

# 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"?

Euroscepticism

## Summary

# This week's events in Extreme Right Politics?

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- ▶ Spain
- ▶ Austria
- ▶ ...

## 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 World War II
- ▶ Until 1980s – so what's new?

## 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

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  3. Changes in the *supply* of Extreme Right policies
- ▶ *How* have the (successful) ER parties changed?

## Readings for today

- ▶ 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](https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068807075943)
- ▶ Sofia Vasilopoulou. “European Ingegration and the Radical Right. Three Patterns of Opposition”. In: *Government and Opposition* 46.2 (2011), pp. 223–244
- ▶ 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



## 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. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223459>)
- ▶ 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
- ▶ Rydgren 2005: 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”)
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- ▶ Every political action, however violent and shocking, is therefore justified
- ▶ Obviously contaminated after Second World War

## The new frame

- ▶ *Nouvelle Droit*: Attempt to break “left hegemony” over public discourses
- ▶ Successful copied by political entrepreneurs in other countries
- ▶ One possible explanation for
  - ▶ Extreme Right successes after 1980
  - ▶ Temporal “clustering” of successes
- ▶ Some evidence for “emitter” role of FN, especially during 1980s
- ▶ Rydgren 2005: Frame needs to be “adapted”, not simply copied (e. g. abortion)

# The new frame

## 1. Cultural racism / ethno-pluralism

- ▶ Ethnic groups equal but different
- ▶ Difference not based on biological traits but on culture
- ▶ Cultures not compatible; must be protected by keeping them separate
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- ▶ Mobilisation by outsiders couched in cultural terms – "not racist"
  - ▶ Less emphasis on national differences within "European culture" (even more relevant after 9/11)



## 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 1990s

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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  - ▶ Betz: We were wrong
  - ▶ 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)

### Method

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

## Findings: France

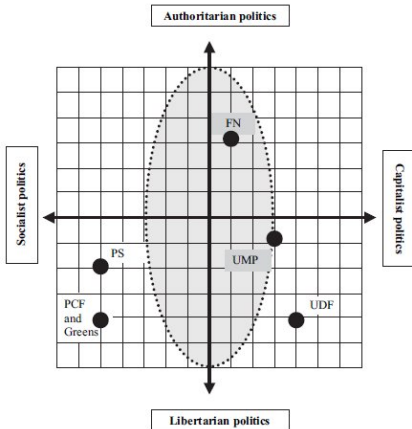


Figure 3. Political space in France, 2002 (Reliability scores – socialist-capitalist dimension:  $\alpha = 0.88$ ; libertarian-authoritarian dimension:  $\alpha = 0.86$ )

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

## Findings: Flanders

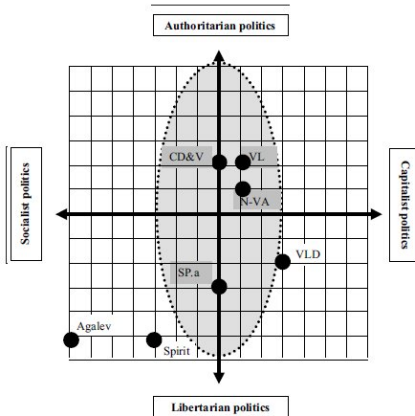


Figure 4. Political space in Flanders, 2003 (Reliability scores – socialist–capitalist dimension:  $\alpha = 0.73$ ; libertarian–authoritarian dimension:  $\alpha = 0.70$ )

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

## Findings: Netherlands

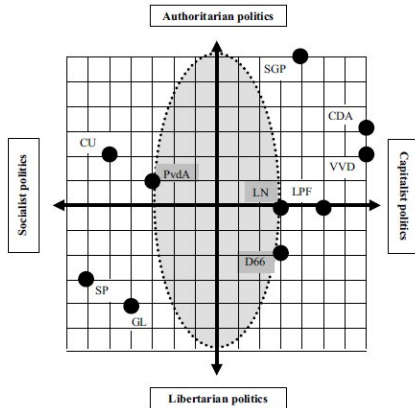


Figure 5. Political space in The Netherlands, 2002/03 (Reliability scores – socialist-capitalist dimension:  $\alpha = 0.88$ ; libertarian-authoritarian dimension:  $\alpha = 0.75$ )

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

## Findings: summary

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- ▶ LPF and *VB* appear way too libertarian
- ▶ Because they call for referenda and claim to represent "the people"
- ▶ Do we need another dimension – populism?

# What is Euroscepticism?

- ▶ A negative stance towards European integration (from the 1990s)
- ▶ "Sussex School"
  - ▶ "Soft euroscepticism": critical of current state of EU, wary of "ever closer union"
  - ▶ "Hard euroscepticism": opposed to integration in principle
- ▶ Overlap with Radical Right, excitement around 2014 and now 2019 EP election

## Vasilopoulou: Rejection not universal

- ▶ Four dimensions
- ▶ Three patterns

# Vasilopoulou: Rejection not universal

**Table 1**  
*Conceptualizing European Integration*

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*The four aspects of European integration*

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Definition	The feeling of cultural, religious and historical bonds among the European peoples
Principle	The wish and willingness for cooperation at a European multilateral level
Practice	The EU institutional and policy status quo
Future	The making of a European polity

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Source: Vasilopoulou 2011: 231

# Vasilopoulou: Rejection not universal

**Table 2**  
*Patterns of Radical Right Opposition to European Integration*

<i>Patterns of opposition</i>	<i>Aspects of European integration</i>			
	<i>Cultural definition</i>	<i>Principle of cooperation</i>	<i>Policy practice</i>	<i>Future EU polity</i>
Rejecting	In favour	Against	Against	Against
Conditional	In favour	In favour	Against	Against
Compromising	In favour	In favour	In favour	Against

Source: Vasilopoulou 2011: 234

# Vasilopoulou: Rejection not universal

**Table 3**  
*Radical Right Party Positions on European Integration*

<i>Patterns of opposition to European integration</i>			
	<i>Rejecting</i>	<i>Conditional</i>	<i>Compromising</i>
Austria		Austrian Freedom Party	
Belgium		Flemish Interest	
Bulgaria		Attack	
Denmark		Danish People's Party	
France	Front National		
Greece		Popular Orthodox Rally	
Italy	Tricolour Flame	Northern League	National Alliance
Latvia			For Fatherland and Freedom
Poland	League of Polish Families		
United Kingdom	British National Party		

Source: Vasilopoulou 2011: 236



## 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
- ▶ Not necessarily “hard euroscepticism”
- ▶ In reality, multitude of economic positions + populism + shades of nationalism + some degree of authoritarianism

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- ▶ Not necessarily “hard euroscepticism”
- ▶ In reality, multitude of economic positions + populism + shades of nationalism + 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?