LMU LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

Class 6: Parties

responses and counter-strategies

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Overview of responses to far-right parties
- Studies of responses to FR parties
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

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Opening notes

Presentation groups

Topics to me as soon as possible

June | July | May

Date	Presenters	Method
5 June:	Rasmus B., Andre D., Josefine E., Ioanna L., Santiago C.	regression
12 June:	Omar B., Lela E., Niclas W.	TBD
19 June:	NO CLASS MEETING	
26 June:	Colombe I., Konstantin S., Jakob W., Veronika L.	TBD
26 June:	Maksim K., Felix S., Jon L.D., Damir S., Korbinian M.	case study

Overview of responses to far-right parties

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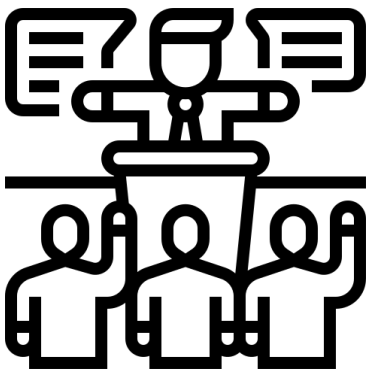
- which actors can respond to far-right parties
- what types of responses
- possible effects

Actors

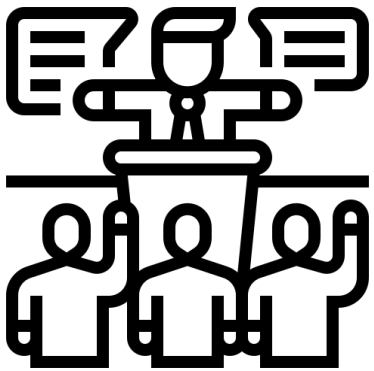
parties



Actors

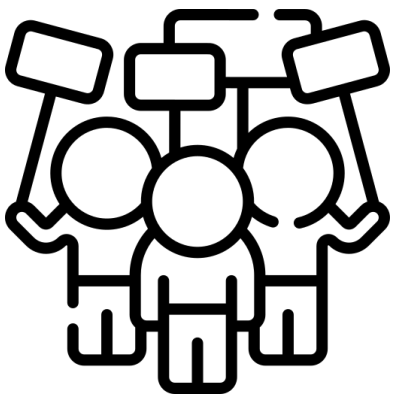
media

parties



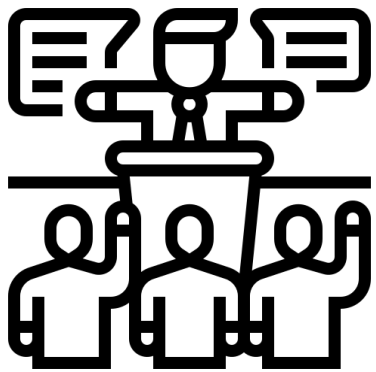
Actors

movements



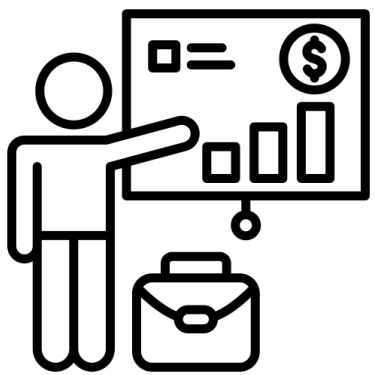
media

parties

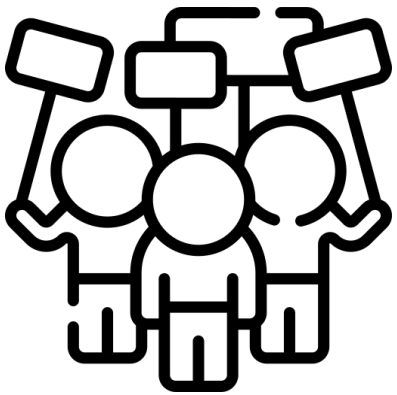


Actors

business

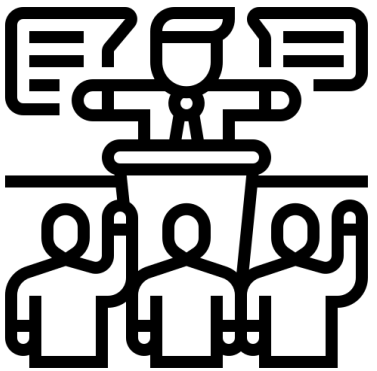


movements



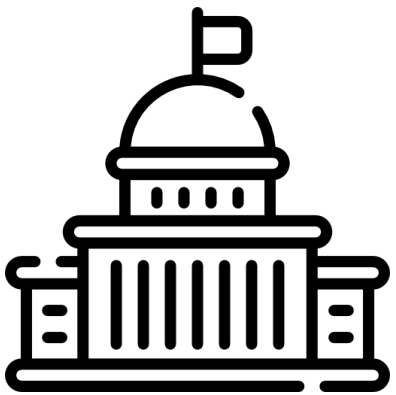
media

parties



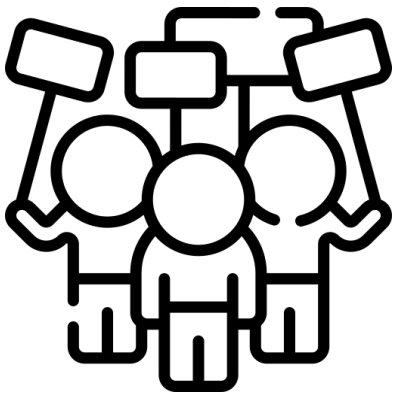
Actors

state



business

movements



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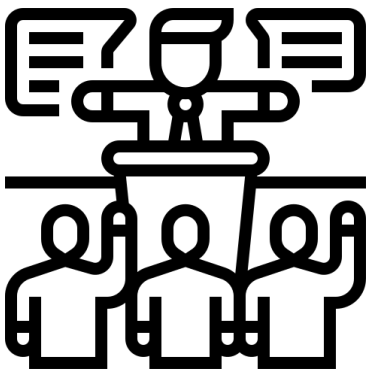
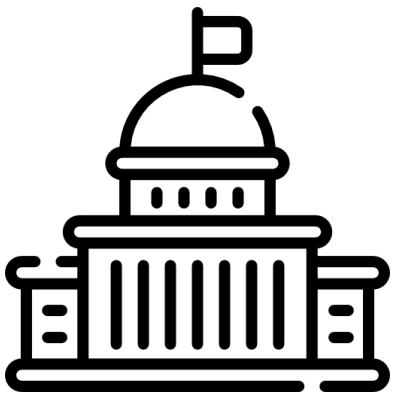
parties



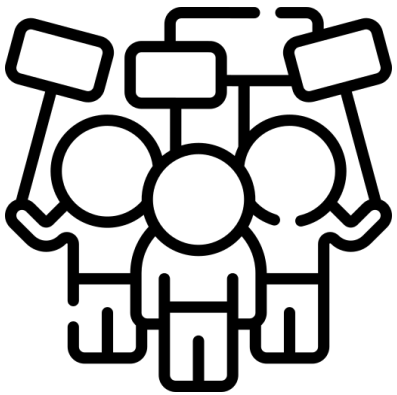
Actors → Actions

state



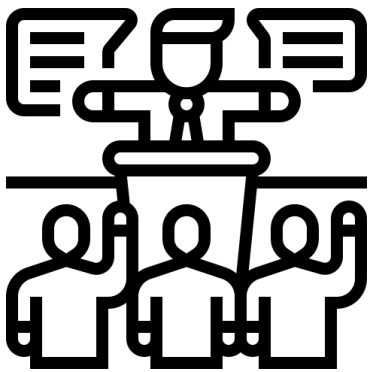
business

movements



media

parties



Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

accommodate

Actors → Actions

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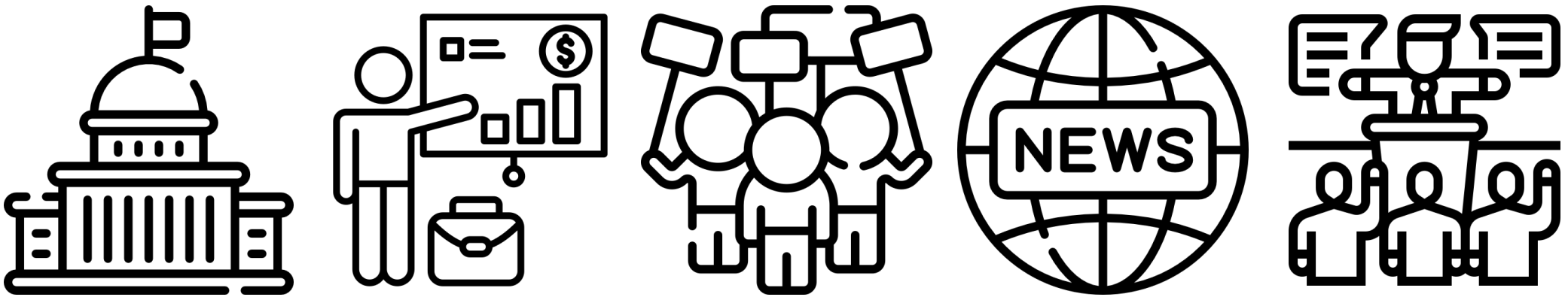
state business movements media parties

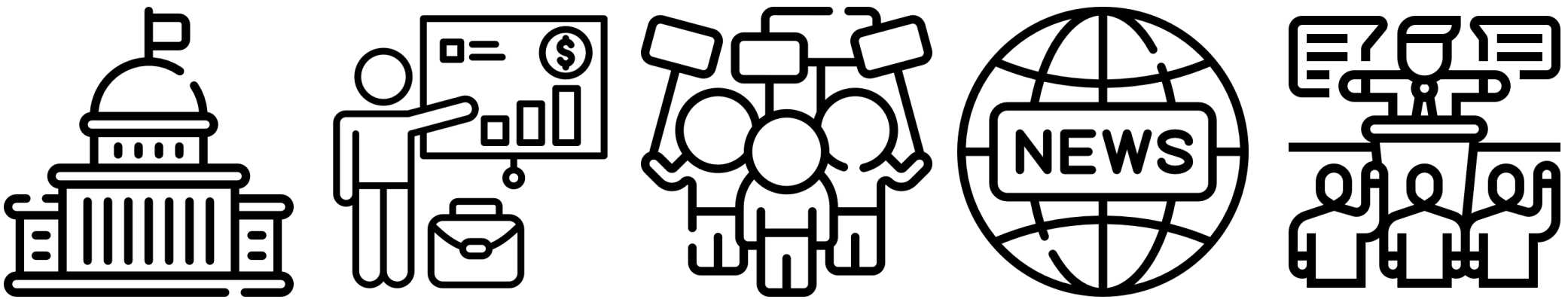


Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions

state business movements media parties

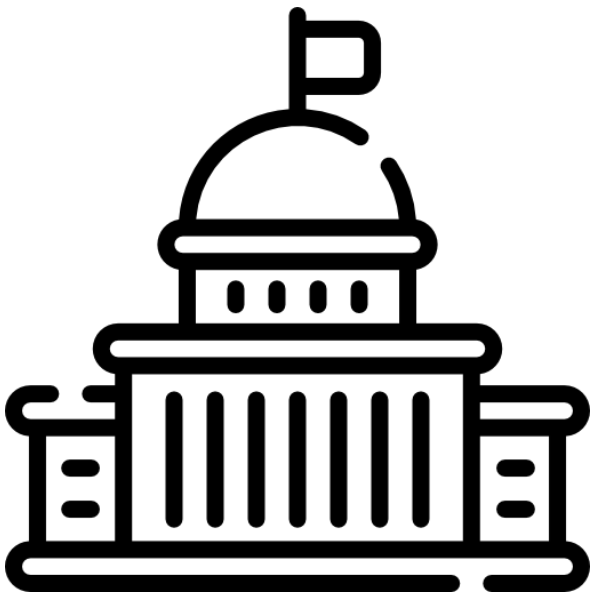


Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

oppose dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions

state



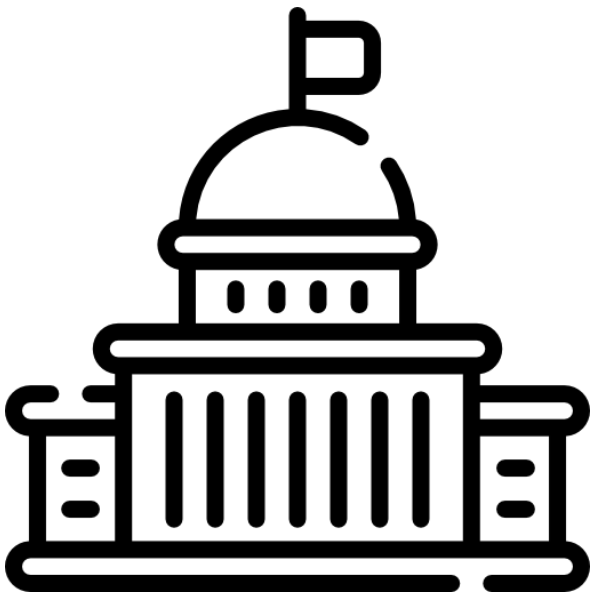
accommodate

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

state



accommodate

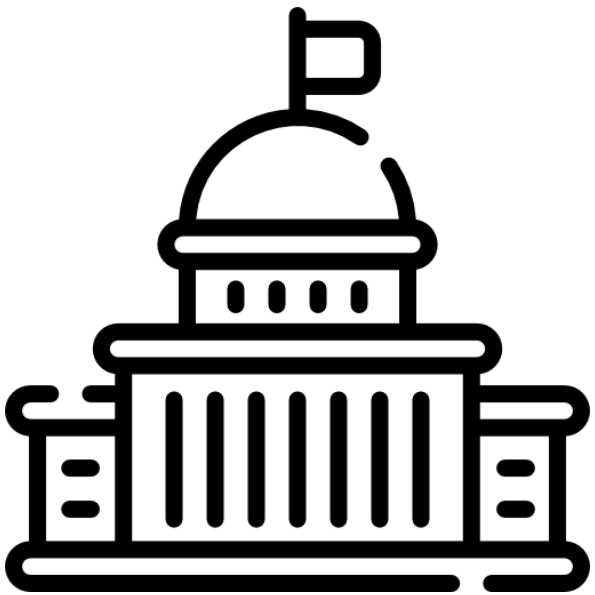
- government, state institutions adapt policy or activity in line with far-right party

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

state



accommodate

- government, state institutions adapt policy or activity in line with far-right party

dismiss

- ignore, treat as any other political player

oppose

Actors → Actions

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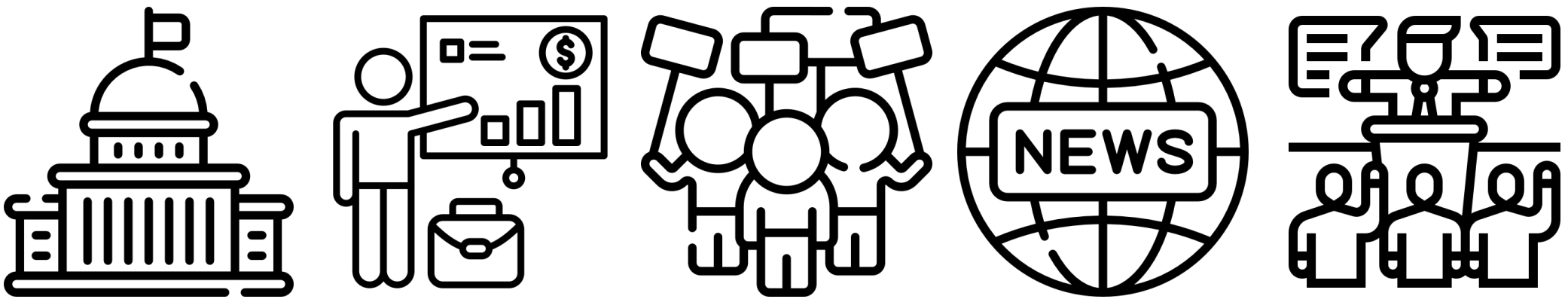
Actors → Actions

state business movements media parties

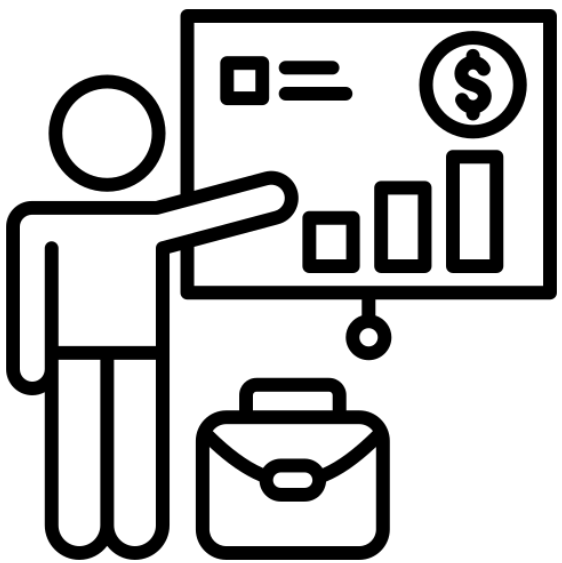


Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

oppose dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions

business



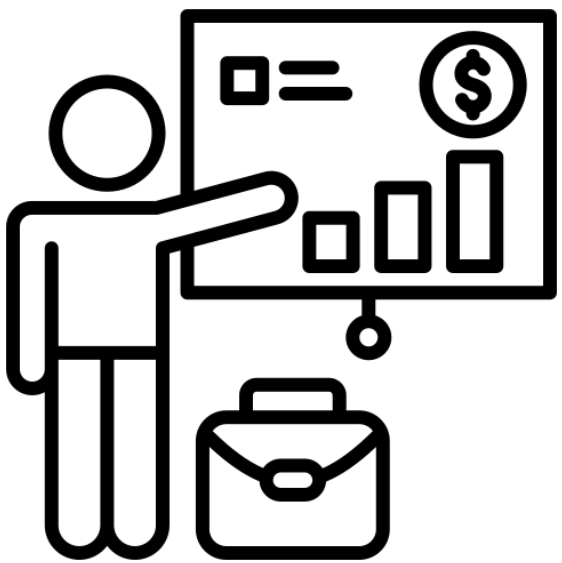
accommodate

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

business



accommodate

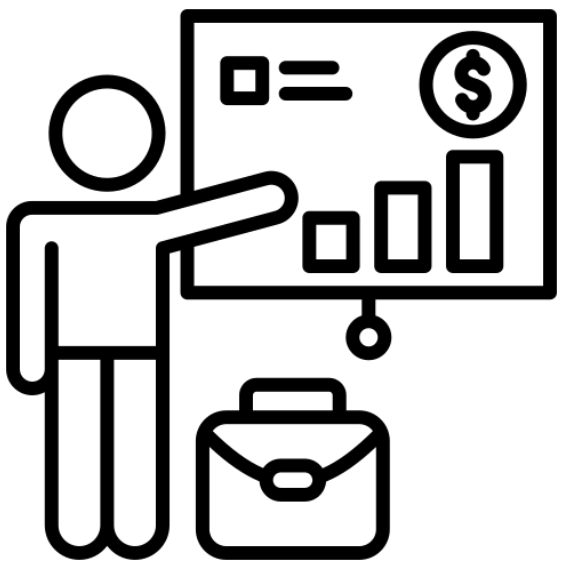
- engage with, amplify, finance far-right party

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

business



accommodate

- engage with, amplify, finance far-right party

dismiss

- ignore

oppose

Actors → Actions

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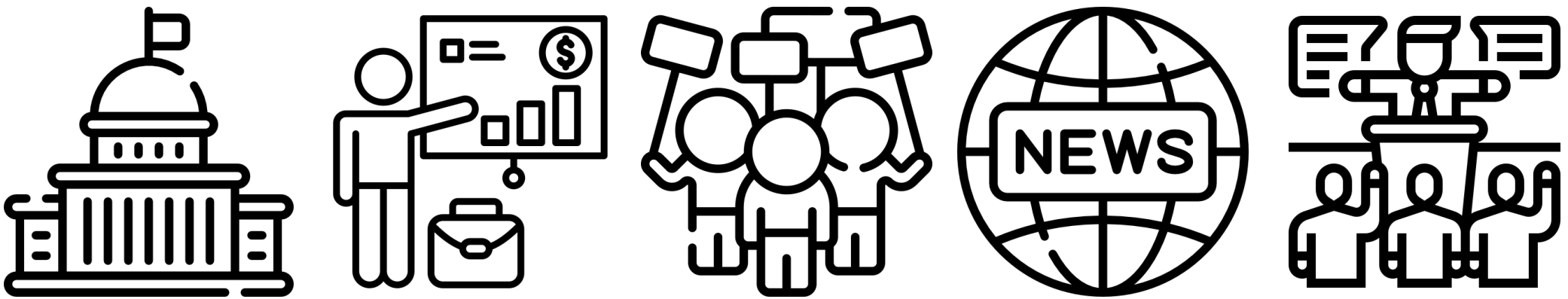
Actors → Actions

state business movements media parties

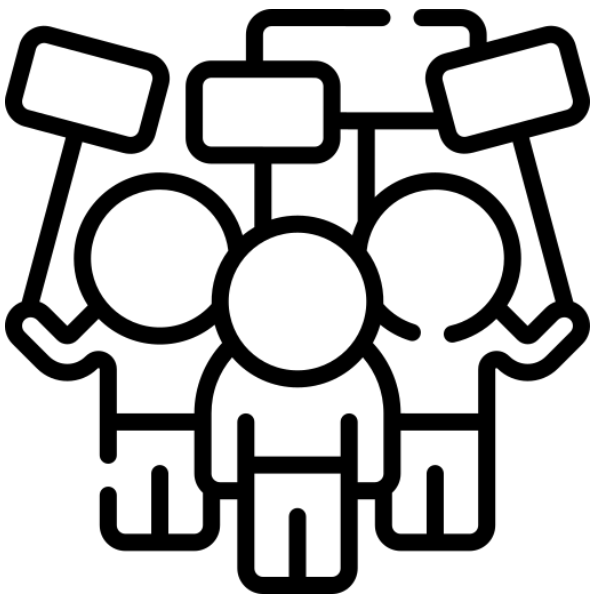


Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

oppose dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions

movements



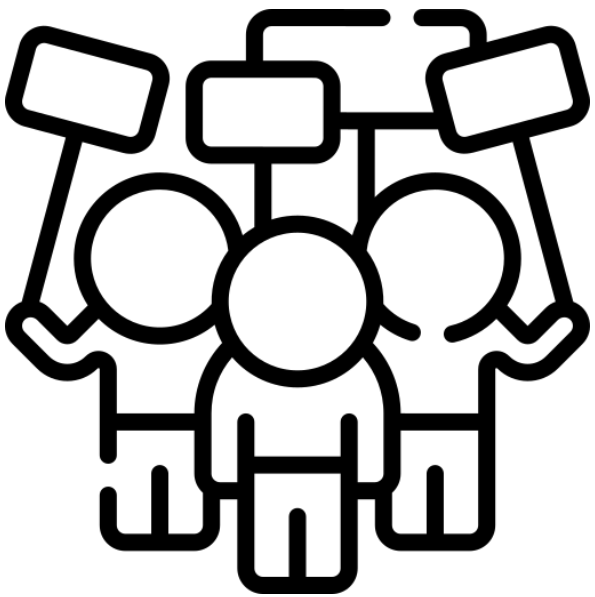
accommodate

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

movements



accommodate

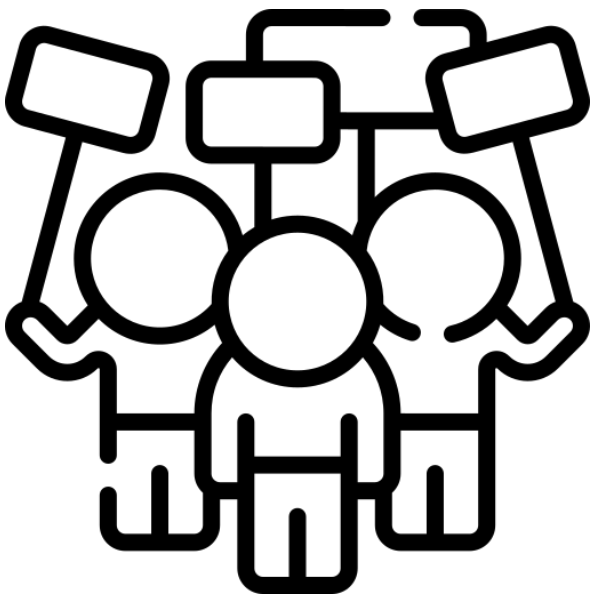
- support, mobilise for street politics

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

movements



accommodate

- support, mobilise for street politics

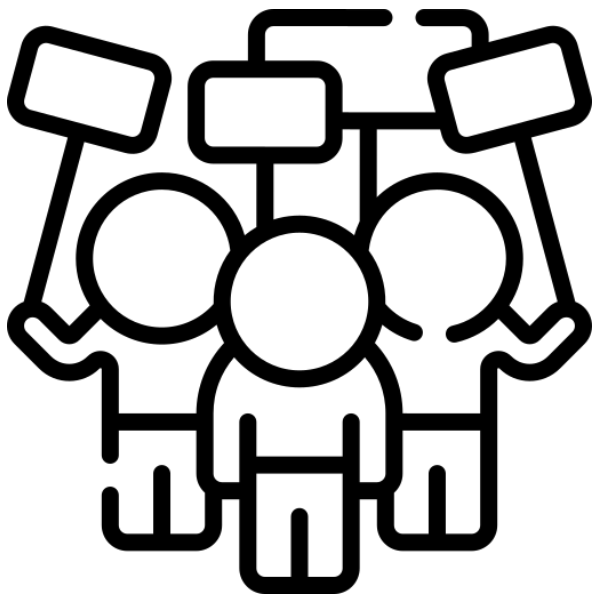
dismiss

- ignore

oppose

Actors → Actions

movements



accommodate

- support, mobilise for street politics

dismiss

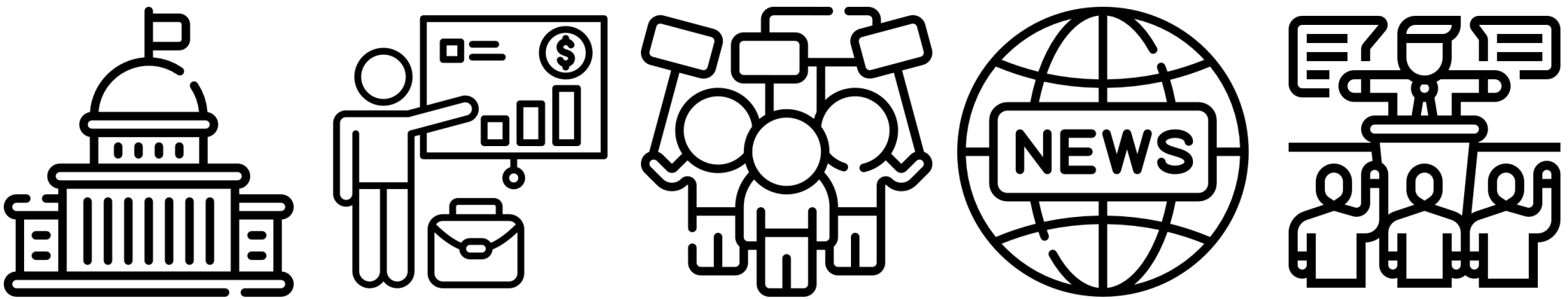
- ignore

oppose

- protest against, blockade/disrupt, lobby state and other actors

Actors → Actions

state business movements media parties



Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

oppose dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions

media

accommodate

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

media

accommodate

- set agenda of far-right issues and framings, open ‘platform’ to far-right actors

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

media

accommodate

- set agenda of far-right issues and framings, open ‘platform’ to far-right actors

dismiss

- cover as other parties, proportionally

oppose

Actors → Actions

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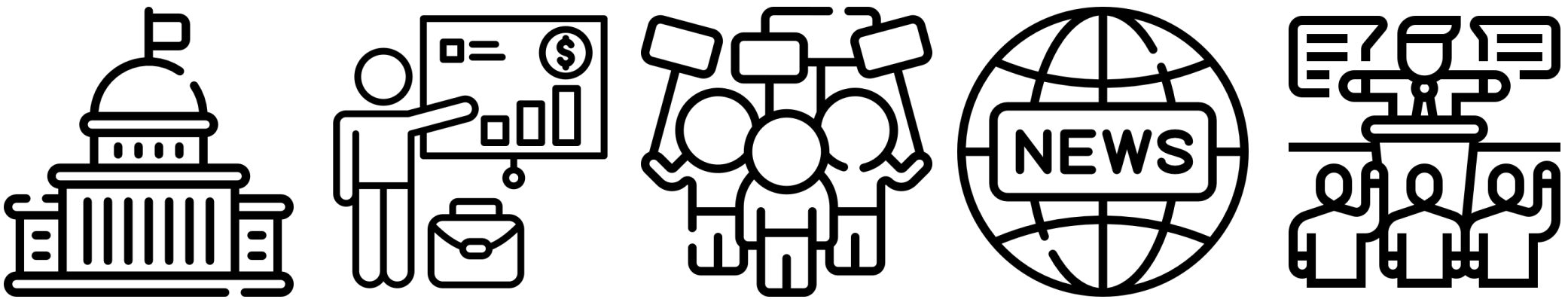
Actors → Actions

state business movements media parties

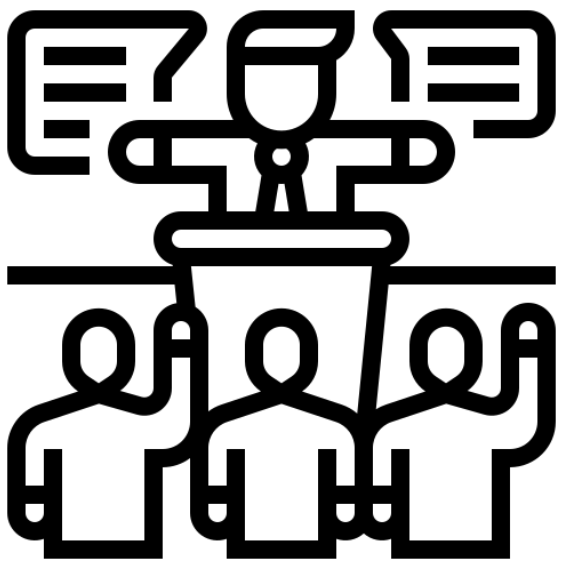


Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

oppose dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions

parties



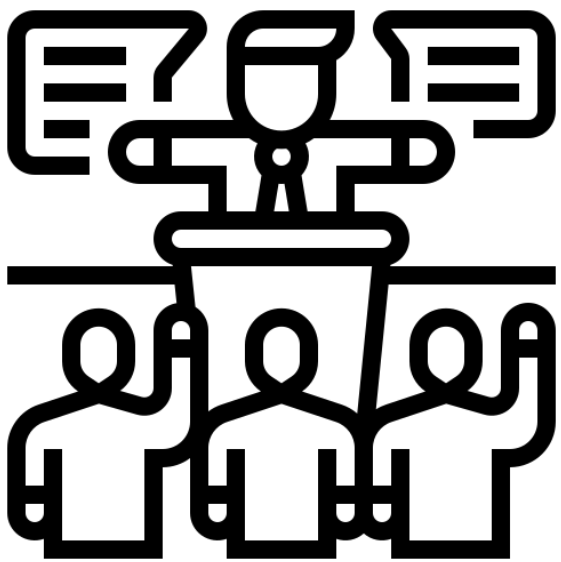
accommodate

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

parties



accommodate

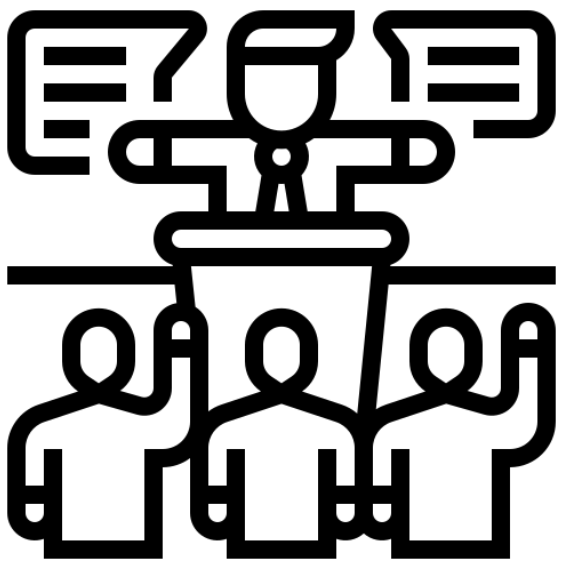
- debate or even adopt policy positions, engage in cooperation or even coalition

dismiss

oppose

Actors → Actions

parties



accommodate

- debate or even adopt policy positions, engage in cooperation or even coalition

dismiss

- ignore, disregard effect on political competition, treat as any other party

oppose

Actors → Actions

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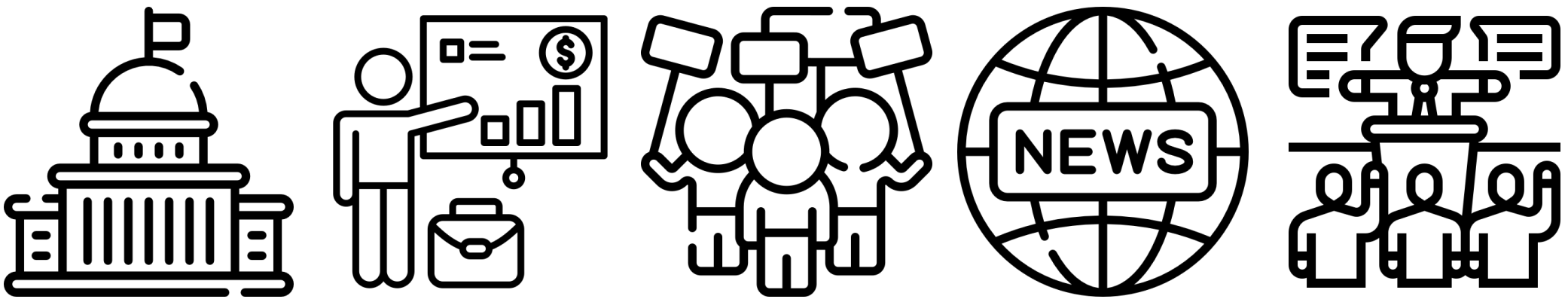
Actors → Actions

state business movements media parties

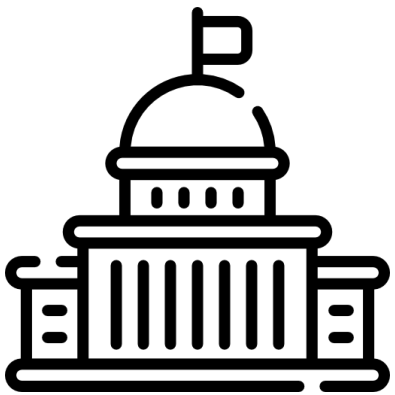


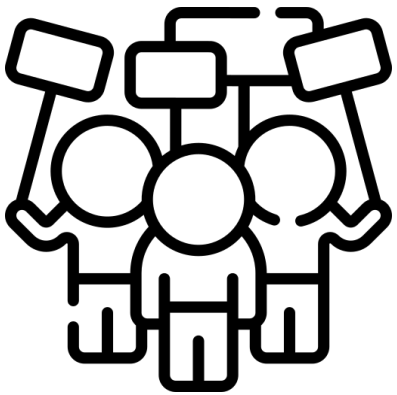
Actions, broadly (cf. Meguid 2005):

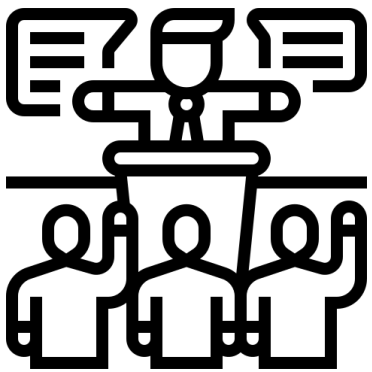
oppose dismiss accommodate

Actors → Actions → Effects

state business movements media parties







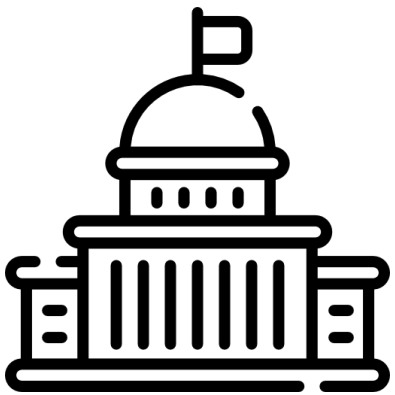
oppose dismiss accommodate

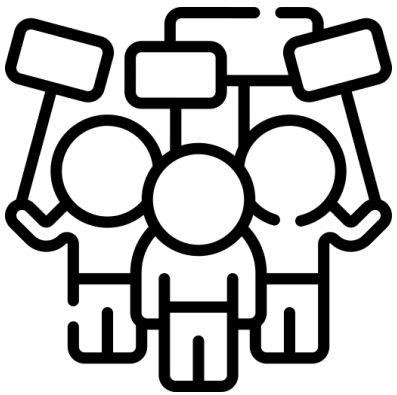
Effects

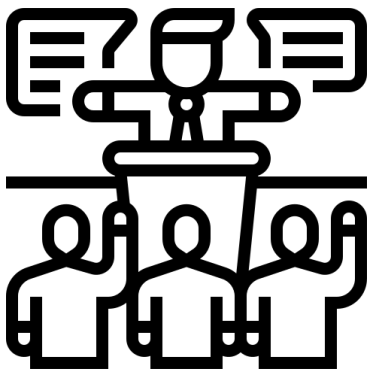
normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state business movements media parties







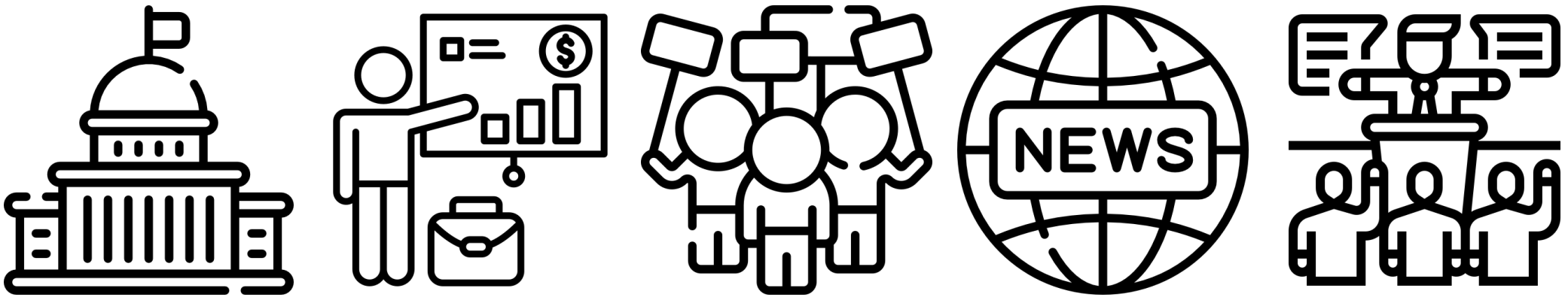
oppose dismiss accommodate

Effects

deradicalise normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties

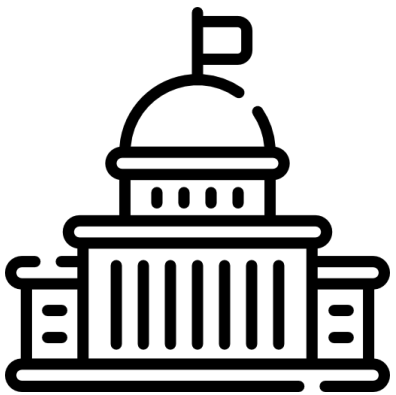
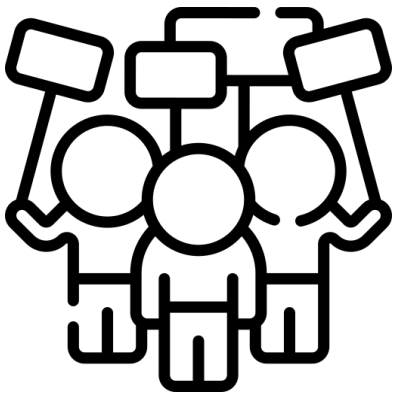
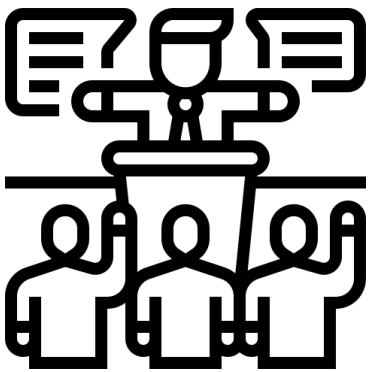


oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state	business	movements	media	parties
				

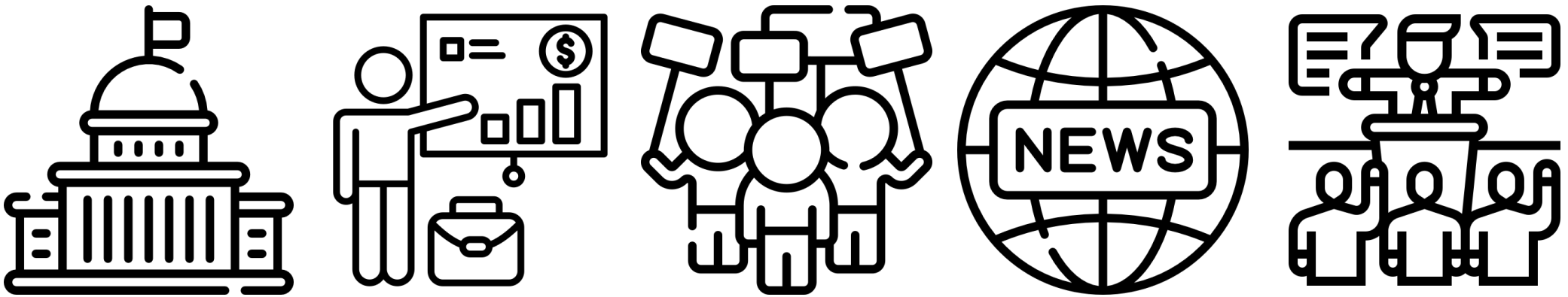
oppose dismiss accommodate

Effects

constrain weaken deradicalise normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties



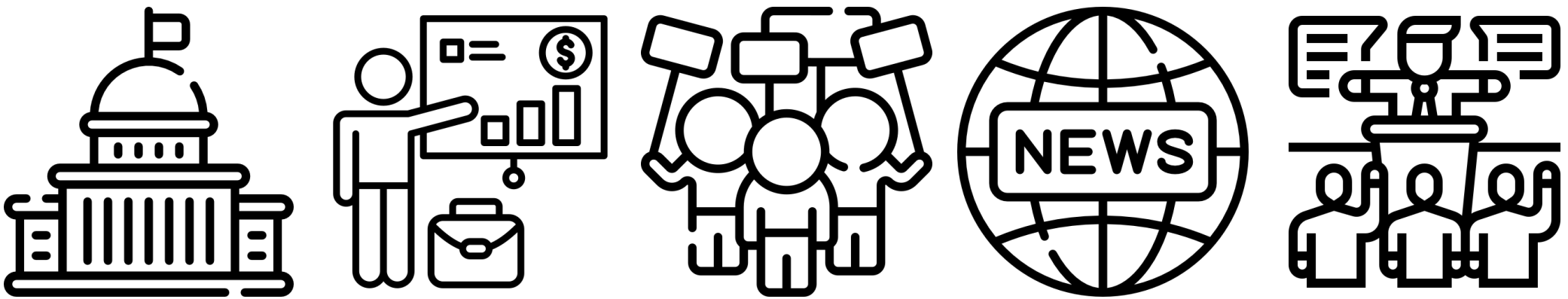
oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

disband | constrain | weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state business movements media parties



oppose dismiss accommodate

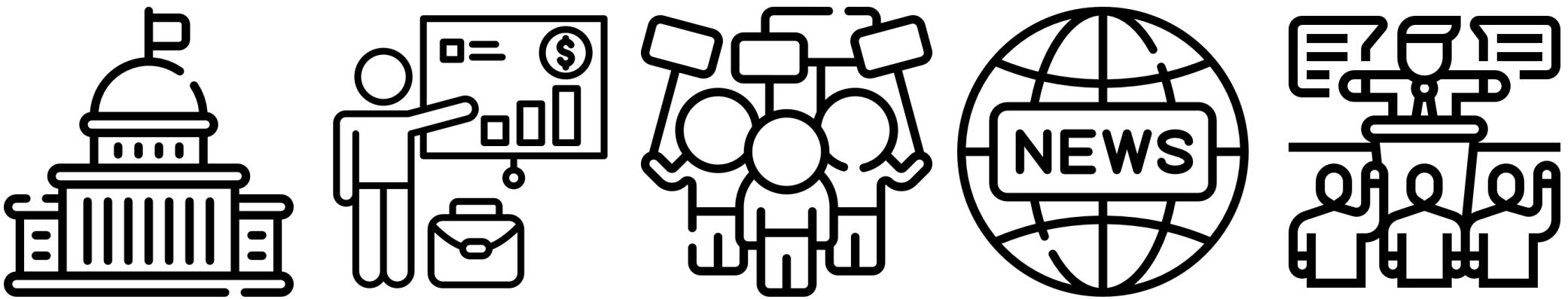
Effects

normalise

predominant perspective on party changes, not the party itself

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties



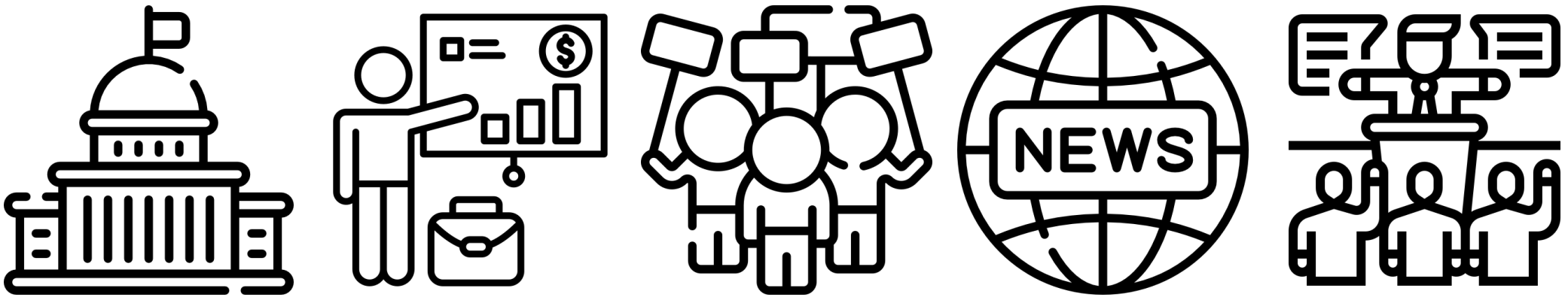
oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

disband | constrain | weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties



oppose | dismiss | accommodate

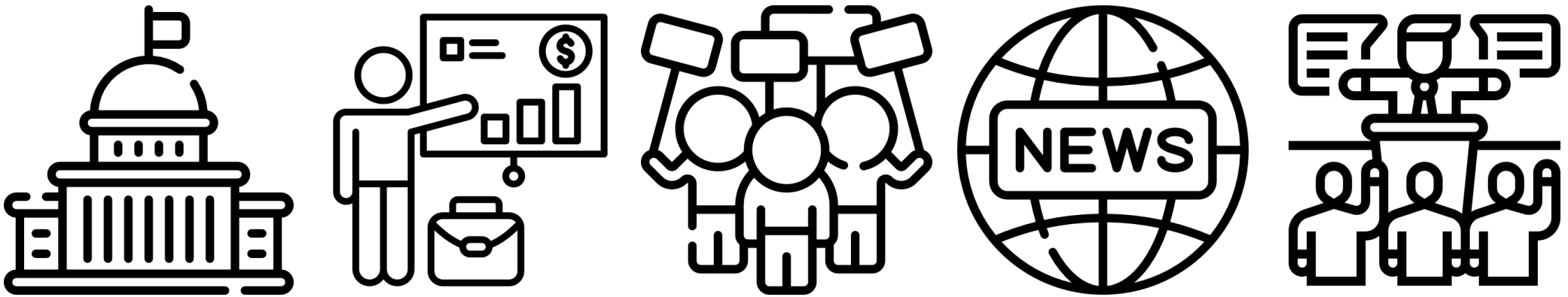
Effects

deradicalise

party becomes less ideologically, programmatically radical/extreme

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties



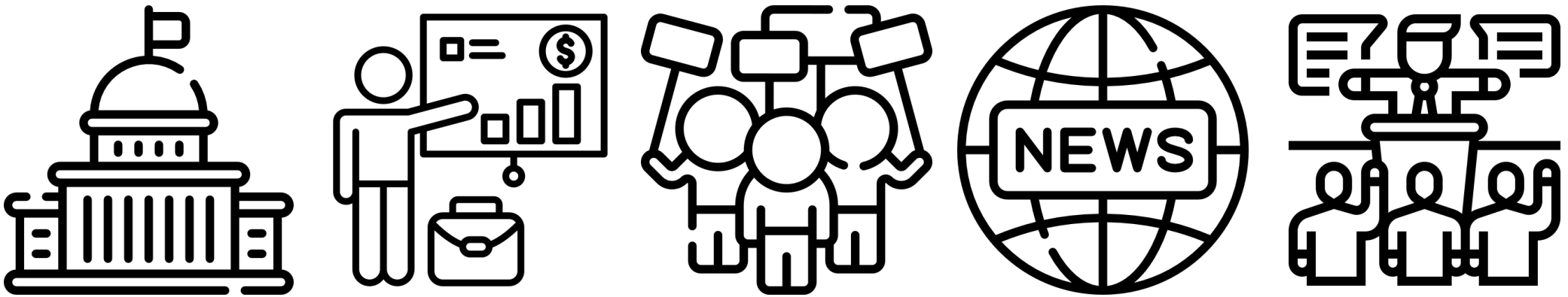
oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

disband | constrain | weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state business movements media parties



oppose dismiss accommodate

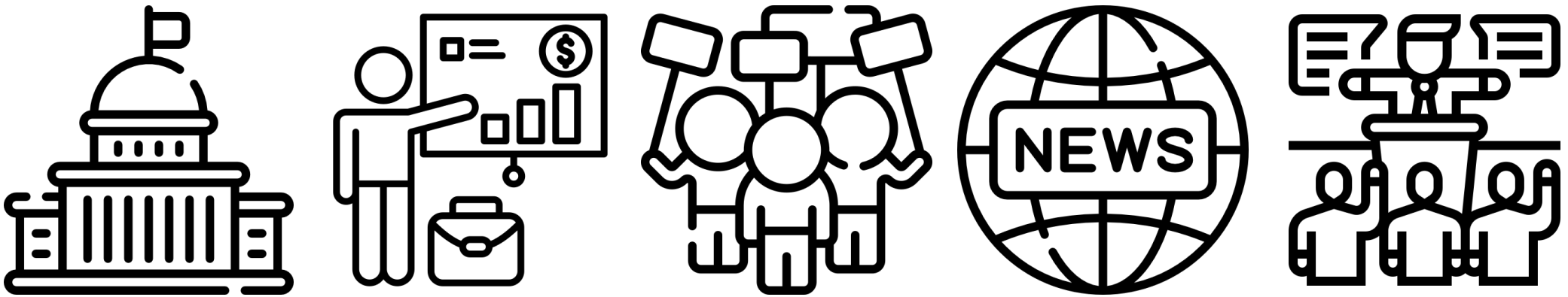
Effects

weaken

party loses support because others deliver, win back voters

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties



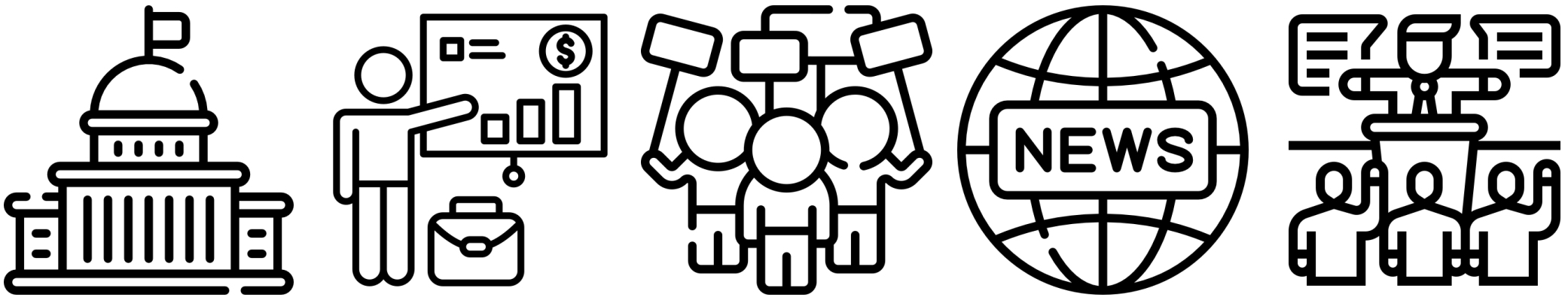
oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

disband | constrain | weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state business movements media parties



oppose dismiss accommodate

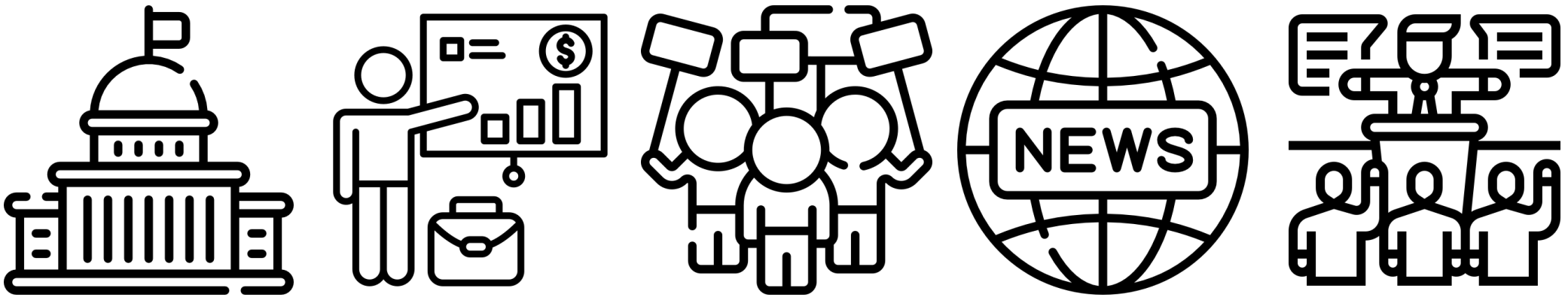
Effects

constrain

party is deprived of policy input opportunities, chance to govern

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties



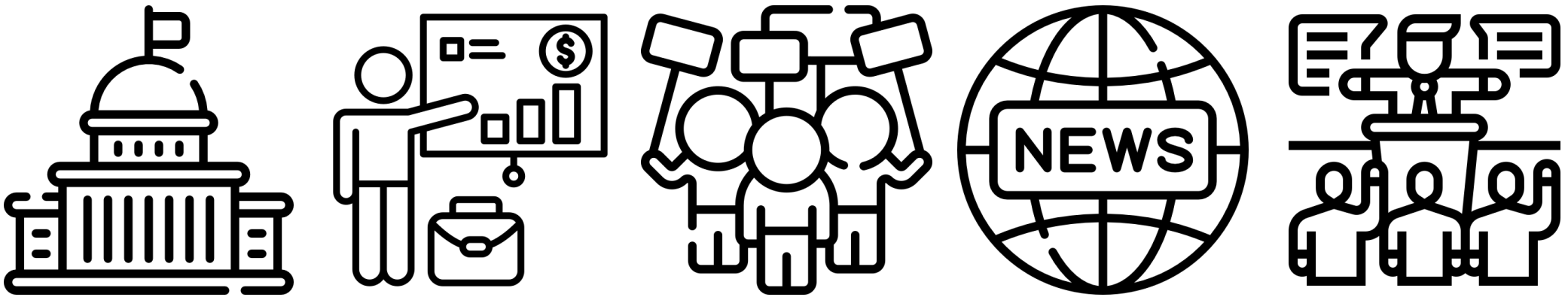
oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

disband | constrain | weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Actors → Actions → Effects

state business movements media parties



oppose dismiss accommodate

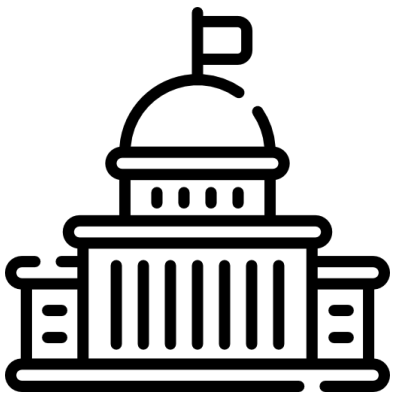
Effects

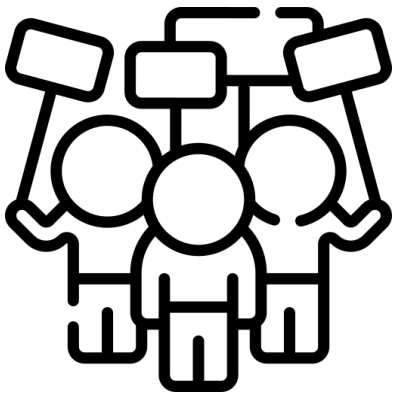
disband

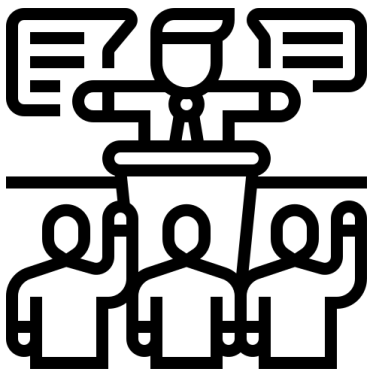
party is broken up, assets seized, leading activists penalised

Actors → Actions → Effects

state | business | movements | media | parties







oppose | dismiss | accommodate

Effects

disband | constrain | weaken | deradicalise | normalise

Summing up responses to far-right parties

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- the interaction of all these pieces makes for much greater complexity
  - actors responses frequently change, are rarely consistent, and interact with others' responses
- empirical cases demonstrate this complexity in action
  - De Jonge (2023) has a nice, short blog about responding to far-right parties, reviewing

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Studies of responses to FR parties

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- Capoccia (2005) - interwar regimes
- De Jonge (2021) - media and parties
- Klüver et al. (2024) - communication counter-strategies
- Krause, Cohen, and Abou-Chadi (2023) - effect of accommodation
- protesting against far-right parties
  - Colombo et al. (2021)
  - Lagios, Méon, and Tojerow (2022)
  - Ellinas and Lamprianou (2023)

Capoccia (2005) - interwar regimes

Struggle between democratic incumbents and antisystem outsiders as primary characteristic of political process

		Yes	No
Democrats prevail	Yes	Challenged survivors: Czechoslovakia, Finland, Belgium, (France)	Non-challenged survivors: The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, United Kingdom
	No	Takeovers: Germany, Italy	'Suspension' or preemptive coup: Bulgaria, Portugal, Poland, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Estonia, Latvia, Greece, Romania

Capoccia (2005) - interwar regimes

- Czechoslovakia:
  - *Sudetendeutsche Heimatsfront* (SHF) - ally of NSDAP
  - not banned, but several measures imposed against SHF/SdP
- Belgium:
  - *Parti Réxiste* (Leon Degrelle)
  - Catholic youth groups led to *oppose* Rexists
  - King Leopold III takes public opposition stance

Capoccia (2005) - interwar regimes

- bans and hard repression can work, but not sufficient on its own
  - a ‘short-term solution’
- importance of incumbent political elites
- importance of **unity** among political elites

De Jonge (2021) - media and parties

- RQ: why is a radical right party successful in Flanders, but not in Wallonia (Belgium)?

- Wallonia: hostile environment, mainstream parties and media impose *cordon sanitaire*
  - radical-right party exclusion is 'air tight'
  - imposed before radical-right party achieves significant success
- Flanders: gradually more accommodative environment
  - no counter-action before radical-right party achieved significant success
  - initial *cordon sanitaire* quickly weakened by right-wing People's Union ejecting it

Klüver et al. (2024) - communication counter-strate

- **RQ**: How can parties counter right-wing populist parties (RPPs)?
- **survey experiment** among 24,000+ respondents in Germany
  - treatments in form of social media posts and placards
- 4 party communication strategies to respond to populist rhetoric: (1) highlight mainstream parties' role representing citizen interests, (2) emphasise the performance of mainstream parties, (3) reveal the self-interest of populists, and (4) appeal to alternative identities.
- **Finding 1**: exposing how far-righ parties' policies are self-interested decreases support
- **Finding 2**: communication ephasising party's own performance can trigger backlash

Krause, Cohen, and Abou-Chadi (2023) - effect of accommodation

- **RQ**: Do accommodative strategies help to weaken RRPs electorally?
- **method**: linear regression models
- **data**: elections in: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and UK
- **findings**:
  - no evidence that accommodation reduces radical right support
  - in some cases, it may increase voter defection to radical right

protesting against far-right parties

- Colombo et al. (2021) - Italy 2020 election, ‘Sardines’ against Lega
- Lagios, Méon, and Tojerow (2022) - France, against Front National
- Ellinas and Lamprianou (2023) - Greece, against Golden Dawn

- summative findings:
  - protests can dampen support in localities where it occurs
  - may only be by a few percentage points
    - small but seemingly consistent effect

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Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:
https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58

Alternatively, send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

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