

University of Twente – BSc European Studies

# **Nationalism in the globalized age**

An assessment on the variations of contemporary  
right-wing populism in Europe

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## Abstract

Lately political parties that are widely perceived as being far right of the conventional conservative spectrum have experienced substantial gains in support among European countries.

This study takes into account the revival of right-wing populist tendencies in three European nation states and tries to detect the social influences that are responsible for it. It is an attempt to depict the characteristics of right-wing populist movements in the countries Hungary, Great Britain and Austria. The geographical diversified approach makes it possible to illustrate the phenomena's miscellaneous nature.

By means of a comparative case study party documents of the Hungarian Jobbik Party (Hungarian: Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom), the British Independence Party (UKIP) and the Austrian Freedom Party (German: FPÖ) are analyzed. Each is considered to be an epitomization of the country-specific right-wing populist ideology. Analyzing their programs in depth is an approach taken in order to reconstruct the parties' position on a broad range of issues.

By coding data the program ATLAS.ti is used to help the researcher organizing categories, codes and quotes selected from the documents.

It turns out that the current phenomenon of right-wing populism is a diverse movement that might signify different things. It can only be understood in the light of today's 21st century's globalized setting. Political, economic and cultural changes have led to a high degree of suspense and uncertainty in people's lives. Right-wing populist parties make use of these sentiments and adjust their party program according to specific national circumstances. Whereas in post-World War Europe parties of far right politics shared certain features of traditional fascist ideology, the right wing populist ideology of today addresses a broader range of issues. Nation-specific variations are coupled with a typical anti-establishment attitude and a narrowly-defined societal model. Thus, even though general patterns and similarities are recognizable, right wing populism can take a variety of forms and any overgeneralization of the term would be an illegitimate simplification of reality.

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## Introduction

In recent years Europe had to face haunting shadows from the past, which have been considered to have disappeared from the continent. Despite the financial crisis' aftermath and the arising challenges to the capitalistic order it is not the spectre of communism but nationalistic ideology that is defying the system of liberal democracies in Europe. A Variety of parties commonly delineated as right-wing populist have made their way into national parliaments. In Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Greece they have entered the national parliament (FES, 2010). Similarly, France celebrates its presidential candidate; Marine Le Pen. As an opinion poll revealed in spring of 2011, she was more popular with voters than President Nicolas Sarkozy at that point (Willsher, 2011). In Italy and Switzerland, parties that are widely perceived as far-right wing make up parts of the governments already. In the Netherlands Geert Wilders' *Partij voor de Vrijheid* backs a right-wing minority government without participating in the cabinet (Government of the Netherlands, 2010). Notwithstanding the parties have attracted voters all over Europe, their ideological background reveals a range of variations. Even though certain patterns are recognizable they also deviate from country to country and whereas some ideological similarities can be recognized also considerable differences exist (Lubbers, 2002). The common denominator is a clear cut separation from ethnic minorities. The concept of the enemy, however, has diverging contours. A process that started during the late 1970s when right-wing political parties and movements gained substantial political ground in Western Europe has also seized former Soviet states. They often depict themselves as anti-establishment, the only true representatives of an authentic democracy and as the tough-minded advocate of the common people, thus aiming at discrediting the conventional political class. Their ideology often works through the principle of exclusion populism. A core aspect of their political paradigm is their restrictive perception concerning national citizenship. The national community is idealized as a culturally if not ethnically homogenous one. Society is restricted to native members that in their eyes have made considerable contribution to it. The fear of alien intrusion and 'contamination' is counteracted by upholding and cherishing certain norms and values as well as the cultural identity (Betz, 1994).

Furthermore the achievements and heritage of European culture and civilization are claimed to be the main objectives that are to be safeguarded and defended. Among other central characteristics the new right-wing populist parties show a general hostility towards foreigners, as well as strong opposition against immigration and a resulting multi-cultural society. Nevertheless, apart from their xenophobic attitude the parties typically also tend to present other issues in their party programs that often encompass a doctrine concerning socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural change. In order to mobilize certain popular resentments the movements have utilized different issues according to the specific national context (Betz, 2004). The spread of xenophobic attitudes among the European population has increased dramatically and is mirrored by the proliferation and establishment of parties that are categorized as being far right in the political spectrum.

This study takes into account the revival of right-wing populist tendencies in three European countries and tries to detect the social influences that are responsible for it. It is an approach attempting to depict the characteristics of right-wing populist movements in the countries Austria, Great Britain and Hungary. Hereby the identification of differences among the movements' diverse ideologies constitutes the main objective. This comparative case study analyses the cases of the Austrian Freedom Party (German: FPÖ), the British Independence Party (UKIP) and the Hungarian

Jobbik Party (Hungarian: Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom). The parties are considered to be an epitomization of the country-specific right-wing populist ideology.

Consequently the following research question emerges:

*To what extent can variations between today's right-wing populist ideology in Great Britain, Austria and Hungary be identified?*

The chosen approach encompasses a document analysis of the parties' programs. On the basis of a range of political fields the documents are scanned for certain statements and phrases made on these issues. In this way differences and similarities can be clearly exposed. For practical reasons and to sustain a certain degree of transparency the program ATLAS.ti will be used in order to code and analyze the data. Constant comparison of data within the categories helps to generate internal coherency and simplifies both the analysis as well as the data's interpretation.

The appearance of political parties located to the right of classical conservative ones is highly debated. Whereas some scholars perceive their rise in terms of electoral successes in waves that are similar in various European countries others argue that they are country-specific (Mudde, 1996). Apart from some idiosyncratic variations generally speaking Western Europe's democracies enjoyed a substantial degree of political economic and social stability after World War Two. A political climate adjuvant to compromise and consensus supported by a welfare state that managed to sustain economic growth and increasing individual affluence contributed to the fact that radical solutions seemed unalluring. However ideological and political turbulence were to return in the late 1960s, followed by rising social conflicts during the 1970s and new social movements in the 1980s. Western European countries had to face profound transformations in the political spectrum (Betz, 1994). Progressive new Left-libertarian parties distanced themselves from the social democrats and socialists who they perceived as supporters of old, growth oriented politics. The political left's fragmentation however is only one part of the tremendous change of the political climate (Kitschelt, 1993). Through modernization processes, Western industrial societies entered a phase of post-industrialism and "a new political dynamism that opened opportunities for new movements and parties on the left and right along a new, value- or culturally based cleavage with the parties on the right mobilizing the "normal pathological" right-wing potential" (Minkenberg, 2008).

In order to comprehensively answer the research question posed above; this thesis is structured in the following way: First, the theory of Right wing extremism and Right wing populism are exhibited. It turns out that scholars have taken diverse standpoints on defining the concepts. This theoretical part sets the basis for the overall analysis. The analytical part is then introduced by elaborating on the research design and measurement. By means of content analyses the parties' programs are then categorized in order to depict their ideological emphases. Additionally, an outline on the parties' background is given and their case selection is justified. In the data analysis part the content is examined and potential findings are explained. Some final remarks will elaborate on the question of similarities and differences on right-wing populism in Austria, Great Britain and Hungary as well as on the extent to which the cases are applicable for the rest of Europe. It turns out that the populist movements apply similar methods and techniques in order to reach their goals. Ideological differences mostly stem from diverging conditions marked by the countries' culture, geographical location and above all their unique past. Nevertheless right-wing populism depicts a diverse movement. Variations and specifications contribute to the fact that cooperation among different parties has been rather marginal this far.

## Theory

In order to identify the variations of contemporary right-wing populism among three European countries the phenomenon has to be relined with a solid theoretical basis. This chapter is meant as a way of approaching the concept of right wing populism. For this reason the concept of conventional right-wing extremism is taken as a starting point and then linked to the rather newly-acrued concept of right wing populism. In order to theorize about these concepts it is inevitable to put the phenomena in a historical perspective. In the literature the study of right-wing extremism is strongly influenced by the study of classical fascism. It is considered to be a predecessor that constitutes the basis of extreme right-wing ideology. Thus, four different types of schools dealing with the study of the phenomenon are delineated in the following. Furthermore a historical overview of the three waves of post-World War Two right-wing extremism is depicted. It turns out that some of the schools are only partly able to explain the phenomenon of right wing populism today. This third wave seems to be closely connected to the globalized setting that is covered by the so-called Modernization School.

### Phenomenon's characterization in the literature

Radical right wing, radical right populism, right-wing extremist, national-populism, far right-wing, new populism, neo-populism, ultra-right, extreme right populism - scholars utilize various labels in order to denote the phenomenon of parties that are located to the right of conventional conservative parties on a single left-right axis. This plethora of terms used in conjunction with these parties led to the fact that they are frequently applied interchangeably and without any further distinctions (Betz, 1994). However, due to the parties' varying political ideas and degree of radicalization a more differentiated approach seems to be necessary. For the sake of simplification in the following the parties' ideology is referred to as *right-wing extremism*. The term seems to be valid to distinguish them from moderate conservative parties that are at times referred to as right-wing. In contrast to other party families that are characterized by common names such as 'Communist', 'Socialists' and 'Greens', parties of the far right reject any general categorization. At times they depict themselves as neither 'left-nor-right' or as a 'third way' (Eatwell, 2000). Most authors consider right-wing extremism as a political ideology that consists of different features. The size of their shopping list as well as the combinations of criteria however differs enormously. For example, Falter and Schuman list ten different features which they regard to be the core of right-extremist thinking: extreme nationalism, ethnocentrism, anti-communism, anti-parliamentarism, anti-pluralism, militarism, law-and-order thinking, a demand for a strong political leader and/or executive, anti-Americanism and cultural pessimism (Falter & Schumann, 1988). In a different study, Mudde described 26 definitions of right-wing extremism in the literature. All taken together, 58 different features are mentioned at least once. To narrow them down he picked five that were mentioned by at least half of the authors: nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and a strong state (Mudde, 1995). In addition to this plethora in terms of numbers authors disagree on the number and combination of features which ought to be present in order to classify a party as right extremist. Consequently, Mudde puts forward three different options: a quantitative, a qualitative and a mixed approach. In the first case all features are equally important and need to be present. The second approach proposes to weigh the features differently. Whereas some of them might be absent, others inevitably must be present in order to classify the case as right-wing extremist. The last option combines the two previous approaches by requiring at least one exclusionist feature (racism, nationalism, or xenophobia) and one strong state feature (law-and-order or militarism) (Mudde, 1996). This shows that the characterization of right-wing extremism remains controversial.

## The theoretical schools of right-wing extremism

Even though scholars do not agree on the exact definition of right wing extremism by enlarge there is a broad consent that the concept's origin can be traced back to the study of historical fascism. Thus, it is not surprising that its classifications are also used within the study of post war right-wing extremism, in which four different schools can be distinguished: the Marxist School, the Extremism School, the New Politics School and the School of Modernization Theory.

Firstly the Marxist School; in classical Marxist theory fascism is described as "a violent, dictatorial agent of bourgeois capitalism" (Payne, 1996, S. 443). Scholars following this approach emphasize both similarities and potential strategic alliances between the extreme right on the one hand and the traditional conservative camp on the other. Their label of neo-fascism clearly indicates a continuative if not identical form of classical fascism. Even though more moderate authors gave their consent that the extreme right of today depicts an intermediate form between the traditional conservative side and fascism (Kühnl, 1992), the Marxist school stresses right-wing features such as conservative moral values, capitalism and anti-communism to depict the extremes right's bridging function between traditional conservatism and fascism (Mudde, 1996).

On the other hand, scholars of the Extremism School that often belong to the traditional liberal and conservative right have intensively criticized the Marxist approach. They reject the idea of similarities between the traditional and extreme right. In fact they emphasize analogies between right extremist and left extremist opposed to democratic forces. Extremism is defined as an anti-thesis of democracy (Mudde, 1996). Particularly German scholars follow the 'legally negative' definition of the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution) (Bendel, 1995) which is valid for either political side.

Thirdly scholars of the New Politics School argue that modernizing times lead to the creation of two new political parties. On the one hand, left-libertarian parties represent the self-perceived winners of modernization. On the other hand, self-perceived losers are represented by right-wing extremist parties. This assumption is taken even further by some authors that depict a new resulting cleavage. The political spectrum is split up in two camps with multi-culturalists on one side and ethnic nationalists on the other (Mudde, 1996).

As a fourth possible way following the reasoning of Modernization theory, right-wing extremism is first and foremost regarded as a reactionary backlash to modernization processes in society. In recent observations these processes are for instance individualization, the decline of the welfare state and world migration. In a more historical context success of right-wing extremist parties is seen as a reaction to prior successes of the left (Mudde, 1996). This assumption has been famously enunciated by the historian Ernst Nolte who declared fascism primarily as a reaction to communism; a controversial position that lead to intellectual and political controversy known as the *Historikerstreit*. In a more recent context Piero Ignazi analyses the third wave of right-wing extremist parties as a reaction to the left-libertarian success some years earlier. Alluding to Ronald Inglehart he speaks of a "silent counter-revolution" that does not only encompass right-wing extremism but also neo-conservatism (Ignazi, 1992).

The following table summarizes the four different schools:

Theoretical School	View on right-wing extremism	Potential alliances	Applicability for right-wing populism
Marxist	Fascism as a logical continuation of conservative ideology	Conservative parties	Bridging function between moderate conservative camp and more radical right-wing parties turns out to be true even though they are mostly not considered to be fascist
Extremism (totalitarianism)	Right-wing extremism as the antithesis to moderate and democratic forces	Extremist forces regardless of their political ideology	Only true in some extremist cases, coalitions in various governments show that it is feasible for moderate conservative to cooperate with them
New Politics	Right-wing extremist and left-libertarian parties form the two sides of a new axis "national identity versus "multicultural" that replaces the old "capital versus labour" axis		Members of moderate parties seem to take diverse standpoints on the issue. They might be too heterogeneous to choose for either side of the new axis which makes the cleavage rather unrealistic.
Modernization	Reaction towards rise of communist ideology (or more recent left-libertarian values)	Conservative parties	Counter-movements as a reaction towards post-materialistic values, modernisation aspect takes the globalized setting of the 21 <sup>st</sup> century into account

Own table, summarizing the findings from Cas Mudde (Mudde, 2004)

As outlined in the table certain aspects of these theoretical schools are able to explain the emergence of right-wing extremist's most recent variant.

Right-wing populism seems to be a specific variation of the phenomenon. Right-wing populism of today frequently lacks the radicalness that classical fascism exhibits. As the change towards post-materialism and an increasing globalized world play a vital role in peoples' life nowadays, the Modernization School seems to be the most adequate school to apply. The following section deals with the different phases of right-wing extremism after World War Two, putting the phenomena in a historical perspective.

### **From Right wing extremism to Right Wing populism**

As mentioned earlier most scholars perceive electoral success of right wing extremist parties in waves, thus following the logic of the German approach. Due to its legacy of the past the phenomenon is studied more extensively in Germany compared to other European countries. Also because in the context of Western European democracies it was in Germany where drastic economic, social and political problems – such as the expulsion from the country's former Eastern territories, as well as its division during the post war era and its Nazi-past – lead to the formation of radical right wing parties that were capable to achieve substantial electoral results instantaneously after World War Two. They consisted foremost of blimpish conservatives and those who were still convinced of nationalistic and fascist ideology. They also presented an additional option to the capitalistic West and the communist East. However, the ban of the political party *Sozialistische Reichspartei Deutschlands* as well as the arriving *Wirtschaftswunder* led to a decrease in popular support of the extreme right-wing camp. Similar developments could be observed in Austria with the *Verband der Unabhängigen* or in the Italian case with the *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (Eatwell, 2000). Yet, broad successes of right wing extremist parties across the continent were absent and the parties' success in the states mentioned above has been ascribed as the direct consequence of nationalistic and fascist regimental heritage they inherited (von Beyme, Right-wing extremism in post-war Europe, 1988). A second wave of electoral success could be observed in the late 1960s. In the case of Germany the *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* managed to win local government seats across West Germany and narrowly missed to win the minimum 5% of votes in federal elections that allow a party to send delegates to the German parliament. By enlarge the party still had close ties with fascist predecessors (Mudde, 1995). Approximately at the same time the formation of the National Front took place in Great Britain. Besides the claim to close down the borders for immigrants the party firmly approved the idea of reintroducing capital punishment in cases of murder, rape, terrorism and paedophilia (Billig, 1979). A few years earlier France witnessed the emergence of the *Union de défense des commerçants et artisans*. It was mainly perceived as a petty-bourgeois anti-tax protest movement of small businessmen, traders and some medium-sized entrepreneurs. Among other things the three parties unashamedly followed a discourse of anti-Semitism or even holocaust denial. Nevertheless, none of these or any similar movements in other countries managed to sustain or even achieve a substantial and permanent political position.

The next upsurge of right-wing extremist parties could be observed during the 1980s. As various political parties entered national parliaments and managed to establish a solid basis, this time is considered to be the most successful one. The process of modernization mentioned earlier triggered the so-called third wave of the right wing extremism. It is regarded as a severe challenge to western democracies depicting a "dynamic, and disruptive, political phenomenon" (Betz, 1994) and signifying

a fundamental transformation of Europe's democracies. This contemporary right-wing extremism is a modern phenomenon that is only vaguely connected to its predecessors. Frequently the parties distance themselves from backward-looking, reactionary politics of the traditional extremist (Betz, 1994). They have either undergone a phase of renewal due to cultural and social developments in post-war Western Europe or even accrued as a new phenomenon during the regime changes in central and Eastern Europe after 1989. Minkenberg argues that this third wave is a product of regrouping and restructuring the political spectrum. New actors and alliances potentially lead to a conflict axis that might cut across classical established lines of societal cleavages and partisan conflicts (Minkenberg, 2008).

In the literature this third wave of right-wing extremism is highly disputed in many ways. It is widely perceived to have started during 1980s. However, whether the recent successes of these parties are still part of the same wave is contested. Examples of "third wave parties" can be found all over Europe. Yet, the degree of success varies enormously. In the Italian case the Lega Lombarda, which was established as a regional party, at first succeeded to attract voters in Lombardy and went on to the national level forming the Lega Nord after having united with other leagues. In France the Front National under Jean-Marie le Pen emerged from virtually zero percent in 1981 to 9.6 percent seven years later (Betz H. G., 1993). Even more noteworthy was Le Pen's performance during election in 2002 when he qualified for the second round for the French presidency; an event that also attracted much attention in the international media.

However, when talking about right-wing populism Jörg Haider and his *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ)* are frequently considered to be the phenomenon's proto typ. Thirty years ago the party had virtually ceased to exist as a relevant political force. Yet, it regained its strength under the young and charismatic chairman Haider. Eventually in 2000 a coalition between the conservative Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP) and the FPÖ took over the government. For the first time in history member states of the European Union openly acted against one of its fellow members by reducing diplomatic relations with Austria to a merely technical level and threatened to impose further sanctions. Yet, sanctions were soon lifted and a paradigm shift could be observed in European politics. Oliver Marchart named this process the "Austrification of Europe" referring to a quote by Wolfgang Schüssel, the Austrian chancellor at that time (Marchart, 2002). Conservative parties started to form coalitions with parties that in the past had been considered as being far if not extremist right in the political spectrum and thus inappropriate for cooperation.

In the case of Eastern European countries any kind of political right wing discourse had been suppressed by the communist regimes. However, after the fall of communism it turned out that the disposition of a mind-set favouring certain elements of a right-wing ideology could not easily be swept aside. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the ostensibly defeat of communist ideology provided a fertile ground for both conservative and radical right ideas. The rise and popularity of parties favouring such political ideas was soon reflected in terms of electoral results.

Wave	Time	Parties (examples)	Historical Circumstances	Ideology
I	1945- mid 1950s	Sozialistische Reichspartei Deutschlands, Verband der Unabhängigen, Movimento Sociale Italiano	Turbulent post-war era, not yet having come to terms with the past	Fascist/ Nationalistic thinking
II	1960s-early 1970s	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, National Front, Union de défense des commerçants et artisans	Protests of 1968 (lead to counter-movements), beginning of systematic immigration	Anti-Semitic attitudes, similarities to classical fascist ideology, anti-tax related politics, "law-and-order" attitude, partly anti-immigrant
III	1980s-now	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, Lega Nord, Front National, Die Republikaner, Partij voor de Vrijheid , United Kingdom Independence Party, Vlaams Belang, Jobbik, Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja, Perussuomalaiset	Aftermath of 1968: triggered change of life in political, cultural and social spheres → post-industrial age, modernization processes	Resistance against modernization: (regional) diversification of ideological goals, anti-immigration, promotion of ethnic homogeneity

Findings from von Beyme (von Beyme, 1988) and Zimmermann & Saalfeld (Zimmermann & Saalfeld, 1993).

### Populism-The people versus the powerful

Notwithstanding the intensive discussions on populist parties many scholars fail to characterize precisely what is meant by the term 'populist'. Two interpretations are dominant in the public debate. The first refers to the politics of the *Stammtisch (pub)* aiming at the gut feelings of the people -thus an emotional and simplistic approach providing seemingly simple solutions to complex problems. However, this definition remains very vague as any evaluation of what is emotional and what is rational appears to be highly subjective (Mudde, 2004).

The second definition that is frequently mentioned is the one of opportunistic politics. To solve a certain problem, not the seemingly best or most suitable option is chosen, but rather the one that is most attractive for the voter. An example often referred to as such an attempt of pleasing the voter or buying the support, is lowering taxes just before elections. Nevertheless, also in this case the

question of how to define what is sound and what is opportunistic remains undecided (Mudde, 2004) Ralf Dahrendorf noted correctly that “the one’s populism, is the other one’s democracy, and vice versa” (Dahrendorf, 2003).

Mudde regards the approaches mentioned above as missing the core of what populism is considered in the academic literature. Instead he defines populism as “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde, 2004). Consequently, according to him populism rejects both the idea of elitism and pluralism and the two can be regarded as its opposites. In contrast to populism the elitism’s *Weltanschauung* considers the people to be amoral and politics as an issue for the moral elite. Pluralism on the other hand perceives society as consisting of heterogeneous groups and thus rejecting homogeneity. Populism is a rather thin-centred ideology whose core concept is depicted in the struggle between *the people versus the powerful*. In contrast to other ideologies it does not aim at altering the minds of people but the circumstances. This leads to the fact that populism can be combined with other ideologies. Populists claim to speak in the name of the oppressed people against the established political class. It is frequently understood as a response to social crisis. The transformation to post-industrial societies in Europe mentioned earlier results in a perceived challenge to ‘our way of life’ as well as persisting political resentment. In contemporary Europe populism is mostly associated with the extremist right. Mudde notes that this is “not entirely illogical, because of the right’s focus on the nation and the radical right’s nationalism. The step from ‘the nation’ to ‘the people’ is easily taken, and the distinction between the two is often far from clear” (Mudde, 2004).

The focus of populist parties and movements however differs from country to country. It seems like the approaches and solutions for social problems proposed by right-wing populist parties’ deviate. Taking this assumption as a starting point the parties’ materials are analyzed as they are considered to be an epitomization of the country-specific right-wing populist ideology.

## **Valid theoretical insights informing the research**

This chapter has provided the necessary framework for the study of right-wing extremism and right wing populism. It clarified how the phenomena’s roots can be traced back to the study of historical fascism. Due to their historical accentuations the Marxist and Extremist school seem to be applicable in this context. This is also true for the first two waves of right-wing extremism after World War Two. Ideologically-speaking they were closely related to the nationalistic and fascist regimes from some years before. Parties of the third wave however do not only frequently distance themselves from fascist ideology but propagate a more moderate and diversified political program. Nevertheless, it was also depicted how the different schools are unable to explain this modern variant to a satisfactory extent. The parties’ rhetorical style and demands remain more radical than those of the established parties in the political spectrum. The third waves populist parties managed to address sentiments that seem to concern broad parts of the population. After an era of ignoring and condemning the radical ideology nowadays conservative parties often do no longer hesitate to form coalitions with right-wing populist parties. The theory of ‘Modernization’ seems to be valuable when trying to answer the research question theoretically. At least it helps to explain the parties’ innovative nature compared to their historical predecessors. Variations and differences in the reaction towards post-materialistic values might stem from diverging circumstances and different

consequences globalization of the 21st century generates for the countries' population. Having introduced the topic by providing a necessary historical background and theorizing about the concept of right-wing populism the next chapter deals with methodological issues of the analytical part of this thesis. Besides outlining the research design, case selection and the method of data collection it also introduces the different subject areas according to which the party documents are analyzed.

## **Methodology**

Having introduced the theoretical schools of right-wing extremism as well as the phenomena's development after World War Two the question remains of how to identify the variations and emphasis embodied by the parties under scrutiny.

To maximize transparency and accountability the research process is discussed step by step.

It starts by outlining the strengths and weaknesses of the research design.

Furthermore, the choice of materials, as well as their origin and applicability will be laid out and discussed. In addition to that it is argued why the parties were chosen and their historical background is briefly summarized. It makes the process more traceable and indicates the technique employed in order to analyse the data to derive at certain conclusions.

Since the research question addresses the variations among right wing populist ideology it becomes inevitable to analyze the parties' attitudes towards a wider range of issues. Drawing country-specific inferences is only possible if different policy fields are considered. As outlined above and in contrast to their predecessors the contemporary right wing populist parties no longer propagate a single-issue ideology. Due to their rather heterogeneous electorate and the increased share of the votes they have to adapt a whole series of other topics as well. To comprehensively reflect these recent developments the parties' materials under scrutiny are split into different categories. Analyzing the parties' ideology according to these categories enables the researcher to compare and contrast their attitudes.

## **Data Collection**

### **Material**

The study includes a content analysis of official party documents that have been published recently. The reasons for that are manifold. Programs and brochures constitute the parties' official standpoints. They "offer voters a summary of leading issue priorities [...] and are usually ratified by party conventions, they are authoritative statements of party policies and represent the whole party, not just one faction or politician" (Cole, 2005). Party programs and official statements are also prepared conscientiously as they are decisive how the party defines itself and wants to present itself to a broad public. Due to the limited scope of a Bachelor thesis only the material mentioned above will be analyzed. Therefore, official statements and press releases on the parties' websites are not examined. Further research in this area could take such an approach as it potentially implies the opportunity to observe how a party adjusts its position on a certain issue or how it reacts according to current events. Party programs seem to be a valid source as they depict official standpoints. The concerning documents are prepared with great care as they are made public and referred to by a broad audience. Finally, the wording is assumed to be carefully chosen since the party's policies are judged on the basis of the documents and thus constitute certain degree credibility. Another advantage of studying official party documents is their comparableness. By and large they

are written for the same purpose and with the same goal: representing the party to the public. Comparing the variations of right-wing populist ideologies among different European countries in terms of an actual party document analysis might also fill a gap in the current state of scientific research. The documents have been retrieved from the parties' websites and constituted the latest official stances the parties took on the according issues at that point of time.

However, comparing the party documents in a proper manner turned out to be rather challenging. Considering the study's international background, most party documents and official standpoints are only published in the native language and their length and content varies. Another important issue was the up-to-dateness. The goal was to choose party material that constitutes a quantitatively and content-wise comparable set. In order to fulfil the requirement to provide roughly the same content in terms of policy fields the following documents were chosen:

The Jobbik Party introduced its latest election manifesto at the General Assembly on the 16th of January 2010. A shortened, English version of 25 pages named "Radical Change" can be found at the party's website. As for the UKIP the entire national manifesto "Empowering the people" of 16 pages can be downloaded at the party's website as well and dates back to April 2010. In the case of the Austrian FPÖ the selection turned out to be more challenging. Since the latest official party program did not accurately address the same issues as the programs of the other parties and merely conveys very basic, over-generalized statements it turned out not to be a valid source for the analysis. Instead the so-called "Handbuch freiheitlicher Politik" (Handbook of liberal politics) was chosen as a source since it fulfilled the task of addressing the same policy fields as the party programs of the two other parties under scrutiny. It can also be found at the party's website and encompasses 314 pages. Nevertheless when selecting the relevant parts for the purpose of this research the quantitative proportion turns out to be similar to the other two documents. Even though the material was chosen with great care and to the end that a high degree of comparableness is guaranteed one has to bear in mind the fact that the documents differ in length and they were not all written in English in the first place.

## Case selection

The parties under scrutiny are all European parties that are established in their democratic national parliamentary setting. They were chosen purposely since they are considered to be an epitomisation of their national-specific right-wing populist ideology and represent a geographically and culturally diversified sample. The European Parliament elections of 2009 were taken as a point of reference to make the cases more comparable. In the countries of Austria, Great Britain and Hungary parties were chosen that are defined both as being right of moderate conservative parties and whose electoral results in the European parliament election of 2009 was significant. This is the case for the Austrian *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (12.71%), the British *United Kingdom Independence Party* (16.09 %) and the Hungarian *Jobbik Magyarorszáért Mozgalom* (14.77 %) (European Parliament, 2009).

In the following a brief abstract of the parties' history is depicted in order to understand their background and thus their ideological roots.

The *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (FPÖ) did not accrue as a product of the 'third wave'. In fact already throughout the post war period it played a significant role in Austrian politics. As a successor of the *Verband der Unabhängigen* (VdU) it was founded in 1955. In previous years the VdU had had troubles finding a compromise between the will of former NSDAP members who had been denied the voting right and liberal members willing to form a moderate political force next to the socialist left and the catholic right. In 1955 the VdU agreed to fuse with other political parties to form the

FPÖ. During the Monarchy and first Republic the so-called *Lager*; a national liberal political subculture represented an important part of the political system. The newly emerged FPÖ tried to incorporate parts of this German-oriented ideology. However, due to the Nazi-past the association was discredited and in the following years the party had to face internal conflicts between progressive and reactionary forces. At the beginning of the 1970s the liberal forces finally seem to gain the upper hand. A growing number of young, progressive party members were represented by Norbert Steger who finally became chairman in 1980. Three years later he managed to form a coalition government together with the social-democratic Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ). However, the FPÖ's electoral results started to decline dramatically and as a result the party's internal balance of power had started to shift away from Steger's liberal position towards the conservative wing embodied by a man called Jörg Haider. In September 1986 the chairman of the Carinthian FPÖ took over the party leadership (Betz, 1994). Promoting a far-right political style the party was not longer suitable to form national coalitions with either of the two major parties. After various successes on the regional level the oppositional phase on the national level ended with the elections in 1999. After long conversations the party formed a governing coalition with the conservative Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP). The FPÖ's participation in the government was different compared to the situation almost thirty years earlier. Whereas under Steger the party followed a moderate centrist liberal approach the focus had shifted towards issues such as immigration, questions of identity and critique of both the political establishment and the EU. (Betz, 1994). Notwithstanding the international sanctions mentioned earlier various FPÖ-inspired proposals were embraced by the coalition. However, the ÖVP was successful in their attempt to leave "no room to the right of the ÖVP for a right wing populist party" (Luther, 2003) as the country's interior minister Ernst Strasser formulated it. In the early elections of 2002 the FPÖ lost nearly two thirds of its votes from the previous elections in 1999. The coalition stayed in government but in 2005 Jörg Haider broke away from the FPÖ and went on to found a new party named the *Bündnis Zukunft Österreichs* (ÖVP). The fact that broad parts of the FPÖ's elite followed Haider resulted in a process of the party's restructuring. Under their new chairman Heinz-Christian Strache the ideology focused again on promoting anti-immigration, anti-Islam and Eurosceptic issues (Minkenberg, 2008). The strategy seems to be promising in terms of vote-maximising. Receiving a vote share of 12.71% in the European Parliament elections of 2009 (European Parliament, 2009) opinion polls predicted a current support of about 26% for the national election (Nationalrat, 2011).

The *United Kingdom Independence Party* (UKIP) was founded in 1993. It is considered to be a direct successor of the cross party organisation *Anti-Federalist League* whose sole political objective was campaigning against the Maastricht Treaty (Abedi & Lundberg, 2009). The UKIP took the idea a step further. As a consequence of the treaty's ratification they promoted UK's withdrawal from the European Union. Thereon several euro sceptic members of the conservative camp joined the party. Its history is marked by endless internal quarrels among its leaders and disputes about the programmatic emphasises. Alan Sked leader and one of the founding members left the party in 1997 believing that its members were "racist and have been infected by the far-right" (The Guardian, 2005). Two years later the UKIP managed to win three seats in the European Parliament. However, they did not to break through in national elections and failed to enter Westminster as well as the Scottish parliament and the Welsh Assembly. In 2004 the former Labour Party MP Robert Kilroy-Silk joined the UKIP the European Parliament Election campaign. He became the party's whip in the European parliament and his reputation as a chat-show host helped to increase the party's profile.

After disagreements with the leadership, however, he left the party (Abedi & Lundberg, 2009). The UKIP's hostile stance towards the European Union achieves public acclaim. In the course of the European elections 2009 Stuart Wheeler, an influential donor of the Tories donated £100,000 to UKIP for their critical view on the EU as such and the Lisbon treaty in particular (BBC, 2009). Eventually, the party ended up gaining 16.01 % of all votes in the UK, finishing second after the Conservatives and overtaking the Labour Party (European Parliament, 2009).

As a consequence of the British voting system the UKIP did not take any seats in the 2010 General Election despite the fact that the party polled 3.1%. In its history various persons have defected from their former party to the UKIP. Since Great Britain is widely perceived as being an EU-sceptic country anyway the reasons for such defection are mostly subscribed to the party's even more EU-phobic attitude. From 1999 onwards the party used to belong to the euro sceptic group of *Europe of Democracies and Diversities (EDD)* European parliament. Five years later though along with other parties a new European Parliamentary group called *Independence and Democracy* was formed. However, the group dissolved again and currently the UKIP is part of a group called *Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD)*. Furthermore their member Godfrey Bloom is part of the pan-European political party European Alliance for Freedom (BBC, 2009).

The Movement for a Better Hungary (Hungarian: *Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom*) is internationally frequently referred to as Jobbik and was originally founded in 2003. In a way the name Jobbik is a paronomasia meaning both "the better" and "the more rightist". It was originally based on a group of catholic and protestant university students. The extreme right wing parties are a recent phenomenon in the Hungarian party system. This new party structure opened up space for people who were previously not active in politics and promised to establish a system of social market economy (Mayer & Odehnal, 2010). According to Jobbik, however, it became clear that under these parties of governmental restructuring "not even a worthwhile attempt had been made to achieve this" (Jobbik, 2010) and according to their point of view communists were still in charge. For the national elections in 2006 Jobbik formed the MIÉP–Jobbik Third Way Alliance of Parties with the far-right Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIÉP). As the alliance only won 2.2% of the votes it was regarded as a failure and cooperation was put to a halt (Mayer & Odehnal, 2010). However, the European Parliamentary elections three years later turned out to be an extraordinary success. The party managed to achieve 14.77%, positioning itself as the third largest party in the country (European Parliament, 2009). Only one year later Jobbik was able to cement its position by gaining 12.26% in the second round of the 2010 parliamentary elections. Whereas the party perceives itself as "a principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party" (Jobbik, 2010) it has been frequently accused of being homophobic, anti-Roma, anti-Semitic and neo fascist as well as cooperating with paramilitary groups (Mayer & Odehnal, 2010). In 2009 Jobbik was one of the parties that founded the Alliance of European National Movements, an alliance of nationalist and far-right parties from countries in Europe.

Selecting a coherent set of cases that are comparable in every aspect is impossible. The parties depicted above vary in many aspects. For instance, they accrued at different points of time and vary in the extent of radicalization as well as the international media coverage. However, they also seem promising to study for various reasons. Despite the fact that these parties reject such classifications by enlarge all of them are labelled populist right-wing parties that are positioned to the right of moderate conservative parties. Not in the least does their electorate only consist of right wing extremists but instead it turns out to be surprisingly heterogonous. The fact that all of them scored high results in the European Parliament Elections of 2009 supports this assumption.

Taking into account the parties' characteristics outlined before as well as their anti-establishment attitudes they are considered to be the epitomisation of their nation-specific populism that is worthwhile studying and comparing.

## Data Analysis

Having discussed which cases and what kind of material are interpreted this passage aims at depicting the analysis mechanics. Making sense and interpreting always includes a subjective element, as the researcher who is interpreting the data does so with a certain mind-set. This Bachelor thesis aims at revealing which policy fields and issues are utilized by right-wing populist parties in three different European countries in order to infer it to a country specific populist ideology. In order to minimize subjectivity there are measures to ensure a sound analytical process. Hereby the selected documents constitute the units of observation. For the sake of practicality and transparency the program ATLAS.ti will be used in order to code and analyze the data. It contributes to a simplification of the analysis as well as the data's interpretation.

## Research design and analytical tools

In order to answer the research question a comparative case study is employed. Such an approach "allows the investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Yin, 2009) as well as the ability to gain in-depth understanding of the issue's underlying mechanisms. The approach is suitable as the different right-wing populist ideologies are assumed to be country specific. As a consequence, it is inevitable to take those specific circumstances of the national context into account. The characteristics of the country specific right wing populist ideology require an in-depth analysis of the according parties' materials. Populist parties can be understood as representing a mouthpiece for a variety of radical rightwing attitudes among the population. Therefore, examining their characteristics in detail seems to be valid in order to establish a solid comparison between countries.

With the help of Atlas.ti the validity of results on a conceptual stage can be increased as it simplifies going back to the raw data behind the concepts and consequently makes the research process visible and easier to reconstruct. The program helps "integrating all material in one place, attaching notes and finding them again, counting the numbers of coded incidences, offering overviews at various stages of a project" (Friese, 2011) which otherwise would be necessary to do manually.

The analytical process is conducted in various steps. It starts with the process of open coding by obtaining an overview over the documents and identifying certain policy fields and issues that are reflected in each of the parties' documents. In the following the relevant sections are closely interpreted and phrases or words are assigned to categories that are constructed during the process. From this first round of open coding, a draft coding-scheme was generated.

Quotes were grouped together under descriptive category names. For example anything mentioned about issues such as the self-image of the society, Identity issues and heritage concerns as well as degree of extraversion and education fall under the category of Societal Model.

Taking this developed coding scheme as a basis the other documents were analysed in the same manner in so far as the interpretation of new text parts didn't make new categories necessary. For the sake of internal homogeneity some of the categories had to be split up or rearranged as the number of quotes increased. By coding in two cycles; firstly generating codes and secondly applying these codes to the data sources helps to see whether categories are grounded and whether further categories need to be derived from the data (Saldana, 2009). Constant comparison of data within the categories helps to generate internal coherency. Naturally to ensure a sound and valid outcome the

coding requires several repetitions and revisions.

When scanning through the party documents certain topics and issues seem to be congruent in terms of coverage. The core fields that are dealt with in the party documents are summarized as the following core categories: Legislative & Judiciary, Economy, Foreign Policy & Defence issues, Infrastructure & Environmental issues and societal model. These categories are analyzed in more detail by splitting them up in several sub-categories. Examining what stances the parties take on the issues and how they stress certain topics will facilitate the drawing of tentative conclusion about the parties' right-wing populist nature.

Policy field	Context
<u>Legislative&amp; Judiciary</u> Constitutional matters Law and order	Basic constitutional set-up of the country, sovereignty and authority of the state, relationship between the state and the individual, legal issues also in terms of strictness of the law
<u>Economy</u> Welfare state Healthcare system Tax Public Spending/Banking sector	Government supervision and restriction, intervention and role of the welfare state, social security and tax issues.
<u>Foreign Policy &amp; Defence issues</u> European Union Relations to other states National Defence/Border issues	International relations of the state, special regard to the role of the European Union and the relation to the according country, relationship to the rest of the world, military and security issues concerning the country's sovereignty.
<u>Infrastructure &amp; Environmental issues</u> Traffic Energy Environment	Environmental issue, animal protection as well as the country's energy supply, road-and rail building plans
<u>Societal model</u> Culture/ societal idea Identity Immigration	Self-image of the society, Identity and heritage as well as degree of extraversion and education

This chapter provided the necessary framework that is required to execute a coherent analysis of the parties' materials. It has been argued why the selection of comparative case study seems the most promising research design in order to answer the research question in a meaningful manner. Furthermore the materials under scrutiny as well as the case selection of the according parties have been justified. In order to determine the parties' political ideology certain mechanics have to be applied to the documents at hand. In order to do so different policy fields have been grouped into five categories.

The theory has set the historical background on which today's right wing populism is based upon. It was indicated how this third wave can be understood as a product of modernization processes described in the theory section. In the following the concept is linked to the thesis' main objective: revealing the variations.

In the next chapter documents of all three parties are analyzed and applied to this categorization.

## Analysis

### Reconstructed positions along categories

The analysis' set-up is based on the categorized model of five different policy fields mentioned above. These fields are then again sub-divided into more specific issues. Doing so enables the researcher to organise the process in a more transparent manner and makes the ideological content comparable. Furthermore the analysis and interpretation of data are simplified as the process allows displaying certain relations and patterns of codes and categories.

### Legislative & Judiciary

#### Jobbik

Concerning the institutional set-up Jobbik promotes a democratic system based on a new constitution that has to be approved by referendum. Thereby, the so-called "Doctrine of the Holy Crown" constitutes the vital component of the envisaged regime. It is perceived to be the "constitutional spirit" that is complemented by certain constitutional statutes. Referring to this historical aspect the party not only believes it "would provide true constitutional authority" but at the same time insinuates an aspect of identity formation. Furthermore the principle of subsidiarity is stressed as a robust state is thought to be governed best by local government and decisions taken at a level where they affect people directly. Even though subsidiarity is a widely perceived as a sound principle that is commonly used to perform tasks effectively and immediately at a local level it evokes a negative association in this context. Both the emphasis and wording of Jobbik's formulation point in the direction that the current government is not handling the problems in the common interest and must therefore be taken care of by "the people". This train of thought has been mentioned before. It is exactly what Cas Mudde describes as the populist perspective of the fight between "the people versus the powerful". (Mudde, 2004). In order to overcome the problem of corruption and exuberant bureaucracy the party promotes a system they label "open government". The access to state information is supposed to be stored digitally and thus enlarges the degree of transparency. Besides "political crime" the program emphasises "gypsy crime and economic crime" as the two

other objectives that the party's law and order ambitions have to deal with. The dogma of stipulating an ethnic minority as one of the core problems of society is again picked up when it comes to the preferred societal model.

#### United Kingdom Independence Party

Also the United Kingdom Independence Party stresses the necessity to stimulate subsidiarity. The notion of reviving democracy in its initial sense is reflected in the party program's sub headline "Empowering the people". In addition to promoting decision-making on a local level, accountability plays a deceive role as well; "a right of recall whereby electors can challenge an errant MP and force a by-election in exceptional circumstances [...]". Further aspired constitutional changes, however, turn out to be quiet ambivalent. Apart from strengthening the legislative by granting the parliament powers such as consent to declare war and treaty ratification various elements of a direct democracy ought to be established. British icons such as the monarchy and Church of England should be backed up and endorsed though at the same time cut loose from state support. In this regard the party seems to be in favour of the formal separation of church and state but at the same time recognizing the institution as an important reference point of identity. The most crucial constitutional aspect, however, is the immediate withdrawal from the European Union. It is at the core of what the party's ideology is based on. As shown in the following this key argument appears in almost every policy field that is discussed in the program. In this section the intention to repeal the Human Rights Act exemplifies this reasoning. Furthermore the program conveys a rather tough law-and-order policy. The introduction of "boot camps" as well as buzz phrases such as "three strikes and you're out", "zero tolerance on crime" as well as "end the scandal of early releases and weak sentencing" clearly indicate a substantial tightening of the law.

#### Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs

Similar to the other two parties the FPÖ promotes a far-reaching extension of subsidiarity. The role of referenda is an essential part of the party's appreciation of democracy. The conditions for both the possibility as well as the necessity for referenda must be simplified. Additionally, the party strives for a comprehensive reform of the legislative branch with more direct democracy as an overall goal. Concerning its law-and-order mentality the welfare state is considered to be a subject that needs to be defended. Benefit fraud is regarded a severe crime that should be strictly punished. In this context the FPÖ's main objective becomes already manifest. The consistent tenor is an anti-immigrant attitude. Besides various other aspects immigrants are depicted as a menace to the welfare state. The notion of benefit fraud is closely connected to this group by accusing them of exploiting the social security systems. A considerable part of the program is on felonies is associated with the topic of immigration. Certain types of crimes are connected to ethnic groups with a Muslim background and the potential Islamic terrorism is counteracted by setting up specific police units. In general more money should be spent in the sector of the police force. Among the crimes that are. Especially tackled are child abuse and drug use. In both areas tightening of the law is deemed necessary.

## Economy

#### Jobbik

Jobbik's economic paradigm is determined by a sharp critique of global capitalism. Instead the program puts forward arguments for an economy that is tailored to "serve the interests of

Hungarians". The government should be able to protect state assets and lobby for domestic manufactures by initiating programs such as the "Buy Hungarian!" slogan that favours Hungarian products. The problem of unemployment is tackled by public working schemes and privatization contracts will be made subjects of extensive review. Various tax policies and regulations are said to be changed. This process develops into two directions. Whereas a tax reform would lower contributions made by certain groups the income tax for other parts of the population would rise according to Jobbik's normative view on the situation. For instance the institution of the family is idealized as a prototype for a sound life plan and is consequently privileged by state policy. Foreign investment is supposed to be reduced by regulation in order to guarantee supremacy of domestic companies. The welfare state differentiates between healthcare and social-care provisions. Jobbik rejects the privatization of both the national security systems and healthcare institutions. The introduction of a so-called social card scheme constitutes the ground for Jobbik's social security system. It is based on a Christian social foundation. Nevertheless the program also puts forward the emphasis of employment policy rather than administrative unemployment. The overall tenor of an economic model is rather nationalistic and based on a strong state. Even though Jobbik rejects any kind of leftist ideology the concept looks a lot like a centrally planned economy compromising some social-populist elements.

#### United Kingdom Independence Party

UKIP takes a rather neo liberal stance on economic issues. Due to the enormous national debt the party stresses the need for major cuts in government spending. In particular the size of the public sector is to be reduced. The current welfare state is regarded as overgenerous and overregulated. Therefore social benefits should be both reduced but also rolled into simpler categories. Another source of redundant bureaucracy mentioned several times is seen in EU directives and regulations that are said to contain the British economy. This anti-EU sentiment is accompanied by a rather nation state focused economic view. In contrast to the liberal Anglo-British tradition and their own capitalist approach national companies and products are privileged in several ways. UKIP plans to establish a so-called "UK Takeover Code" to "prevent foreign interests from gaining control of strategic British companies in sectors such as defence and energy". Furthermore the party wants to stimulate private and public investment in British manufacturing and promote British products by special labelling, campaigning and advertising.

Social benefits are to be reduced and simplified in terms of bureaucratic efforts. The National Health Service (NHS) is to be reformed and people are enabled to opt out of the public healthcare system easier. At the same time the party puts forward a plan of extensive tax reduction in several areas. The loss of fiscal revenue is said to be compensated by a reduced bureaucracy and overregulation that stems from the Membership of the European Union.

#### Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs

The FPÖ promotes lowering of taxes as a key concern of their economic program. Easing the burden of dues is seen as a liberal basis for the citizens' self-determination. Employees and employers should decide on their own how to invest their money. By reducing administrative costs taxes can be lowered and private investment is stimulated. The state should focus on its core competences. This approach is a typical liberal one. Yet, the Small state model and broader financial capabilities for the citizens contrast other programmatic issues that are raised. Benefit fraud is regarded as a grave problem; still, frequently the party makes an affirmation concerning the necessity of the welfare state. Privatization of social benefit is strictly objected. Instead the party stresses the fundamental

role of Christianity in the Austrian societal model. The party takes a very social stance concerning solidarity among the members of society. This is especially true concerning disabled, older and ill people. However the welfare state is also seen as a subject of misfeasance. As it is based on the idea of an intergeneration contract the current childlessness depicts a severe challenge to the system. Austria's sophisticated social security model is considered to be one of the most extensive ones in the world. Due to its size and the resulting financial requirements it is even more subject of public debate than in other countries. This virtuality is also reflected when it comes to benefit fraud and particularly concerning the issue of immigration that is discussed later.

## Foreign policy/ Defence issues

### Jobbik

Jobbik's view on the country itself and the relation to other states is heavily influenced by the historical consequences of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The treaty between the allies of World War 1 and Hungary redefined and reduced the country's borders to a substantial extent. Compared to 1914 Hungary lost 72% of its territory and as a consequence also 31% of ethnic Hungarians. Over 90 years later Jobbik utilizes the event and refers to it the problem of "Hungarians beyond the border". Ethnic Hungarians should not only achieve self-determination but the party also questions Hungary's current frontiers. The Treaty of Trianon should be revised and the true Hungarian nation be reunified. At the same time Jobbik seems to be aware of the demand's radicalness. Thus, also more moderate claims are made: a Hungarian mandate of protective power status for the ethnic Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries, a guarantee for them to acquire Hungarian citizenship as well as the development of border-transcending regional cooperation and a "coordinated development of domestic relationships between disparate nationalities". Jobbik claims that the "Hungarian question" is not widely known and discussed on an international stage, especially not in the European Union. The Union's set up is regarded very critically anyway. Jobbik rejects the Treaty of Lisbon and the general idea of a United States of Europe. By and Large the system of EU institutions is considered to be anti-democratic. Certain clauses of the accession treaty are supposed to be disadvantageous to Hungary. Taken together a continued membership of the EU is seriously doubted. The country's future foreign policy is to be diversified. Using its geostrategic position it will function as a bridgehead between West and East. The emphasis on eastern European foreign politics will be strengthened. Due to their growing status and influence diplomatic efforts are predominantly aimed at China, Japan, Kazakhstan and Turkey. In the future a bilateral relationship with the United States should foremost be based on Hungarian interests. Furthermore the development of a partnership with Russia is proposed and diplomatic relations with Arabic nations should be intensified.

Another important aspect for Jobbik is the issue of national defence. An increased proportion of the country's GDP is dedicated to military issues. A newly established Hungarian guard is to ensure the nation's security.

### United Kingdom Independence Party

As its name unequivocally signifies independence is the party's major objective. In this case independence equates first and foremost independence from the European Union. Withdrawal from the supranational institution is the issue that can be found in almost every policy field of the party

program. The EU is referred to in a non-objective rhetorical manner. Terms like EU Superstate or Eurocrats are deliberately chosen in order to discredit the system. Furthermore it is regarded as anti-democratic and infringing the sovereignty of Great Britain. Among other things the UKIP expects regaining control of its borders. Due to then void regulations the British economy would profit from a trade-based relationship similar to the Swiss free trade agreement.

In the field of defence and military issues UKIP emphasizes the need for stronger engagement. The defence expenditure is to be increased by 40%. The money should be invested both in material as well as to improve the financial situation of the armed forces. The proposition of building three new aircraft carriers rather looks like an attempt to strengthen the country's image of a military important player rather than a rational choice. EU operations are generally rejected and stronger involvement in NATO operations is preferred. Restoring historic regiments and investing in units such as the RAF might strengthen the self-understanding and consciousness of identity.

The issue of identity plays a vital role in the party's program. Notwithstanding the country's membership in the European Union it is felt that common cultural heritage is shared with other regions in the world. All along Great Britain had indispensable interest in a sound relationship with the United States. The UKIP picks up this historical bond. Not only political-wise but also in economic terms should Great Britain pursue trade deals with blocs such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Possibly even more important are the country's cultural relationships to former and present commonwealth countries. Due to its dominant role as a global power during the last centuries Great Britain enjoys special relationships to countries all over the world. Accordingly the UKIP stresses common features of all commonwealth countries such as the language and legal system. In line with this a Commonwealth Free Trade Area encompassing more than 50 other nations should be established.

Taken together the party puts forward a rather reactionary foreign policy model that stresses historic affiliations. Nowadays the links are only valid to a certain extent. Describing the commonwealth nations as a community of countries sharing a mutual language or legal system appears ridiculous when taking a closer look at the countries. Besides the fact that the legal systems of the according countries are by no means all of a democratic nature many of them regard English as the language of a former oppressor and possess a very unique, own identity, also in linguistically. Nevertheless with its anti-Europe attitude the party mirrors broad parts of the public opinion that stresses the uniqueness of a British life style that turns out to be different compared to their European peers in many aspects.

#### Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs

The FPÖ stance on European integration is diverse and biased in various ways. On the one hand the party makes a positive affirmation towards a "Europe of fatherlands". This version of Europe incorporates European integration and cooperation particularly in the presence of an ever-growing global distribution battle with other parts of the world. Yet, On the other hand the European Union as such is evaluated very critically. The system is depicted as a centralized superstate that does not only undermine national sovereignty and solidarity but also basic features of democracy. In particular recent developments concerning competences and institutional changes are heavily criticized. Accordingly the party rejects the Treaty of Lisbon that is said to destroy the country's sovereignty and neutrality. The model of Europe put forward by the FPÖ is dominated by intergovernmental decision-making, taking the uniqueness and diversity of different countries into account. The Euro's continued existence in today's set-up is seriously questioned. Instead an economic division between the hard currency countries from the north and soft-currency countries from the south is foreseen. Dividing the euro zone into two groups would result in an increased

homogeneity and stability. An overall Austrian Withdrawal from the European Union is not completely ruled out but denominated as a last resort. One of the major concerns is the Union's geographical boundaries. A fully fledged Turkish membership is strictly rejected. In terms of bilateral efforts, Austria should strengthen its historical relations with countries in the Balkan region as well as with Russia. Special attention should also be paid to Austrian minorities living in South Tyrol. The party stresses the right of self-determination and aspires a reunification of a collective Tyrolean state.

For the sake of their historical neutrality The FPÖ promotes the continued existence of compulsory military service. Furthermore an additional amount of money should be spent in the military sector. Notwithstanding the general confession to Europe the party takes a very critical if not hostile stance on further European integration. First and foremost the system of the EU as such is regarded as anti-democratic and to run contrary to Austrian interests in many ways. At this economic reason play a crucial role as the institutions are portrayed as over-governed. Problems arising from immigration and questions of identity are negatively linked to the EU's accountability. In terms of bilateral relationships the historic linkages from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy are emphasized. This is also true for the sensible issue of south Tyrol. In both cases the party takes a rather reactionary point of view.

## Infrastructure & Environmental issues

### Jobbik

The energy sector is perceived as a strategic branch where government intervention is requested. Since the dependence on energy limits national sovereignty a significant proportion of energy production should be governed by the state. Further capitalization is to be prevented. The party puts forward a diversified plan of energy supply. The construction of an additional nuclear reaction block is foreseen. However, also the use of renewable energies is to be promoted. These sources of energy are considered to be suitable in order to tackle the problem of greenhouse gas emissions and other environmental issues. Environmental protection is defined as a consideration that has to be taken into account in the making of every political decision. Accordingly the party promotes the use of fuel efficient vehicles and the extension of public transport to decrease fuel consumption. The issue of public transport is not only seen in the light of environmental concerns but also in terms of a strategic political matter. Public transport is not regarded as a simply profit-oriented economic issue but also as touching upon the national well-being. For the sake of affordability further privatization in the sector is said to be unacceptable. In this line of reasoning Jobbik also promotes a re-development and modernization of the countries railway infrastructure.

### United Kingdom Independence Party

As the only one of the three parties under scrutiny the UKIP seriously challenges the existence of global warming. A royal commission should be established allowing scientists to reach conclusions about the facts of the phenomenon. Funding related to massive global warming-related spending are to be spent elsewhere. The party regards the current debate on global warming and climate change as propaganda that should be banned from schools. The UK's Climate Change Act is to be repealed and any international agreements concerning climate change have to be revised. A 25-year extensive investment plan in building of nuclear power stations is set up. Eventually it aims at providing Great Britain with 50% of its future electricity demand. The construction of wind farms is

generally rejected. Exceptions are possible if they are build off-shore and solely funded by the market. The party promotes extension of the national railway system but at the same time also uphold investment in motorways.

#### Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs

Austria accounts for one of the few countries in Europe that remains opposed to nuclear power plants. Almost 15 years ago the Austrian Parliament unanimously passed legislation to remain an anti-nuclear country. The FPÖ favours a solution that enables Austria to be self-sustaining in terms of energy supply. At this, renewable energies are defined as a suitable vehicle in order to achieve this ambitious goal. Yet, any commitments in forms of EUROTOM treaties and other agreements concerning CO2 emission are to be annulled. Environmental issues are a major concern as well as genetically modified food which is strictly rejected. The countries infrastructure is deemed to be modernized. This is true for both individual traffic and public transport. The latter is to be fostered and subsidized.

## Societal Model

#### Jobbik

Jobbik emphasizes the train of thought that European culture has basically been constructed on Greek thinking, Roman law and Christian morality. In their program however the party only addresses the last one of the three pillars. Jobbik's political mindset is claimed to follow a Christian worldview. Basic Christian morals and values are considered of utmost importance. Following this reasoning the party addresses issues such as abortion, Sunday-as-a-rest-day and religious education in school. Furthermore the family is regarded as an important institution in society. Population decline should be gradually reversed by a certain set of policies. At this the party plans to encourage mothers by financial means to stay at home. The sacrifices made by mothers should be recognized to a greater extent.

An issue the party considers of utmost importance is the perceived problem of the coexistence between the Magyar and Gypsy population in Hungary. In their party program the continuation of the Gypsies circumstances is described as a "potential time bomb" which can potentially lead to a civil war. Gypsy people are categorized as a group that is unwilling to integrate. Furthermore Jobbik accuses them of striving for neither employment nor education but rather receiving unconditional state benefits. Also certain criminological phenomena are said to be predominantly associated with the ethnic minority. In a drastic manner the party proclaims to integrate them into society by establishing an Institute of Gypsy methodology and early education. Jobbik regards the current educational system as a mixed product of communist and liberal-left mindset. Authority of teachers should be re-established. The party program does not indicate many constructive proposals for the technical set-up as such. However it proposes some general content-related issues. Among others a broad education encompassing the consciousness of national identity plays a vital role. This includes the emphasis on Christian values on which the Hungarian society is said to be built upon.

Sophisticated university programs are needed in order to ensure the country's economic competitiveness: the Bologna process is considered to be fallacious and is rejected. Taken together Jobbik puts forward a societal model that is based on conservative values and restrictive elements. One of the key points in the party's program is the issue of the country's gypsy community. It is made

liable for all sorts of problems. Not immigrants but an ethnic minority that has been living in the country's boundaries for centuries is regarded as an obstacle for a homogeneous society. The program's content is underlined by a very patriotic tone that aims at re-assuring and building a specific Hungarian national identity.

#### United Kingdom Independence Party

The UKIP claims to follow the track of civic nationalism. According to the party's program this ideological path is open to anyone willing to identify with Britain regardless of ethnic or religious background. Yet, the party also rejects the idea of multiculturalism. Numerous threats are said to exist threatening British identity and culture. As a consequence banning the burqa or veiled niqab in public buildings as well as deporting radical preachers and banning certain religious materials are seen as a way to tackle extremist Islam. A single British culture would encompass and restore British values as well as safeguard British weights and measures which allegedly have been undermined by the EU. In addition to that more emphasis should be put on the country's history, the identity stemming from the commonwealth as well as national icons such as the Royal mail that supposedly plays a vital role in people's life and identity formation. Besides withdrawal from the European Union immigration can be seen as one of the core issues of the UKIP's objectives. Both issues are closely connected to national sovereignty. The party describes the current circumstances as a mass and uncontrolled immigration. Restrictive measures such as a five year freeze on immigration for permanent settling as well as a prospective limit immigration that should not exceed 50,000 people per year. Different kinds of obstacles are to be set up in order to impede immigration in general as well as permanent settlement and general entry to the UK. This is true for asylum seekers, EU citizens and people wanting to acquire British national citizenship. The educational system the UKIP proposes is determined by the idea of freedom of choice, subsidiarity and less bureaucracy. Franchising would lead to a higher degree of efficiency as schools would be able to choose their specialization and pupil with the according abilities themselves. Also the parental choice concerning school education is to be increased. Home education is regarded as an attractive option to regular schools. Also the capacities of teachers have to be increased in order to achieve a proper discipline and higher quality in schools. Universities are to be de-nationalized. Instead they should function as independent charities that are accountable to their students. The fact that the party applies the term civic nationalism to itself is comprehensible. At first sight it wants to distance itself from backward looking nationalistic ideologies that are rather based on an ideology of "blood and soil". However it becomes clear that the ethnic model leaves hardly any room for any kind of self-unfolding. It limits the free practice of religion to a great extent. Additionally the civic nationalism seems like a farce as the tight rules of regulations proposed in the program would hardly allow any kind of immigration from other cultural backgrounds. However the issue of immigration reflects an insight that has been exposed before: the notion of British singularity that rejects any kind of interference from the outside. This is true for any intervention from the European Union as well as substantial immigration. Both are perceived as threats to the "British way of life".

#### Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs

The FPÖ puts forward a worldview that encompasses the right of a homeland and defines it as a fundamental right. Therefore the party aims at protecting of the autochthonous people and the prevailing *Leitkultur*. This leads to a thoughtful control and restriction of people that should be allowed to live and work in Austria. The country is defined as a non-immigration country and the idea of multicultural parallel societies is strictly rejected. Instead the FPÖ stresses the cultural heritage

that defines the national self-understanding. Among other things churches and cathedrals are part of a grown cultural and spiritual identity. Accordingly crucifixes in schools and in the public sphere are regarded as self-evident and in line with the right of religious freedom and separation of church and state. Society is ought to be homogenous and the party depicts itself as an agent of zero-tolerance in case of denial towards integration. In various ways Islam is regarded to be incompatible with the ideals of a constitutional democracy. Mosques and minarets are not only perceived as a threat to the “Austrian way of life” but also as a claim to power and therefore have to be banned. The same applies to headscarves and burqas in public. Furthermore forced marriages and genital mutilation that are directly associated with Islam in general. Due to the fact that too much immigration has been taking place in recent years the FPÖ argues for absolute stop of immigration for third-country nationals. Instead the party puts forward the concept of “Minus-migration” where foreigners should return to their home countries. Also the unconditional right of residence for EU nationals has to be abolished. Immigrants have to actively attain language skills with their own financial capacities. In case of non-compliance or delinquency the residence permit will be withdrawn. Especially concerning asylum seekers laws will be tightened and any kind of attempted fraud would result in a law abatement of action. Furthermore the political paradigm concerning the Austrian societal model is marked by a conservative mindset. The institution of the family is idealized as the desirable life plan. Raising of children is to be supported in all kinds of aspects. Tax incentives and increased pensions are supposed to improve the parental situation and make family life more attractive. In addition to that the issue of abortion is regarded critically. So-called “Pregnancy conflict advisory centres” are to be established and independent counselling is made compulsory in case of planned abortion. Parents should also be enabled to choose whether they want to raise their children at home or via child care by financial support. The party prefers the school system’s categorization and integrated schools are rejected. In general education is seen as a major task of the state. Investment in this field should be increased.

The FPÖ’s societal model is marked by a homogeneously imagined national community that does not leave too much space for any further cultural influences. Immigration and Islam are two of the core concerns the party puts forward in almost any other policy field. Besides the recurring euro scepticism these two issues are seen as the biggest threats for the Austrian society.

## Discussion of parties’ variations and emphases

Analysing the parties’ program in detail brought about interesting insights. In contrast to the common definition of right-wing populism where this ideology is frequently constricted to the exclusionist and racist elements the study indicates that these parties utilize a broader range of topics. As the thesis’ subtitle indicates the populist radical right parties are regarded as a specific form of today’s nationalism. The globalized setting in the 21<sup>st</sup> century contributes to the fact that issues such as immigration, cultural heritage as well as norms and values become more and more vital. Even though the parties take rather extreme stances on certain issues it is crucial to mention that the right wing populist parties referred to above exhibit a substantial diverging nature compared to historical fascism or National Socialism. Whereas the former supports the fundamental principle of people’s sovereignty the latter is in essence antidemocratic (Mudde, 2007). In the literature certain ‘mobilising themes’ are attributed to right-wing populist parties. Among others feature that are frequently mentioned are a strong state, welfare chauvinism, traditional ethics, exclusionism and

euro-scepticism (Hartleb, 2011) (Mudde, 2007). All of these features can be retrieved when looking at the official documents of the parties under scrutiny. However due to the limited scope of a Bachelor thesis only a few documents could be analyzed. Consequently potential findings may be limited in their general applicability.

This limitation becomes apparent when analysing Jobbik's party program. The party is often denoted as radical nationalist, fascist, neo-fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Roma and homophobic. Due to the fact that only the party program was considered in the analysis, the findings lack the radicalness that is often assigned to the party. Besides moderate approaches concerning environmental and infrastructural issues proposed solutions in other areas are more extreme. On the one hand the party utilizes the disapprobation of communism among the population that stems from the times of Soviet oppression. On the other hand it rejects the ideology of liberalism and globalized capitalism. Instead Jobbik proposes a national approach that limits foreign intervention in economic and political terms. This train of thought is accompanied by an EU-sceptic if not EU-hostile attitude. Apart from the fear of external influence the Hungarian nation is considered to not have come to terms with its past. The Treaty of Trianon is seen as a national degradation which must be overcome. The other core topic of the party's agenda is the 'gypsy issue'. As mentioned in the analysis the Romanian community is heavily abused of not willing to integrate into the Hungarian society. Taken together, this exclusionist element as well as the concept of a modern "Greater Hungary" form the core of the party's ideology.

The case of the British UKIP however illustrates that populism can take a variety of forms. Reflected by the program's sub-headline the party puts forward the claim of "empowering the people". It is an aspect that Mudde defines as a rather populist one. Hereby the critique is not focused on the idea of direct democracy and subsidiarity itself but rather on the accusation directed at the established parties. The party describes the current system as anti-democratic and not being in the interest of the people. Mudde summarizes this train of thought as the struggle between 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite' (Mudde, 2004) whereat the UKIP depicts itself as the only true representative of an authentic democracy. Despite the fact that the party has expanded beyond its single-issue image to a diversified party program its primary goal is the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. Even though parts in the party's program can be regarded as borderline cases to Islamophobia and racism and discrimination against majorities are present, these concerns are rather lower-ranking on the party's agenda. The European Union is described as the prime enemy when it comes to the self-understanding and perception of Great Britain as a sovereign country. It is perceived as limiting this sovereignty in all kinds of ways. Taking the general EU-sceptic British attitude into account it is not surprising that the populist party utilizes these sorts of resentments. The British population has always looked at 'the continent' in a very critical way. In the literature this attitude has been connected to an 'island mentality' and a perceived British singularity (Kumar, 2003). The European Union is considered a 'necessary evil' required to achieve substantial economic advantages. At the same time however it poses a threat to the British identity. In external relations the British interest is often defined as either along with the USA or its other former colonies. The historical bond with both the United States and the Commonwealth Countries frequently overrules any perceived commonality shared with other European countries.

The FPÖ promotes itself as a guarantor of a traditional German/Austrian identity. The favoured economic model is based on a regulated liberalism with a high degree of individual freedom. This freedom however turns out to be valid only in certain areas of private life. Privatization and low

taxes are combined with a high degree of social welfare. Yet, the traditional comprehensive Austrian welfare state is regarded to be endangered by current immigration policies. Welfare-state abuse is commonly ascribed to immigrants and these economic concerns often go hand in hand with a general rejection of immigration. The party tries to expose an incompatibility between Islam, thus the Muslim immigrants on the one hand and the Austrian societal model based on a secular state with Christian roots on the other. This antagonism accounts for the most important issue in the party's ideology. It is utilized for the sake of one's own identity and self-perception. The narrowly-defined societal model leads to a categorical denegation of a multi-cultural society. The self-proclaimed liberal attitude does not hold when it comes to a different ethical or religious background. The rather critical mindset towards other cultures is also reflected in the party's resolute denial of a Turkish EU-membership. Relations to Islamic countries should be restricted to merely economic concerns. The European Union is regarded in a very critical manner. Despite a positive confession towards a common European heritage the supranational system as such is considered to be over-bureaucratized and anti-democratic. The Austrian people would not profit from an anti-democratic superstate. This kind of reasoning reveals also the party's anti-establishment attitude. Due to its political culture the Austrian system was predestinated to be vulnerable for such kind of populist resentment. For years Austria has had a political climate of consensus where the two major parties SPÖ and ÖVP shared the power distribution. With the raise of Haider during the 1980s suddenly this dominance was seriously challenged. Until today the FPÖ portrays itself as the only alternative to the corrupt elitist camp on the 'other side'. The issues of (Islamic) immigration and European Integration are utilized in order to depict the otherness compared to the establishment.

As noted before the analyzed policy fields (or categories respectively), were chosen as they encompass issues that seemed to be of interest to all of the parties.

For the sake of completeness it might be worthwhile mentioning that the category of Infrastructure and environmental issues appear in the analysis as they were named by all parties under scrutiny. However, it seems that even though the opinions and stances on the topics differ, these policy fields do not play a major role for the parties' ideological distinctiveness.

## Conclusion

Coming back to the initial research question about the variations of today's right-wing populism it turned out that it can take many forms and has to be considered in the light of globalization. The globalized setting accounts for political, economic and cultural changes that seemed to be unimaginable a few decades ago. Tremendous changes in people's lives lead to a high degree of suspense and uncertainty. Thus, modernization processes that were discussed in the theoretical part of the thesis are also reflected in the analysis. The study tried to detect a variety of characteristics among three European right-wing populist parties. They all moved on from solely being a single-issue party to more diversified programs. In various areas these parties tend to take a fairly moderate stance. Frequently they choose topics that aim at the 'gut feeling' of the people which are however for reasons of 'political correctness' commonly not expressed by other parties. These potential issues and sentiments differ and can be traced back to the countries' specific circumstances. Accordingly the UKIP addresses foremost the typical British concern of independency from the European

continent. The FPÖ promotes itself as the guarantor for the Austrian identity with its fully fledged welfare state that is ostensible challenged by Muslim immigration. The Jobbik party perceives itself as the tough advocate of the Hungarian people that is still suffering from the Treaty of Trianon. Peace in the 'circumcised' Hungarian society is threatened by gypsies whereas many ethnic Hungarians live outside the current political borders.

Similar developments can be observed all over Europe. In times of globalization when goods, capital, services and people can easily move from country to country the fear of alien intrusion seems to be present in peoples' minds more than ever before. This is probably why most of the current studies in the field of right-wing populism focus on the nativist overtones. Sabrina Ramet noted correctly that "the other lies at the heart of radical right politics, and for the radical right, which understands the world in terms of struggle, in terms of 'us' versus 'them', the other is translated into the 'enemy'" (Ramet, 1999). The 'us-them' distinction is based on a delineation of boundaries between a native and a non-native identity. This 'ingroup-outgroup' differentiation constitutes the common denominator of right-wing populist movements in Europe. Still, the distinction of the 'other' depends on the given circumstances and the threat they pose to the native identity or as von Beyme puts it: "every country has its own favourite enemy" (von Beyme, 1996).

Leaving aside resentments between the populations of different countries in the European context nowadays three groups turn out to perform an important function concerning self-definition of the in-group: The Jew, the Rom and the Muslim. Even though a broad proposition might lead to over-generalisation certain patterns of the groups' existence are recognizable. Notwithstanding certain anti-Semitic resentments the phenomenon has remained rather rare in the in Western Europe after World War Two. The holocaust was broadly perceived as the epitome of evil. Thus, apart from marginal extremist groups mentioned earlier, anti-Semitism was broadly seen as unacceptable. To the contrary some right-wing populist parties even stress the solidarity with Israel and the common Judeo-Christian heritage. In Eastern Europe the situation turns out to be more diverse. According to a study of Kovács about one quarter of the Hungarian population can be classified as anti-Semitic (Kovács, 1999) and in Poland half of the population declares negative feelings towards Israelis and Jews (Pankowski & Kornak, 2005). Even though in countries like the Czech Republic and Slovenia anti-Semitism is rather marginal, by and large the phenomenon remains more prominent in Eastern Europe (Mudde, 2007). Similar, the prejudice of 'the Rom' can also be ascribed to the continent's eastern region. In the literature hostility towards people often referred to as 'gypsies' is known as Antiziganism. Due to the fact that gypsy minorities account for a larger share of the population, the phenomenon is mainly associated with Eastern countries. As an ethnic group gypsies have often resisted assimilation with the indigenous communities and successfully preserved their distinctive and unique culture. This resistance towards assimilation has made them a target for discrimination as well as victims of physical and non-physical oppression. As in the case of the Jobbik Party gypsies are commonly made scapegoats for various problems and accused of all sorts of crimes (Mudde, 2007). Antiziganism plays a quite negligible role in Western Europe. Due to their small number, their presence only gets broader attention when it comes to extraordinary events such as in 2010 when French authorities demolished illegal Roma camps and began the process of repatriating their residents to their countries of origin.

The exact opposite applies in the case of Islamophobia. Even though anti-Muslim sentiments exist particularly in the Balkan region, by and large Muslim immigration is negligible in Eastern Europe. For most Western European right wing populist parties however it is the prominent issue. For various reasons the countries experienced substantial Muslim immigration in the decades following World War Two. Some of them needed workforce for their growing economies others had to face the

aftermath of their colonial past. One way or the other many Western European countries encompass a substantial proportion of Muslim people. Based on concerns in Samuel Huntington's famous work "The Clash of Civilizations" right-wing populist parties stress the incompatibility between the European secular but Christian based heritage and the Islam. That way, Muslims are portrayed as the 'other'.

After all it turns out that all of the three right wing populist parties under scrutiny exhibit a typical anti-establishment attitude coupled with a narrowly-defined societal model. In the British case this separation from other groups is foremost expressed in geographical terms whereas the Austrian and Hungarian parties stress the ethnical aspect. The remarks concerning 'the typical other' in today's European context indicate that separation from certain groups is the common basis of right wing populist parties. As the analysis has shown, at times similarities can be recognized whereas in other fields the programs do not coincide. Despite the fact that international groups such as the 'Europe of Freedom and Democracy' or 'European Alliance for Freedom' exist, any extensive cooperation has been absent so far. The only common denominator regularly referred to is the EU-sceptic if not - hostile attitude. A substantial collaboration is constrained by the parties' own national-based nature. Also other ideological differences impede any profound relationships. As long as anti-Semitism forms the core of various eastern European right wing populist parties' ideology whereas party leaders such as Geert Wilders indefatigable stress their solidarity and friendship with Israel and admiration for the Jewish culture any large-scale pan-European rightwing populist alliance seems unlikely.

Over ten years ago Franz Schönhuber the leader of the German party 'Die Republikaner' trenchantly summarized the dilemma:

"The only thing that many right-wing European parties have in common is that which divides them" (BLPB, 2011).

In the literature various right wing movements have been labelled as 'right-wing populist'. This thesis has revealed that any broad categorization of this kind would constitute an illegitimate simplification of reality. Pinpointing the difference is vital in order to understand that their ideology may signify different things. Still, at the core of such right wing populist ideology lays the idea of an intact national community. When trying to connect this modern phenomenon to the conventional concept of nationalism I tentatively agree with Benedict Anderson and his claim of 'imagined communities'. He states that nations are rather socially constructed communities and imagined by people who therefore can then perceive themselves as being part of the group (Anderson, 1991). Accordingly Shahzad points out that participants of today's discourse "repeatedly use particular small pointing words to construct imagined spaces or communities beyond any geophysical boundaries in their collective narratives" (Shahzad, 2012). This construction of imagined communities becomes crucial in the course of reassuring one's own identity in the current globalized setting.

To my mind the current wave of nationalism has to be understood as a response to globalization and a resulting disorientation of the individual. Thus, similar to Mary Kaldor and in contrast to Smith who considers the current developments as an evidence for the enduring nature of the national idea, I perceive the current wave of nationalism in terms of tremendous changes in peoples' lives and their inability to cope with new circumstances.

Yet, Smith might be right that nations have not been transcended in the global era. On the contrary, as Kaldor puts it the "current wave of nationalism to be observed in various parts of the world testifies to the enduring nature of the national idea, the way in which it responds to some deep-felt human need" (Kaldor, 2004). The developments in Europe shed light on some interesting insights.

The current economic problems and the resulting financial meltdown in the eurozone have widely resulted in openly expressed anti-EU resentments. In contrast to the national level the countries' populations seem to be rather reluctant towards an overall European solidarity. It looks like the nature of a nation and not a European or even cosmopolitan mindset is prevalent in certain cases these days. For the purpose of limiting right-wing populist parties to profit from these developments, national sentiments have to be taken into account when discussing the Union's future encompassing any kind of further integration.

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