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German Perspectives on Right-Wing Extremism

Challenges for comparative analysis

Edited by
Johannes Kiess, Oliver Decker
and Elmar Brähler



German Perspectives on Right-Wing Extremism

This book discusses right-wing extremism by analysing Germanophone research on this topic for the first time in English, including unique survey data from Germany and Austria. Highlighting how questions of terminology can become complicated when country cases are compared, the authors analyse theoretical and methodological issues in relation to the question of right-wing extremism. In Anglo-American academia, the term is often associated with fairly rare phenomena in the form of extremist political groups, whereas in Germany the term is often applied to a wide range of attitudes, behaviours and parties, including those which operate more within the mainstream political sphere.

Covering an array of sub-fields such as right-wing terrorism, iconography of the extreme right and the Germanophone discussion on the differentiation of right-wing populism and right-wing extremism, the authors account not only for the centrality of right-wing extremist attitudes in Germanophone research, but also point at its often overlooked relevance for the phenomenon in general. Offering an important insight into the nuanced definition of right-wing extremism across Europe and enhancing both international debate and cross-country comparative research, this book will be of interest to students and scholars researching extremism, German politics and European politics more generally.

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Introduction

German perspectives on right-wing extremism: challenges for comparative analysis

Johannes Kiess, Oliver Decker and Elmar Brähler

The aim of this volume is best summarized by paraphrasing Émile Durkheim: comparative research on right-wing extremism “is not a particular branch of [research on right-wing extremism]; it is [research on right-wing extremism] itself, in so far as it ceases to be purely descriptive and aspires to account for facts” (Durkheim 1895: 157). More often than not, simply by comparing one case with another, specific characteristics of a phenomenon become visible, and comparisons test established concepts and paradigms and reopen debates. However, comparative research poses its own practical problems: cross-country comparison is heavily dependent on the contextual information available for each country and thus on the national academic debates that might offer the most detailed and sophisticated accounts. In many cases, first-hand data is not available in English. This volume offers an insight into Germanophone research on right-wing extremism to enhance both international debate and cross-country comparative research.

The volume thus provides a valuable overview for students of German politics and related fields. It covers different subfields like right-wing terrorism, iconography of the extreme right, right-wing extremist attitudes and the Germanophone discussion on the differentiation of right-wing populism and right-wing extremism. In highlighting especially right-wing extremist attitudes, we not only account for the centrality of this subfield in Germanophone research but also point at its often overlooked relevance for the phenomenon in general: we learned from the German case that right-wing extremist perpetrators and cadres justify their actions by pointing to the “silent majority” that secretly wants the same thing, that is authoritarian dictatorship, racial segregation, as well as violence against the different-minded and minorities etc.

After reunification and throughout the 1990s, Germany saw a new wave of right-wing extremism: not in electoral successes on the federal level – although the right-wing extremist NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, National Democratic Party of Germany) in particular was successfully elected in some regions – but in violence against minorities and the different-minded. For right-wing extremist perpetrators, the “will of the majority” is, of course, an excuse to justify their actions. But widespread racism and anti-democratic attitude is also the societal climate in which violence spreads. The certainty that many others in Germany feel the same about asylum seekers and foreigners in general

is a central motive of (violent) extremists. The relative absence of right-wing extremist parties on the German federal level so far does not mean that right-wing extremism is not widespread. It just means that the established parties do a good job of integrating voters, albeit sometimes by adopting right-wing positions. This is not necessarily a strategy that will always work. Recognizing the roles of both right-wing extremist ideology and its prevalence in society is also theoretically necessary to understand the phenomenon of right-wing extremism today. We can learn this from the history of Nazi Germany and the broad support the Nazis and their ideology had among the people.

Against this background, two long-term research projects on political attitudes – one conducted by Wilhelm Heitmeyer (Heitmeyer 2011; project duration 2002–2012) and the other by Elmar Brähler and Oliver Decker (Decker, Kiess & Brähler 2015, project duration 2002–ongoing) – were launched. Using different methodologies, concepts and theoretical approaches, both aimed at the attitudinal level of German right-wing extremism and its prevalence in the general population using mainly representative surveys. Together with numerous preceding studies and studies at the regional level, the two large projects helped to establish attitudes as a relevant subfield of research on right-wing extremism, if not the most important subfield in Germany.

Research on right-wing extremism is characterised by a rich variety of concepts and theories reflecting the complexity of the phenomenon (Kiess 2011). On the one hand, of course, this diversity is welcome: competing and complementary approaches stimulate the academic debate and thus are productive. However, questions of terminology and operationalisation sometimes become complicated – namely, as soon as comparisons are to be made. Existing quantitative and qualitative (case) studies are usually not comparable, owing to different operationalisations and different theoretical concepts implying very different priorities. This becomes obvious if we look at the concept of right-wing extremism itself: the debates in Germany are very different from those in other countries, where the concept (and label) are less commonly used (cf. Mudde 2002: 11f.). Usage in the Anglo-American academia concentrates on extremist groups and thus on fairly rare phenomena, whereas in Germany the term is often used in a less restrictive sense for a wide range of attitudes and behaviours alike: the downgrading of immigrants is seen as a part of right-wing extremist ideology, as is revisionism of National Socialist crimes, but also neo-fascist groups, parties or movements are labelled right-wing extremist. This volume aims, firstly, to present at least a segment of Germanophone research on right-wing extremism in order to introduce the reader to theoretical and methodological debates as well as empirical findings that are often available only in German.

Comparative research on right-wing extremism is further complicated because the different terms and concepts have to be used in different cultural contexts. Nationwide surveys on right-wing extremist attitudes may assume plausibly that in Bavaria, Saxony and Hamburg, test persons understand the items used quite similarly. Comparisons among the German Bundesländer or, for example, among the French Départements, therefore, are relatively plain sailing. This changes if

we are to compare across Europe. Due to cultural connotations, it is difficult to assume that the same items can be used in different languages and cultural settings simply by translating them. The trivialisation of Nazism as a dimension of right-wing extremist ideology, for example, may significantly distort a comparison of right-wing extremist attitudes (and recruitment potential) between Germany and France.

Beyond the question of how to formulate items for surveys, there are many other problematic points to consider which bias contemporary academic but also non-academic classification systems. For scholars, it might still be easy to decide whether a party referred to as “free” or “liberal” is to be classified as liberal or right-wing populist (take e.g. the liberal FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei) in Germany and the right-wing populist FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs) in Austria). But whether the Dutch Partij voor de Vrijheid and the Austrian Freiheitliche Partei Österreich are to be categorised as of the same type is more difficult. Are both right-wing extremist parties? Or right-wing populist? Is one post-fascist, the other a new form of anti-immigration and protest party? It depends inter alia on what these terms mean in a national context, the respective history of political culture and the epistemological interest of the researcher. Both in data collection and in evaluation, as well as in public discourse, we need to think about the meanings and connotations used – and we need to discuss our concepts and categories to internationalise research in this important field.

Another example is the measurement of right-wing extremist or racist (hate) crimes. Not only do national but also regional police forces often use differing definitions of hate crimes that have to be recategorised for cross-country comparison. National and regional contexts also influence the report culture and prosecution of crimes. It is obvious that simple data collection does not do the job.

However, comparing right-wing extremism is not a new issue in general. In comparative political sciences, the topic is indeed examined periodically, often when right-wing parties become relatively successful. Von Beyme (1988), Mudde (2002: 5) and others speak of “waves” of attention to the phenomenon, one wave having been the growing success of new populist parties beginning around 1990 (Taggart 1995), and the reactions to the most recent Euro crisis may be seen as another.

Many observers see the recent economic crises in Europe as opportunities for right-wing parties in the West, the South, the East and even the North. Indeed, in the United States, the Tea Party movement has gained considerable power. In France, Marine Le Pen received 17.9% in the presidential race in 2012, and in 2014 the Front National even won the elections to the European parliament. In Hungary, Jobbik is part of the national government. In Austria, right-wing populists gained 30% of the votes in the national elections of 2013. In Belgium (Vlaams Belang), the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, parties of the far right are regularly elected to the national parliaments. Also in Germany, where twentieth-century history is often invoked as the reason for the non-success of right-wing parties in national elections, the National Party of Germany (NPD) is still represented in one Länder parliament, and the right-wing populist and

Euro-sceptic Alternative for Germany (AfD) won 4.7% in the 2013 national elections, as well as seats in three Länder parliaments and in three more in 2016 and the European parliament in 2014. These developments, which may be labelled as a new wave of right-wing extremism, show the relevance of comparative research on right-wing extremism. And there is much to gain, we believe, from the international exchange of already existing knowledge at the national level.

There is comprehensive comparative research, especially on right-wing parties. Mudde, for example, identifies a party family on the extreme right that shares a common (right-wing extremist) ideology of which examples can be found all over Europe (Mudde 1995, 2002, 2007; Langenbacher & Schellenberg 2011). Beyond right-wing parties themselves and their electoral successes, “latent electoral support for extreme right-wing parties (i.e. vote intention)” is often taken as measure to examine how far-reaching a problem right-wing extremism is in a comparative perspective (e.g. Knigge 1998). The attitudinal dimension is, as already mentioned, a whole different ball game. We know little about the prevalence of right-wing extremist attitudes in comparison (see chapter one in this volume). And there is almost no comparative data on the violence potential of right-wing organisations.

In contemporary Anglophone research, the predominance of classical political science approaches is evident (see e.g. the introductions to the topic by Hainsworth 2008, Mudde 2002 and, for Germany, Braunthal 2009). Probably the most important research stream concentrates on movements and political parties, how they evolve and mobilise their followers, as well as how their strategies differ between countries and organisational forms (e.g. Mudde 2007; Harrison & Bruter 2011; Caiani, Della Porta & Wagemann 2012; Dinas 2016; Mammone, Godin & Jenkins 2013; Von Mering & McCarty 2013). A smaller research stream on discourses accompanies this (e.g. Koopmans & Muis 2009; Caiani & Della Porta 2011; Wodak 2013). Also, we find numerous works in the field of electoral studies explaining voting behaviour (e.g. Lubbers et al. 2002; Rydgren 2008). Only in the latter, however, do we find attitudes in recent Anglophone research as independent variable (Rydgren 2007), whereas in Germanophone research, this is a central topic within the interdisciplinary field of research on right-wing extremism (Heitmeyer 2011; Decker et al. 2015; Frindte et al. 2016).

Most of the contributions in this volume follow the debates and traditions of Germanophone research, sometimes ignoring the course of the international debate, in order to present to the reader the specifics of the German debate. We find Germanophone research on the topic, even though considered to be a field of political science, to be deeply rooted in history and social psychology and to a lesser extent in sociology. It is one of the aims of this volume to inform the international debate also in this respect and to inspire the interdisciplinary variety of research on right-wing extremism.

The volume thus aims to contribute to the transnational exchange of concepts, ideas, empirical results and research approaches and to enhance the debate. It addresses the methodological challenges of cross-country comparison, includes a variety of methodological approaches (quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method)

and invites scholars and students of right-wing extremism, as well as interested readers from civil society, to think about and discuss categories and concepts for the purpose of comparing phenomena transnationally and thus extending our knowledge of right-wing extremism.

The volume is divided into two parts. Part I on “Methodological Challenges and Innovations for Comparative Research” starts with a chapter by Johannes Kiess and Oliver Decker, in which they critically reflect on existing cross-country survey data. The chapter (“Comparing Right-wing Extremist Attitudes: Lack of Research or Lack of Theory?”) argues that both need to be improved: the database for cross-country comparison as existing surveys do not address the topic adequately, nor do they address the theoretical and conceptional work to make suggestions for the implementation in big (and expensive) survey research. The aim of this chapter is thus to examine what we know about right-wing extremist, racist and anti-democratic attitudes in a comparative perspective and to point out blind spots in the field.

Chapter two (“Attitude and Agency: Common Roots, Divergent Methodologies, Joint Ventures?”), by Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya, contributes to the methodological debate that needs to be intensified on both the national and the transnational levels. On first sight, the different methodologies – qualitative and quantitative – can be seen as complementary for scientific knowledge production: the latter can provide insights into the dissemination of traits such as right-wing extremist attitudes and their correlations with other traits in a given population while qualitative studies can reveal and analyse the objective and subjective meaning of agency in, for instance, ideological forms of contemporary right-wing extremism. Surely it follows, therefore, that we should carry out mixed-method research on right-wing extremism. It is argued that this is not so much a challenge of diverse methods but of fundamental conceptual discrepancies, which are implicit in the methodologies and pervade the empirical data. But, the author argues, the variation of theoretical perspectives on (the same) empirical data cannot be unified on the basis of empirical evidence. In short, in order to develop joint ventures, conceptual and theoretical voids need to be addressed and “filled.”

Marc Grimm investigates the question why it is possible that two concepts, namely right-wing extremism and social security, which are both institutionally applied, can come to be so normatively contradictory. His chapter, “National Identity and Immigration in the Concepts of Right-Wing Extremism and Societal Security”, attempts to answer this question by following two lines of argumentation. It outlines the concepts and identifies their normative standpoints in respect to immigration and national identity by focusing on the historical genesis and discourses that shaped the concepts. By doing so, the chapter shows on a second level how the design of concepts is a battleground for different normative ideas of society.

In the chapter “A Multi-method Approach to the Comparative Analysis of Anti-pluralistic Politics”, the author Karin Liebhart directs attention to the analysis of images. By comparing the cases of Austria, Germany and Switzerland, the author convincingly shows the advantages of the proposed multi-method approach that

comprises qualitative content analysis, discourse analysis and political iconography. The contribution thus gives an example of the benefits of the diversification of methods.

In “Fertile Soil for Ideological Confusion? The Extremism of the Centre”, the authors Oliver Decker, Johannes Kiess and Elmar Brähler present a comprehensive theoretical reading of the prevalence of right-wing extremist attitude in Germany. It is argued that consumption plays an important role for Germans and their self-esteem. Consumption and economic prosperity as collective values, however, depend on economic development. In situations of crisis, this can explain rising aggression against the weak and the “others.” Own survey data from 2002 to 2014 showing the prevalence of right-wing extremist attitudes over time proves these theoretical considerations. The chapter also presents an approach to measure right-wing extremist attitude as a multidimensional world view.

Julia Hofmann presents data for the Austrian case. The chapter “Fear of Social Decline and Treading on Those Below? The Role of Social Crises and Insecurities in the Emergence and the Reception of Prejudices in Austria” complements the previous chapter but goes beyond it in its empirical depth. As a starting point, the chapter assumes that situations of social crises can lead to an increase in the devaluation of or discrimination against “others.” It further argues that this development endangers the social cohesion of a society: the higher the prevalence of such prejudices, the higher the danger of assaults against minorities. It then shows that social prejudices against marginalised social groups are widespread in Austria. In particular, attitudes against asylum seekers and socially weak people are omnipresent.

In their chapter, Michael Edinger and Eugen Schatschneider investigate the case of the so-called National Socialist Underground (NSU), a German right-wing extremist terror trio, as a challenge for political research and with the aim of examining it as a terrorist organisation – or rather as a terrorist cell. So far, few efforts have been made to study the NSU in the broader context of internationalised or transnational terrorism of the extreme right. The authors also seek to clarify and define two important terms on which empirical analysis, both in case studies and in comparative work, can be based: terrorism and the extreme right. “Terrorism Made in Germany: the Case of the NSU”, the authors argue, can be thoroughly understood only by taking into account comparative perspectives on the extreme right and terrorism.

Finally, in chapter eight, Tanja Wolf turns to right-wing parties in Europe. The chapter “Extremist or Populist? Proposing a Set of Criteria to Distinguish Right-wing Parties in Western Europe” adds to the debate on the classification of parties. The literature holds a wide range of criteria, but there seems to be more dissent than consensus about what to highlight and what to include in operationalisations. The author’s proposal of a list of criteria thus aims to open a debate of what categories are useful and necessary – a debate that should be conducted internationally and be focused on cross-country comparisons.

Representing a broad variety of topics, this volume provides the reader with an overview of, firstly, empirical findings from Austria, Germany and Switzerland

that up to this point have often been available only in German. Secondly, a wide range of methodological and theoretical debates, concepts and ideas are thematised, which are central to the Germanophone debates and may help to diversify and enhance international, comparative work.

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Appendix

Table 6.4 Descriptive statistics [Own data 2012 (IFES)]

Hostility towards . . .	Mean value	Standard deviation
Migrants If jobs get scarce, we should sent foreigners living in Austria back to their home country.	2.33	1.108
Immigrants are an enrichment for our culture.	2.75	1.048
Muslims There are too many Muslims in Austria.	2.12	1.023
The majority of Muslims living in Europe think Islamic terrorism is justified.	2.74	1.038
Asylum seekers The state should be generous when deciding applications of asylum.	3.17	0.961
Most asylum seekers do not really fear persecution in their home countries.	2.17	0.985
Jews Jews have too much influence in Austria.	2.93	0.977
Jews today try to take advantage of having been victims during the Nazi era.	2.56	1.045
The socially weak Beggars should be removed from pedestrian zones.	2.16	1.045
Most long-term unemployed are not really interested in finding a job.	2.09	1.010

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