

# Class 3: Parties

radical and extreme

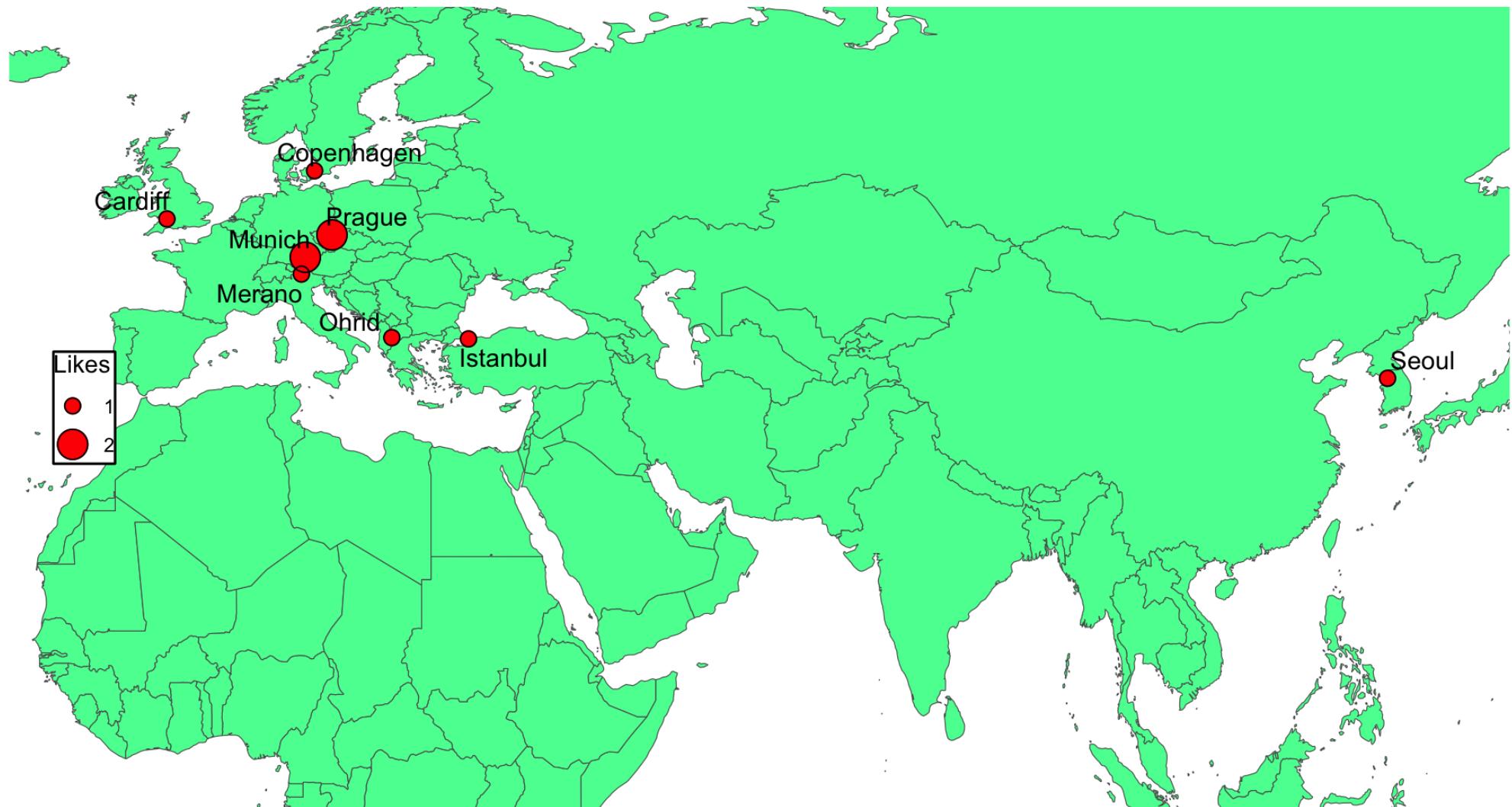
Dr. Michael C. Zeller

# Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Check-in: ideological components
- Party classification
- Radical right electoral performance
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

# Opening notes

# Students' favourite cities



# Presentation groups

Remember: topic to me at least by Week 4

May    June    July

## Presentations line-up

Date	Presenters	Method
15 May:	Idil M., Zeynep P., Liesl W., Selin K., Chiara W.	logistic regression
22 May:	Gabriel W., Lina M., Florian S., Julian B.	TBD
29 May:	NO CLASS MEETING	

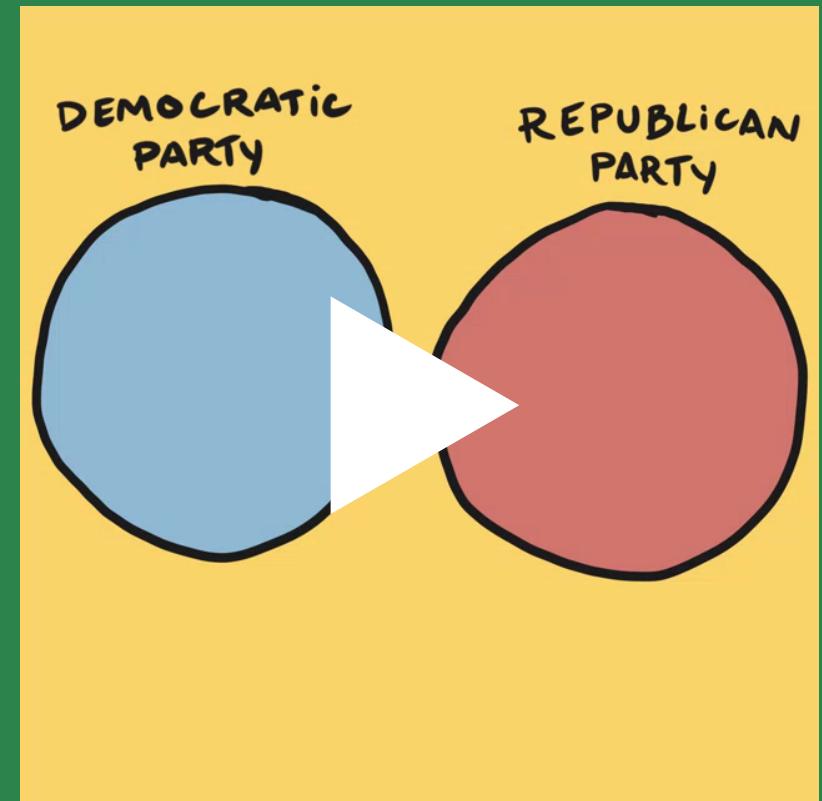
- no more regression presentations—see syllabus for some of the other options

# Check-in: ideological components

- nationalism → • nativism
- exclusionism → • authoritarianism
- xenophobia → • populism
- strong state
- welfare chauvinism
- traditional ethics
- **questions from the recorded lecture?**

# Party classification

- applying the ideological components to classify parties
  - why do this?
  - how?
  - scoring cases



# Discussion point

- Why classify parties into party families? Is this worthwhile?

temporal, contextual comparisons; consequences for policy positions and other party behaviour (e.g., cooperation with other parties); map party system landscapes

- How can we make classifications?

# Mudde's approach (focused on ideology)

## 1. party-based:

- a. Party name;
  - b. Membership in transnational confederations;
  - c. self-identification
- 
- all duds...

# Mudde's approach (focused on ideology)

## 2. researcher-based:

### 1. electorates/constituencies

- problems: electorates change; electorates are heterogeneous

### 2. member ideology

- problems: diverse membership; active members are most extreme (David May's '**special law of curvilinear disparity**' compared to leadership and voting base; your thoughts?)

### 3. leader ideology

- problems: who exactly? how (interviews, speeches?)?

### 4. official party literature

- conditions: 'official' only (no 'aligned' lit.), national only (no regional), and both external and internal lit. is optimal

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# Populist radical right parties (PRRPs)

populist

non-populist

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radical

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non-radical

Mudde's list ... a bit outdated. **What is the scene like today?**

Populist & Radical

Populist & Non-Radical ('neo-liberal populist')

Non-Populist & Radical

Non-Populist & Non-Radical

FPÖ (AT); Vlaams Belang (BE); Hrvatska stranka prava (HR); Dansk Folkeparti (DK); Front National (FR); Die Republikaner (DE); MIEP (HU); Liga Polskich Rodzin (PL); Partidul Romania Mare (RO); LDPR (Zhirnovsky) (RU); Slovenska narodna strana (SI)

# Party classification in practice

BJP (India)

Republicans (U.S.)

AfD (Germany)

- name: *Bharatiya Janata Party*
- founded: 1980
- in gov: yes, since 2014
- leadership: Narendra Modi (Prime Minister), J.P. Nadda (Party President)
- notable social organisation: *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* ('National Volunteer Corps', RSS)



# Party classification in practice



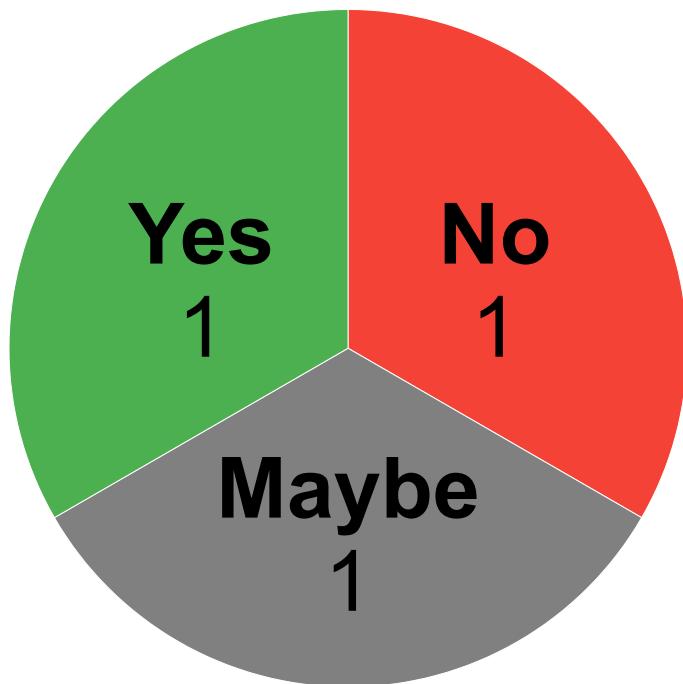
Take the survey at  
<https://forms.gle/MPe6HyUSdEdkMpk6A>

- not based on evaluating party literature—just on your familiarity with these cases

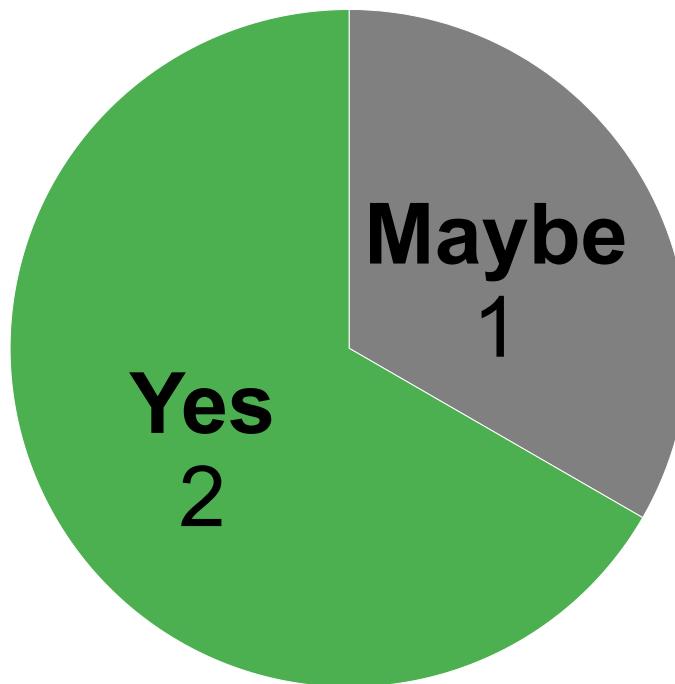
# Class poll - classification

## Poll results (Respondents: 3)

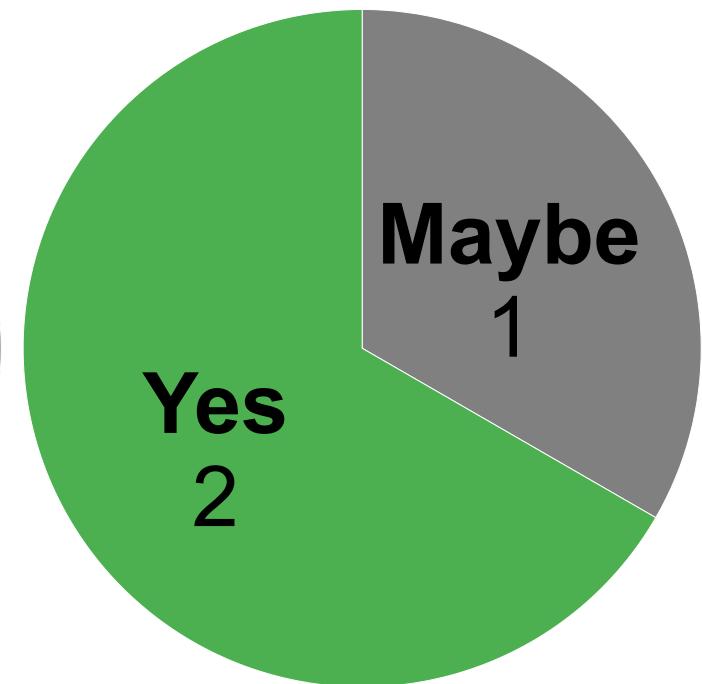
BJP - nativist?



BJP - authoritarian?



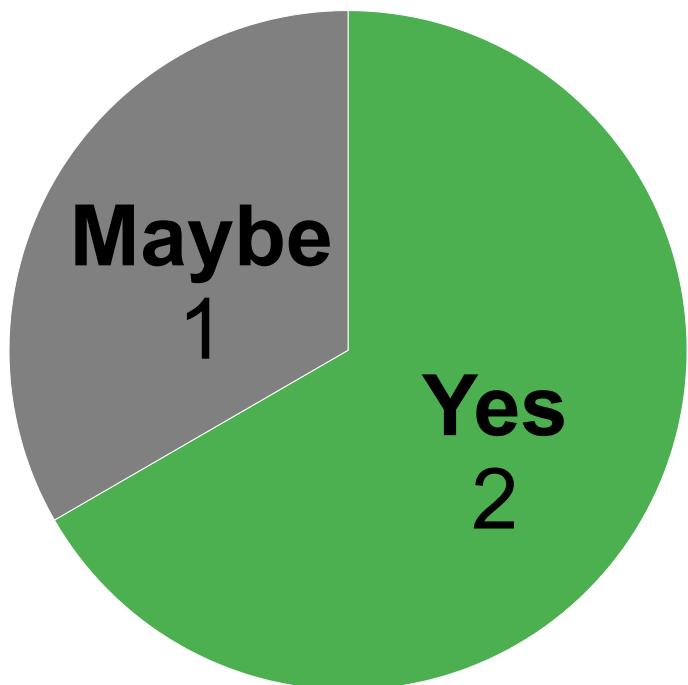
BJP - populist?



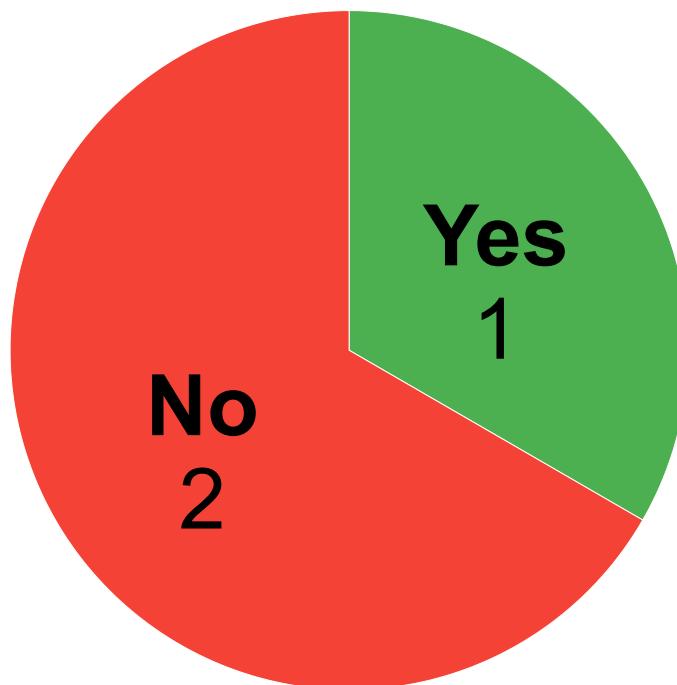


# Class poll - classification

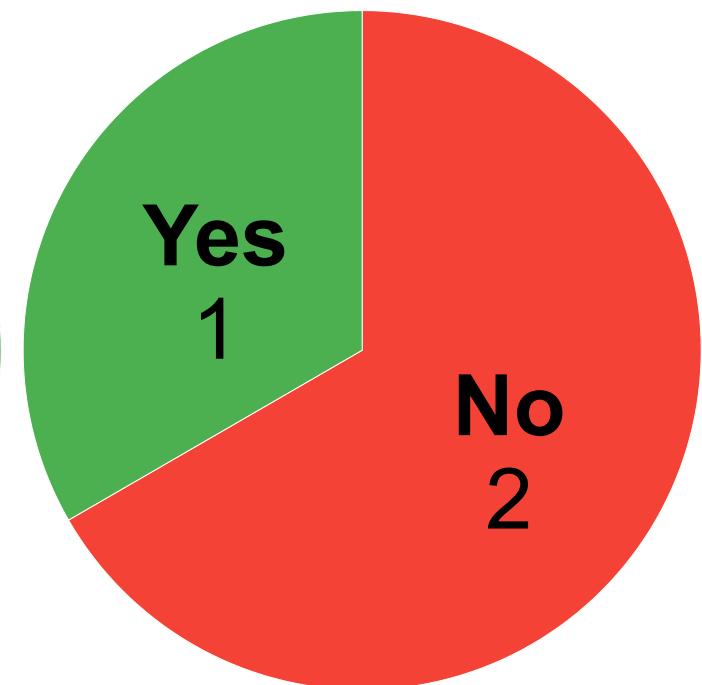
Republican (US) -  
nativist?



Republican (US) -  
authoritarian?

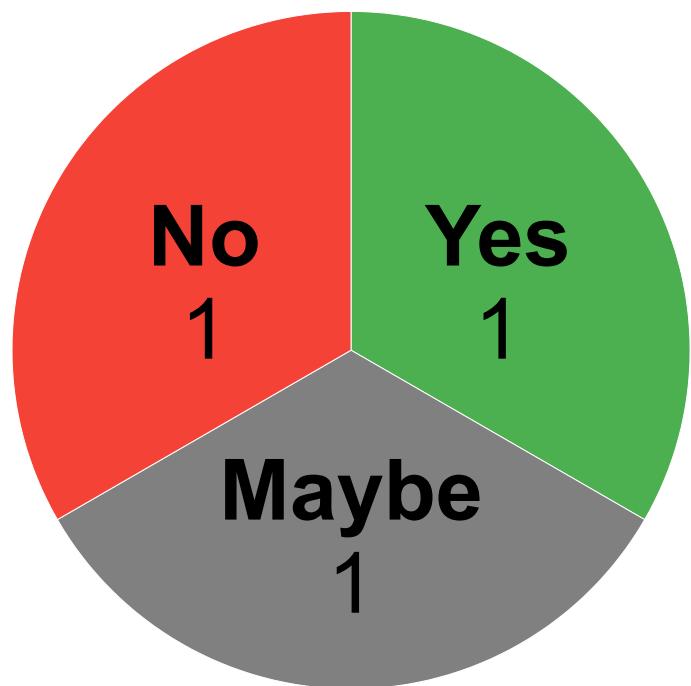


Republican (US) -  
populist?

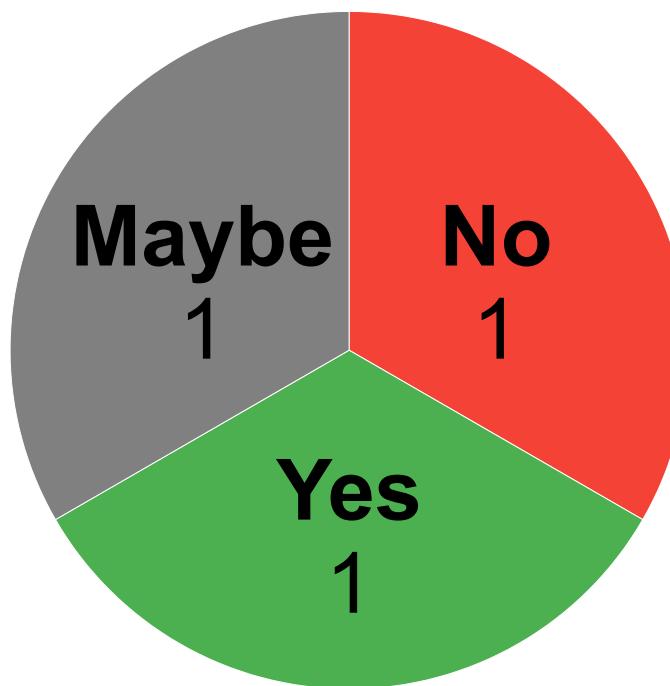


# Class poll - classification

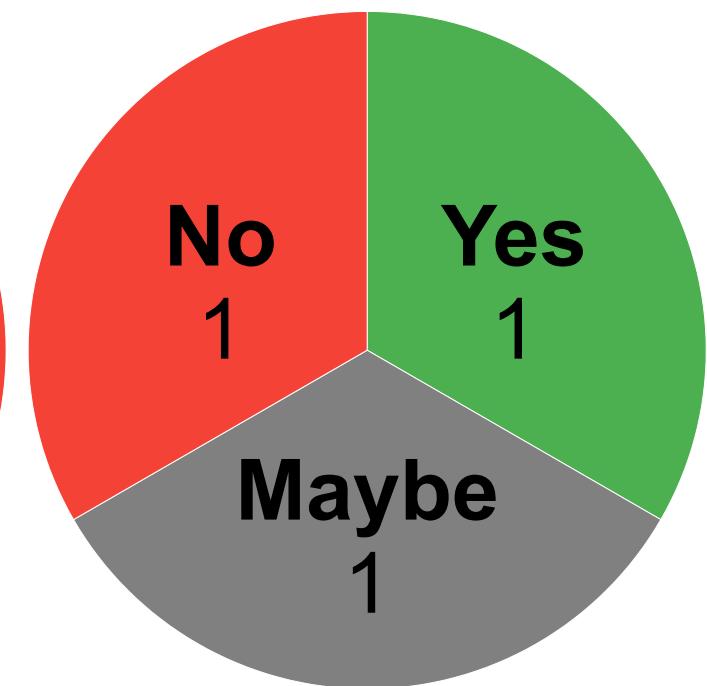
AfD - nativist?



AfD - authoritarian?



AfD - populist?

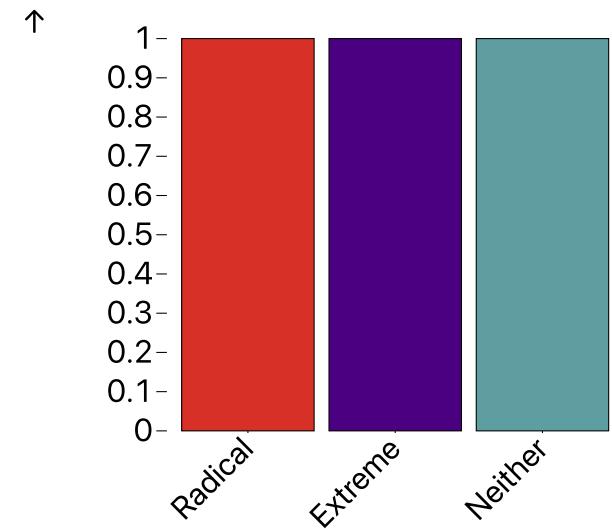
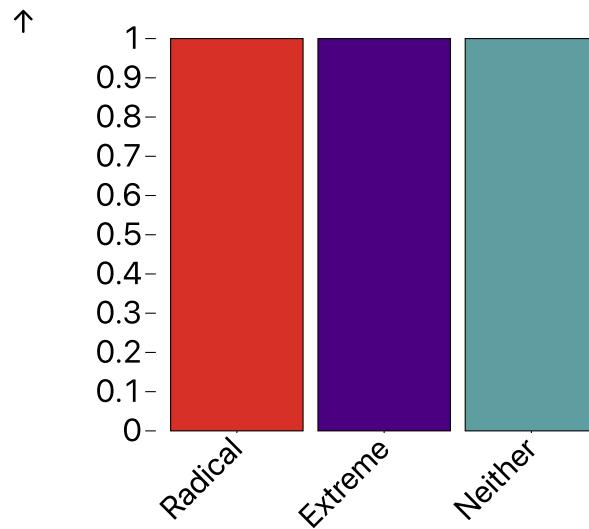
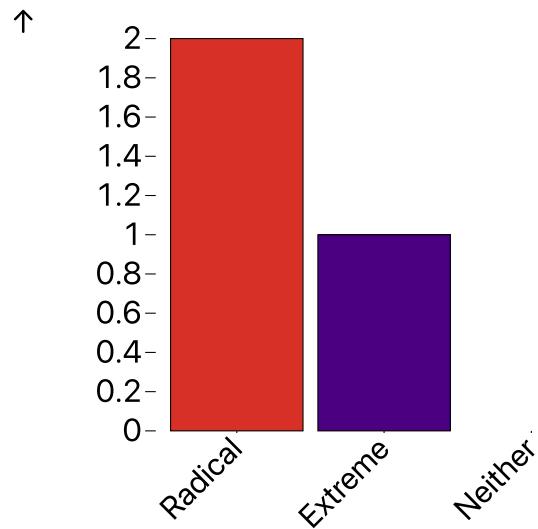


# Class poll - classification: radical/extreme?

BJP

Republicans

AfD



# BJP - debatable classification

Nativist

Authoritarian

Populist

pro

- Promotes India rooted in *Hindutva* (cultural nationalism)
- non-Hindus framed as threat
- Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) discriminates against Muslims

contra

- Presents itself as inclusive of all Indians, promoting unity
- Merely defending (religious) majority, not attacking minorities
- Party has broad, diverse demographic support base

# Republicans - debatable classification

Nativist

Authoritarian

Populist

pro

- emphasis on restrictive immigration policies
- rhetoric distinguishing between 'real Americans' and foreign-born other
- asserting threat of 'globalism'

contra

- argue immigration policy is about upholding lawful procedures
- sometimes significant immigrant-background electoral support

# AfD - debatable classification

Nativist

Authoritarian

Populist

pro

- strongly anti-immigrant stance
- promotion of German cultural identity
- demanding assimilation or else exclusion

contra

- manifesto documents are less strongly-worded than campaign rhetoric
- ‘cultural identity’ is accessible (unlike ethnic nationalism)

Does Mudde's classification approach enable differentiation *between* far-right parties or merely classification whether a party belongs to the far-right party family?

# A tricky case?

- Schweizerische Volkspartei - Union démocratique du centre

- conservative? populist radical right? decentralised model



advert adapted by  
NPD, Lega Nord,  
VB, Democracia  
Nacional—among  
others

# A (typical) tricky case?

- Schweizerische Volkspartei - Union démocratique du centre (SVP)
  - conservative? populist radical right? decentralised mess?



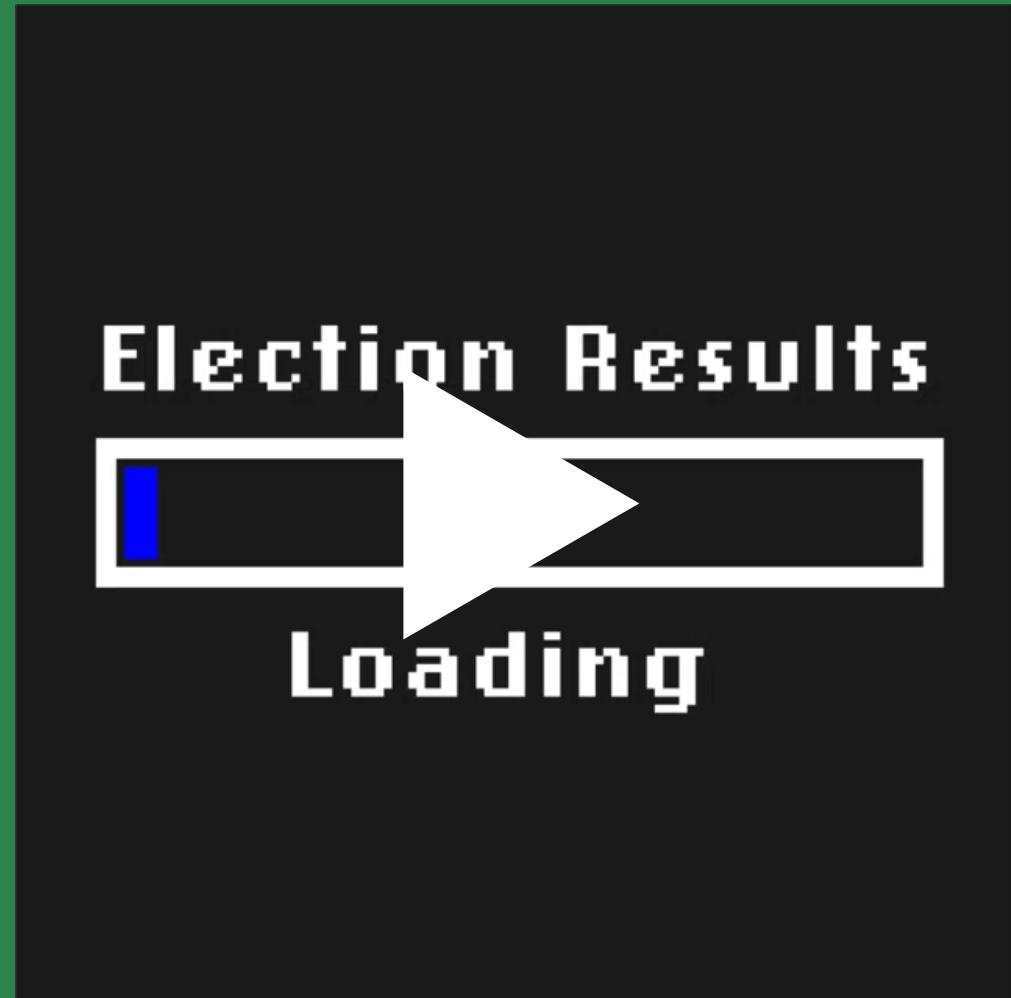
advert adapted by  
NPD, Lega Nord, VB,  
Democracia Nacional—  
among others

- regional variation
  - Berne (centrist); Zurich (populist, adversarial)

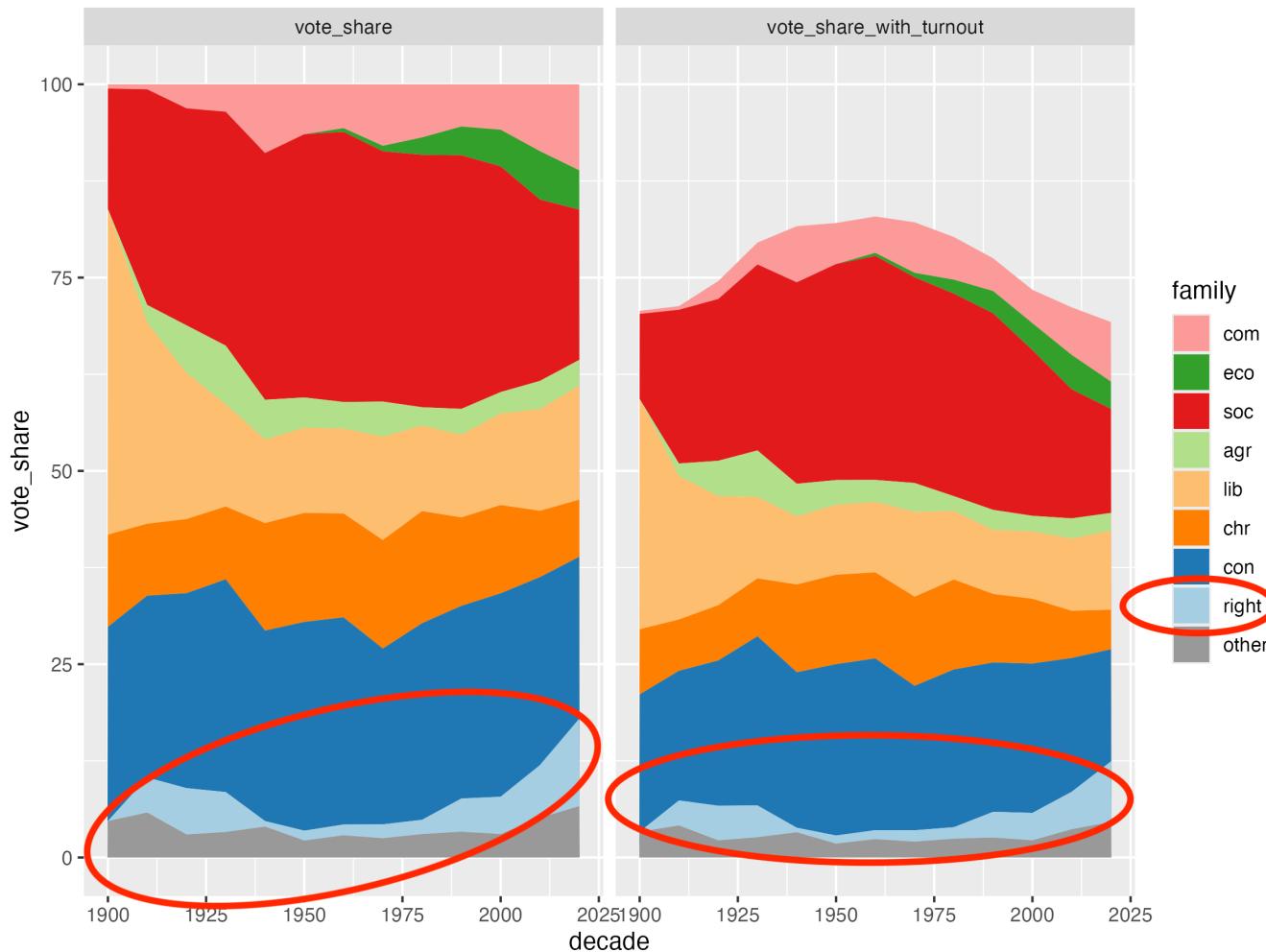


# Radical right electoral performance

- overview
- Minkenberg (2013)
- European elections 2024
- German elections 2025

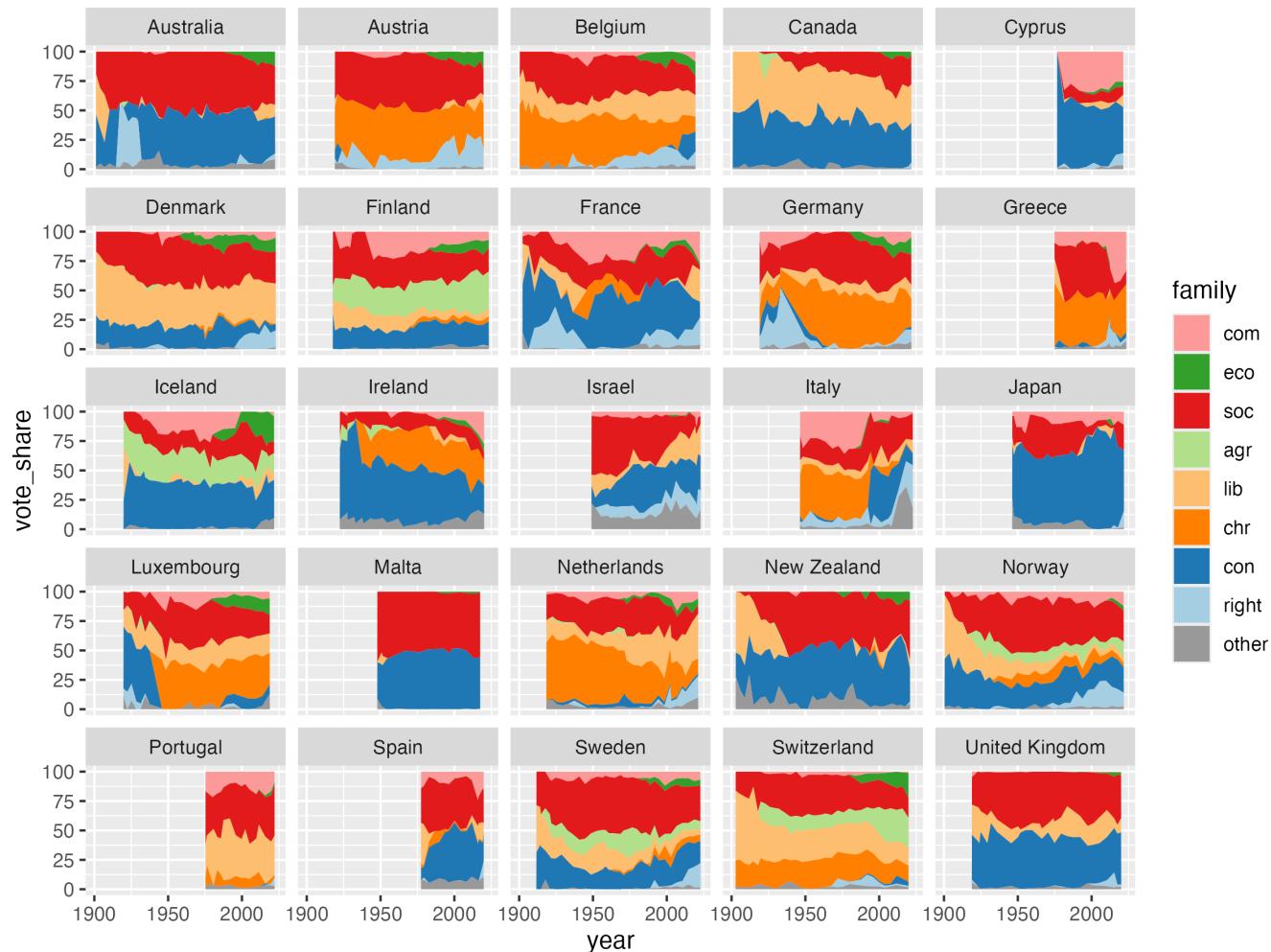


# Overview electoral performance (ParlGov)



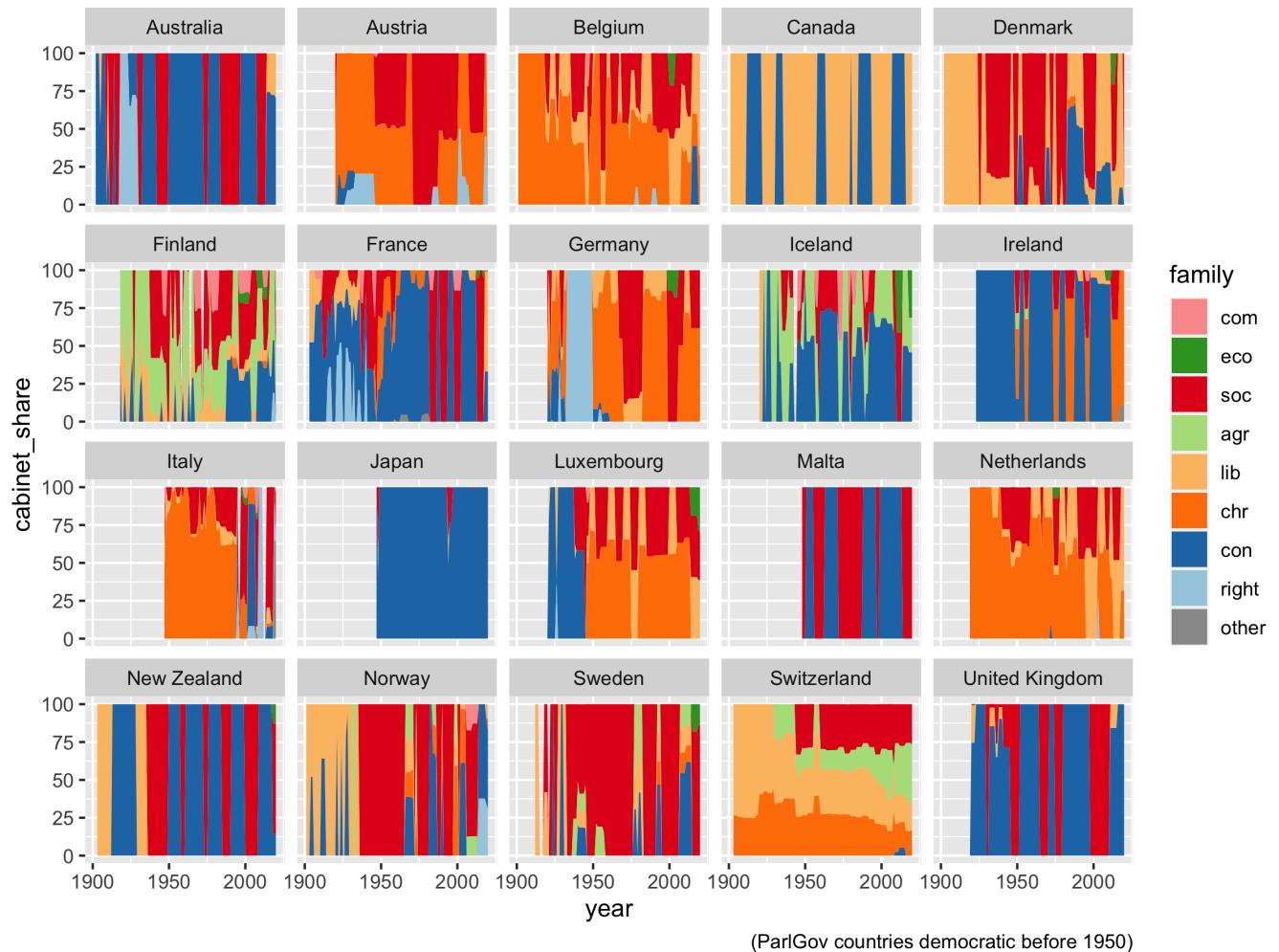
<https://github.com/hdigital/parlgov-snippets/tree/main/party-family-share>

# Overview electoral performance (ParlGov)



<https://github.com/hdigital/parlgov-snippets/tree/main/party-family-share>

# Overview cabinet share (ParlGov)



<https://github.com/hdigital/parlgov-snippets/blob/main/country-year/cabinet-share.png>

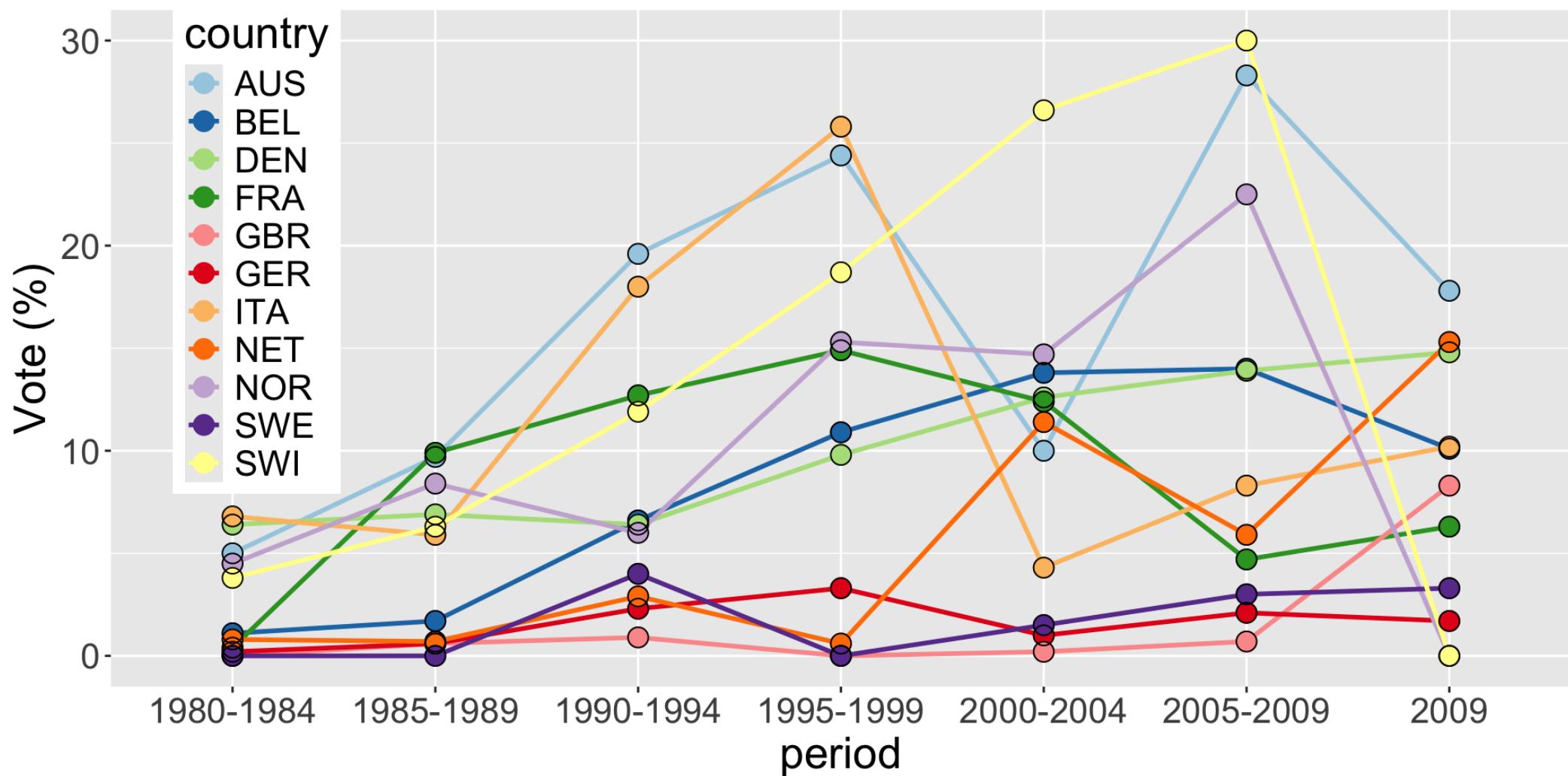
# Resources to dive deeper

- EUI list of datasets:  
<https://www.eui.eu/Research/Library/ResearchGuides/Economics/Statistics/Data/>
- Chapel Hill Expert Surveys (CHES): <https://www.chesdata.eu/>
- Manifesto Project Database (at WZB): <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>
- Parliament and government composition database (ParlGov):  
<http://www.parlgov.org/>
- Parltrack: <https://parltrack.org/>
- Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem): <https://www.v-dem.net/>

# Minkenberg (2013) - far-right parties

1. extremist/autocratic-fascist (usually including racism or xenophobia): **NPD/DVU** (DE), **BNP** (UK), **Jobbik** (HU)
2. Ethnocentrist (but not fascist): **FPÖ** (AT), **VB** (BE), **REP** (DE), **FN** (FR), **MIEP** (HU), **Lega** (IT), **SVP** (CH)
3. populist/populist-authoritarian (strong and charismatic leader and with a diffuse nationalist ideology): **BZÖ** (AT), **FIDESZ** (HU), **PiS** (PL)
4. religious-fundamentalist: **KDNP** (HU), **LPR** (PL)

# Visualising Minkenberg (2013) Table 2: RR-West (lin)



# Relation of party strength to movement strength

How is Minkenberg evaluating party and movement strength? **Is there a causal relationship?** (if so, in what direction?)

	low party strength	high party strength
low movement strength		Austria, France, Italy
medium movement strength	Germany (West), Netherlands	Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium
high movement strength	Germany (East), United Kingdom, Sweden	

# Relation of party strength to movement strength

Koopmans and Rucht (1995) have an (outdated?) answer:

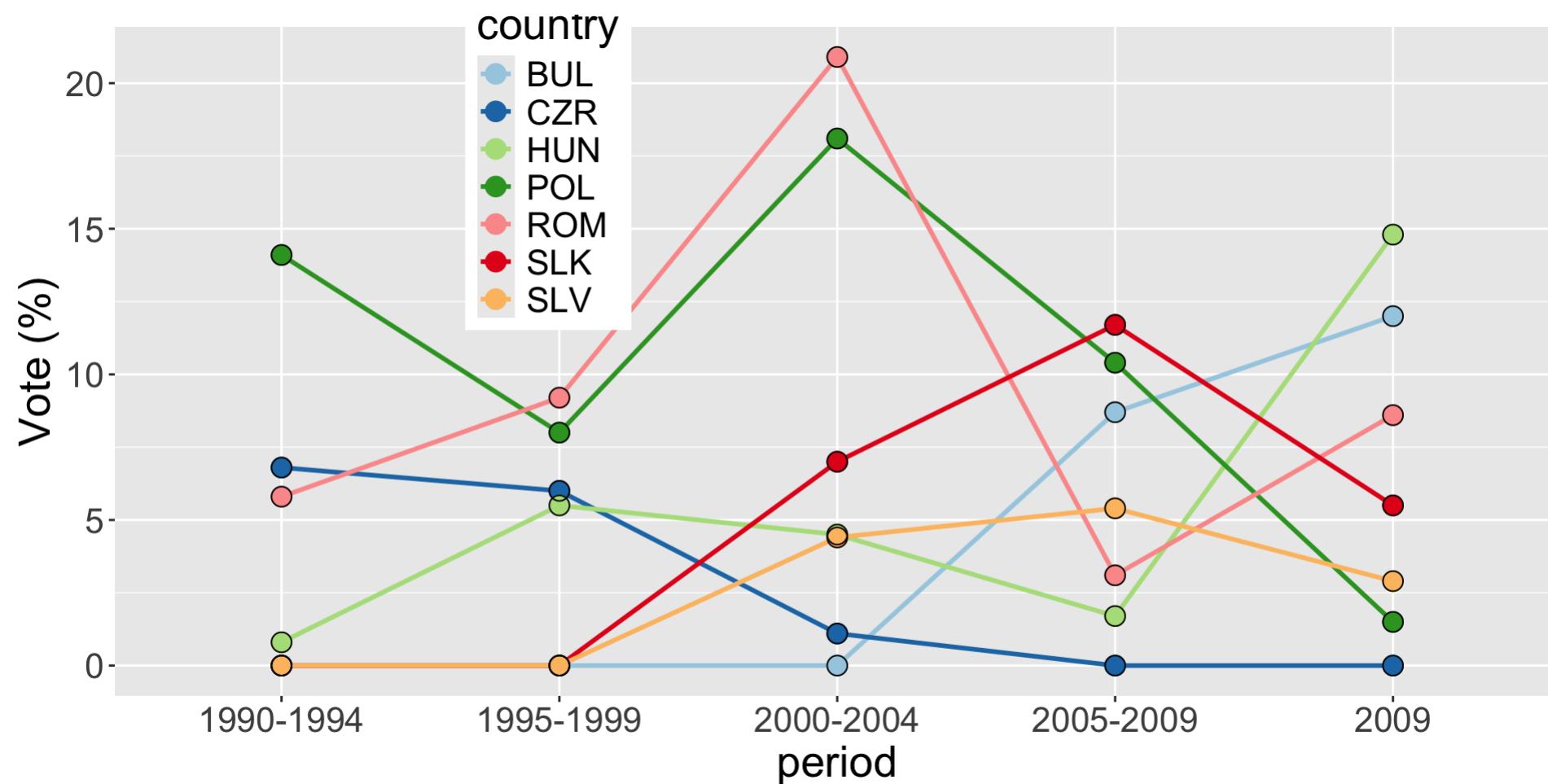
mobilization of left-wing movements is concentrated during periods of right-wing government, whereas the Right tends to mobilize most strongly when the Left is in power. However, the highest levels of mobilization, of the Left and to some extent also of the Right, occur when mixed governments, in which power is shared by parties of the Left and of the Right, are in power.

# relationship types of the right and the radical right

Minkenberg (2013): *the efforts by a number of radical right parties to appear ‘respectable’ has changed their pariah status—although as will be shown, they have not become a conservative or moderate right-wing party*

# what was/is/will be going on in Central and Eastern

- is Central and Eastern Europe special, different *in degree* or even *in kind?*

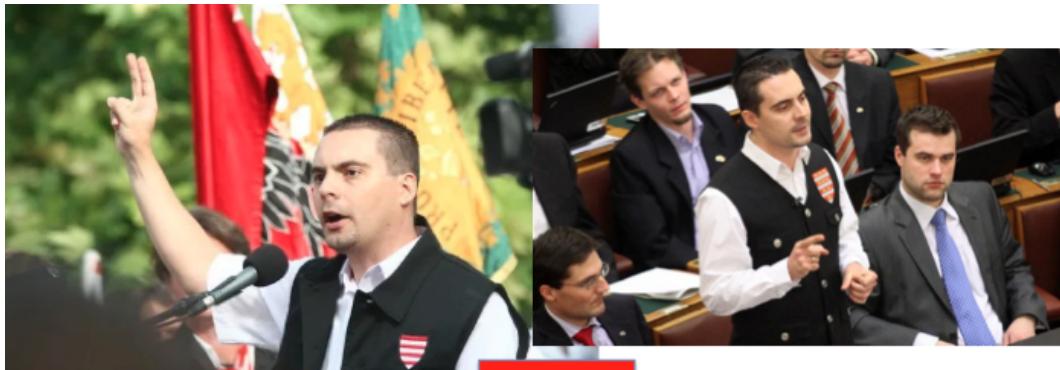


# Hungary: shifting political sands - a closer look

	left	centre	right	
1990	MSZP	FIDESZ	SZDSZ, **MDF**	FKGP, KDNP
1994		**MSZP**, FIDESZ	SZDSZ, MDF	KDNP, FKGP (MIEP)
1998		MSZP	SZDSZ, **FIDESZ**, MDF	FKGP MIEP
2002		**MSZP**	SZDSZ, FIDESZ-MDF	
2006		**MSZP**	SZDSZ, MDF	FIDESZ
2010	LMP	MSZP		**FIDESZ** Jobbik
2014	LMP	MSZP (+ coalition)		**FIDESZ** Jobbik
2018	LMP	MSZP-Parbeszed, +		**FIDESZ** Jobbik
2022		United (incl. Jobbik)	**FIDESZ**	Mi Hazánk

# Hungary - a closer look

- Example of Jobbik and Gabor Vona (cf. ‘frontstage moderation,’ Brandmann 2022)



# far-right parties in government

Minkenberg (2013, 19):

In the language of Giovanni Sartori: the radical right's 'blackmail potential' may be more consequential than its 'coalition potential'

 **coalition potential**

ability to influence electoral competition by (potential) inclusion in a viable government

 **blackmail potential**

represents another pole of political support and counters traditional centripetal party competition between the centrist parties

# far-right parties in government - discussion questions



What are the barriers to far-right parties in government?  
Are they unique?

Is there anything distinctive about the effects of far-right parties in government (policy, political competition, internationally)?

What do you know about cases of far right in government (e.g., FPÖ/BZÖ, Lega [Nord], Dansk Folkepartiet, Fdl)?

What has happened since Minkenberg's article in 2013? Are we in a '*new world*'?

# Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

<https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58>

Alternatively, send me an email: [m.zeller@lmu.de](mailto:m.zeller@lmu.de)

# References

- Brandmann, Franziska. 2022. "Radical-Right Parties in Militant Democracies: How the Alternative for Germany's Strategic Frontstage Moderation Undermines Militant Measures." *European Constitutional Law Review* 18 (3): 412–39.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S157401962200030X>.
- Karácsony, Gergely, and Dániel Róna. 2011. "The Secret of Jobbik - Reasons Behind the Rise of the Hungarian Radical Right." *Journal of East European and Asian Studies* 2 (1): 61–92.
- Koopmans, Ruud, and Dieter Rucht. 1995. "Social Movement Mobilization Under Right and Left Governments: A Look at Four West European Countries." Berlin: Das Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.
- Minkenberg, Michael. 2013. "From Pariah to Policy-Maker? The Radical Right in Europe, West and East: Between Margin and Mainstream." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21 (1): 5–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2013.766473>.