



# RADICAL RIGHT-WING POPULIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Into the mainstream?

Edited by  
Tjitske Akkerman,  
Sarah L. de Lange  
and Matthijs Rooduijn

The book accomplishes a great fact-finding mission describing the consequences of right-wing populists in government for party competition. It begins the hunt for theory and finds new puzzles: the effects of radical right-wing government involvement are more complicated than anticipated. The book is an indispensable building block for any scholar dealing with this subject.

*Herbert Kitschelt, George V. Allen Professor of International Relations,  
Duke University, USA*

In 2000 Hainsworth *et al.* noted that the extreme right was moving “from the margins to the mainstream.” Fifteen years later, in a long-overdue but worthy ‘successor’ to Hainsworth’s seminal volume, Akkerman *et al.* observe that radical right-wing populist parties have now solidly moved “into the mainstream”.

*Cas Mudde, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs,  
University of Georgia, USA*

This book offers an updated and in depth analysis of case studies of right-wing populism and extremism, alongside the validation of a crucial hypothesis: have these parties conquered more of the political space of the moderate mainstream right? Thanks to an empirically grounded comparative survey examining the phenomenon, the authors demonstrate that, contrary to shared wisdom, the populist far right is still secure in its extreme position, and remains quite distant from other mainstream parties all over Europe. Moreover, underlining the fact that the gap between extreme and mainstream parties has only been narrowed where a critique of the European Union is concerned, the authors offer further hints to the sensitive topic of euro-scepticism.

*Piero Ignazi, Professor of Comparative Politics, University of Bologna, Italy*

This page intentionally left blank

# Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe

Radical right-wing populist parties, such as Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom, Marine Le Pen's National Front or Nigel Farage's UKIP, are becoming increasingly influential in Western European democracies. Their electoral support is growing, their impact on policy-making is substantial, and in recent years several radical right-wing populist parties have assumed office or supported minority governments.

Are these developments the cause and/or consequence of the mainstreaming of radical right-wing populist parties? Have radical right-wing populist parties expanded their issue profiles, moderated their policy positions, toned down their anti-establishment rhetoric and shed their extreme right reputations to attract more voters and/or become coalition partners? This timely book answers these questions on the basis of both comparative research and a wide range of case studies, covering Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

Analysing the extent to which radical right-wing populist parties have become part of mainstream politics, as well as the factors and conditions which facilitate this trend, this book is essential reading for students and scholars working in European politics, in addition to anyone interested in party politics and current affairs more generally.

**Tjitske Akkerman** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

**Sarah L. de Lange** is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

**Matthijs Rooduijn** is a Post-doctoral Researcher and Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

## **Extremism and Democracy**

Series Editors: Roger Eatwell, University of Bath, and Matthew Goodwin, University of Kent.

Founding Series Editors: Roger Eatwell, University of Bath and Cas Mudde, University of Antwerp-UFSIA.

This new series encompasses academic studies within the broad fields of 'extremism' and 'democracy'. These topics have traditionally been considered largely in isolation by academics. A key focus of the series, therefore, is the (inter-)relation between extremism and democracy. Works will seek to answer questions such as to what extent 'extremist' groups pose a major threat to democratic parties, or how democracy can respond to extremism without undermining its own democratic credentials.

The books encompass two strands:

Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy includes books with an introductory and broad focus which are aimed at students and teachers. These books will be available in hardback and paperback. Titles include:

### **Understanding Terrorism in America**

From the Klan to al Qaeda  
*Christopher Hewitt*

### **Fascism and the Extreme Right**

*Roger Eatwell*

### **Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe**

*Edited by Cas Mudde*

### **Political Parties and Terrorist Groups (2nd Edition)**

*Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and  
Arie Perliger*

### **The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain**

*Edited by Roger Eatwell  
and Matthew Goodwin*

### **New British Fascism**

Rise of the British National Party  
*Matthew Goodwin*

### **The End of Terrorism?**

*Leonard Weinberg*

### **Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe**

From local to transnational  
*Edited by Andrea Mammone,  
Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins*

### **Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe**

*Edited by Andrea Mammone,  
Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins*

### **Right-Wing Radicalism Today**

Perspectives from Europe  
and the US

*Edited by Sabine von Mering and  
Timothy Wyman McCarty*

### **Revolt on the Right**

Explaining support for the radical  
right in Britain

*Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin*

### **The Politicisation of Migration**

*Edited by Wouter van der Brug,  
Gianni D'Amato, Joost Berkhout  
and Didier Ruedin*

### **Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe**

Into the mainstream?

*Edited by Tjitske Akkerman,  
Sarah L. de Lange and  
Matthijs Rooduijn*

Routledge Research in Extremism and Democracy offers a forum for innovative new research intended for a more specialist readership. These books will be in hardback only. Titles include:

#### **1. Uncivil Society?**

Contentious politics in  
post-Communist Europe

*Edited by Petr Kopecky and Cas Mudde*

#### **2. Political Parties and Terrorist Groups**

*Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur*

#### **3. Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge**

*Edited by Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde*

#### **4. Confronting Right Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA**

*George Michael*

#### **5. Anti-Political Establishment Parties**

A comparative analysis

*Amir Abedi*

#### **6. American Extremism**

History, politics and the militia

*D. J. Mulloy*

#### **7. The Scope of Tolerance**

Studies on the Costs of Free  
Expression and Freedom of the press

*Raphael Cohen-Almagor*

#### **8. Extreme Right Activists in Europe**

Through the magnifying glass

*Bert Klandermans & Nonna Mayer*

#### **9. Ecological Politics and Democratic Theory**

*Mathew Humphrey*

#### **10. Reinventing the Italian Right**

Territorial politics, populism

and 'post-Fascism'

*Carlo Ruzza and Stefano Fella*

#### **11. Political Extremes**

An investigation into the history of  
terms and concepts from antiquity to  
the present

*Uwe Backes*

#### **12. The Populist Radical Right in Poland**

The patriots

*Rafal Pankowski*

**13. Social and Political Thought of Julius Evola**

*Paul Furlong*

**14. Radical Left Parties in Europe**

*Luke March*

**15. Counterterrorism in Turkey**

Policy choices and policy effects toward the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)

*Mustafa Coşar Ünal*

**16. Class Politics and the Radical Right**

*Edited by Jens Rydgren*

**17. Rethinking the French New Right**

Alternatives to modernity  
*Tamir Bar-On*

**18. Ending Terrorism in Italy**

*Anna Bull and Philip Cooke*

**19. Politics of Eugenics**

Productionism, population, and national welfare  
*Alberto Spektorowski and Liza Saban*

**20. Democratic Extremism in Theory and Practice**

Power to the people  
*Paul Lucardie*

**21. Populism in Western Europe**

Comparing Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands  
*Teun Pauwels*

**22. Extreme Right Parties in Scandinavia**

*Anders Widfeldt*

**23. Catholicism and Nationalism**

Changing nature of party politics  
*Madalena Meyer Resende*

**24. Populists in Power**

*Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell*

**25. Transforming the transformation?**

The East European radical right in the political process  
*Edited by Michael Minkenberg*

**26. The Populist Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe**

Ideology, impact and electoral performance  
*Andrea L. P. Pirro*

**27. Radical Right Parties in Central and Eastern Europe**

Mainstream party competition and electoral fortune  
*Bartek Pytlas*

**28. Ideocracies in Comparison**

Legitimation – co-optation – repression  
*Edited by Uwe Backes and Steffen Kailitz*

**29. The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest**

Grassroots activism in the English Defence League  
*Joel Busher*

**30. Radical Religion and Violence**

Theory and case studies  
*Jeffrey Kaplan*

**31. The Politics of Migration in Italy**

Perspectives on local debates and party competition  
*Pietro Castelli Gattinara*

**32. On Extremism and  
Democracy in Europe**

*Cas Mudde*

**33. German Perspectives on  
Right-Wing Extremism**

Challenges for comparative analysis

*Johannes Kiess, Oliver Decker and  
Elmar Brähler*



This page intentionally left blank

# **Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe**

Into the mainstream?

**Edited by  
Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah L. de Lange  
and Matthijs Rooduijn**

First published 2016  
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*

© 2016 selection and editorial material, Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah L. de Lange and Matthijs Rooduijn; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah L. de Lange and Matthijs Rooduijn to be identified as authors of the editorial material, and of the individual authors as authors of their contributions, has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*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: Akkerman, Tjitske, editor. | Lange, Sarah L. de, editor. | Rooduijn, Matthijs, editor.

Title: Radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe : into the mainstream? / edited by Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah L. de Lange, Matthijs Rooduijn.

Description: New York, NY : Routledge, 2016. | Series: Routledge studies in extremism and democracy | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015032846 | ISBN 9781138914834 (hardback) | ISBN 9781138914988 (pbk.) | ISBN 9781315687988 (e-book)

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

Classification: LCC JC573.2.E85 R34 2016 | DDC 324.2/13094—dc23  
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015032846>

ISBN: 978-1-138-91483-4 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-91498-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-68798-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo  
by Taylor & Francis Books

# Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	xiii
<i>List of contributors</i>	xvi
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	xvii
1 Inclusion and mainstreaming? Radical right-wing populist parties in the new millennium	1
TJITSKE AKKERMAN, SARAH L. DE LANGE AND MATTHIJS ROODUIJN	
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>Comparative analyses</b>	29
2 Into the mainstream? A comparative analysis of the programmatic profiles of radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe over time	31
TJITSKE AKKERMAN, SARAH L. DE LANGE AND MATTHIJS ROODUIJN	
3 Closing the gap? A comparison of voters for radical right-wing populist parties and mainstream parties over time	53
MATTHIJS ROODUIJN	
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>Case studies</b>	71
4 The mainstreaming of the Austrian Freedom Party: the more things change...	73
REINHARD HEINISCH AND KRISTINA HAUSER	
5 The Danish People's Party: combining cooperation and radical positions	94
FLEMMING JUUL CHRISTIANSEN	

xii *Contents*

6	From the mainstream to the margin? The radicalisation of the True Finns	113
	ANN-CATHRINE JUNGAR	
7	The Party for Freedom: balancing between mission, votes and office	144
	TJITSKE AKKERMAN	
8	The taming of the shrew: how the Progress Party (almost) became part of the mainstream	169
	ANDERS RAVIK JUPSKÅS	
9	Staying away from the mainstream: the case of the Swiss People's Party	193
	OSCAR MAZZOLENI	
10	It is still a long way from Madou Square to Law Street: the evolution of the Flemish Bloc	208
	PAUL LUCARDIE, TJITSKE AKKERMAN AND TEUN PAUWELS	
11	A new course for the French radical right? The Front National and 'de-demonisation'	225
	GILLES IVALDI	
12	The UK Independence Party: the dimensions of mainstreaming	247
	SIMON USHERWOOD	
13	Conclusions	268
	TJITSKE AKKERMAN	
	<i>Appendix</i>	283
	<i>Index</i>	292

# List of illustrations

## Figures

1.1	Explanations for mainstreaming	21
2.1a	Average position on European integration	40
2.1b	Average position on the GALTAN dimension	40
2.1c	Average position on immigration and integration issues	41
2.2a	Average salience of socioeconomic issues	44
2.2b	Average salience of sociocultural issues	44
2.3	Average anti-establishment scores of radical right parties and centre parties over time	46
3.1	Regression coefficients for different variables explaining vote for radical right-wing populist (RRP) party (1) or mainstream party (0) over the years and average scores on these variables per electoral group	61
3.2	Average EU attitude and political satisfaction per electoral group per country over the years	64
4.1	Socioeconomic position (left/right); Austrian parties	80
6.1	Electoral support in the parliamentary elections for the Finnish Rural Party (FRP) and the True Finns (PS) 1966–2015	116
6.2	FRP and PS policy change on the socioeconomic left-right and liberal-authoritarian dimensions between 1966–2011	118
6.3	FRP and PS manifesto content on four policy categories: multiculturalism, law and order, traditional morality, and the EU, 1970–2011	118
6.4	Saliency for the EU issue in Finland (% of manifesto content)	124
6.5	Saliency for the immigration issue in Finland (% of manifesto content)	124
6.6	Saliency of economic versus liberal-authoritarian policy, as percentage of SMP/PS election manifesto content	125
6.7	The Finnish party space (parties sized by vote share in the 2011 elections)	132
7.1a	The position of the PVV on socioeconomic issues	148

xiv *List of illustrations*

7.1b	The position of the PVV on immigration and integration in election manifestos	148
7.2a	Saliency of socioeconomic issues in the PVV manifestos	149
7.2b	Saliency of sociocultural issues in the PVV manifestos	150
7.3	Attention devoted to socioeconomic and sociocultural issues by PVV in election debates	150
7.4	Attitudes of PVV supporters in 2010	160
8.1	Electoral development of the FrP, national and subnational level 1973–2013 (in per cent)	170
8.2	Disagreement index, parliamentary periods from 1989 to 2015	173
8.3	Number of written questions from members of parliament to the government 1996–2013	175
8.4	Support for the statement ‘Immigration is a serious threat to our national culture’ among members of parliament 2005–2012 (in per cent)	176
8.5	Support for the statement ‘In bad times, we should first and foremost provide jobs for Norwegians’ among members of parliament 2005–2012 (in per cent)	176
8.6	Disapproval of the statement ‘To curb crime, preventive work is better than tough sentences’ among congress delegates 2001–2009 (in per cent)	178
11.1	Saliency and degree of extremeness of the FN’s radical agenda 2002–2012	228
12.1	General election voting intentions, UK, 2003–2014	254
A.1	Austria	283
A.2	Belgium	284
A.3	France	285
A.4	Netherlands	286
A.5	Denmark	287
A.6	UK	288
A.7	Finland	289
A.8	Switzerland	290
A.9	Norway	290
A.10	Italy	291

**Tables**

1.1	Average percentage of radical right-wing populist parties’ vote share in national elections in Western Europe	2
1.2	Radical right-wing populist parties in office	3
1.3	Dimensions of mainstreaming	10
2.1	Dimensions of mainstreaming	32
2.2	Measuring radicalness on the basis of the CHES data	33
2.3	Coding scheme	34
2.4	Dictionary (shortened words)	39

3.1	Descriptive statistics	60
4.1	Percentage of votes in national elections	74
4.2	Dimensions of mainstreaming – Austrian Freedom Party	83
4.3	Strategic party behaviour (national level); Austrian Freedom Party and main parties	84
5.1	Electoral support for the DPP in general elections, 1998–2015	95
6.1	Election results for the True Finns in national, local and EP elections 1999–2015	114
7.1	Electoral support for the PVV	146
8.1	Issue ownership to immigration, geriatric care and taxation 1997–2013 (in per cent)	183
10.1	Votes and seats of the VB in the Belgian Kamer van Afgevaardigden (House of Representatives) 1978–2014	211
11.1	FN de-demonisation goals and strategies	235
11.2	Saliency of the FN agenda	240
11.3	Public opinion indicators of de-demonisation 1997–2015	240
12.1	UKIP’s performance in European Parliament elections 1994–2014	249
12.2	Breakdown of UKIP voter characteristics	255
12.3	UKIP’s performance in general elections 1997–2015	262



# List of contributors

**Tjitske Akkerman** is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam.

**Flemming Juul Christiansen** is an Associate Professor at Roskilde University.

**Kristina Hauser**, MA is a doctoral fellow at the University of Salzburg at the Chair of Austrian Politics in Comparative European Perspective.

**Reinhard Heinisch**, PhD is Professor of Austrian Politics in Comparative European Perspective at the University of Salzburg.

**Gilles Ivaldi** is Researcher in Political Science, CNRS-University of Nice.

**Ann-Cathrine Jungar** is a Senior Lecturer in political science at the School of Social Sciences at Södertörn University, Stockholm.

**Anders Ravik Jupskås** is currently lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Oslo.

**Sarah L. de Lange** is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam.

**Paul Lucardie** is officially retired but continues to work as a researcher on a voluntary basis. He has been affiliated to the Documentation Centre on Dutch Political Parties (DNPP) at the University of Groningen.

**Oscar Mazzoleni** is Professor at the Institute of Political, Historical and International Studies, University of Lausanne.

**Teun Pauwels** is Policy Analyst at the Flemish Ministry of Education and Training.

**Matthijs Rooduijn** is Postdoctoral Researcher at the Amsterdam Institute for Inequality Studies (AMCIS), University of Amsterdam.

**Simon Usherwood** is Associate Dean of the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences at the University of Surrey.

# Acknowledgement

This book started with the conference 'Into the mainstream? Radical right-wing populist parties in the new millennium', University of Amsterdam, 19/20 June 2014. We would like to thank the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research and the Department of Political Science for their joint support. We would like to thank all the participants/authors and Wouter van der Brug, Matthew Goodwin, Simon Otjes, and Joost van Spanje for their contributions.

This page intentionally left blank

# 1 Inclusion and mainstreaming?

## Radical right-wing populist parties in the new millennium

*Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah L. de Lange and  
Matthijs Rooduijn*

### Introduction

The West European radical right-wing populist party family has gone through various transitions during the past three decades. In the 1990s, the adoption of anti-immigration and populist master-frames opened up an escape route from the margins for many radical right-wing populist parties. As a result, they gained increasing support from voters, with parties like the French National Front (Front National; FN), the Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs; FPÖ), the Norwegian Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet; FrP), and the Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei; SVP) supported by more than 10 per cent of the electorate (see Table 1.1).

After the turn of the millennium, the upward trend continued for most radical right-wing populist parties, with the Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti; DF) and the Flemish Interest (Vlaams Blok/Belang; VB) also crossing the 10 per cent mark. Moreover, a number of new, electorally successful radical right-wing populist parties emerged on the scene, such as the Alliance for the Future of Austria (Bündnis Zukunft Österreich; BZÖ), the Greek Popular Orthodox Rally (Laikós Orthódoxos Synagermós; LAOS), the Dutch List Pim Fortuyn (Lijst Pim Fortuyn; LPF), the Dutch Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid; PVV), the Swedish Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna; SD) and the Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset; PS). As Table 1.1 shows, the average radical right-wing populist party vote share in national elections has increased from 8.0 per cent in the 1990s to 12.5 per cent in recent years (see also Mudde 2013; Zaslove 2011).

As a consequence of increased support, various radical right-wing populist parties have entered governments, either as cabinet members or as support parties of minority governments (Akkerman and De Lange 2012; De Lange 2012a, 2012b). In Austria, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Switzerland, radical right-wing populist parties took up the responsibilities that come with holding office, while in Denmark and the Netherlands, the DF and the PVV agreed to support minority governments without formally joining them (see Table 1.2). Many of these parties participated in multiple coalitions, leading to the formation of 17 governments including, or being supported by, radical right-wing populist parties between 1990 and 2015.

## 2 Akkerman, de Lange and Rooduijn

Table 1.1 Average percentage of radical right-wing populist parties' vote share in national elections in Western Europe

Country	Party	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2015
Austria	BZÖ		7.4	3.5
	FPÖ	22.0	12.8	20.5
Belgium	FNb	1.6	2.0	
	VB	8.1	11.8	5.8
Denmark	DF	7.4	13.2	16.7
	FrP	5.1	0.6	
Finland	PS	2.4	2.9	18.3
France	FN	13.7	7.8	13.6
	MNR*		1.1	
Germany	REP*	1.9	0.6	
Greece	LAOS		3.9	1.8
Italy	LN	9.1	5.6	4.1
Netherlands	CD	1.6		
	LPF		11.4	
	PVV		5.9	12.8
Norway	FRP	10.8	19.9	16.3
Sweden	NyD	4.0		
	SD		3.3	12.9
Switzerland	SVP	16.4	27.8	28.9
United Kingdom	BNP*		1.9	
	UKIP*		1.9	7.9
Average		8.0	7.5	12.5

Note: \* Party only elected to the European Parliament.

Source: data from [www.parlgov.org](http://www.parlgov.org).

At the same time, the strength of the party family should not be overstated. Radical right-wing populist parties have also experienced electoral decline during the past decade (e.g., the VB) and some have disappeared from the political stage altogether (e.g., the LPF and the Swedish New Democracy [Ny Demokrati; NyD]). Not all Western European countries have electorally successful radical right-wing populist parties. Moreover, participation in national government is not always an option for successful parties. In Belgium, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom, radical right-wing populist parties have not had any opportunity yet to enter national office (Mudde 2013). Nevertheless, for most parties the trend seems to be upward. The electoral growth of the radical right-wing populist party

Table 1.2 Radical right-wing populist parties in office

<i>Country</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Cabinet</i>	<i>Composition</i>	<i>Period</i>
Austria	FPÖ	Schüssel I	ÖVP-FPÖ	2000–2005
	BZÖ	Schüssel I	ÖVP-BZÖ	2005–2006
Denmark	DF	A.F.Rasmussen I	V-KF-(DF)	2001–2005
	DF	A.F.Rasmussen II	V-KF-(DF)	2005–2007
	DF	A.F.Rasmussen III	V-KF-(DF)	2007–2009
	DF	L.L.Rasmussen I	V-KF-(DF)	2009–2011
	DF	L.L.Rasmussen II	V-(DF)	2015–
Finland	PS	Sipila II	KESK-KOK-PS	2015–
Italy	LN	Berlusconi I	FI-AN-LN-CCD-UCD	1994–1994
	LN	Berlusconi II/III	FI-AN-LN	2001–2006
	LN	Berlusconi IV	PdL-LN-MpA	2008–2011
Netherlands	LPF	Balkenende I	CDA-LPF-VVD	2003–2003
	PVV	Rutte I	VVD-CDA-(PVV)	2010–2012
Norway	FrP	Solberg I	H-FrP	2013–
Switzerland	SVP	–	–	2003–2007
	SVP	–	–	2007–2011
	SVP	–	–	2011–

family, as well as its recent participation in government coalitions, provide important clues that the parties belonging to this family have become a force to be reckoned with.

This book aims to assess whether the described developments have induced radical right-wing populist parties to move into the mainstream. The starting point for this assumption is the inclusion-moderation thesis, which holds that participation in democratic institutions and procedures will amend the radical nature and ideology of political parties. According to Berman (2008), there are two explanations for the moderating effects of inclusion. First, inclusion into the electoral game will have a moderating effect according to the Downsian logic of the median-voter theorem. Downs (1957) argues that parties will appeal to the median voter in order to attract a majority of votes, provided these are normally distributed along the dimension on which they compete. Over time, this vote-seeking logic will force parties to abandon the narrow or sectarian profiles on the basis of which they were first founded. If West European voters were to be normally distributed and if radical right-wing populist parties strive to obtain an electoral majority, the Downsian logic should also apply to these parties. It is questionable, however, whether radical right-wing populist parties in West European democracies have adopted this as their main objective (see below). A second explanation focuses on inclusion into office. Assuming

office is supposed to have a moderating effect, because in West European democracies it requires the formation of coalitions. In coalition governments, policy and ideological distances that exist between coalition partners have to be bridged. For radical right-wing populist parties this implies that they have to adjust their agendas and positions to those of mainstream right-wing parties, because cooperation with these parties is their most likely ticket into office. Moreover, parties that enter office must be able to convince voters that they can deliver the goods; when they are busy filling potholes and fixing sewage systems they cannot devote their energy to ideological radicalism (Berman 2008: 6; MacMillan 2006).

The inclusion-moderation thesis is mainly focused on (orthodox) religious parties, (e.g., Brocker and Künkler 2013; Elman 2014; Gurses 2014; Kalyvas and Van Kersbergen 2010; Somer 2014; Schwedler 2011, 2013; Tepe 2012; see also Karakaya and Yildirim 2013 on communist parties; Przeworski and Sprague 1986 on socialist parties). Research on the radical right-wing populist party family that systematically tests the inclusion-moderation thesis is scarce. On the basis of case studies it has been claimed that entrance into office need not imply that radical right parties de-radicalise (Albertazzi 2009; Minkenberg 2013). Moreover, a few case studies have indicated that some radical right parties manage quite well to uphold a radical profile while in office (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2005; Frölich-Steffen and Rensmann 2007). Thus, it might be the case that inclusion into office is not sufficient to pressure radical right-wing populist parties to moderate.

The inclusion-moderation thesis is mirrored by the exclusion-radicalisation thesis, which stipulates that parties that are excluded from the party and political system will radicalise their stances. The exclusion of political parties often occurs through legal bans (Downs 2001, 2002). Such bans are, however, exceptional in Western Europe, and the number of radical right-wing populist parties affected by bans is minimal (Bale 2007). Legal prosecution of radical right-wing populist politicians for breaching discrimination or hate speech legislation is more common. In addition to legal measures, radical right-wing populist parties sometimes suffer political exclusion in the form of a refusal of other parties to cooperate with them (e.g., by means of a *cordon sanitaire*) (Downs 2001, 2002). Some studies have indicated that the exclusion of radical right-wing populist parties by means of a *cordon sanitaire* indeed results in political rigidity or radicalisation (Downs 2002; Minkenberg 2006; Van Spanje and Van der Brug 2007). However, other studies present the opposite evidence and there is, therefore, no consensus that isolation leads to the radicalisation of radical right-wing populist parties (Akkerman and Rooduijn 2014).

In this introduction, we will first clarify how we define and operationalise the radical right-wing populist party family. Next, we will discuss the concept of mainstreaming. What does it mean to move into the mainstream? Programmatic and behavioural changes of non-mainstream parties in the direction of the mainstream have to be specified and carefully operationalised in order to get comparable results. We will then outline our explanatory framework. Central to our approach is that parties are actors that set goals and make choices in response to external conditions like inclusion and exclusion. The ways in

which parties react to internal or external changing circumstances may vary substantially. It is important, therefore, to assess the strategies that are generally available to radical right-wing populist parties, and to contextualise how strategies are adapted in reaction to external or internal constraints and opportunities. Moreover, external conditions such as inclusion and exclusion need to be explored further. In the final part of this introduction, we will discuss the contextual variables that may be constraints or incentives for radical right-wing populist parties to go into the mainstream. The inclusion/moderation and exclusion/radicalisation literatures provide a good starting point for making an inventory of contextual variables, but radical right-wing populist parties may face specific opportunities and constraints that need to be taken into account.

### **Defining radical right-wing populism**

The term ‘radical right-wing populism’ describes a group of parties that are right-wing in their rejection of individual and social equality. The parties take radical, non-centrist positions on issues that are central to their ideology, and they are populist ‘in their appeal to the common man and his allegedly superior common sense’ (Betz 1994: 4). In more substantive terms, the parties adhere to an ideology that includes authoritarian, nativist and populist elements (Mudde 2007). Central to their ideology is nativism, a combination of nationalism and xenophobia. According to Mudde (2007: 19), nativism is ‘an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (“the nation”) and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state’. When translated into programmatic positions, nativism leads to anti-immigration stances, and in recent years, to anti-European Union and anti-Islam stances. Since the early 2000s, the focus has shifted to Islam as a non-native religion in Western Europe. The nativist critique on Islam stems from the observation that Islamic values are at odds with liberal democratic values, such as the autonomy of the individual, democracy, emancipation of homosexuals and women, equality of men and women, freedom of expression, and separation of church and state (Akkerman 2005, 2015; Betz 2007; Betz and Meret 2009; Zúquete 2008).

On the basis of existing studies of radical right-wing populism, we have identified 21 radical right-wing populist parties that have gained representation in the European Parliament or in national parliaments. Most of these parties – such as the Austrian FPÖ, Danish DF, Dutch PVV, Flemish VB and French FN – are the usual suspects. Their membership of the family of radical right-wing populist parties is undisputed since authoritarianism, nativism and populism are clearly present in their programmes, and nativism forms the core of their ideology. The same goes for many smaller radical right-wing populist parties, such as the British National Party (BNP), Austrian BZÖ, Dutch Centre Democrats (Centrum Democraten, CD), Belgian National Front (Front National; FNb), Greek LAOS and German Republicans (Republikaner; REP) (e.g., Carter 2005; Mudde 2007).



However, we have also included parties that originally started out as agrarian populist parties, regionalist parties, and the like, and later converted to radical right-wing populism. These parties include the Finnish PS, the Italian Northern League (Lega Nord; LN) and the Swiss SVP. Some parties have been included that are border cases. These are cases for which there is no consensus about their membership of the radical right-wing populist party family. The Dutch LPF, the Norwegian FrP and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) belong to this group (e.g., Mudde 2007). We have included these parties because country experts tend to describe them as radical right-wing populist parties (e.g., Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; De Lange 2007; Meret and Siim 2012). Although anti-immigration positions were occasionally de-emphasised by the FrP (Valen and Narud 2007) and were relatively moderate on the LPF platforms, immigration has been important – if not key – to the electoral successes of these parties (Evans and Ivaldi 2010; Jupskås 2013; Van der Brug 2003; Van Praag 2003). Thus, they are in many ways functional equivalents to ‘genuine’ radical right-wing populist parties, taking similar positions in the political space and attracting voters with similar backgrounds (e.g., De Lange and Rooduijn 2015; Rydgren and Van Holsteyn 2005). Another reason to include these borderline cases is that they could potentially represent archetypes of evolution among radical right-wing populist parties. In other words, radical right-wing populist parties might have developed in different directions over time, with some parties mainstreaming and other radicalising. Thus, knowledge about the variation in these parties’ backgrounds and evolutionary paths helps us to assess why some parties eventually move into the mainstream while others do not.

### **Dimensions of mainstreaming**

Research is scarce on the subject of ‘mainstreaming’. The term ‘mainstreaming’ has been used to indicate a process of convergence between mainstream parties, on the one hand, and radical parties, on the other hand. Green parties, for instance, have become more like the mainstream left, and vice versa; the former moderated their programmatic stances and adjusted their party organisation, and the latter embraced environmental issues (Bomberg 2002; Mair 2001). As a result of these changes, green parties have become coalitionable (or *Koalitionsfähig*) and have governed with left-wing mainstream parties (Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 2002). Convergence between radical right-wing populist parties and mainstream parties of the right, especially on immigration and integration issues, has also been observed, and has been associated with these parties’ government participation in the early 2000s (Bale 2003, 2008; Bale *et al.* 2010; Curran 2004; Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup 2008; Norris 2005; Van Spanje 2010).

However, when used this way, the concept of mainstreaming lacks clarity. It is used to describe a process that takes place in two opposite directions, referring to both changes of mainstream parties towards radical parties – a process that might more aptly be called ‘radicalisation’ – and changes of radical parties towards mainstream parties.

The term is defined here more strictly as a process in which radical parties change to become more like mainstream parties. To accurately describe this process, we should define more precisely what is meant by the term 'mainstream'. The term is widely used in political science studies, but definitions are generally lacking. It is an umbrella term that has at least two different meanings. First, 'mainstream' refers most often to centre left and centre right parties – that is, to Christian democratic, conservative, liberal and social democratic parties. In other words, it denotes parties that have a centrist position on the classic left-right scale and that attribute importance to socioeconomic issues (Adams *et al.* 2006; Marks *et al.* 2002; Meguid 2005). Kitschelt (1989) has referred to these parties as 'conventional' parties. In this sense, the term 'mainstream parties' is often used in contrast to 'radical parties' (i.e., parties that take relatively radical positions on issues) and 'niche parties' (i.e. parties that exploit programmatic niches, including green parties, left-libertarian parties, regionalist parties and radical right-wing populist parties).

Second, the term 'mainstream parties' is also used to describe established parties. Established parties are defined on the basis of their loyalty to the political system (Abedi 2004; Capocchia 2002; Sartori 1976). In this sense, mainstream parties are contrasted to those that are anti-establishment, anti-political establishment and anti-system – that is, parties that seek to reform or overthrow the existing political system, and the norms and values on which it is based. In sum, the term 'mainstream' can encompass programmatic and positional centrism, the high salience of socioeconomic issues, and behaviour and stances that show commitment to the principles of liberal democracy and to the formal and informal rules of the political game.

On the basis of these characteristics of mainstream parties, the non-mainstream features of radical right-wing populist parties can be identified. In contrast to mainstream parties, radical right-wing populist parties have (1) programmatic profiles that are non-centrist, (2) programmatic profiles that evolve around sociocultural rather than socioeconomic issues and (3) an anti-establishment outlook on politics (see Table 1.3). In other words, radical right-wing populist parties are at once radical parties, niche parties and anti-establishment parties. Let us briefly describe each of these elements.

First of all, radical right-wing populist parties take radical, non-centrist positions on issues that are central to their ideology, such as European integration, immigration and integration, and law and order. Their radicalism is relative, in the sense that they take positions that are more outspoken than their mainstream competitors. These parties are therefore situated at the far end of the political spectrum. In other words, the term 'radical' points to radical right-wing populist parties' spatial location (e.g., Ignazi 2003; Van Spanje 2011b). Keeping in mind that the usage of the term 'radical' is relative, the substantive stances taken by radical parties remain open. A party could be non-centrist in its socioeconomic or sociocultural positioning, or because of its position on other particular issues. In the case of radical right-wing populist parties, it is their positioning on sociocultural issues that is radical,

whereas their positioning on socioeconomic issues is often more centrist (e.g., Mudde 2007; Rovny 2013).

Second, radical right-wing populist parties are niche parties because they primarily campaign on issues that do not belong to the traditional, socioeconomic left-right dimension. Characteristic for niche parties is their specific programmatic offer. They compete on a small number of issues, which are not defined in socioeconomic terms (Bischof forthcoming; Meguid 2005, 2008; Miller and Meyer 2010; Wagner 2012). Radical right-wing populist parties first and foremost compete on issues that belong to the sociocultural dimension, such as the European Union, crime and security, and the influx of immigrants and their subsequent societal integration. Socioeconomic issues are secondary to their programmes (Mudde 2007).

Third, radical right-wing populist parties are characterised by their disloyalty to the political establishment. In contrast to mainstream parties, which are committed to the status quo, radical right-wing populist parties display anti-establishment attitudes and behaviour (Abedi 2004; Rooduijn 2014; Schedler 1996). They have transformative aspirations regarding not only policies but also meta-politics – that is, the informal and formal rules of the game. These aspirations have their origins in the populist ideas of radical right-wing populist parties. As has already been noted, populism is one of three key elements in the ideology of radical right-wing populist parties. Populists claim that the elites are unable or unwilling to represent the ordinary people and therefore propagate the empowerment of the people at the cost of elites. They target elitist features of the democratic system but do not criticise the democratic system as such. Apart from holding populist ideas, anti-establishment parties also exhibit behaviour that challenges the rules of the game, whether in parliament, in office or in the media (Deschouwer 2008; Kenney 1998; Krouwel and Lucardie 2008; Otjes 2012). They can, for example, walk away from plenary debates, turn their backs to the presidium or use unparliamentary language in debates. They may also demonstrate their anti-establishment character while in national office by refusing to take responsibility for government policies or by criticising backroom politics.

Finally, in addition to these factors, which follow from the three dimensions of ‘mainstreamness’, a fourth factor should be considered – a party’s reputation. The move away from classic extreme right subjects such as anti-Semitism, racism and references to Nazism or fascism, which started in the late 1980s in some of the older radical right-wing populist parties, is not yet a closed chapter for all of them. Some parties have made the described changes half-heartedly to avoid internal strife or to remain appealing to pockets of voters. Consequently, some radical right-wing populist parties, such as the BNP, the FN, or the SD, are still associated with (neo-)fascism or (neo-)Nazism. These parties do not easily gain a reputation as legitimate democratic competitors because of the ideas that linger on in their programmes, unofficial party documents or the statements of their representatives, often in lower ranking, local bodies. Moreover, their organisations sometimes still have ties to nationalist milieux or to explicitly extremist organisations. Mainstream parties often ‘demonise’ radical right-wing

populist parties on the basis of their ideological and organisational reputation (Van Heerden 2014). Although not all members of the radical right-wing populist party family have extreme right origins (see, e.g., the mainstream roots of the PS, PVV or SVP), they are all vulnerable to demonisation owing to the principle of 'guilt by association'. In the run-up to the 2014 elections to the European Parliament, for example, the public debates and political outcries about the formation of various alliances of radical right-wing populist parties made it clear that history does matter. The refusal of Nigel Farage, the leader of UKIP, to cooperate with the FN, FPÖ, LN, PVV and VB was phrased in terms that set UKIP apart as an acceptable, mainstream, moderate party. At the same time, the willingness of Wilders, the leader of the PVV, to forge an alliance with the FN came as a surprise and was heavily criticised because in the past he used to distance himself from the FN on the grounds that it had a reputation of being anti-Semitic and racist (NRC 14-09-2013; *Vrij Nederland* 21-05-2014). In the Netherlands, his choice of 'friends' was used by rivaling parties to portray the PVV as an extreme right party (*Nu.nl* 07-05-2014; *Vrij Nederland* 11-11-2013). In a similar vein, the choice of the DF and the PS to join the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), the faction led by the British Conservatives, is (partly) motivated by their desire to distance themselves from parties that are perceived as beyond the pale. These considerations and debates demonstrate that the reputations of radical right-wing populist parties as legitimate democratic parties are still contested and should be included in an assessment of whether these parties are heading towards the mainstream.

### **Explanations for mainstreaming**

After the turn of the millennium, radical right-wing populist parties gained opportunities to enter national office in various countries, which according to the inclusion-moderation thesis, is an incentive for parties to move into the mainstream. Yet, we do not simply hypothesise that parties with these opportunities will move into the mainstream while those without them will not. We argue that changes in opportunities cannot adequately explain party change. Parties play a crucial role as actors that react to changing circumstances (Harmel and Janda 1994). They have to be aware of new opportunities, and they have to decide whether they wish to adapt their goals and strategies accordingly. Radical right-wing populist parties may have good reasons to be careful about entering office. Entrance into office potentially has high costs in terms of policy and votes. To understand party behaviour generally and to assess more specifically the behaviour of radical right-wing populist parties, the first step is to assess how parties perceive new opportunities, which goals they prioritise and how they handle trade-offs between these goals.

Therefore, we will first look at party behaviour, in general, and that of radical right-wing populist parties, in particular. We will then look more closely at the changes in social and political circumstances that were relevant for radical right-wing populist parties before and after the turn of the millennium.

Table 1.3 Dimensions of mainstreaming

<i>Dimensions of non-mainstreamness</i>	<i>Evidenced by</i>	<i>Indicators for mainstreaming</i>
Radical party	Core positions are radical	Core positions are moderated
Niche party	Issue agenda is limited Sociocultural issues are emphasized	Issue agenda is expanded and socioeconomic issues are emphasized more strongly
Anti-establishment party	1) Anti-establishment positions 2) Rules of the game are challenged	Anti-establishment positions are moderated Rules of the game are respected
Extreme right reputation	1) Anti-Semitic/racist expressions 2) Ties with extremists	Anti-Semitic/racist expressions are suppressed Ties with extremists are severed

## Party goals

The scholarly literature attributes one or more of three objectives to political parties. They seek to maximise office, policy or votes, or a combination of these objectives (e.g., Müller and Strøm 1999; Strøm 1990a). As Strøm (1990a: 570–571) argues ‘we can fruitfully think of vote-seeking, office-seeking, and policy-seeking as three independent and mutually conflicting forms of behaviour in which political parties can engage’. Office, policy and votes correspond closely to the three arenas in which parties compete: the executive arena, the legislative arena and the electoral arena.

The office-seeking party seeks to win control over the executive in order to maximise its access to the spoils of office, which are the ‘private goods bestowed on recipients of politically discretionary governmental and sub-governmental appointments’ (Strøm 1990a: 567). These private goods usually take the form of cabinet portfolios but can also entail patronage appointments within the legislature and elsewhere (e.g. in the judiciary, the civil service, parastatal agencies, and sub- and supranational government institutions). The spoils of office can be less tangible and may, for example, take the form of public recognition and media exposure. Importantly, parties supporting a minority government can also share in such spoils of office.

The model of policy-oriented parties assumes that ‘the parliamentary game is, in fact, about the determination of major government policy’ (De Swaan 1973: 88). Parties are expected to have policy positions on which they campaign in elections and which they seek to realise in the legislative and executive. Although an important way to realise policy objectives is to assume office, it is also possible for parties to bring about policy changes through legislative procedures (Laver and Schofield 1998: 53–54). The ways in which policy-seeking parties can achieve their goals are thus manifold.

The model of the vote-seeking party is derived from the work of Downs (1957: 28), who claims that 'parties formulate policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies'. Generally speaking, vote-seeking behaviour is qualified as a means to achieve either office or policy influence.

In more recent years the idea that *the* office-seeking party, *the* policy-seeking party, or *the* vote-seeking party does not exist has become widespread. The vast majority of political parties seek to satisfy more than one goal simultaneously, which has led to attempts at an integrative theory of competitive party behaviour (Budge and Laver 1986; Laver 1989; Müller and Strøm 1999; Narud 1996; Sened 1996; Sjöblom 1968; Strøm 1990a). These theories take into account that parties (1) compete in different arenas, (2) have to reconcile short- and long-term interests and (3) can pursue goals for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons. As Sjöblom (1968: 31) argues, to the extent 'that the actor at the same time strives towards several goals that are interdependent, so that all goals cannot at the same time be optimized, a weighing of one against the other must be made'.

To give only one example in which these elements surface, policy realisation requires parties to please voters and to form and maintain agreements with other parties over a sustained period (Lupia and Strøm 2008). In the legislative arena, however, parties are forced to water down their positions in order to make policy compromise possible, while in the electoral arena, parties have to mark policy distances to maintain a distinguishable profile for the voter. To satisfy the two conditions that are necessary for policy realisation is thus not an easy task since competition in different arenas can require different strategies, and strategies employed in one arena can have a contradictory effect on the realisation of objectives in another (Narud 1996).

In a similar fashion, government participation also involves substantial trade-offs. Government participation is attractive to parties for at least two reasons. First, through government participation, parties obtain a share of the spoils of office, most notably portfolios. Second, through their control of these portfolios, they are able to influence government policy – an objective that they also realise on a more general level through their contribution to the coalition agreement, which constitutes the cornerstone of government policy. However, government participation can also involve negative consequences. For one, the potential coalition agreement can entail policy compromises that a party is unwilling to make, either on principle or because the party fears electoral punishment if it does not keep its electoral promises. Retrospective voting is an important determinant of electoral behaviour, and it has been demonstrated that incumbency effects are often negative because voters judge that the discrepancy between promises and performance is too large. Consequently, parties lose reliability and hence support (Mackie and Rose 1983; Müller and Strøm 1999; Strøm 1990b).

### ***Radical right-wing populist parties, party goals and party change***

Radical right-wing populist parties pursue office, policy or votes, and they face trade-offs between these goals. Some of these trade-offs are similar to those

faced by mainstream parties, whereas others are specific to the radical right-wing populist party family because of its distinct electoral, ideological and organisational features.

Three observations can be made suggesting that at least a number of radical right-wing populist parties are office-seekers. First, radical right-wing populist parties have rarely declined offers to participate in government coalitions. Although this claim is not easily substantiated given that coalition negotiations are usually surrounded by secrecy, it appears that when invited, most radical right-wing populist parties have entered government at the national level. The notable exception to this rule is the PS, which declined to govern after the 2011 elections in Finland. Bale (2003: 69) therefore concludes that ‘far right party leaders over the past decade have deliberately (and not always without difficulty) sought to achieve a place in national government’. Second, radical right-wing populist parties have rarely voluntarily left government coalitions. Certainly, many of the government coalitions in which these parties have participated have been short-lived, but the coalitions’ tenure has usually been terminated by the mainstream parties involved in the government coalitions. The only radical right-wing populist parties that have actively brought down the governments in which they participated or which they supported were the LN in 1995 and the PVV in 2012 (see Chapter 7 on the Netherlands). Lastly, the majority of radical right-wing populist parties has extensive experience in subnational executive coalitions. This experience usually precedes participation in national governments by several years, if not several decades. The subnational experiences of radical right-wing populist parties testify to these parties’ willingness to take up responsibility in executive coalitions. Even some of the radical right-wing populist parties that have not participated in national governments have secured executive positions at the subnational level. The FN, for example, has provided several mayors and has taken part in numerous regional executive coalitions.

Although these observations suggest that radical right-wing populist parties are office-seeking, conventional wisdom has it that these parties are less interested in government participation than mainstream parties. While mainstream parties are often characterised as primarily or exclusively office-seeking, radical right-wing populist parties are often described as being more concerned with vote maximisation than with government participation (De Swaan 1973: 166). Even though government participation is often a distant goal of radical parties, it nevertheless remains one of the objectives that they try to realise. According to Pedersen (1982: 8), ‘the goal of any minor party is to pass the threshold of relevance, and, to become an influential, at best a ruling party’. This rule includes radical right-wing populist parties. Unlike mainstream parties, it is far less clear that these parties can be characterised as *exclusively* or *primarily* office-seeking parties. Radical right-wing populist parties sometimes put policy and votes before office, a point discussed further below. Moreover, the populist rhetoric of radical right-wing populist parties might cloud observations. They are generally highly critical of coalition governance, which supposedly interferes with the direct translation of voters’ preferences into policy outcomes. This condemnation does not imply, however, that they reject government

participation on a priori grounds. On the contrary, as the true representatives of the people, radical right-wing populist parties might feel that they are more entitled to govern than other parties.

In addition to being office-seekers, the majority of radical right-wing populist parties are also policy-seekers. Again, several observations back this claim. First, these parties have a clearly circumscribed and coherent ideological programme, which they seek to implement. Second, they actively promote this programme in elections. Third, they try to influence policy-making directly and indirectly. They actively take part in the legislative process (e.g. Minkenberg 2001) and try to spread their ideology through a 'strategy of contamination' (Bale 2003; Curran 2004; Bale 2008; Bale *et al.* 2010; Norris 2005; Van Spanje 2010). This way, radical right-wing populist parties can exercise electoral pressure on mainstream parties and 'force' these parties to co-opt their issues and policy positions, even when they cannot influence policy-making directly. This 'strategy of contamination' is widely practised by parties that are located on the fringes of the political space (e.g., Dumont and Bäck 2006). Some scholars even contend that radical right-wing populist parties are policy-seeking above all. They are less likely, for example, to respond to changes in public opinion than mainstream parties (Ezrow *et al.* 2011). This is especially the case when parties are mostly ideologically driven. Radical right-wing populist parties tend to prioritise policy purity above policy influence. They are policy *purifiers* rather than policy *influencers* (Helboe Pedersen 2012). Therefore, they will have difficulty accepting compromises in exchange for office. Even when coalition agreements move particular policies closer to their preferred positions, these small gains may not be acceptable to parties that see themselves as purifiers (see also Lucardie 2000). Radical right-wing populist parties are therefore likely to cherish their ideological purity and resent policy compromises.

In addition to office- and policy-seekers, radical right-wing populist parties are also, and perhaps above all, vote-seekers. Electoral studies show that a substantial portion of voters who support radical right-wing populist parties do so on the basis of their policy agendas. In other words, the vote for a radical right-wing populist party is first and foremost an ideological vote (e.g., Van der Brug *et al.* 2000). This implies that issue agendas and policy positions are an important part of radical right-wing populist parties' vote-seeking strategies. Voting for these parties is also motivated by political discontent and cynicism, albeit to a lesser extent. Anti-establishment attitudes and behaviour can therefore also be part of a vote-seeking strategy.

How radical right-wing populist parties prioritise their goals remains a question that has yet to be answered on the basis of empirical evidence. There are some indications that initially they attached greater importance to votes than office or policy (e.g., De Lange 2012a, 2012b). In the 1990s and early 2000s, most radical right-wing populist parties seemed to focus primarily on votes; they could be described as short-term vote-seekers and long-term office- and policy-seekers. A potential explanation why these parties initially tended to give votes a more prominent position is that they used to be smaller than most



mainstream parties and hence ran a greater risk of falling below the threshold of representation (Bolleyer 2007). Thus, the pursuit of votes was vital to the survival of these parties as parliamentary forces. In the long run, however, radical right-wing populist parties may continue to have good reasons to prioritise vote-seeking. These parties have fewer options than mainstream parties to join coalitions because they are situated on the fringes of the political space (cf. Smith 1997). To compensate for this handicap, they are likely to strengthen their bargaining position through electoral growth (cf. Schofield and Sened 2006: 3). Moreover, if radical right-wing populist parties have to rely on a strategy of contamination to influence policy outcomes, this strategy will only be effective if they put electoral pressure on mainstream parties by making inroads in other parties' electorates – hence the espousal of vote-seeking strategies.

Finally, radical right-wing populist parties run greater risks when they pursue office-seeking strategies and seek to control these risks through the creation of an electoral buffer. The trade-offs between office, policy and votes that radical right-wing populist parties face differ from those of many other parties. More than other parties, they face a trade-off between office, on the one hand, and policy and votes, on the other. The reason for the trade-off difference is that government participation entails a series of challenges that affect radical right-wing populist parties' capacities to realise their policy objectives and to maximise future voter support. More specifically, in government, radical right-wing populist parties have to make serious policy concessions and abandon some of their policy promises. This situation is difficult because the voters and activists supporting radical right-wing populist parties tend to value policy purity. As a result, radical right-wing populist parties are electorally often strongly bound to their electoral promises. When they adjust their policy positions, they normally face a decrease in electoral popularity (Adams *et al.* 2006). And, although negative incumbency effects are registered by most parties that assume office (Müller and Strøm 2000), government participation by a radical right-wing populist may be especially detrimental to the attainment of its policy and vote-seeking goals (Buelens and Hino 2008; Van Spanje 2011a).

### ***Mainstreaming and the pursuit of party goals***

We conceive of mainstreaming as a party strategy, a strategy that is designed to promote the pursuit of office, policy or votes, or a combination of these goals. The strategy can consist of one of the dimensions of mainstreaming described above (Table 1.3) or it can be a mix of these dimensions. Radical right-wing populist parties can moderate their positions on core issues, expand their issue agenda, show more respect for the rules of the game or try to overcome their extremist reputation.

First of all, the mainstreaming of radical right-wing populist parties can be a consequence of the pursuit of office. It is possible that the increased opportunities to join government coalitions at the national level in the 2000s have pushed these parties to the mainstream. Since assuming office in Western Europe tends to

involve joining a government coalition, it is required that policy distances between parties are bridged and that compromises are reached. For radical right-wing populist parties, this requirement could mean that they orient their agendas and policy positions to those of mainstream right parties (e.g., Christian democrats, conservatives and liberals) because they are most likely to join forces with these parties (e.g., De Lange 2012a, 2012b). Moreover, radical right-wing populist parties that are interested in office also have incentives to demonstrate to their potential partners that they are reliable and credible allies – for example, by toning down their anti-establishment rhetoric, obeying the parliamentary rules and ‘sanitising’ their party.

However, mainstreaming need not occur only as a consequence of office-seeking behaviour. It can also be the consequence of *experience in office*. Being in office can have strong socialising effects, especially when parties join a government coalition. Being a coalition member implies a commitment to a policy agreement, which is based on policy compromise. Compromise necessitates the justification of policy positions that are different from radical right-wing populist parties’ ideal positions. The impact that these parties have on any policy agreement is limited since they are normally ‘merely’ junior members in government coalitions. As a result, government participation can have a moderating effect on radical right-wing populist parties’ stances. Vote-seeking while in government can also have a moderating effect. It has been argued that parties in office must be able to convince voters that they can deliver the goods. However, when they are busy filling potholes and fixing sewage systems, they cannot devote their energy to ideological radicalism (Berman 2008: 6; MacMillan 2006). In office, parties have to legislate in many policy domains, forcing them to widen the scope of their policy agendas. Thus, when they are in office, radical right-wing populist parties cannot devote their entire attention to immigration and integration or to law and order policies; they must take a stance on socioeconomic issues as well. Lastly, in office, it is difficult to maintain an anti-establishment profile since governing parties are in many ways part of the establishment. For the same reason, it is difficult not to play by the rules of the game. However, radical right-wing populist parties supporting a minority government might have more opportunities to maintain an anti-establishment profile than radical right-wing populist parties that are members of a majority government. Moreover, radical right-wing populist parties’ mainstreaming as a result of participation in government can be a short-lived phenomenon when it is only a result of their partners in the coalition forcing them into the mainstream. When back in opposition, the parties may radicalise again. In such cases, mainstreaming is not the result of internal change and may therefore be merely ephemeral and cosmetic. When office-seeking is a strategy, however, mainstreaming should already be apparent before the entrance into office. Office-seeking parties will, for instance, signal their willingness to negotiate and compromise to potential partners during election campaigns through media statements. When the choice for office-seeking is internally supported by party elites and activists alike, mainstreaming may prove to be a successful and enduring strategy for the party.

As has been noted above, radical right-wing populist parties potentially face high costs when they join the mainstream. While a radical profile, a niche party profile, and anti-establishment attitudes and behaviour tend to be barriers to entering office, they can be rewarding electorally. A vote-seeking strategy may therefore be a disincentive for radical right-wing populist parties to move into the mainstream. Differentiating themselves programmatically from mainstream parties rather than competing for the median voter tends to be a successful vote-seeking strategy for radical right-wing populist parties – provided that the distinctive niche issues have high salience (Adams *et al.* 2006; Ezrow 2008; Lynch *et al.* 2012; Meguid 2005, 2008). In other words, electoral competition on niche issues like immigration and integration may incite centrifugal rather than centripetal tendencies. Research indicates centrifugal tendencies in the competition on these niche issues. It shows that mainstream right parties have radicalised under pressure from the electoral success of radical right-wing populist parties (Akkerman 2012; Alonso and da Fonseca 2012; Bale 2008; Curran 2004; Van Kersbergen and Krouwel 2008; Van Spanje 2010). As a consequence, radical right-wing populist parties may fear losing voters and issue ownership when they do not clearly differentiate themselves from their mainstream competitors. Vote-seeking in such cases may therefore even lead to radicalisation. With regard to their anti-establishment profiles, radical right-wing populist parties may also have to reckon with electoral costs when opting for office. Cynical voters and party members may deplore entrance into office as renouncing the fundamental opposition to an elitist political system. The dilemma of how to combine a populist stance with office tends to remain relevant for these parties after entering office (McDonnell and Newell 2011). Voters may be disappointed when radical right-wing populist parties soften their anti-establishment stance once they are in office (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2007; Van Spanje 2011a).

To sum up, the choices that parties make about goals and strategies are generally important in explaining party change, particularly in the case of radical right-wing populist parties. When pursuing office, they tend to face relatively high trade-offs in terms of votes and policy. Change is therefore a risky and delicate process for radical right-wing populist parties. Opportunities to enter office tend to imply hard choices and to require high internal flexibility. But the hard choices can sometimes be softened. When opting for office, it is likely that radical right-wing populist parties will try to find strategies that enable them to minimise the costs of trade-offs between a radical policy profile and entrance into office. For instance, the parties may minimise policy costs by pursuing a strategy of logrolling (Akkerman and De Lange 2012; De Lange 2012b). Rather than compromising on core issues like immigration and integration in negotiations with coalition partners, they will try to shift the main policy costs to socio-economic issues (cf. Afonso 2015). Radical right-wing populist parties may also try to maintain anti-establishment positions or behaviour while they are in office by pursuing a strategy of ‘one foot in and one foot out’ (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2005). Whether this strategy is successful depends on the coalition partners’ willingness to accept it and on the opportunities that the political systems

provide for challengers. Under favourable conditions, an outsider status can be partly maintained by radical right-wing populist parties when in national office (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2010; Fröhlich-Steffen and Rensmann 2007). Such strategies are perhaps essential for radical right-wing populist parties to successfully adapt to changing environments.

### **Internal and external conditions influencing mainstreaming**

Parties are actors that set goals and make strategic choices, but their array of choices is defined by external and internal factors (e.g., Bocker and Künkler 2013; Harmel and Janda 1994; Harmel *et al.* 1995). Two types of external factors can be distinguished: changes in the societal environment and changes in the political environment. The first type includes changes in cleavages, electoral markets and in media agendas as well as socioeconomic change and the emergence of new policy problems in society. The second type includes changes in the political systems in which radical right-wing populist parties operate, in the structure of party competition resulting from party system change and in the ways in which main competitors react. Characteristics of the political system, such as the existence of an electoral threshold, gerrymandering and regulations for party finance, as well as characteristics of the party system, such as the degree of fragmentation and polarization, the dimensionality of the political space, and the positions that parties take in that space, impact on opportunities for radical right-wing populist parties to grow electorally, influence policy agendas and outcomes, and participate in government coalitions. Together these factors make up the Political Opportunity Structure (POS).

In addition to these external conditions, which are discussed extensively in the literature on the inclusion-moderation thesis, party change is also shaped by internal conditions (e.g., Harmel and Janda 1994; Harmel *et al.* 1995). These conditions include, but are not limited to, party organisation, leadership and factionalism, and experiences in local and regional political arenas. In other words, party change is not only a consequence of changes in the environment, it is also the result of party agency, that is, the extent to which a party is able and willing to seize opportunities. We therefore present the following explanatory model for mainstreaming (see Figure 1.1).

#### ***Societal environment***

Several societal trends have created a favourable environment for the emergence and growth of radical right-wing populist parties. First, the emergence of new policy problems as a result of globalisation has made citizens more concerned about sociocultural questions, most notably immigration and integration and law and order. Changes in media systems and media coverage were important in bringing attention to these new issues in the political arena (Walgrave and Van Aelst 2006). Political parties have incorporated these issues in the political agenda, which has led to the development of a two-dimensional political space, structured

by a socioeconomic and a sociocultural dimension, and new patterns of party competition. In this political space, a clear electoral niche for radical right-wing populist parties is present. This niche is primarily defined by these parties' positions on the sociocultural dimension (i.e., a distinctly authoritarian-nationalist position) (Kitschelt 1995; Kriesi *et al.* 2008). Second, due to the emancipation of voters as a result of secularisation, individualisation and increasing levels of education, public opinion has become more critical of the functioning of political parties and politicians and voters have become more volatile, deciding only shortly before the elections on their vote choice and frequently changing party preferences between elections (e.g., Dalton 2013; Kitschelt 2002; Pharr and Putnam 2000). These developments have created a favourable environment for new parties in general, and parties with anti-establishment attitudes in particular.

However, in recent years the financial and economic crisis has reshaped the political agenda, altering citizens' concerns and preferences and potentially providing radical right-wing populist parties with incentives to mainstream. Since socioeconomic issues have become more prominent again, it could be electorally rewarding for radical right-wing populist parties to abandon their niche party profile by de-emphasising sociocultural issues and emphasising socioeconomic issues.

### ***Political environment***

The inclusion-moderation literature puts great emphasis on the way in which institutions form constraints and incentives for mainstreaming. The electoral system, for example, determines whether parties are likely to convert their electoral support into parliamentary seats and thus whether they have the opportunity to influence policy or assume office. Opportunities to enter office are conditioned by political system characteristics. For instance, in countries with majority systems, such as Britain and France, entrance into office is highly dependent on gaining electoral dominance. As these countries have majority or plurality electoral systems, radical right-wing populist parties experience great difficulties entering the national parliaments. Moreover, the state structure determines how many access points there are for parties and whether they can use regional assemblies to influence national politics. And constitutional and legal provisions can influence parties' electoral potential, for example through regulation of party finance and media access. Particularly important for radical right-wing populist parties are also legal provisions regarding the prosecution of politicians and party bans, as these might influence these parties strategic choices and behaviour. The (threat of) prosecution or dissolution can be an important incentive for moderation (Bale 2007).

However, most institutional factors are rather static and therefore cannot always explain changes in party goals and behaviour. For this reason, party system variables, which vary from one election to the next, might be equally or more relevant than political system variables when explaining mainstreaming. Changes in the composition of the party system, as well as decreases or increases in the level of polarisation and fragmentation affect electoral opportunities and

thereby the opportunities for office. It has been noted, for example, that the 'swing to the right' around the turn of the century has created important opportunities for radical right-wing populist parties. The combination of electoral growth of mainstream right and radical right-wing populist parties on the one and changes in party positions on the other hand, mean that opportunities to enter national office increased substantially after 2000 (Bale 2003; De Lange 2012a, 2012b). Other parties' decisions influence the opportunities of radical right-wing populist parties and hence their choices and agendas. For instance, the willingness of mainstream parties to accept radical right-wing populist parties as electoral allies or coalition partners varies considerably. Some coalitions are unlikely to form because policy or personal differences between parties are simply too large, and parties exclude cooperation on a priori grounds (cf. Strøm *et al.* 1994). In the case of radical right-wing populist parties, these a priori grounds are often related to the illiberal character of their programmes. As a consequence, these parties are subjected to an informal or formal *cordon sanitaire*. In Belgium, for example, the refusal of mainstream parties to cooperate with the VB has effectively deprived the party from any opportunity to enter local or national office (Damen 2001).

### ***Internal factors***

In addition to factors external to radical right-wing populist parties, a number of internal factors influence these parties' capacities to make strategic choices, to pursue their goals and to seize opportunities. These factors include party organisation and factionalism, party leadership and relevant learning experiences at the local and regional levels.

It is important to look at the internal conditions that shape party goals. Even when leading elites within a party see opportunities to maximise votes or assume office, they may face insurmountable resistance from party members and factions (Harmel and Janda 1994: 261). Resistance of activists within the party, who are usually more ideologically driven and more radical in their stances than party leaders (May 1973), can prevent party leaders from seizing perceived opportunities. Particularly in bottom-up, decentralised and democratically organised parties this may be the case since party members have great influence on the strategic and ideological courses in such parties. In some parties, platforms can be amended by party members, and decisions to join government coalitions can be challenged, or even vetoed. It has, for example, been demonstrated that democratically organised parties are less likely to change party positions for strategic reasons (Ignacio 2004; Schumacher *et al.* 2013). Intraparty democracy can thus be an impediment to office- or vote-seeking behaviour.

Internal adaptation to environmental incentives is therefore an important condition for strategic and programmatic change. Democratically organised parties may need to streamline their decision-making procedures in order to achieve their goals. However, highly institutionalised parties are less flexible and therefore can adjust their organisation less easily to changes in the environment. Besides the degree of democratisation and centralisation, the level of

institutionalisation is also an important factor that constrains strategic behaviour and party change. In sum, radical right-wing populist parties' internal conditions are important to explain why they react differently to similar changes in the environment (see also Art 2011).

The variety of social and political conditions in which radical right-wing populist parties operate influence their goals and strategies (see Figure 1.1 for a summary). Internal conditions can limit these parties' flexibility to change their goals and strategies. In the end, the ways in which radical right-wing populist parties perceive environmental changes and adapt their goals and strategies are decisive in explaining whether and how far they move into the mainstream.

### **Outline of the book**

The first chapter by Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah de Lange and Matthijs Rooduijn addresses in a general and comparative way the question whether and in what ways radical right-wing populist parties have moved into the mainstream. Making use of expert surveys, comparative manifesto data and their own measurements, they assess whether radical right-wing populist parties have mellowed programmatic positions, broadened their scope of issues or toned down populist stances. Yet, mainstreaming need not only be apparent in party agendas; it can also take place at the level of public opinion. In the next chapter, Matthijs Rooduijn assesses whether voters of radical right-wing populist parties and mainstream parties have become more alike. These comparative analyses are the prelude to the main part of the book, which consists of case studies.

An approach focusing on party behaviour requires case studies in order to assess whether and to what extent radical right-wing populist parties have moved into the mainstream. First, it enables refined assessments of changes in party agendas based on country-specific data and of positions and behaviour in public debates, parliament or local and national office. Questions that are best answered by using a variety of country-specific data include the following: has a radical right-wing populist party changed its policy profile (radical, niche or populist)? Has it mellowed its positions on immigration and integration, on European integration or on law and order? And has it extended its attention to socio-economic issues, toned down its anti-establishment stance or succeeded in building up a respectable reputation? Second, case studies are required to explain party behaviour. The opportunity to enter national office or to experience being in office may be important incitements to move into the mainstream, but these conditions are far from sufficient to explain why some radical right-wing populist parties make this move while others do not. Goals and strategies need to be assessed by using not only official statements but also non-official statements such as internal documents or interviews. Which goals are prioritised? Have parties (successfully) developed strategies to minimise trade-offs? Have they managed to prevent internal conflicts? And even if opportunities for office are highly uncertain, does this uncertainty imply that parties will not move into the mainstream? Such questions can only be answered on the basis of an in-depth approach.

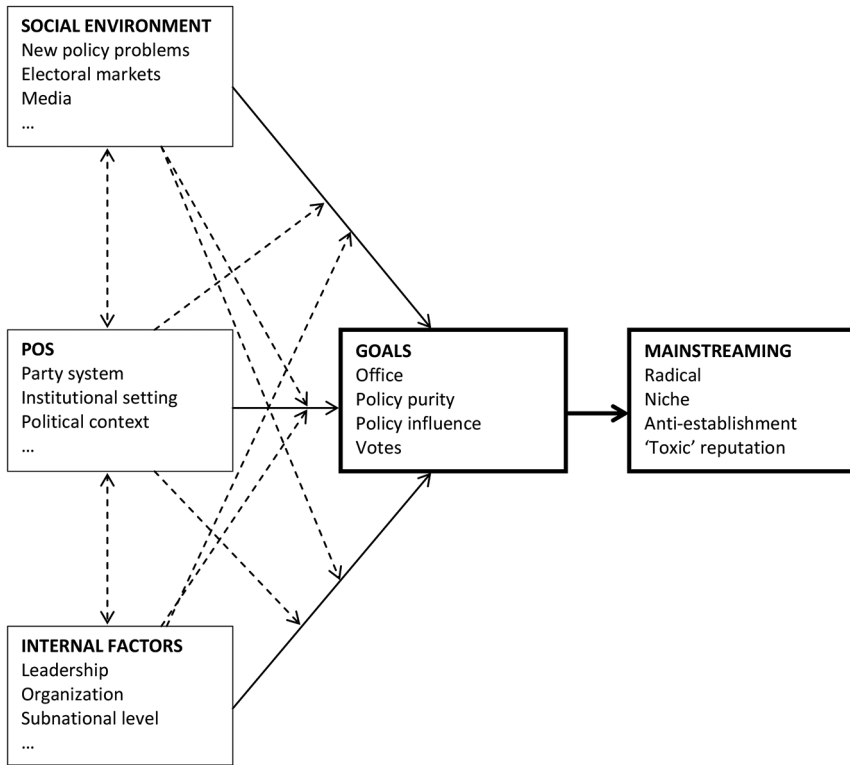


Figure 1.1 Explanations for mainstreaming

The cases assessed in this book cover most countries in Western Europe and focus on electorally successful radical right-wing populist parties with stable party organisations. Some of the radical right-wing populist parties have been in national office in the past, whereas others are in office at the moment of writing. Radical right-wing populist parties without office experience have also been included. However, we have selected only those parties that have already gained an electoral breakthrough and for whom national office is, at least in the longer term, a realistic option. The case studies focusing on parties with past experience in office as formal coalition partners or, as in the case of the PVV and the DF, as formal support parties, include the following: Reinhard Heinisch and Kristina Hauser study the FPÖ in *Austria*, a party in office from 2000 to 2005; Flemming Juul Christiansen assesses the evolvement of the DF in *Denmark*, a party which supported a minority government from 2011 to 2011 and is in office as a support party again at the time of writing; the PS in *Finland*, central in the case study of Ann-Cathrine Jungar, entered government for the first time in 2015; Tjitske Akkerman writes about the PVV in the *Netherlands*, a party that supported a minority government from 2010–2012; the FrP in *Norway*, central in the



contribution by Anders Jupskås, entered government for the first time in 2013; Oscar Mazzoleni writes about the SVP in *Switzerland*, a party that has been incumbent with a short interruption in 2008. Other contributions focus on parties without experience in office as of yet: Gilles Ivaldi writes about the FN in *France*; Paul Lucardie, Tjitske Akkerman and Teun Pauwels focus on the VB in *Belgium*; and Simon Usherwood studies UKIP in the United Kingdom. Finally, Tjitske Akkerman assesses whether the findings in these case studies legitimate the conclusion that radical right-wing populist parties are moving into the mainstream.

## References

- Abedi, A. (2004) *Anti-Political Establishment Parties: A Comparative Analysis*, New York: Routledge.
- Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L. and Glasgow, G. (2006) 'Are niche parties fundamentally different from mainstream parties? The causes and the electoral consequences of Western European parties' policy shifts, 1976–1998', *American Journal of Political Science* 50, 3: 513–529.
- Afonso, A. (2015) 'Choosing whom to betray: Populist right-wing parties, welfare state reforms and the trade-off between office and votes', *European Political Science Review* 7, 2: 271–292.
- Akkerman, T. (2005) 'Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10, 3: 337–354.
- Akkerman, T. (2015) 'Immigration policy and electoral competition in Western Europe: A fine-grained analysis of party positions over the past two decades', *Party Politics* 21, 1: 54–67.
- Akkerman, T. and de Lange, S. L. (2012) 'Radical right parties in office: Incumbency records and the electoral cost of governing', *Government and Opposition* 47, 4: 574–596.
- Akkerman, T. and Hagelund, A. (2007) "'Women and children first!" Anti-immigration parties and gender in Norway and the Netherlands', *Patterns of Prejudice* 41, 2: 197–214.
- Akkerman, T. and Rooduijn, M. (2014) 'Pariahs or partners? Inclusion and exclusion of radical right parties and the effects on their policy positions', *Political Studies*. Article first published online, 30 June 2014. Doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12146.
- Albertazzi, D. (2009) 'Reconciling "voice and exit": Swiss and Italian populists in power', *Politics* 29, 1: 1–10.
- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2005) 'The Lega Nord in the second Berlusconi government: In a league of its own', *West European Politics* 28, 5: 952–972.
- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2007) *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2010) 'The Lega Nord back in government', *West European Politics* 33, 6: 1318–1340.
- Alonso, S. and da Fonseca, S. C. (2012) 'Immigration, left and right', *Party Politics* 18, 6: 865–884.
- Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bale, T. (2003) 'Cinderella and her ugly sisters: The mainstream and extreme right in Europe's bipolarising party systems', *West European Politics* 26, 3: 67–90.

- Bale, T. (2007) 'Are bans on political parties bound to turn out badly? A comparative investigation of three "intolerant" democracies: Turkey, Spain, and Belgium', *Comparative European Politics* 5, 2: 141–157.
- Bale, T. (2008) 'Turning round the telescope: Centre-right parties and immigration and integration policy in Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, 3: 315–330.
- Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Luther, K. R. and Sitter, N. (2010) 'If you can't beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe', *Political Studies* 58, 3: 410–426.
- Berman, S. (2008) 'Taming extremist parties: Lessons from Europe', *Journal of Democracy* 19, 1: 5–18.
- Betz, H.-G. (1994) *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*, New York: St. Martin's.
- Betz, H.-G. (2007) 'Against the "green totalitarianism": Anti-Islamic nativism in contemporary radical right-wing populism in Western Europe', in Liang, C. S. (ed.) "Europe for the Europeans." *The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 33–54.
- Betz, H.-G. and Meret, S. (2009) 'Revisiting Lepanto: the political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe', *Patterns of Prejudice* 43, 3–4: 313–334.
- Bischof, D. (forthcoming) 'Towards a renewal of the niche party concept: Parties, market shares and condensed offers', *Party Politics*.
- Bolleyer, N. (2007) 'Small parties: From party pledges to government policy', *West European Politics* 30, 1: 121–147.
- Bomberg, E. (2002) 'The Europeanisation of green parties: Exploring the EU's impact', *West European Politics* 25, 3: 29–50.
- Brockner, M. and Künkler, M. (2013) 'Religious parties: Revisiting the inclusion-moderation hypothesis – introduction', *Party Politics* 19, 2: 171–185.
- Buelens, J. and Hino, A. (2008) 'The electoral fate of new parties in government', in Deschouwer, K. (ed.) *New Parties in Government: In Power for the First Time*, London: Routledge, pp. 157–174.
- Budge, I. and Laver, M. (1986) 'Office seeking and policy pursuit in coalition theory', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11, 4: 485–506.
- Canovan, M. (2002) 'Taking politics to the people: Populism as the ideology of democracy', in Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (eds) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 25–44.
- Capoccia, G. (2002) 'Anti-system parties: A conceptual reassessment', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 14, 1: 9–35.
- Carter, E. (2005) *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Curran, G. (2004) 'Mainstreaming populist discourse: the race-conscious legacy of neo-populist parties in Australia and Italy', *Patterns of Prejudice* 38, 1: 37–55.
- Dalton, R. J. (2013) *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Damen, S. (2001) 'Strategien tegen extreem-rechts: Het cordon sanitaire onder de loep', *Tijdschrift voor Sociologie* 22, 1: 89–110.
- De Lange, S. L. (2007) 'A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right', *Party Politics* 13, 4: 411–435.
- De Lange, S. L. (2012a) 'New alliances: Why mainstream parties govern with radical right-wing populist parties', *Political Studies* 60, 4: 899–918.

- De Lange, S. L. (2012b) 'Radical right-wing populist parties in office: A cross-national comparison', in Backes, U. and Moreau, Ph. (eds) *The Extreme Right in Europe: Current Trends and Perspectives*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 171–194.
- De Lange, S. L. and Rooduijn, M. (forthcoming) 'Contemporary populism, the agrarian and the rural in Central Eastern and Western Europe', in Strijker, D., Voerman, G. and Terluin, I. J. (eds) *Right Wing Populist Parties and Rural Protest Groups*, Wageningen Academic Publisher.
- De Swaan, A. (1973) *Coalition Theories and Government Formation*, Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Deschouwer, K. (ed.) (2008) *New Parties in Government: In Power for the First Time*, London: Routledge.
- Downs, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Downs, W. M. (2001) 'Pariahs in their midst: Belgian and Norwegian parties react to extremist threats', *West European Politics* 24, 3: 23–42.
- Downs, W. M. (2002) 'How effective is the cordon sanitaire? Lessons from efforts to contain the far right in Belgium, France, Denmark and Norway', *Journal für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung* 4, 1: 32–51.
- Dumont, P. and Bäck, H. (2006) 'Why so few, and why so late? Green parties and the question of governmental participation', *European Journal of Political Research* 45, s1: S35–S67.
- Elman, M. F. (2014) 'Does democracy tame the radicals? Lessons from the case of Israel's Shas', in Elman, M. F., Haklai, O. and Spruyt, H. (eds) *Democracy and Conflict Resolution: The Dilemmas of Israel's Peacemaking*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pp. 101–131.
- Evans, J. and Ivaldi, G. (2010) 'Comparing forecast models of radical right voting in four European countries (1973–2008)', *International Journal of Forecasting* 26, 1: 82–97.
- Ezrow, L. (2008) 'Research note: On the inverse relationship between votes and proximity for niche parties', *European Journal of Political Research* 47, 2: 206–220.
- Ezrow, L., de Vries, C., Steenbergen, M. and Edwards, E. (2011) 'Mean voter representation and partisan constituency representation: Do parties respond to the mean voter position or to their supporters?', *Party Politics* 17: 3, 275–301.
- Frölich-Steffen, S. and Rensmann, L. (2007) 'Conditions for failure and success of right-wing populist parties in public office in the new European Union', in Delwit, P. and Poirier, Ph. (eds) *Extrême Droite et Pouvoir en Europe*, Brussels: Editions de L'Université de Bruxelles, pp. 117–139.
- Green-Pedersen, C. and Krogstrup, J. (2008) 'Immigration as a political issue in Denmark and Sweden', *European Journal of Political Research* 47, 5: 610–634.
- Gurses, M. (2014) 'Islamists, democracy and Turkey: A test of the inclusion-moderation hypothesis', *Party Politics* 20, 4: 646–653.
- Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994) 'An integrated theory of party goals and party change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6, 3: 259–287.
- Harmel, R., Heo, U., Tan, A. and Janda, K. (1995) 'Performance, leadership, factions and party change: An empirical analysis', *West European Politics* 18, 1: 1–33.
- Harmel, R. and Svasand, L. (1993) 'Party leadership and party institutionalisation: Three phases of development', *West European Politics* 16, 2: 67–88.
- Helboe Pedersen, H. (2012) 'What do parties want? Policy versus office', *West European Politics* 35, 4: 896–910.
- Ignacio, S. (2004) 'Party moderation and politicians' ideological rigidity', *Party Politics* 10, 3: 325–342.
- Ignazi, P. (2003) *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Ivaresflaten, E. (2006) 'Reputational shields: Why most anti-immigrant parties failed in Western Europe, 1980–2005', paper prepared for the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia.
- Jupskås, A. R. (2013) 'Mainstream parties in the Nordic countries have tried to deal with the rise of the far-right through a mix of isolation, tolerance and even collaboration', paper presented at European Politics and Policy at LSE.
- Kalyvas, S. N. and van Kersbergen, K. (2010) 'Christian democracy', *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 183–209.
- Karakaya, S. and Yildirim, A. K. (2013) 'Islamist moderation in perspective: comparative analysis of the moderation of Islamist and Western communist parties', *Democratization* 20, 7: 1322–1349.
- Kenney, C. D. (1998) 'Outsider and anti-party politicians in power: New conceptual strategies and empirical evidence from Peru', *Party Politics* 4, 1: 57–75.
- Kitschelt, H. (1989) *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (2002) 'Popular dissatisfaction with democracy: populism and party systems', in Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (eds) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 179–196.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M. and Bornschieer, S. (2008) *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krouwel, A. and Lucardie, P. (2008) 'Waiting in the wings: New parties in the Netherlands', *Acta Politica* 43, 2: 278–307.
- Laver, M. (1989) 'Party competition and party system change: The interaction of coalition bargaining and electoral competition', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 3, 301–324.
- Laver, M. and Schofield, N. (1998) *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lucardie, P. (2000) 'Prophets, purifiers and prolocutors towards a theory on the emergence of new parties', *Party Politics* 6, 2: 175–185.
- Lupia, A. and Strøm, K. (2008) 'Coalition governance theory: Bargaining, electoral connections and the shadow of the future', in Strøm, K., Müller, W. C. and Bergman, T. (eds) *Coalition Governance in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 51–83.
- Lynch, P., Whitaker, R. and Loomes, G. (2012) 'The UK Independence Party: Understanding a niche party's strategy, candidates and supporters', *Parliamentary Affairs* 65, 4: 733–757.
- Mackie, T. T. and Rose, R. (1983) 'Incumbency in government: Asset or liability?', in Daalder, H. and Mair, P. (eds) *Western European Party Systems*, London: Sage, pp. 115–137.
- MacMillan, S. (2006) 'How to civilize Hamas: Will Wednesday's winners be too busy fixing potholes to wage Jihad?', *Slate*, 27 January, [www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/foreigners/2006/01/how\\_to\\_civilize\\_hamas.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2006/01/how_to_civilize_hamas.html).
- Mair, P. (2001) 'The green challenge and political competition: How typical is the German experience?', *German Politics* 10, 2: 99–116.
- Marks, G., Wilson, C. J. and Ray, L. (2002) 'National political parties and European integration', *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 3: 585–594.
- May, J. D. (1973) 'Opinion structure of political parties: The special law of curvilinear disparity', *Political Studies* 21, 2: 135–151.

- McDonnell, D. and Newell, J. L. (2011) 'Outsider parties in government in Western Europe', *Party Politics* 17, 4: 443–452.
- Meguid, B. M. (2005) 'Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success', *American Political Science Review* 99, 3: 347–359.
- Meguid, B. M. (2008) *Party Competition Between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meret, S. and Siim, B. (2012) 'Gender, populism and politics of belonging: Discourses of right-wing populist parties in Denmark, Norway and Austria', in Siim, B. and Mokre, M. (eds) *Negotiating Gender and Diversity in an Emergent European Public Sphere*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 78–97.
- Miller, B. and Meyer, T. (2010) 'To the core of the niche party: Conceptual clarity and valid measurement for a much employed concept', [http://staatswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/uploads/media/Miller\\_\\_Meyer\\_-\\_To\\_the\\_core\\_of\\_the\\_niche\\_party\\_\\_November\\_2010\\_.pdf](http://staatswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/uploads/media/Miller__Meyer_-_To_the_core_of_the_niche_party__November_2010_.pdf) (accessed 16-07-2015).
- Minkenberg, M. (2001) 'The radical right in public office: Agenda-setting and policy effects', *West European Politics* 24, 4: 1–21.
- Minkenberg, M. (2006) 'Repression and reaction: Militant democracy and the radical right in Germany and France', *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, 1: 25–44.
- Minkenberg, M. (2013) 'From pariah to policy-maker? The radical right in Europe, West and East: Between margin and mainstream', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21, 1: 5–24.
- Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2013) 'Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So what?', *European Journal of Political Research* 52, 1: 1–19.
- Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (eds) (1999) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (2000) *Coalition Governments in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Müller-Rommel, F. and Poguntke, T. (eds) (2002) *Green Parties in National Governments*, London: Frank Cass.
- Narud, H. M. (1996) *Voters, Parties and Governments. Electoral Competition, Policy Distances and Government Formation in Multi-Party Systems*, Oslo: Institute for Social Research.
- Norris, P. (2005) *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NRC (14-09-2013) 'Mensen zien ons als een serieus alternatief', [www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2013/september/14/mensen-zien-ons-als-een-serieus-alternatief-1292987](http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2013/september/14/mensen-zien-ons-als-een-serieus-alternatief-1292987) (accessed 16-06-2015).
- Nu.nl (07-05-2014) 'CIDI hekelt samenwerken PVV met extreem rechts', [www.nu.nl/politiek/3769162/cidi-hekelt-samenwerken-pvv-met-extreem-rechts.html](http://www.nu.nl/politiek/3769162/cidi-hekelt-samenwerken-pvv-met-extreem-rechts.html) (accessed 17-07-2015).
- Otjes, S. P. (2012) "Imitating the newcomer. How, when and why established political parties imitate the policy positions and issue attention of new political parties in the electoral and parliamentary arena: the case of the Netherlands," Doctoral Thesis, Leiden University.
- Pedersen, M. (1982) 'Towards a new typology of party lifespans and minor parties', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 5: 1–16.
- Pharr, S. J. and Putnam, R. D. (eds) (2000) *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Przeworski, A. and Sprague, J. (1986) *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Rooduijn, M. (2014) 'The nucleus of populism: In search of the lowest common denominator', *Government and Opposition* 49, 4: 573–599.
- Rovny, J. (2013) 'Where do radical right parties stand? Position blurring in multidimensional competition', *European Political Science Review* 5, 1: 1–26.
- Rydgren, J. and van Holsteyn, J. (2005) 'Holland and Pim Fortuyn: A deviant case or the beginning of something new?', in Rydgren, J. (ed.) *Movements of Exclusion: Radical Right-Wing Populism in the Western World*, New York: Nova Science Publishers, pp. 41–63.
- Sartori, G. (1976) *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scarow, S. E. (1996) 'Politicians against parties: Anti-party arguments as weapons for change in Germany', *European Journal of Political Research* 29, 3: 297–317.
- Schedler, A. (1996) 'Anti-political-establishment parties', *Party Politics* 2, 3: 291–312.
- Schwedler, J. (2011) 'Can Islamists become moderates? Rethinking the inclusion-moderation hypothesis', *World Politics* 63, 2: 347–376.
- Schwedler, J. (2013) 'Islamists in power? Inclusion, moderation, and the Arab uprisings', *Middle East Development Journal* 5, 1: 1–18.
- Schofield, N. and Sened, I. (2006) *Multiparty Democracy: Parties, Elections and Legislative Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schumacher, G., de Vries, C. and Vis, B. (2013) 'Why political parties change their position: environmental incentives and party organization', *Journal of Politics* 75, 2: 464–477.
- Sened, I. (1996) 'A model of coalition formation', *Journal of Politics* 58, 2: 350–372.
- Sjöblom, G. (1968) *Party Strategies in Multiparty Systems*, Lund: Studentlitteratur Lund Sweden.
- Smith, G. (1997) 'In search of small parties, problems of definition, classification, and significance', in Mueller-Rommel, F. and Pridham, G. (eds) *Small Parties in Western Europe. Comparative and National Perspectives*, London: Sage, pp. 23–40.
- Somer, M. (2014) 'Moderation of religious and secular politics: A country's "centre" and democratization', *Democratization* 21, 2: 244–267.
- Somer-Topcu, Z. (2009) 'Timely decisions: the effects of past national elections on party policy change', *The Journal of Politics* 71, 1: 238–248.
- Strøm, K. (1990a) 'A behavioral theory of competitive political parties', *American Journal of Political Science* 34, 2: 565–598.
- Strøm, K. (1990b) *Minority Government and Majority Rule*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strøm, K., Budge, I. and Laver, M. J. (1994) 'Constraints on cabinet formation in parliamentary democracies', *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 303–335.
- Strøm, K. and Muller, W. C. (eds) (1999) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tepe, S. (2012) 'Electoral constraints, ideological commitments, and the democratic capacities of religious parties in Israel and Turkey', *Political Research Quarterly* 65, 3: 467–485.
- Valen, H. and Narud, H. (2007) 'The conditional party mandate: A model for the study of mass and elite opinion patterns', *European Journal of Political Research* 46, 3: 293–318.
- Van der Brug, W. (2003) 'How the LPF fuelled discontent: Empirical tests of explanations of LPF support', *Acta Politica* 38, 1: 89–106.

- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M. and Tillie, J. (2000) 'Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote?', *European Journal of Political Research* 37, 1: 77–102.
- Van Heerden, S. C. (2014) "What did you just call me? A study on the demonization of political parties in the Netherlands between 1995 and 2011", Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam.
- Van Kersbergen, K. and Krouwel, A. (2008) 'A double-edged sword! The Dutch centre-right and the "foreigners issue"', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, 3: 398–414.
- Van Praag, P. (2003) 'The winners and losers in a turbulent political year', *Acta Politica* 38, 1: 5–22.
- Van Spanje, J. (2010) 'Contagious parties: Anti-immigration parties and their impact on other parties' immigration stances in contemporary Western Europe', *Party Politics* 16, 5: 563–586.
- Van Spanje, J. (2011a) 'Keeping the rascals in: Anti-political-establishment parties and their cost of governing in established democracies', *European Journal of Political Research* 50, 5: 609–635.
- Van Spanje, J. (2011b) 'The wrong and the right: A comparative analysis of "anti-immigration" and "far right" parties', *Government and Opposition* 46, 3: 293–320.
- Van Spanje, J. and van der Brug, W. (2007) 'The party as pariah: The exclusion of anti-immigration parties and its effect on their ideological positions', *West European Politics* 30, 5: 1022–1040.
- Vrij Nederland* (11-11-2013) 'De nieuwe extreme-rechtse vrienden van Wilders', [www.vn.nl/Archief/Samenleving/Artikel-Samenleving/De-nieuwe-extreemrechtse-vrienden-van-Wilders-1.htm](http://www.vn.nl/Archief/Samenleving/Artikel-Samenleving/De-nieuwe-extreemrechtse-vrienden-van-Wilders-1.htm) (accessed 17-07-2015).
- Vrij Nederland* (21-05-2014) 'Hoe Wilders over zijn eigen grens ging', [www.vn.nl/Archief/Politiek/Artikel-Politiek/Hoe-Wilders-over-zijn-eigen-grens-ging.htm](http://www.vn.nl/Archief/Politiek/Artikel-Politiek/Hoe-Wilders-over-zijn-eigen-grens-ging.htm) (accessed 16-06-2015).
- Wagner, M. (2012) 'Defining and measuring niche parties', *Party Politics* 18, 6: 845–864.
- Walgrave, S. and van Aelst, P. (2006) 'The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: Toward a preliminary theory', *Journal of Communication* 56, 1: 88–109.
- Zaslave, A. (2011) 'The populist radical right in government: The structure and agency of success and failure', *Comparative European Politics* 10, 4: 421–448.
- Zúquete, J. P. (2008) 'The European extreme-right and Islam: New directions?', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13, 3: 321–344.

# References

## 1 1. Inclusion and mainstreaming? Radical right-wing populist parties in the new millennium

Abedi, A. (2004) *Anti-Political Establishment Parties: A Comparative Analysis*, New York: Routledge.

Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L. and Glasgow, G. (2006) 'Are niche parties fundamentally different from mainstream parties? The causes and the electoral consequences of Western European parties' policy shifts, 1976-1998', *American Journal of Political Science* 50, 3: 513-529.

Afonso, A. (2015) 'Choosing whom to betray: Populist right-wing parties, welfare state reforms and the trade-off between office and votes', *European Political Science Review* 7, 2: 271-292.

Akkerman, T. (2005) 'Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10, 3: 337-354.

Akkerman, T. (2015) 'Immigration policy and electoral competition in Western Europe: A fine-grained analysis of party positions over the past two decades', *Party Politics* 21, 1: 54-67.

Akkerman, T. and de Lange, S. L. (2012) 'Radical right parties in office: Incumbency records and the electoral cost of governing', *Government and Opposition* 47, 4: 574-596.

Akkerman, T. and Hagelund, A. (2007) "'Women and children first!" Anti-immigration parties and gender in Norway and the Netherlands', *Patterns of Prejudice* 41, 2: 197-214.

Akkerman, T. and Rooduijn, M. (2014) 'Pariahs or partners? Inclusion and exclusion of radical right parties and the effects on their policy positions', *Political Studies*. Article first published online, 30 June 2014. Doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12146.

Albertazzi, D. (2009) 'Reconciling "voice and exit": Swiss and Italian populists in power', *Politics* 29, 1: 1-10.

Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2005) 'The Lega Nord in the second Berlusconi government: In a league of its own', *West European Politics* 28, 5: 952-972.



- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2007) *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2010) 'The Lega Nord back in government', *West European Politics* 33, 6: 1318-1340.
- Alonso, S. and da Fonseca, S. C. (2012) 'Immigration, left and right', *Party Politics* 18, 6: 865-884.
- Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bale, T. (2003) 'Cinderella and her ugly sisters: The mainstream and extreme right in Europe's bipolarising party systems', *West European Politics* 26, 3: 67-90.
- Bale, T. (2007) 'Are bans on political parties bound to turn out badly? A comparative investigation of three "intolerant" democracies: Turkey, Spain, and Belgium', *Comparative European Politics* 5, 2: 141-157.
- Bale, T. (2008) 'Turning round the telescope: Centre-right parties and immigration and integration policy in Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, 3: 315-330.
- Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Luther, K. R. and Sitter, N. (2010) 'If you can't beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe', *Political Studies* 58, 3: 410-426.
- Berman, S. (2008) 'Taming extremist parties: Lessons from Europe', *Journal of Democracy* 19, 1: 5-18.
- Betz, H.-G. (1994) *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*, New York: St. Martin's.
- Betz, H.-G. (2007) 'Against the "green totalitarianism": Anti-Islamic nativism in contemporary radical right-wing populism in Western Europe', in Liang, C. S. (ed.) "Europe for the Europeans." *The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 33-54.
- Betz, H.-G. and Meret, S. (2009) 'Revisiting Lepanto: the political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe', *Patterns of Prejudice* 43, 3-4: 313-334.

- Bischof, D. (forthcoming) 'Towards a renewal of the niche party concept: Parties, market shares and condensed offers', *Party Politics*.
- Bolleyer, N. (2007) 'Small parties: From party pledges to government policy', *West European Politics* 30, 1: 121-147.
- Bomberg, E. (2002) 'The Europeanisation of green parties: Exploring the EU's impact', *West European Politics* 25, 3: 29-50.
- Brocker, M. and Künkler, M. (2013) 'Religious parties: Revisiting the inclusion-moderation hypothesis - introduction', *Party Politics* 19, 2: 171-185.
- Buelens, J. and Hino, A. (2008) 'The electoral fate of new parties in government', in Deschouwer, K. (ed.) *New Parties in Government: In Power for the First Time*, London: Routledge, pp. 157-174.
- Budge, I. and Laver, M. (1986) 'Office seeking and policy pursuit in coalition theory', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11, 4: 485-506.
- Canovan, M. (2002) 'Taking politics to the people: Populism as the ideology of democracy', in Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (eds) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 25-44.
- Capoccia, G. (2002) 'Anti-system parties: A conceptual reassessment', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 14, 1: 9-35.
- Carter, E. (2005) *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Curran, G. (2004) 'Mainstreaming populist discourse: the race-conscious legacy of neo-populist parties in Australia and Italy', *Patterns of Prejudice* 38, 1: 37-55.
- Dalton, R. J. (2013) *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Damen, S. (2001) 'Strategien tegen extreem-rechts: Het cordon sanitaire onder de loep', *Tijdschrift voor Sociologie* 22, 1: 89-110.
- De Lange, S. L. (2007) 'A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right', *Party Politics*

13, 4: 411-435.

De Lange, S. L. (2012a) 'New alliances: Why mainstream parties govern with radical right-wing populist parties', *Political Studies* 60, 4: 899-918.

De Lange, S. L. (2012b) 'Radical right-wing populist parties in office: A cross-national comparison', in Backes, U. and Moreau, Ph. (eds) *The Extreme Right in Europe: Current Trends and Perspectives*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 171-194.

De Lange, S. L. and Rooduijn, M. (forthcoming) 'Contemporary populism, the agrarian and the rural in Central Eastern and Western Europe', in Strijker, D., Voerman, G. and Terluin, I. J. (eds) *Right Wing Populist Parties and Rural Protest Groups*, Wageningen Academic Publisher.

De Swaan, A. (1973) *Coalition Theories and Government Formation*, Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Deschouwer, K. (ed.) (2008) *New Parties in Government: In Power for the First Time*, London: Routledge.

Downs, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row.

Downs, W. M. (2001) 'Pariahs in their midst: Belgian and Norwegian parties react to extremist threats', *West European Politics* 24, 3: 23-42.

Downs, W. M. (2002) 'How effective is the cordon sanitaire? Lessons from efforts to contain the far right in Belgium, France, Denmark and Norway', *Journal für Konflikt und Gewaltforschung* 4, 1: 32-51.

Dumont, P. and Bäck, H. (2006) 'Why so few, and why so late? Green parties and the question of governmental participation', *European Journal of Political Research* 45, s1: S35-S67.

Elman, M. F. (2014) 'Does democracy tame the radicals? Lessons from the case of Israel's Shas', in Elman, M. F., Haklai, O. and Spruyt, H. (eds) *Democracy and Conflict Resolution: The Dilemmas of Israel's Peacemaking*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pp. 101-131.

Evans, J. and Ivaldi, G. (2010) 'Comparing forecast models of radical right voting in four European countries

(1973-2008)', *International Journal of Forecasting* 26, 1: 82-97.

Ezrow, L. (2008) 'Research note: On the inverse relationship between votes and proximity for niche parties', *European Journal of Political Research* 47, 2: 206-220.

Ezrow, L., de Vries, C., Steenbergen, M. and Edwards, E. (2011) 'Mean voter representation and partisan constituency representation: Do parties respond to the mean voter position or to their supporters?', *Party Politics* 17: 3, 275-301.

Frölich-Steffen, S. and Rensmann, L. (2007) 'Conditions for failure and success of rightwing populist parties in public office in the new European Union', in Delwit, P. and Poirier, Ph. (eds) *Extrême Droite et Pouvoir en Europe*, Brussels: Editions de L'Université de Bruxelles, pp. 117-139.

Green-Pedersen, C. and Krogstrup, J. (2008) 'Immigration as a political issue in Denmark and Sweden', *European Journal of Political Research* 47, 5: 610-634.

Gurses, M. (2014) 'Islamists, democracy and Turkey: A test of the inclusion-moderation hypothesis', *Party Politics* 20, 4: 646-653.

Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994) 'An integrated theory of party goals and party change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6, 3: 259-287.

Harmel, R., Heo, U., Tan, A. and Janda, K. (1995) 'Performance, leadership, factions and party change: An empirical analysis', *West European Politics* 18, 1: 1-33.

Harmel, R. and Svasand, L. (1993) 'Party leadership and party institutionalisation: Three phases of development', *West European Politics* 16, 2: 67-88.

Helboe Pedersen, H. (2012) 'What do parties want? Policy versus office', *West European Politics* 35, 4: 896-910.

Ignacio, S. (2004) 'Party moderation and politicians' ideological rigidity', *Party Politics* 10, 3: 325-342.

Ignazi, P. (2003) *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ivansflaten, E. (2006) 'Reputational shields: Why most

anti-immigrant parties failed in Western Europe, 1980-2005', paper prepared for the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia.

Jupskås, A. R. (2013) 'Mainstream parties in the Nordic countries have tried to deal with the rise of the far-right through a mix of isolation, tolerance and even collaboration', paper presented at European Politics and Policy at LSE.

Kalyvas, S. N. and van Kersbergen, K. (2010) 'Christian democracy', *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 183-209.

Karakaya, S. and Yildirim, A. K. (2013) 'Islamist moderation in perspective: comparative analysis of the moderation of Islamist and Western communist parties', *Democratization* 20, 7: 1322-1349.

Kenney, C. D. (1998) 'Outsider and anti-party politicians in power: New conceptual strategies and empirical evidence from Peru', *Party Politics* 4, 1: 57-75.

Kitschelt, H. (1989) *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kitschelt, H. (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press.

Kitschelt, H. (2002) 'Popular dissatisfaction with democracy: populism and party systems', in Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (eds) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 179-196.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M. and Bornschier, S. (2008) *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krouwel, A. and Lucardie, P. (2008) 'Waiting in the wings: New parties in the Netherlands', *Acta Politica* 43, 2: 278-307.

Laver, M. (1989) 'Party competition and party system change: The interaction of coalition bargaining and electoral competition', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 3, 301-324.

Laver, M. and Schofield, N. (1998) *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*, Ann Arbor, MI:

University of Michigan Press.

Lucardie, P. (2000) 'Prophets, purifiers and prolocutors towards a theory on the emergence of new parties', *Party Politics* 6, 2: 175-185.

Lupia, A. and Strøm, K. (2008) 'Coalition governance theory: Bargaining, electoral connections and the shadow of the future', in Strøm, K., Müller, W. C. and Bergman, T. (eds) *Coalition Governance in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 51-83.

Lynch, P., Whitaker, R. and Loomes, G. (2012) 'The UK Independence Party: Understanding a niche party's strategy, candidates and supporters', *Parliamentary Affairs* 65, 4: 733-757.

Mackie, T. T. and Rose, R. (1983) 'Incumbency in government: Asset or liability?', in Daalder, H. and Mair, P. (eds) *Western European Party Systems*, London: Sage, pp. 115-137.

MacMillan, S. (2006) 'How to civilize Hamas: Will Wednesday's winners be too busy fixing potholes to wage Jihad?', *Slate*, 27 January, [www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/foreigners/2006/01/how\\_to\\_civilize\\_hamas.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2006/01/how_to_civilize_hamas.html).

Mair, P. (2001) 'The green challenge and political competition: How typical is the German experience?', *German Politics* 10, 2: 99-116.

Marks, G., Wilson, C. J. and Ray, L. (2002) 'National political parties and European integration', *American Journal of Political Science* 46, 3: 585-594.

May, J. D. (1973) 'Opinion structure of political parties: The special law of curvilinear disparity', *Political Studies* 21, 2: 135-151.

McDonnell, D. and Newell, J. L. (2011) 'Outsider parties in government in Western Europe', *Party Politics* 17, 4: 443-452.

Meguid, B. M. (2005) 'Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success', *American Political Science Review* 99, 3: 347-359.

Meguid, B. M. (2008) *Party Competition Between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Meret, S. and Siim, B. (2012) 'Gender, populism and politics of belonging: Discourses of right-wing populist parties in Denmark, Norway and Austria', in Siim, B. and Mokre, M. (eds) *Negotiating Gender and Diversity in an Emergent European Public Sphere*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 78-97.
- Miller, B. and Meyer, T. (2010) 'To the core of the niche party: Conceptual clarity and valid measurement for a much employed concept', <http://staatswissenschaft.univie>.
- Minkenberg, M. (2001) 'The radical right in public office: Agenda-setting and policy effects', *West European Politics* 24, 4: 1-21.
- Minkenberg, M. (2006) 'Repression and reaction: Militant democracy and the radical right in Germany and France', *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, 1: 25-44.
- Minkenberg, M. (2013) 'From pariah to policy-maker? The radical right in Europe, West and East: Between margin and mainstream', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21, 1: 5-24.
- Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2013) 'Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So what?', *European Journal of Political Research* 52, 1: 1-19.
- Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (eds) (1999) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (2000) *Coalition Governments in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Müller-Rommel, F. and Poguntke, T. (eds) (2002) *Green Parties in National Governments*, London: Frank Cass.
- Narud, H. M. (1996) *Voters, Parties and Governments. Electoral Competition, Policy Distances and Government Formation in Multi-Party Systems*, Oslo: Institute for Social Research.
- Norris, P. (2005) *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

NRC (14-09-2013) 'Mensen zien ons als een serieus alternatief', [www.nrc.nl/ha](http://www.nrc.nl/ha)

Nu.nl (07-05-2014) 'CIDI hekelt samenwerken PVV met extreem rechts', [www.nu.nl](http://www.nu.nl).

Otjes, S. P. (2012) "Imitating the newcomer. How, when and why established political parties imitate the policy positions and issue attention of new political parties in the electoral and parliamentary arena: the case of the Netherlands," Doctoral Thesis, Leiden University.

Pedersen, M. (1982) 'Towards a new typology of party lifespans and minor parties', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 5: 1-16.

Pharr, S. J. and Putnam, R. D. (eds) (2000) *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Przeworski, A. and Sprague, J. (1986) *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Rooduijn, M. (2014) 'The nucleus of populism: In search of the lowest common denominator', *Government and Opposition* 49, 4: 573-599.

Rovny, J. (2013) 'Where do radical right parties stand? Position blurring in multidimensional competition', *European Political Science Review* 5, 1: 1-26.

Rydgren, J. and van Holsteyn, J. (2005) 'Holland and Pim Fortuyn: A deviant case or the beginning of something new?', in Rydgren, J. (ed.) *Movements of Exclusion: Radical Right-Wing Populism in the Western World*, New York: Nova Science Publishers, pp. 41-63.

Sartori, G. (1976) *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scarrow, S. E. (1996) 'Politicians against parties: Anti-party arguments as weapons for change in Germany', *European Journal of Political Research* 29, 3: 297-317.

Schedler, A. (1996) 'Anti-political-establishment parties', *Party Politics* 2, 3: 291-312.

Schwedler, J. (2011) 'Can Islamists become moderates? Rethinking the inclusion-moderation hypothesis', *World*



Politics 63, 2: 347-376.

Schwedler, J. (2013) 'Islamists in power? Inclusion, moderation, and the Arab uprisings', Middle East Development Journal 5, 1: 1-18.

Schofield, N. and Sened, I. (2006) *Multiparty Democracy: Parties, Elections and Legislative Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schumacher, G., de Vries, C. and Vis, B. (2013) 'Why political parties change their position: environmental incentives and party organization', Journal of Politics 75, 2: 464-477.

Sened, I. (1996) 'A model of coalition formation', Journal of Politics 58, 2: 350-372.

Sjöblom, G. (1968) *Party Strategies in Multiparty Systems*, Lund: Studentlitteratur Lund Sweden.

Smith, G. (1997) 'In search of small parties, problems of definition, classification, and significance', in Mueller-Rommel, F. and Pridham, G. (eds) *Small Parties in Western Europe. Comparative and National Perspectives*, London: Sage, pp. 23-40.

Somer, M. (2014) 'Moderation of religious and secular politics: A country's "centre" and democratization', Democratization 21, 2: 244-267.

Somer-Topcu, Z. (2009) 'Timely decisions: the effects of past national elections on party policy change', The Journal of Politics 71, 1: 238-248.

Strøm, K. (1990a) 'A behavioral theory of competitive political parties', American Journal of Political Science 34, 2: 565-598.

Strøm, K. (1990b) *Minority Government and Majority Rule*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strøm, K., Budge, I. and Laver, M. J. (1994) 'Constraints on cabinet formation in parliamentary democracies', American Journal of Political Science 38: 303-335.

Strøm, K. and Muller, W. C. (eds) (1999) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tepe, S. (2012) 'Electoral constraints, ideological commitments, and the democratic capacities of religious parties in Israel and Turkey', *Political Research Quarterly* 65, 3: 467-485.

Valen, H. and Narud, H. (2007) 'The conditional party mandate: A model for the study of mass and elite opinion patterns', *European Journal of Political Research* 46, 3: 293- 318.

Van der Brug, W. (2003) 'How the LPF fuelled discontent: Empirical tests of explanations of LPF support', *Acta Politica* 38, 1: 89-106.

Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M. and Tillie, J. (2000) 'Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote?', *European Journal of Political Research* 37, 1: 77-102.

Van Heerden, S. C. (2014) "What did you just call me? A study on the demonization of political parties in the Netherlands between 1995 and 2011", Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam.

Van Kersbergen, K. and Krouwel, A. (2008) 'A double-edged sword! The Dutch centre-right and the "foreigners issue"', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, 3: 398-414.

Van Praag, P. (2003) 'The winners and losers in a turbulent political year', *Acta Politica* 38, 1: 5-22.

Van Spanje, J. (2010) 'Contagious parties: Anti-immigration parties and their impact on other parties' immigration stances in contemporary Western Europe', *Party Politics* 16, 5: 563-586.

Van Spanje, J. (2011a) 'Keeping the rascals in: Anti-political-establishment parties and their cost of governing in established democracies', *European Journal of Political Research* 50, 5: 609-635.

Van Spanje, J. (2011b) 'The wrong and the right: A comparative analysis of "anti-immigration" and "far right" parties', *Government and Opposition* 46, 3: 293-320.

Van Spanje, J. and van der Brug, W. (2007) 'The party as pariah: The exclusion of antiimmigration parties and its effect on their ideological positions', *West European Politics* 30, 5: 1022-1040.

Vrij Nederland (11-11-2013) 'De nieuwe extreme-rechtse vrienden van Wilders', [www.](#)

Vrij Nederland (21-05-2014) 'Hoe Wilders over zijn eigen grens ging', [www.vn.nl/](#)

Wagner, M. (2012) 'Defining and measuring niche parties', *Party Politics* 18, 6: 845-864.

Walgrave, S. and van Aelst, P. (2006) 'The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: Toward a preliminary theory', *Journal of Communication* 56, 1: 88-109.

Zaslove, A. (2011) 'The populist radical right in government: The structure and agency of success and failure', *Comparative European Politics* 10, 4: 421-448.

Zúquete, J. P. (2008) 'The European extreme-right and Islam: New directions?', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13, 3: 321-344.

## 2 2. Into the mainstream? A comparative analysis of the programmatic profiles of radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe over time

Abedi, A. (2004) *Anti-Political Establishment Parties: A Comparative Analysis*, New York: Routledge.

Akkerman, T. (2012) 'Comparing radical right parties in government: Immigration and integration policies in nine countries (1996-2010)', *West European Politics* 35, 3: 511-529.

Akkerman, T. (2015) 'Immigration policy and electoral competition in Western Europe. A fine-grained analysis of party positions over the past two decades', *Party Politics* 21, 1: 54-67.

Bakker, R., De Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly S., Marks, M., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. and Vachudova, M. (forthcoming) 'Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey trend file, 1999-2010', *Party Politics*.

Bauböck, R., Ersbøll, E., Groenendijk, K. and Waldrauch, H. (eds) (2006) *Acquisition and Loss of Nationality. Policies and Trends in 15 European States*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bauböck, R. and Joppke, C. (eds) (2010) 'How liberal are citizenship tests?', EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2010/41. San Domenico di Fiesole: European University Institute.

Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2006) *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*, London: Routledge.

Betz, H.-G. (1993) 'The two faces of radical right-wing populism in Western Europe', *The Review of Politics* 55, 4: 663-686.

Betz, H.-G. (1994) *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Betz, H.-G. and Meret, S. (2009) 'Revisiting Lepanto: the political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe', *Patterns of Prejudice* 43, 3-4: 313-343.

Budge, I. (2001) 'Validating party policy placements', *British Journal of Political Research* 31, 1: 179-223.

- Castles, F. G. and Mair, P. (1984) 'Left-right political scales: Some "expert" judgements', *European Journal of Political Research* 12, 1: 73-88.
- Deegan-Krause, K. and Haughton, T. (2009) 'Toward a more useful conceptualization of populism: Types and degrees of populist appeals in the case of Slovakia', *Politics & Policy* 37, 4: 821-841.
- De Lange, S. L. (2007) 'A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right', *Party Politics* 13, 4: 411-435.
- Gabel, M. J. and Huber, J. (2000) 'Putting parties in their place: Inferring party left-right ideological positions from party manifestos data', *American Journal of Political Science* 44, 1: 94-103.
- Goodman, S. W. (2010) 'Integration requirements for integration's sake? Identifying, categorising and comparing civic integration policies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, 5: 753-772.
- Hawkins, K. A. (2010) *Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hooghe, L., Bakker, R., Brigeovich, A., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Marks, G. and Vachudova, M. (2010) 'Reliability and validity of the 2002 and 2006 Chapel Hill expert surveys on party positioning', *European Journal of Political Research* 49, 5: 687-703.
- Howard, M. M. (2010) 'The impact of the far right on citizenship policy in Europe: Explaining continuity and change', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36: 5.
- Huber, J. and Inglehart, R. (1995) 'Expert interpretations of party space and party locations in 42 societies', *Party Politics* 1, 1: 73-111.
- Jacobs, D. and Rea, A. (2007) 'The end of national models? Integration courses and citizenship trajectories in Europe', *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 9, 2: 264-283.
- Joppke, C. and Morawska, E. (eds) (2003) *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Klemmensen, R., Hobolt, S. B. and Hansen, M. E. (2007) 'Estimating policy positions using political texts: An evaluation of the Wordscores approach', *Electoral Studies* 26, 4: 746-755.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S. and Frey, T. (2006) 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared', *European Journal of Political Research* 45, 6: 921-956.
- Laver, M. (ed.) (2001) *Estimating the Policy Positions of Political Actors*, London: Routledge.
- Laver, M. and Garry, J. (2000) 'Estimating policy positions from political texts', *American Journal of Political Science* 44, 3: 619-634.
- Laver, M. and Hunt, W. B. (1992) *Policy and Party Competition*, New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.
- Lubbers, M. (2000) *Expert Judgement Survey of West European Political Parties*, Amsterdam: Steinmetz Archive.
- Mair, P. (2001) 'Searching for the positions of political actors: A review of approaches and a critical evaluation of expert surveys', in Laver, M. (ed.) *Estimating the Policy Position of Political Actors*, London: Routledge.
- Meguid, B. (2005) 'Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success', *American Political Science Review* 99, 3: 435-452
- Meguid, B. (2008) *Party Competition Between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, T. M. and Miller, B. (2015). 'The niche party concept and its measurement', *Party Politics* 21, 2: 259-271.
- Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Odmalm, P. (2007) 'One size fits all? European citizenship, national citizenship policies and integration requirements', *Representation* 43, 1: 19-34.
- Pauwels, T. (2011) 'Measuring populism: A quantitative text analysis of party literature in Belgium', *Journal of*

Elections, *Public Opinion & Parties* 21, 1: 97-119.

Pellikaan, H., de Lange, S. L. and van der Meer, T. (2003) 'The road from a depoliticized to a centrifugal democracy', *Acta Politica* 38, 1: 23-49.

Pellikaan, H., de Lange, S. L. and van der Meer, T. (2007) 'Fortuyn's legacy: Party system change in the Netherlands', *Comparative European Politics* 5, 3: 282-302.

Pennings, P. and Keman, H. (2002) 'Towards a new methodology of estimating party policy positions', *Quality and Quantity* 36, 1: 55-79.

Petry, F. and Landry, R. (2001) 'Estimating interparty policy distances from election programmes in Quebec, 1970-1989', in Laver, M. (ed.) *Estimating the Policy Positions of Political Actors*, London: Routledge, pp. 133-146.

Protsyk, O. and Garaz, S. (2013) 'Politicization of ethnicity in party manifestos', *Party Politics* 19, 2: 296-318.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L. and van der Brug, W. (2014) 'A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe', *Party Politics* 20, 4: 563-575.

Rooduijn, M. and Pauwels, T. (2011) 'Measuring populism: Comparing two methods of content analysis', *West European Politics* 34, 6: 1272-1283.

Schedler, A. (1996) 'Anti-political-establishment parties', *Party Politics* 2, 3: 291-312.

Steenbergen, M. and Marks, G. (2007) 'Evaluating expert judgments', *European Journal of Political Research* 46, 3: 347-366.

Vink, M. (2010) 'Citizenship attribution in Western Europe: International framework and domestic trends', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, 5: 713-734.

Volkens, A. (2007) 'Strengths and weaknesses of approaches to measuring policy positions of parties', *Electoral Studies* 26, 1: 108-120.

Wagner, M. (2012) 'Defining and measuring niche parties', *Party Politics* 18, 6: 845-864.

Zúquete, J. P. (2008) 'The European extreme-right and Islam: New directions?', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13, 3: 321-344.



### 3 3. Closing the gap? A comparison of voters for radical right-wing populist parties and mainstream parties over time

Adorno, T. W. (1982) *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: W.W. Norton.

Akkerman, T. (2012) 'Comparing radical right parties in government: Immigration and integration policies in nine countries (1996-2010)', *West European Politics* 35, 3: 511-529.

Anderson, C. J. (1998) 'When in doubt, use proxies: attitudes toward domestic politics and support for European integration', *Comparative Political Studies* 31, 5: 569-601.

Arzheimer, K. (2009) 'Contextual factors and the extreme right vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002', *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 2: 259-275.

Arzheimer, K. and Carter, E. (2006) 'Political opportunity structures and right-wing extremist party success', *European Journal of Political Research* 45, 3: 419-443.

Bale, T. (2003) 'Cinderella and her ugly sisters: The mainstream and extreme right in Europe's bipolarising party systems', *West European Politics* 26, 3: 67-90.

Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Luther, K. R. and Sitter, N. (2010) 'If you can't beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe', *Political Studies* 58, 3: 410-426.

Barr, R. R. (2009) 'Populists, outsiders and anti-establishment politics', *Party Politics* 15, 1: 29-48.

Bélanger, E. and Aarts, K. (2006) 'Explaining the rise of the LPF: Issues, discontent, and the 2002 Dutch election', *Acta Politica* 41, 1: 4-20.

Bergh, J. (2004) 'Protest voting in Austria, Denmark, and Norway', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27, 4: 367 -389.

Berman, S. (2008) 'Taming extremist parties: Lessons from Europe', *Journal of Democracy* 19, 1: 5-18.

Betz, H.-G. (1994) *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Palgrave.

Brandenburg, H. and van Egmond, M. (2011) 'Pressed into party support? Media influence on partisan attitudes during the 2005 UK general election campaign', *British Journal of Political Science* 42, 2: 441-463.

Curran, G. (2004) 'Mainstreaming populist discourse: The race-conscious legacy of neo-populist parties in Australia and Italy', *Patterns of Prejudice* 38, 1: 37-55.

Dalton, R. J., Beck, P. A. and Huckfeldt, R. (1998) 'Partisan cues and the media: Information flows in the 1992 presidential elections', *The American Political Science Review* 92, 1: 111-126.

De Vreese, C. H. and Boomgaarden, H. G. (2006) 'Media message flows and interpersonal communication: The conditional nature of effects on public opinion', *Communication Research* 33, 1: 19-37.

Dunn, K. (forthcoming) 'Preference for radical right-wing populist parties among exclusive-nationalists and authoritarians', *Party Politics*, doi: 10.1177/1354068812472587.

Immerzeel, T., Lubbers, M. and Coffe, H. (2015) 'Competing with the radical right: Distances between the European radical right and other parties on typical radical right issues', *Party Politics*, doi: 10.1177/1354068814567975.

Ivansflaten, E. (2008) 'What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe?' *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 1: 3-23.

Kitschelt, H. P. and McGann, A. (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Knigge, P. (1998) 'The ecological correlates of right-wing extremism in Western Europe', *European Journal of Political Research* 34, 2: 249-279.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S. and Frey, T. (2006) 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared', *European Journal of Political Research* 45, 6: 921-956.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M. and Bornschier, S. (2008) *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lubbers, M., Gijsberts, M. and Scheepers, P. (2002) 'Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe', *European Journal of Political Research* 41, 3: 345-378.
- Lubbers, M. and Scheepers, P. (2007) 'Euro-scepticism and extreme voting patterns in Europe: Social cleavages and socio-political attitudes determining voting for the far left, the far right, and non-voting', in Loosveldt, G., Swyngedouw, M. and Cambré, B. (eds) *Measuring Meaningful Data in Social Research*, Leuven: Acco, pp. 71-92.
- Lupia, A. and McCubbins, M. D. (1998) *The Democratic Dilemma. Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mair, P. (2002) 'Populist democracy vs party democracy', in Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (eds) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 81-98.
- Mayer, N. and Perrineau, P. (1992) 'Why do they vote for Le Pen?', *European Journal of Political Research* 22, 1: 123-141.
- Mudde, C. (2004) 'The populist zeitgeist', *Government and Opposition* 39, 3: 541-563.
- Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (1999) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2005) *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ray, L. (2003) 'When parties matter: The conditional influence of party positions on voter opinion about European integration', *Journal of Politics* 56, 4: 978-994.
- Rydgren, J. (2005) 'Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family', *European Journal of Political Research* 44, 3: 413-437.
- Rydgren, J. (2007) 'The sociology of the radical right', *Annual Review of Sociology* 33, 1: 241-262.
- Rydgren, J. (2013) *Class Politics and the Radical Right*, New York: Routledge.

Singh, S. P. and Roy, J. (2014) 'Political knowledge, the decision calculus, and proximity voting', *Electoral Studies* 34: 89-99.

Sniderman, P. M., Brody, R. A. and Tetlock, P. E. (1993) *Reasoning and Choice: Explorations in Political Psychology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spierings, N. and Zaslove, A. (2015) 'Conclusion: Dividing the populist radical right between "liberal nativism" and traditional conceptions of gender', *Patterns of Prejudice* 49, 1-2: 163-173.

Steenbergen, M. R., Edwards, E. E. and de Vries, C. E. (2007) 'Who's cueing whom? Mass-elite linkages and the future of European integration', *European Union Politics* 8, 1: 13-35.

Swyngedouw, M. (2001) 'The subjective cognitive and affective map of extreme right voters: Using open-ended questions in exit polls', *Electoral Studies* 20, 2: 217-241.

Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M. and Tillie, J. (2000) 'Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote?', *European Journal of Political Research* 37, 1: 77-102.

Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., De Lange, S. L. and Baller, I. (2013) 'Radical right parties: Their voters and their electoral competitors', in Rydgren, J. (ed.) *Class Politics and the Radical Right*, New York: Routledge, pp. 52-74.

Van Spanje, J. (2010) 'Contagious parties: Anti-immigration parties and their impact on other parties' immigration stances in contemporary Western Europe', *Party Politics* 16, 5: 563-586.

Werts, H., Scheepers, P. and Lubbers, M. (2013) 'Euro-scepticism and radical rightwing voting in Europe, 2002-2008: Social cleavages, socio-political attitudes and contextual characteristics determining voting for the radical right', *European Union Politics* 14, 2: 183-205.

Zaller, J. (1992) *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zaller, J. (1996) 'The myth of massive media impact revived: New support for a discredited idea', in Mutz, D., Brody, R. and Sniderman, P. (eds) *Political Persuasion and*

Attitude Change, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 17-79.

Zhirkov, K. (2014) 'Nativist but not alienated: A comparative perspective on the radical right vote in Western Europe', *Party Politics* 20, 2: 286-296. This page intentionally left blank

#### 4 4. The mainstreaming of the Austrian Freedom Party: the more things change...

Akkerman, T. and de Lange, S. L. (2012) 'Radical right parties in office: Incumbency records and the electoral cost of governing', *Government and Opposition* 47, 4: 574-596.

Bakker, R., Jolly, S. and Polk, J. (2013) 'Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999-2010', *Party Politics* 23, 1: 43-152.

BZÖ (2006) 'Wahlprogramm', [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5237/42710\\_2006.pdf](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5237/42710_2006.pdf) (accessed 15-12-2015).

BZÖ (2008) 'Deinetwegen. Österreich. Das Wahlprogramm des BZÖ', [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5242/42710\\_2008.pdf](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5242/42710_2008.pdf) (accessed 15-12-2015).

Czernin, H. (2000) *Wofür ich mich meinetwegen entschuldige: Haider, beim Wort genommen*, Wien: Czernin Verlag.

Dachs, H. (2006) 'Parteiensysteme in den Bundesländern', in Dachs, H., Gerlich, P., Gottweis, H., Kramer, H., Lauber, V., Müller, W. C. and Tálos, E. (eds) *Politik in Österreich: Das Handbuch*, Wien: Manz, pp. 1008-1023.

Der Spiegel (2008) 'Der Wilde und der Milde', [www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-60403592.html](http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-60403592.html) (accessed 15-12-2015).

Der Standard (2012) 'Strache: "Bei Abwahl von Faymann wäre Zusammenarbeit mit SPÖ möglich"',

Der Standard (2014a) 'FPÖ würde bei Neuwahlen weit vorn liegen', <http://derstandard.at/2000002013315/FP0e-wuerde-bei-Neuwahlen-weit-vorn-liegen> (accessed 15-12-2015).

Der Standard (2014b) 'FPÖ-Spitze zwingt Mölzer zu völligem Rückzug', <http://d>

Die Presse (2013) 'Straches Wahlkampf mit Schalldämpfer', <http://diepresse.com/>

EurActiv (2014) 'Front National will europäische Rechtspartei gründen', [www.euractiv.com](http://www.euractiv.com/).

Fallend, F. (2001) 'Austria', *European Journal of Political*

Research Political Data Yearbook 40, 238-253.

Fallend, F. (2002) 'Austria', European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook 41, 906-914.

Fallend, F. (2007) 'Austria', European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook 46, 876-890.

Fallend, F. (2009) 'Austria', European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook 48, 884-902.

Fallend, F. (2010) 'Austria', European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook 49, 880-898.

Fallend, F. (2012) 'Populism in government: The case of Austria', in Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C. R. (eds) Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy? Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.113-135.

Fassmann, F. (2013) 'Migrationsund integrationspolitik', in Kriechbaumer, R. and Schausberger, F. (eds) Die Umstrittene Wende 2000-2006, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, pp. 695-712.

FPÖ (1994) 'Österreich-Erklärung', [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/4158/42420\\_1994.txt](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/4158/42420_1994.txt) (accessed 15-12-2015).

FPÖ (1997) 'Program of the Austrian Freedom Party', [www.fpoe.at/fileadmin/Contentpool/Portal/PDFs/Parteiprogramme/Parteiprogram\\_eng.pdf](http://www.fpoe.at/fileadmin/Contentpool/Portal/PDFs/Parteiprogramme/Parteiprogram_eng.pdf) (accessed 15-12-2015).

FPÖ (1999) 'Wahlprogramm', [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5244/42420\\_1999.pdf](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5244/42420_1999.pdf) (accessed 03-12-2015).

FPÖ (2006) 'Wahlprogramm der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs FPÖ: Nationalratswahl 2006',

FPÖ (2008) 'Österreich im Wort: Auswahl und Zusammenfassung inhaltlicher Ziele der freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs für die neue Legislaturperiode', WIR für EUCH Deshalb FPÖ - HC Strache, [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5243/42420\\_2008.pdf](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/5243/42420_2008.pdf) (accessed 15-12-2015).

FPÖ (2011) 'Parteiprogramm der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs (FPÖ): Österreich zuerst',

- Heinisch, R. (2002) *Populism, Proporz, Pariah: Austria Turns Right: Austrian Political Change, its Causes and Repercussions*, New York: Nova Science.
- Heinisch, R. (2003) 'Success in opposition - failure in government: Explaining the performance of right-wing populist parties in public office', *West European Politics* 26, 3: 91-130.
- Hinterseer, T. (2014) 'Sozialpartnerschaft m(M)acht Arbeitspolitik: wie institutionell bestimmtes Akteursverhalten am Beispiel der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Österreichs sowie des Gewerkschaftsbundes und der Arbeiterkammer den Einfluss der Sozialpartnerschaft auf arbeitspolitische Gesetzwerdungsprozesse (im Sinne der Guten Arbeit) bestimmt', unpublished PhD thesis at the University of Salzburg.
- Höbelt, L. (1999) *Von der vierten Partei zur dritten Kraft: Die Geschichte des VdU*, Graz: Leopold Stocker Verlag.
- Horaczek, N. and Reiterer, C. (2009) *HC Strache: Sein Aufstieg, seine Hintermänner, seine Feinde*, Wien: Wirtschaftsverlag Ueberreuter.
- Horner, F. (1997) 'Programme-ideologien: Dissens oder konsens', in Dachs, H., Gerlich, P. and Gottweis, H. (eds) *Handbuch des Politischen Systems Österreichs: Die Zweite Republik*, 3rd edn, Wien: Manz, 235-247.
- Jenny, M. (2011) 'Austria', *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook* 50, 901-912.
- Khol, A. (1996) 'Die FPÖ im Spannungsfeld von Ausgrenzung, Selbstaussgrenzung, Verfassungsbogen und Regierungsfähigkeit', in Khol, A., Ofner, G. and Stirnemann, A. (eds) *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Politik* 1995, Wien and München: Böhlau Verlag, 193-221.
- Kleine Zeitung (2013) 'Strache hält nur Zusammenarbeit mit SPÖ für umsetzbar', [www](http://www.kleinezeitung.at).
- Kurier (2011) 'FPÖ: Austritt statt Rausschmiss', <http://kurier.at/thema/eurokrise/fpoe-austritt-statt-rausschmiss/731.074>, accessed 13-15-2015.
- Kurier (2014) 'FPÖ, FN und CO: Ringen um eine neue Rechtsfraktion', <http://kurier.at>.
- Luif, P. (2006) 'Österreich und die Europäische Union', in



Dachs, H., Gerlich, P., Gottweis, H., Kramer, H., Lauber, V., Müller, W. C. and Tálos, E. (eds) *Politik in Österreich: Das Handbuch*, Wien: Manz, 862-883.

Luther, K. R. (1995) 'Zwischen unkritischer Selbstdarstellung und bedingungsloser externer Verurteilung: Nazivergangenheit, Anti-Semitismus und Holocaust im Schrifttum der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs', in Bergmann, W., Erb, R. and Lichtblau, A. (eds) *Schwieriges Erbe. Der Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus in Österreich, der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, pp. 138-167.

Luther, K. R. (1997) 'Die Freiheitlichen', in Dachs, H., Gerlich, P. and Gottweis, H. (eds) *Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreichs: Die zweite Republik*, 3rd edn, Wien: Manz, pp. 286-303.

Luther, K. R. (2003) 'The self-destruction of a right-wing populist party? The Austrian parliamentary election of 2002', *West European Politics* 26, 2: 136-152.

Luther, K. R. (2006a) 'Die Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs und das Bündnis Zukunft Österreich', in Dachs, H., Gerlich, P., Gottweis, H., Kramer, H., Lauber, V., Müller, W. C. and Tálos, E. (eds) *Politik in Österreich: Das Handbuch*, Wien: Manz, 364-388.

Luther, K. R. (2006b) 'Strategien und (Fehl-)Verhalten: Die Freiheitlichen und die Regierungen Schüssel I und II', in Tálos, E. (ed.) *Schwarz-blau: Eine Bilanz des "Neu-Regierens"*, Wien: Lit, pp. 19-37.

Luther, K. R. (2008) 'Electoral strategies and performance of Austrian right-wing populism, 1986-2006', in Bischof, G. and Plasser, F. (eds) *The Changing Austrian Voter: Contemporary Austrian Studies*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, pp. 101-122.

Luther, K. R. (2011) 'Of goals and own goals: A case study of right-wing populist party strategy for and during incumbency', *Party Politics* 17, 4: 453-470.

Minkenberg, M. (2001) 'The radical right in public office: Agenda-setting and policy effects', *West European Politics* 24, 4: 1-21.

Müller, W. and Fallend, F. (2004) 'Changing patterns of party competition in Austria: From multipolar to bipolar

system', West European Politics 27, 5: 801-835.

Müller, W. C. (2006) 'Der Bundespräsident', in Dachsbacher, H., Gerlich, P., Gottweis, H., Kramer, H., Lauber, V., Müller, W. C. and Tálos, E. (eds) Politik in Österreich: Das Handbuch, Wien: Manz, pp. 188-200.

News (2005) 'Strache verlangt EU-Austritt Österreichs: FPÖ-Obmann läuft Sturm gegen die Union',

ÖVP (1999) 'Wahlprogramm',  
[https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/4150/42520\\_1999.txt](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/uploads/attach/file/4150/42520_1999.txt) (accessed 3-12-2015).

Pallaver, G., Pig, C., Gruber, G. W. and Fliri, T. (2000) 'Wahlkampf in den Fernsehnachrichten. Eine Inhaltsanalyse der tagesaktuellen Berichterstattung', in Plasser, F., Ulram, P. A. and Sommer, F. F. (eds) Das österreichische Wahlverhalten, Wien: Signum Verlag, pp. 175-206.

Piringer, K. (2001) 'Chronologie der FPÖ-Entwicklung 1986 bis Jahresmitte 2000', in Höbelt, L. (ed.) Republik im Wandel. Die große Koalition und der Aufstieg der Haider-FPÖ, Munich: Universitas Munich, 356-459.

Plasser, F. and Ulram, P. A. (2000) 'Rechtspopulistische Resonanzen: Die Wählerschaft der FPÖ', in Plasser, F., Ulram, P. A. and Sommer, F. F. (eds) Das österreichische Wahlverhalten, Wien: Signum, 225-241.

Salzburger Nachrichten (2015) 'Strache möchte die FPÖ für Muslime öffnen', 12-12-2015, 2.

Schausberger, F. (2013) 'Barometer, Denkwort und Hausgemachtes', in Kriechbaumer, R. and Schausberger, F. (eds) Die umstrittene Wende 2000-2006, Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Schüssel, W. (2009) Offengelegt, Salzburg: Ecowin-Verlag.

Seiler, C. (2006) 'Jörg Haider: Im Gegenteil', Die Weltwoche, [www.weltwoche.ch/ausgaben/2006-02/artikel-2006-02-im-gegenteil.html](http://www.weltwoche.ch/ausgaben/2006-02/artikel-2006-02-im-gegenteil.html).

SORA/Institut für Strategieanalysen (2006) 'Wahlanalyse Nationalratswahl 2006', [www.sora.at/themen/wahlverhalten/wahlanalysen/nrw06.html](http://www.sora.at/themen/wahlverhalten/wahlanalysen/nrw06.html) (accessed 02-12-2015).

SORA/Institut für Strategieanalysen (2008) 'Wahlanalyse Nationalratswahl 2008', [www.sora.at](http://www.sora.at).

at/fileadmin/downloads/wahlen/2008\_nrw\_wahlanalyse.pdf  
(accessed 07-07-2014).

SORA/Institut für Strategieanalysen (2013) 'Wahlanalyse  
Nationalratswahl 2013', www.  
sora.at/themen/wahlverhalten/wahlanalysen/nrw13.html  
(accessed 06-07-2014).

Taggart, P. and Szczesniak, A. (2004) 'Contemporary  
Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union  
Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe', *European  
Journal of Political Research* 43, 1: 1-27.

Williams, M. H. (2013) 'Tipping the balance scale?  
Rightward momentum, party agency and Austrian party  
politics', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21, 1:  
68-86.

Zöchling, C. (1999) *Haider: Licht und Schatten einer  
Karriere*, Wien: Molden.

## 5 5. The Danish People's Party: combining cooperation and radical positions

Akkerman, T. (2012) 'Comparing radical right parties in government: Immigration and integration policies in nine countries (1996-2010)', *West European Politics* 35, 3: 511-529.

Andersen, J. G. (2003) 'Vælgernes nye politiske dagsorden', in Andersen, J. G. and Borre, O. (eds) *Politisk Forandring. Værdipolitik og Nye Skillelinjer ved Folketingsvalget 2001*, Århus: Systime, pp. 135-149.

Andersen, J. G. (2007) 'Samfundskonflikter, partier i bevægelse og vælgere med omtanke: Rids af en teoretisk ramme', in Andersen, J. G., Andersen, J., Borre, O., Møller Hansen, K. and Nielsen, H. J. (eds) *Det Nye Politiske Landskab. Folketingsvalget 2005 i Perspektiv*, Århus: Academica, pp. 11-55.

Bale, T. and Bergman, T. (2006) 'Captives no longer, but servants still? Contract parliamentarism and the new minority governance in Sweden and New Zealand', *Government and Opposition* 41, 3: 422-449.

Becher, M. and Christiansen, F. J. (forthcoming) 'Early elections and legislative bargaining in a parliamentary democracy', *American Journal of Political Science*.

Berlingske Tidende (04-10-1999) 'Ro i den rød-hvide lejr'.

Berlingske Tidende (27-05-2000) 'Medlemsflugt fra Pia'.

Berlingske Tidende (02-08-2003) 'Sommergruppemøde: DF: Vi har maksimal indflydelse'.

Berlingske Tidende (06-09-2010) 'Løkke holder døren for DF lukket'.

Bille, L. (1989) 'Denmark: The oscillating party system', *West European Politics* 12, 4: 42-58.

Bille, L. (1998) *Dansk Partipolitik 1987-1998*, København: Juristog Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Bille, L. (2001) *Fra Valgkamp til Valgkamp: Dansk Partipolitik 1998-2001*, København: Juristog Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Bille, L. (2006) *Det Nye Flertal: Dansk Partipolitik*

2001-2005, København: Juristog Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Borre, O. (2003) 'To konfliktdimensioner', in Andersen, J. G. and Borre, O. (eds) Politisk Forandring: Værdipolitik og Nye Skillelinjer ved Folketingsvalget 2001, Århus: Systime, pp. 171-186.

Christiansen, F. J. (2012) 'Raising the stakes: Passing state budgets in Scandinavia', World Political Science Review 8, 1: 184-200.

Christiansen, F. J. and Pedersen, H. H. (2014) 'Minority coalition governance in Denmark', Party Politics, 20, 6: 940-949.

Christiansen, F. J. and Pedersen, R. B. (2012) 'The impact of EU in a minority system: The case of Denmark', Scandinavian Political Studies 35, 3: 179-197.

Christiansen, F. J., Nielsen, R. L. and Pedersen, R. B. (2014) 'Friendship, courtesy and engagement: Pre-electoral coalition dynamics in action', Journal of Legislative Studies 20, 4: 413-429.

Damgaard, E. (2000) 'Denmark: The life and death of government coalitions', in Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (eds) Coalition Governments in Western Europe, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 231-264.

Dansk Folkeparti (1997) 'Principprogram', København: Dansk Folkeparti.

Dansk Folkeparti (2001) 'Fælles værdier - fælles ansvar. Arbejdsprogram for Dansk Folkeparti', København: Dansk Folkeparti.

Dansk Folkeparty (2002) 'Principprogram', København: Dansk Folkeparti.

Dansk Folkeparti (2009) 'Dansk Folkepartis arbejdsprogram', København: Dansk Folkeparti.

Dansk Folkeparti (2014) 'Årsmødeberetning 2014. Dansk Folkepartis 19. Årsmøde',

De Lange, S. L. (2007) 'A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right', Party Politics 13, 4: 411-435.

Dr.dk (06-08-2014) 'Dansk Folkeparti har fire krav for at gå

i regering', [www.dr.dk/  
Nyheder/Politik/2014/08/06/090043.htm](http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Politik/2014/08/06/090043.htm).

Dr.dk (05-04-2015) 'DF foreslår markant stramning af regler for familiesammenføring', [www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Politik/2015/04/04/04222147.htm](http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Politik/2015/04/04/04222147.htm).

Dr.dk (02-05-2015) 'Thulesen Dahl: Jeg ligger til venstre for Helle Thorning', [www.dr.  
dk/nyheder/politik/2015/05/01/211314.htm](http://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/2015/05/01/211314.htm).

Fyens Stiftstidende (24-06-2014) 'Klap i eller skrup af '.

Green-Pedersen, Ch. (2001) 'Minority government and party politics: The political and institutional background to the "Danish miracle", *Journal of Public Policy* 21, 1: 53-70.

Green-Pedersen, Ch. and Krogstrup, J. (2008) 'Immigration as a political issue in Denmark and Sweden', *European Journal of Political Research* 47, 5: 610-634.

Jyllandsposten (03-10-1999) 'Dansk Folkeparti vil med i finanslovsforliget'.

Jyllandsposten (07-10-2014) 'Politisk overblik. Sådan forholder partierne sig til de temaer, som vil præge de kommende måneders valgkamp'.

Jyllandsposten (30-05-2015) 'SF og DF indgår alliance om dagpenge'.

Kjærsgaard, P. (2005) De har deres på det tørre, [http://danskfolkeparti.dk/Pia\\_Kj%C3](http://danskfolkeparti.dk/Pia_Kj%C3)

Klitgaard, M. B. and Nørgaard, A. S. (2014) 'Structural stress or deliberate decision? Government partisanship and the disempowerment of unions in Denmark', *European Journal of Political Research* 53, 2: 404-421.

Kosiara-Pedersen, K. (2006) *Driving a Populist Party: The Danish People's Party*, København: Institut for Statskundskab.

Kurrild-Klitgaard, P. (2011) 'Kontraktpolitik, kulturkamp og ideologi 2001-2011', *Økonomi og Politik* 84, 3: 47-62.

Nielsen, H. J. (2003) 'Indvandrere og indvandringspolitik', in Andersen, J. G. and Borre, O. (eds) *Politisk Forandring: Værdipolitik og Nye Skillelinjer ved Folketingsvalget 2001*, Århus: Systime, pp. 324-345.

- Politiken (18-09-1994) 'Partiet, der kom ind i varmen - næsten'.
- Politiken (04-09-2010) 'Pia K.: Løkke skal sige ja til DF i regering'.
- Politiken (11-06-2014) 'Måling: Thorning og Løkke halter bagefter på troværdigheden'.
- Politiken (31-05-2015) 'Hvis Løkke står fast på velfærd og EU, vil Thulesen være en fri fugl'.
- Politiko (03-12-2010) 'Langballe dømt for racisme'.
- Politiko (24-05-2014) 'SF-formand klar til samarbejde med Dansk Folkeparti'.
- Politiko (28-10-2014) 'Her er 30 af Camres mest ekstreme udtalelser'.
- Ringsmose, J. (2003) *Kedeligt Har det i Hvert Fald ikke Været: Fremskridtspartiet 1989-1995*, Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag.
- Rydgren, J. (2004) 'Explaining the emergence of radical right wing populist parties. The case of Denmark', *West European Politics* 27, 3: 474-502.
- Schumacher, G. and van Kersbergen, K. (forthcoming) 'Do mainstream parties adapt to the welfare chauvinism of populist parties', *Party Politics*.
- Statsministeriet (1999) 'Statsminister Poul Nyrup Rasmussens replik ved åbningsdebatten i Folketinget 7. oktober 1999', [www.stm.dk/\\_p\\_7628.html](http://www.stm.dk/_p_7628.html).
- Stubager, R. and Møller Hansen, K. (2013) 'Social baggrund og partivalg', in Stubager, R., Møller Hansen, K. and Andersen, J. G. (eds) *Krisevalg: Økonomien og Folketingsvalget 2011*, København: Juristog Økonomforbundets Forlag, pp. 61-88.
- Stubager, R., Møller Hansen, K. and Andersen, J. G. (2013) 'It's the economy, stupid!', in Stubager, R., Møller Hansen, K. and Andersen, J. G. (eds) *Krisevalg: Økonomien og Folketingsvalget 2011*, København: Juristog Økonomforbundets Forlag, pp. 15-44.
- Van der Brugge, J. and Voss, H. (2003) 'Mediernes

dagsorden', in Andersen, J. O. and Borre, O. (eds) Politisk Forandring: Værdipolitik og Nye Skillelinjer ved Folketingsvalget 2001, Århus: Systime, pp. 119-134.

Weekendavisen (08-05-2015) 'En håndsrækning til muslimerne'.



## 6 6. From the mainstream to the margin? The radicalisation of the True Finns

Albertazzi, D. (2008) 'Switzerland: Yet another populist paradise', in Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (eds) *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 100-119.

Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arter, D. (2006) *Democracy in Scandinavia: Consensual, Majoritarian or Mixed?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Arter, D. (2010) 'The breakthrough of another West European populist radical right party? The case of the True Finns', *Government and Opposition* 45, 4: 484-504.

Arter, D. (2012) 'Analysing "successor parties": The case of the True Finns', *West European Politics* 35, 4: 803-825.

Asiakattaus (20-06-2015) 'Europolitikko vertasi Soinia Draculaan - näin vastaa perussuomalaiset',

Bakker, R., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. and Vachudova, M. (2015) 'Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999-2010', *Party Politics* 21, 143-152.

Borg, Sami (ed.) (2012) *Muutosvaalit 2011*, Helsinki: Oikeusministeriö.

Borg, Sami (ed.) (2013) *Demokratiaindikaattorit 2013*, Helsinki: Oikeusministeriö.

Canovan, M. (1999) 'Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy', *Political Studies* 47, 1: 2-16.

Dagens Nyheter (09-04-2011) 'EU kris gynnar finska högerpopulister', [www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/eu-kris-gynnar-finska-hogerpopulister/gerpopulister](http://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/eu-kris-gynnar-finska-hogerpopulister/gerpopulister) (accessed 18-06-2015).

De Lange, S. L. (2007) 'A new winning formula?' , *Party Politics* 13: 411-435.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2009)  
European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey - Main  
Results Report,  
[http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/663-FRA-2011\\_EU\\_MIDIS\\_EN.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/663-FRA-2011_EU_MIDIS_EN.pdf) (accessed 20-06-2015).

Ellinas, A. A. (2010) *The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe: Playing the Nationalist Card*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Financial Times (17-06-2015) 'Sick Finland ready for austerity medicine, says Alexander Stubb',

Förbom, J. (2010) *Hallan vaara - merkintöjä maahanmuuton puhetavoista*, Helsinki: Into Kustannus.

Fryklund, B. and Peterson, T. (1981) 'Populism och Missnöjespartier i Norden: Studier av Småborgerlig Klassaktivitet', Doctoral dissertation, University Lund.

Gates of Vienna, <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.se/> (accessed 20-06-2015).

Grönlund, K. and Westinen, J. (2012) 'Puoluevalinta', in Borg, S. (ed.) *Muutosvaalit 2011*, Helsinki: Oikeusministeriö (Ministry of Justice), pp. 156-188.

Hänninen, J. and Hänninen, J. (2010) *Tuhansien Aatteiden Maa. Ääriajattelua Nyky-Suomessa*, Helsinki: WSOY.

Hannula, M. (2011) *Maassa Maan Tavalla Maahanmuuttokritiikin Lyhyt Historia*, Helsinki: Otava.

Heinisch, R. (2003) 'Success in opposition, failure in government: Explaining the performance of right-wing populist parties in public office'. *West European Politics* 26, 3: 91-130.

Helander, V. (ed.) (1971) *Vennamolaisuus PJjoukkoliikkeenä*, Hämeenlinna: Karisto Publishers.

Helander, V. (1971) 'Populismi ja populistiset liikkeet', in Helander, V. (ed.) *Vennamolaisuus Populistisena Joukkoliikkeenä*, Hämeenlinna: Karisto Publishers, pp. 12-22.

Helsingin Sanomat (21-08-2011) 'Perussuomalaiset otti käyttöön englanninkielisen nimi', Helsinki.

Helsingin Sanomat (27-05-2015) 'Hallitus hautaa Lex

Vennamon - varautuuko Soini perussuomalaisten ryhmän hajoomiseen?', [www.hs.fi/politiikka/a1432700856911](http://www.hs.fi/politiikka/a1432700856911) (accessed 03-06-2015).

Helsingin Sanomat (18-06-2015) 'HS-raportti: Näin syntyi Sipilän hallitus', [www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1434514982708](http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1434514982708) (accessed 18-06-2015).

Hufvudstadsbladet (17-02-2009) 'Soini: Rasistdömda sparkas ur partiet', <http://hbl.fi/nyheter/2009-02-17/soini-rasistdomda-sparkas-ur-partiet>.

Hufvudstadsbladet (08-06-2012) 'Soini: Sannfinländarna behandlar inte Halla-ahos dom',

Iltasanomat (11-06-2012) 'Jussi Halla-aho vähättelee KK0: n tuomiota', [www.iltasanomata.fi/kotimaa/art-1288476028993.html](http://www.iltasanomata.fi/kotimaa/art-1288476028993.html) (accessed 29-09-2013).

Interview with Marja-Leena Leppänen, Administrative secretary at the PS party office, 2013.

Ivarsflaten, E. (2006) 'Reputational shields: Why most anti-immigrant parties failed in Western Europe, 1980-2005', Paper presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia.

Jungar, A.-C. (2002) 'A case of surplus majority government: The Finnish rainbow coalition', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 25: 57-83.

Jungar, A.-C. (2015) 'Agrarian populism in Finland', in Strijker, D., Voerman, G. and Terlin, I. (eds) *Rural Protest Groups and Populist Parties*, Wageningen: Academic Publishers.

Jungar, A.-C. and Jupskås, A. (2014) 'Populist radical right parties in the Nordic region: A new and distinct party family?', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 37, 3: 215-238.

Kitschelt, H. (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Kitschelt, H. (2007) 'Growth and persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: Advances and challenges in comparative research', *West European Politics* 30, 5: 1176-1206.

Koivulaakso, D., Brunila, M. and Andersson, L. (2012) *Äärioikeisto Suomessa*, Helsinki: Into.

Laver, M. and Schofield, N. (1991) *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lydén, M. (2012) *Jag är inte Rasist: Jag vill bara ha Främlingsfientliga Röster*, Helsingfors: Schildt and Söderströms

Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (eds) (2002) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

'Nuiva Manifesti Maahanmuuttokriittinen manifesti' (2010) [www.vaalimanifesti.fi](http://www.vaalimanifesti.fi) (accessed 18-06-2015).

Nurmi, H. and Nurmi, L. (2012) 'The parliamentary election in Finland, April 2011', in *Electoral Studies* 31, 1: 234-238.

Pekonen, K. (ed.) (1999) *The New Radical Right in Finland*, Helsinki: The Finnish Political Science Association.

Pernaa, V. and Railo, E. (2012) *Jytky Eduskuntavaalien 2011 mediajulkisuus*, Turku: Kirja Aurora Turun yliopisto.

Perussuomalainen (2010-2011) (party journal).

Perussuomalaiset (1995) 'Perussuomalaisen puolieen erityisohjelma: Olen perussuomalainen' (party programme).

Perussuomalaiset (2003) 'Perussuomalaisten eduskuntavaaliohjelma 2003: Uusi suunta Suomelle - korjauksia epäkohtiin' (electoral manifesto).

Perussuomalaiset (2007) 'Oikeudenmukaisuuden, hyvinvoinnin ja kansanvallan puolesta. Eduskuntavaaliohjelma 2007' (electoral manifesto).

Perussuomalaiset (2011) 'Suomalaiselle sopivin Perussuomalaiset r.p:n eduskuntavaaliohjelma'. [www.perussuomalaiset.fi/getfile.php?file=1536](http://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/getfile.php?file=1536) (electoralmanifesto) (accessed 13-04-2015).

Perussuomalaiset (2014) 'Perussuomalaisten EU-vaaliohjelma' (EU electoral manifesto).

- Raittila, P. (2009) Journalismin maahanmuuttokeskustelu: hymistelyä, kriittisyyttä vai rasismin tukemista?
- Raunio, T. (2008) 'The difficult task of opposing Europe: The Finnish party politics of Euroscepticism', in Szczerbiak, A. and Taggart, P. (eds) *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism: Volume 1, Case Studies and Country Surveys*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 168-180.
- Salminen, S. (2015) *Maahanmuutot ja Suomen Julkisen Talouden Tulot ja Menot*, Helsinki: Suomen Perusta.
- Sänkiäho, R. (1971) 'Populismi ja populistiset liikkeet', in Helander, V. (ed.) *Vennamolaisuus populistisena joukkoliikkeenä*, Hämeenlinna: Karisto Publishers.
- Sarastus (n.d.) <http://sarastuslehti.com> (accessed 20-06-2015).
- Scripta (n.d.) Kirjoituksia uppoavasta lännestä , [www.halla-aho.com/scripta/](http://www.halla-aho.com/scripta/) (accessed 04-11-2011).
- Sjöblom, G. (1968) 'Party strategies in a multiparty system', Doctoral Thesis: University Lund.
- Soini, T. (1988) 'Populismi - politiikka ja poltinmerkki SMP:n roolinmuutos', Master Thesis: Helsinki University.
- Soini, T. (2014) *Peruspomo*, Helsinki: WSOY.
- Stanley, B. (2008) 'The thin ideology of populism', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13: 95-110.
- Suomen Kuvalehti (08-04-2011) 'Timo Soini vaati kirjallisen sitoumuksen: Perussuomalaisten kansanedustajilla loikkauskielto',
- Suomen Kuvalehti (24-11-2011) 'Velto Virtanen syyttää Jussi Halla-ahoa', <http://>
- Suomen Kuvalehti (28-06-2013) 'Soini menisi hallitukseen keskustan ja Sdp:n kanssa',
- Suomen Sisu (n.d.) <http://suomensisu.fi/esittely/> (accessed 20-06-2015).
- Suomen Uutiset (17-04-2015) 'Maahanmuuttoseminaarissa vedottiin: "Älkää tehkö Ruotsin virheitä, älkää kulkeko

Ruotsin tietä”, [www.suomenuutiset.fi/maahanm](http://www.suomenuutiset.fi/maahanm)

Suomen Uutiset (27-05-2015) ‘Hallitukseen vai ei - tiedotustilaisuus’, [www.suomenuutiset.fi/hallitukseen-vai-ei-tiedotustilaisuus-klo-2100-alkaen/](http://www.suomenuutiset.fi/hallitukseen-vai-ei-tiedotustilaisuus-klo-2100-alkaen/) (Streamed press conference online) (accessed 27-05-2015).

Suomen Uutiset (15-06-2015) ‘Silloin oli savusauna ja neljä miestä, Nyt on neljä ministeriä’,

Suomen vaalitutkimusportaali (2011) ‘Puolueiden jäsensuorien kehitys (ilmoitetut jäsenrekisteritiedot’, [www.vaalitutkimus.fi/fi/kiinnittyminen/puolueiden\\_jasensuorien\\_kehitys.pdf](http://www.vaalitutkimus.fi/fi/kiinnittyminen/puolueiden_jasensuorien_kehitys.pdf) (accessed 06-06-2015).

SVT (28-04-2015) ‘Sannfinländarna är inte samma som Sverigedemokraterna’, [www.svt.se](http://www.svt.se).

Szczerbiak, A. and Taggart, P. (eds) (2008) *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tilastokeskus (2014) *Statistical Yearbook of Finland*, Helsinki: Statistics Finland.

Turun Sanomat (15-04-2013) ‘Eduskuntapuolueisiin kuuluu 300 000 suomalaista - vain pikkupuolueet kasvavat’, [www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/474016/Eduskuntapuolueisiin+kuuluu+300+000+suomalaista++vain+pikkupuolueet+kasvavat](http://www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/474016/Eduskuntapuolueisiin+kuuluu+300+000+suomalaista++vain+pikkupuolueet+kasvavat) (accessed 13-06-2015).

Turun Sanomat (04-10-2014) ‘Halla-aho: Apupuolueen asema hallituksessa olisi kuolinisku puolueelle’, [www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/713672/Hallaaho+Apupuolueen+asema+hallituksessa+olisi+kuolinisku+puolueelle](http://www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/713672/Hallaaho+Apupuolueen+asema+hallituksessa+olisi+kuolinisku+puolueelle) (accessed 23-05-2015).

Valtioneuvoston kanslia (22-06-2011) ‘Pääministeri Jyrki Kataisen hallitusohjelma’.

Valtioneuvoston kanslia (29-05-2015) ‘Valtioneuvoston tiedonanto eduskunnalle 29.5.2015 nimitetyn pääministeri Juha Sipilän hallituksen ohjelmasta’.

Vasabladet (22-05-2015) ‘Finland sänker flyktingkvoten’, <http://online.vasabladet.fi/Artikkel/Visa/67308> (accessed 30-06-2015).

Wall Street Journal (09-05-2011) ‘Why I don’t support Europe’s bailouts’, [www.wsj.com/artikkel](http://www.wsj.com/artikkel)

cles/SB10001424052748703864204576310851503980120 (accessed 23-26-2015).

Wiberg, M. (ed.) (2011) Populismi Kriittinen Arvio, Helsinki: Edita.

Yleisradio (19-04-2011) 'Perussuomalaisten puoluetuki pomsahti kattoon', <http://>

Yleisradio (24-04-2011) 'Puolueväki ei tiennyt perussuomalaisten säätiökikkailusta Säätiö oli melko varaton ennen huoneistokauppaa varten otettua miljoonalainaa',

Yleisradio (20-06-2011) 'Soini puuttui Hakkaraisen puheisiin', [http://yle.fi/uutiset/soini\\_puuttui\\_hakkaraisen\\_puheisiin/2549776](http://yle.fi/uutiset/soini_puuttui_hakkaraisen_puheisiin/2549776) (accessed 20-06-2015).

Yleisradio (04-10-2013) 'Soini on Hirvisaari: We've been trying to raise him like an unruly child',

Yleisradio (07-06-2015) 'Sannf sura över jämförelse mellan Soini och Dracula', <http://>

## 7 7. The Party for Freedom: balancing between mission, votes and office

Aalberts, C. and de Keijser, D. (2015) *De Puinhopen van Rechts. De Partijen van Pim, Geert, Rita en Hero*, Delft: Eburon.

Afonso, A. (2015) 'Choosing whom to betray: Populist right-wing parties, welfare state reforms and the trade-off between office and votes', *European Political Science Review* 7, 2: 271-292.

Akkerman, T. (2012) 'Comparing radical right parties in government: Immigration and integration policies in nine countries (1996-2010)', *West European Politics* 35, 3: 511-529.

Bakker, P. and Vasterman, P. L. M. (2013) 'Wilders en de media', *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschappen* 41, 1: 82-98.

Bakker, R., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, M., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. and Vachudova, M. (forthcoming) 'Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999-2010', *Party Politics*.

Bos, L. and van der Brug, W. (2010) 'Public images of leaders of anti-immigration parties: Perceptions of legitimacy and effectiveness', *Party Politics* 16, 6: 777-799.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W. and de Vreese, C. (2011) 'How the media shape perceptions of right-wing populist leaders', *Political Communication* 28, 2: 182-206

De Haan, Y., Groenhart, H., Hietbrink, N., Bakker, P. and van Liempt, A. (2014) 'Geven, nemen en keiharde voorwaarden. Onderhandelingen tussen politici en journalisten', in van Praag, Ph. and Brants, K. (eds) *Media, Macht & Politiek*, Diemen: AMB, pp. 45-65.

De Lange, S. L. (2007). 'A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right', *Party Politics* 13, 4: 411-435.

De Lange, S. L. and Art, D. (2011) 'Fortuyn versus Wilders: An agency-based approach to radical right party building', *West European Politics* 34, 6: 1229-1249.



De Telegraaf (26-11-2011) 'Wilders: Nederland moet Denemarken achterna', [www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/20829115/\\_\\_\\_Geert\\_Wilders\\_\\_Bagger\\_\\_html](http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/20829115/___Geert_Wilders__Bagger__html) (accessed 16-06-2015).

De Telegraaf (22-04-2014) 'PVV: 43% eens met minder Marokkanen', [www.telegraaf.nl](http://www.telegraaf.nl)

De Telegraaf (05-06-2014) 'Wilders vreest vervolging', [www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22703992/\\_\\_\\_Wilders\\_vreest\\_vervolging\\_\\_html](http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22703992/___Wilders_vreest_vervolging__html) (accessed 16-06-2015).

de Volkskrant (23-04-2010) 'Wilders: Niet voor Ali en Fatima', [www.volkskrant.nl/dos-sier-archieff/wilders-niet-voor-ali-en-fatima~a987038/](http://www.volkskrant.nl/dos-sier-archieff/wilders-niet-voor-ali-en-fatima~a987038/).

de Volkskrant (22-02-2014) 'Plots verzet in CDA velde Rutte I', [www.volkskrant.nl/](http://www.volkskrant.nl/)

de Volkskrant (15-04-2014) 'Oud-PVV'ers in Kamer kiezen voor rechtse koers'.

Fennema, M. (2011) *Geert Wilder Tvenaarsleerling*, Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Hernandez, M. (2012) *Geert Wilders Ontmaskerd. Van Messias tot Politieke Klaploper*, Soesterberg: Aspect.

Hooghe, L., Bakker, R., Brigevich, A., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Marks, G., Rovny, J. and Steenbergen, M. (2010) 'Reliability and validity of measuring party positions: The Chapel Hill expert surveys of 2002 and 2006', *European Journal of Political Research* 49: 684-703.

Ivarsflaten, E. (2006) 'Reputational shields: Why most anti-immigrant parties failed in Western Europe, 1980-2005', Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia.

Ivarsflaten, E. (2008) 'What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases', *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 1: 3-23.

Krouwel, A. and Lucardie, P. (2008) 'Waiting in the wings: New parties in the Netherlands', *Acta Politica* 43, 2: 278-307.

Kuitenbrouwer, J. (2012) *De Woorden van Wilders en Hoe Ze*

Werken, Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.

Lucardie, A. P. M. (2009) 'Rechts-extremisme, populisme of democratisch patriottisme? Opmerkingen over de politieke plaatsbepaling van de Partij voor de Vrijheid en Trots op Nederland', in Voerman, G. (ed.) Jaarboek 2007 Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen, Groningen: University of Groningen, pp. 176-190.

Lucardie, A. P. M. and Voerman, G. (2012) Populisten in de Polder, Amsterdam: Boom.

Nienhuis, A. (2010) 'Strafvervolging Wilders: Winst of Verlies? De Invloed van Strafvervolging Politicus voor zijn Uitspraken op Kiezers', Master Thesis, University of Amsterdam.

NOS Verkiezingsdebat (08-06-2010) 'Nederland kiest', [www.npo.nl/nos-verkiezing\\_sdebat/08-06-2010/10act0600natdeb](http://www.npo.nl/nos-verkiezing_sdebat/08-06-2010/10act0600natdeb) (accessed 16-06-2015).

NOS-lijsttrekkersdebat (22-08-2012) [http://nos.nl/video/409762-het-volledige-noslijst\\_trekkersdebat.html](http://nos.nl/video/409762-het-volledige-noslijst_trekkersdebat.html) (accessed 16-06-2015).

NOS (11-05-2014) 'Wilders', <http://nos.nl/video/646673-volledig-europagesprek-met-wilders.html> (accessed 16-06-2015).

NOS (26-11-2014) 'PVV: geen islam in Nederland', <http://nos.nl/artikel/2005845-pvv-geen-islam-in-nederland.html> (accessed 16-06-2015).

NPO (25-05-2014) 'Wilders Wereld', [www.npo.nl/wilders-wereld/25-05-2014/AT\\_2013146](http://www.npo.nl/wilders-wereld/25-05-2014/AT_2013146) (accessed 16-06-2015).

NRC (15-01-2005) 'Wilders snuift in VS conservatieve thema's op', [www.nrc.nl/ha](http://www.nrc.nl/ha)

NRC (13-11-2007) 'Extreem-rechts hielp partij Wilders', [www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2007/januari/13/extreem-rechts-hielp-wilders-11259075](http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2007/januari/13/extreem-rechts-hielp-wilders-11259075) (accessed 16-06-2015).

NRC (24-02-2007) 'Het koninkrijk van Allah zal er nooit komen', [www.nrc.nl/hande](http://www.nrc.nl/hande)

NRC (23-04-2010) 'PVV wil rechts cabinet gedogen', [www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/](http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/)

2010/april/23/pvv-wil-rechts-kabinet-gedogen-11880785  
(accessed 16-06-2015).

NRC (25-09-2010) 'Ik denk, dus ik ben PVV',  
[www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2010/sep-tember/25/ik-denk-dus-ik-ben-pvv-11947860](http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2010/sep-tember/25/ik-denk-dus-ik-ben-pvv-11947860) (accessed 16-06-2015).

NRC (14-09-2013) 'Mensen zien ons als een serieus alternatief ', [www.nrc.nl/handelsblad](http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad)

NRC (25-09-2013) 'Wilders: kabinet, ga naar huis - harde aanvaring met Pechtold',

NRC (06-05-2014) 'Zuid-Hollands Statenlid is elfde PVV'er die uit de partij stapt',

NRC (28-02-2015) 'PVV-politica Marjolein Faber huurde bedrijf van haar zoon in',

Nu.nl (09-03-2014) 'De mooiste tijden voor de PVV liggen nog voor ons', [www.nu.nl/politiek/3721400/de-mooiste-tijden-pvv-liggen-nog-ons.html](http://www.nu.nl/politiek/3721400/de-mooiste-tijden-pvv-liggen-nog-ons.html) (accessed 16-06-2015).

Nu.nl (21-03-2014) 'Overzicht: vertrokken PVV'ers', [www.nu.nl/geert-wilders/3732850/overzicht-vertrokken-pvvers.html](http://www.nu.nl/geert-wilders/3732850/overzicht-vertrokken-pvvers.html) (accessed 16-06-2015).

Nu.nl (24-04-2014) 'Overzicht: vertrokken PVV'ers', [www.nu.nl/geert-wilders/3732850/overzicht-vertrokken-pvvers.html](http://www.nu.nl/geert-wilders/3732850/overzicht-vertrokken-pvvers.html) (accessed 21-10-2015).

Nu.nl (22-05-2014) 'Wilders liet Rutte-I vallen om gedoe in PVV', [www.nu.nl/politiek/3782877/wilders-liet-rutte-i-vallen-gedoe-in-pvv.html](http://www.nu.nl/politiek/3782877/wilders-liet-rutte-i-vallen-gedoe-in-pvv.html) (accessed 16-06-2015).

Otjes, S. P. (2012) 'Imitating the newcomer. How, when and why established political parties imitate the policy positions and issue attention of new political parties in the electoral and parliamentary arena: The case of the Netherlands', Doctoral Thesis, Leiden University.

Otjes, S. and Louwerse, T. (2013) 'Een bijzonder meerderheidskabinet? Parlementair gedrag tijdens het kabinet Rutte-I', *Res Publica* 55, 4: 459-480.

Partij voor de Vrijheid (2006) 'Een Nederland om weer trots

op te zijn', <http://irs.ub.rug.nl/dbi/4c750f6f78d2c>  
(accessed 16-06-2015).

Partij voor de Vrijheid (2010) 'De agenda van hoop en optimisme. Een tijd om te kiezen',  
<http://irs.ub.rug.nl/dbi/4c333c0b343fc> (accessed 16-06-2015).

Partij voor de Vrijheid (2012) 'Hûn Brussel, ons Nederland', <http://irs.ub.rug.nl/dbi/4ff53db3f079c>  
(accessed 16-06-2015).

Peilingwijzer (31-08-2013)  
<http://peilingwijzer.tomlouwerse.nl/search?updated-max=>

Peilingwijzer (10-12-2014)  
<http://peilingwijzer.tomlouwerse.nl/search?updated-max=2015-02-23T17:13:00%2B01:00&max-results=3> (accessed 16-16-2015).

Rooduijn, M. (2013) 'A populist Zeitgeist? The impact of populism on parties, media and the public in Western Europe'. PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam.

RTL4 Premiersdebat (26-08-2012) 'Het Premiersdebat',  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrYC8Gdc54M](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrYC8Gdc54M) (accessed 16-06-2015).

Scholten, O., Ruigrok, N., Krijt, M., Schaper, J. and Paanakker, H. (2008) *Fitna en de Media. Een Onderzoek naar Aandacht en Rolpatronen*, Amsterdam: Nederlandse Nieuwsmonitor.

SCP (2010) COB Kwartaalbericht 2010 (parts 1, 2 and 3),  
[www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle\\_publicaties/Publicaties\\_2010/COB\\_Kwartaalbericht\\_2010\\_1](http://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle_publicaties/Publicaties_2010/COB_Kwartaalbericht_2010_1);  
[www.scp.nl/Publicaties/](http://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/)

Trouw (26-03-2009) 'PVV loopt woedend weg uit crisisdebat',  
[www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/](http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/)

Trouw (08-01-2015) 'Ontevreden PVV'ers nemen toevlucht tot VNL'. [www.trouw.nl/](http://www.trouw.nl/)

Trouw (12-01-2015) 'PVV geïsoleerd in Kamer sinds Wilders' Marokkanen-speech', [www.trouw.nl/](http://www.trouw.nl/)

Trouw (29-01-2015) 'Hoofddoek mag soms toch van PVV',  
[www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/](http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/5009/)

Van der Brug, W. and van Spanje, J. (2009) 'Immigration,

Europe and the “new” cultural dimension’, *European Journal of Political Research* 48, 3: 309-334.

Van Heerden, S. (2014) ‘What did you just call me? A study on the demonization of political parties in the Netherlands between 1995 and 2011’, Dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Van Heerden, S. and Creusen, B. (2014) ‘Responding to the populist radical right: The Dutch case’, in Sandelind, C. (ed.) *European Populism and Winning the Immigration Debate*, Falun: Scandbook, pp. 179-213.

Van Heerden, S., de Lange, S. L., van der Brug, W. and Fennema, M. (2014) ‘The immigration and integration debate in the Netherlands: Discursive and programmatic reactions to the rise of anti-immigration parties’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40, 1: 119-136.

Van Holsteyn, J. J. (2007) ‘The Dutch parliamentary elections of 2006’, *West European Politics* 30, 5, 1139-1147.

Van Leeuwen, M. (2009) ‘Het hoofdzinnenbeleid van Wilders: Over de stijl van Geert Wilders en Ella Vogelaar’, *Tekst* 2, 6.

Van Spanje, J. and de Vreese, C. (2015) ‘The good, the bad and the voter: The impact of hate speech prosecution of a politician on electoral support for his party’, *Party Politics* 21, 1: 115-130.

Vossen, K. (2011) ‘Classifying Wilders: The ideological development of Geert Wilders and his Party for Freedom’, *Politics* 31, 3: 179-189.

Vossen, K. (2013) *Rondom Wilders: Portret van de PVV*, Amsterdam: Boom.

Vrij Nederland (21-05-2014) ‘Hoe Wilders over zijn eigen grens ging’, [www.vn.nl/](http://www.vn.nl/)

Zwart, J. (2009) ‘“Fitna Was een Splijtzwam”. Onderzoek naar de Berichtgeving over Fitna door Nova’, Master Thesis, University of Amsterdam.

## 8 8. The taming of the shrew: how the Progress Party (almost) became part of the mainstream

Aardal, B. (1999) 'Kapittel 1: Stortingsvalget 1997', in Aardal, B., Valen, H., Narud, H. M. and Berglund, F. (eds) *Velgere i 90-årene*, Oslo: NKS-forlaget, pp. 8-31.

Aardal, B. (2003a) 'Flyktige stemningsbølger eller politiske grunnverdier', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Velgere i villrede... En analyse av stortingsvalget 2001*, Oslo: Damm & Søn, pp. 47-82.

Aardal, B. (2003b) 'Ideologi og stemmegivning', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Velgere i villrede ... En analyse av stortingsvalget 2001*, Oslo: Damm & Søn, pp. 83-106.

Aardal, B. (2003c) 'Kritiske velgere', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Velgere i villrede ... En analyse av stortingsvalget 2001*, Oslo: N. W. Damm & Søn, pp. 207-224.

Aardal, B. (2007a) 'Saker og standpunkter', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Norske velgere. En studie av stortingsvalget 2005*, Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn AS, pp. 41-58.

Aardal, B. (2007b) 'Velgere på evig vandring? Hva skjedde ved stortingsvalget i 2005?', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Norske velgere. En studie av stortingsvalget 2005*, Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn AS, pp. 13-40.

Aardal, B. (2011a) 'Det politiske landskap - stabile grunnholdninger og skiftende paritpreferanser', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Det politiske landskapet. En studie av stortingsvalget 2009*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm, pp. 97-130.

Aardal, B. (2011b) 'Folkeopinionen - demokratiets grunnvoll', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Det politiske landskapet. En studie av stortingsvalget 2009*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm, pp. 65-96.

Aardal, B. (2011c) 'Mange blir valgt, men få blir gjenvalgt', in Aardal, B. (ed.) *Det politiske landskapet. En studie av stortingsvalget 2009*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, pp. 13-39.

Adresseavisen (15-08-2011) 'Innvandring truer ikke norske verdier'.

Aftenposten (31-03-1995) 'Hagen I Anders Langes fotefar' (L. Hellberg).

Aftenposten (22-04-1996) 'Intet svar'.

Aftenposten (09-09-1996) 'Gjenvalgt, men fikk dagen ødelagt'.

Aftenposten (30-07-1999) 'Sentrum ofrer ikke Fr.p.-samarbeidet'.

Aftenposten (14-11-2000) 'Misbruk av tillit'.

Aftenposten (06-02-2001) 'Gundersen om Hagen: nærmer seg paranoia'.

Aftenposten (25-06-2004) 'Angrer skarpe utfall'.

Aftenposten (24-04-2010) 'Helsekøer minner om Sovjetunionen'.

Aftenposten (26-08-2010) 'Drøm fra Disneyland' (Andersen, K. and Tybring-Gjedde, C.).

Aftenposten (10-11-2012) ' Fire partiledere snakker varmt om samarbeid, men bare disse to vil være med på gruppebilde'.

Aftenposten (01-03-2014) 'Her er innvandrings sakene Frp har droppet', [www.aftenp](http://www.aftenp)

Aftenposten (15-11-2014) 'FrP er nok misfornøyd med tempoet'.

Aftenposten (16-03-2015) 'Solveig Horne: Innvandring er bra for samfunnet'.

Aftenposten (12-05-2015) 'Kvalte opprør i egne rekker'.

Aftenposten (22-02-2015) 'Belastning for Regjeringen, men en befrielse for Frp-velgerne'.

Akkerman, T. and Hagelund, A. (2007) "“Women and children first!” Anti-immigration parties and gender in Norway and the Netherlands", *Patterns of Prejudice* 41, 2: 197-214.

Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2005) 'The Lega Nord in the second Berlusconi government: In a league of its own', *West European Politics* 28, 5: 952-972.

Allern, E. H. (2010) 'Survival of a majority coalition: The Norwegian parliamentary election of 14 September 2009', *West European Politics* 33, 4: 904-912.

- Allern, E. H. and Karlsen, R. (2014) 'A turn to the right: The Norwegian parliamentary election of September 2013', *West European Politics* 37, 3: 653-663.
- Andersson, M. (2012) 'The debate about multicultural Norway before and after 22 July 2011', *Identities* 19, 4: 418-427.
- Bangstad, S. (2013) 'Eurabia comes to Norway', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 24, 3: 1-23.
- Bjørklund, T. (1988) 'The 1987 Norwegian local elections: A protest election with a swing to the right', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11, 3: 211-234.
- Bjørklund, T. (1999) *Et lokalvalg i perspektiv: valget i 1995 i lys av sosiale og politiske endringer*, Oslo: Tano Aschehoug.
- Bjørklund, T. (2003) 'Fremskrittspartiet gjennom 30 år', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* 20, 2: 129-145.
- Bjørklund, T. (2004) 'Norsk populisme fra Ottar Brox til Carl I. Hagen', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* 21, 3-4: 410-420.
- Bjørklund, T. (2005) 'Stortingsvalget 2005: velgere som velferdsklienter', *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* 22, 4: 444-454.
- Bjørklund, T. and Goul Andersen, J. (2002) 'Anti-immigration parties in Denmark and Norway: The Progress Party and Danish People's Party', in Schain, M. A., Zolberg, A. and Hossay, P. (eds) *Shadows Over Europe: The Development and Impact of the Extreme Right in Western Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 107-137.
- Bjørklund, T. and Saglie, J. (2002) 'Velferdsstat og valenspolitikk: lokalvalget i 1999', *Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift* 18, 1: 3-27.
- Bjørklund, T. and Saglie, J. (2005) 'Valgresultatet i 2003. Bakgrunn og perspektiver', in Saglie, J. and Bjørklund, T. (eds) *Lokalvalg og lokalt folkestyre*, Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, pp. 22-41.
- Dagbladet (21-07-2000) 'Må fjerne de dumme tingene'.
- Dagbladet (05-07-2002) 'Jeg er i drømmeposisjon'.
- Dagens Næringsliv (04-12-2012) 'Har 870 budsjettspørsmål'.



Dagens Næringsliv (20-10-2014) 'Frp-misnøye med oljepengebruk'.

Ekeberg, J. O. and Snoen, J. A. (2001) Kong Carl: en uautorisert biografi om Carl I. Hagen, Oslo: Kagge.

Fangen, K. and Vaage, M. N. (2015) 'Frp-politikers innvandringsretorikk i posisjon og opposisjon', Agora 31, 3-4: 30-63.

Flo, Y. (2008) 'Partiet, kommunen og draumen om det nye samfunnet', in Helgøy, I. and Aars, J. (eds) Flernivåstyring og demokrati, Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, pp. 123-152.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (1996) 'Fremskrittspartiets strategi'.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (1997) Handlingsprogram.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (1999/2000) Sentralstyrets årsberetning.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2001) Handlingsprogram.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2005) Handlingsprogram.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2009a) Handlingsprogram

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2009b) 'Vi er klare til å fornye Norge'.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2009/2010) Sentralstyrets årsberetning.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2011/2012) Sentralstyrets årsberetning.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2012/2013) Sentralstyrets årsberetning.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2013) Handlingsprogram.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2013/2014) Sentralstyrets årsberetning.

Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) (2014/2015) Sentralstyrets årsberetning.

Goul Andersen, J. and Bjørklund, T. (2000) 'Radical

right-wing populism in Scandinavia: From tax revolt to neo-liberalism and xenophobia', in Hainsworth, P. (ed.) *The Politics of the Extreme Right: From the Margins to the Mainstream*, London: Pinter, pp. 193-223.

Hagelund, A. (2003) 'A matter of decency? The Progress Party in Norwegian immigration politics', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29, 1: 47-65.

Hagelund, A. (2005) 'The Progress Party and the problem of culture immigration politics and right-wing populism in Norway', in Rydgren, J. (ed.) *Movements of Exclusion: Radical Right-Wing Populism in the West*, New York: Nova Science Publishers, pp. 147-164.

Hagen, C. I. (2007) *Ærlig talt: memoarer 1944-2007*, Oslo: Cappelen.

Hylland, O. M. (2011) 'Fremskrittspartiets kulturpolitikk-kulturpolitisk opposisjon i utvikling', *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift* 14, 1-2: 51-70.

Høyre/Fremskrittspartiet (H/FrP) (07-10-2013) 'Politisk platform for en Regjering utgått av Høyre og Fremskrittspartiet'.

Ivarsflaten, E. (2006) 'Reputational shields: Why most anti-immigrant parties failed in Western Europe, 1980-2005', Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia.

Iversen, J. M. (1998) *Fra Anders Lange til Carl I. Hagen: 25 år med Fremskrittspartiet*, Oslo: Millennium.

Jupskås, A. R. (forthcoming) 'Persistence of populism. The Norwegian Progress Party, 1973-2009', PhD thesis, University of Oslo.

Jupskås, A. R. (forthcoming) 'Between a business firm and a mass party: The organization of the Norwegian Progress Party', in Heinisch, R. and Mazzoleni, O. (eds) *Understanding Populist Party Organization: A Comparative Analysis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jupskås, A. R. and Gyárfášová, O. (2012) 'The appeal of populism', in Baldersheim, H. and Bátorá, J. (eds) *The Governance of Small States in Turbulent Times: The Exemplary Cases of Norway and Slovakia*, Opladen: Barbara Budrich Verlag, pp. 157-185.

- Karlsen, R. and Aardal, B. (2011) 'Kamp om dagsorden og sakseierskap', in Aardal, B. (ed.) Det politiske landskap. En studie av stortingsvalget 2009, Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, pp. 131-162.
- Kitschelt, H. and McGann, A. J. (1995) The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Morgenbladet (13-12-2013) 'Høyre er sammen med tre partier som ønsker å være litt gravide. I politikken er det kanskje mulig' (Bonde, A.).
- Mudde, C. (2007) Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Narud, H. M. (2011) 'Politiske avstander og regjeringsalternativ ved valget i 2009', in Aardal, B. (ed.) Det politiske landskap. En studie av stortingsvalget 2009, Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, pp. 195-224.
- Narud, H. M. and Aardal, B. (2007) 'Økonomisk stemmegivning i oljefondets skygge', in Aardal, B. (ed.) Norske velgere. En studie av stortingsvalget 2005, Oslo: Damm & Søn, pp. 173-200.
- Narud, H. M. and Strøm, K. (2011) 'Coalition bargaining in an unforgiven environment: The case of Bondervik II in Norway', in Andeweg, R. B., Winter, L. D. and Dumont, P. (eds) Puzzles of Government Formation. Coalition Theory and Deviant Cases, Abingdon: Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science, pp. 65-87.
- Narud, H. M. and Valen, H. (2007) Demokrati og ansvar. Politisk representasjon i et flerpartisystem, Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn.
- Notaker, H. (2012) Høyres historie 1975-2005. Opprør og moderasjon, Oslo: Cappelen Damm.
- NRK (08-08-2013) 'De borgerlige steiler av Frp-utvalg', [www.nrk.no/valg2013/de-borgerlige-steiler-av-frp-utvalg-1.11194790](http://www.nrk.no/valg2013/de-borgerlige-steiler-av-frp-utvalg-1.11194790) (accessed 03-07-2015).
- NTB (20-02-2000) 'FrP vil bli regjeringsparti'.
- NTB (17-01-2009) 'Jensen: Frps strategi ligger fast'.
- Pratt, J. and Eriksson, A. (2013) Contrasts in Punishment:

An Explanation of Anglophone Excess and Nordic Exceptionalism, London: Routledge.

Rasch, B. E. (2011) 'Behavioural consequences of restrictions on plenary access: Parliamentary questions in the Norwegian Storting', *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 17, 3: 382-393.

Saglie, J. (2002) *Standpunkter og strategi. EU-saken i norsk partipolitikk, 1989-1994*, Oslo: ISF og Pax Forlag.

Sandberg, P. (2013) *Mot min vilje - oppkl ring av et politisk liv*, Oslo: Juritzen forlag.

Simonnes, K. (2013) 'I stj lne kl r? En analyse av endringer i Høyres, Arbeiderpartiets og Fremskrittspartiets innvandringsog integreringspolitikk', *Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift* 29, 2: 144-158.

Sitter, N. (2006) 'Norway's Storting election of September 2005: Back to the Left?', *West European Politics* 29, 3: 573-580.

Skarsb  Moen, E. (2006) *Profet i eget land: historien om Carl I. Hagen*, Oslo: Gyldendal.

Skinner, M. S. (2011) 'From ambiguity to euroscepticism? A case study of the Norwegian Progress Party's position on the European Union', SEI Working Paper No 124. EPERN Working paper No 25, Sussex: Sussex European Institute.

Str m, K. (1994) 'The Presthus debacle: Intraparty politics and bargaining failure in Norway', *American Political Science Review* 88, 1: 112-127.

Tybring-Gjedde, C. (2014) *Mens orkesteret fortsetter   spille*, Oslo: Cappelen Damm.

Verdens Gang (06-05-1994) 'Carl I. B nn'.

Verdens Gang (09-09-1997) 'Motbydelig!'.

Verdens Gang (20-02-1999) 'Advarer mot hets'.

Verdens Gang (01-09-1999) 'FrP+Sp=sant'.

Verdens Gang (04-09-2009) 'N  vil de begge ha Erna som statsminister'.

Verdens Gang (13-05-2011) 'Frps fengselsreform (mest for

utledinger): hard og simpel soning’.

Verdens Gang (11-02-2014) ‘Vil gjøre som Sveits’.

Verdens Gang (02-05-2014) ‘Slik unngår Siv SV-fella’.

Verdens Gang (25-06-2014) ‘Dette er Frps største seire og nederlag’.

Widfeldt, A. (2015) *Extreme Right Parties in Scandinavia*, Abingdon: Routledge.

## 9 9. Staying away from the mainstream: the case of the Swiss People's Party

Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L. and Glasgow, G. (2006) 'Are niche parties fundamentally different from mainstream parties? The causes and the electoral consequences of Western European parties' policy shifts, 1976-1998', *American Journal of Political Science* 50, 3: 513-529.

Afonso, A. (2013) 'Whose interests do radical right parties really represent? The Migration policy agenda of the Swiss People's Party between nativism and neoliberalism', in Korkut, U., Bucken-Knapp, G., McGarry, A., Hinnfors, J. and Drake, H. (eds) *The Discourses of Politics of Migration in Europe*, New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17-36.

Albertazzi, D. (2007) 'Switzerland: Yet another populist paradise', in Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (eds) *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*, New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 10-118.

Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2015) *Populist Parties in Power: Italian and Swiss Success Stories*, London and New York: Routledge.

Altermatt, U. and Kriesi, H. (1994) *Rechte und Linke Fundamentalposition. Studien zur Schweizerpolitik, 1965-1990*, Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn.

Betz, Hans-Georg (2005) 'Mobilising resentment in the Alps. The Swiss SVP, the Italian Lega Nord, and the Austrian FPÖ', in Caramani, D. and Mény, Y. (eds) *Challenges to Consensual Politics. Democracy, Identity, and Populist Protest in the Alpine Region*, Brussels: Peter Lang, pp. 147-166.

Blanchard, P., Mach, A., Mazzoleni, O. and Pilotti, A. (2009) 'La double loyauté des députés suisses: Cohésion partisane et liens d'intérêt au sein du Conseil national', in Mazzoleni, O. and Rayner, H. (eds) *Les Partis Politiques en Suisse: Traditions et Renouvellements*, Paris: Houdiard, pp. 208-247.

Burgos, E., Mazzoleni, O. and Rayner, H. (2011) *La Formule Magique. Conflit et Consensus dans l'Élection du Conseil Federal*, Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et universitaires romandes.

- Church, C. H. (ed.) (2006) *Switzerland and the European Union: A Close Contradictory and Misunderstood Relationship*, London: Routledge.
- De Lange, S. L. (2007) 'From pariah to power broker. The radical right-wing and government in Western Europe', in Delwit, P. and Poirier, P. (eds) *The New RightWing Parties and Power in Europe*, Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, pp. 21-40.
- Deschouwer, K. (2001) 'Freezing pillars and frozen cleavages. Party systems and voter alignments in the consociational democracies', in Karvonen, L. and Kuhnle, S. (eds) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*, London: Routledge, pp. 205-221.
- Downs, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper & Row.
- Giugni, M. and Passy, F. (2001) 'La politique contestataire de l'immigration. Modèles de citoyenneté, opportunités politiques et les débats publics autour des relations ethniques en France et en Suisse, 1990-1998', Research Report, Bern: Swiss National Science Foundation.
- Hertig, H. (1978) 'Party cohesion in the Swiss parliament', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 3, 1: 63-81.
- Kerr, H. (1987) 'The Swiss party system: Steadfast and changing', in Daalder, H. (ed.) *Party Systems in Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Belgium*, London: Frances Pinter, pp. 107-192.
- Kirchheimer, O. (1966) 'The transformation of the Western European party system', in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. (eds) *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 177-200.
- Kitschelt, H. (in collaboration with McGann, A. J.) (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press.
- Kobach, K. W. (1993) *The Referendum: Direct Democracy in Switzerland*, Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Kuisma, M. (2013) "'Good" and "bad" immigrants: The economic nationalism of the True Finns' immigration discourse', in Korkut, U., Bucken-Knapp, G., McGarry, A., Hinnfors, J. and Drake, H. (eds) *The Discourses of Politics of Migration in Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.

Lanfranchi, P. and Lüthi, R. (1999) 'Cohesion of party groups and interparty conflict in the Swiss parliament: Roll call voting in the national council', in Shaun, B., Farrel, D. M. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 99-120.

Linder, W. (2010) *Swiss Democracy Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lutz, G. (2012) *Elections Fédérales 2011. Participation et Choix Électoral*, Lausanne: Selects - FORS.

Mair, P. (1997) *Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mazzoleni, O. (2008 [2003]) *Nationalisme et Populisme en Suisse. La Radicalisation de la "Nouvelle" UDC*, 1st edn, Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et universitaires romandes.

Mazzoleni, O. (2009) 'Des partis gouvernementaux face à la "crise": Les cas du Parti libéral-radical et du Parti démocrate-chrétien', in Mazzoleni, O. and Rayner, H. (eds) *Les Partis Politiques en Suisse: Traditions et Renouvellements*, Paris: Houdiard Editeur, pp. 410-442.

Mazzoleni, O. (2013a) 'Government and opposition. The case of the Swiss People's party', in Hartleb, F. and Grabow, K. (eds) *Exposing the Demagogues. Right-wing and National Populists in Europe*, Brussels and Berlin: KAS-CES, pp. 237-260.

Mazzoleni, O. (2013b) 'Des convergences inhabituelles: l'Union démocratique du centre et le Parti socialiste dans l'arène parlementaire fédérale', in Mazzoleni, O. and Meuwly, O. (eds) *Les Partis Suisses Entre Coopération et Compétition*, Geneva: Slatkine, pp. 89-108.

Mazzoleni, O. and Rayner, H. (2009) 'Une coalition gouvernementale "immuable"? Emergence et institutionnalisation de la "formule magique"', in Mazzoleni, O. and Rayner, H. (eds) *Les Partis Politiques en Suisse: Traditions et Renouvellements*, Paris: Houdiard Editeur, pp. 127-168.

Mazzoleni, O. and Rossini, C. (2014a) 'Salience,



orientation and content of socio-economic issues: The electoral manifesto of the Swiss People's Party (1995-2011)', paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, 3-6 September.

Mazzoleni, O. and Rossini, C. (2014b) 'Party organization and populist stances. The case of the Swiss People's Party', paper presented at the Workshop Toward a Core Model of Populist Party Organization, University of Salzburg, 14-15 March.

Mazzoleni, O. and Skenderovic, D. (2007) 'The rise and impact of the Swiss People's Party: Challenging the rules of governance in Switzerland', in Delwit, P. and Poirier, P. (eds) *The New Right-Wing Parties and Power in Europe*, Brussels: Les Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, pp. 85-116.

Mény, Y. and Surel, Y. (2000) *Par le Peuple, Pour le Peuple. Le Populisme et les Démocraties*, Paris: Fayard.

Müller, W. C. and Strøm, K. (eds) (1999) *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung (19-04-2003) 'Ausschluss von SVP-Nationalratsliste. Nationalrätin Lisbeth Fehr hält SVP Spitze für 'totalitär''.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung (12-08-2004) 'SVP-Nationalrat Siegrist droht Kommissionsausschluss'.

Niggli, P. and Frischknecht, J. (1998) *Rechte Seilschaften. Wie die 'Unheimlichen Patrioten' den Zusammenbruch des Kommunismus meisterten*, Zurich: WoZ im Rotpunktverlag.

Panebianco, A. (1988) *Political Parties: Organization and Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rayner, H. and Voutat, B. (2014) 'La judiciarisation à l'épreuve de la démocratie directe. L'interdiction de construire des minarets en Suisse', *Revue Française de Science Politique* 64, 4: 689-709.

Schedler, A. (1996) 'Anti-political-establishment parties', *Party Politics* 3, 2: 291-312.

Schlesinger, A. J. (1968) 'Party Units', in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, [www.encyclopedia.com](http://www.encyclopedia.com) (accessed 20-04-2015).

- Schwarz, D. and Linder, M. (2006) Mehrheitsund Koalitionsbildung im Schweizerischen Nationalrat. 1996-2006. Studie im Auftrag der Parlamentsdienste der Schweizerischen Bundesversammlung, Bern: University of Bern.
- Skenderovic, D. (2009a) The Radical Right in Switzerland. Continuity and Change. 1945-2000, New York: Berghahn.
- Skenderovic, D. (2009b) 'Campagnes et agenda politiques. La transformation de l'Union démocratique du centre', in Mazzoleni, O. and Rayner, H. (eds) Les Partis Politiques en Suisse. Traditions et Renouvellements, Paris: Michel Houdiard Editeur, pp. 378-409.
- Strøm, K. (1990) 'A behavioral theory of competitive political parties', American Journal of Political Science 34, 2: 565-598.
- SVP (1991) 'Programme du Parti '91 de l'Union Démocratique du Centre', Bern: Swiss People's Party.
- SVP (1995) 'Programme des Priorités Politiques '95 de l'Union Démocratique du Centre', Bern: Swiss People's Party.
- SVP (1999) 'Wahlplattform 1999', Bern: Swiss People's Party.
- SVP (2015a) 'Party Programme 2015-2019. The SVP, The party for Switzerland', Bern: Swiss People's Party.
- SVP (2015b) 'Extrablatt März 2015 der Schweizer Volkspartei. Schweizer Recht Statt Fremde Richter!', [www.svp.ch](http://www.svp.ch), Bern.
- Thurgauer Zeitung (16-08-2004) 'Ist die SVP eine Sekte, Caspar Baader'.
- Wagner, M. (2012) 'Defining and measuring niche parties', Party Politics 18, 6: 845-864.
- Wolinetz, S. B. (2002) 'Beyond the catch-all party: Approaches to the study of parties and party organization in contemporary democracies', in Gunther, R., RamónMontero, J. and Linz, J. (eds) Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 136-165.

## 10 10. It is still a long way from Madou Square to Law Street: the evolution of the Flemish Bloc

Abts, K., Swyngedouw, M., and Billiet, J. (2010) 'De structurele en culturele kenmerken van het stemgedrag in Vlaanderen: Analyse obv postelectorale verkiezingsonderzoek', Instituut voor Sociaal en Politiek Opinieonderzoek (ISPO), <https://soc.kuleuven.be/>

Akkerman, T. (2012) 'Comparing radical right parties in government: Immigration and integration policies in nine countries (1996-2010)', *West European Politics* 35, 3: 511-529.

Akkerman, T. (2015) 'Gender and the radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis of policy agendas', *Patterns of Prejudice* 49: 1-24.

Akkerman, T. and Rooduijn, M. (2014) 'Pariahs or partners? Inclusion and exclusion of radical right parties and the effects on their policy positions', *Political Studies* 62: 1-18.

Art, D. (2008) 'The organizational origins of the contemporary radical right: The case of Belgium', *Comparative Politics* 40, 4: 421-440.

Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right. The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boeckz, P. (2004) 'Vlaamse choc', [www.dailymotion.com/video/xk32p\\_vlaamse-choc\\_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xk32p_vlaamse-choc_news) (accessed 08-06-2015).

Bosseman, V. (2000) 'De Communicatiestrategie van het Vlaams Blok: Evolutie van positionering, Doelgroep en Boodschap', Master thesis, University of Gent, [www.ethesis.net/vlaams\\_blok\\_communicatie/vb\\_communicatie.pdf](http://www.ethesis.net/vlaams_blok_communicatie/vb_communicatie.pdf) (accessed 08-06-2015).

Breuning, M. and Ishiyama, J. T. (1998) 'The rhetoric of nationalism: Rhetorical strategies of the Volksunie and Vlaams Blok in Belgium, 1991-1995', *Political Communication* 15, 5: 5-26.

Buelens, J. and Deschouwer, K. (2003) *De Verboden Vleespotten. De Partijorganisatie van het Vlaams Blok tussen Oppositie en Machtsdeelname*, Brussels: Vrije

Universiteit, <http://>

Canvas (14-05-2014) 'Interview with Annemans in "Terzake"'.  
[www.canvas.nl](http://www.canvas.nl)

Cochez, T. (2010) *Eigen Belang Eerst*, Leuven: Van Halewyck.

Coffé, H. (2005) 'The adaption of the extreme right's discourse: The case of the Vlaams Blok', *Ethical Perspectives* 12, 2: 205-230.

Damen, S. (2001) 'Strategieën tegen extreem-rechts. Het cordon sanitaire onder de loep', *Tijdschrift voor Sociologie* 22, 1: 89-110.

Davis, A. J. (2012) 'The impact of anti-immigration parties on mainstream parties' immigration positions in the Netherlands, Flanders and the UK 1987-2010: Divided electorates, left-right politics and the pull towards restrictionism', Doctoral Thesis, European University Institute.

De Lange, S. L. and Akkerman, T. (2012) 'Populist parties in Belgium: A case of hegemonic liberal democracy?', in Mudde, C., and Kaltwasser, C. R. (eds) *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 27-46.

De Lange, S. L. and Mügge, L. M. (2015) 'Gender and right-wing populism in the low countries: Ideological variations across parties and time', *Patterns of Prejudice* 49, 1-2: 61-80.

De Winter, L. (2004) 'The Vlaams Blok and the heritage of extreme-right Flemish nationalism', Paper prepared for presentation at the seminar 'The extreme right in Europe, a many faceted reality', coordinated by Dr Xavier Casals, 5-6 July at the Sabadell Universitat.

Elsevier (20-03-2014), 'Filip Dewinter: Ook minder Marokkanen in Antwerpen', [www.elsevier.nl](http://www.elsevier.nl).

Erk, J. (2005) 'From Vlaams Blok to Vlaams Belang: The Belgian far right renames itself', *West European Politics* 28, 3: 493- 502.

Gijssels, H. and van der Velpen, J. (1989) *Het Vlaams Blok: Het Verdriet van Vlaanderen*, Berchem: EPO.

Het Belang van Limburg (2013) 'Vlaams Belang doorbreekt cordon sanitair in Denderleeuw',  
[www.hetbelangvanlimburg.be](http://www.hetbelangvanlimburg.be)

Het Laatste Nieuws (2011) 'Frank Vanhecke stapt uit Vlaams Belang', [www.hln.be/hln/](http://www.hln.be/hln/)

Knack.be (11-07-2011) 'Gentse Belfortploeg breidt uit naar andere provincies', [www.knack.be](http://www.knack.be)

Knack.be (10-04-2012) 'Vlaams Belang lanceert meldpunt voor illegaliteit', [www.knack.be](http://www.knack.be)

Knack.be (06-07-2012) 'Filip Dewinter hoopt dat klacht wegens racisme extra kiezers oplevert', [www.knack.be](http://www.knack.be)

Knack.be (29-01-2014), 'Le nouveau Vlaams Belang van Gerolf Annemans: warme erwtensoep met varkensspek', [www.knack.be/nieuws/belgie/le-nouveau-vlaams-belang-van-gerolf-annemans-warme-erwtensoep-met-varkensspek](http://www.knack.be/nieuws/belgie/le-nouveau-vlaams-belang-van-gerolf-annemans-warme-erwtensoep-met-varkensspek)

Lange, P. (1977) 'La teoria degli incentivi e l'analisi dei partiti politici', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* 18, 4: 501-526.

Matheve, N. (2014) 'Nihil novi sub sole? De historische wortels van het naoorlogse Vlaams-nationalisme en hun invloed op de hedendaagse politiek', *Res Publica* 56, 1: 95-110.

Minkenberg, M. (2013) 'From pariah to policy-maker? The radical right in Europe, West and East: Between margin and mainstream', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21, 1: 5-24.

Mudde, C. (1995) 'One against all, all against one! A portrait of the Vlaams Blok', *Patterns of Prejudice* 29, 1: 5-28.

Mudde, C. (2000) *The Ideology of the Extreme Right*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Pauwels, T. (2011) 'Explaining the strange decline of the populist radical right Vlaams Belang in Belgium: The impact of permanent opposition', *Acta Politica* 46, 1: 60-82.

Pauwels, T. (2013) 'Belgium: Decline of national populism?', in Grabow, K. and Hartleb, F. (eds) *Exposing the Demagogues: Right-wing and National Populist Parties in Europe*, Brussels and Berlin: Centre for European Studies and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, pp. 81-104.

Pauwels, T. and Rooduijn, M. (forthcoming) 'Populism in Belgium in times of crisis: Intensification of discourse,

decline in electoral support', in Kriesi, H. and Pappas, T. (eds) *Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, London: ECPR Press.

Pauwels, T. and Van Haute, E. (2013) 'The party organization of the Vlaams Belang', paper prepared for the 2013 CES Conference, Amsterdam, 25-27 June, <http://difu>

Spruyt, M. (1995) *Grove Borstels: Stel dat het Vlaams Blok Morgen zijn Programma Realiseert, Hoe Zou Vlaanderen er dan Uitzien?* Leuven: Van Halewyck.

Spruyt, M. (2000) *Wat het Vlaams Blok Verzwijgt*, Leuven: Van Halewyck.

Strøm, K. (1990) 'A behavioral theory of competitive political parties', *American Journal of Political Science* 34: 535-598.

Swyngedouw, M. (1998) 'The extreme right in Belgium: Of a non-existent Front National and an omnipresent Vlaams Blok', in Betz, H.-G. and Immerfall, S. (eds) *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*, New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 59-75.

Swyngedouw, M. (2001) 'The subjective cognitive and affective map of extreme right voters: Using open-ended questions in exit polls', *Electoral Studies* 20, 2: 217-241.

Swyngedouw, M. and Van Craen, M. (2001) 'Vlaams Blok en de natiestaat: Het rechtsradicale Vlaams-nationalisme onder de loep', *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* 2, n.p.

Telegraaf (11-02-2015) 'Spel Filip Dewinter offline gehaald', [www.telegraaf.nl/digitaal/games/23669372/\\_Spel\\_Filip\\_Dewinter\\_offline\\_gehaald\\_.html](http://www.telegraaf.nl/digitaal/games/23669372/_Spel_Filip_Dewinter_offline_gehaald_.html) (accessed 08-06-2015).

Trouw (08-12-2009) 'Heeft het Vlaams Belang nog toekomst?'

Van Craen, M. and Swyngedouw, M. (2002) 'Het Vlaams Blok doorgelicht. 20 jaar extreem-rechts in Vlaanderen', Leuven: ISPO KUL.

Vandecasteele, N. (2013) 'Kwalitatief Empirisch Onderzoek naar de Positie van Vlaams Belang en N-VA tov de Europese Integratie', Masterthesis, Ghent University, <http://>

Vanhecke, F. (2011) 'Voorzitter FDW? Enkele beschouwingen',

[www.frankvanheckevb.skynetblogs.be](http://www.frankvanheckevb.skynetblogs.be) (accessed 11-05-2014).

Van den Brink, R. (1994) *De Internationale van de Haat. Extreem-Rechts in West-Europa*, Amsterdam: Sua.

Van den Brink, R. (1999) *De Jonge Turken van het Vlaams Blok: Extreem-rechts tussen Uniform en Maatpak*, Ghent and Amsterdam: Scoop and Jan Mets.

Van der Brug, W. and Fennema, M. (2004) 'Est-ce que le cordon sanitaire est salubre?', in Van Broeck, B. and Foblets, M.-C. (eds) *La Faillite de l'Intégration: Le Débat Multicultural en Flandre*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Bruylant-Academia, pp. 199-203.

Van Eycken, F. and Schoeters, S. (1988) *Het Vlaams Blok Marcheert*, Deurne: Imprint.

Van Haute, E. (2005) 'La Volksunie (VU): Triomphe des idées, défaite du parti', in Delwit, P. (ed.) *Les Partis Régionalistes en Europe: Des Acteurs en Développement?*, Brussels: Éditions de l'université de Bruxelles, pp. 243-264.

Van Spanje, J. and Van der Brug, W. (2007) 'The party as pariah: The exclusion of anti-immigration parties and its effect on their ideological positions', *West European Politics* 30, 5: 1022-1040.

Van Spanje, J. and Van der Brug, W. (2009) 'Being intolerant of the intolerant: The exclusion of Western European anti-immigration parties and its consequences for party choice', *Acta Politica* 44, 4: 353-384.

Vlaams Belang (n.d.) 'Beginselverklaring Vlaams Belang', [www.vlaamsbelang.org/pdf/beginselverklaring.pdf](http://www.vlaamsbelang.org/pdf/beginselverklaring.pdf) (accessed 04-02-2014).

Vlaams Belang (2004a) 'Programmaboek 2004', [www.vlaamsbelang.org/files/200412\\_12\\_programma.pdf](http://www.vlaamsbelang.org/files/200412_12_programma.pdf) (accessed 28-01-2005).

Vlaams Belang (2004b) 'Statuten', Brussels: Vlaams Belang.

Vlaams Belang (2012) 'Sociaaleconomisch Programma: "Een Beter Vlaanderen voor een Lagere Prijs!"', Brussels: Vlaams Belang Studiedienst.

Vlaams Belang (2013) *Sociale Volkspartij*, Brussels: Vlaams Belang Studiecentrum.

Vlaams Belang (2014) 'Uw stok achter de deur',  
<http://vlaamsbelang.org/pdf/20140128/uwstokachterdedeur.pdf> (accessed 04-02-2014).

Vlaams Blok (n.d.) 'Ten geleide: Waarom het Vlaams Blok?' ,  
<http://users.telenet.be/supportfiles/grondbeginselen.htm>  
(accessed 23-10-2009).

Vlaams Blok (1992) 'Immigratie: de oplossingen. 70 voorstellen ter oplossing van het vreemdelingenprobleem',  
<http://web.archive.org/web/200709271172805/http://www.blokwa.tch.be/content/view/62/39/lang,nl/>.

Vlaams Blok (1996) 'Immigratie: de tijdbom tikt. Het 70 punten plan', <http://web>.

Vlaams Blok (2003) 'Een Toekomst voor Vlaanderen. Programma en Standpunten van het Vlaams Blok', Brussel: Vlaams Blok.

Vlaams Parlement (2014) 'Statistisch overzicht van de parlementaire activiteiten (April) Interpellaties en moties', [www.vlaamsparlement.be/vp/informatie/overhetvlaamsparlement/jaarverslagen/interpellaties\\_en\\_moties\\_201404.pdf](http://www.vlaamsparlement.be/vp/informatie/overhetvlaamsparlement/jaarverslagen/interpellaties_en_moties_201404.pdf)  
(accessed 27-05-2014).

Volkscrant (04-02-1992) 'Vergeleken met het Vlaams Blok is Janmaat liberaal'.



## 11 11. A new course for the French radical right? The Front National and 'de-demonisation'

Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L. and Glasgow, G. (2006) 'Are niche parties fundamentally different from mainstream parties? The causes and the electoral consequences of Western European parties' policy shifts, 1976-1998', *American Journal of Political Science* 50, 3: 513-529.

Akkerman, T. (2015) 'Immigration policy and electoral competition in Western Europe. A fine-grained analysis of party positions over the past two decades', *Party Politics* 21, 1: 54-67.

Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Betz, H. G. and Meret, S. (2009) 'Revisiting Lepanto: The political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe', *Patterns of Prejudice* 43, 3-4: 313-334.

Birenbaum, G. and François, B. (1989) 'Unité et diversité des dirigeants frontistes', in Mayer, N. and Perrineau, P. (eds) *Le Front National à Découvert*, Paris: Presses de la FNSP, pp. 83-106.

Brouard, S., Appleton, A. and Mazur, A. (eds) (2009) *The French Fifth Republic at Fifty. Beyond Stereotypes*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Crépon, S., Dézé, A. and Mayer, N. (eds) (2015) *Les Faux Semblants du Front National. Sociologie d'un Parti Politique*, Paris: Presses de Sciences-Po.

Evans, J. and Ivaldi, G. (2013) *The 2012 French Presidential Elections. The Inevitable Alternation*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ezrow, L. (2008) 'Research note: On the inverse relationship between votes and proximity for niche parties', *European Journal of Political Research*, 47, 2: 206-220.

Fourquet, J. and Gariazzo, M. (2013) *FN et UMP: Electorats en Fusion? Paris: Fondation Jean Jaurès.*

Front National (2002) 'Pour un avenir français: Programme du Front National', <http://>

h16free.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/prg-fn-2002.pdf  
(accessed 30-06-2015).

Gougou, F. and Mayer, N. (2013) 'The class basis of extreme right voting in France: Generational replacement and the rise of new cultural issues (1984-2007)', in Rydgren, J. (ed.) *Class Politics and the Radical Right*, London: Routledge, pp. 156- 172.

Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994) 'An integrated theory of party goals and party change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6, 3: 259-287.

Harmel, R. and Svåsand, L. (1993) 'Party leadership and party institutionalization: Three phases of development', *West European Politics* 16, 2: 67-88.

Harmel, R., Tan, A. C., Janda, K. and Smith, J. M. (1995) 'Substance vs. packaging: An empirical analysis of parties' issue profiles', paper delivered at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1 September.

Ivaldi, G. (1998) 'The National Front: The making of an authoritarian party', in Ignazi, P. and Ysmal, C. (eds) *The Organization of Political Parties in Southern Europe*, Westport, CT: Greenwood-Praeger, pp. 43-69.

Ivaldi, G. (2003) 'The Front National split: Party system change and electoral prospects', in Evans, J. A. J. (ed.) *The French Party System: Continuity and Change*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 137-154.

Ivaldi, G. (2007) 'The Front national vis-à-vis power in France: Factors of political isolation and performance assessment of the extreme right in municipal office', in Delwit, P. and Poirier, Ph. (eds) *The Extreme Right Parties and Power in Europe*, Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, pp. 167-186.

Ivaldi, G. (2015) 'Towards the median economic crisis voter? The new leftist economic agenda of the Front National in France', *French Politics* 13, 4: 346-369.

Kitschelt, H. (in collaboration with McGann, A. J.) (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Le Pen, M. (2012) *Pour que Vive la France*, Paris: Jacques Granchet.

- Marthaler, S. (2008) 'Nicolas Sarkozy and the politics of French immigration policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15, 3: 382-397
- Mayer, N. (2007) 'Comment Nicolas Sarkozy a rétréci l'électorat Le Pen', *Revue Française de Science Politique* 57, 3-4: 429-445.
- Mayer, N. (2013) 'From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen: Electoral change on the far right', *Parliamentary Affairs* 66, 1: 160-178.
- Meyer, T. M. and Wagner, M. (2013) 'Mainstream or niche? Vote-seeking incentives and the programmatic strategies of political parties', *Comparative Political Studies* 46, 10: 1246-1272.
- Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rydgren, J. (2005) 'Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family', *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 413-437.
- Shields, J. (2013) 'Marine Le Pen and the "new" FN: A change of style or of substance?', *Parliamentary Affairs* 66, 1: 179-196.
- Stockemer, D. and Amengay, A. (2015) 'The voters of the FN under Jean-Marie Le Pen and Marine Le Pen: Continuity or change?', *French Politics* 13, 4: 370 -390.
- Strøm, K. (1990) 'A behavioral theory of competitive political parties', *American Journal of Political Science* 34, 2: 565-598.
- Van Kessel, S. (2015) *Populist Parties in Europe. Agents of Discontent?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zaslove, A. (2008) 'Exclusion, community, and a populist political economy: The radical right as an anti-globalization movement', *Comparative European Politics* 6, 2: 169-189.

## 12 12. The UK Independence Party: the dimensions of mainstreaming

Abedi, A. and Lundberg, T. C. (2009) 'Doomed to failure? UKIP and the organisational challenges facing right-wing populist anti-political establishment parties', *Parliamentary Affairs* 62, 1: 72-87.

Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2015) *Populists in Power*, London: Routledge.

Bakker, R., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. and Vachudova, M.A. (2015) 'Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999-2010', *Party Politics* 21, 1: 143-152.

Bale, T. (2011) *The Conservative Party: From Thatcher to Cameron*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bale, T. and Partos, R. (2014) 'Why mainstream parties change policy on migration: A UK case study-The Conservative Party, immigration and asylum, 1960-2010', *Comparative European Politics* 12, 6: 603-619.

BBC News (04-04-2006) 'UKIP and Cameron's war of words', [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/4875502.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4875502.stm) (accessed 22-10-2015).

BBC News (28-03-2011) 'Voting referendum: William Dartmouth's view', [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12606881](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12606881) (accessed 22-10-2015).

BBC News (24-01-2014) 'Nigel Farage: 2010 UKIP manifesto was "drivel"', [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-25879302](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-25879302) (accessed 22-10-2015).

Brack, N. (2013) 'Euroscepticism at the supranational level: The case of the "untidy right" in the European Parliament', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, 1: 85-104.

British Social Attitudes (n.d.) 'British Social Attitudes 2015 edition', [www.bsa-data.na.tcen.ac.uk/](http://www.bsa-data.na.tcen.ac.uk/) (accessed 27-04-2015).

Bynander, F. and 't Hart, P. (2006) 'When power changes hands: The political psychology of leadership succession in democracies', *Political Psychology* 27, 5: 707-730.

- Carswell, D. (2012) *The End of Politics and the Birth of iDemocracy*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Closa, C. (2007) 'Why convene referendums? Explaining choices in EU constitutional politics', *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, 8: 1311-1332.
- Daniel, M. (2005) *Cranks and Gadflies: The Story of UKIP*, London: Timewell Press.
- Electoral Commission (n.d.) 'Political party spending at previous elections', [www.electora](http://www.electora)
- Evans, G. and Mellon, J. (2015) 'Working class votes and Conservative losses: Solving the UKIP puzzle', *Parliamentary Affairs*, doi: 10.1093/pa/gsv005.
- Farage, N. (2010) *Fighting Bull*, London: Bite Back.
- Farage, N. (2015) *The Purple Revolution*, London: Biteback.
- Ford, R. and Goodwin, M. J. (2014) *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain*, London: Routledge.
- Gardner, P. (2006) *Hard Pounding: The Story of the UK Independence Party*, Totnes: June Press.
- Hayton, R. (2010) 'Towards the mainstream? UKIP and the 2009 elections to the European Parliament', *Politics* 30, 1: 26-35.
- Ipsos-Mori (2014) 'Support for EU membership highest for 23 years, even as UKIP rises in the polls',
- Ipsos-Mori (n.d.) 'The most important issues facing Britain today', [www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/](http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/) (accessed 05-08-2011).
- Kitschelt, H. (1986) 'Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti-nuclear movements in four democracies', *British Journal of Political Science* 16, 1: 57-85.
- Lynch, P., Whitaker, R. and Loomes, G. (2010) 'The UK Independence Party: A portrait of its candidates and supporters', Briefing Paper No. 2, *Competing on the Centre Right* series, University of Leicester, [www.le.ac.uk/po/centrerightbriefingpapers.html](http://www.le.ac.uk/po/centrerightbriefingpapers.html) (accessed 19-09-2012).

Mudde, C. (1999) 'The single-issue party thesis: Extreme right parties and the immigration issue', *West European Politics* 22, 3: 182-197.

Mudde, C. (2010) 'The populist radical right: A pathological normalcy', *West European Politics* 33, 6: 1167-1186.

OfCOM (2015) 'Ofcom list of major parties', <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/broadcast/guidance/major-parties-mar14.pdf> (accessed 27-04-2015).

Pennings, P. (2002) 'The dimensionality of the EU policy space: The European elections of 1999', *European Union Politics* 3, 1: 59-80.

Rallings, C. and Thrasher, M. (2005) 'Not all "second-order" contests are the same: Turnout and party choice at the concurrent 2004 local and European Parliament elections in England', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 7, 4: 584-597.

Rief, K. and Schmidt, H. (1980) 'Nine second-order national elections: A conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results', *European Journal of Political Research* 8, 1: 3-44.

Sunday Telegraph (24-04-1994) 'Sunday Comment: Dear Tory, don't vote Tory on Europe'.

Tonra, B. (2009) 'The 2009 Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty', *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 5, 3: 472-479.

Tournier-Sol, K. (2015) 'Reworking the Eurosceptic and Conservative traditions into a populist narrative: UKIP's winning formula?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53, 1: 140-156.

Treib, O. (2014) 'The voter says no, but nobody listens: Causes and consequences of the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European elections', *Journal of European Public Policy* 21, 10: 1541-1554.

UKIP (2010) 'Empowering the people: 2010 General Election Manifesto', [www.ukip.org/page/ukip-manifesto](http://www.ukip.org/page/ukip-manifesto) (accessed 19-09-2012).

- UKIP (2015) 'The UKIP Manifesto 2015 ',  
www.ukip.org/manifesto2015 (accessed 27-04-2015).
- Ukipuncovered (2004) 'Damian Hockney statement on party  
election leaflet', 14 October,  
<http://ukipuncovered.blogspot.com/> (accessed 19-09-2012).
- UK Parliament (2014a) 'Local elections 2014', Research  
papers RP14/33, www.parliam
- UK Parliament (2014b) 'By-elections since 2010 General  
Election', Standard notes SN05833,
- UK Parliament (2015) 'Membership of UK political parties',  
Standard notes SN05125,
- Usherwood, S. (2002) 'Opposition to the European Union in  
the UK: The dilemma of public opinion and party  
management', *Government and Opposition* 37, 2: 211-230.
- Usherwood, S. (2004) 'Beyond party politics: Opposition to  
the European Union in France and the UK, 1985-1999',  
Doctoral Thesis, London School of Economics.
- Usherwood, S. (2008) 'The dilemmas of a single-issue party:  
The UK Independence Party', *Representation* 44, 3: 255-264.
- Webb, P., and Bale, T. (2014) 'Why do Tories defect to  
UKIP? Conservative Party members and the temptations of the  
populist radical right', *Political Studies* 62, 4: 961-970.

## 13 13. Conclusions

- Abedi, A. and Lundberg, T. C. (2009) 'Doomed to failure? UKIP and the organisational challenges facing right-wing populist anti-political establishment parties', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 62, 1: 72-87
- Bale, T. and Partos, R. (2014) 'Why mainstream parties change policy on migration: A UK case study - The Conservative Party, immigration and asylum, 1960-2010', *Comparative European Politics*, 12, 6: 603-619.
- Burchell, J. (2001) 'Evolving or conforming? Assessing organisational reform within European green parties', *West European Politics*, 24, 3: 113-134.
- Duncan, F. (2007) "'Lately, things just don't seem the same": External shocks, party change and the adaptation of the Dutch Christian Democrats during "Purple Hague" 1994-1998', *Party Politics*, 13, 1: 69-87.
- Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994) 'An integrated theory of party goals and party change', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 63, 3: 259-287.
- Harmel, R. and Tan, A. (2003) 'Party actors and party change: Does factional dominance matter?', *European Journal of Political Research* 42, 3: 409-424.
- Harmel, R., Heo, U., Tan, A. and Janda, K. (1995) 'Performance, leadership, factions and party change: An empirical analysis', *West European Politics* 18, 1: 1-33.
- Janda, K., Harmel, R., Edens, C. and Goff, P. (1995) 'Changes in party identity: Evidence from party manifestos', *Party Politics* 1, 2: 171-196.
- Müller, W. C. (1997) 'Inside the black box: A confrontation of party executive behaviour and theories of party organizational change', *Party Politics* 3, 3: 293-313.
- Nohrstedt, D. (2005) 'External shocks and policy change: Three Mile Island and Swedish nuclear energy policy', *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, 6: 1041-1059.