

9. RADICAL RIGHT- WING POPULIST PARTIES

Miloš Brunclík

FAR RIGHT

Extreme right

- e.g. interwar-period Nazism,

Radical right

- radical right-wing populism

EXTREME RIGHT AFTER WW2

- Discredited
- Marginalized
- De-legitimation
 - Racism
 - Antisemitism
 - Anti-democracy...



„COMEBACK“: FROM EXTREME TO RADICAL RIGHT

- **Not anti-democratic**
 - Nominally democratic
 - Critical of some elements of liberal democracy
 - Advocate democracy: populist democracy: general will should be implemented without restrictions
 - „return the word to the people“/Power to the people
 - Calls for increase of the power of the main political figures

„COMEBACK“: FROM EXTREME TO RADICAL RIGHT

- **Not anti-system**
 - anti-establishment
- **Not racist**
 - not biological , but cultural differences
- **Identity and nation**
 - Fear from different cultures and religions
- **Social appeals**
- **Populism**

CAS MUDDÉ (2007): POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT



1. Populism
2. Authoritarianism
3. Nativism

POPULISM

- **People**
 - Inherently good and decent
 - All ordinary hard working people
- **Elites**
 - Inherently bad guys
 - big business, big banks, multinational corporations, media pundits, elected politicians and government officials, intellectual elites and scientific experts, and the arrogant and privileged rich...

AUTHORITARIANISM



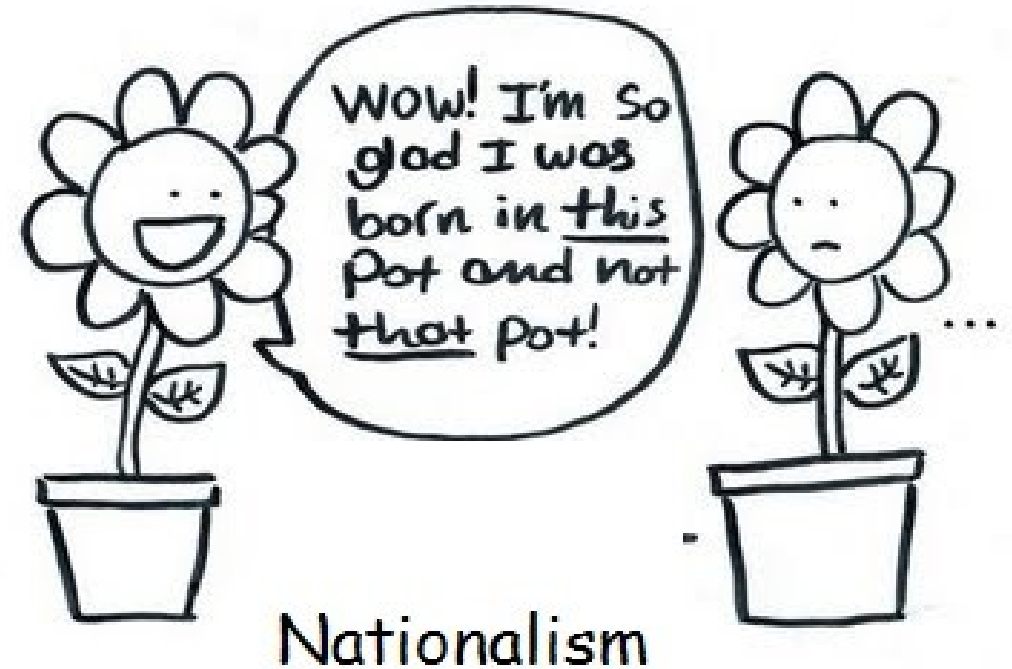
- Preference for strong charismatic leaders
 - Reflecting the will of the people
 - Securing law and order
 - Quick decisions
- direct forms of democracy for the expression of the voice of the people
 - opinion polls, referenda and plebiscites

NATIVISM

- **nativism or xenophobic nationalism**
 - **people = a uniform whole tied by common language, origin, culture...**
 - **Nation states should exclude people from other countries and cultures**

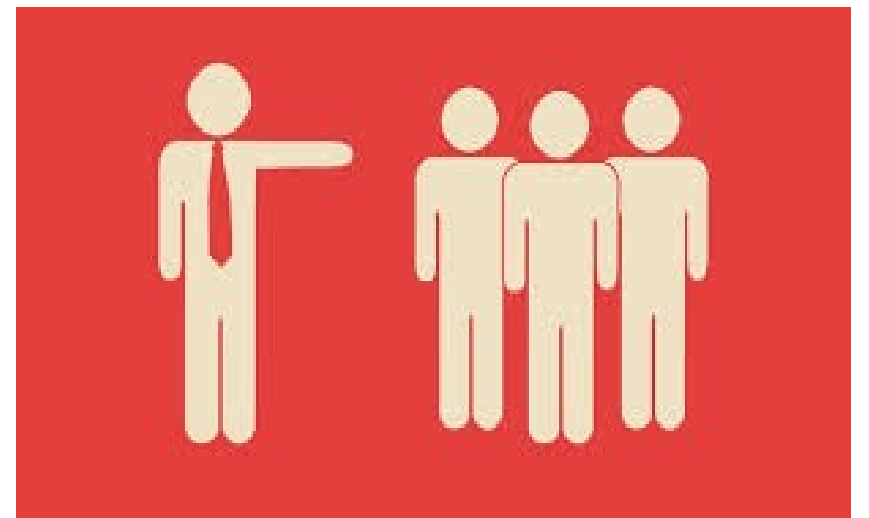
NATIVISM

1. states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group („the nation“)
2. nonnative elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation state
 - Nation states
 - Exclusion of people from other countries and cultures



NATIVISM

- **Creates two groups: they x us**
- **Instrumental in exclusion of some people**
 - **Foes X friends**
 - **→ Xenophobia and nationalism**



NATIVISM: 4 GROUPS OF ENEMIES

1. **Within state and within nation**
 - Selfish elites serving their interest or corrupted parties and media
2. **Within state and outside nation**
 - Ethnic minorities – different in terms of language, culture, religion, history, skin
3. **Outside state and within nation**
 - Elite emigration –betraying the nation
4. **Outside state and outside nation**
 - Foreign nations and their politicians
 - NATO, EU



POPULISM AND GLOBALIZATION



- **Enthusiasm**
- **Opportunity**
 - Economic, cultural
 - Globalization winners
- **Multiculturalism**
 - Meeting other cultures: enriching
- **Status**
 - Higher education
 - Foreign languages
- **EU = good thing**

- **Fear**
- **Threat**
 - Economic & identity
 - globalization losers
- **Nationalism**
- **Status**
 - Low education and skills
 - No foreign languages
- **EU = bad thing**

LEFT-LIBERTARIANISM X RIGHT-POPULISM

Silent revolution (1977 - R. Inglehart): post-material values

- **Cosmopolitanism**
- **Multiculturalism**
- **Environmentalism**
- **LGBT**
- **Women and gender**
- **Freedom**

Silent counter-revolution (1992 - P. Ignazi): backlash

- **Nationalism**
- **Materialism**
- **Economic growth**
- **Anti-globalization**
- **Rule and order**
- **Traditional moral values**
- **Security**

MIGRATION ASSOCIATED WITH....

- Threat to national identity
- End of culturally homogeneous states
- Misuse of social benefits
- Higher crime rate
- Islamization





PODPORA RODINÁM
NE nepřizpůsobivým

PRÁCI NAŠIM
NE imigrantům

Máme 650 000 lidí bez práce!

VOLTE  **ÚSVIT**
PRINCE DEMOCRACIE

2014



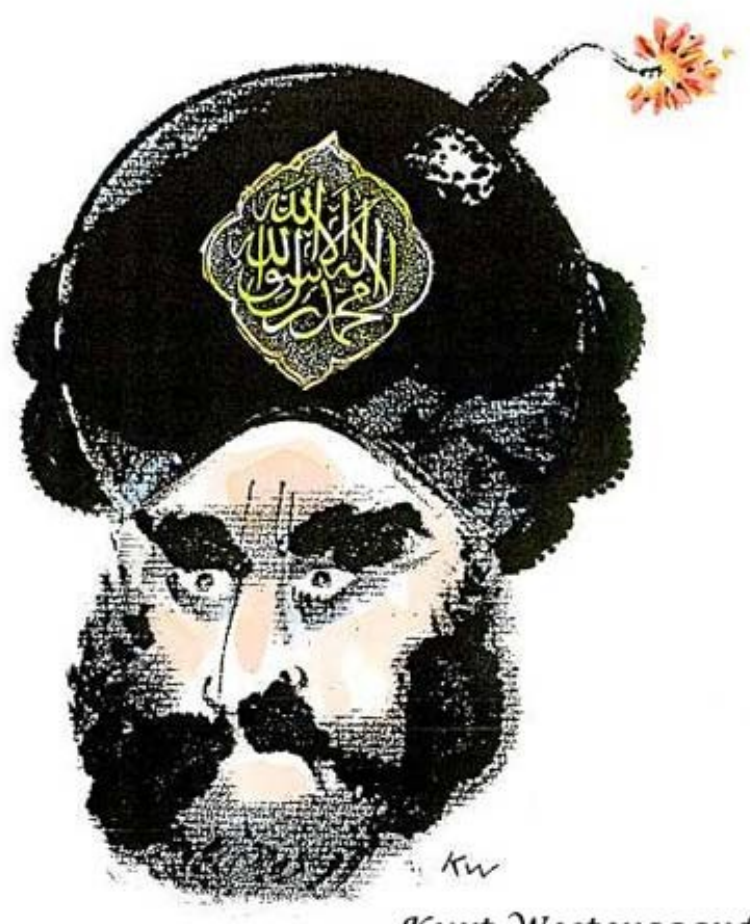
Endlich Sicherheit schaffen!

JA zur
Ausschaffung
krimineller
Ausländer

www.Durchsetzungs-Initiative.ch 

2007

IMMIGRATION |



**YTRINGSFRIHED
ER DANSK,
CENSUR
ER DET IKKE**



**FREEDOM OF (HATE)
SPEECH ?**

TWO APPROACHES: EXPLAINING THE RIGHT-WING POPULISM

Demand side

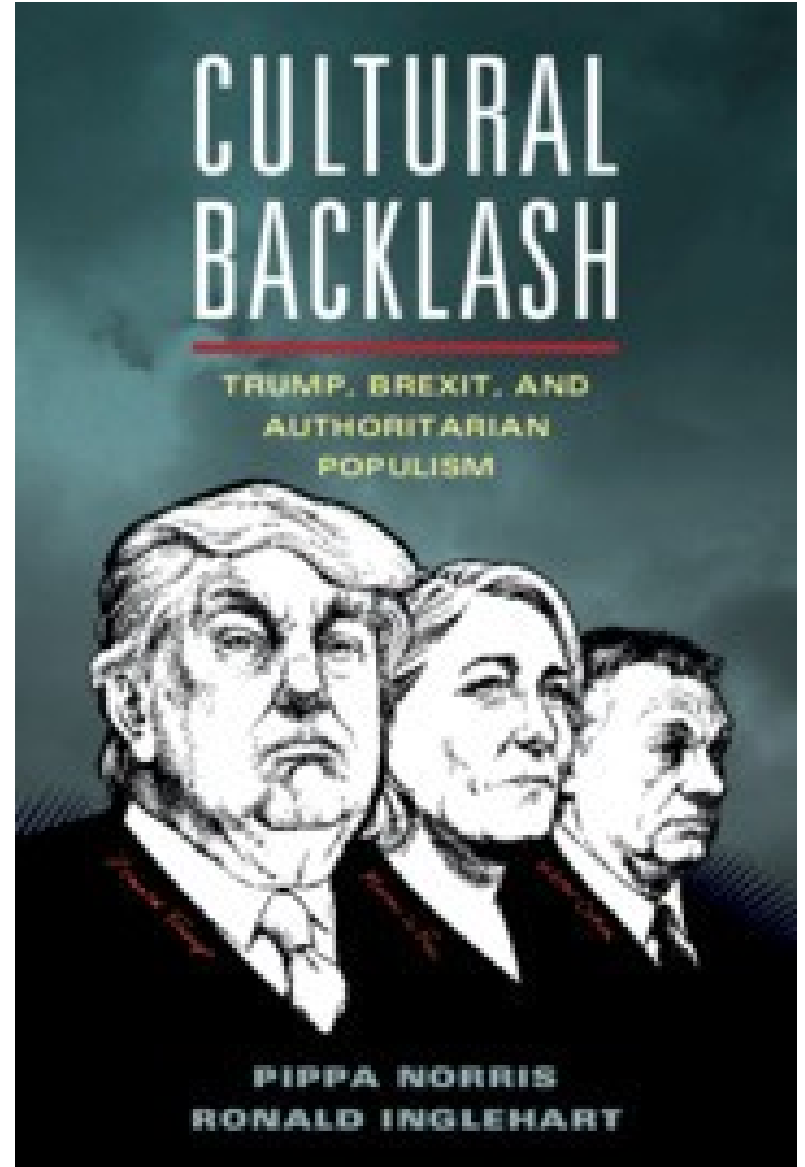
- **Socio-economic reasons**
- **Cultural reasons**

Supply side

- **Parties' ability to take advantage of the demand**

DEMAND SIDE: RONALD F. INGLEHART AND PIPPA NORRIS

- What does cause success of radical right-wing populists (AFD, UKIP, FPÖ, or National Front)?
 1. economic insecurity hypothesis
 - Socially and economically disadvantaged groups of voters (i.e. *modernisation losers*)
 2. cultural backlash hypothesis
 - Rejection of various cultural trends
 - Progressivism
 - Multiculturalism
 - Feminism
 - Rejection of immigration
 - Rejection of European integration

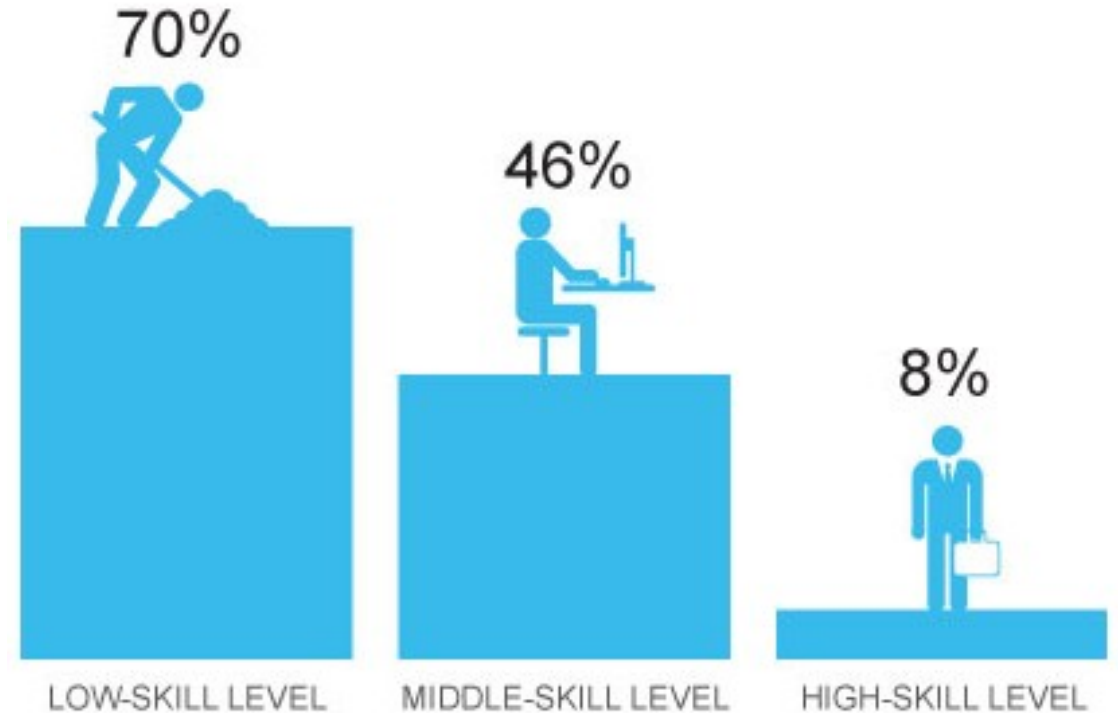


TRANSFORMATION OF POST-INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES

- Knowledge economy
- Technological changes
 - Cyberspace
 - robotization
- Erosion of traditional manual labour
- Globalization forces
- Growing social inequalities
- State losing control over national economy

Low-skill jobs at greatest risk

Percentage of jobs, by skill level, at a high risk of being automated in 20 years.



Note: Low skill requires no post-secondary education; middle skill requires some college or training; high skill requires a bachelor's degree or higher.

Source USA TODAY analysis of data from Carl Benedikt Frey and Michael A. Osborne, authors of "Future of Employment" and EMSI/CareerBuilder.

Frank Pompa and MaryJo Webster, USA TODAY



GLOBALIZATION LOSERS

- Vulnerable on labour market
- Low skills
- Lower education
- Falling social or symbolic status
- »» susceptible populism
- Economic and cultural protectionism
 - Welfare-state chauvinism
 - Anti-immigration



GEERT WILDERS

- 3 major voters groups
 1. Poor unemployed
 - migrants take their jobs
 2. Business class
 - migrants are burden for a social system
 3. Ideologists
 - incompatibility of cultures



FURTHER DEMAND-SIDE FACTORS: ANTI- ESTABLISHMENT

1. Politicians' inability to solve problems
 - European integration
 - Unemployment
 - Social inequalities
2. Domestic elites – weak and powerless
 - EU
 - Globalization
3. Media
 - Fragmentation and polarization
 - Simplification
 - Conspiracy theories and fake news



RISE OF POPULISM

- Much depends also on populist parties themselves
- → supply-side of party strategies
 1. Strong, charismatic leaders
 - Ability to speak people's minds
 - Ability to speak and attract ordinary people
 - Look different than traditional politicians
 - Trustworthy and credible outlook
 2. Moderate ideology/program
 - distancing themselves from Nazism, racism etc.
 - Flow to mainstream
 3. Political marketing and communication

FURTHER SUPPLY-SIDE FACTORS

Patterns of cooperation
and conflict

Party system
convergence

The way parties deal with
issues

- → niches within party systems
- Niches unlikely to evolve under stable conditions with relatively stable voter preferences



 Sverigedemokraterna

„Is it wrong to impose requirements on immigrants?“



IMPACT ON PARTY SYSTEM

New issues - new cleavage

Greater polarization

Changing patterns of cooperation and conflict

Blackmail potential

Different strategies of other parties to treat new extreme right

1. Total exclusion (Sweden until 2022)
2. Cooperation at the legislative level (Netherlands, Denmark)
3. Cooperation at the executive level (Austria: FPÖ 2000 and 2017; Norway: Progress party 2013-7)

No longer protest party, but ALTERNATIVE

STRONGHOLD EUROPE

1. Demography

- decreasing share of the original inhabitants x higher birth rate = threat to the European identity

2. Socio-economic issues

- Migrants on welfare

3. Cultural issues (S. Huntington: Clash of Civilizations)

- Integration issues
- Inability of the European nations to integrate migrants
- Migrants' unwillingness to integrate and to adjust

STRONGHOLD EUROPE

4. Security issues

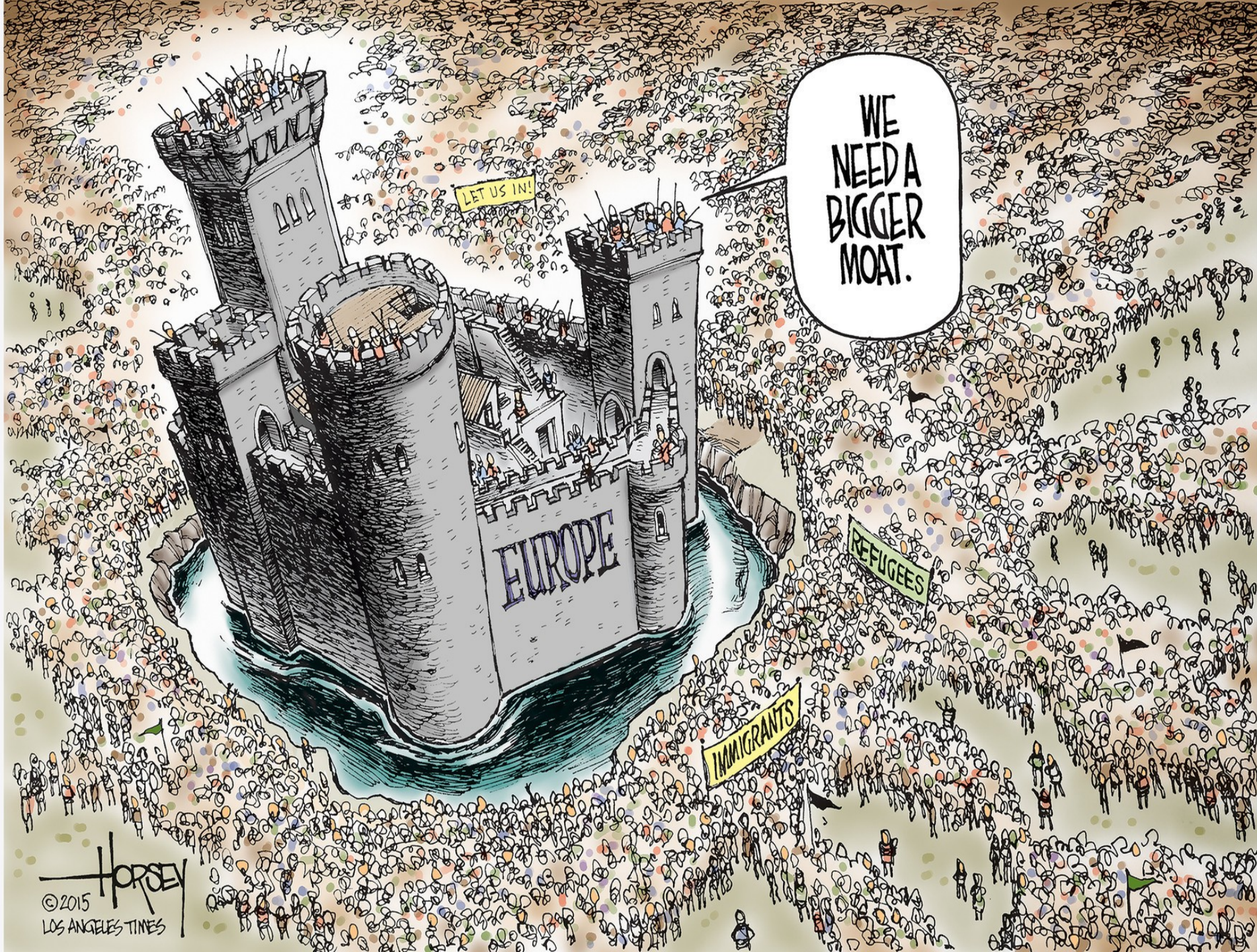
- No-go areas
- Illegal migration
- Crime and terrorism
- Humanitarian aid is feasible – help migrants back home, not in Europe

5. Political issues

- No political representation of minorities
- Right of historical nations of Europe to rule
- If migrants participate in politics, Europe and its identity and values will be destroyed

6. Human rights issues

human rights and social welfare



HORSEY
©2015
LOS ANGELES TIMES