New Radical Parties in European Politics

THE IMPACT OF NRPs' MOBILIZATION STRATEGY ON THE SPHERE OF POLITICS

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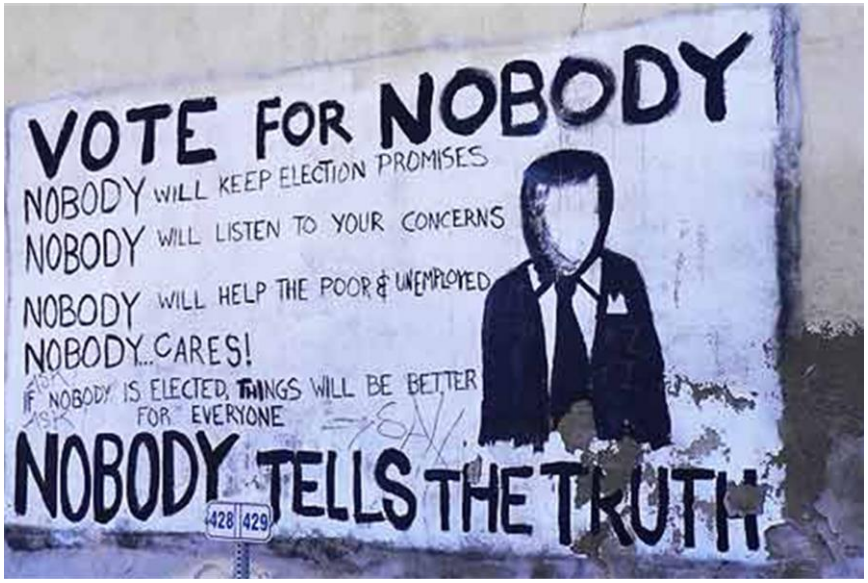
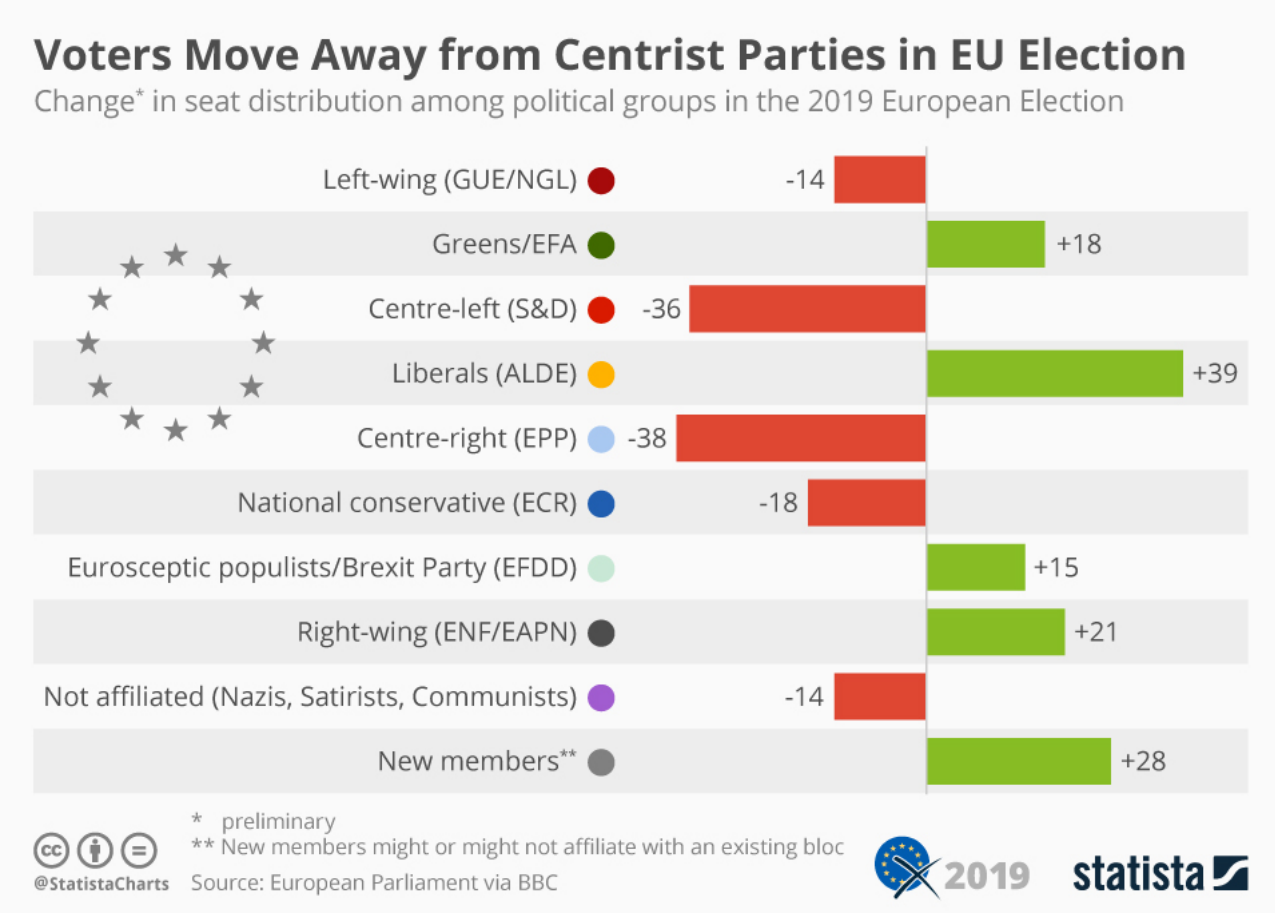
A wave of national populism swipes across Europe

(Liberal) democracy is in a considerable flux



Why is this relevant?

From Europeanisation to Euroscepticism – both European and national institutions are losing their legitimacy while anti-EU and far-right parties are gaining votes



UR EUROPE IS
THOUT BORDERS
Europa hat keine
EUROPE'S
REFUGEE
CRISIS

Multikulti
stoppen
meine Heimat
bleibt
deutsch!

STAND UP
TO RACISM AND FASCISM
NO HUMAN IS ILLEGAL
D UP
TO RACISM AND FASCISM
egoating immigrants
NO to Islamophobia
YES to diversity
Organised by
TUC
Sponsored by
NASUWT
NUT
PCS
UNISON
Unite

How to explain the success of the new radical right?

Why is this happening?

Traditional explanations

The success of new populist radical parties is highly correlated with the decline in public trust in political institutions.
Populism - a by-product of representative democracy - from representative to direct democracy, anti-system protest nature.

Crisis of Representation

- The nature of representative democracy and its perceived inability to address people's needs is often cited as a reason for the erosion of public trust in political institutions (Canovan 1999; Mishler and Rose, 2001) .

Economic Situation – the Age of Austerity

- When people feel economically insecure, their trust in government tends to decline (Bovens and Wille, 2008) and voters look for and alternative (Di Tella 1965; Taggart 2000). The failure of communism and the waning of socialism played a significant role in socio-political change (Hardin 2000).

The “Legitimate” Enemy Pattern

- “Legitimate” Enemy (LE) – NRPs utilize antagonistic articulation of public concerns, i.e. enemies, in their political agendas and translate them into threats that are believed to endanger the collective identity of “the people”, thus legitimizing their existence.
- 2 dimensions of antagonistic articulation of public concerns:

➢ vertical (anti-elite sentiments) – political trust

➢ horizontal (anti-certain social groups) - xenophobia

Main questions

- How do radical populist parties use a moment of crisis in order to enter the sphere of politics and gain votes by applying a “legitimate” enemy strategy?
- To what extent do other parties adopt this strategy in their reference to the salient issue?

Do NRPs Matter – the Uncovered Set

- All final voting or legislation outcomes will always fall within the UCS
- The **Uncovered Set** helps predict electoral and legislative outcomes in majority-rule multidimensional settings (Miller 1980).
- An NRP would matter, if its appearance or disappearance would change the uncovered set of the expected feasible outcomes.

Data and Method

- **Data**: a new dataset that allows manifestos to "speak for themselves".
- **Layers of analysis: mixed-method approach**

- Salience - party positions on the most prominent dimensions;
- Contextual meaning - qualitative semantic analysis;
- Textual meaning - formation of a "legitimate" enemy in party manifestos;
- The UCS in each election was calculated using an updated variation on the algorithm used previously in this type of research (e.g. Jeong et al. 2009, 2011, 2014; Heckman and Miller, 2015).

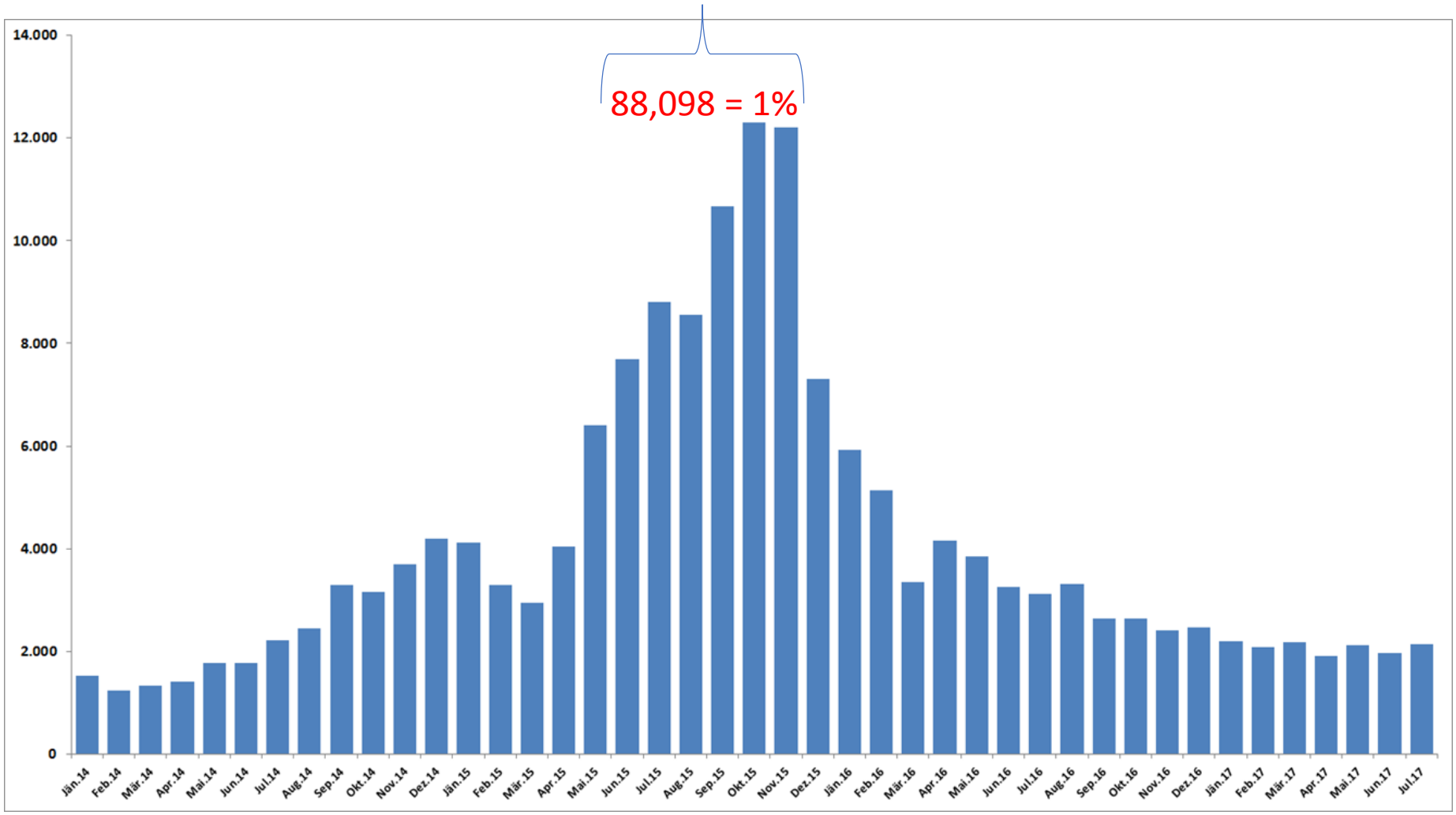
Austria
2013 & 2017

The 2013 & 2017 General Elections in Austria

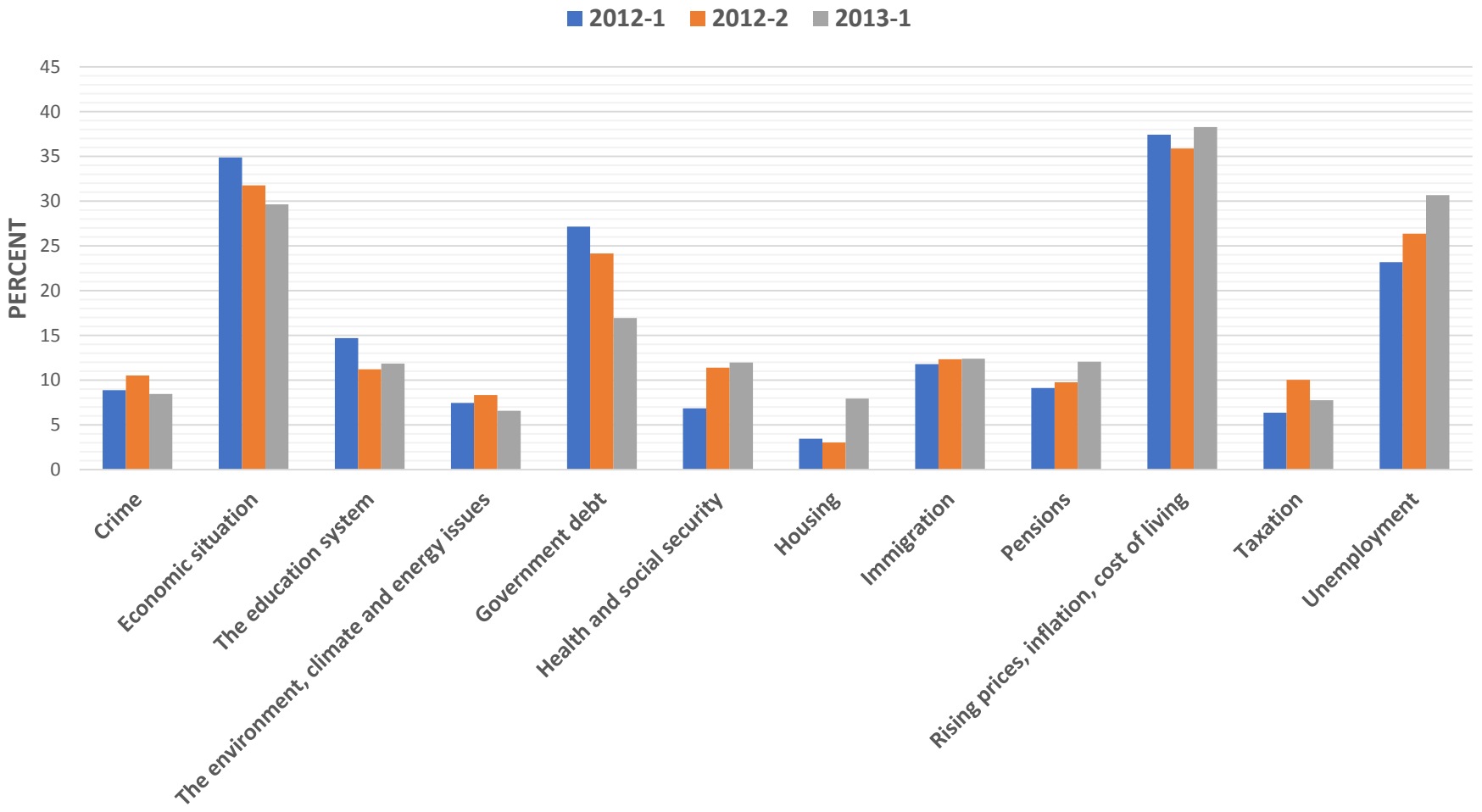
Election		ÖVP	SPÖ	FPÖ	Grüne	Team Stronach	NEOS	Liste Pilz	Voter turnout
2017	Votes	↑ 31.5%	26.9%	↑ 26%	-	-	5.3%	4.4%	79%
	Seats	62	52	51	-	-	10	8	183
2013	Votes	24.01%	26.86%	20.55%	12.34%	5.74%	4.93%	-	73%
	Seats	47	52	40	24	11	9	-	183

Source: Election Guide - Democracy Assistance & Election News[1]

The 2015 “refugee crisis” in Austria

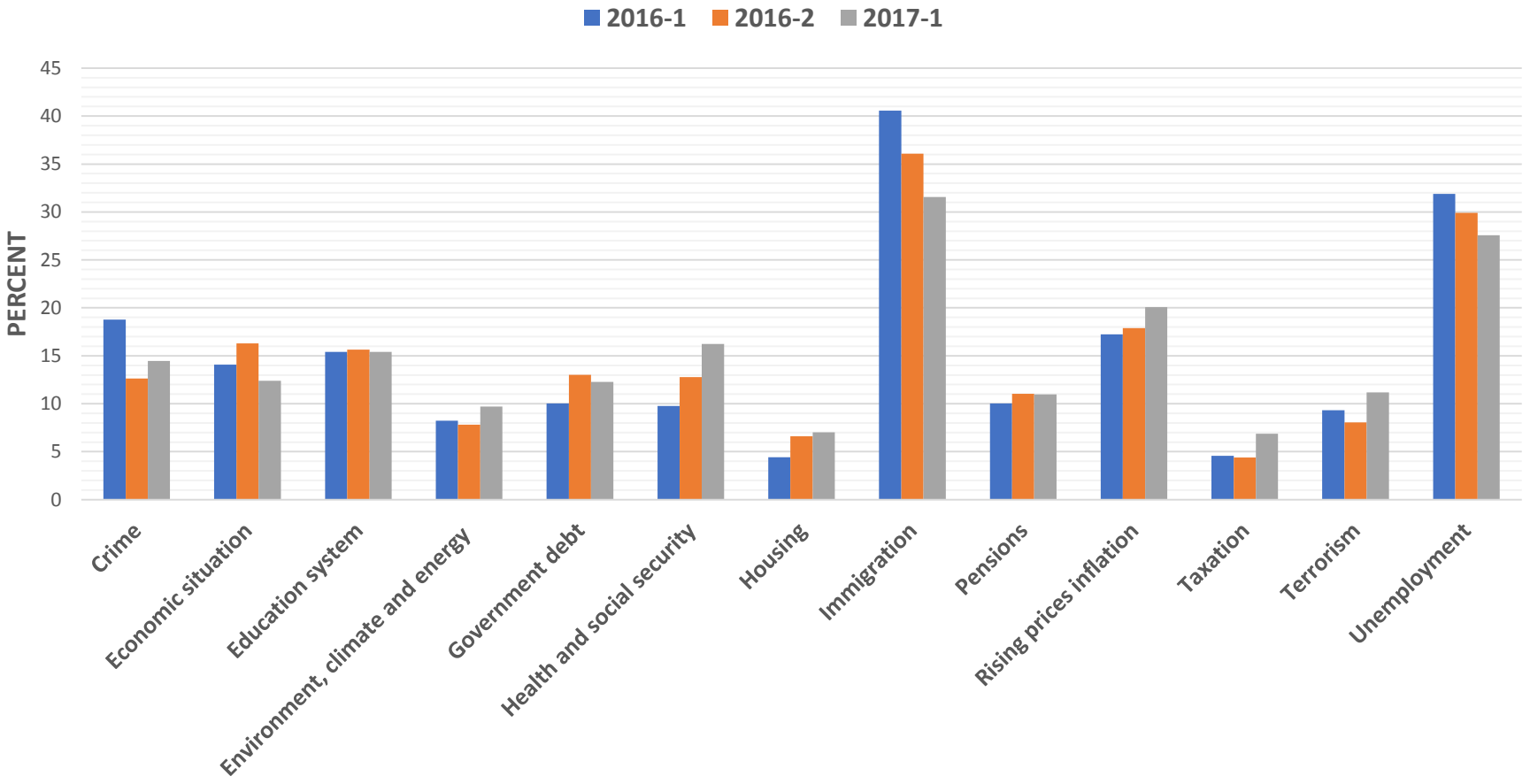


Top Public Concerns in Austria, 5/2012-5/2013



Source: Eurobarometer Interactive (displays only concerns scoring over 5%)

Top Public Concerns in Austria, 5/2016-5/2017



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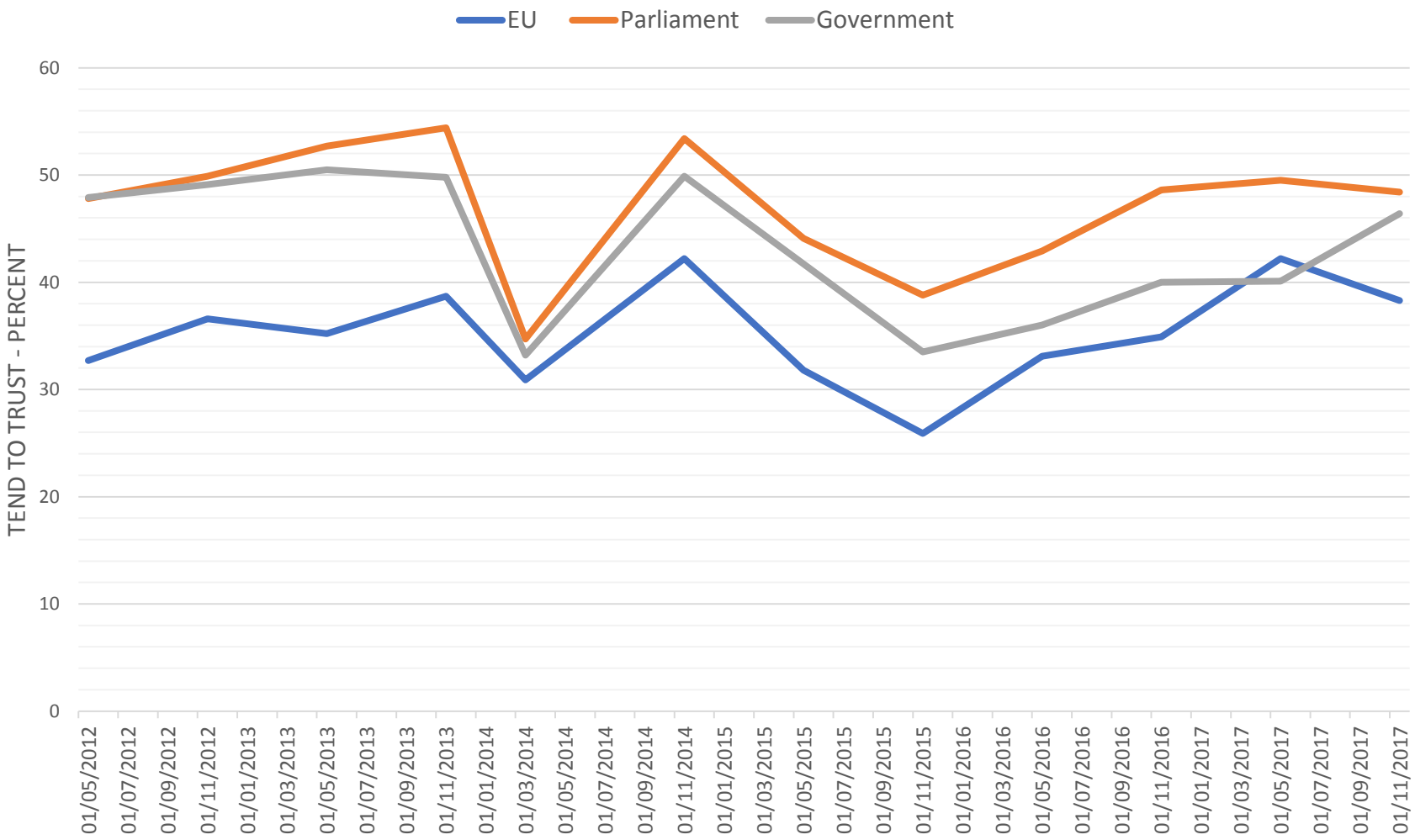
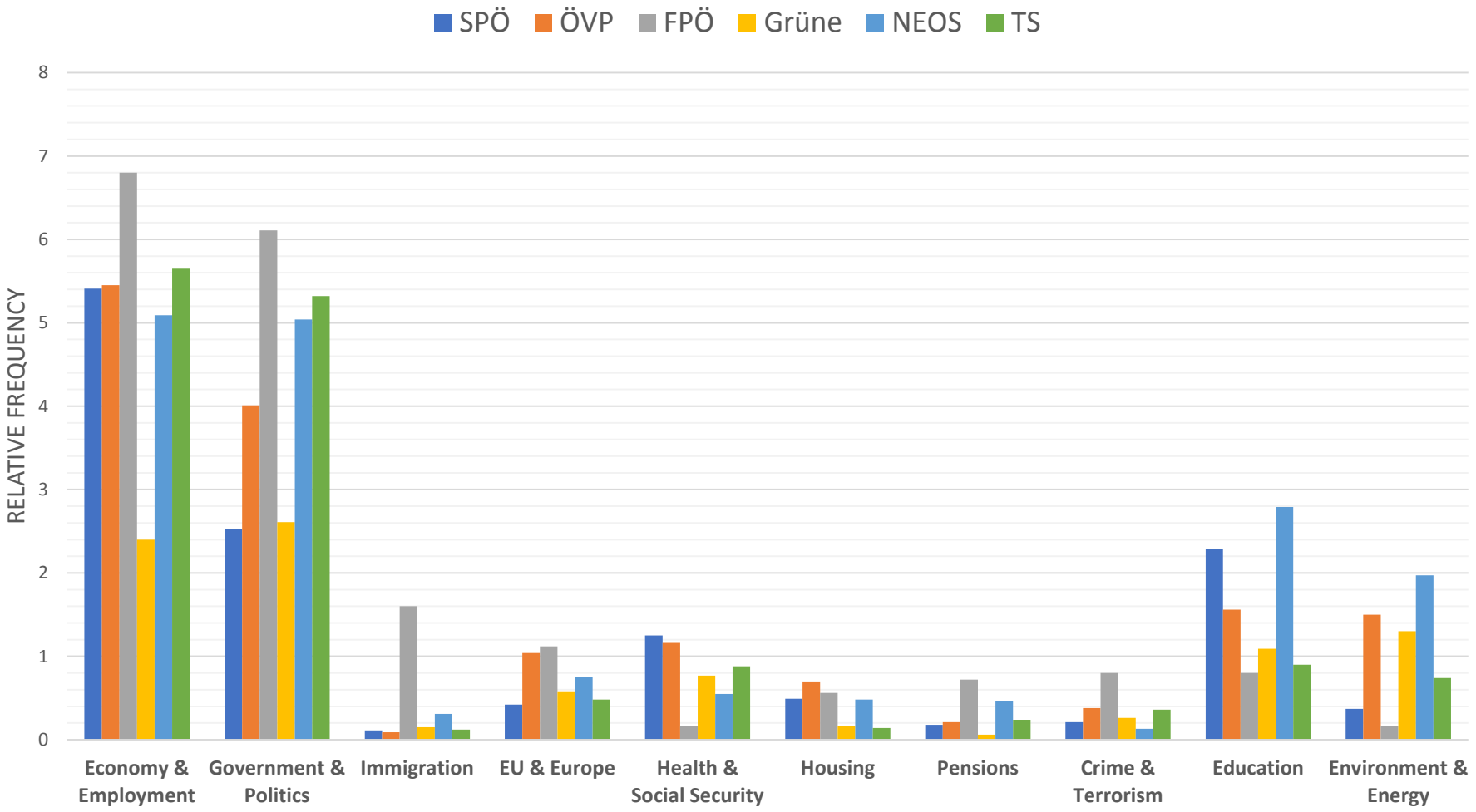
Public Trust in Political Institutions, 2012-2018

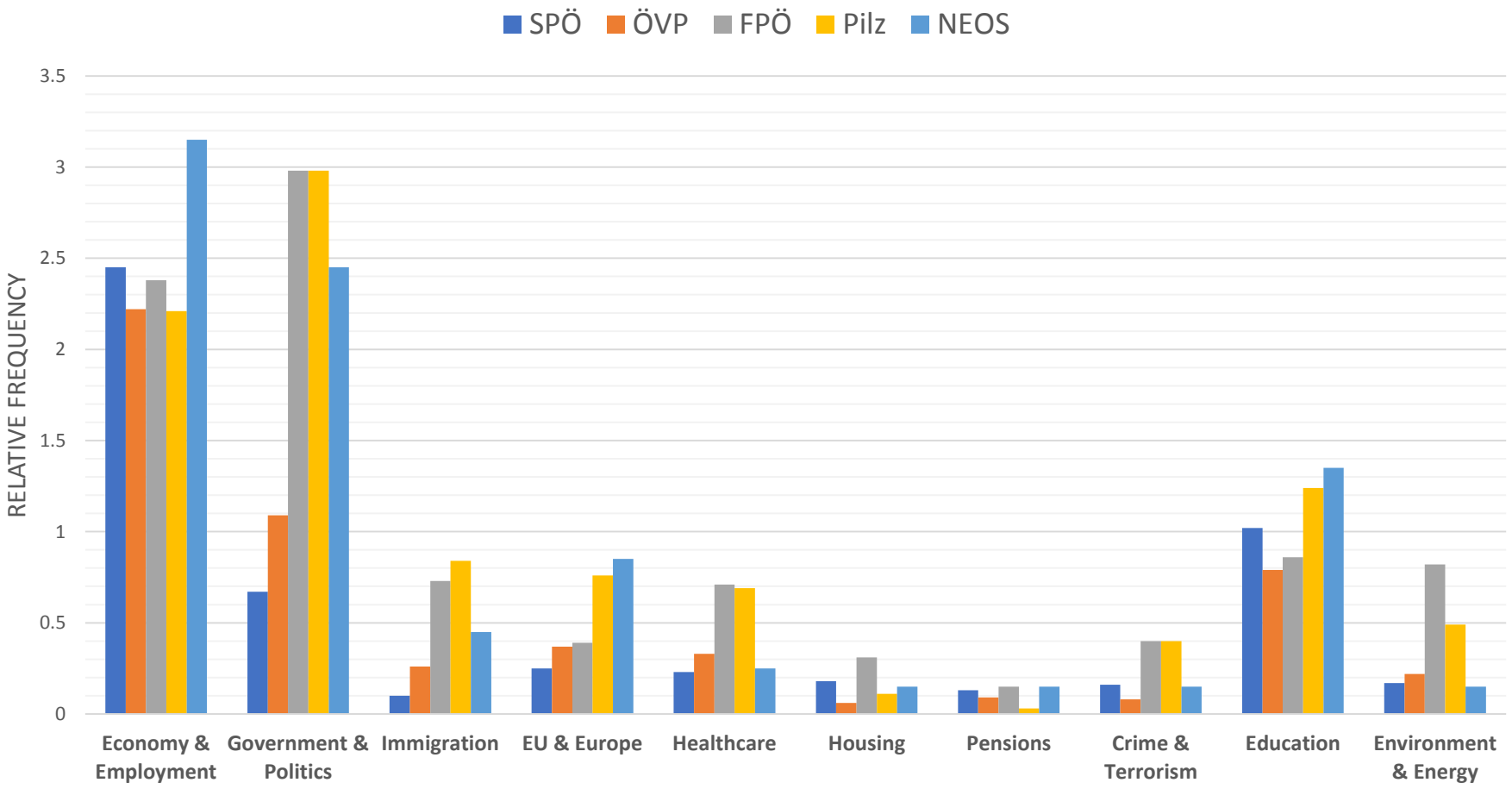


Source: Eurobarometer Interactive

Issue Salience in Party Manifestos, 2013

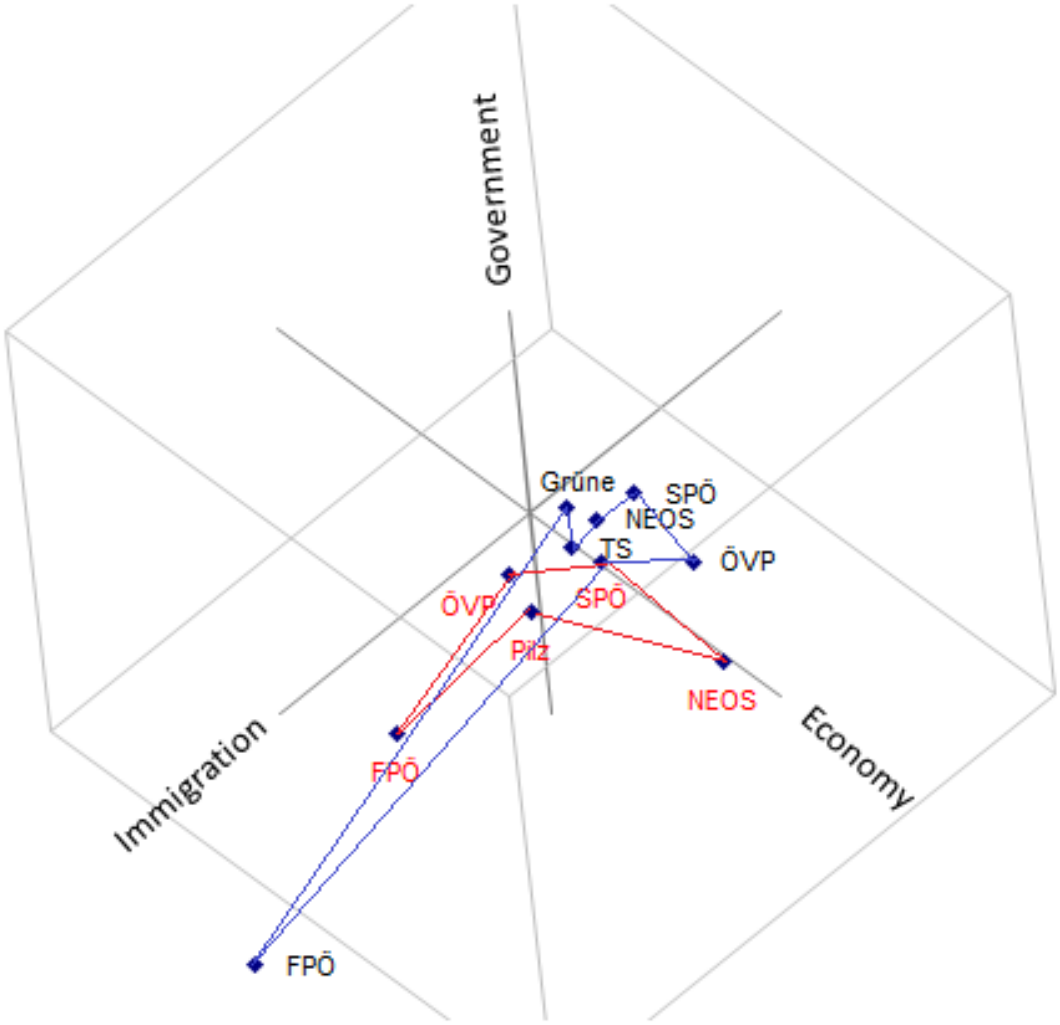


Issue Salience in Party Manifestos, 2017

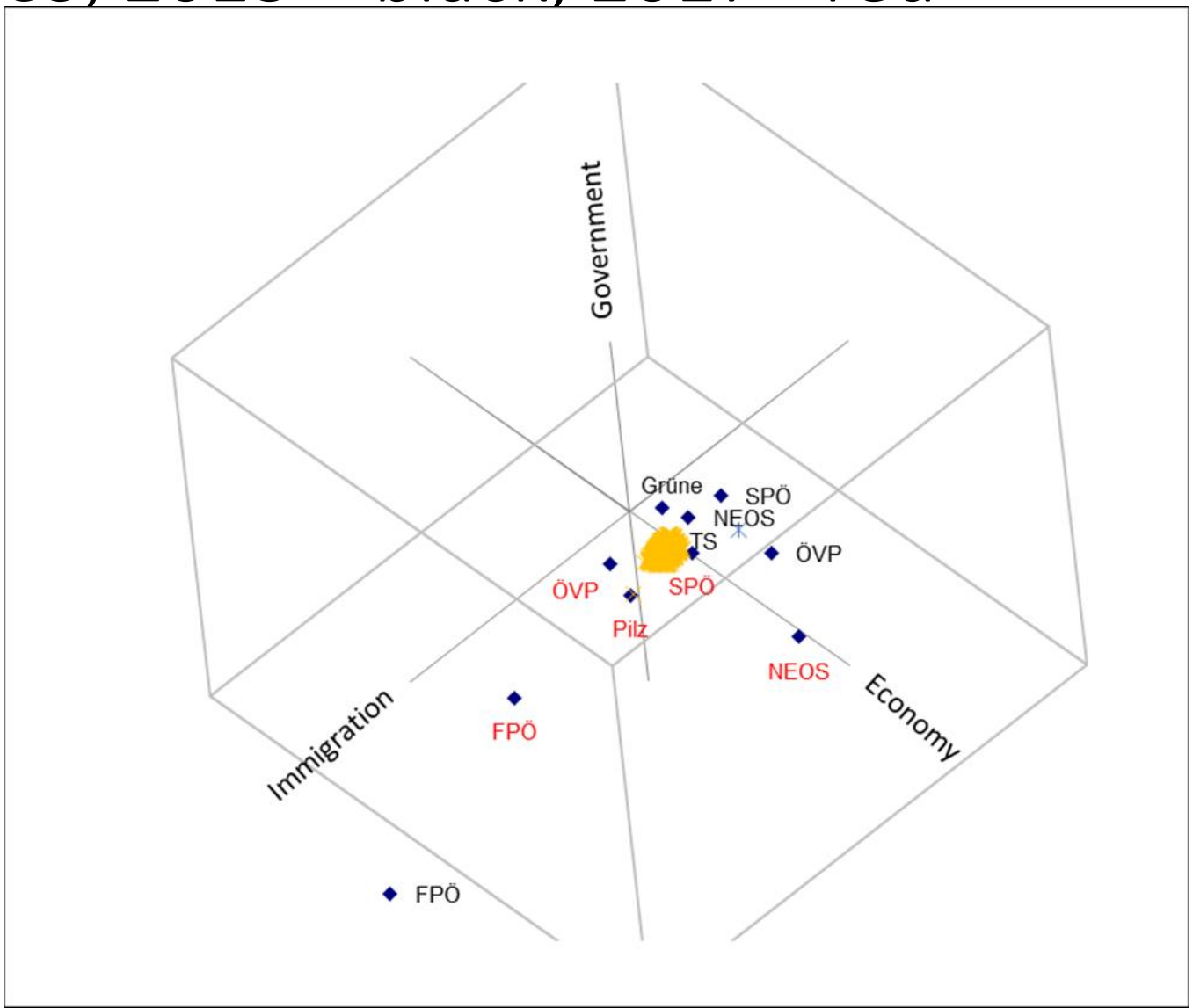


Austrian Elections in 3D Immigration

2013 – blue
2017 - red

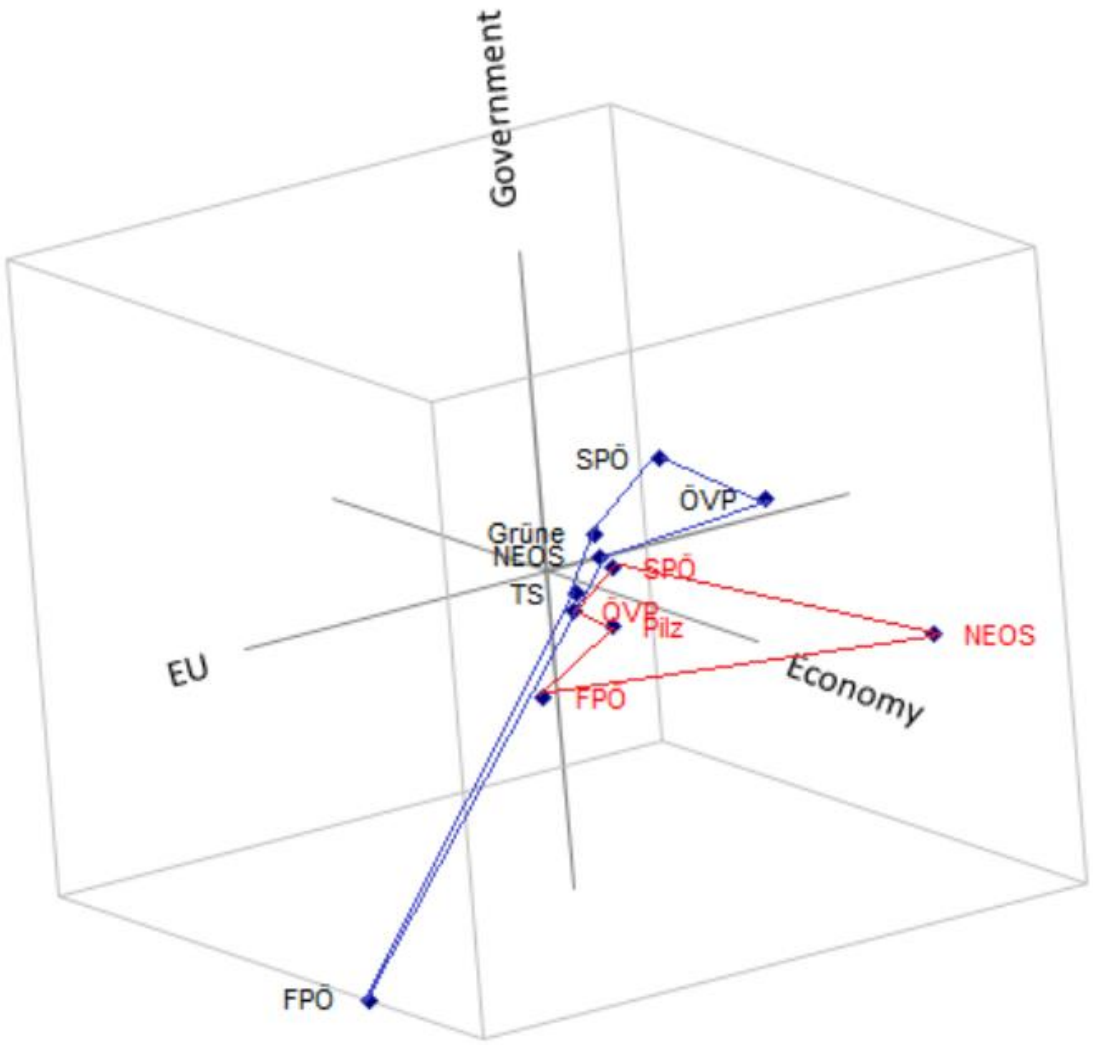


Austrian Elections in 3D Immigration & UCS; 2013 – black, 2017 - red

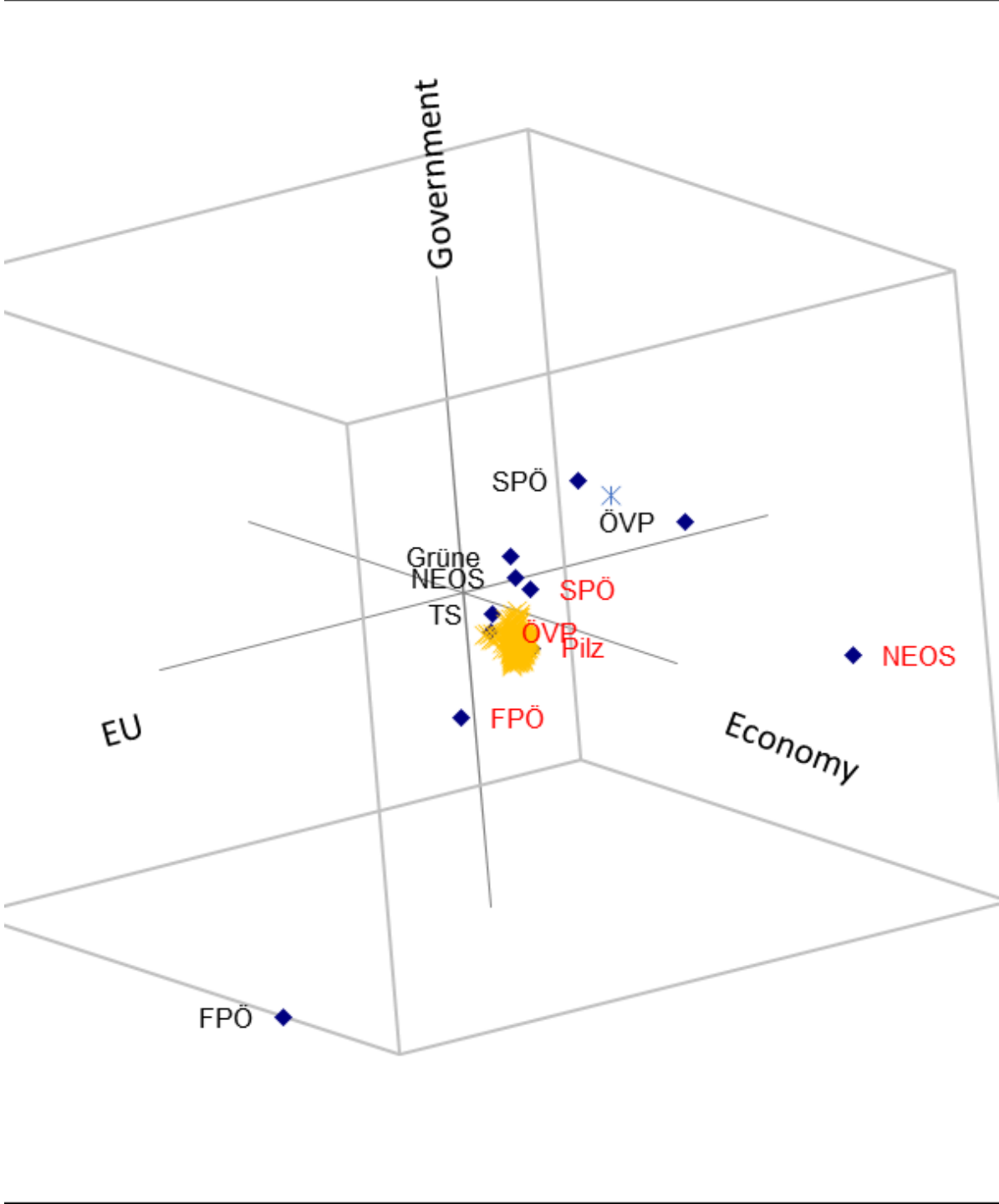


Austrian Elections in 3D EU

2013 – blue
2017 - red



Austrian Elections in 3D EU + UCS 2013 – blue 2017 - red



Summing up

1. Immigration played a key role in creating conditions for the electoral success of the FPÖ in 2017.

2. Above all, it was the behavior of the mainstream parties regarding immigration that facilitated the resurgence and success of the new radical niche party (consistent with Mudde 2011).

Ibiza parties (*not* what you think)

- The Ibiza affair / Ibiza gate
- Heinz-Christian Strache resigns as a vice-chancellor, Norbert Hofer replaces the former leader of the FPÖ
- September 29, 2019 – Austria will vote again
- Environment is the most salient public concern
- Will the radical-right anti-immigration FPÖ have a competitive advantage again?