

Of “Frames” and “Winning Formulas”: The Supply Side

The Extreme Right in Western Europe

Review/Intro

The Supply Side

Frames and Opportunities

Kitschelt's "Winning Formula"

A New "Winning Formula"?

Summary

Last week . . .

- ▶ Roots of the Interwar Extreme Right (late 19th century + First World War)
- ▶ Democracy in a precarious position
- ▶ Core of the (then New) Extreme Right
 - ▶ Ultra-nationalistic
 - ▶ Authoritarian
 - ▶ Anti-socialist/-liberal
 - ▶ Not committed to unfettered markets
 - ▶ Often (not always): biological racism + anti-semitism
- ▶ Contaminated and largely unsuccessful after Second World War
- ▶ Until 1980s – so what's new?

Remaining questions

- ▶ Where are the key differences between these two texts from 1919/20 and the political realities of Fascism/National Socialism?
- ▶ Are there any parallels between these documents on the one hand and the ideology of the modern Extreme Right on the other?

Today:

- ▶ (Relative) Success of Extreme Right Parties since 1980s in many countries
- ▶ Why?
 1. New *demand* for Extreme Right Policies
 2. Changes *external* to Extreme Right Parties (changing opportunity structures)
 3. Changes in the *supply* of Extreme Right Policies
- ▶ *How* have the (successful) ER parties changed?

Readings for today

- ▶ Jens Rydgren. “Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family”. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 44 (2005), pp. 413–437
- ▶ Sarah L. de Lange. “A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right”. In: *Party Politics* 13.4 (2007), pp. 411–435. DOI: 10.1177/1354068807075943. eprint: <http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/13/4/411.pdf>. URL: <http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/13/4/411>

What are frames, and why should we care?

- ▶ Prominent in Social Movement Research (see Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment". In: *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 [2000], pp. 611–640)
- ▶ An intellectual device for interpreting social/political problems
 - ▶ *Who is affected*
 - ▶ *Who has caused the problem*
 - ▶ *What should be done about it?*
- ▶ Master frame: general, encompasses more specific frames
- ▶ Important for political mobilisation
- ▶ Construction of a new Extreme Right master frame in France during 1960s/70s

The old Nazi frame

- ▶ Politics as a struggle between the Aryans (Germans, Dutch, Swedish . . .) and the rest
 - ▶ Roughly equivalent to crude ideas about a "survival of the fittest" (social Darwinism)
 - ▶ No difference between analysis ("politics is us vs. the Jews") and prescription ("politics *should* be a struggle, and the fittest race *should* survive")
- ▶ All political problems due to racial impurity and Jewish/Bolshevist interference
- ▶ Used for mobilisation
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- ▶ Obviously contaminated after Second World War

The new frame

- ▶ Conscious attempt to break left hegemony over public discourses, developed by French *Nouvelle Droit*
- ▶ Close link between intellectuals and Front National / Le Pen
- ▶ Development of successful frame → copied by political entrepreneurs in other countries
- ▶ Alternative explanation for
 - ▶ Extreme Right successes after 1980
 - ▶ Temporal "clustering" of successes
- ▶ Frame needs to be adapted, not simply copied (e. g. abortion)
- ▶ Some evidence for "emitter" role of FN, especially during 1980s

The new frame

1. Cultural racism / ethnopluralism

- ▶ Ethnic groups equal but different
- ▶ Difference not based on biological traits but on culture
- ▶ Cultures not compatible; must be protected by keeping them separate
- ▶ "Equality" not too much emphasised in politics

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 - ▶ Party/leader fundamentally different from "political class"
 - ▶ An agent of "the people", fostering common sense
 - ▶ *Not* presenting an alternative to democracy – to the contrary

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 - ▶ Less emphasis on national differences within "European culture"

Kitschelt's ideas

- ▶ Model of political competition in Western Europe after 1980
- ▶ Applied in a series of monographs on Green, Social-Democratic and Extreme Right parties
- ▶ Basic tenets
 - ▶ Two-dimensional, spatial competition
 - ▶ Occupation shapes political demands
 - ▶ New demand for market-liberal, authoritarian policies
- ▶ "Electoral winning formula" → successful ERPs
- ▶ French FN as "master case"

The book for the 90s

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

"It's (not) the economy, stupid"

- ▶ Front National and Austrian Freedom Party abolish (pure) market-liberalism during 90s
- ▶ (Probably never a core issue for them and their electorates)
- ▶ Some Extreme Right parties try to join ranks with critics of globalisation
- ▶ A return to the roots (cf Fascist Manifesto, "National Socialism")?
- ▶ Reaction
 - ▶ Kitschelt: ER more centrist but theory still holds (somehow)
 - ▶ Betz: We were wrong

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 - ▶ De Lange: Empirical test

How do we measure party positions?

- ▶ Ask experts
- ▶ Ask voters
- ▶ Look at manifestos
 - ▶ MRG (CMP) data: based on salience
 - ▶ Pelikaan method: confrontation (direction)

Methode

Huib Pellikaan,
Tom van der Meer and
Sarah Lange. "The Road
from a Depoliticized to a
Centrifugal Democracy".
In: *Acta Politica* 38
(2003), pp. 23–49

Findings: France

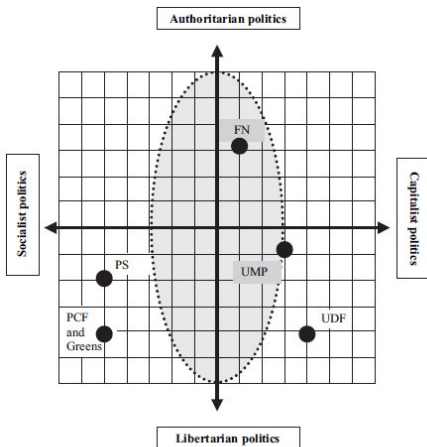


Figure 3. Political space in France, 2002 (Reliability scores – socialist–capitalist dimension: $\alpha = 0.88$; libertarian–authoritarian dimension: $\alpha = 0.86$)

Source: Lange, "A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right", p. 424

Findings: Flanders

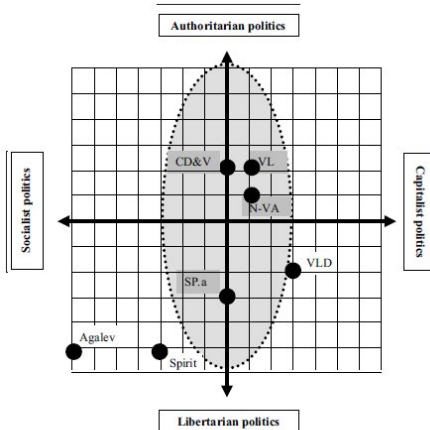


Figure 4. Political space in Flanders, 2003 (Reliability scores – socialist–capitalist dimension: $\alpha = 0.73$; libertarian–authoritarian dimension: $\alpha = 0.70$)

Source: Lange, "A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right", p. 424

Findings: Netherlands

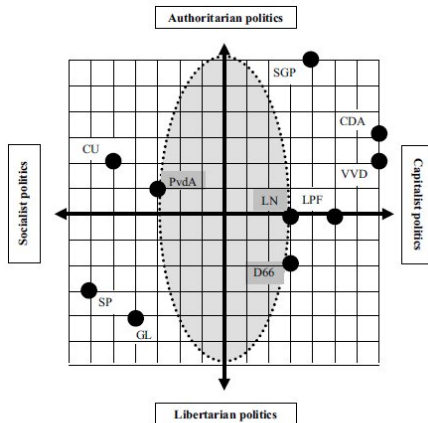


Figure 5. Political space in The Netherlands, 2002/03 (Reliability scores – socialist–capitalist dimension: $\alpha = 0.88$; libertarian–authoritarian dimension: $\alpha = 0.75$)

Source: Lange, "A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right", p. 424

Findings: summary

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- ▶ Plausible but . . .
- ▶ LPF and *VB* appear way too libertarian
- ▶ Because they call for referenda and claim to represent "the people"
- ▶ We need another dimension

Summary

- ▶ “New” Extreme Right (mostly) different from Interwar Extreme Right
- ▶ New Frame: ethnopluralism (cultural racism) + populism
- ▶ Adopted and adapted by many (but not all) of them
- ▶ Kitschelt’s “winning formula” put too much emphasis on market liberalism
- ▶ In reality, multitude of economic positions + populism + some degree of authoritarianism

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- ▶ In reality, multitude of economic positions + populism + some degree of authoritarianism
- ▶ Why do people like that (demand?)

Class questions

Read the texts carefully, even if they offend you

- ▶ Can you recognise elements of the “New Master Frame”?
- ▶ Are there any elements of the “Old Master Frame” left?
- ▶ Do the texts provide evidence in favour of Kitschelt’s original “winning formula” thesis? To they contradict the thesis?
- ▶ Can you spot any important points that go beyond the frame/formula?