigration positions in Austria. The aggregate effect of religiosity (.467*3 = 1.401) shows that the difference between the most religious person and the most non religious person is of almost 1.5 points. The most religious person is most likely to vote for a party that is coded 1.5 more intolerant towards immigration compared to a non religious person. The aggregate model shows than a socially tolerant non-religious person will support a party that is (1.18+1.401 = 2.501) 2.5 units lower on the Benoit and Laver scale regarding their anti-immigrant messages.

Austria wave 3

Austria is not present in the 3rd wave

Table 6.13. Predictors for the support for radical right parties in Austria wave 4

	Votes for radical right parties	Statistical significance
Political tolerance	-.645	.001
	(.190)	
Social tolerance	-.620	.000
	(.142)	
Satisfaction with democracy	-.698	.000
	(.149)	
Education	-.363	.000
	(.075)	
Urbanization	.067	.254
	(.059	
Female	-.911	.001
	(.278)	
Age	-.011	.237
	(.009)	
Religiosity	.258	.053
	(.133)	
Adjusted R square	.105	

The numbers represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses).
N=1522

Table 6.13 presents the results for multivariate regression analysis for Austria using the data

from the fourth wave of the World Values Survey. The only two variables that are not statistically signif-

icant are urbanization and age. The levels of social tolerance, satisfaction with democracy and educa-

tion have a statistical significance of zero which means that the relationship between any of these varia-

bles and the support for radical right parties has no chance of being random in reality. If political toler-

ance decreases with one unit the likeliness that these voters will favor parties that present a more anti-

immigrant message increases with .645. The general effect of political tolerance on voting for radical

right parties is (-.645*4 = -2.58) meaning that between the least tolerant voter and the most tolerant

voter there is a difference of 2.5 points. The most tolerant voter would most likely choose a party that

has been coded 2.5 more intolerant on the anti-immigrant dimension on the Benoit and Laver scale. For

social tolerance, one unit decrease in the level of tolerance would translate into support for parties that

are .620 more anti-immigration. The general effect of social tolerance shows that between the least

socially tolerant citizens and the most socially tolerant citizens there is a difference (-.620*4 = -2.48) of

almost 2.5 units which means that on average the least tolerant citizen would prefer a political party

that was coded 2.5 less tolerant towards immigration, compared to the most tolerant citizen, on the

Benoit and Laver scale. Satisfaction with democracy was coded 1 for least satisfied and 5 most satisfied.

The general effect shows that the difference between the those that are most satisfied with the way

democracy works and voters who are least satisfied with democracy is (-.698*4 = -2.792) almost 3 units

in party preference. A least satisfied with the way democracy works in their country voter is likely to

support a party which is 3 units more anti-immigration compared to the most satisfied voter. Education

is a predictor of support for radical right in this model. On average, a one unit increase in the level of

education translates into a preference of .249 less anti-immigration parties. Education is measured on a

scale of 1 to 8 with 1 being least educated and 8 most educated.   As a cumulative measure, education

shows that the difference between the least educated respondent and the most educated respondent is

of (-.363*7 = -2.541) about 2.5 units when it comes to party preferences sorted on the anti-immigration

dimension. The dichotomous independent variable for gender shows that women are less supportive of

radical right parties compared to men. Women prefer parties that are almost one point more tolerant

towards immigration (.911) on scale established by Benoit and Laver. A one measure increase in the

level of religiosity translates into support for parties that are coded .25 higher on the level of anti-

immigration messages in Austria. The aggregate effect of religiosity (.258*3 = 0.774) shows that the dif-

ference between the most religious person and the most non-religious person is of almost one point.

The most religious person is likely to vote for a party that is coded one unit more intolerant when it comes to immigration feelings compared to a non religious person. This model shows that (2.58+2.48+2.792+2.541+.911+.774= 12.078) a socially and politically tolerant female who is satisfied with the way democracy works and is well educated and is non religious will vote for parties that are coded 12 points more tolerant on the Benoit and Laver scale when it comes to anti immigration messages. The opposite is a male citizen, very intolerant both politically and socially, unsatisfied with the way democracy works uneducated and with strong religious beliefs who will vote with a party that is coded 12 units higher on the anti-immigration dimension.

Table 6.14. Total effect longitudinal Austria

	Wave 2	Wave 4
Political tolerance	NA	-2.58
Social tolerance	1.18	-2.48
Satisfaction with democracy	NA	-2.79
Education	NA	-2.54
Urbanization	NA	NA
Female	NA	.911
Age	NA	NA
Religiosity	1.401	0.77
Total	**2.501**	**12.078**

Based on the finding in this research, in Austria, during the second wave of World Values Survey, the support for radial right parties came from those who were socially intolerant and had strong religious beliefs. For the fourth wave of the World Values Survey the model becomes more complex and it shows that support for radical right parties measured on the anti-immigration dimension comes from males who are both socially and politically intolerant, least satisfied with the way democracy works in Austria, have little education and hold strong religious beliefs. The fourth wave of the World Values Survey shows that the Austrian voters who support the radical right are distinct compared to the sup-

porters of the mainstream right. This distinction evolved as the party system became more polarized and the center and the far right had much more distinct messages.

6.1   Conclusion

The quantitative longitudinal approach employed in this chapter shows as expected that there are no fundamental differences among supporters for the radical right parties in the West compared to the East. Supporters of the radical right in France, Romania, Austria and Hungary are the least tolerant among the citizens of these nations - the more intolerant a voter, the higher are the chances that this individual will support the radical right. At time this relationship is not visible in this longitudinal analysis, yet, when it does show statistical significance, the relationship is in the expected direction. It also shows what the characteristics of the radical right supporter at cross-regional level are and which are the socioeconomic and demographic specifications of these individuals.

World Values Survey, although a valuable source of data, does not always yield an ideal longitudinal perspective. Some limitations come from the fact that important questions are not always included in questionnaires applied in different waves for the same countries. Other times the questions were changed in order to capture new dimensions or were dropped altogether. Still, the expected direction of the impact of intolerance on the support for radical right parties was captured by the available data.

In Romania the major determinants of the support for radical right parties were the social and political tolerance followed by religiosity. In time urbanization grew in importance and age showed an impact in the early stages of the democratization process. Although, level of satisfaction with democracy is considered a controversial variable because it could trigger different responses it shows a considerable impact on the support for radical right parties in Romania. In Hungary, the most significant impact on support for the radical right parties is shown to come from satisfaction with democracy followed by religiosity. Social tolerance and education have a strong and negative impact on the support for the rad-

ical right followed by urbanization. In the case of France, although data are missing for the third wave, the second and fourth waves offer a glimpse into the evolution of the radical right party supporter. Political and social tolerance have the biggest impact on this support followed by gender and religiosity. In Austria, social and political tolerance are in the top positions as determinants of support for the radical right as well as satisfaction with democracy and education. Although Austria was not present in the third wave, the second and fourth waves show that social tolerance is extremely important and that its importance as a predictor increased over time. Religiosity is present as well as a determinant factor, but it decreases as importance in the model.

Wherever social and political tolerance were asked and were statistically significant their impact was substantial and in the expected direction. Religiosity is a constant predictor for support for the radical right across these four countries. Urbanization and age are variables that predict electoral support for the radical right in Romania and Hungary and do not show to be of much relevance in Austria and France.

In Austria and France the attitudinal variables are more important compared to Romania and Hungary where the socio-economic and demographic variables have a greater impact. In traditional democracies such as the ones in France and Austria, the party systems are better structured so the supporters of the left or right parties have well structured and defined attitudes. There is a clear distinction between the supporters of the two ideological positions. In newer democracies such as Hungary and Romania the political attitudes are not that different and the vote is based on socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Political attitudes develop in time. For each model there is a tendency of increased importance of various variables as determinants for the support for radical right parties. The total effect of these variables, in three out of the four cases, is higher in the analysis obtained from data from the latest wave. This indicates that fact that these party systems are growing more polarized. This

means that the difference between voters who support radical right versus mainstream right is growing

larger and larger. When the total effect is small it shows that these voters are more similar while if the

total effect increases it shows that there are more and more characteristics that differentiate them. It is

clear that the radical parties are addressing an electorate that is much different compared to the rest of

the voters. This polarization is a political phenomenon that has developed across time and brings no

good news to the democratic process.

7   Transformative Experience of Migration? Evidence from an Original Survey of Work

Study Students

Chapter 7 adds yet another dimension to the study of tolerance: the impact of migration. If electoral support artificially dilutes support for extremist parties and blocks their representation in legislatures and the mainstream parties' solution of adopting radical discusses in order to capture these votes proves to be just as detrimental to liberal democracy, it is desirable that the alternative should rely on efforts to decrease the electoral base of these radical and extremist parties. One way is to expose less tolerant citizens to the opportunity to learn tolerance and apply its principles. Temporary work migration from less democratic countries to more democratic countries might offer just that opportunity. Does temporary migration influence the level of tolerance and democratic attitudes of migrants? In order to answer this question, this chapter analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data, comparing the self-reported tolerance of Romanian students who have migrated temporarily to that of Romanian students who have never left the country, seeking to isolate the independent effects of migration on attitudes, and using data provided by an original survey of Romanian college students. More specifically, the first group included students who travelled to the United States with the Work and Travel program and students who had the opportunity to travel to Western Europe either for tourism or work, and the second group included students who never traveled to the US. The design represents a natural experiment, in which 'nature' (in this case, the subjects themselves) has made the assignment to the 'treatment' (migration) and the 'control' group, respectively.[123]

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[123]The risk that the assignment itself is correlated with some of the subjects' characteristics (i.e., that the students enrolled in Work and Travel differ in some important respects from students who were not enrolled in the program) is mitigated by the use of control variables in the analyses – though, obviously, the fact that the assignment was not done by the researcher is still potentially problematic.

Studying, traveling or working in a foreign country broadens an individual's worldview. One major component of this dissertation is the analysis of the impact of time spent abroad, especially in advanced liberal democracies, on political and social tolerance and democratic attitudes. The causal relation works both ways: that is, countries with more tolerant citizens tend to be more democratic, but democracy also enhances tolerance and democratic attitudes. One major goal of this chapter is to test whether democracy influences tolerance, using data from an original survey.

The first part of this dissertation used factor analysis of World Values Survey data and found that groups of questions relating to each conceptualization of tolerance load on a different dimension. Moreover, cross-national multivariate analysis of democracy as a function of tolerance, using the two measures of tolerance as predictors, finds that both social tolerance and political tolerance have a significant impact, even after controlling for the effect of socioeconomic development. Previous research[124] established that democracy does have an influence on the levels of social and political tolerance. Democratic attitudes are directly linked with the levels of social and political tolerance (Sullivan and Marcus 1988, 31; Inglehart 2003, 53-55).

This chapter asks the question, does democracy have an impact on democratic attitudes? In order to answer, the first part of this chapter relies on the results of an original survey administered to Romanian students from a large state university ("Babes-Bolyai" in Cluj). Approximately half of those students had, after starting college, some degree of exposure to life in the West (and, within this group, there were students enrolled in Work & Travel programs in the US), while the other half had not. This offers the opportunity to measure the impact of Western exposure on political and social tolerance, controlling for the effect of socioeconomic and demographic variables. The two types of experiences are completely different, as students who travelled to the more democratic nations of Western Europe

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[124] Viman Miller and Fesnic 2011.

do so as tourists. Unlike the superficial experience of a tourist, the students who travelled to the US as part of the Work and Travel program had the opportunity to immerse themselves in the social, cultural and political life of the American society for three to four months. Even though there is just one West that includes Western Europe and United States, these are two very different kinds of experiences. This means that the nature of this project requires distinction between a tourist-like experience (which is typical for those who traveled to Western Europe) and that of students who worked, and thus were exposed to the values of the receiving society (which is specific for those who traveled to the US through Work and Travel). This quantitative analysis will also employ a longitudinal approach and measure the impact of Work and Travel and their Western experience on the levels of social and political tolerance of the subjects. To the extent that there was a change, the second part of the chapter tries to explain why that was the case. It relies on qualitative data gathered in the form of twenty personalized interviews with students who participated in Work and Travel. They fulfill an illustrative role meant to complement the quantitative findings.[125] They are the result of a general request, extended to all respondents who declared that they participated in Work and Travel, to answer additional qualitative style questions about their experience. The twenty interviewees are those students who responded positive to the request and followed through by showing up for the meeting that was previously established.

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[125] Analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of large N versus small N research in political science Coppedge (1999, 475) finds that "both small- and large-N comparisons have methodological advantages. Small-N comparisons tend to be more faithful to the rich concepts that inspire our theories and tend to be more sensitive to the complex and conditional causal relationships and intertwined levels of analysis that most closely approximate our intuitive understanding of how the political world really works. But no degree of methodological refinement can rigorously justify generalizing the conclusions from a study of a few cases; for such generalization, large-N comparisons are indispensable. Still, the generalizations of large-N comparisons will produce only disappointingly thin tests of theory until they incorporate the conceptual and theoretical thickness of small-N studies. The most practical solution is to combine the advantages of both approaches." Examples of small N studies include and are not limited to Collier and Levitsky (1997), O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead (1978), Huntington (1991).

7.1   Migration and political tolerance: evidence from an original survey, the quantitative approach

The original survey, implemented among Romanian students from Cluj, provides a dataset in which there are both socioeconomic and demographic variables for the respondents as well as attitudinal measures. In order to complement the results obtained in the previous chapters, this analysis includes a different set of questions involved in the construction of the two factors, social and political tolerance. The latter groups of questions mirror the World Values Survey questions relating to social tolerance (e.g., homosexuality) and political tolerance (e.g. appreciation of a democratic system) yet they are not identical, in an attempt to prove that regardless of the way these questions are formulated, as long as they measure similar values, the results would be similar. This enables the assessment of the impact of "democratic exposure" (life in the West) on political and social tolerance, controlling for the effect of socioeconomic and demographic variables. The model of tolerance derived from the theoretical argument in which exposure to the ideas and institutions is characteristic for advanced liberal democracies is the intervening variable which increases the tolerance of migrants.[126]

Confirmatory factor analysis of questions relating to opinion about democracy as a form of government, capital punishment and imprisonment of drug consumers (political tolerance) and opposition to the same sex marriage, the role of women in upbringing children and equal pay (social tolerance) is used in order to see whether each group of questions loads on a different dimension. The results are presented in Table 7.1, which shows that, as expected, social and political tolerance constitute two different dimensions.

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[126] The independent variable is "migration", the dependent variable is "tolerance (political and social)", the intervening variable is "exposure" and the control variables are "education, gender, residence and religiosity."

Table 7.1. Varimax orthogonal rotated factor matrix of the six variables distinguishing social and political tolerance, original survey

	Social tolerance	Political tolerance
Democracy best system[1]	-.006	**.578**
Capital punishment[2]	.261	**.629**
Drug consumers[3]	.481	**.514**
Marriage[4]	**.587**	-.219
Women and children[5]	**.661**	-.219
Women and income[6]	**.749**	-.179

[1] Five categories for "is democracy is the best system of government" (completely disagree – disagree – all other – somewhat agree – totally agree)

[2] Five categories "if death penalty should be introduced for major crimes" (completely agree – agree – all other – somewhat disagree – totally disagree)

[3] Five categories "if drugs consumers should be imprisoned" (completely agree – agree – all other – somewhat disagree – totally disagree)

[4] Five categories for "marriage should be exclusively between a man and a woman" (completely agree – agree – all other – somewhat disagree – totally disagree)

[5] Five categories for "in a family the woman should be much more involved with bringing up children than to men" completely agree – agree – all other – somewhat disagree – totally disagree)

[6] Five categories for "in a family the man should make more money than the woman" (completely agree – agree – all other – somewhat disagree – totally disagree)

The purpose is to test the impact of "Western exposure" of the respondents on their tolerance. The two scores for political and social tolerance computed are saved – these are the dependent variables. These dependent variables were regressed on Western exposure, making a conceptual distinction between Work and Travel in the US and Western experience, and controlling for the impact of gender, education, residence and religiosity. Table 7.2 presents the two models obtained using multivariate linear regression for both dependent variables, social and political tolerance.

Table 7.2. Democratic exposure, social and demographic variables, and their impact on political and social tolerance

	Social tolerance		Political tolerance	
	Model	Full impact[127]	Model	Full impact
Education[1]	.127**** (.025)	0.50	.032* (.027)	1.28
Female	.430**** (.070)	0.43	-.163*** (.075)	-0.16
Urban residence[2]	.011 (.040)	0.02	.015 (.043)	0.03
Religiosity[3]	-.297**** (.30)	-0.89	.101**** (.032)	0.30
Work and Travel[4]	.335** (.212)	0.34	.175 (.226)	0.18
West[5]	.158*** (.072)	0.16	-.049 (.077)	-0.05
Adjusted R²	**.133**		**.010**	

The numbers in the second and the fourth columns ("models") represent unstandardized (b) coefficients of multivariate linear regression (standard errors in parentheses). All statistical tests are one-tail. N = 1048
****p < .001
***p < .01
**p < .05
*p < .1

[1] Number of years spent in college (between 0 and 4)
[2] Three categories (rural, small town – under 100,000, large city – over 100,000)
[3] Four categories (very rarely/never, rarely – several times a year, often – at least once a month, very often – at least once a week)
[4] Number of years spent in the US in Work and Travel programs
[5] Number of years spent in the West since starting college
N=1048

Compared to the political tolerance model, the first model analyzing social tolerance is a better fit, with an adjusted R square of .133 versus .010. The magnitude of the adjusted R square is relatively small, but a small adjusted R square is typical for individual-level analyses. Since the hypothesis is unidi-

[127] The "full impact" columns represent the attempt to make the results more intuitive. For the variable "education," the number .50 in the third column represents the predicted increase in political tolerance when education increases from 0 to 4, that is, the difference between the average political tolerance of a respondent who finishes college and that of a freshman. "Female" is a dummy variable, indicating the mean difference between female and male respondents in the sample. "Urban residence" indicates the difference between the mean score of respondents coming from large cities and that of respondents coming from villages. "Religiosity" indicates the difference between the mean score of respondents who go to Church very often (at least once a week) and often (at least once a month).

rectional this analysis looks at the one-tail results. After controlling for education, gender, religiosity, the prediction referring to the impact of Work and Travel and West on the levels of social tolerance improves by 13 percent. With a high statistical significance, it shows that one year of education increases the levels of social tolerance with .127, an expected result. Another variable with a high level of statistical significance is gender. The model shows a strong impact of gender on social tolerance. With a coefficient of .430 it shows women tend to be more socially tolerant compared to men. Residence, on the other hand, does not show an impact. Statistically insignificant, at .011 the difference between small towns and rural areas and large urban setting and small towns is negligible. Also, the rural residents tend to be more religious compared to the urban residents and this should have an impact on the level of tolerance. Considering that religiosity and rural residence are positively correlated, the absence of an effect of residence on tolerance in the multivariate analysis most likely indicates that rural residence itself does not have an effect on tolerance. Rather, it is the religiosity associated with it that has an effect on tolerance. Religiosity has a strong negative impact of -.297 on the levels of social tolerance. The more religious respondents tend to be more prejudiced in their approach towards gender equality and gay rights. Turning the attention to the variables of interest, it is clear that the Work and Travel experience has a substantial and positive effect: every additional year of Work and Travel translates into roughly a .34 of a standard deviation increase in social tolerance. At the same time, the Western experience has a more modest yet highly statistically significant impact on social tolerance. Each additional year spent abroad in the West increases the levels of social tolerance by roughly .16.

For political tolerance, the adjusted R square is close to zero, showing that additional variables added to the model do not improve its predictive power. The second model shows the impact of the same variables on political tolerance. As opposed to the previous model, education is borderline statistically significant at.1 but it does show a positive influence. An increase in education is likely to deter-

mine higher levels of political tolerance. The coefficient for gender on the other hand shows a strong negative impact on political tolerance. This direction for the political tolerance dependant variable is expected, as previously discussed the specialty literature shows that women are less tolerant than men. Yet, women tend to express their lack of tolerance less at the voting polls compared to men. Not statistically significant, residence shows an impact of .015 on political tolerance that is fairly similar to the social tolerance model with insignificant impact on the dependent variable. Church attendance is statistically significant and its impact on the model is substantial. At .101 religiosity shows to have a positive impact on how people view political tolerance. Arriving at the variables of interest, Work and Travel experience has a substantial and positive (though statistically insignificant) effect: every additional year of Work and Travel translates into a .175 of a standard deviation increase in political tolerance. At the same time, the Western democracies experience has a modest (and negative) effect on political tolerance. This model shows that travel to the US and other consolidated democracies in the West, has an impact on social tolerance yet not so much on political tolerance.

Table 7.3 presents the longitudinal analysis of the impact of Work and Travel and the Western experience on the students included in the survey. It compares the means of the factors, standardized variables, used as the dependent variable for different groups of respondents. The data for non-Work and Travel and non-West group is for those students who had no Western or American experience. The Work and Travel category includes those students who traveled to the US; the West group is those students who traveled to more democratic Western countries longer than one month. Social and political tolerance at T_0 was computed using recall questions (how students were when they began college; T_1 represents "present" (the moment when the survey was conducted).

Table 7.3 Longitudinal analysis; the impact of Work and Travel and Western experience

Time	Non-Work and Travel and non-West[128]		Work and Travel		West	
	Social Tolerance	Political Tolerance	Social Tolerance	Political Tolerance	Social Tolerance	Political Tolerance
T_0	-.099	-.062	-.041	.342	.157	.064
T_1	-.150	-.058	.090	.158	.142	.046

These results show that if this analysis would have only measured political tolerance it would have missed the positive effects of Western (Work and Travel) exposure on social tolerance. As discussed in the previous chapters, both political and social tolerance have an impact on democracy. Another important point is that the variables analyzed here are standardized. Thus, one cannot directly assess change across rows (for instance, to compare .342 at T_0 to .158 at T_1 and conclude that, politically, students who were enrolled in Work and Travel have become less tolerant than they were when they began college). The only direct comparisons that make sense are across rows.

At T_0, the students who would not go to either the US or the West were less tolerant than the average, socially and politically. Students who would only go to the West were more tolerant than average, both socially and politically. Finally, the future Work and Travel participants were a bit less tolerant socially, but significantly more tolerant politically. At T_1, after the last two groups were exposed to Western influence, they continue to be more tolerant, politically and socially (and the only variable that was slightly less than 0 – social tolerance for the Work and Travel group – changes sign).

Table 7.3 largely confirms the findings from Table 7.2: Western exposure, particularly in the form of genuine, Work and Travel-like exposure, where subjects are immersed in the experience of the local society, does have a positive impact on tolerance. If we take into account the fact that, between T_0 and T_1, students were enrolled in college, and education (as we see in Table 7.2) has an important influ-

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[128] Control group, students who never travelled to the US with Work and Travel or to any other Western country.

ence on tolerance, we have further evidence of the positive effect of this exposure. The effects (in both

Table 7.2 and 7.3) are most significant and consistent for the Work and Travel group.

However, it must be mentioned that a quasi-experimental design has its own potential prob-

lems. It could result in uneven groups between the treatment and control groups and as a consequence

it yields lower internal validity. These weaknesses are the result of lack of true randomization.

7.2   Migration and political tolerance: evidence from an original survey, the qualitative approach

The second part of this chapter concentrates on findings based on the qualitative research of

the Romania students who participated in Work and Travel. It aims to support and better explain the

findings of the quantitative part of this research. It supplements those findings and it adds information

that was unavailable through the qualitative method. This qualitative approach allows a better under-

standing of the personal nature of the subject. It allows the participant to build upon the questions and

reveal information that cannot be achieved otherwise.

Figure 7.1 shows the qualitative approach to the research model. It looks at the determinants of

temporary work migration, the reason why these students enrolled in this program. It determines the

prevalent reasons, which are either money or tourism. It also measures the level of knowledge about

the American society before the travelled occurred and what were the expectations that these students

had before they arrived in the US. This qualitative approach also analyzes the impact that the environ-

ment had on the subjects. The analysis looks at the actual migration experience, at what were the work

conditions, if they have travelled around the US or if they just experience life in one location where their

jobs were. The amount of interactions they had with the locals and the American institutions are also

important elements as it shows their communication with a new environment. The subjects are ques-

tioned on their experiences that they had during their stay in order to see how those experiences influ-

enced their level of political and social tolerance. It is expected that a certain environment, interactions

and activities would be more conducive to an increase in tolerance, both political and social while others may trigger a decreased level of tolerance. It is also expected that a negative, less tolerant environment, would trigger feelings of dissatisfaction with certain groups or rights extended to these groups in the country of origin.

Figure 7.1. The qualitative approach to the research model[129]
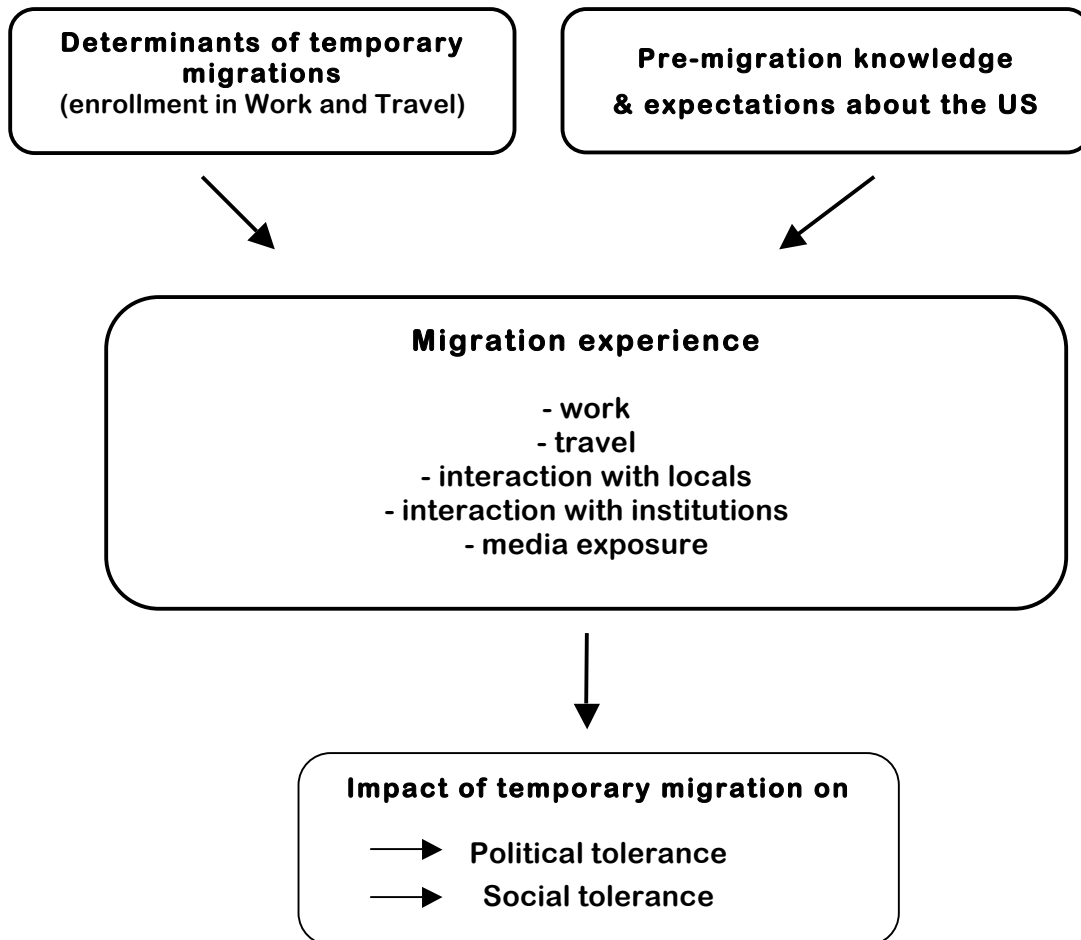
Figure 7.1. is a summary of the qualitative approach of the research on the influence of tempo-

rary work migration on the levels of political and social tolerance of Romanian students traveling to the

US. It depicts a series of interactions that are believed to have the ability to change their behavior both

on short and long terms. There were twenty interviews, all executed during 2009 field work. Each has

been assigned a number in order to protect their identity. The interviewees were selected from the

larger pool of respondents who answered the questionnaire and who declared that they travelled to the

US for Work and Travel and who were willing to participate in a qualitative follow up interview. Among

those who declared their willingness the twenty presented in the following analysis actually completed

the interview. Of the 20 respondents, eight were male and twelve were female. The respondents

ranged between ages of 20 and 24 and they all participated in Work and Travel at least once. Three in-

terviewees participated twice in Work and Travel in the United States. Four of the respondents reside in

rural areas, eight of them reside in small town settings and the remaining eight respondents are from

large cities. Eleven respondents have at least four years of college education; six of them have three

years of college education, while the rest have at least two years of college-level education. Their ma-

jors are diverse, in total there are seven different educational backgrounds, from law and economy to

philosophy and geography, math or medicine etc. The qualitative interviews are not representative.

They are provided as illustrative, rather than representative data. They have been gathered in order to

support the findings from the quantitative section of the analysis. They offer additional explanations

and support the validity of the previous findings. They clarify details about the respondents' attitudes

and characteristics, as well as they offer additional details of the main research themes. They are repre-

sentative to the point that they include all of the main demographic characteristics of the larger sample,

gender, education, age etc.

Table 7.4. Qualitative interviews; demographic characteristics

Interview	Gender	Age	Residence	College years	WT	Major
1	F	20	Rural[130]	2	1	Law
2	M	21	Rural	4+2	2	Geography
3	F	20	Urban small	2	1	Econ/European Studies[131]
4	M	23	Urban small	4	1	European Studies
5	M	21	Urban small	4	1	Philosophy
6	M	22	Rural	3	1	Political Science
7	M	22	Urban large	3	1	Political Science
8	M	24	Urban small	4+2	1	Econ
9	F	22	Urban large	3	1	Econ/European Studies
10	F	22	Urban small	4	2	Medicine
11	F	21	Rural	2	1	European Studies
12	M	21	Urban large	4	1	Geography
13	F	21	Urban large	3	1	Bio/Chemistry
14	M	21	Urban small	3	1	Journalism
15	F	21	Urban large	3	2	Math
16	F	21	Urban large	4	1	European Studies
17	F	21	Urban small	4	1	Econ
18	F	22	Urban small	4	1	Econ
19	F	24	Urban large	4	1	Econ
20	F	23	Urban large	4	1	Econ

7.2.1   The post American experience: political and social tolerance

The main purpose of the qualitative interviews is to identify potential additional elements of the transformative effects that were not captured by the qualitative part of the data. The results are indeed confirmatory that there are additional learning experiences. Out of the 20 interviewees,[132] 13 stated that they have suffered influences that improved their level of political tolerance, four said that there is no change compared to their perspectives prior to travel, five either did not answer the question or their answer was unclear as if they suffered any influences, and two of them have been influenced nega-

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[130] Rural, small town – under 100,000, large city – over 100,000.
[131] This does not imply double major as in the American system, this implies double course work, these two students take full class work in both departments and they will obtain two very different independent degree.
[132] There are 23 trips because of the three interviewees who traveled twice

tively by their experience and became less politically tolerant as a result. One common characteristic of all 20 interviewees is that they all declare themselves tolerant both politically and socially before their Work and Travel experience. Yet, the transformative effect of their travel is clearly observed in these qualitative interviews.

Those who declared that they are more politically tolerant as a result of their visit chose different categories of minorities whom they felt should gain more rights. The interviewees in general chose Gypsies (or Rroma, the Romani people) and the Hungarian minority as least liked groups towards whom they now have extended more liberties. The third interviewee argues that she always had Hungarian girlfriends, and she never harbored ill feelings towards this minority, yet she felt that maybe they were a little too demanding in their rights. She now states "I can tell you clearly that I completely changed my attitude toward the Hungarians, I am not bothered by their presence anymore. We can all live here; there is enough room for all of us." This change was brought by the fact that she noticed that in the US there were people from different parts of the world who sometimes do not speak the language, yet the American citizens "treated them right," and they live together in harmony. She observes that at times the American natives desire to learn from the newcomers as opposed to rejecting their novelty.   Interviewee number four stated that since his return he changed his view about the political rights of the Gypsies and that he wished he could do something to change his parents' view about them. Interviewee number eight considers that his trip to the US helped sediment some ideas in his mind. He argues that it helped him learn faster what is right and what is wrong. He learned about the issues concerning migrants, legislation tolerance toward the rest of the people, and he considers himself very lucky to have had the opportunity. He declares that "I learned that there is room for all of us to live together, as long as I you can live with me I can live with you." Speaking of Gypsies interviewee number six asserts that he would extend them all the already mentioned political rights because "although I did not think I changed

my behavior at all, this trip shook my belief system in certain matters from the ground up." He argues that he saw himself a very liberal person but he realized that "the Americans are just so much more awesome at that."

Besides those most common categories others chose different groups. Interviewee number one stated that before she went to the United States she could not stand "the legionnaires[133]" or the Communists. At the time of the interview she argues that the legionnaires should be able to have their own party as long as they behave within the law. The Communists, she argues, she could not stand before she left, and she would have extended them absolutely no politics rights. She said:

> Before I left for the United States I would have declared loud and clear that I want them to have no political rights whatsoever, no teaching in schools, none of that, now I say fine, as long as they are objective, they should be able to be teachers. If they can keep their opinions to themselves in class, let's not tape their mouth. Before I left for the United States if anyone would have told me that they were Marxists I would have pushed that person away from me, now they do not scare me anymore because I saw how people can live together with other people who have different ideas and thoughts, or another life, we all can fit.

Interviewee number ten indentified "Communists" as the category who she used to dislike the most but towards whom she changed her opinion. She argued that this is clearly because of her two experiences in the US where she saw people with piercings being treated as equals, 80 old people bagging groceries and being accepted in spite of being slow and gay people hired in sensitive costumer service jobs. She concluded that knowing all this now, she cannot really argue for any good reason why would she even ever choose a "disliked" category anymore. "The Communists, whom I used to hate so much, they can talk all they want, if they can convince people than more power to them." Interviewee number nine picks a few categories to argue that she has not changed her mind about the political rights and she has always been willing to extend them. Yet, she now argues that she decided that people who

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[133] Youth Nazi groups who have their history anchored in the Second Word War past.

are gay "are just like us, no difference, they have the same feelings." She also said that if anyone felt life consuming drugs, like she saw happening in the US that should be their choice to do it, and not hers to chase and punish this behavior. Interviewee number nine determines "none of my business what you choose to do."

Interviewee number five spoke of homosexuals and their political rights, and although he never had any encounter with this category, considers that they should be extended political rights just like any other category whom he has been in contact with such as Muslims, or African Americans. Interviewee number sixteen refers to drug consumers and argues that before her trip to the US she was definitely less tolerant towards drug consumers, she felt she was afraid of them, but now, once she saw how many people consume drugs[134] in the US she realized she has no reason to fear them. More so, she notices that lots of very "serious" people and friends were smoking illegal substances and they were just fine at work or at parties. She decided that putting them in prison would be something she would not do, simply because she states "yes, I changed my mind, big time, they don't need to be in jail, they are not dangerous like I believed before I arrived there" and because she feels that "soon people who smoke a regular cigarette or have a beer will be put in jail, how far could we stretch this story?" Interviewee number twenty did not mention a specific category but she stated that the most important thing regarding political rights, civil rights and liberties is that:

> I don't believe everything is just so much better there, still I believe it is so much more balanced. Everyone accepts everyone with much more ease. There it is not a question of civil rights and civil liberties or political rights like in Romania. There they are fighting to see how exactly they should get about making sure that everyone's are even.
> One interviewee declared that her level of political tolerance toward certain groups increased

while it decreased toward another category. This is the only interview where this dualism was noted. Interviewee number eighteen states that during her visit she noticed that ethnic minorities in the United

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[134] She refers to light illegal drugs but continues to make no difference between different illegal drug categories

States have less rights compared to Romania. She noted that there, all minorities speak the language, and also these minorities call themselves American too, yet, here in Romania, the Hungarian minority has the audacity to request territorial autonomy in the heart of the country. She also declares that she wants to see that all "special rights" are being reconsidered for the Hungarian minorities and that she would want to see that all Hungarians speak Romanian or make an effort to serve Romanians who visit Hungarian majority localities in the Romanian language. She states that her feelings against these "special minority rights" are stronger now as a result of her observations of minorities' behavior in the United States. She does not want this minority teaching Romanian children. "They should teach their own kids" and that they should not have rights for "public demonstrations." She also states that all these minorities in the United States celebrate Independence Day on the Fourth of July with enthusiasm. They love that country first of all. Interviewee number eighteen also states that she wanted to see that minorities such as gypsies in Romania have rights too; she feels that if they are capable of holding office, teaching in schools and have something to say in a demonstrating they should be able to do so, because she said:

> I lived next to a park where it was always full of black people, and it was bad, once they stole my friend's bicycle, he had to go and buy it back from the guy that stole it. And, once, another colleague was robbed at gunpoint when she returned from a late shift at work. Still, these are not the black people that I see publishing books or teaching schools, these are criminals. I saw lots and lots of Black people in power positions in the United States and we need to make sure here in Romania that we are giving our gypsies all the rights they can have so they can become better, those who can. That is what I learned, their blacks are out gypsies.

The second example of decrease levels of political tolerance as a result of the American experience happened with interviewee number eleven. She argues on the same direction with interviewee number eighteen, that the Hungarian minority in Romania has been extended rights that exceed the rights extended to minorities in the US and that these extensions should be reconsidered, because she argues, the Mexicans do not ask for regional autonomy in the middle of the US just because they man-

aged to be a majority in some community. She also states that the Mexican ethnics are the ones who are thankful to be American, and that the Hungarian minority should stop making the Romania majority feel as if "they are the bed guys" when the Hungarians need to recognize the Romanian's state rights of property over its own territory.

Interviewee number two, number seven and interviewee number fourteen declared no change during the interview. Interviewee number fourteen never answered the question directly and when he was asked again, he just decided to say that he feels the same way. He said that he feels that politically he hasn't learned much because he didn't follow politics in the US, and that he believed that he hasn't changed. "Those who are not criminals should have all the rights, that is what I always believed." Interviewee number two discusses generously about his encounters with various minorities and different groups and about his interaction with these minorities and the majority in general, yet his answer regarding political tolerance changes is a simple "No, I haven't changed my mind in that direction at all, I consider myself conservative" and continues to pursue the social tolerance elements. The seventh interviewee, on the other hand, states that he was and continues to be a conservative individual and argues that the American experience did not help him change his mind. What he names conservative are his ideas regarding the role of women and men in society. He argues that "there they don't care who is woman who is man. Their women are very manly and there is no distinction between man and women at the work place. I believe that the men should bring make money so that she can be allowed to only be a mother." Five respondents either ignored the question or gave such vague answers that it can not be extrapolated if there are any changes in regard to their level of political tolerance.

Compared to the political tolerance measurements, the social tolerance measurements brought 20 positive answers and just four negative answers meaning that there were three experiences upon which the USA travel had no transformative effect. Out of the four negative answers there are two from

the second interviewee's first and second visit, interviewee number fifteenth's second visit and a dual answer from interviewee number eight. Interviewee number fifteen argues that she does not consider that her second visit improved her level of social tolerance because she always considered herself a tolerant individual and because the first time she visited she realized that even if there was a trace of hate towards a different member of the society she needed to address it. She states:

> The first time around I learned a lot, I considered myself really a nice nonjudgmental person, but I realized that I can do better. You see, when we travelled to DC, the bus dropped us in a very bad area at four o'clock in the morning and there were many prostitutes and their pimps. My first thoughts were, oh my god where are we, are we safe? Then I realized that they must be scared too. I hear some girl speak Russian and I started to think of the fact that she for sure did not dream this life. I used to be disgusted by her kind, I always thought there are ways out, but I am not so sure now. And it came to mind this lady at the restaurant who used to be a prostitute and now was working with us and had a kid, and nobody at the restaurant cared about whom she used to be, right now she was just like any of us. I decided there is no difference between her and this Russian speaking girl and the only difference was within my own judgment. The second time around I was completely free of any prejudices.

Interviewee number two presents a completely different case for the reasons why he does not experience a positive influence. As everyone else indicated, he argues that he is tolerant, if rather, perhaps a little conservative person. Interviewee number two displays signs of intolerance during his first trip. He states that he did not like his experience at Six Flags because he had to share the dorm with "blacks." He argues that it was much better once he changed his job and started working constructions because he was making more money and made different friends. During his second trip interviewee number two does not get a chance to change his attitude. He describes his environment as:

> An area of super white men. They did not like blacks at all. They liked us much more, I think because we were white. They even paid us more compared to black people, they were super racists, and they were completely intolerant toward the black people who worked for the company.

Referring to homosexuals, the second interviewee states that he had no encounter with any of them but he did hear his coworkers make jokes about gay people. He describes once being at the re-

ceiving end of these jokes simply because he wore a brief-style Speedo bathing suit. His coworkers announced to him that except he is gay, he must put on some shorts. Interviewee number two also hears his coworker berate different ethnic minorities and different races. He also states that "I still believe like always that everyone does whatever they want, but these guys were not at all tolerant."

Interviewee number eight argued that he became more tolerant toward ethnic minorities but still does not agree with gay people. He refused to call African American as such he states that "as long as they call me white I will call them black." He claimed that he harbors absolutely no ill feelings toward them but finds it somewhat disturbing to hear them call each other the "N word" and expect others to call them African American. He also said that he believed that if there is any behavior that can be considered reprehensible among racial minorities it should be put in balance against comparable behavior of the white race. Indifferent of race, he argued, lack of education and opportunities will produce reprehensible behavior. Interviewee number eight stated:

> I learned lots about them while I was there. They lacked some opportunities so why such high expectations. I learned that a man is a man indifferent of color and that education matters, some had the opportunity to learn other did not.

Regarding gay people, interviewee number eight said that if they are born like that he could understand, but if they acquired their "gayness" he disagrees with it. He argued that there are no such things as gay animals, why should there be people? He considers himself someone whose ideas can not be changed in relation to homosexuality. He believes in the traditional family, mother, father and kids and in the role of the couple to procreate. His encounter with this minority during his visit to the US did not change his mind in the matter.

The rest of the 20 experiences in the US produced individuals who declared to be socially more tolerant as a result. Interviewee number one considers herself more tolerant toward homosexuals because of her experience. She argued that "homosexuals, I was disgusted, I was depressed looking at

them, especially when I used to see them kissing in the streets in Utrecht, now after my visit to the US I

say, your choice, I am much more malleable toward them." Interviewee number three declares that "I

am much more tolerant now compared to before I visited because of my personal experience with a gay

guy, with a guy I met outside of work and who turned out be a best friend." She changed her attitudes

not only towards guy people but she also reconsidered her attitude toward African Americans, Gypsies

and neo-protestants (as long as they refrained from proselytism). She declared that she dared date a

Muslim guy upon her return but nothing came out of it because although the guy was free to marry an-

yone he pleased, he was not free to marry a Christian. Referring with her attitude change interviewee

number nineteen argued that:

> I wouldn't have stood next to a gay person before for anything in the world. I was embarrassed
> by their embarrassment. I would have hated if anyone saw me talking with any of them. Now, I
> tell you honestly, I am not sure I recognize them anymore; they are just like any of us. What is
> the difference especially here in Romania where they can't anyways do anything legally?

She continues to lament on the issue that at least in the USA they can express their feelings and

develop relationships while in Romania they have to stay hidden if they want to be successful in life.

She wonders how long it will be till they could get married in Romania just like in some states in the

US.[135] She also wonders if her colleagues who have not been in the US would consider her as lacking any

morality for endorsing such behavior. That is why she states, she keeps in touch with people who have

been in Work and Travel because they understand each other much better.

Interviewee number four's experience was great because he worked for a German-Jewish mixed

family. He declared that his experience in this environment taught him a few things about tolerance.

The Jewish mother was bringing up the kids in the Jewish faith while they spoke predominantly German

in the house to honor the father's heritage. He states that he continues to have a problem with all those

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[135] Romanian constitutional amendment proposed June 5th 2013 forbids gay marriage.

who prove to have poor manners or criminal behavior. Regarding the role of the women and men in upbringing the children he argues that "I feel like I always knew that it does not matter but I feel that women are more conservative and want the men to bring more money. Now I noticed that can be reversed and everything is ok. The American way of viewing things continues to change me." The forth interviewee described that he was attending the wedding of one of his neo-protestants colleagues that week end who travelled in the Work and Travel as well and who decided to make a compromise for her non neo-protestant friends and allow music to be played. Interviewee number four said that he would have never considered attending the wedding before he traveled to the US. Interviewee number five addresses his change attitude toward the African American's and argues that although he understands that his parents are still going to be looking at them with "curiosity" he now has no problem with them walking up and down the streets of Cluj. He also argues that although he considers himself more conservative compared to others he feels that his American experience broadened his horizons and now he understands that women are just as competitive in the work force and that they should be considered real contenders to the roles of the head of the family. He remembers his friendship with a Jamaican student who he regarded as "different and weird initially" but soon he learned that "he thinks like me in certain important matters. This thing determined me to wonder why shouldn't anyone ever want him to teach school because it is only his appearance that is different." The fifth interviewee decided that his personal views were skewed and he needed to "rethink all that."

Among those who declared to have learned to be more socially tolerant interviewee number twenty, interviewee number seventeen, interviewee number sixteen and number seven declared that they learned to be more tolerant toward racial minorities because of their interaction with African Americans during their visit in the US. The seventh interviewee stated that he changed his opinion about African Americans because they proved to be real friends to him:

> With the black I had the best interaction. They are not like the movies depict them, all danger-ous and carrying guns. I mean, there probably are some who carry guns and sell drugs and all that. But for me it was not what I thought it was going to be based on what I learned from TV in Romania.

Interviewee number seventeen also found that she has changed her opinions about the role of women in society. She stated that she liked that fact that women are independent in the United States and that the mentality that keeps women at home to cook and rear children, and puts family duties first and before anything else is a little less prominent. She argued that:

> A mother is a mother, no matter what, but that does not mean that the man has no role in that, or that the mother does not exist as an individual anymore a thing which often happens here in Romania. I decided I will never turn into my mom; I can be like those Americans have a family and an individual life too.

Three of the interviewees declared that they had negative experiences with some of the groups. Interviewee number nine, number eight and number six became more tolerant despite these negative interactions. Interviewee number nine said that she witnessed how the "big boss" (whom she suspects of being gay) looked to find "stuff" wrong with one of the shift managers. She had a tight friendship with the shift manager who happened to be black. Shortly after her return she found out that the shift manager was fired and she believes that it was mainly because of his race. She also believed that the "big boss" although gay, disliked black people simply because of the color of their skin. This experience made her believe that people like that or gay people whom she said she accepted amazingly well despite her initial opinions should be treated better. It is interviewee number nine's opinion that she would have never believed she could care about any of these categories if she would have not interacted with them in the US. She also declared that she saw the Romanian traditionalism "at work in the US." In-terviewee number nine spent some time renting a room from a Romanian-American family in the area. She said that despite the fact that the wife made a great income she still had to get permission from the

husband to spend any amount of money. Interviewee number nine argued that she would rather never marry rather than accept a husband who had a similar behavior. Interviewee number eight's duality was already discussed and he is the only interviewee who declares to have become both more and less tolerant as a result of these interactions. Interviewee number six argued that he felt that some of the "Americans felt superior to migrants. Something on the lines of if they are white they are better" yet, he learned that the majority of the Americans he met were open to the migrant population and ethnic minorities. He stated that during his visit to San Francisco he learned that there were many different nationalities coexisting in big cities. He argued that "My experience from there was eye opening, it was a personal plus, and I feel like an idiot now when I see black people in Cluj and others turn their head around to look at them." Also, he said that his ideas about different people changed because he saw how different groups of people can live in harmony despite some racist ideas still lingering.

The purpose of this qualitative analysis is to allow for a deeper understanding of the transformative effect on the students who traveled to the US. Interviewee number four shows his excitement about being selected for the qualitative interview by stating; "I remember when I filled in that questionnaire that had questions about tolerance. I want to say that I am glad to talk about that." Interviewee number nine found that the questionnaire was not too relevant for her experience on the USA. And that "filling in bubbles" is not the same as talking about the experience itself. Interviewee number seventeen is also showing excitement for being able to detail her experience and states:

> I remember the questionnaire. I believe that for each answer I gave I could add a great deal more. That is because each person has a different experience and with those fixed questions you can't capture that, you can't go into details.

Every single one of the 20 interviewees agreed that they learned a great deal about the United States and themselves at the same time. Despite the fact that not all of them became more tolerant

both politically and socially, they describe their American experience as a learning movement. Interviewee number one said:

> I learned a great deal, I am more tolerant in general. I learned to allow everyone to live, I learned to make a difference among some things, I learned from those people from that society, from the environment in general.

Interviewee number three states that she changed fast and matured greatly while in the US, and feels a little unhappy in Romania now. She misses those opened-minded people, she made a point of learning fast because as she states she only had three months to get it done. Like them, the rest of the students expressed their positive attitude toward the experience of traveling and learning in the US. Interviewee number five pondered at the end of his interview on his experience and made a strong case in favor of a positive learning experience. His experience was a "total gain" but he wonders if it would have all changed if he had to stay in the US for "three years or more" or if the openness he felt from those he came in contact with him would not have been of a different nature if he was an illegal immigrant.

7.2.2   The pre American experience (knowledge and expectations)

All of those who participated in the qualitative part of this research have already had the opportunity to analyze introspectively the level of expectations that they had before visiting the US compared to the actual experience of working and traveling in the US. Before their departure they all had some level of exposure to the American dream, mostly from mass media and from entertainment venues such as movies, television documentaries, magazines, music or conversation with others who traveled to the US previously. All twenties interviewees spoke of prior knowledge of the American society at various levels from what they described as "a lot" to "I think I knew what everyone else knew." With two exceptions, the majority of the participants felt that their experience matched or surpassed their expectations. The two exceptions found that their American experience was below their level of expectations. Respondent number fourteen finds that the USA is not what the movies depict. He expressed disap-

pointment upon the realization of the fact that not everybody cares about recycling and damage to the

environment as expected…this impression was dictated by observing the high number of SUVs driven on

regular basis by those he call "tiny women, who only drive their purses around town." The seventh in-

terviewee states that his negative interaction with one of the managers at the workplace made him

wonder if he "was for real in the USA where everyone has a smile on their face." This interaction was

depicted by interviewee number 7 as the main story of his experience in the US. Although, later on, his

visit improves, he mentioned that he encountered "pure communism" at Hardees in Virginia Beach

nonetheless:

> This manager, you should have seen her, we were not getting along at all with her, not just me,
> all of the employees had a huge problem. I could not believe I was in the US." It was "an awful
> way of living, I was not allowed a glass of water between 12 and 2 pm, because we were busy.
> That was communism, not democracy! I am not sure what they define as democracy there in
> Virginia Beach because after 8 pm you are not allowed on the beach, what? The fact that you
> can purchase oversized tires for you pick up truck, it that it, it that the democracy? They control
> you so much, soon it will be a problem what I should be allowed to eat and what not. This is not
> what I knew about United States. (Interviewee number seven)

Interviewee number seventeen found that the "United States is like in the movies, it is well de-

scribed in the movies, I was very surprised by their ways of living." "What I saw in the movies is real;

many things are just like in the movies. It is so cool" said interviewee number ten while interviewee

number four states: "after I traveled some more (n. trans. within the US), I learned it was just as I ex-

pected it, for instance New York, I am crazy about it" and "I believe that what I learned about the Ameri-

can culture changed my views even before I ever left for the US. The American culture had a huge im-

pact on me since I was a very young child." Some students, despite their high expectation from their

American experience, still experienced a cultural shock upon their immersion in the actual society. "I

was very marked by this thing (n. trans. the culture), it was an experience which I never believed I was

going to live. I saw a culture that they keep portraying in the movies, I saw something new. It is a cul-

ture you keep hearing about and I made it there, amidst it, cultural shock would be the least I could say

about it" said the sixth interviewee. In general they had a high expectation level. This was brought on

by their media consumption and the image created about the US by the entertainment industry. They

all expressed a certain degree of learning that happened during their stay and none of them concluded

the interview by stating that their experience was negative as a whole when considering their level of

expectation and their prior knowledge of the US. All interviewees show openness toward the learning

process and are ready to merge with the American society.

> Being here (n. trad. in Romania) you hear and see things on TV, you hear about other peoples' experiences and you create certain expectations in your mind which can come true or not when you get there, in my case the ideas I had were completely different then the reality. (Interviewee number fifteen)

Interviewee number six states that his expectations were wrong somewhat and that upon re-

turn to Romania he realized that his experiences were different compared to his expectations:

> When you make it there you have the thoughts you brought with you from home. You arrive there and you realize that they are wrong, but until you come back home you have both the ideas you had and the real stuff well formed in your head, and all that stuff that you learned about them is in your head. And these two thoughts are all sorts of different. You compare them especially at the beginning, al the time and they strike you, but then you say 'you have to deal with it. (Interviewee number six)

While interviewee number ten was describing her initial shock to the way some of her American

peers chose to dress in their every day life:

> There you can wear whatever you want. They were wearing shoes and tops that I would not have worn here in Romania around the house. I had some preconceptions in this regard, that we should always wear our best clothes, while there they wore clothes that had holes in them, and one time I saw a lady wearing hair rolls in the street. Now that was shocking for the beginning, but soon after I got adjusted to it and I even liked that. (Interviewee number ten)

There are two main reasons why the interviewees chose to travel to the United States: money

and tourism. Most often they give both reasons, with a variation on the importance of one reason ver-

sus the other. Some presented their desire to earn money in order to fulfill certain financial goals (being able to support themselves in school, purchasing computers, saving money for a car etc.) as a main incentive, and the touristic opportunities as a secondary reason or the other way around where the money earned during the stay was to be spent at a later date on travel around the US. It is important to distinguish between the two categories because the expectation is that those who travel in order to achieve a financial goal are less likely to invest their savings in touring or any other kind of activities that would enhance their knowledge of the American culture besides the opportunities offered around the work place. Among the twenty interviewees there are three participants who state that earning money was their main reason for participating in Work and Travel and five participants declare that tourism was why they traveled to the United States. The rest of the twelve participants mixed their desire to make money with their desire to visit. The purpose of their travel shows that some of the interviewees were more inclined to spend resources on learning about the host society. At times the reason they state money before visit is because without the income earned during their stay the visiting would not have been possible. It is noticeable that even though some declared that their main purpose was tourism they end up working multiple jobs, and even though they had full days of work the main purpose was to save sufficient money in order to afford the vacation at the end of the working period. Interviewee number two visited United States twice; he declared that the purpose of his first visit was more toward saving money while the second visit was more for touristic purposes. He states that his second visit was "to visit the country, to take this opportunity" because once he finished school these opportunities would become less available since the US embassy is reluctant to extend visas to all those who request it. He said that financially his "home situation" is more than great; his parents "said they will give me that money just so I would stay home over summer." Yet, the second interviewee travelled to the US the second time and observed that "once you reach there, and you see how things are, and you see eve-

ryone working more than one job, I wanted to get more jobs myself." Following the same pattern the sixth interviewee worked four jobs at one point but he states that:

> I was busy from morning to night. In the end we all coordinated in order to be able to travel, to visit, because even if we would have still been able to work we would still have quit and left to go see places and things, we would not have cared because we planned to have an awesome vacation. I did not see really a lot, but this is why I went there, to see things like that. (Interviewee number six)

Another category of the interviewees declared that they had to take on multiple jobs because the hours offered by the one employer were insufficient to recover the cost of the trip and cover expenses for tourism. The seventh interviewee worked three jobs and made sufficient money to recover his initial investment. "In a month and a half I recovered all my money, I made over $3000. No, I did not really make any money because even those I earned while there I spent it. That was the whole idea." Or, like interviewee number nineteen, who declares that she did not visit the US for money and 'that is why she did not overwork herself" she only had one job which was sufficient to afford her enough savings because "I saved all that in order to travel." Some, like interviewee number eleven, never fully recovered their investments and from a financial perspective it was a disaster. They borrowed money they had to repay upon return, but from a life experience perspective "it was unforgettable."

There is clearly another category of those who travelled specifically to save money in order to fulfill certain financial goals. Interviewee number four considered the financial aspect of the trip more important compared to being able to "have fun" like his colleagues who chose to work for theme parks. He needed money because he had to save all of it in order to fix his car which he damaged severely in a car accident during that same year. Interviewee number nine declares that she looked precisely to get at least a job in food industry in order to be able to make tips so she could save some money to take home.

7.2.3   The American experience

With three exceptions all interviewees travel within the US after or during their work experi-ence. Interviewee number one, interviewee number ten and interviewee number eleven did not travel either because they chose to spend vacation time in the resort where they worked or they were unable to coordinate their schedule with other students and had no desire to travel alone. Interviewee number one and interviewee number ten declared that tourism was just as important as making money during their visit to the US, yet they did not travel. Still, both interviewee number one and interviewee number ten will return to the US the following summer and plan to budget their time better in order to visit ex-tensively. Meanwhile, interviewee number eleven declared that tourism was more important than money making and she still did not travel extensively because her financial situation prevented it, she never recovered her initial investment.

Among the favorite destinations for the one who travelled were, Ney York City, New Jersey, At-lantic City, Chicago, Washington DC, Las Vegas, Grand Canyon, Atlanta, Boston, and Salt Lake City. In their majority they saved their vacation time for the end of their stay and organized groups in order to be able safely and cheaply visit these cities. Some combined visiting theses major cities with visits to friends and family residing within the US. It is important to identify if these students had the opportuni-ty to be exposed to larger cities and to environments that would allow learning of different perspectives in life. Considering that their work environment is not always conducive to a modern, open-minded, educated experience, it is important to find out if they were able to gain this exposure elsewhere.

Connected with their desire of saving money to bring back to Romania or to travel within the US is the amount of work they were engaged in. The jobs they chose, indifferent of the reason either for the savings to be returned to Romania or to be spend while in the US, are pivotal to the environment to which they were exposed to. They spent most of their time with American citizens belonging to these

environments natively. The most popular jobs were the restaurant type, different than the second most

popular, fast food. These two categories were followed by motel/hotel services and theme parks such

as 6 Flags or Old Dominion and grocery stores. Jobs such as factory worker, spa attendant, golf at-

tendant, inn, beach shop, and ice cream parlor or clothing store were unique among these twenty inter-

viewees. All of these jobs are seasonal, low income jobs and do not require any higher education or

specialized skills. Interviewee number six had four jobs during his stay in Work and Travel; he worked at

a grocery store, was a spa attendant and a golf attendant and was also a server in a local restaurant.

Five respondents worked three jobs, eight of them worked two jobs and nine of them worked one job

only.[136] Interviewee number four mentioned only one job at the Inn, yet during the interview he men-

tioned the fact that his main job was to wait tables but he was also in charge with house keeping and

outside chores. He mentions that he was taking care of outside facilities such as maintaining a play-

ground, clearing out trees off the property, maintaining tennis courts and the pool, in a few words "eve-

rything that needed to be done, we all worked as a family."

One of the most important means of learning from this experience is through the interaction

with people belonging to the host environment. All interviewees reported vast interaction with similar

categories. They mention management, as they all held jobs, coworkers, clients, locals whom they met

during various occurrences, young international students sharing the same experience of Work and

Travel, other migrants and some mention Romanian Americans. They also came in contact with differ-

ent ethnicities, people of different race or different religions.

Interviewee number one reports that working either as a buffet attendant, hostess, restaurant

help, waiter help or sandwich maker; in any position the coworkers were extraordinary. "There were

lots of international people, the supervisors were American, the waiters were American and the clients

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[136] Three respondents discussed two trips to the USA; hence the number of respondents mentioned in this category exceeds 20.

were indeed our masters". She also reports having been involved in organizing a wedding for an Indian family where she had a great experience and learned a lot of things. She shared a house with other international students who worked in the same restaurant but with whom they did not get along. "With the Americans we got along very well, much better than with the other East Europeans, we organized all the parties, and if we had any issues they were helping us out, but the Americans got along among themselves very well too." She reports one negative interaction with a drunken client which was mediated by her manager the next time the same client entered the establishment; the manager mediated an apology from the client to the employee. Interviewee number one said that:

> Generally speaking everyone was very nice to me because I am Romanian, at night even if I should have not shared in the tips jar, they always tipped me separately from the waiters. They even tipped me more because they knew I am from Romania and that I was saving money.

Referring to her management interviewee number one recalls a time when one of her Romanian colleagues had tooth pain and the manager drove her in his personal car to the doctor and if they needed the car to go shopping or to go to the beach the manager lend them his personal car, he even invited them home for dinner to meet his family. She concludes "that was one awesome kind of a boss to have."

Interviewee number two reports a mixed interaction with his management. On one hand he states that the Six Flags managements took advantage of the fact that they were immigrants and there was nobody to stand up for them and hence the contracts were not respected. At another job he feels that the "the disgustingly fat lady running the restaurant" really treated them better than some other people "if you get what I mean." In the geographical area of his employment everyone seemed to say "everyone does what they want" but the second interviewee states that "these guys were not at all tolerant" this was a "very white place" there were very few African Americans, everyone was neo-protestants and in the end the second interviewee states that "we made better friends with the Jamai-

cans who were hard workers, compared to their African Americans and we liked them better than they were liked by the Americans." The same feeling of different treatment being applied because of the weak position as temporary migrants is reported by interviewee number seven who argues that the management at his work place was taking advantage of the students and scheduling them in such way where they could not find a second job. Everyone else perceived encouraging signals from the management and had only positive examples to offer in regards to how those in charge at the work place made efforts to integrate, pay, teach and train the students.

In regards to meeting different races, all reported encounters with African Americans and their experience varied. Interviewee number two states that African Americans "were treated like gypsies at home" while interviewee number three reported that they were treated "as they deserved, no different than other people." Interviewee number five's interaction with African Americans determines him to declare that "now when I see them in the streets here in Cluj I don't think of anything special, not as I thought before because I come from a small town where we don't see different people." Another interviewee, number seven, when asked about encounters with minorities he declares that:

> I changed my opinion about African Americans. They are very very friendly, I do not have a problem with them anymore, I left Romania with an impression created by the media and those video clips that I saw at home, that they all are armed with pistols and have bad thoughts and only stupidity, but no way, when I arrived in the US I got along fine with them, they were very friendly with me and my Romanian friends.

Interviewee number nine and fifteen both declared that they got along best with a coworker that was African American and still keep in touch but that through their interaction with their co-workers and clients they learned:

> to be more guarded, because I lacked awareness, attention he is gay, attention he is black, attention not to hurt his feelings calling him those names, it was going beyond the positive discriminations, I started limiting my contact with some because I did not want to say something wrong and hurt anyone's feelings. This now, I am not sure if it is such a good idea for them to be sensitive to all these ideas.

In the same direction, interviewee number eighteen reports that the African American co-workers managed to become disliked by the majority of other employees. Somehow she said, they were always in a bad mood and always ready to argue. She managed to overpass this behavior and ignoring the mother she doted on a young son situation which eventfully brought over the sympathy of the mother towards the interviewee. The interviewee reports a feeling of reverse discrimination which she ignored because "that kid way just too much of a cutie."

Regarding interaction with people of different sexual orientation nine of the interviewees declare to have been in contact with either gay or lesbians while 11 interviewees either had no contact or did not perceive contact with this minority. Those who encountered gay people declared a positive interaction at work or personal. Some argued that if they would not have been open enough to give them a chance, they would have lived with the wrong impression about this group. In general these encounters were not the source of any kind of cultural shock with one exception, interviewee number eight, who during his visit to New York City, was approached by whom he called a "weirdly dressed woman." This woman asked for a cigarette and propositioned him. On a second look it proved to be a transvestite. Interviewee number eight declared that for the first time in life he felt a jolt of repulsion "for their kind."

Another category brought up in the interviews is the neo-protestant religious group, a minority in Romania. There they are referred to as "pocaiti," a term that lately has gained negative connotations and was replaced by the more general "neo-protestants" among the more educated classes. All interviewees had interactions with the American neo-protestant group. They noted that in the United States the majority of the population is neo-protestant. Interviewee number thirteen described the difference as follows:

> Well I knew before I left that the majority of the Americans are neo-protestant, and I left Romania thinking that they are all alike, but there I was amazed by the differences. I was amazed by the liberty that they enjoy, they listen to music, and yes, they were neo-protestants, they had no problem being my friends. Here, they don't go anywhere, they don't come near me except to try and convince me to join their church. I have my own beliefs and in the United States nobody criticized me for that, I was much more offended by them here, at home in Romania.

These differences were noted with no exception by all interviewees who reported positive contact with this category. In one instance the positive experience was almost replaced by a negative one when interviewee number six reported that while sitting outside of a shop waiting for a friend to finish shopping, he was approached by an individual who asked him if he felt all right. They struck a conversation and after a few minutes the individual grabbed interviewee number six's hand and started praying for him. "I was very embarrassed" interviewee number six said that "to pray like that in the middle of the street, people could misinterpret that, at least here they would have." Yet, interviewee number six brushed off this incident and just as the rest of his fellow interviewees noticed the fact that the majority of the American neo-protestants were no different than the rest of the population.

Another category they all mentioned as having been in contact with is other migrants. In general, if the interaction did not take place at work, it took place during their visits to other places. While the interviewees mostly mention Mexican migrants, one interviewee encountered Jamaican migrants and all of them were in contact with a multitude of nationalities of students from all over the world traveling with the same program. The students' encounters with other migrants are important because in some instances they compare other nationals' rights in the US and those interactions with US citizens with Romanian ethnic minorities' rights back home. For instance, interviewee number sixteen noticed that in the United States there is a good chance that someone speaks Spanish and can assist in translating for the Mexican migrants. Interviewee number eighteen notices that Mexican nationals, especially those with no documents, accepted less payment for their services and seemed happy to have the op-

portunity to gain an income. Interviewee number fourteen and interviewee number twelve also noticed that some Americans felt "very superior," especially to Mexican nationals, "as if they are white they are better."

As expected, all interviewees had contact with American citizens both during work and outside the work environment. Most of their experiences were positive and even when negative experiences were reported they were mentioned mostly in relation to situations that had not changed their opinion entirely. Interviewee number one mentioned that during one of her shifts at the restaurant she was insulted directly by one drunk costumer but the situation was remedied by the intervention of the manager who obtained an apology from the costumer. Interviewee number eighteen mentioned that her first interaction with anyone in the US was negative; she and a friend took a taxi from the airport to the location where they were to meet their employer. The taxi driver mistakenly took them to a different city, dumped them in the streets and charged them $70 for the ride. Interviewee number eighteen mentioned a lady who stopped and asked if they were ok and offered them a ride to the right location and gave them the $70 back, "just like that." On the other hand the second interviewee mentioned that because of his interaction with some "American" that he met he obtained his landscaping job. The Romanian students mentioned the fact that the young Americans whom they met during their stay would join their parties and cookouts. They became close friends and continue to keep in touch. "We all spend most of our time at work around Americans," said interviewee number nine who became appreciated by locals at the restaurant where she worked because the regular clients did not even have to specify the way they liked their orders delivered, she already knew. Interviewee number fourteen mentions that he had time to understand the every day people; he said he perceived them very open, while he would bag their purchases they all felt like striking conversations; they all had a smile on their faces. Interviewee number eight tells a story of an interaction with an older customer during his shift at the

theme park in which the older customer perceived interviewee number eight's intention to return to

Romania as an escape from the economic crisis. This, said interviewee number eight, is just an example

of the type of conversations he would carry on while waiting to load customers on the next ride. They

all report that the Americans in general are more relaxed and more liberal in their views of life, religion,

rights and interaction with other people.

Half of the interviewees reported contact with the American institutions in one form or another.

Most of those who interacted with the American institutions have been in contact with the Social Secu-

rity Office. Their experience was positive with no exceptions. This statement is supported by declara-

tions such as interviewee number one's:

> When I had to get my social security number it was a whole entire story, they called the social
> security office to the company, I mean they called the institution to us, not we go there. All this
> in order to save us money and time. They told us in advance what documents to bring with us
> at work, and there they were.

The fifth interviewee describes an interaction with bureaucracy that made him wish he could

import it to Romania mainly because he was expecting difficulties in dealing with the Romania DMV of-

fice. Interviewee number seventeen tells of how the company organized a "field trip" for all those who

needed a social security number and how they had absolutely no problems at the counter, all they had

to do now was wait for the cards to show in the mail. One single experience was different. Interviewee

number eighteen had to be put in the hospital where she reports "they were running around me like

crazy." She declared that she was not really sick but that it seems everyone was better off is she stayed

there a few days. "They even called a cab for me because I had no money, they were incredible." This

experience was punctuated by another one for those students on the east coast who had to evacuate

the resorts because of a large hurricane. They huddled in one single bed hotel room as inland as they

could get in order to save money, but the front desk upgraded them for free to two double rooms "with

a door in the middle" so now they all could sleep in beds. The impressions were directed at institutions because it seemed that American bureaucrats (although front desk reception at a hotel is clearly no bureaucracy) were deeply involved with their job and they cared for the people they served.

Out of 20 interviewees, 17 reported media exposure. They had access to TV, Internet, newspapers, magazines either at home or at work but more often in both places. The three who reported no media interaction stated that this was the case because they simply did not have time and interest, they preferred to spend time doing something different. Even among those who did report media interaction, there are various levels of exposure but mostly they declared that TV was not something they spent too much time watching. Their TV interaction was mostly at work while TVs were on for clients, or watching news channels briefly to see what happens home or watching the Olympic games. Printed media was even less popular because of lack of time, yet there was availability at the work place. The Internet was their favorite means of keeping informed. They have excitedly noticed the availability of WIFI networks that enabled them to use their recently purchased laptop computers. They also kept in touch with families and friends back home by using the Internet.

All 20 interviewees were asked if they had previous experience with other countries in the West. Only five opened up in detail about their previous experience in the West. The rest decided either to ignore the question or to give relatively bland answers which only stated that they did travel in the West but not extensively and they would not consider that a marking experience. The transformative impact of the American experience was captured by interviewee number four who said that "in Europe everything is more slack" and that the US experience taught him to "view things like a grown up."   More important, interviewee number eight underlines that his European experience was not a positive one. He tells of his troubles during his trips to Italy where although protected by close family and friends he felt discriminated against. He states that he realized that the Europeans "do not like many people but

themselves." Interviewee number five observes that "it is clear that the Americans are much nicer towards migrants compared to the French or Italians." Interviewee number six decided that the Europeans "just want money and no work, and if we go there they are afraid we are taking their jobs." The qualitative interviews show that the West European experience was far more superficial than the American experience. It also underlines the fact that these students have experienced the European West from a touristic perspective and in general have visited cities. Although the Western experience does show an impact on the levels of tolerance, the impact is much smaller compared to the American experience. Through the lenses of the interviewees that declare a Western European exposure it seems that the quantitative findings are confirmed showing a small impact on the levels of social tolerance but a negligible impact on the levels of political tolerance.

Table 7.5. Qualitative Interviews summaries

Interviewee	Why travel		Jobs		Travel within the USA	Media exposure	Pol. Tol.	Soc. Tol
	Money	Tourism	Type	How many				
1	+	+	Restaurant	1	No	Yes	Yes[137]	Yes
2	-	+	Constructions 6 Flags	2	Yes	Yes	No[138]	No
2B (second trip)	+	+	Factory Landscape Restaurant	3	Yes	Yes	No	No
3	+	-	Fast food	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	+	-	Inn	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	+	-	Services/motel Restaurant	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	-	+	Grocery store Spa attendant Golf attendant Restaurant	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	+	+ +	Fast food Hotel Beach shop	3	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
8	-	+	Theme park	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	No/Yes[139]
9	+ +	+	Fast food Ice cream parlor Restaurant	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	+	+	Restaurant	1	No	Yes	N/A[140]	Yes
10B (second trip)	+	+	Restaurant	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
11	+	+ +	Fast food Airport shop	2	No	Yes	D[141]	Yes
12	+	+	Fast food Restaurant	2	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes
13	+	+	Hotel Restaurant	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
14	+	+	Beach attendant	1	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
15	+	+	6 Flags	1	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes
15B (second trip)	+	+	Restaurant	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
16	+	+ +	Fast food Motel	3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
17	-	+	Fast food	1	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes
18	+	+	Grocery store Clothing store	2	Yes	Yes	D & Yes	Yes
19	-	+	Fast food Small shop	2	Yes	No	N/A	Yes
20	-	+	Fast food / Small shop	2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

[137] Yes, means an increase in levels of tolerance
[138] No, means no change or no increase in level of tolerance
[139] This interviewee stated that there was no change in the level of tolerance but after further inquiry his responses actually prove that there was a positive impact on the levels of social tolerance.
[140] N/A, no answer to the question, no clear reply
[141] D, decrease in level of tolerance

7.3   Conclusion

This chapter employed both quantitative and qualitative analysis in order to investigate whether immersion into a more democratic society has any impact on social and political tolerance. The quantitative analysis shows that Work and Travel has a high positive impact on both dependent variables although statistically insignificant for political tolerance. The Western experience proves to be weaker (yet statistically significant) for social tolerance while for political tolerance it seems to have a negligible and statistically insignificant impact. It shows that travel does have an impact on the levels of social tolerance while it does not have a statistically significant impact on political tolerance. The qualitative interviews come to complement these findings. While the majority of the interviewees found their experience in the US transformative, there are also examples of students who did not show an improvement on their levels of tolerance. Two interviewees (eleven[142] and eighteen[143]) declared that although they gained more tolerance socially, politically they are less tolerant as a result of this experience. The general tendency for the majority of the interviewees is to declare that they have an increased level of tolerance as a result of their Work and Travel experience. The qualitative interviews also support the idea that was called in this project the Western experience (to differentiate it from the American experience) is more superficial and compared to the American experience it does not have the same transformative effect. Those who travelled to more democratic countries of the Western world but not to the US with the Work and Travel do not perceive changes as dramatically as those who did. An important finding is that the level of immersion in the society changes behavior. A superficial experience such as tourism does not trigger the same transformative effects as does the integration of individuals in the actual real society of the country to where they travel. The qualitative interviews find that both experiences have a

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[142] Interviewee number eleven observed a Mexican minority thankful to be able to work in the US and compared this attitude to the attitude of Hungarian minority in Romania.
[143] Interviewee number eighteen experienced what she called "reverse discrimination" and also observed that all minorities speak English as opposed to ethnic minorities in Romania.

transformative effect on the levels of political and social tolerance. Work and Travel was perceived as dramatically influencing changes while the Western experience has a milder effect for social tolerance. Western, non-American experiences have slightly increased the levels of social tolerance while it decreased the levels of political tolerance. One must keep in mind that, on the one hand, democracy is universally accepted as the best type of political regime. For example, Inglehart and Norris (2003) use World Values Survey data to show that, with respect to support for democracy, there were no differences between respondents from various countries across the world, irrespective of their level of socio-economic development or predominant religion. Respondents from Muslim countries in Northern Africa and the Middle East were as supportive as respondents from Western Europe. Yet on the other hand, when respondents were asked questions about social tolerance (gender equality, homosexuality), there was a huge gap between Muslim countries and the rest of the world, particularly Western liberal democracies. These findings are important in two ways. First, they indicate once more the need for a nuanced, multidimensional conceptualization of tolerance. Second, they show that social tolerance is harder to attain; therefore, it is not surprising to see that the Western exposure on Romanian students has affected primarily social tolerance. The following chapter will discuss these finding in more detail in the general context of this dissertation.

8   Conclusions

The main purpose of this dissertation is to make a contribution to the study of the reciprocal relationship between tolerance and democracy. Previous research indicates that tolerance has great importance for democracy and, in turn, democracy produces more tolerant citizens. One of the contributions of this study is the analysis of how political and social tolerance influence the success or failure of radical right parties, an important element in the democratic process capable of producing rejectionist and exclusionary policies for both developing and developed democracies. Here, the tolerance (social and political) is the independent variable, support for radical right parties is the intervening variable, and "democracy" (operationalized using World Bank's Voice and Accountability scores) is the dependent variable. So far, there is insufficient research on how these three elements connect. In order to determine to what extent they do, this study has employed both a longitudinal and cross sectional analysis as well as macro- and micro-level analyses. The puzzle is how tolerance influences democracy and, in turn, how democratic socialization influences tolerance.

Przeworski (et al. 2000) argues that past a certain point of economic development there is no risk of democratic backsliding. The study of tolerance grows in importance as the predictions of modernization theorists that development produces attitudinal changes among citizens in turn determining an increase of pro-democratic attitudes, seem to lose part of their potency. Yet, radical and extreme right parties in Europe seem to gain saliency despite these countries' economic growth. Both young and old democracies experience an increase of electoral support for radical right translated in either participation in the government or direct influence over the governmental policies. The radical right parties seem to gain support among various demographic and socio-economic groups and they base their platforms and ideologies on issues that have a common source, intolerance. Previous literature has addressed the link between tolerance and democracy but failed to look at how intolerant citizens can en-

danger the democratic process by lending their electoral support to political formations that advocate anti-democratic measures. It seems that democracy is trapped by its own principles; forbidding these political formations is anti-democratic in itself, while allowing them to develop farther would clearly attack the very fabric of democracy. One rational solution would be to create conditions where these political formations would lose their natural electoral support. This means an increase in levels of tolerance among citizens. The traditional approach to the study of tolerance and its determinants is to identify micro-level variables such as education, income, urbanization, age, gender or religiosity and measure their transformative effect. Modernization theories and more specifically Przeworski's (et al. 2000) findings offer long-term solutions. These long-term transformative processes, referring to an increase in education, income and other predictors could produce an increase in the level of tolerance but these changes take generations to happen. Especially the new democracies (see Hungary or Romania) can not afford the time to wait for these transformative processes to take place. There is need for supplementary solutions which would speed up the process.

Yet, most of these variables offer solutions that would take generations in order to observe change. A faster solution would be a process of democratic learning mediated by migration from a less democratic to a more democratic country.

Another important element comes from measurement issues. Although identified as a "multi-dimensional issue" (Gibson and Anderson 1985) tolerance continued to be measured as one concept with a range of variation and remained focused on the political aspects. It has been demonstrated (Fesnic and Viman-Miller 2009) that tolerance is multidimensional. Both political and social tolerance play an important role in supporting liberal democratic norms.

The macro-(country) level quantitative analysis seeking to determine the influence of tolerance on democracy first reconfirmed that tolerance is a multidimensional concept. Further tests were con-

ducted using a different set of variables in order to reconfirm these previous findings presented in the literature review. The factor analysis confirmed that there is indeed a social and a political side of tolerance. Therefore, it is imperative to separate the two concepts in order to better understand the impact they have on democracy. Despite less than perfect data, the macro-level analysis also confirmed that there is a general tendency: higher levels of social and political tolerance do influence democracy at country level. The bivariate analysis yields some important findings. It shows that in general, lacking institutional measures, radical right parties are overrepresented and they win more seats than the mainstream parties in the legislative branches. The same macro-level analysis finds that despite the fact the electoral systems does not impact the way citizens vote in general they do offer means of controlling the way these votes translate into seats in the lower legislative chambers. These findings were reconfirmed using multivariate linear regression and controlling for additional factors. The coefficients obtained for the other variables introduced in the model are large so, in spite of the fact that some lack statistical significance, the results suggest that further research is promising. The expectations were low considering that the study of tolerance yields better results at individual-level. Still, macro-level analysis also shows that institutional mechanisms do have a way of preventing access to the government for radial right parties.

Tolerance is an individual characteristic, so the micro-level analysis is a more appropriate approach to the study of social and political tolerance. In a multivariate model, both social and political tolerance have a significant impact on party choice. Both are statistically significant allowing higher confidence in the results indicated by the coefficients. The levels of political tolerance have an important role in party choices for the electorate. Meanwhile, the levels of social tolerance prove to be a more important determinant of party choice and voting behavior compared to the levels of political tolerance. This shows that the salience of political tolerance issues, some identified decades ago, has decreased,

while social tolerance issues remain on the agenda and thus they dictate party politics through their divisive nature. Acceptance of unconventional social behavior translates in support for moderate parties and through this it determines a rejection of the radical right parties' policies. Despite institutional attempts to limit the presence of the radical right parties in democratic systems, or the attempts of moderate parties to recapture the votes from the radical right, the best solution appears to be increasing the levels of social and political tolerance at individual-level. Tolerant citizens would offer a natural death to these political formations and there would be no need to employ institutional strategies or electoral strategies in order to prevent their access to the government. These findings at micro-level predict the results obtained when the same analysis was employed using the original data panel in chapter seven.

The next step in the analysis of the impact of tolerance on democracy is to look at case studies and seek to understand how social and political tolerance influence the political system. The four cases chosen were France, Romania, Austria, and Hungary. In spite of their differences, they all show the impact and the consequences of the individual-level tolerance on voting and, as a consequence, on the party system. Although prevented from being part of the government, the radical right parties in France and Romania have managed to negotiate with the moderate parties and translate part of their ideologies into policies at the national level. This shows that, institutional devices (such as a majoritarian electoral system, as in France, or a high threshold, like in Romania) can offer only a partial solution. They may leave extremist parties out of the legislature, but they do not necessarily marginalize the policies promoted by such parties. Moreover, the attempt of the mainstream right parties to accept some of the radical ideology in order to capture radical votes, presents a different set of problems, the mainstream parties would relinquish their moderate position placing them closer to the extreme. The radicalization of the mainstream parties, in order to satisfy an increasing percentage in the electorate and capture votes, presents a threat to the liberal democratic values comparable to the very existence of the radical

and extreme right parties. In Austria and Hungary the radical right parties acceded to the government. Their achievement sent a wave of worries across Europe and the world. Democratically elected, these parties have shown that radial right is well and thriving and has the potential to destabilize consolidated and new democracies alike.   Their success was guaranteed by an increase in the level of intolerance among voters and a lack of institutional protectionism. Again, the best possible scenario would be to eradicate the need for a radical right message through increased levels of social and political tolerance.

The individual-level of analysis for the four cases shows that despite systemic differences, tolerance is a universal language. There are no fundamental differences between radical right supporters in the Western established democracies compared to those from the Eastern emerging democracies. The model shows that the less tolerant a voter, the higher the chances this individual will support radical right parties. Together with other independent variables the model shows that in time different variables present more importance in determining electoral behavior, yet it is important to note that the differences between the radical right and the mainstream political parties are growing larger. This fact underlines that the radical right parties are addressing an increasingly distinct constituency. An increase in the polarization of the political party system presents an important challenge to the democratic process.

In the first part of the dissertation, tolerance was the independent variable and democracy was the dependent variable. In the second part of the dissertation, the direction of the analysis is reversed: it studies the impact of democracy on levels of political and social tolerance. The data for this final part is offered by an original survey of undergraduate students from various universities of the city of Cluj, Romania. The longitudinal analysis compares the evolution of tolerance in students who never travelled outside of the country with students who travelled either to the Western older and more consolidated democracies or the United States of America. In the US these students had the unique opportunity to work and travel for an extended period of time with no interruptions. This offered an opportunity for

these individuals to experience the American society and immerse themselves into a new social and po-

litical environment. The American experience is different from the other Western experiences because

students who travel to Western Europe do so mostly as tourists and use a network of acquaintances ex-

periencing the social and political environment in a different way.   The quantitative analysis results

show that the students who travelled to the United States or to the Western more consolidated demo-

cratic systems experience an increase in the levels of social tolerance, while there is no increase in their

levels of political tolerance. Previous individual level analysis for other countries showed that social tol-

erance had a quadruple influence on party choice compared to political tolerance. Changes in the levels

of social tolerance come as a result of exposure to new ideas, and this increased level of social tolerance

influence the quality of democratic choice these individual make. These findings underline once more

the importance of measuring tolerance as a multidimensional concept.

Qualitative interviews with about twenty students enrolled in *Work and Travel* program com-

plement the quantitative analysis. They underline the fact that the impact of travel on social tolerance

is much stronger compared to political tolerance. These interviews underline the level of investments

these students put forward. This is important because it mandated their integration in the American

society at work or within their host families in order to recover or offset some of their investments.

Even though most declare that the ultimate purpose for their travel to the United States was tourism,

they also argue that tourisms would have been impossible without earning an income prior to travel.

This integration happened mostly at lower income jobs, and mostly service related, which are the posi-

tions these students qualify for and where they had an opportunity to interact with a very diverse group

of people. For students who only experienced travel in the older Western European democracies the

impact was different. Although there is some transformative effect, its magnitude is not comparable to

the American experience. While the levels of social tolerance increase, the levels of political tolerance

decrease which suggests that they have interacted, come in contact, discussed or consumed information about a varied group of nontraditional members of the society; however, they have decided that upon return they will show less tolerance toward political rights of their homeland minorities. A decrease in level of political tolerance could also be explained by the fact that they have had a negative learning experience. Their superficial immersion in the Western society, correlated with a feeling of being treated as a second-class citizen, triggered a decrease in levels of tolerance. Consequently future research should focus on understanding the reasons why the quantitative analysis shows no impact on political tolerance for either type of experiences, while the qualitative analysis shows that Work and Travel produces a slight increase in the levels of political tolerance.

The results presented in this study offer very important policy prescriptions. The fact that there is an impact of the temporary work migration on political and social tolerance suggests that an open border policy would benefit not only the individuals but the sending country in general. There a commonly generalized interest in the process of consolidation of democracies across the world. Both older and younger democracies have an interest in making sure that a resurgence of radical right extremist parties does not happen. The safest and permanent way to destroy the very fabric of the support for these types of parties is to eliminate the root causes for their electoral support – that is, to decrease the levels of political and social intolerance. A trusting relation between sending and receiving countries can be established starting with small but sure steps such as Work and Travel and eventually extend these to the larger population. If political tolerance issues have been settled in the past few decades, it is not the case for the more pernicious hate toward unconventional social behavior. Dislike of unconventional social behavior fuels electoral support for parties that oppose equality in rights for these groups and in the end it affects the democratic process. The only mechanism that can permanently stunt their political growth is to eliminate the attitudinal roots of their electoral support. They exist only as a result of the

request of the intolerant members of the society. The statistical analysis proves that there are various ways of resolving the problem of intolerance such as education or economic growth yet these solutions take longer. One other method is to allow a more open access to the more democratic societies of the West. Temporary migration is not an alternative is an additional method for increasing the levels of tolerance.

A promising avenue for a future project would be to apply a similar model to a larger group and follow its evolution longitudinally. It would follow the evolution of the social and political remittances in time and would be able to observe if they are permanent or temporary in nature. It would also offer the opportunity to compare in time representative groups of individuals who travelled with the *Work and Travel* (ideally the whole 'population' involved in the program) to those who never travelled. This project would include multiple measurements of social and political tolerance in the two groups thus enabling the researcher to evaluate the impact of migration.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Variables used in chapter 6

W	*country*	*variables*																			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	Austria	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y
	France	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y
	Hungary	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y
	Romania	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y
3	Austria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	France	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Hungary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
	Romania	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
4	Austria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
	France	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
	Hungary	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-
	Romania	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-

1. strong_leader
2. army_rule
3. democracy_good
4. SocTol_postit
5. SocTol_abort
6. SocTol_divorce
7. LLG_office
8. LLG_teach
9. LLG_demonstr
10. religiosity

11. age
12. satisfact_dem
13. party_choice
14. SocTol_homo
15. gender
16. urbanization
17. size_town
18. education
19. highest_edu
20. education for Wave 2

Annex 2. Qualitative interview questions

Demographics (age, education, residence, gender, permanent residence).

Why did you decide to participate in the work and Travel program?

What were your expectations from your American experience?

How do you feel about this experience and how is it different compared to your initial level of expectations?

How much did you know about the US prior to your visit/

Where were you located in the US?

Where did you work (industry, pay, work conditions)?

How much exposure did you get to: employers, other employees, other American citizens, media, different sexual orientation people, races, ideas?

How did these encounters change any of your previous perception about these categories (if they changed at all, both negative and positive)?

Are there any social and/or political self-perceived changes in behavior?

How do you feel now compared to the past (before travel to US) about social and political rights extended to minorities?

Have you ever travelled to a Western more democratic country?

Can you compare your American experience with your Western experience (if they had any)?

Annex 3. Survey questions/Questionnaire

Theme: Migration and political attitudes in Romania. An exploratory study.

My name is Raluca Viman Miller and I am a PhD candidate at Georgia State University.

The purpose of this study is to obtain information concerning the impact of temporary work migration on political attitudes of college students. I am interested in your opinions; your answers are, and will remain, strictly confidential. Please fell free to ask me any questions about this study or this survey. I will use the results for my PhD thesis at Georgia State University. If you are interested in finding more information about this program or my research, please fell free to ask any questions or contact me later.

When you answer the questions, please pay close attention to their meaning, so that your answers will be an accurate reflection of your opinions. It should take no longer than ten minutes to complete the questionnaire. If you are interested in the results, please fill free to contact me at rmiller24@gsu.edu.

For each of the following questions mark the chosen answers with an 'x' (for example, question number 3), except in the cases when you must indicate a numeric value (for example, questions number 1 and number 2), or a name (for example, question number 9).

PART I

1. Your age (years): _____

2. How many years of college have you graduated? (including double majors)
_____

3. Your parents' education (last degree received):

	Father	**Mother**
Elementary (8 years or less)	☐	☐
Junior high or vocational	☐	☐
High school	☐	☐
Higher education	☐	☐
I don't know/NR	☐	☐

4. Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

5. Mother tongue… (please circle the number):

   1. Romanian
   2. Hungarian
   3. Romani
   4. Other, which _____

6. Your permanent residence is ...
   1. a village ☐
   2. small town (under 100.000) ☐
   3. large city (over 100.000) ☐

7. Have you ever participated in a *Summer Work and Travel Program* in the US?
Yes ☐   No ☐

8. If yes, how many times, when and where?

Year:	*Number of months:*	*City:*	*State:*

9. In the last five years, how much time have you spent in a "Western"[144] nation (including the US, excluding *Work and Travel*)?

Year:	Number of months:	Purpose (tourism, work, schooling):	Country:

10. In politics people talk about 'left' and 'right'. Where would you place yourself on 0-10 scale, where '0' means left, and '10' means right (please circle the response):

Left										*Right*
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

11. How interested are you in politics? (please circle the response):

Very interested	Somewhat interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested
4	3	2	1

12. What is your opinion about the statement "democracy is the best form of government"? (please circle the response):

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

13. Do you agree with the statement "freedom is more important than equality"? (please circle the response):

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

---

[144] In Romanian "Western" (with capital W) always implies an exclusive reference to advanced post-industrial democracies. In that context a country like Japan or Australia will be also be considered "Western".

14. How important is religion for you? (please circle the response):

Very important	Important	Not very important	Not important at all
4	3	2	1

15. If we exclude weddings, christenings, and funerals, how often do you attend church? (please circle the response):

At least once a week	At least once a month	A few times a year	Once a year or less
4	3	2	1

16. In the past three years… (please circle the response):	*No*	*Yes*
…did you sign a petition?	0	1
…did you participate in a boycott?	0	1
…did you participate in a public demonstration?	0	1

17. Would you agree to marry ...? (please circle the response):	Definitely	Maybe	Probably not	Absolutely not
a. a Jew	4	3	2	1
b. an ethnic Romanian	4	3	2	1
c. an ethnic Hungarian	4	3	2	1
d. an atheist	4	3	2	1
f. a gypsy	4	3	2	1
g. a Christian fundamentalist	4	3	2	1

18. In your opinion.... (please circle the response):	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Homosexuals should be accepted like any other person	4	3	2	1
2. Capital punishment should be reinstated for heinous crimes	4	3	2	1
3. Prostitution should be legalized	4	3	2	1
4. Drug users should be incarcerated	4	3	2	1
5. Certain races are better than others	4	3	2	1

19. Would you be bothered if... (please circle the response):	Extremely	Quite a bit	Somewhat	Not at all
1. …you had a gay coworker	4	3	2	1
2. … somebody of the same gender with you would ask you on a date	4	3	2	1
3. … you found out that somebody close to you is gay	4	3	2	1
4. … you found out that your family doctor is gay	4	3	2	1
5. … saw two men kissing in public	4	3	2	1
6. … saw two women kissing in public	4	3	2	1

20. For each of the following questions please select a number, where „1" indicates your full agreement with the statement on the left, and „4" indicates your full agreement with the statement on the right (please mark your choices with an „X"):

	1	2	3	4	
1. Immigrants (people who were born in a different country and came to live in Romania) have a positive influence on Romanian society	☐	☐	☐	☐	Immigrants have a negative influence on Romanian society
2. The gypsy population should be encouraged preserve their traditions and culture	☐	☐	☐	☐	The gypsy population should integrate and adopt the culture and life style of the majority
3. Marriage should be exclusively between a man and a woman	☐	☐	☐	☐	Homosexuals should have the right to get married

21. How big of a problem do the following minorities represent for Romania?	Very big	Quite big	Rather small	Insignificant/none
1. …Roma (gypsies)	4	3	2	1
2. …Hungarians	4	3	2	1
3. …Homosexuals	4	3	2	1
4. …Jews	4	3	2	1
5. …Christian fundamentalists	4	3	2	1
6. …Atheists	4	3	2	1
7. …Immigrants	4	3	2	1
8. …Others, namely:...	4	3	2	1

22. Which one (if any) of the following groups do you dislike the most? (please circle only one category)
1. Jews
2. Hungarians
3. Gypsies
4. Homosexuals/lesbians
5. Immigrants (people born in a different country who came to live in Romania)
6. Romanians
7. Christian fundamentalists
8. Atheists
9. Muslims
10. Communists (extreme left)
11. Legionaries (extreme right)
12. Other category, (namely………………................................)
13. None

23. If you chose a group at question 22 would you allow them to:.....	Strongly agree	Agree	Oppose	Strongly disagree
1… hold public office	4	3	2	1
2… teach in public schools	4	3	2	1
3… hold rallies	4	3	2	1
4… have their own talk shows	4	3	2	1

24. For each of the following questions, please chose a number, where „1" indicates your complete agreement with the statement on the left, and „4" indicates your full agreement with the statement on the right (please mark your choice with an „X"):

	1	2	3	4	
1. Favors the expansion of state ownership in the economy	☐	☐	☐	☐	Favors private ownership in the economy
2. The state should assume more responsability over the welfare of their citizens	☐	☐	☐	☐	Each individual should assume more personal responsibility for their individual welfare
3. Income gaps should decrease in order to provide for the less fortunate	☐	☐	☐	☐	Income gap should increase in order to entice individual effort

25. What is your opinion about the statement "women should be more involved than men in bringing up children"?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

26. What is your opinion about the statement "people should keep their virginity until they get married"?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

27. Do you agree that in a family the husband should bring more money than his wife?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

PART II

Think about yourself before you started college. Please answer these questions keeping in mind your opinions at that point in time.

10B. In politics people talk about 'left' and 'right'. Think about yourself before you started college: Where would you have placed yourself on 0-10 scale, where '0' means left, and '10' means right (please circle the response):

Left										Right	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

11B. Think about yourself before you started college: and try to asses how interested were you in politics? (please circle the response):

Very interested	Somewhat interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested
4	3	2	1

12B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me what was your opinion about the statement "democracy is the best form of government"? (please circle the response):

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

13B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me how much would you have agreed with the statement "freedom is more important than equality"? (please circle the response):

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

14B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me how important was religion for you? (please circle the response):

Very important	Important	Not very important	Not important at all
4	3	2	1

15B. If we exclude weddings, christenings, and funerals, how often did you attend church before you started college:

At least once a week	At least once a month	A few times a year	Once a year or less
4	3	2	1

16B. _In the past three years before you started college (please circle the response):_	_No_	_Yes_
…did you sign a petition?	0	1
…did you participate in a boycott?	0	1
…did you participate in a public demonstration?	0	1

17B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me would you have agreed to marry ...? (please circle the response):

	Definitely	Maybe	Probably not	Absolutely not
a. a Jew	4	3	2	1
b. an ethnic Romanian	4	3	2	1
c. an ethnic Hungarian	4	3	2	1
d. an atheist	4	3	2	1
f. a gypsy	4	3	2	1
g. a Christian fundamentalist	4	3	2	1

18B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me what was you opinion…(please circle the response):

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Homosexuals should be accepted like any other person	4	3	2	1
2. Capital punishment should be reinstated for heinous crimes	4	3	2	1
3. Prostitution should be legalized	4	3	2	1
4. Drug users should be incarcerated	4	3	2	1
5. Certain races are better than others	4	3	2	1

19B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me Would you have been bothered if... (please circle the response):

	Extremely	Quite a bit	Somewhat	Not at all
1. …you had a gay coworker	4	3	2	1
2. … somebody of the same gender with you would ask you on a date	4	3	2	1
3. … you found out that somebody close to you is gay	4	3	2	1
4. … you found out that your family doctor is gay	4	3	2	1
5. … saw two men kissing in public	4	3	2	1
6. … saw two women kissing in public	4	3	2	1

20B. Think about yourself before you started college and answer each of the following questions please select a number, where „1" indicates your full agreement with the statement on the left, and „4" indicates your full agreement with the statement on the right (please mark your choices with an „X"):

	1	2	3	4	
1. Immigrants (people who were born in a different country and came to live in Romania) have a positive influence on Romanian society	☐	☐	☐	☐	Immigrants have a negative influence on Romanian society
2. The gypsy population should be encouraged preserve their traditions and culture	☐	☐	☐	☐	The gypsy population should integrate and adopt the culture and life style of the majority
3. Marriage should be exclusively between a man and a woman	☐	☐	☐	☐	Homosexuals should have the right to get married

21B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me how big of a problem did you think that the following minorities represented for Romania?

	Very big	Quite big	Rather small	Insignificant/none
1. …Roma (gypsies)	4	3	2	1
2. …Hungarians	4	3	2	1
3. …Homosexuals	4	3	2	1
4. …Jews	4	3	2	1
5. …Christian fundamentalists	4	3	2	1
6. …Atheists	4	3	2	1
7. …Immigrants	4	3	2	1
8. …Others, namely:..	4	3	2	1

22B. Think about yourselves before you started college and tell me: Which one (if any) of the following groups did you dislike the most? (please circle only one category)
6. Jews
7. Hungarians
8. Gypsies
9. Homosexuals/lesbians
10. Immigrants (people born in a different country who came to live in Romania)
6. Romanians
7. Christian fundamentalists
8. Atheists
9. Muslims
10. Communists (extreme left)
11. Legionaries (extreme right)
12. Other category, (namely……………..................................)
13. None

23B. If you chose a group at question 22 would you have allowed them to:.....

	Strongly agree	Agree	Oppose	Strongly disagree
1… hold public office	4	3	2	1
2… teach in public schools	4	3	2	1
3… hold rallies	4	3	2	1
4… have their own talk shows	4	3	2	1

24B. Think about yourself before you started college and answer each of the following questions, please chose a number, where „1" indicates your complete agreement with the statement on the left, and „4" indicates your full agreement with the statement on the right (please mark your choice with an „X"):

	1	2	3	4	
1. Favors the expansion of state ownership in the economy	☐	☐	☐	☐	Favors private ownership in the economy
2. The state should assume more responsability over the welfare of their citizens	☐	☐	☐	☐	Each individual should assume more personal responsibility for their individual welfare
3. Income gaps should decrease in order to provide for the less fortunate	☐	☐	☐	☐	Income gap should increase in order to entice individual effort

25B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me what was your opinion about the statement "women should be more involved than men in bringing up children"?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

26B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me, what was your opinion about the statement "people should keep their virginity until they get married"?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

27B. Think about yourself before you started college and tell me: did you agree that in a family the husband should bring more money than his wife?

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	3	2	1

Thank you very much for your time and kindness!

Annex 4. Descriptive statistics

Original Survey

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Education	1048	.00	4.00	1.52	1.27
Gender	1048	1	2	1.76	.425
Residence/Urbanization	1048	1.00	3.00	2.25	.732
Religiosity	1047	1	4	2.47	.982
Work & Travel years total	1048	.00	1.75	.044	.147
West (non-WT) years total	1048	.00	6.00	.149	.411

Macro level variables

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Gallagher-disproportionality of electoral system	40	1.05	21.95	6.57	4.76
Effective number of electoral parties	40	2.66	9.28	4.94	1.67
Effective number of legislative parties	40	1.85	8.47	3.90	1.42
% votes for radical right	34	.00	37.70	12.25	11.69
% seats in lower chamber for radical right	34	.00	46.60	12.17	14.29
Voice and accountability (99)	52	-1.19	1.62	.65	.80
Human Develop Index (99)	52	.455	.939	.82	.09
Ideological unity	26	.10	9.20	4.9	2.39
Satisfaction with democracy	32	2.16	4.19	3.1	.48

World Values Survey (Wave 3 – 42 countries)

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Education	54660	1	3	1.91	.727
Gender	56136	1	2	1.52	.499
Residence/Urbanization	39682	1.00	3.00	2.05	.844
Religiosity	55785	1	4	2.21	1.23
Age	56069	15	94	41.5	16.2
Satisfaction with democracy	56204	1.00	5.00	2.85	.609

World Values Survey – Hungary (Wave 2, 3, 4)

Descriptive Statistics						
Wave		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2	Residence/Urbanization	998	1.00	8.00	4.46	2.43
	Gender	999	1.00	2.00	1.52	.500
	Education	986	1.00	10.00	5.17	2.66
	Age	999	18.00	91.00	47.3	16.9
	Religiosity	999	1.00	4.00	2.04	1.14
3	Religiosity	648	1.00	4.00	1.82	1.09
	Residence/Urbanization	650	1.00	8.00	5.05	2.46
	Gender	650	1.00	2.00	1.54	.499
	Age	649	18.00	90.00	45.1	18.1
	Education	637	1.00	8.00	4.23	2.23
4	Religiosity	995	1.00	4.00	1.91	1.11
	Residence/Urbanization	1000	1.00	8.00	4.50	2.50
	Gender	1000	1.00	2.00	1.53	.500
	Satisfaction with democracy	1000	1.00	5.00	2.54	1.08
	Age	997	18.00	90.00	47.0	17.5
	Education	997	1.00	8.00	3.99	2.11

World Values Survey – Romania (Wave 2, 3, 4)

Descriptive Statistics						
Wave		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2	Residence/Urbanization	1103	1.00	8.00	4.50	2.49
	Gender	1103	1.00	2.00	1.50	.500
	Education	1091	1.00	10.00	6.50	3.02
	Age	1103	18.00	89.00	44.1	16.5
	Religiosity	1100	1.00	4.00	2.58	.950
3	Education	1231	1.00	8.00	4.94	2.11
	Residence/Urbanization	1239	1.00	8.00	4.46	2.54
	Gender	1239	1.00	2.00	1.50	.500
	Age	1239	18.00	93.00	42.8	16.5
	Religiosity	1239	1.00	4.00	2.61	1.10
4	Education	1074	1.00	10.00	6.33	3.12
	Residence/Urbanization	1146	1.00	8.00	4.51	2.27
	Gender	1146	1.00	2.00	1.51	.500
	Satisfaction with democracy	1146	1.00	5.00	2.22	1.06
	Age	1146	18.00	92.00	46.29	17.5
	Religiosity	1136	1.00	4.00	2.91	.878

World Values Survey – France (Wave 2, 4)

Descriptive Statistics						
Wave		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2	Residence/Urbanization	862	1.00	8.00	4.0244	2.57
	Gender	1002	1.00	2.00	1.5279	.500
	Education	923	1.00	10.00	6.0964	2.78
	Age	1002	18.00	92.00	42.8523	17.2
	Religiosity	994	1.00	4.00	1.7485	1.03
4	Education	1615	1.00	3.00	1.6415	.819
	Residence/Urbanization	1615	1.00	8.00	5.0390	2.71
	Gender	1615	1.00	2.00	1.5009	.500
	Education	1587	1.00	10.00	6.6490	2.64
	Satisfaction with democracy	1615	1.00	5.00	2.9251	1.16
	Age	1615	18.00	93.00	45.1245	16.9
	Religiosity	1608	1.00	4.00	1.5871	.953
	Education	1615	1.00	8.00	3.9164	2.35

World Values Survey – Austria (Wave 2, 4)

Descriptive Statistics						
Wave		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
2	Residence/Urbanization	1460	1.00	6.00	3.5582	2.03
	Gender	1460	1.00	2.00	1.6110	.488
	Education	1436	1.00	10.00	5.3552	2.43
	Age	1460	18.00	92.00	46.7911	17.1
	Religiosity	1432	1.00	4.00	2.4986	1.19
4	Religiosity	1515	1.00	4.00	2.485	1.16
	Residence/Urbanization	1522	1.00	8.00	3.9580	2.63
	Gender	1522	1.00	2.00	1.5670	.496
	Education	1521	1.00	10.00	5.8107	2.54
	Satisfaction with democracy	1522	1.00	5.00	3.5237	1.01
	Age	1522	18.00	87.00	46.6675	16.0