



PIPPA NORRIS

Radical Right

Voters and Parties in
the Electoral Market



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Preface and Acknowledgments

In considering the explanation for the varying fortunes of contemporary radical right parties, my thoughts turned to my previous book, *Electoral Engineering* (2004), which had developed a set of propositions about how the institutional context of the formal electoral rules could shape the strategic behavior of parties and how, in turn, these actions could have a systematic impact upon patterns of voting behavior in the mass electorate. The simple idea was that richer insights could be derived if the comparative study of electoral systems, parties, and voters could be reintegrated, rather than treating each of these as distinct subdisciplines. *Electoral Engineering* examined many dimensions of voting behavior and political representation, including patterns of turnout, the impact of social cleavages, and the inclusion of women in parliament, but it did not seek to apply the theory to understanding the electoral fortunes of any particular party family. Building upon the approach developed earlier, this book focuses upon the puzzling advance of the radical right, to see how far the general theory could provide valuable insights into the roots of the popular support mobilized by parties such as Haider's FPÖ, Le Pen's Front National, and Bossi's Lega Nord.

The argument developed here suggests that the rules determining ballot nomination, campaigning, and election are important, not just for the share of seats which are awarded mechanically to radical right challengers, but also for the effectiveness of the ideological strategies they adopt. What matters for their enduring success is less the underlying conditions in mass society, exemplified by levels of unemployment, patterns of population migration, or the growth of new social risks, than how radical right parties craft their values and build their organizations to fit the

broader structural constraints set by electoral rules. In this regard, parties do not work under conditions of perfect competition; instead, their actions are constrained in a regulated marketplace by the broader institutional context.

In developing this argument, the book, as ever, owes multiple debts to many friends and colleagues. The book originated during a visit to the Research School in the Social Sciences, Australian National University, and I greatly appreciate all the warm hospitality and exceptional collegiality received there. The theme of the book received encouragement in conversations over the years with many colleagues, and I am most grateful to all those who went out of their way to provide feedback on initial ideas, to send me advance proofs of forthcoming publications, to advise me about contemporary developments in their country, or to read through draft chapters and provide chapter-and-verse comments. Among others, particular thanks are due to Tim Bale, André Blais, Shaun Bowler, Wouter van der Brug, Liz Carter, Ivor Crewe, Cees van der Eijk, Lynda Erickson, David Farrell, Mark Franklin, Rachel Gibson, Elisabeth Gidengil, Jim Jupp, Jenny Mansbridge, Dave Marsh, Ian Marsh, Ian McAllister, Cas Mudde, Fritz Plasser, Marian Sawyer, Pat Seyd, Stefaan Walgrave, and Chris Wlezien.

The book could not have been written without the evidence collected by collaboration among many colleagues. The study owes a large debt of gratitude to all who conducted the surveys and assembled the datasets, especially the principal investigators, as well as the funding agencies which generously supported the cross-national survey research. The primary datasets used in this book include the European Social Survey 2002 (ESS), the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems 1996–2001 (CSES), the *Expert Judgment Survey of Western European Political Parties* 2000, the Manifesto Research Group, and International IDEA's *Handbook on Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns*, as well as selected case studies. The surveys provide data from countries ranging from long-established democracies with market economies to authoritarian states and post-Communist societies.

The *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems* is a collaborative program of cross-national research among election study teams in more than fifty countries, with core funding provided by the National Science Foundation under grant nos. SES-9977967 and SBR-9317631. The survey data is integrated, cleaned, and released by the CSES secretariat, directed by David Howell assisted by Karen Long, based at the Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

The *European Social Survey 2002* is an innovative, academically driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs, and behavior patterns of its diverse populations. The survey covers more than twenty nations and employs the most rigorous methodologies. It is funded via the European Commission's Fifth Framework Programme, with supplementary funds from the European Science Foundation, which also sponsored the development of the study over a number of years. The project is directed by a Central Coordinating Team led by Roger Jowell at the Centre for Comparative Social Surveys, City University. The five other partners are Bjorn Henrichsen at NSD Norway, Ineke Stoop at SCP Netherlands, Willem Saris at the University of Amsterdam, Jack Billiet at the University of Leuven, and Peter Mohler at ZUMA Germany.

The *Expert Judgment Survey of Western European Political Parties 2000* was conducted by Marcel Lubbers at the Department of Sociology, University of Nijmegen, and the data was distributed via the Steinmetz Archive in Amsterdam.

The *Manifesto Research Group/Comparative Manifestos Project*, formed in 1979, has content analyzed party platforms since 1945 in twenty-five nations. The data was collected by a collaborative team led by Ian Budge, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, and Eric Tanenbaum.

International IDEA's *Handbook on Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns*, edited by Reginald Austin and Maja Tjernström and published in 2003, is an invaluable compilation of the regulations governing party and election funding. I am grateful, in particular, to Julie Ballington at IDEA for making the data available in electronic format.

Draft chapters from this book have been presented at various professional venues, providing invaluable feedback and comments, including the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago, the annual conference of the Elections, Parties and Public Opinion (EPOP) group at Nuffield College, Oxford, and the plenary lecture of the European Consortium of Political Research at Budapest.

I also greatly appreciate the generous financial assistance provided for the book's research by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University and the warm encouragement of the Director, Jorge Domínguez, as well as the stimulating collegiality provided by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard. The support of Cambridge University Press has been invaluable, particularly the efficient

assistance and continuous enthusiasm of my editor, Lew Bateman, as well as the comments of the anonymous book reviewers. Lastly, this book would not have been possible without the encouragement and stimulation provided by many colleagues and students at the John F. Kennedy School of Government and the Department of Government, Harvard University.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

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PART I

UNDERSTANDING THE RADICAL RIGHT

Understanding the Rise of the Radical Right

On 21 April 2002, the defeat of the Socialist Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, by Jean-Marie Le Pen in the first round of the French presidential elections, sent a profound shock wave throughout Europe. The result galvanized massive anti-Front National demonstrations by millions of protestors all over France. One of the best-known leaders on the radical right, Le Pen dismissed the Holocaust as a 'detail of history,' and he continues to voice anti-Semitic, racist views. These events were rapidly followed in the Netherlands by the assassination on 6 May 2002 of Pym Fortuyn, a flamboyant and controversial figure, leading to a sudden surge of support for his party in the general election. The anti-immigrant Lijst Pym Fortuyn (LPF), formed just three months before the election, suddenly became the second largest party in the Dutch Parliament and part of the governing coalition. Nor are these isolated gains; during the last two decades, radical right parties have been surging in popularity in many nations, gaining legislative seats, enjoying the legitimacy endowed by ministerial office, and entering the corridors of government power. Some have proved temporary 'flash' parties while others have experienced more enduring success across a series of contests. The popularity of figures such as Jean-Marie Le Pen, Jörg Haider, Umberto Bossi, Carl Hagen, and Pym Fortuyn has aroused widespread popular concern and a burgeoning scholarly literature.¹

The core puzzle that this book seeks to explain is why these parties have established a clear presence in national parliaments in recent years in a diverse array of democracies – such as Canada, Norway, France, Israel, Russia, Romania, and Chile – and even entered coalition governments in Switzerland, Austria, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and Italy – while failing to advance in comparable nations such as Sweden, Britain, and