



# THE POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT

A reader

Edited by Cas Mudde

“Cas Mudde offers an expert guidance to the current debates about the populist radical right. With its clear framework and comprehensive selection of key readings this book is essential reading for students and those new to the field.”

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“Cas Mudde has assembled the most important work on the populist radical right. Research that has collectively defined the research agenda. The manner in which Mudde presents them encapsulates not only the essential work that has already been done, but (perhaps most critically) it sets the stage for future research.”

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# The Populist Radical Right

The populist radical right is one of the most studied political phenomena in the social sciences, counting hundreds of books and thousands of articles. This is the first reader to bring together the most seminal articles and book chapters on the contemporary populist radical right in western democracies. It has a broad regional and topical focus and includes work that has made an original theoretical contribution to the field, which makes it less time-specific. The reader is organized in six thematic sections:

- (1) ideology and issues;
- (2) parties, organizations, and subcultures;
- (3) leaders, members, and voters;
- (4) causes;
- (5) consequences; and
- (6) responses.

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**Cas Mudde** is Associate Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) at the University of Georgia, USA, and a Researcher at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo, Norway.

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A reader

**Edited by Cas Mudde**

First published 2017  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Names: Mudde, Cas, editor.

Title: The populist radical right : a reader / edited by Cas Mudde.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an Informa Business, [2017] | Series: Routledge studies in extremism and democracy

Identifiers: LCCN 2016020508 | ISBN 9781138673861 (hardback) | ISBN 9781138673878 (pbk.) | ISBN 9781315514574 (e-book)

Subjects: LCSH: Right-wing extremists—Europe. | Conservatism—Europe. | Populism—Europe. | Political parties—Europe. | Europe—Politics and government—1989—

Classification: LCC HN380.Z9 R3575 2017 | DDC 320.5094—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016020508>

ISBN: 978-1-138-67386-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-67387-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-51457-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Baskerville MT  
by RefineCatch Limited, Bungay, Suffolk

**For all students of the populist radical right, past, present,  
and future.**



We are like dwarfs sitting on the shoulders of giants. We see more, and things that are more distant, than they did, not because our sight is superior or because we are taller than they, but because they raise us up, and by their great stature add to ours.

—John of Salisbury (1159)

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# Preface

The idea for a reader on the populist radical right came to me first more than fifteen years ago. I had been working on the topic since the early 1990s and had noticed the sharp increase in scholarship. Whereas much of the studies on the populist radical right had been descriptive and in German when I started in the late 1980s, a body of more analytical and comparative work had developed in English created by and catering to an ever-growing community of scholars and students. And while readers on related topics were quite common, most notably on fascism, there was no equivalent on the populist radical right. Fifteen years later the situation has not changed much. There are even more courses on and scholars of the populist radical right, and much more scholarship, but still no reader.

This reader aims to provide the perfect introduction into the main scholarly debates on populist radical right parties in Europe and beyond. It is first and foremost catering to scholars teaching courses on the contemporary populist radical right – which are taught at universities across Europe and North America, from Bath in the United Kingdom to Ottawa in Canada and from Boston in the United States to Mainz in Germany. In addition, it is meant as a fundamental resource for the hundreds of graduate students and scholars working on populist radical right topics across the world. Finally, the reader hopes to offer an essential introduction to the topic for the many practitioners that have a professional interest in the populist radical right, from activists in anti-racist organizations like Hope not Hate in the United Kingdom to analysts in intelligence agencies like the Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution (BVS) in Germany.

The process of making this reader went through several iterations in which feedback from no less than fourteen reviewers was received and integrated as well as possible. While some reviewers suggested diametrically opposed changes – from more historical fascism to no historical cases whatsoever – the collective feedback has significantly improved the selection of articles as well as the overall reader. I would like to express my sincere thanks to all fourteen reviewers. I also want to thank all the authors who have granted permission to have their seminal works included in this reader. Finally, I want to thank all my friends at Routledge, including the editors of the Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy, Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, editor extraordinaire Craig Fowlie, and senior editorial assistant of Politics & International Relations Emma Chappell.

Making this reader was a great opportunity for me to re-establish contacts with old colleagues, re-read the classics, and re-think my own influences. I can still remember the excitement when, as an undergraduate, I came across the first special issue on the ‘extreme right’ in *West European Politics* in 1988 and reading Klaus von Beyme’s foundational introductory article. Equally influential was Piero Ignazi’s seminal article in the *European Journal of Political Research* special issue of 1992, which came out just a few months before I started my

PhD. Finally, the defining books by Hans-Georg Betz (1994) and Herbert Kitschelt (1995) proved to me, and the initially skeptical discipline, that the populist radical right could, and should, be studied within mainstream social science. I thank all these great scholars for their inspiration and hope they will continue to inspire many others.

Athens, March 2016

# Acknowledgements

The work in this collection has been published previously in a variety of different forms. We would like to thank the publishers for granting permission to use the following copyright material:

Griffin, Roger “Interregnum or Endgame? The Radical Right in the ‘Post-Fascist’ Era,” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 5(2): 163–178. Copyright © 2000 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Carter, Elisabeth “Party Ideology,” in *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press). Copyright © 2005 Manchester University Press. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Betz, Hans-Georg and Carol Johnson “Against the Current—Stemming the Tide: The Nostalgic Ideology of the Contemporary Radical Populist Right,” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9(3): 311–327. Copyright © 2004 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

De Lange, Sarah L. “A New Winning Formula? The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right,” *Party Politics* 13(4): 411–435. Copyright © 2007 SAGE Publications Ltd. Reproduced by permission of SAGE Publications Ltd., London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington DC.

Zúquete, José Pedro “The European Extreme-Right and Islam: New Directions?” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(3): 321–344. Copyright © 2008 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

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Minkenberg, Michael “The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative Observations and Interpretations,” *East European Politics & Societies* 16(2): 335–362. Copyright © 2002 by American Council of Learned Societies. Reprinted by permission of SAGE Publications, Inc.

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Mudde, Cas “The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy,” *West European Politics* 33(6): 1167–1186. Copyright © 2010 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Minkenberg, Michael “The Radical Right in Public Office: Agenda-Setting and Policy Effects,” *West European Politics* 24(4): 1–21. Copyright © 2001 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Schain, Martin A. “The Extreme Right and Immigration Policy-Making: Measuring Direct and Indirect Effects,” *West European Politics* 29(2): 270–289. Copyright © 2006 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Van Spanje, Joost “Contagious Parties: Anti-Immigration Parties and Their Impact on Other Parties’ Immigration Stances in Contemporary Western Europe,” *Party Politics* 16(5): 563–586. Copyright © 2010 SAGE Publications Ltd. Reproduced by permission of SAGE Publications Ltd., London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington DC.

Akkerman, Tjitske “Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010),” *West European Politics* 35(3): 511–529. Copyright © 2012 Taylor & Francis Ltd (www.tandfonline.com). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Albertazzi, Daniele and Sean Mueller “Populism and Liberal Democracy: Populists in Government in Austria, Italy, Poland and Switzerland,” *Government and Opposition* 48(3): 343–371. Copyright © 2013 Government and Opposition Ltd. Reproduced with permission of the publisher (Cambridge University Press).

Mudde, Cas “The 2012 Stein Rokkan Lecture: Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?” *European Journal of Political Research* 52(1): 1–19. Copyright © 2013 John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Reproduced with permission of Blackwell Publishing Limited.

Van Donselaar, Jaap “Patterns of Response to the Extreme Right in Western Europe,” in Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg (eds.), *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First*

*Century*. London: Frank Cass, 272–292. Copyright © 2003 Taylor & Francis Ltd. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Dézé, Alexandre “Between Adaptation, Differentiation and Distinction: Extreme Right-Wing Parties Within Democratic Political Systems,” in Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde (eds.), *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. London: Routledge, 19–40. Copyright © 2003 Taylor & Francis Ltd. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Art, David “Reacting to the Radical Right: Lessons from Germany and Austria,” *Party Politics* 13(3): 331–349. Copyright © 2007 SAGE Publications Ltd. Reproduced by permission of SAGE Publications Ltd., London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington DC.

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# Introduction to the populist radical right

*Cas Mudde*

The populist radical right is one of the most studied political phenomena of the postwar western world. Hundreds of scholarly articles and books have been devoted to it, most notably to contemporary populist radical right parties in (Western) Europe. These works are trying to meet the ‘insatiable demand’ (Bale 2012) for information on the contemporary populist radical right. And this demand is not limited to the scholarly community; rarely a day goes by without at least one media outlet reporting on the populist radical right. The Great Recession has raised the public and scholarly demand even further, given that received wisdom holds that economic crises lead to the rise of the populist radical right (see Mudde 2016).

While there are many readers on the historical far right, i.e. fascism and National Socialism (e.g. Gregor 2000; Griffin 1998, 1995), no academic reader exists on the contemporary populist radical right. Most collective research is published in edited volumes, which have at least three weaknesses: (1) they often present single-country chapters, which date rapidly because of the volatile nature of most populist radical right parties; (2) they have a limited focus in terms of topics and regions; and (3) they tend to be light on theoretical insights, which normally are only covered in the introductory or concluding chapter. This reader aims to bring together classic articles on the contemporary populist radical right party family. It has a broad regional and topical focus and includes mostly work that has made an original theoretical contribution to the field, which makes it less time-specific.

The main aim of this introduction is threefold: (1) to provide a short overview of the academic study of populist radical right parties in the postwar era; (2) to outline the conceptual framework that I have been using in most of my more recent work – but which is not followed by the vast majority of authors included in this reader; and (3) to present an up-to-date history of the contemporary populist radical right in Europe, with a particular focus on the twenty-first century. Obviously, my own work has been strongly influenced by the writings included in this reader and will reflect many of their key insights. In particular, I am a product of the second wave of scholarship (see below), standing on the shoulders of giants like Hans-Georg Betz, Roger Eatwell, Piero Ignazi, and Herbert Kitschelt, whose seminal texts are included in this volume.

## **The study of the populist radical right**

Populist radical right parties are the most studied party family in political science. Hardly a month goes by without a new article or book on a populist radical right party or the populist radical right party family. No less than ten articles were published (primarily) on the populist radical right in the first two months of 2016 alone! In the same period, no articles were published on the three major party families of European politics – the Christian democrats,

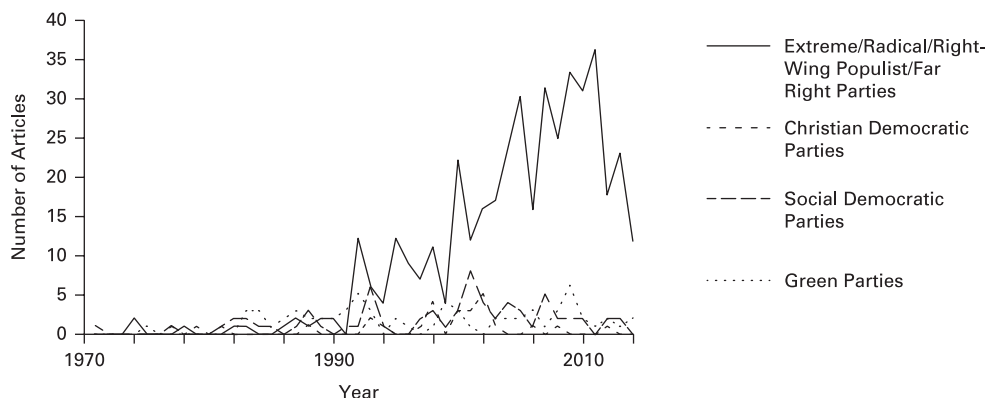


Figure 1 Articles on four party families over time.

social democrats, and liberals – while two articles were published on ‘radical left’ parties, a party family that was recently brought back from the dead by the Coalition of the Radical Left (Syriza) in Greece and We Can (Podemos) in Spain.

This disproportionate focus is nothing new. Ever since the rise of populist radical right parties started in the mid-1980s, the party family has inspired an ever-growing coterie industry of scholars that tries to satisfy the never-ending desire for information that exists among various publics. One of the consequences of this ballooning of scholarship is that, at least since the early 1990s, there have been more academic studies of populist radical right parties than of all other party families combined (see Figure 1). In fact, in certain years (e.g. 2010) there were almost *seven times* as many articles on populist radical right parties than on all other party families together.

While the increase in studies of populist radical right parties reflects, at least to some extent, the rise in the electoral success of the party family, the emphasis remains highly disproportional. Even in the early twenty-first century the populist radical right is at best the fourth-largest party family in Europe, in terms of electoral support – behind the three party families mentioned before – and possibly only the fifth-most relevant in terms of political relevance, given that the Greens still have more coalition potential in most (West) European countries (e.g. Müller-Rommel & Poguntke 2002; Rihoux & Rüdig 2006).

But the study of the populist radical right does not only stand out in terms of its disproportionate volume. What is unique is that virtually all of its scholars are more or less open opponents of the parties they study – in fact, I know of no openly sympathetic scholar of the populist radical right. While (younger) scholars are increasingly hiding behind alleged positivist neutrality, particularly within quantitative studies, even they mostly set up the populist radical right as a problem for, if not an open threat to, the liberal democratic system. This is in sharp contrast to studies of other party families, which have all been dominated by open supporters of the party families they studied – in fact, many of the scholars were active participants within the parties/party families they studied.

### Three waves of scholarship

Just as Klaus von Beyme (1988) famously distinguished between three chronologically and ideologically different waves of right-wing extremism in postwar Europe, we can differentiate

between three academically distinct waves of scholarship of populist radical right parties since 1945. The three waves do not just follow each other chronologically, but also reflect different types of scholarship in terms of the questions they ask and terms they use. Obviously, the distinction is imprecise and functions mostly as a heuristic tool to structure the voluminous scholarship. None of the three waves is homogenous and heated debates about definitions and interpretations have always dominated the field.

The first wave lasted roughly from 1945 till 1980, was mostly historical and descriptive, and focused primarily on the historical continuity between the pre-war and post-war periods. The majority of the (few) scholars were historians, experts on historical fascism, who studied the postwar populist radical right under the headings of ‘extreme right’ and ‘neo-fascism.’ The bulk of this, still rather limited, scholarship was published in other languages than English, most notably German and French. Among the few English language studies was Kurt P. Tauber’s seminal, two-volume *Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism since 1945* (1967), which discussed roughly twenty years of postwar German extreme right politics in no less than 1600 pages! Only a few studies described the ‘re-emergence of fascism’ across Europe, and even beyond, including countries like Argentina and South Africa (Eisenberg 1967; del Boca & Giovana 1969).

The second wave of scholarship lasted roughly from 1980 to 2000, although it only really took off with the start of the third wave of the ‘extreme right’ in Europe in the mid-1980s. This wave saw an infusion of social science literature, in particular various forms of modernization theory (e.g. Betz 1994; Kitschelt 1995), and was, directly or indirectly, influenced by American studies of the ‘radical right’ of the previous decades (e.g. Bell 1964; Lipset & Raab 1970). In line with the influential ‘normal pathology’ thesis (Scheuch & Klingemann 1967), scholars tried to understand why ‘radical right’ parties could be successful in modern western democracies. Focusing on a small subset of parties in Western Europe – the usual suspects like the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), the French National Front (FN), and the German Republicans (REP) – scholars almost exclusively studied the demand-side of populist radical right politics, treating the populist radical right party as the dependent variable.

The third wave of scholarship took off at the turn of the century, as scholars started to focus more on the supply-side of populist radical right politics, including the parties themselves (e.g. Art 2011). Scholars no longer only tried to explain their electoral successes (and, to a much lesser extent, failures), but started to investigate their effects as well (e.g. Williams 2006). Consequently, the populist radical right party was now studied as both a dependent and an independent variable. The field also became part of mainstream social science, and particularly political science, which led to further integration of mainstream theories and methods into the study of the populist radical right. Under a broad plethora of terms, though mostly including some combination of ‘right’ and ‘populism,’ scholarship of populist radical right parties now trumped that of all other party families together. It also influenced scholarship on related phenomena, from ‘niche’ parties (e.g. Adams et al. 2006; Meguid 2010) to the ‘radical left’ (e.g. March 2011; March & Mudde 2005).

## **A conceptual framework**

Although I have so far mainly spoken about the ‘populist radical right,’ the topic of this reader is termed ‘extreme right,’ ‘radical right,’ or ‘right-wing populist’ in most academic and media accounts. This terminological quagmire is in part a consequence of the fact that, unlike other party families (such as Greens and socialists), populist radical right parties do not self-identify as populist or even (radical) right. Many reject the left–right distinction as

obsolete, arguing that they are instead ‘neither left, nor right.’ While there are widely different definitions out there, most authors define the essence of what I call the ‘populist radical right’ in very similar ways.

The populist radical right shares a core ideology that combines (at least) three features: nativism, authoritarianism, and populism (Mudde 2007). Individual actors might have additional core ideological features, such as anti-Semitism or welfare chauvinism, but *all* members of the populist radical right (party) family share at least these three features. Obviously, different groups express their ideology differently, defining their ‘own people’ in various ways and targeting different ‘enemies’ on the basis of a broad variety of motivations and prejudices (ibid.: Chapter 3). But all populist radical right actors share at least these three features as (part of) their ideological core.

Nativism entails a combination of nationalism and xenophobia. It is an ideology that holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (‘the nation’) and that non-native (or ‘alien’) elements, whether persons or ideas, are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state. Nativism is directed at enemies both within and outside and has a long history throughout the western world – dating back at least to the Native America Party, better known as American Party or Know Nothing movement, in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century (e.g. Bennett 1990; Higham 1983).

In Europe the nativism of the populist radical right has mainly targeted ‘immigrants’ (including guest workers and refugees) in the West and ‘indigenous minorities’ (e.g. Hungarians or Roma) in the East. The basis of the nativist distinction can be multifold – including ethnic, racial, and religious prejudices, which are often combined in one form or another. For example, Islamophobia, the prime nativist sentiment of the contemporary populist radical right, combines ethnic, religious, and sometimes even racial stereotypes. At the same time, populist radical right parties will use both socio-economic and socio-cultural motivations to ‘justify’ their nativism.

Authoritarianism refers to the belief in a strictly ordered society, in which infringements of authority are to be punished severely. It is an ideological feature shared by most right-wing ideologies (e.g. conservatism) as well as by many religions (e.g. Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity). In terms of concrete policies authoritarianism translates into strict law and order policies, with call for more police with greater competencies as well as less political involvement in the judiciary. It also means that social problems like drugs and prostitution are, first and foremost, seen as security issues and not, for example, health or economic issues. Hence, authoritarians call for higher sentences and fewer rights for criminals, but also for more discipline in families and schools.

The final feature of the ideological trilogy is populism, which is defined in many different, and often highly problematic, ways. It is here defined as an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ and ‘the corrupt elite,’ and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people (Mudde 2004: 543). Populist radical right politicians claim to be the *vox populi* (voice of the people), accusing established parties and politicians of being a ‘political class’ that feigns opposition to distract the people from the fact that they are essentially all the same and working together. The FN expresses this latter sentiment by referring to the two major parties in France, the Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) and Socialist Party (PS), as ‘UMPS.’

The three different ideological features are often interconnected in the propaganda of the parties. All populist radical right parties devote disproportionate attention to crimes by ‘aliens,’ be it Roma in the East or immigrants in the West. The Dutch Party for Freedom

(PVV) even campaigned with a slogan linking nativism and authoritarianism directly: ‘more safety, less immigration.’ Similarly, populism and nativism are often connected, as mainstream political parties are accused of ignoring ‘immigrant crime’ and suppressing any critique with ‘political correctness’ as well as of favoring ‘immigrants’ at the expense of the native people. This does not mean that populism and nativism are identical, as some scholars seem to believe. Whereas the nativist distinction is between (good) ‘natives’ and (evil) ‘aliens,’ the populist division between the (good) ‘people’ and the (evil) ‘elite’ is *within* the native group!

Importantly, it is the combination of *all* three features that makes an ideology (and party) populist radical right. Unlike the extreme right of the 1930s, the populist radical right is democratic, in that it accepts popular sovereignty and majority rule. It also tends to accept the rules of parliamentary democracy; in most cases it prefers a stronger executive and a few parties even support a toothless legislature. Tensions exist between the populist radical right and liberal democracy, in particular arising from the constitutional protection of minorities (ethnic, political, religious). The populist radical right is in essence monist, seeing the people as ethnically and morally homogeneous, and considering pluralism as undermining the (homogeneous) ‘will of the people’ and protecting ‘special interests’ (i.e. minority rights).

Finally, the populist radical right is not ‘right’ in the classic socio-economic understanding of the state versus the market. In theory, economics is at best a secondary issue for the populist radical right. In practice, most populist radical right parties support a hybrid socio-economic agenda, which combines calls for fewer rules and lower taxes with economic nationalism and welfare chauvinism, i.e. protection of the national economy and support for welfare provisions for ‘natives’ (only). It is, however, ‘right’ in its acceptance of inequality, as a ‘natural’ phenomenon, which should not be ‘legislated away’ by the state (Bobbio 1996).

## **The populist radical right today**

In contemporary Europe the populist radical right mobilizes primarily in the form of political parties, which contest elections to gain seats in parliament and influence, either directly or indirectly, government policies. Street politics is traditionally more associated with the extreme right, notably neo-Nazi and other far right (skinhead) groups, but this has started to change in recent years. In fact, the refugee crisis has seen an upsurge in both extreme right and radical right street politics.

Given that no party self-defines as populist radical right, classification is up to scholars, and they tend to disagree almost as much as they agree. While there are many parties that virtually all scholars agree upon, at least in recent years, debate exists on many others. These debates are mainly related to the different definitions used, but are also the result of a continuing lack of detailed academic studies of several key parties in, mostly smaller, European countries. In fact, systematic analyses of the ideology of populist radical right parties, and political parties more generally, remain remarkably rare in political science.

It would lead too far to discuss all categorizations in detail here (see Mudde 2007: 32ff.). The most important parties that are excluded from this analysis, but that some other authors include, are List Dedecker in Belgium, Progress Party (FPd) in Denmark, Finns Party (PS) in Finland, Alternative for Germany (AfD) and German National Democratic Party (NPD) in Germany, Golden Dawn (XA) and Independent Greeks (ANEL) in Greece, Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Alliance (Fidesz) in Hungary, Forza Italia (FI) and National Alliance (AN) in Italy, National Alliance (NA) in Latvia, List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) in the Netherlands, Progress Party (FrP) in Norway, Law and Justice (PiS) in Poland, New Democracy (ND) in



Sweden, Nationalist Action Party (MHP) in Turkey, and United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the United Kingdom. All these parties share some but not all of the three core features that define the populist radical right party family.

In most cases the debate is over the question of whether nativism (most often anti-immigrant sentiments) is ideological or opportunistic, i.e. used only strategically in election campaigns. I exclude the following parties because nativism is not a *core* feature of their party ideology: AfD, AN, ANEL, FI, Fidesz, FP, FrP, LPF, NA, ND, PiS, PS, and UKIP. NA and PS are rather more problematic cases, however, as both parties have strong institutionalized radical right factions within their party and parliamentary factions, but their leadership, program, and government policies are not radical right. UKIP seems increasingly pushed into a radical right direction, and might move there after the Brexit referendum, which has significantly reduced the saliency of its main issue, i.e. exit from the EU. The AfD, on the other hand, moved to the populist radical right in 2015, when the more radical Frauke Petry succeeded the more conservative Eurosceptic Bernd Lucke as party leader.<sup>1</sup>

A new phenomenon is the electoral relevance of more or less openly extreme right parties. Concretely, both NPD and XA are excluded because they are extreme right parties, even if at least the NPD tries to hide this in its official party materials. Similarly, the People's Party Our Slovakia (ĽSNS), which won seats in the 2016 national elections in Slovakia, is excluded on the basis of its extreme right character. The British National Party (BNP) and Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik) are not excluded, however, even though they are borderline cases, i.e. mostly populist radical right 'front-stage' but with features of a extreme right 'back-stage'.<sup>2</sup> For example, racism and historical revisionism are prevalent within the BNP, which has recently imploded, while anti-Semitism and historical revisionism are endemic within Jobbik, which is also closely linked to a (non-armed) paramilitary unit, the now banned Hungarian Guard.

Table 1 lists the electoral results of the most important populist radical right parties in Europe. I have included only the main party in each country, focusing on national elections in the past twenty-five years and the two most recent European elections. It is important to note that, while the twenty-first century has seen the highest results for populist radical right parties in the postwar era, large parts of Europe remain immune to them. Consequently, Table 1 includes only fifteen countries, less than half of all European democracies. In the other countries either no populist radical right party contests national elections (e.g. Iceland and Ireland) or no party comes close to representation in the national or European parliament (e.g. Portugal and Spain). It is particularly striking that most of the largest and most powerful European countries do not have a strong populist radical right party: Germany, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom.

Even among the countries with more or less successful populist radical right parties the diversity is remarkable. The highest results in national elections range from 5.6 to 29.4 percent of the vote, while the most recent results vary between 1.0 and 29.4 percent. The *average* high result of these successful parties is 15.0 percent, while their average in most recent elections is 10.8 percent. Only six of the fifteen parties gained their highest result in the most recent election, which warns against seeing the development of populist radical right success as one continuous upward trend. In fact, the peaks of some parties were almost two decades ago and while some have since recovered (e.g. FN and FPÖ), others have not (e.g. PRM).

Populist radical right parties perform, on average, not very differently in European elections (Minkenberg & Perrineau 2007), where the average of the fourteen most successful parties was 9.9 percent in 2014 – the average of all populist radical right parties was just under

*Table 1* Electoral results of main populist radical right parties in Europe in national elections (1980–2015) and European elections (2009 and 2014)

Country	Party	National elections		European elections	
		Highest result	Last result	2014 result	Change 2009
Austria	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	26.9	20.5	19.7	+7.0
Belgium	Flemish Interest (VB)	12.0	3.7	4.1	−5.8
Bulgaria	National Union Attack (Attack)	9.4	4.5	3.0	−9.0
Czech Republic	Dawn – National Coalition (Dawn)	6.9	6.9	3.1	+3.1
Denmark	Danish People’s Party (DF)	21.1	21.1	26.6	+11.8
Estonia	Conservative People’s Party of Estonia (EKRE)	8.1	8.1	4.0	+4.0
France	National Front (FN)	15.3	13.6	25.0	+18.7
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	5.6	1.0	2.7	−4.5
Hungary	Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)	20.5	20.5	14.7	−0.1
Italy	Northern League (LN)	10.1	4.1	6.2	−4.0
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	15.5	10.1	13.2	−3.8
Romania	Greater Romania Party (PRM)	19.5	1.5	2.7	−6.0
Slovakia	Slovak National Party (SNS)	11.6	4.6	3.6	−2.0
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD)	12.9	12.9	9.7	+6.4
Switzerland*	Swiss People’s Party (SVP)	29.4	29.4	—	—
<i>Average of 15**</i>		<i>15.0</i>	<i>10.8</i>	<i>9.9</i>	<i>+1.1</i>

\* Switzerland is not a member of the European Union and the SVP does therefore not contest the European elections.

\*\* In the case of the European Elections it is the average of 14, as Switzerland is not an EU member state.

7 percent (see Mudde 2016). Again, the diversity is striking, with results ranging from 2.7 to 26.6 percent and changes between the 2009 and 2014 elections between −9.0 and +18.7 percent. The massive gap in gains and losses again emphasizes the different trajectories of populist radical right parties in Europe. While the overall trend is up, particularly on average, there are several parties that are well beyond their peak.

A similar story can be told about government participation. The first populist radical right party to enter a (coalition) government in Western Europe was the LN in Italy in 1994. The phenomenon was more common in Eastern Europe in the 1990s, largely a symptom of the still fragile and volatile party politics of the transition period. In the first decade of the twenty-first century several parties entered coalitions in the West, while they became less common in the East. Although the trend remains up, there are currently only three governments with populist radical right participation – the four-party coalition government in Slovakia, in which a significantly moderated SNS is a junior partner; the liberal minority government in Denmark, which depends on the support of the DF (and other right-wing parties); and the uniquely constructed Swiss government, which includes the SVP, even though that party also functions as the main opposition party in Switzerland.<sup>3</sup>

Until 2015 the populist radical right was almost exclusively a party phenomenon with street politics the domain of small, sometimes violent, extreme right groups. While extreme right activists and groups remain primarily involved in street politics, they are no longer alone. In recent years various radical right non-party organizations have emerged that are exclusively focused on extra-parliamentary politics. The best-known groups are the English Defence

*Table 2* Participation in government by populist radical right parties, 1980–2014

<i>Country</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Period(s)</i>	<i>Coalition partner(s)</i>
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	2000–2002	ÖVP
		2002–2005	ÖVP
		2005–2006	ÖVP
Bulgaria <sup>1</sup>	Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)	2013–2014	BSP & DPS
Croatia	Croatia Democratic Union (HDZ)	1990–2000	
Denmark <sup>1</sup>	Danish People's Party (DF)	2001–2005	V & KF
		2005–2007	V & KF
		2007–2011	V & KF
Estonia	Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP)	1992–1995	Isamaa
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	2011–2012	ND & PASOK
Italy	Northern League (LN)	1994	AN & FI
		2001–2006	AN & FI & MDC
		2008–2011	PdL & MpA
		2010–2012	CDA & VVD
Netherlands <sup>1</sup>	Party for Freedom (PVV)	2010–2012	CDA & VVD
Poland	League of Polish Families (LPR)	2005–2006	PIS & Samoirona
Romania	Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR)	1994–1996	PDSR & PSM
		1995	PDSR & PSM
Slovakia	Slovak National Party (SNS)	1994–1998	HZDS & ZRS
		2006–2010	HZDS & Smer
		2016–	Smer & Most-Híd & Siet'
Switzerland <sup>2</sup>	Swiss People's Party (SVP)	2000–	SPS & FDP & CVP

<sup>1</sup> Minority governments in which the populist radical right party functions as the official support party.

<sup>2</sup> Swiss governments are longstanding, voluntary governments based on a 'magic formula' rather than the outcome of the parliamentary elections.

League (EDL) and Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West (PEGIDA), which both have inspired similar groups across Europe and even beyond (e.g. Busher 2016; Vorländer et al. 2016). While these groups have been able to mobilize several thousand people at some times, their significance is strongly exaggerated by the media. Most EDL and PEGIDA demonstrations have been complete failures with small groups of activists being protected from the much larger numbers of anti-racist demonstrators by a mass police force.

The refugee crisis has changed populist radical right street politics in both qualitative and quantitative terms. First of all, there are more anti-immigration demonstrations, which attract more people in more countries. Second, the type of groups and people involved in these demonstrations is much more diverse, ranging from members of mainstream parties to activists from neo-Nazi groups. Most striking is the rise of anti-immigration demonstrations in East Central Europe, a region that had been confronted with little mass immigration or mass protest before. While much anti-immigration politics has so far remained either loosely organized or organized by existing far right groups, some new populist radical right groups have emerged, such as the Bloc Against Islam in the Czech Republic. I will discuss the possible ramifications of these ongoing developments in more detail in the concluding chapter.

## **Outline of the book**

This introductory chapter has aimed to provide a short background to the populist radical right in Europe and to its academic study. It has mainly presented my own approach, and

definition, which is similar, but certainly not identical, to most of the authors included in this volume. Almost every author uses a somewhat different term, definition, and classification, which sometimes has consequences for the assessment of causes and consequences. Hence, it is important to compare not just the insights of different authors, but also the terms and classifications that they employ. For example, it is possible that two authors come to very different conclusions on the electoral success or political impact of the populist radical right, because one uses a very broad definition, which includes many governing parties, and the other a very narrow one, which excludes most of them.

The reader includes thirty-two previously published articles and book chapters organized in six thematic sections: (1) ideology and issues; (2) parties, organizations, and subcultures; (3) leaders, members, and voters; (4) causes; (5) consequences; and (6) responses. Each section features a short introduction by the editor, which introduces and ties together the selected pieces and provides discussion questions and suggestions for further readings. The reader is ended with a conclusion in which I will reflect on the future of the populist radical right in light of (more) recent political developments – most notably the Greek economic crisis and the refugee crisis – and suggest avenues for future research.

## Notes

- 1 As the AfD contested both the 2013 German and 2014 European elections as a non-populist radical right party, i.e. before the split, it is excluded from Table 1.
- 2 The distinction between ‘front-stage’ and ‘back-stage’ was initially developed by the American sociologist Erving Goffman and applied to far right parties by the Dutch anthropologist Jaap van Donselaar (1991).
- 3 Obviously, the count is quite different if a broader interpretation of the ‘radical right’ is used. Several colleagues would, for example, also include the current governments in Finland (PS), Latvia (NA), and Norway (FrP). And, in light of the refugee crisis (see conclusion), many journalists have started to count Hungary (Fidesz) and Poland (PiS) as well.

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## 4 A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right

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Year	Country	Party	Output / months	Italy 1996
-2001	Italy	Prodi I, D'Alma I, Amato I, IL'Ulivo, DSC	61-4.00-0.7	92
11/6/2001-2006	Italy	Berlusconi II, III, IIFI, AN, LN, UDC, NPSI, (PRI)	CR+RR 59+0.50+0.103	08
1996-2000	Austria	Prodi I, IL'Unione	CL 24-0.50-0.2	54
1996-2000	Austria	Vranitzky V, Klimaispö, ÖVP	CL+CR 46-2.50-0.835	3-2006
2000-2003	Austria	Schüssel I, ÖVP, FPÖ	CR+RR 37+1.50+0.496	3-2006
2003-2006	Austria	Schüssel II, ÖVP, BZÖ	CR+RR 46+7.50+1.967	8
1998-2002	Netherlands	enbauer I, SPÖ, ÖVP	CL+CR 230.0000.00	8
1998-2002	Netherlands	Kok I, PvdA, VVD, D'66	CL+CR 45+3.50+0.939	11
2002-2003	Netherlands	Balkenende I, CDA, VVD, (D'66)	CR 45+8.50+2.27	11
2007-2010	Netherlands	Balkenende II, I, IICDA, VVD, (D'66)	CR 45+8.50+2.27	27
1999-2003	Switzerland	deIVCDA, PvdA, CUCR+CL	44-1.00-0.1213	27
1999-2003	Switzerland	FDP, CVP, SP, SV	PCR+CL+RR 48+3.50+0.88	14
1998-2001	Denmark	Rasmussen I, VSD, DRV	CL 44-1.00-0.27	15
2001-2005	Denmark	Rasmussen I, V, KF, (DF)	CR+RR 39+13.50+4.15	16
2005-2007	Denmark	Rasmussen II, V, KF, (DF)	CR+RR 33+2.00+0.73	17
1998-2002	Germany	Schröder I, SDP, Grue	CL 48-1.00-0.2	11
2002-2005	Germany	Schröder II, SDP, Grue	CL 37+0.50+0.16	19
2005-2009	Germany	Merkel I, CDU/CSU, SPD	CR+CL 47+2.00+0.51	20
1997-2002	France	Jospin I, PS, LV, PCF, MRC, PRG	CL 59-1.50-0.31	21
2002-2007	France	Raffarin I, RPR, UDF/UMP, (NC)	CR 60+7.00+1.40	22
1999-2003	Belgium	Verhofstadt I, VL, D, PS, PRLS/FDF, SP, AG., EC.C	R+CL 48-5.50-1.50	23
2003-2007	Belgium	Verhofstadt II, III, VL, D, PS, MR, SPA/Spirit	CR+CL 56-1.00-0.21	24
2008-2010	Belgium	Leterme I, Rompu, Leterme I, CD&V/NVA, MR, PS, VL, D, CDH	CR+CL 27-0.50-0.22	25
1998-2002	Sweden	Persson I, ISAP	CL 51-1.00-0.24	26
2002-2006	Sweden	Persson II, IS		

APCL440.000.0027Sweden2006-201  
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00-0.24Note:CL=centreleft;CR=  
centreright;RR=radicalright.

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eadded. However,whenthese tests a

reintroduced at entry level and an extra  
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migrants to be will have more diffi-  
culty in passing these tests (Goodman  
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## 27 Populism and liberal democracy: populists in government in Austria, Italy, Poland and Switzerland

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