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# The Far Right in the Workplace

A Six-Country Comparison

Seongcheol Kim · Samuel Greef  
Wolfgang Schroeder



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Kassel and Berlin  
February 2022

Seongcheol Kim  
Samuel Greef  
Wolfgang Schroeder

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABVV/FGTB	<i>Algemeen Belgisch Vakverbond/Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique</i> [General Federation of Belgian Labor]
ACLVB/CGSLB	<i>Algemene Centrale der Liberale Vakbonden van België/Centrale Générale des syndicats libéraux de Belgique</i> [General Confederation of Liberal Trade Unions of Belgium]
ACV/CSC	<i>Algemeen Christelijk Vakverbond/Confédération des syndicats chrétiens</i> [Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (Belgium)]
AfD	<i>Alternative für Deutschland</i> [Alternative for Germany]
AFSZ	<i>Audi Független Szakszervezet</i> [Audi Independent Trade Union (Hungary)]
AN	<i>Alleanza Nazionale</i> [National Alliance (Italy)]
ANAR	<i>Associazione Nazionale Autonoma dei Riders</i> [Autonomous National Association of Riders (Italy)]
ASZSZ	<i>Autonóm Szakszervezetek Szövetsége</i> [Autonomous Trade Union Alliance (Hungary)]
AWS	<i>Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność</i> [Solidarity Electoral Action (Poland)]
CCNL	<i>Contratto collettivo nazionale del lavoro</i> [National collective bargaining agreement (Italy)]
CD&V	<i>Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams</i> [Christian Democratic and Flemish]
CFDT	<i>Confédération française démocratique du travail</i> [Democratic French Confederation of Labor]

CFE-CGC	<i>Confédération française de l'encadrement—Confédération générale des cadres</i> [French Confederation of Management—General Confederation of Executives]
CFT	<i>Confédération française du travail</i> [French Confederation of Labor]
CFTC	<i>Confédération française des travailleurs chrétiens</i> [French Confederation of Christian Workers]
CGB	<i>Christlicher Gewerkschaftsbund Deutschlands</i> [Christian Trade Union Federation of Germany]
CGIL	<i>Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro</i> [Italian General Confederation of Labor]
CGM	<i>Christliche Gewerkschaft Metall</i> [Christian Metalworkers' Union (Germany)]
CGSI	<i>Confédération Générale des Syndicats Indépendants</i> [General Confederation of Independent Trade Unions]
CGT	<i>Confédération Générale du Travail</i> [General Confederation of Labor]
ChZZ	<i>Chrześcijański Związek Zawodowy "Solidarność" im. księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki</i> [Christian Trade Union "Solidarity" named after the Priest Jerzy Popiełuszko (Poland)]
CISL	<i>Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori</i> [Italian Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions]
CISNAL	<i>Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Nazionali dei Lavoratori</i> [Italian Confederation of National Workers' Trade Unions]
CRZZ	<i>Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych</i> [Central Council of Trade Unions (Poland)]
CSL	<i>Confédération des syndicats libres</i> [Confederation of Free Trade Unions (France)]
dbb	<i>dbb beamtenbund und tarifunion</i> [German Civil Service Federation]
DGB	<i>Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund</i> [German Trade Union Confederation]
EPP	European People's Party
ÉSZT	<i>Értelmiségi Szakszervezeti Tömörülés</i> [Professional Trade Union Bloc]
ÉTMOSZ	<i>Életre Tervezett Munkavállalók Országos Szakszervezete</i> [National Trade Union of Workers Planned for Life]
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
FCA	Fiat Chrysler Automobiles
FdI	<i>Fratelli d'Italia</i> [Brothers of Italy]
FI	<i>Forza Italia</i> [Forward Italy]

FIM	<i>Federazione Italiana Metalmeccanici</i> [Italian Federation of Metal Mechanics]
FIOM	<i>Federazione Impiegati Operai Metallurgici</i> [Italian Federation of Metalworkers]
FN	<i>Front National</i> [National Front (France)]
FO	<i>Force Ouvrière</i> [Workers' Power (France)]
FPÖ	<i>Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs</i> [Freedom Party of Austria]
FSU	<i>Fédération syndicale unitaire</i> [Unitary Trade Union Federation (France)]
FZZ	<i>Forum Związków Zawodowych</i> [Forum of Trade Unions (Poland)]
KOD	<i>Komitet Obrony Demokracji</i> [Committee for the Defense of Democracy (Poland)]
KOSZ	<i>Kéményseprők Országos Szakszervezete</i> [National Trade Union of Chimneysweepers (Hungary)]
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender
LN	<i>Lega Nord</i> [Northern League (Italy)]
LO	<i>Lutte Ouvrière</i> [Workers' Struggle (France)]
LR	<i>Les Républicains</i> [The Republicans (France)]
M5S	<i>Movimento Cinque Stelle</i> [Five Star Movement (Italy)]
MASZSZ	<i>Magyar Szakszervezeti Szövetség</i> [Hungarian Trade Union Alliance]
MDF	<i>Magyar Demokrata Fórum</i> [Hungarian Democratic Forum]
MSI	<i>Movimento Sociale Italiano</i> [Italian Social Movement]
MSZOSZ	<i>Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Szövetsége</i> [National Alliance of Hungarian Trade Unions]
MSZP	<i>Magyar Szocialista Párt</i> [Hungarian Socialist Party]
NESZE	<i>Nemzeti Szakszervezet</i> [National Trade Union (Hungary)]
NPA	<i>Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste</i> [New Anti-Capitalist Party (France)]
N-VA	<i>Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie</i> [New Flemish Alliance]
OPZZ	<i>Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych</i> [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions]
PC	<i>Porozumienie Centrum</i> [Center Alliance (Poland)]
PCF	<i>Parti communiste français</i> [French Communist Party]
PCI	<i>Partito Comunista Italiano</i> [Italian Communist Party]
PD	<i>Partito Democratico</i> [Democratic Party (Italy)]
PEGIDA	<i>Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes</i> [Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident (Germany)]
PiS	<i>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość</i> [Law and Justice (Poland)]
PO	<i>Platforma Obywatelska</i> [Civic Platform (Poland)]
PRL	<i>Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa</i> [Polish People's Republic]

PS	<i>Parti socialiste</i> [Socialist Party (Belgium)]
PS	<i>Parti socialiste</i> [Socialist Party (France)]
PSA	<i>Groupe Peugeot Société Anonyme</i> [Peugeot Public Limited Company Group (France)]
PVDA/PTB	<i>Partij van de Arbeid van België/Parti du Travail de Belgique</i> [Workers' Party of Belgium]
RDS	<i>Rada Dialogu Społecznego</i> [Council of Social Dialogue (Poland)]
RN	<i>Rassemblement National</i> [National Rally (France)]
RPF	<i>Rassemblement du peuple français</i> [Rally of the French People]
RSU	<i>Rappresentanza sindacale unitaria</i> [Unitary union representation (Italy)]
SIA	<i>Syndicat indépendant de l'automobil</i> [Independent Automotive Trade Union (France)]
SLD	<i>Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej</i> [Democratic Left Alliance (Poland)]
SP	<i>Socialistische Partij</i> [Socialist Party (Belgium)]
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> [Social Democratic Party of Germany]
SUD	<i>Solidaires Unitaires Démocratiques</i> [Solidaristic, Unitary, Democratic (France)]
SZDSZ	<i>Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége</i> [Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungary)]
SZEF	<i>Szakszervezetek Együttműködési Fóruma</i> [Cooperation Forum of Trade Unions (Hungary)]
UAG	<i>Unabhängige Arbeitnehmergruppe</i> [Independent Workers' Group (Germany)]
UD	<i>Unia Demokratyczna</i> [Democratic Union (Poland)]
UGL	<i>Unione Generale del Lavoro</i> [General Union of Labor (Italy)]
UIL	<i>Unione Italiana del Lavoro</i> [Italian Union of Labor]
UK	United Kingdom
UMP	<i>Union pour un mouvement populaire</i> [Union for a Popular Movement (France)]
UNSA	<i>Union nationale des syndicats autonomes</i> [National Union of Autonomous Trade Unions (France)]
UP	<i>Unia Pracy</i> [Union of Labor (Poland)]
US	United States
UW	<i>Unia Wolności</i> [Freedom Union (Poland)]
VB	<i>Vlaams Belang</i> [Flemish Interest]
VB	<i>Vlaams Blok</i> [Flemish Block]
VSV	<i>Vlaamse Solidaire Vakbond</i> [Flemish Solidarity Union]
VU	<i>Volksunie</i> [People's Union (Belgium)]

ZA	Zentrum Automobil [Automobile Center (Germany)]
ZF	<i>Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen</i> [Cogwheel Factory Friedrichshafen (Germany)]
ZNP	<i>Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego</i> [Polish Teaching Union]
ZZIT	<i>Związek Zawodowy Inżynierów i Techników</i> [Trade Union of Engineers and Technicians (Poland)]



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## Introduction

This book is the first comparative study of far-right strategies at the workplace level in Europe, examining not only the messaging strategies of far-right parties on labor issues but also the organizing strategies of right-wing to far-right trade unions and workplace groups as well as the response strategies of established trade unions in six countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. In doing so, the book straddles the national and workplace levels of analysis, examining the extents to which far-right messaging and organizing strategies at both levels find demand-side resonance among workers in specific workplace contexts, with a focus on the automobile industry in the period from 2010 to 2020. Based on a research project in cooperation with trade unions in the six countries, the book is grounded in a theory–practice dialogue with trade union actors that brings workers’ voices into the analysis by identifying challenges to trade union work from the far right based on the perception patterns of workers and trade unionists themselves. By linking the supply and demand sides of far-right interventions in labor relations and presenting a comparative classification of far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies, *The Far Right in the Workplace* constitutes a significant advance within the growing academic and media interest in the relationship between the far right and workers today.

This introductory chapter sets up the object of inquiry by taking stock of the 2010s as a decade that saw not only the electoral growth but also a gradual mainstreaming of far-right actors and politics in much of Europe, which is emphasized in the literature as a key feature of the “fourth wave” (e.g. Mudde, 2019).<sup>1</sup> Against this background, this book examines the implications for the world of labor and directs particular attention to the manifold dimensions of far-right supply and demand, organizing attempts at the workplace level, demand-side receptiveness to these supply-side offers among workers in specific workplace contexts, and trade union responses. These dimensions are then introduced in turn in conjunction with the research questions and methodology underlying this study. Finally, the chapter closes with an overview of the structure of the book and of the eight chapters that follow.

## 1.1 TAKING STOCK: THE FAR RIGHT IN THE 2010S

The decade of the 2010s has been noted by many observers for the growing electoral-parliamentary success and not least the mainstreaming of the far right throughout much of Europe. This mainstreaming thesis takes on a prominent role in numerous diagnoses of the far right today (e.g. Brown et al., 2021; Mondon & Winter, 2020; Mudde, 2019; Pytlas, 2016; Wodak, 2021) and points to an increasing context-dependent acceptance of far-right actors and politics in numerous countries: from specific far-reaching policy demands such as Brexit, refugee caps, or headscarf bans to government coalitions (e.g. Austria 2017–2019, Estonia 2019–2021, Finland 2015–2019, Italy 2018–2019) or confidence-and-supply arrangements involving far-right parties (e.g. Denmark 2015–2019, Netherlands 2010–2012, United Kingdom 2017–2019). This also includes the transformation of mainstream conservative parties to those with increasingly radical right-wing tendencies—such as Fidesz in Hungary and Law and Justice (PiS) in Poland—as well as the electoral progression of parties that have remained on the far right and continue to be blocked from coalitions, such as the Vlaams Belang (VB)

<sup>1</sup> Following Klaus van Beyme’s work, Mudde (2019) designates the first three waves of the postwar far right as neo-fascism (1945–1955, with the MSI in Italy being a paradigmatic case), right-wing populism (1955–1980, e.g. Poujadism in France and other agrarian or small-business-based movements), and radical right (1980–2000, with the emergence or conversion of modern far-right parties such as Front National, Vlaams Blok, and FPÖ).

in Belgium and the Front National (FN) or Rassemblement National (RN) in France. In Germany, too, a far-right party is represented in federal parliament with the 2017 entry of the Alternative for Germany (AfD), a party that had initially emerged with an aura of professorial-bourgeois respectability before radicalizing in subsequent years. The far-reaching consequences of these developments, certainly different depending on the country, can hardly be underestimated: since 2010 and 2015, respectively, Hungary and Poland have come to be considered the most severe cases of “democratic backsliding” in post-1989 Europe—something that was not least enabled in the Hungarian case by the longtime protection of Fidesz by its powerful partners within the European People’s Party (EPP). It is worth recalling that at the turn of the millennium—which is where Mudde (2019) situates the beginning of the “fourth wave”—there were outpourings of public shock at high-profile far-right breakthroughs such as the Austrian Freedom Party’s (FPÖ) entry into government in 2000 or Jean-Marie Le Pen’s advancement to the second round of the 2002 French presidential elections, triggering mass demonstrations in the respective countries with the active participation of civil society and, in the Austrian case, even short-lived bilateral sanctions by the EU-14 governments against Austria. In the following decade, at least at first glance, there were no such responses of a comparable magnitude when it came to, for instance, the FPÖ’s return to government in 2017 or the new electoral high-water marks of the FN in the 2012 and 2017 presidential elections. In this context, the question of the precise relationship between far-right political offers, the extent to which these offers find demand-side traction, and counter-responses within civil society is an increasingly pressing question that has been examined in the authors’ previous work in relation to German civil society (Schroeder et al., 2019, 2020, 2022) and will be the subject of this book from a comparative perspective with a specific focus on the area of labor politics. How and to what extent processes of mainstreaming of the far right can be seen within the world of labor in the contexts analyzed here is an open question that will have to be addressed in context-specific fashion.

The question of the implications of far-right electoral success for labor relations and trade unions is one that arises not least against the background of rightward tendencies within working-class electorates: in Germany, according to exit polls, about 19% of workers and 15% of trade union members voted for the AfD in the 2017 parliamentary elections (compared to 12.6% of the overall electorate; Deutscher

Gewerkschaftsbund, 2017), with the figures amounting to 16 and 12.2% in the 2021 elections, respectively (compared to 10.3% overall; Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, 2021). Here, a growing literature has emerged on the supply and demand sides of the extent of working-class voting for the far right (see Chapter 2). Our research combines this more established interest in far-right parties' policy offers on labor issues as well as demand-side voting patterns among workers on the one hand with particular attention to the workplace level as a locus of far-right interventions and workers' potential receptiveness to them on the other. The workplace can be understood as a fundamentally "conflictual space" in which there is a constant tug-of-war between institutionalized "regulation strategies" and attempts at politicizing the structural contradictions between employer and employee in different directions—including the far right (Schroeder et al., 2019, p. 186). This has been pointed out in examples ranging from interwar fascism (Ost, 2018) to the tradition of right-wing company unionism, such as in the French automobile industry (Loubet & Hatzfeld, 2002), or the more recent example of Zentrum Automobil as a workplace group with far-right roots within the German automobile industry (Schroeder et al., 2019). In addition, recent reports of far-right politicians staging leafleting actions in front of factory gates (see Chapter 2)—such as Tom Van Grieken at DAF Trucks in Westerlo, Marine Le Pen at PSA Sochaux, or Björn Höcke at Opel Eisenach—suggest, more than ever, the need to examine interventions by far-right party and workplace actors as well as the extent of their attractiveness among workers in workplace-specific contexts. An approach centered on semi-structured interviews with workers and trade union actors at the workplace level allows for a possibility to gauge the extent to which far-right offers find demand-side traction in workplaces, as will be discussed in the following section.

## 1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

In light of these considerations, we now present our three-part research question as follows: (1) What are the *messaging* and *organizing strategies* of far-right actors (political parties, trade unions, workplace groups) on labor issues at the national and workplace levels? (2) What are the *response strategies* of the largest trade unions? (3) How successful are these far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies? We deploy here

a broad understanding of “strategy” as encompassing patterns of situational actions and responses, even when these do not correspond to a systematically conceived design.

The research keys in on six European countries—Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Poland—with a focus on the automobile industry for the period from 2010 to 2020. The automobile sector constitutes not only an important branch of industry in all six countries, but also one of the central arenas of industrial transformation in which a heightened conflict potential can be seen not least due to the generally high density of organized actors present. The decade of the 2010s was one characterized by electoral growth and mainstreaming of far-right parties in all six countries, for all the important differences and nuances among them (see Chapter 2). In this context, the question is not only how far-right parties tailor their policy offers to labor electorates and possibly also address workplace-specific issues within the automobile industry, but also how far-right trade unions or workplace groups try to organize within workplaces and how established trade unions, in turn, respond to all these challenges. In addressing these multifaceted research questions, the aim is to develop a classificatory scheme that presents an initial mapping out of far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies along the aforementioned dimensions—a task to which the final, comparative chapter of the book is devoted. As an indicator of the success of these strategies and counter-strategies—and in the interest of linking supply and demand-side aspects—the classifications in the comparative chapter incorporate the dimension of workplace salience of far-right policy profiles and interventions as well as the relative coverage of far-right organizing strategies and trade union response formats.

A hardly trivial task at the outset is that of deciding which actor categories qualify as “far-right” and fall within the scope of the analysis. Here, the growing gap between far-right “*parties* and *politics*” (Mudde, 2017, p. 610) constitutes a key consideration: in other words, the politics of the far right has increasingly been taken up by parties that are not commonly thought of or referred to as “far-right” in public discourse and, indeed, have their roots in mainstream party politics (e.g. Fidesz and PiS). In this vein, Chapter 2 discusses a diverse range of parties in the six countries that can currently be said to engage in far-right politics. Within this wider field, each country analysis then focuses on far-right parties and workplace actors that were identified as challenges to trade union work in the interviews conducted with trade union actors, while

also backing up each classification as “far-right” based on an analysis of constitutive dimensions of far-right politics such as nativism (domestic vs. foreign), nationalism (“the nation” vs. non-national Others), and/or authoritarianism (dismantling of institutional checks, rejection of non-conformist or non-traditional lifestyles). The book is thus committed not only to context-specific analysis grounded in extensive case knowledge but also practices a distinctive form of theory–practice dialogue that is also based on cooperation with the largest trade union centers by membership according to available data (as of 2019) in the six countries: ACV/CSC in Belgium, CGT in France, DGB in Germany, MASZSZ in Hungary, CGIL in Italy, and OPZZ in Poland. As cooperation partners participating in the research project, each of these trade unions was asked for its input from the initial stages of research in providing preliminary suggestions about which far-right actors and workplace contexts to focus on. In the field work phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted with trade union actors at the national and workplace levels, academic research experts, and in some cases also local politicians; the interview results were triangulated with analyses of far-right communication materials on the one hand (mostly at the national level) as well as relevant secondary-literature studies and available survey data on working-class voting for the far right on the other (both at the national level) in order to develop an integrated understanding of each country-specific constellation based on different source types and levels.

The centerpiece of each country analysis is a company case study within the automobile sector that examines the far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies in the context of an automobile production or parts supplier factory. The selection of each company site was made in close consultation with the trade union partners, corresponding to our underlying research interest in far-right actors and workplaces that are perceived by established trade union actors themselves as challenges to trade union work. The choice of company sites was made based on different forms of initially identifiable far-right presence—from trade unions and workplace groups to leafleting actions by far-right politicians or positions of executive office at the local level held by the far right—with these initial considerations then being further examined and questioned in the field research. Within the framework of the theory–practice dialogue, the possibility was left open for other company sites to be visited and examined as supplementary case studies based on on-site suggestions from interviewees. In the end, six company case

studies were conducted—DAF Trucks in Westerlo (Belgium), PSA in Trémery (France), Daimler in Stuttgart-Untertürkheim (Germany), ZF in Eger (Hungary), Lamborghini in Sant’Agata Bolognese (Italy), and FCA in Bielsko-Biała/Tychy (Poland)—in addition to supplementary case studies at Dunaferr in Dunaújváros (Hungary) as well as Schnellecke in Sant’Agata Bolognese and Berco in Copparo (Italy).

As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the six-country case selection is designed to allow for a high level of variance in background conditions in order to map out a wide-ranging universe of outcomes, thus corresponding to the “diverse-case method” with the goal of developing a classificatory scheme (Gerring, 2007). While all six countries under examination have seen the electoral growth and mainstreaming of the far right (especially in the decade of the 2010s), they provide a diverse mosaic in terms of (1) the ideological and organizational roots of current far-right parties, from those issuing from neo-fascist movements (FN/RN, Jobbik) or separatist alliances (Lega, Vlaams Belang) to mainstream national-conservative parties (Fidesz, PiS); (2) the trade union landscapes, including the historical roots of the main trade unions themselves—from the historically Christian-democratic ACV/CSC to the previously communist CGT and CGIL or the formerly state-socialist MASZSZ and OPZZ—and the systems of industrial relations, from monistic to mixed to dual systems of labor representation; and the (3) initially identifiable forms of far-right presence in the company sites selected for the case studies. These dimensions are each discussed in turn in Chapter 2 and revisited in part in the comparative discussion in Chapter 9.

### 1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book proceeds with a conceptual and methodological chapter featuring initial comparative considerations on background conditions in the six countries (Chapter 2), followed by the six-country chapters (Chapters 3–8) and, finally, a comparative chapter that develops a classificatory scheme of far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies (Chapter 9). Chapter 2 provides conceptual considerations and clarifications on key terminology, including “workers” and “far right” as well as associated terms such as “radical” or “extreme right” and “right-wing populism.” This is followed in the same chapter by an overview of the methodology as well as differences in background conditions across the six countries, especially in relation to the far-right parties in the party



systems, the trade union landscapes, and systems of industrial relations as well as the company sites chosen for the case studies.

Chapters 3–8 consist of the six country studies, presented in alphabetical order: Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. Each country chapter follows the same basic structure, beginning with (1) a brief introduction of the problem constellation to be discussed in the chapter and (2) a brief overview of the trade union landscape and system of industrial relations, followed by (3) an analysis of far-right parties' messaging strategies and interventions on labor issues, focusing here on the far-right parties highlighted as challenges to trade union work in the interviews. This is then followed by (4) an overview of the activity of trade unions and workplace groups for which our initial considerations suggest some kind of link to far-right politics, which may be questioned, revised, or discarded accordingly. What then follows is (5) the company case study for the selected automobile factory (followed by shorter, supplementary case studies if applicable), in which the previously outlined far-right messaging and organizing strategies are examined in depth in the workplace context, followed by an examination of the response patterns of the established trade union at the national and workplace levels alike. While Section 3 of each chapter draws on macro-level data on working-class voting for far-right parties (to the extent available) in addition to our own analysis of far-right communication patterns in illuminating supply and demand-side aspects at the national level, the company case study draws on workplace level interviewees' accounts of the extents of far-right presence as well as workers' receptiveness to far-right offers—including rough ad hoc estimates of vote shares for far-right parties within the workforce—in order to examine the supply–demand dynamics in workplace-specific contexts.

Chapter 9 is the centerpiece of the comparative analysis, bringing together the results of the country chapters to map out the various far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies across the six countries. Specifically, the chapter presents classifications of (1) *far-right parties' messaging strategies* in terms of *social-policy offers* and *industrial-policy interventions* within the automobile sector, juxtaposed with *workplace salience* as an indicator of the demand-side resonance of these supply-side offers in the workplaces under examination; (2) *far-right workplace actors' political positionings* at the leadership level and *organizing strategies* at the workplace level, juxtaposed with the *relative coverage* of

the organizing strategies within the automobile sector; and, finally, (3) *trade union response strategies* in terms of *response formats* against the perceived influence of far-right messaging and interventions as well as *internal response procedures* against members seen to be engaging in far-right agitation. On this basis, the chapter identifies three country clusters featuring a relative convergence of various patterns of far-right strategies and trade union counter-strategies: Belgium/France, Germany/Italy, and Hungary/Poland. The chapter and the book conclude with some final considerations on future developments, including ongoing challenges associated with the COVID-19 pandemic that fall outside the temporal scope of this work.

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