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**A theory for the explanation of the success of Radical  
Right Populist Parties; 'demand', 'supply' and  
'mobilisation'**

Jan-Marius van Leeuwen

## Abstract (Bachelor-thesis / C-uppsats, 41-60)

This essay develops a theory for the explanation of the differences in success of Radical Right Populist Parties in Western Europe. In order to create a successful radical right populist movement and thus a successful radical right populist party, three elements are needed; 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation'.

Because the creation of a radical right populist movement is different than the creation of other political movements, the specific 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation' of radical right populist movements are different as well. In order to analyse the specific elements, factors are given that contribute to the specific creation of radical right populist 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation'.

To support and test the theory, the theoretical framework will be tested on the political situation regarding Radical Right Populist Parties during the last two centuries in both Flanders and the Netherlands. While Radical Right Populist Parties in the form of the *Vlaams Belang* has great success in Flanders, radical right populism has only been successful for a short term in the Netherlands in 2002 with the *Lijst Pim Fortuyn*. These two case studies support the theory described in this essay and show that Radical Right Populist Parties only can be successful if there is the right 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation'.

*Key words:* Radical Right Populist Parties, LPF, CD, VB, Mobilisation, Supply, Demand.

## Abbreviations

CD	<i>Centrum Democraten</i>
LPF	<i>Lijst Pim Fortuyn</i>
RRPP	Radical Right Populist Parties
WW II	World War Two
PvdA	<i>Party van de Arbeid</i>
VVD	<i>Volksparty voor Vrijheid en Democratie</i>
CDA	<i>Christen Democratisch Appel</i>
VN	<i>Vlaams Belang / Vlaams Blok</i>

<u>1. Introduction</u> .....	1
<u>1.1 Subject and purpose of study</u> .....	1
<u>1.2 Relevance</u> .....	1
<u>1.3 Hypothesis</u> .....	1
<u>1.4 Plan of the study</u> .....	2
<u>2 What is radical right populism?</u> .....	3
<u>2.1 Fascism</u> .....	3
<u>2.2 Contemporary extreme right</u> .....	4
<u>2.3 Radical right</u> .....	4
<u>2.4 Populism</u> .....	5
<u>2.5 Radical right populism</u> .....	6
<u>3 Classification of the parties in the Netherlands and Flanders</u> .....	9
<u>4 The theory</u> .....	11
<u>4.1 Demand, supply and mobilisation</u> .....	11
<u>4.2 Demand</u> .....	11
<u>4.3 Supply</u> .....	12
<u>4.4 Mobilisation</u> .....	13
<u>4.4 Factors contributing to the creation of ‘supply’, ‘demand’ and ‘mobilisation’ of radical right populist movements</u> .....	14
<u>4.4.1 Radical right populist ‘mobilisation’</u> .....	14
<u>4.4.2 Radical right populist ‘demand’</u> .....	15
<u>4.4.3 Radical right populist ‘supply’</u> .....	16
<u>5 RRPP in the Netherlands and Flanders</u> .....	19
<u>5.1 A marginal rule for RRPP; the Netherlands before 2002</u> .....	19
<u>5.2 The sudden rise of RRPP; the <i>Lijst Pim Fortuyn</i> (LPF) in the Netherlands</u> .....	20
<u>5.3 Longlasting succes of RRPP; the <i>Vlaams Belang</i> (VB) in Flanders</u> .....	20
<u>6 Analysis</u> .....	22
<u>7 Conclusion</u> .....	25
<u>7.1 Future research</u> .....	25

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Subject and purpose of study

In this paper the relatively successful rise of Radical Right Populist Parties (RRPP) in Western Europe in the last decades will be discussed. During the last decades RRPP has been more prominent in politics and themes like anti-immigration have been put on the public agenda. The new parties on the far right have often been described as fascist or extremist, while most of the new parties on the right differ in their ideologies from extreme-right and fascism and can be classified as RRPP. However, the success of RRPP differs between the countries in Western Europe quite a bit. In countries like Belgium and France, the RRPP have been a constant factor in politics while in countries like The Netherlands and Sweden, RRPP have only played a marginal role in national politics.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this study is first to classify the new parties on the far right and explain the ideology of radical right populism. Secondly, I want to explain the differences in success of the different RRPP in Western Europe the last decades.

In order to explain the differences in success of the different RRPP in Western Europe, I will develop a theoretical framework of 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation'. I will test the use of this theory on a case study in the Netherlands and Belgium.

## 1.2 Relevance

Researchers and party strategists are all wondering and ask themselves the same question, why RRPP do have more success in some countries than in others? There have been many attempts in literature, to explain why RRPP do better in certain countries than others. How for example, can we explain the sudden success of Pim Fortuyn in 2002 in the Netherlands? Since RRPP have been playing an important rule in national politics in many different countries in Western Europe, it is both interesting for the field of political science and the society in general, to analyse the reasons of success of RRPP.

## 1.3 Hypothesis

By writing this essay and developing the theory, I want to prove my thesis that the success of RRPP depends not only on the political opinion formation of the people, but that this 'demand' only results in a strong political movement if there is sufficient 'supply' that use the right 'mobilisation'. Even if there is a radical right populist 'demand' or latent radical right populist 'demand' in society, the actual success of a radical right populist party in national politics will depend on the party itself and its use of mobilisation.

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<sup>1</sup>Until the rise of Pim Fortuyn, far right parties hardly played any role in Dutch politics. In Sweden they didn't either with one exception, the short succes of New Democracy in 1991 with 6.3 % of the votes.

## 1.4 Plan of the study

This paper basically consists of three major parts.

In the first part I will basically analyse the ideology of radical right populism. By writing on the topic of right-wing and anti-immigrant parties, I have to be clear on definitions. I will describe the different parties on the far right of the political spectrum in order to show the differences between them. I will describe fascism, extreme-right, radical right, populism and at last compare them with radical right populism. By knowing the features of the different parties on the far right, at the end of this part I will analyse the different parties in the two case countries in order to classify the different RRPP in these countries.

In the second part of this essay I will describe and analyse the theoretical framework I developed to analyse the success of a political movement like radical right populism. The theoretical framework exists of three different elements that are all necessary in order to create successful RRPP; 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation'. According to this theory, the creation of radical right populist identities by the people, will only result in a successful radical right populist movement if both the elements 'supply' and 'mobilisation' are present to complete the 'demand'. To be able to analyse the existence of radical right populist 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' I will also describe the different factors that contribute to the creation of radical right populist 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation'.

In the last part of this paper, I will test the theory and the hypothesis in this essay by using the data and evidence from a comparative study.

Because I want to investigate the factors contributing to the rise of RRPP, I want to use 2 or 3 countries that have many similarities but are different in the factors I want to test. So the best way of testing the hypothesis and theory would be a comparison between the following 3 situations:

- one situation where RRPP play an important rule in national politics and have been growing steadily,
- one situation where there is hardly any radical right populist party, or where RRPP play a marginal rule in national politics
- one situation where there has been a rise of RRPP in a relatively short time.

To test the hypotheses and theory it seemed desirable for me to choose a 'most similar approach' by comparing Belgium and the Netherlands. I choose this approach to compare these two countries because both countries have many common features, and because of the relatively short period of time, a larger group of countries would have been too much. However, since Belgium is a federal state, I will focus only on the state of Flanders and won't analyse the situation in Wallonia. Flanders and Holland share many common features but in politics there are some differences. So by choosing these countries I could neutralise some factors which they both have in common and highlight the things which are relevant for this essay. A comparison between relatively similar countries set out to neutralise certain differences in order to permit a better analysis of the other. (Dogan and Pelassy, 1990 p.133) Flanders is a good example of a country where RRPP play an important rule in politics and have done for a quite long time. The Netherlands can be used for both the second and third situation since radical right populism had an enormous success in 2002 but always played a minimum rule before.

## 2 What is radical right populism?

To be able to write my theory on the rise of RRPP in Western Europe, I first have to describe what these RRPP actually are. When I will test the theory in The Netherlands and Belgium, it is important to know if we really are dealing with RRPP or if it might be other kinds of parties. To be able to explain and describe the rise of RRPP in Western Europe, we need to explain and describe the phenomenon of radical right populism. What is right radicalism and what is populism? To what extent does the radical right populism differ from extreme-right and fascism?

Nowadays, many politicians and media tend to confuse labels and classifications of the different parties, right of the political centre. Some politicians even seem to abuse this confusion to label sudden right populist parties as ‘extreme right’ or ‘fascist’ in order to demonize the political message of these parties.

To make clear descriptions and to distinguish between the different parties right of the political middle is actually not that easy, since many authors use different definitions in their works. However, it is possible to give an impression of the ‘average’ radical right populist party by describing their common features. Moreover, I will give a description of fascism, extreme-right, radical right and populism, in order to emphasise the common features and most important, the differences between them.

### 2.1 Fascism

The reason why I will describe ‘fascism’ in this chapter is the comparison that often is made between the current radical right populism and fascism which had their biggest success in Western Europe during the 1920’s and the 1930’s. Although there are some similarities between the two different ideologies, nowadays radical right populism is very different from the old fascist movement.

The political ideology of fascism of the 1930’s can’t be explained without a description of the economic, international and social situation in Western Europe during that time. During the time of the rise of fascism, the European countries just came out of a costly and destroying world-war and it was the time of economic crisis. Most countries were changing towards industrialisation and this created completely new social and economical proportions within society. Social, economic and political problems gave the fascist movement an opportunity to rise. The new established parliamentary democracies faced many problems and there were intense political, social and ideological tensions between political parties and political movements (communists, socialists, anarchists, conservatives, monarchists, Catholics and liberals). (Zaslave 2004, p 63,64) During these times, the people were longing for national unity, leadership and a solution for the disfunction of the young parliamentary democracy. The fascist movement which came up managed to appeal to the people and especially to a class in society which felt threatened by the industrialisation, rationalisation, capitalist modernisation and the upcoming working-class with its communist and socialist ideas. (Kischelt 1995, p. 28) The fascist movement promised to protect the people against the threats of modernity and advocated national unity and the construction and protection of an authentic and pure national culture. This was achieved by the creation of an authoritarian, hierarchical, and communitarian order under the leadership of charismatic individuals. This meant that fascist movements opposed parliamentary democracy, the liberal democratic state, liberalism, socialism and cosmopolitanism. The fascist parties were not in favour of liberal and free market economies and they supported a state-regulated economy.

(Zaslove 2004, p 63,64) A charismatic person was supposed to lead both the party and the country. The state, lead by this charismatic leader knows what the best is for the people and plays a big role in society. Typical for the fascist movement was that this state or community was supposed to be achieved through a division of friends and enemies of the state and to put clear boundaries between them. In order to create a strong community or state, all individuals were supposed to serve the state and if necessary sacrifice themselves for this goal. (Kitschelt 1995, p 30) Violence and paramilitary groups were used against anyone who threatened the state, both within as well as outside the borders. Racism was not a constitutive element of fascism although a number of fascist movements like the Nazi's in Germany and Austria expressed racist beliefs. (Kitschelt 1995, p 30) Nazism was based both on fascism and racism and stated that the 'own people' were superior over 'the others' and it was in favour realisation of a strong state with a pure race, to separate the 'own people' from all the others. Nazi's, like all racist have the belief that one race is superior over all other races and therefore has the right to rule them or even annihilate them.

As we will read further on, fascism is really something different than the new RRPP, although people wittingly or unwittingly still confuse them now and then.

## 2.2 Contemporary extreme right

On the scale from the most right to the political middle, the ideology of the 'extreme right' comes after the ideologies like 'fascism'. Although most 'extreme right parties or movements don't openly express nostalgia for the fascist period in the 1930's and 1940's, extreme right shares many features with the old fascist movements. Like the fascist movements and even the extreme left, extreme right parties do express 'anti-democratic values'. Extreme parties like 'extreme right' have lost their faith in modern democracy and democratic individual representation and want to achieve their political goals by an extreme change of the political system. (Betz 1999, p. 305) Extreme right is extreme as well because of the extreme values they supported. Extreme right parties reject the fundamental democratic rules and don't respect the constitution and the constitutional democracies. Individual liberty, individual equality and equal rights are rejected while they search for harmony, exaltations of natural community, hierarchical structures and a strong state. Extreme right favours an authoritarian system in which rights are based on ascribed characteristics, such as race, ethnicity or religion and they accept violence as a necessary mean to achieve political goals. (Zaslove 2004, p 65 and Betz and Immerfall 1998, p3) Nationalism, racism and xenophobia are in most of the cases important issues in the party ideology. A good example of an extreme right party is the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland (NPD) which has been relatively successful in Germany.

## 2.3 Radical right

The radical right is an ideology that can be found on the right-wing as well, but is positioned less far to the right than right-extremism and fascism. Most of the current right wing parties are classified as radical right, but like the other ideologies, it is hard to describe them or to give a general definition. None of the parties belonging to the new wave of radical right in Europe is the same, and therefore it is hard to generalise. The classification of the new right parties is also hard because they are mostly not willing to classify themselves within a common political family. This is understandable since many of the new parties deny that they



constitute right wing or radical right parties. Writers and scholars find it even hard to classify the several different new right parties in Europe, to make it more complicated. (Zaslav 2004, p 62) However, I will give common characteristics among them in order to describe the phenomenon of radical right.

Generally, the majority of RRPP are radical in their rejection of the established socio-cultural and socio-political system without, however, openly questioning the legitimacy of democracy in general. (Betz 1994, p 4) Radical right advocates individual achievement, a free market economy, and a drastic reduction of the role of the state. Because of these features, radical right parties have been rather careful to distance themselves from extreme right parties. Although in most cases they do aim at a fundamental transformation of the existing socio-economic and socio-political system, they see and promote themselves as democratic alternatives to the prevailing system. (Betz 1994, p 108) In contrary to fascism and right extremism, radical right parties have developed an ideology that is compatible with the basic formal principles of democracy and they are vigorously opposed to using violence as a means to achieve their objectives.

While radical right doesn't oppose democracy and constitutionalism as such, they state that representative democracy has too many bad side effects. The radical right claims that the professionalism of politics, the bureaucratisation of the state and the entwining of parties with the state, encourage politicians and political parties to view civil society as merely a resource to maintain political power. (Zaslav 2004, p 70) Therefore, radical right parties argue that a real democracy has to be created, in order to stop the corruption and the arrogance of the political elite. Moreover, the hardworking middle class should be supported by pulling down the welfare-state and give the responsibility back to the people. Radical right is most of the time nationalistic as well, a nationalism that is based on the protection of the 'authentic civil society' against the globalisation, Europeanization, Americanisation, multiculturalism and immigrants. This kind of politics will attract votes from people, who are against modernity, lost their trust in modern politics, are against the invasion of immigrants, against the creation of a multicultural society and who are overall afraid for changes in their living environment. (Zaslav 2004, p 63,64)

## 2.4 Populism

As written in the introduction, this essay will be about the rise of Radical Right Populist Parties. This name is given in literature (Betz 1994, p 4) to describe the new wave of political parties on the far right. They are called 'radical right', because most of them adhere to radical right ideologies. Moreover, they are called 'populist' because they use the 'populist' style of politics and often share many features of populist parties. To understand the different features I will give a short description of the phenomenon of populism here.

Generally, populism can be defined as a structure of argumentation, a political style and strategy, and an ideology. (Betz and Immerfall 1998, p 4) Moreover, populism 'has been defined as a 'style of political rhetoric' that seeks to mobilise ordinary people against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values of society'. (Betz and Johnsson 2004, p 313)

To describe and identify populism in general seems almost impossible, since it is mostly more described as a style or movement, instead of an ideology. However, the collection of common features could give the best picture of the phenomenon of populism. Populism is a democratic phenomenon, since it can only occur within representative democracies. What populists all have in common is the rejection of the political elite and the dominant political discourse (Conanov 2004, p 242). Populist sees themselves as the 'true

democrats' and favour 'direct democracy', political decision making by referendum and popular initiative. (Covanov, 1999) Populism in modern democratic societies is best seen as an appeal to 'the people' against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values of the society. They see themselves as true democrats, voicing popular grievances and opinions systematically ignored by governments, mainstream parties and the media. (Covanov, 1999) Populists do believe that politics can best be served by common sense and that simple solutions exist for the most complex problems of the modern world. Moreover, populists believe that the common people, despite possessing moral superiority and innate wisdom, have been denied the opportunity to make themselves heard in politics. (Betz and Immerfall, p 4) Often, populist parties are characterised by a centralised party structure and rely on the charisma and rhetoric talents of one individual.

Moreover, most populists identify themselves with a 'heartland' and claim the need to protect it. 'The heartland' is a construction of the good life derived retrospectively from a romanticised conception of life as it has been lived. (Taggart 2004, p 274) Most of the time, populist parties and movements come up as a reaction on crisis in society. This crisis could be anything, but in this situation, populists will join politics in try to save the 'heartland' with a new kind of politics. This new style of politics and the mostly temporary character of the crisis makes it hard for the populist movement to be sustainable. Every different populist movement protects a different 'heartland' and rejects different political elite and thus, the style of populism can be used on both the far left as the far right of the political spectrum. The values of a particular populist movement or party thus depends on the different aspects in society.

Farmer Boer Koekoek in the Netherlands, Ross Perot in the USA and Jörg Haider in Austria are good examples of populists.

## 2.5 Radical right populism

As written before, the new political wave in Europe of right wing political parties, has shown both features of populism and of the radical right. In contrary to many mainstream parties in Europe, it is hard to give a description of the ideologies of those parties, since they differ both to the extent they are populist and radical right. But because they all more or less tend to have the same kind of issues and style of politics, in the literature these group of political parties like the FPO, Front national, Vlaams Blok and Liga Nord are labeled as RRPP. (Betz 1994, p 4)

Since there doesn't exist 'one' definition of RRPP, it is hard and hardly possible to give a general description which will cover all these parties. However, since we can consider them to belong to the same political family, I will try to describe the most common features of RRPP and their most common ideologies. Moreover, I will describe in which way they differ from fascist parties, extreme-right parties and 'pure' populist parties.

In most of the cases, these radical right parties adopt the populist style of making politics. The populist structure, party system, argumentation style and protection of 'the heartland' are perfect to integrate with radical right ideologies. Because the RRPP often are a mix of the characteristics of populists and right radicals, I will show here how these features are combined

In short, the majority of the RRPP, tend to blend a classical liberal position on the individual and the economy with some elements of the socio-political agenda of the extreme and intellectual right and deliver it in a concentrated and simplified form to those voters who are disenchanted with their individual life chances, with the direction of societal developments, and the political system in general. (Betz 1994, p 4)

One of the most common features of the RRPP, just like the extreme-right parties, is that they have adopted a strategy that relies primarily on the mobilisation of resentment (Betz and Immerfall 1998, p 4) This resentment nowadays however, comes mostly from changes in society like globalisation, immigrants and refugees or the arrogance and ignorance from the established political parties and politicians. Central here is the statement that in liberal capitalist democracies power has been usurped by a self-serving political and cultural elite that pursues its own narrow agenda without concern for the legitimate concerns and interests of ordinary citizens. The result is a degeneration of representative democracy, which has ceased to function properly. (Betz and Johnson 2004, p 313)

Therefore an important feature, like the populists, is the call for change of the existing socio-economic or political systems without, however, calling into question the basics of the constitutional democratic order. The RRPP favours a more direct democracy instead of the contemporary indirect democracy, since this only creates political elites, bureaucrats and corruption. Most of the RRPP, like to minimize the rule of the state as much as possible and are in favour of a free market economy. The public administration should be much smaller and much more efficient and should stick to their core-activities. Radical right populists have an aversion against the political 'class' and elite, their bureaucracy, high taxes and a big public sector. In that way, the radical right populist ideas are close of the neo-liberals and are in favour of personal responsibility. This also means that much less people should rely on the state and its social rights out of the public funding. (Betz and Immerfall 1998, Taggart 2004 and Zaslov 2004)

The second common feature is the fact that RRPP try to appeal to the 'common people' or 'silent majority'. Radical right populist parties have been increasingly successful in marketing themselves as champions of 'true' democracy and defenders of the values and interests of ordinary people, too often ignored if not dismissed by the political establishment. (Betz and Johnson, p312) RRPP often state to speak for the normal person in the street and that they say what the normal people think. They often appeal to latent public sentiments of resentment, disillusionment, anxiety and defuse public sentiments. This 'populist' feature also means that RRPP politicians often speak in the language of the people and are not afraid to cross the borders of the 'political correctness'.

This brings me to the third feature, the charismatic leader. Most the RRPP are depending heavily on the leadership, charisma and rhetoric talents of their leaders, rather than on their institutional party structures. Much of the success of the RRPP depends on the appeal to the people, the capability to hold the centralised party together and to set out the political and programmatic direction. (Betz and Immerfall 1998, p 9)

The last important features I will describe here are the emphasise the RRPP puts on questions of culture, values and identity and, with it, the recourse to claims of recognition.(Betz and Johnson 2004, p 316) Although the RRPP often are described as anti-immigrant, the RRPP position on the 'foreigners question' has been far more complex and ambiguous than most analysts have been prepared to concede.(Betz and Johnson 2004, p 318) It is true that most RRPP want to limit or stop the influx of non-western foreigners into their countries. The RRPP want to protect their 'heartland' and see the multicultural society as a thread to their own national identity and national culture. Although it is hard to generalise, most of the RRPP are not racist or have something against foreigners per se, but just want foreigners to integrate or assimilate and adopt the dominant national culture. Besides, most RRPP are against those who promote universalism, Europeanization and 'deracination'.(Betz and Johnson 2004, p 316)

Now that I have described the different phenomena or ideologies, I will summarise in what way the RRPP differ from the others.

As you can read above, radical right populism is not the same as populism. Populism can't be classified as right or left, because the populist style and arguments can be used by politicians from both the far left as the far right, as long as they disagree with the political mainstream parties, political system and elite.

Most parties on the far right however, have adopted the populist style or populist features and are therefore called Radical Right Populist Parties. The RRPP therefore differ from 'other' populist- and radical left parties in that sense that RRPP support 'right' ideas, such as the lowering of taxes, free market economy, minimum rule of the state and protection of national identity.

Apart from their populist style and ideas, the RRPP also differ from the mainstream right (conservatives or liberals). RRPP are more radical in their ideas and they have different opinions on for example direct and indirect democracy and immigrants. So, since these parties have been labelled as radical right, theoretically they should be close to the ideologies of the other parties on the far right.

Important similarities of all the right wing parties on the far right are the use of the mobilisation of resentment and the revolt they have against modernity. However, apart from the populist style, there are many differences between the fascist and right-extremists parties and the RRPP.

Unlike fascist and right-extremist parties, the RRPP don't oppose liberal democracies and the constitutional order. Even though they do aim a fundamental transformation of the political system they see themselves as a democratic alternative to the prevailing system. Unlike the extreme-right and the fascist, RRPP oppose the use of violence to achieve their goals. RRPP is in favour of a small rule of the state and a free and liberal market economy while, fascist and right-extremist favour a strong state and a state controlled economy. And even though all parties are in favour of a charismatic leader to lead the party, unlike the RRPP the fascist see the role for this leader as one who will lead and rule the country and not just the party.

The last important difference is the attitude of the parties against minorities and foreigners. Where right-extremism and fascism in the form of nazism are openly racists and state that their own people are superior, the RRPP are not racist but try to preserve national culture and identity and are therefore anti-immigration.

### 3 Classification of the parties in the Netherlands and Flanders

Now that we know the features of RRPP and how they differ from other parties, we can define the different parties in Flanders and The Netherlands, in order to test the theory of this essay on these cases. Because this study is about contemporary rise of RRPP in Western Europe and I will test the theory only on the recent history and contemporary situation, I will analyse the parties on the far right of the last two decades only.

The only two right-wing parties that played more than a minimal marginal rule in Dutch national politics are the *Centrum Democraten* (CD) and the *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* (LPF). Some authors have described the *Center Party '86* (CP'86) and the *Staatkundig Gereformeerde Party* (SGP) as well but they seem too obvious not to be RRPP. I won't discuss these parties in this essay, since the (SGP) is just a marginal conservative Christian party and the CP'86 hardly played any role and can easily be defined as a fascist party. In the Flanders part of Belgium the *Vlaams Blok* (VB) (later changed into *Vlaams Belang* because the party was prosecuted for racism and forbidden) is a big right-wing party that has been growing steadily since 1978 and is a major actor in Flanders politics.

The *Centrum Democraten* (CD), founded in 1984 by Hans Janmaat, positioned itself in the centre of the political spectrum, but focused primarily on the issue of foreigners and immigrants. During the elections of 1989 they won 1 seat in parliament, 3 seats in 1994, but lost them again in next elections. Because of the thread of prosecution, the CD was officially not racist or anti-democratic, but party-members and insiders were often prosecuted for racist and anti-state attitudes and speeches. However, the party was extremely hostile against immigrants and the CD stated that they were all supposed to return to their home countries. The party ideology was very nationalistic, but the socio-economical ideas were called 'social conservative'; strong rule for the state, lower taxes, high pensions and expansions on defence to protect the national identity. On the other hand, immigrants, feminist and homosexuals were often victim of critique. In some of these issues, like the strong rule of the state and their almost open racist programme we can recognise the features of extreme-right parties, but the respect for the democratic order is a typical radical right populist issue. On the other hand, Hans Janmaat tried to use populist features by attracting the people from the street and his proposals for the lowering of taxes. With its racist and extreme-right features, the CD hardly fits in the Ideology of RRPP but tends more to be a very conservative party with racist, extreme-right, radical right and populist features. If we would classify the CD as radical right populist party it is one on the very far right. (Betz and Immerfall 1998, p 111-122 and De Witte 2000, p 705)

The *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* (LPF), founded and lead by the charismatic professor in sociology Pim Fortuyn, won 26 seats in parliament in 2002 and became the second biggest party at once. The LPF represented many populist features but did not have all the features of radical right parties. The LPF was not racist but partly anti-immigrant for reasons of defending Dutch liberal society against Islamisation of the Netherlands. LPF and Fortuyn defended differences in religion, race and sexual preference (he was homosexual himself) but warned society for the anti-pluralist, un-liberal and fundamentalist qualities of the Islam and stated that the Islam could create big changes in society and therefore be a thread to the Dutch liberal society. However, Fortuyn hardly expressed nationalistic or nostalgic opinions and he had both left as right points of view. Moreover Pim Fortuyn himself didn't want to be compared with right radicals like Le Pen or J. Haider.

Fortuyn was definitely a populist since he reacted against the un-democratic indirect democracy and favoured direct democracy like referenda and the direct chosen Prime

Minister. Besides, Pim Fortuyn favoured liberalisation and privatisation of most public services and a fundamental reorganisation of the bureaucracy. He reacted against the Dutch political 'elite' and the dominance of the 'left elite, bureaucracy and left orientated media. Besides this all, the person Fortuyn is a good example of a charismatic leader, who appealed to many different people with his rhetoric qualities. So the LPF can be defined as RRPP but with the notion that it was less radical than most other RRPP in Europe.( Ellemers 2002 and Janssen 2002)

The last two decades, the *Vlaams Belang (VB)*( the former *Vlaams Blok*) gained a lot of success in both regional and national politics with a peak of 27% of the votes in 1995. The first RRPP feature of the VB is the charismatic leader of the VB, Filip Dewinter, who is successful in public debate with his rhetoric skills. The ideology of the party can be characterised as both radical right and populist and therefore belongs to the RRPP. The VB has a ideology of 'solidaristic people's community' and there has always been a focus on three themes of its programme; anti-immigration, opposition to the traditional parties and their 'corruption', and its call for an independent Flanders. These three issues represent the RRPP perfectly. The second issue, the opposition to the traditional parties, is a typical populist one. The call for an independent Flanders stress the protection of the own 'culture' and 'identity' and so does the anti-immigration style. This anti-immigration style however, could be more extreme than the RRPP ideology described in this essay. In the parties' ideology, people are unequal and are cultural and ethnical distinct. However, the VB doesn't make a distinction on biological racial grounds However, this extreme point of view together with ultra-conservative programme points, makes the VB a RRPP on the very right. (Betz and Immerfal 1998, p 59-73)

## 4 The theory

In order to analyse the success of RRPP and explain the possible reasons for the different success of RRPP in Western Europe it might be useful to use a conceptual framework or theory. In literature, most authors describe and analyse the identity and opinion formation among the citizens in order to explain the rise of RRPP. In these theories and descriptions, the 'demand' for radical right populism is explained and often directly linked with the rise of RRPP as the only important factor for success.

In my opinion, the explaining and analyse of the opinion formation or 'demand' is not enough to cover the whole process of the creation of a successful political movement like the RRPP. Besides the different processes and factors that contribute to radical right populist identities, there are also other factors that contribute to the success of RRPP but can't be classified as a part of the 'demand' or the process of identity formation.

To give a complete overview of the whole process and to be able to add all the factors that contribute to the process of RRPP creation, this theoretical framework has to be completed by the elements 'supply' and 'mobilisation'.

In this chapter I will describe and explain the theoretical framework that I will use to explain the process of the creation of a successful political movement like radical right populism, by analysing 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation'.

Because this framework could be used to analyse the creation of any political movement, I will later on describe the factors that are influencing 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' in the creation of a Radical Right Populist movement.

### 4.1 Demand, supply and mobilisation.

Supply, demand, and mobilisation are the three basic elements of any theory of participation, regardless of whether it concerns voting for a party associated with a movement or taking part in a demonstration (de Witte 2000, p 701). As I will show in the following, all three elements need to be constructed or developed in order to create a successful political movement like the radical right populist movement. Demand represents the political opinion of the citizens, 'supply' the platform or party through which these opinions can be expressed in politics, and 'mobilisation' represents the important communication and interaction between the two other elements. Every element is important and worth analysing, because I state that the missing of one of the elements 'supply', 'demand' or 'mobilisation' will make the chance for the creation of a successful political movement like radical right populism minimum.

In order to be able to analyse these three elements, we need to know, how the 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation' of RRPP differ from other political movements. Therefore we need to add some dimension to the theoretical framework to make it specific for the radical right populism.

To complete the theory, after the description of the theory, I will explain how radical right populist 'supply' differs from other 'supply', what is specific about radical right populist 'mobilisation' and I will give a description of factors that contribute to the creation of radical right populist 'demand' and radical right populist 'supply'.

### 4.2 Demand

The 'demand' is one of the three elements necessary for the creation of successful RRPP in politics in my theory. 'Demand' will be created by the people or citizens, who form opinions

or identities and want to express these opinions in politics. Social networks in society are the basis for success of a political movement. (Tarrow 1994, chapter 1) As De Witte (2000, p 700) writes: the demand-side of participation covers the grievances, the perceptions of deprivation and injustice, the group identification and ideologies that spur people on to take part in the activities of an organised movement. In other words, the demand side of the creation of the success of RRPP is the explaining why actors are willing to vote for RRPP and how their radical right identities and opinion are constructed or formed.

I state that political opinions and identities, the way people like the society to be organised, are created by social interaction between the different actors in society. Like social constructivist say, identity construction and identity change occurs through social learning, a process of social interaction in a certain context.(Checkel 1999 and Iwashita 2004) This means that the creation of political opinions and identities by citizens depends on the social context they find themselves and not on a fixed nature.(Iwashita 2004, p 333) This means in other words, that people create their political preferences through communications with others and through observations of their living environment. Changes in people's identity or political opinion are likely to occur when people's environment change or in case of crisis. (Christiansen 2001, p 4 and Checkel 2001, p 222) This identity formation or the creation of 'demand' is for the biggest part a result of the unplanned convergence of meaning in social networks and subcultures, and takes place outside anyone's direct control. (Tarrow, p 124) These processes are mostly hidden and don't develop into a political movement without the guidance of a leader or 'supply'.

It depends on these communications, interactions and observations, what kind of political identity a certain person or group will develop. Later in this chapter I will describe some factors that probably will enlarge the chance of the creation of radical right populist 'demand'.

## 4.2 Supply

However, as written above, in order to analyse and explain the rise of RRPP, we have to analyse the whole process and not only the 'demand' element of the process. The formation of 'demand' doesn't automatically result in success for a political movement like radical right populism. Even if there is a significant part of the people or citizens with RRP identities or opinions, there won't be a common vote or representation of these identities until there is a party which represents these ideas. The term 'supply' refers to the existence in a society of organisations that offer opportunities to participate in action to further a cause. Electoral results are produced by an interaction and existence of both 'demand' and 'supply' (Kitschelt 1995, p 5-24). Citizens who want to participate in politics to express their opinions and achieve their goals need organisations to offer them these opportunities. To have a relatively strong radical right populist vote, a country needs a party with a radical right populist platform and structural conditions that make such a platform appealing to voters. (Kitschelt 1995, p 5-24)

The 'supply' in my theory, has two different functions. The first function is the 'supply' as a political platform where people can express their political opinions and through which they can gain political influence in politics. In other words, there has to be a political organisation that potential voters feels associated with. There has to be a political party that expresses the political identity or opinion of potential voters. The supply-side of participation encompasses the qualities of the organisations, the leadership, the political opportunities and the various action forms that characterise a socio-political movement (de Witte 2000, p 700). In order to create a good or strong 'supply', the party must appeal to the people and should



meet some criteria. In the next chapter, I will describe these criteria and I will give the particular and unique factors that are contributing to the rise of a strong radical right populist 'supply'.

The second function of the 'supply' is the possibility to influence citizens in their process of identity construction. The 'supply' itself is of course also one of the factors in someone's social life and living environment with influence identity formation and identity change. As we will see hereafter, communication and information through mobilisation will inform the 'demand' about the existence of the 'supply'.

The discussion of the element 'supply' is important for the theory of the success of any political movement, but I state that it is even more important for radical right populist movements. Nowadays most RRPP are not belonging to the group of established political parties but are still small, young and sometimes very inexperienced in politics. On the contrary, most other political movements have established and well organised political parties since ages and they form a self-evident 'supply'. However, it is not that self-evident that people consider these small, young and inexperienced parties like most RRPP as a reasonable alternative for their vote. Later in this essay I will describe some factors with which we can analyse especially the 'supply' of radical right populist movements.

### 4.3 Mobilisation

As shown before, in order to establish maximum political participation and creation of a big political movement, three elements are needed, 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation'. In order to bring the 'demand' and 'supply' together there has to be interaction and communication. Interaction between the 'supply' (the party) and the 'demand' (potential voters) will cause mobilisation. In other words, the element 'mobilisation' is the linking element to bring the 'supply' and 'demand' together in their attempt to create a big radical right populist movement. (de Witte 2000, p 701) In order to organize a strong radical right populist organisation in the form of a political party, the creation of 'demand' and 'supply' only won't result in a successful rise of a political movement. Even if both the elements are present in a certain social setting, another element is necessary in order to gain maximum output or profit out of the political opportunity. The theory of 'supply' and 'demand' has to be completed by the element mobilisation.

One function of the element 'mobilisation' is the information-exchange between the 'demand' and 'supply'. The 'supply' in form of the political organisation or party, has to know what is happening in society and has to be informed about the way the people want to organise their country. The 'supply' has to collect information about the needs of the 'demand' in order to be able to react and create a 'supply' that fits the need of the 'demand'. The 'mobilisation' moreover, works also the other way around; the 'supply' should inform the 'demand' about their existence and what they have to offer. Mobilisation consists of deliberate attempts to spread the views of 'the supply' among parts of the population in an attempt to reach the 'demand'. Potential voters do not vote for a party until they are informed about the existence of the party and its aims. People with radical right populist identities need to be convinced that RRPP are both seeking to fulfil the goals of the 'demand' and is capable of doing so. The political organisation has to communicate and interact with their potential voters through media, public speeches and other ways in order to gain their votes. These mobilisation campaigns make political organisations and their objectives known to individuals. Mobilisation campaigns are the political equivalent of commercial advertisements, they serve to advertise the organisation and its goals and to stimulate potential participants to become actively involved in the organisation. (de Witte 2000, p 701) It is also

very important for political parties to be able to put certain issues on the national political and public agenda. By doing this, they gain a lot of attention for their issues and are able to raise some taboo questions as well.

To conclude; the existing 'supply' and the existing 'demand' have to communicate and interact in the context of mobilisation in order to gain maximum profit of each other, and to create political movement together. By using 'mobilisation' actors like 'supply' can try to compete with other actors like the church, organisations and political parties to gain support. If the mobilisation is well organised and well performed it will contribute to the persistence of the political movement over time. (Tarrow 1994, p 136)

However, 'mobilisation' will not only bring 'demand' and 'supply' together, a good mobilisation campaign can also persuade and convince people to vote for a party before they actually created a political opinion. According to Checkel (Checkel 2001, p.222), changes in social learning and identity formation can be influenced by argumentative persuasion. This persuader can come both from the person's social environment and an authoritative person from outside someone's social network. In other words, the element 'mobilisation' can contribute to the process of social learning and identity creation and influence the 'demand'.

#### 4.4 Factors contributing to the creation of 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation' of radical right populist movements

In the previous chapter I described my theory of 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation' and stressed that all of these elements has to be present in order to create a successful political movement. All of these three elements are necessary to gain maximum output and success; without 'demand' or 'supply' or even 'mobilisation' there won't be a successful political movement. However, this essay is about the rise of radical right populism and tries to explain its success. This framework of 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation' is a good basis for the explanation of the success of political movements but there are more specific factors needed to explain of the rise of RRPP in Western Europe. In order to be able to analyse how the three elements 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation' are created and how this creation is different for RRPP than for other parties, I will describe the specific factors that contribute to the construction of radical right populist 'demand' and radical right populist 'supply', and explain the specific features of radical right populist 'supply' and radical right populist 'mobilisation'.

##### 4.4.1 Radical right populist 'mobilisation'.

The element of 'mobilisation' and the mobilisation campaign are especially important for the analyses of the success of radical right populist movements in Western Europe, probably more than other political movements. Because RRPP are mostly not considered as one of the established parties, especially parties like RRPP depend more on mobilisation and mobilisation-campaigns compared to the mainstream established parties. In general, parties which are not an important actor in national politics and government are getting much less media attention than the big opposition parties and the government-parties. In order to make their potential voters aware of their existence and to attract votes, RRPP are depending strongly on mostly unconventional mobilisation campaigns. As we read in the second chapter, because of the very unconventional way of making politics, it lies as well in the nature of most of the RRPP to gain their support in a different way than the other parties.

A very important factor in this mobilisation and mobilisation-campaign is the charisma and rhetoric qualities of the persons at the top of the party. The best results are gained if the RRPP are represented by a charismatic leader who has the talent to persuade people to express their radical right populist identities and vote for a radical right populist party. The party and the charismatic leader should use a personal campaign, in order to convince the 'ordinary' people that the RRPP really would translate their political identities in political deeds. The biggest purpose of these campaigns is to convince the people that the RRPP is different from the other established parties, and that they will represent the people from the street and that the politicians within the party are 'one of them'. The charismatic leader should talk with all kind of people, have a campaign anywhere in the country, to show that all people are equal and that every vote counts. (Zaslov 2004, p 12)

The RRPP in the form of a charismatic leader can raise certain issues in the media or public debate in order to get attention for the radical right populist issues. If the charismatic leader or RRPP succeed in putting certain issues on the national political agenda, it will depend on the reactions and strategy of the established parties if this will create radical right 'demand' among the people. If the established parties don't react adequately on the issues raised by the RRPP, there is a big chance people that agree with the RRPP issue, will blame the established parties for this, and might change their opinion. So RRPP should start the debate on certain issues in order to get attention for their claims and gain the interest of the people that agree with the political statement on the issues by the RRPP.

The media plays an important role as well in the mobilisation of the demand by the supply. Through the mass-media, the 'supply' can inform the 'demand' on the existence of the party and especially through TV, image building has become an important element. The media can help movements to gain initial attention, and this may be the most important impact of media. Through media the political parties can establish a public image, and discuss the political opponents. Since in our western capitalist societies, media just report what the editors think the people find interesting, the charismatic person should come with ordinary dramatic events and speeches and use the language from the streets, in order to get as much media attention, as possible. (Tarrow 1994, p 126-128)

#### 4.4.2 Radical right populist 'demand'

As I wrote before the 'demand' stands for the political opinion among the citizens; the existence of political preferences and its creation. Like all other political movements, the radical right populist movement starts with identity-formation among citizens. Because the process of identity-formation takes place in mostly informal settings, it is probably hard to follow or control this process of political opinion-formation. As we will see later on, there are ways to influence this process, but real effects are not really predictable. The best way to know how the radical right populist identities are formed, is simply to ask people what their political preference is on a certain moment. But since I'm creating a theoretical framework, I will add some factors to the theory that can give a good indication if radical right populist 'demand' or radical right populist identities are likely to occur or not.

Without pretending to give a full account of all factors, I will analyse the four main factors that contribute to the creation of radical right populist 'demand'. The first two factors are certainly contributing to the success of RRPP but are not unique factors for radical right populist 'demand' creation; 'economical crisis and unemployment' and 'globalisation and European Integration'. Economical crisis and unemployment create big changes in society. Some people blame globalisation and EU for this and link the two together. Because the mainstream parties are often in government and therefore often get blamed for the economical

situation, and most of the mainstream party support the EU and globalisation, both the left and the right opposition gain 'demand' in this situation. The choice for the left opposition or RRPP then depends on the differences in people's ideas how to solve these problems. The left 'demand' see the EU as a problem because they see it as a capitalist project, while the RRPP 'demand' mostly are afraid that the European integration will cause an influx of cheap labour and thus a thread of national identity and culture. Pia Knigge (1998, p 256, 257) has shown that unemployment has a positive effect of left-wing 'demand' but could have a positive effect on the 'demand' of RRPP if this unemployment comes together with the influx of foreigners. Unemployment has only a positive influence on RRPP if the level of immigration is high. (Golder 2003) This brings me to two factors that are typically contributing to the rise of 'demand' of RRPP; 'immigration' and 'dissatisfaction with the political situation and system'. These two factors are a specific indication, for a rise of 'demand' for radical right populist movements. Apart from the link some people seem to see between immigration and economical crisis, some people link the influx of foreigners and especially foreigners with a different culture like non-western foreigners with changes in society. People don't need to have racist opinions to question the immigration-policies, a sudden change in the living environment of people, created by a big group of immigrants, can cause anti-immigrant feelings. If the habits, religion and culture of a group of immigrants come into conflict with the national or dominant culture in society, some people start to feel threatened. Therefore, people who are worried about the big influx of immigrants and don't agree with the multicultural society, don't have many other options than to vote for RRPP, because discourse on immigration policy has traditionally been constrained in Western Europe by the mainstream parties. (Golder 2003, p 439)

The second factor that especially creates radical right populist 'demand' is the situation where people lose their trust in politics or the established political parties. Many countries in Western Europe face a legitimacy crisis in their representative politics. (Taggart 2004, 276-278) Especially where moderate left and right parties have converged towards centrist positions and may even cooperate in a coalition, people can feel a lack of choice or a lack of opposition. (Veugelers 2005, p 84 and Knigge 1998, p 259, Kitschelt 1995, p 28) Normally, actors in society who are dissatisfied with the current policies can contribute to changes in society by using their vote during elections. Disaffected and alienated voters will in this situation often use their vote as a protest-vote to show their dissatisfaction with the democratic political institutions and vote for extreme or radical parties. Both the radical left as the radical right can gain electoral support depending on the actual political situation in the country and the strategies of the established political parties. (Knigge 1998, p.258, 259) However in the situation where people are sufficiently disaffected with existing moderately conservative and moderately leftist or social democratic parties, people without fundamental left or socialist backgrounds, could create radical right identities. In this way, people who are disappointed or structural disaffected by current politics, can express their dissatisfaction by voting for a radical party in the hope that that will change the situation.

#### 4.4.3 Radical right populist 'supply'

The 'supply' of radical right populist movements is a little bit special compared to other political movements. As written before, most RRPP have a special way of appearing on the political platform and the party structure is mostly different than the established parties. However, it is important for the success of a radical right populist movement to have a decent and sustainable 'supply'. To analyse the radical right populist 'supply' and test if a radical right populist party can be considered as decent and sustainable 'supply' we can use the

following factors; 'the political situation in the country', 'the size of the party or potential party' and 'the organisation and structure of the party'.

## 1 Political situation in a country

The kind of electoral system does matter for the success of RRPP, since RRPP do much better in systems with proportional representation. (Knigge 1998, Golder 2003, and Norris 2004) However, since I will test my theory on countries with more or less the same electoral system I will keep this factor out of this essay.

The party-political situation however, is a really important factor in this theory. Since most of the RRPP are relatively new and small in most of the national politics, I state that the success of such a party depends on the position, strategy and performance of the established parties in national politics. 'Support for right-authoritarian parties 'depends on the strategic interaction of competing parties in the party system'.(Kitschelt in Veugelers 2005, p 841) Only if voters are sufficiently disaffected with the established left and right parties will the reservoir of potential right-authoritarian voters rally around a new political force. (Kitschelt 1995, p14) The success of RRPP thus, depends partly on the programmes, positions and actions of the established moderate right, conservative and liberal parties.

In the situation, where there is no reasonable radical right populist alternative in national politics, the moderate right and conservative parties could attract people with radical right populist identities and who normally might vote for RRPP. However when there exists reasonable RRPP, the success of it depends the most on the behaviour and strategy of the conservative, liberal and moderate right parties. The more a moderate liberal or right party moves to the right side of the political spectrum, the more potential radical right populist voters it will attract. This also means that the more these parties move to the centre, the less potential radical right populist voters feel attracted to this moderate right and conservative parties. When mainstream moderate left and right parties both move close to the political centre, they transform themselves in a 'catch-all' party and try to gain the support of the median voters. By doing so, the mainstream moderate parties leave a significant part of the electorate 'homeless' and in search for new political alternatives. (Knigge 1998, p 259) The appearance of RRPP give these disaffected voters and non-voters a reasonable alternative to use their vote and to express their radical right identities. The dissatisfaction with the moderate right and conservatives is likely to grow when radical left parties successfully appear at the left side of the political centre and the established moderate conservatives and right parties are not able to counter them adequately. (Kitschelt 1995, p14)

On the issue of immigration, in order to gain success, the RRPP are depending on the strategy of the established parties as well. The more established parties ignore immigration issues and immigration problems, the bigger the chance that people are dissatisfied and the bigger the chance RRPP will attract the votes of people who want to show their opinion about current policies. (Golder 2003, p 439)

## 2 Size of the party:

To the extent that voters wish to influence policies and public decisions, normally they vote for the political party with which they agree the most and identify themselves the most. However, most people think rational and tend to calculate, with the result that they might vote for another political party for strategic reasons. This happens the most when a party with which someone agrees the most, is too small and has hardly any political influence. Instead, these people will vote strategically on a party which is maybe not the nearest but which is much bigger and has more political influence. When voting for a party that is maybe not the nearest in its ideology, voters still expect to optimise their utility when it comes to political outcomes. So, it is not uncommon that actors or voters choose not to vote for the party which is ideologically the nearest, but vote for a party that has more expected power in parliament and with which they still agree to a large extent. Given the way parliamentary democracies function, party size is a fairly good proxy measure of parliamentary power. (van den Brug 2000, p 80, 81 and 90)

We can conclude from this that small parties have a disadvantage compared with larger parties. Since most RRPP are relatively new parties and can't be described as established parties, they will be influenced by this effect. So the amount of support from 'demand' depends on the size and influence the party has and the size and influence the 'demand' expect the party to get. An important reason why 'demand' would expect a big influence could be media-attention for the RRPP or good results in public polls.

## 3 The party and its organisation structure.

Even in the situation in which there is 'demand' in form of a big potential support for RRPP, and the political structure in the country is propitious, no radical right populist party will be successful without a well organised organisation. Populist style, populist organisational structures and a charismatic leader are central for the success of RRPP. (Zaslave 2004, p 10,11)

The style of the party is important, to distinguish from the established parties in politics. However, in order to be attract votes from a reasonable amount of voters and not only from the protest or issue voters, the political programme of RRPP should not only be focused on some issues but should give a serious opinion and policy proposals on all possible matters. The structure of the party should be good organised and well structured. One of the most important determinants of success for a political party is its party organisation. In order to create a political party which will be a reasonable alternative for voters, radical right political leaders should build a decent organisation and design the appropriate appeal that seizes the moment and exploits the strategic weakness of the existing parties. (Kitschelt 1995, p 14). As written before, RRPP often depend a lot on the appeal, determination, political longevity and individual staying power of their leading figures. ( Betz and Immerfall 1998, p 9). Because the political programme and the direction of RRPP often depend on the leadership of one charismatic leader, it is important that the internal organisation of RRPP is well organised and structured in order to build a sustainable party. (Zaslave 2004, p11) There should be a well organised party behind the leading figure, so the whole movement is not depending too much on the existence of that only central person. Much of the success of a new RRPP depends on the trust people have in the party and its sustainability.

## 5 RRPP in the Netherlands and Flanders

The political situation in the Netherlands regarding RRPP is perfect for the testing of the theory, because the success of RRPP the last decades has shown huge differences over time. The existence of RRPP in the Netherlands has normally been very rare and marginal through the years, with one short exception, the sudden success of the radical right populist party *Lijst Pim Fortyn* (LPF) in 2002. Thus this case could give us facts and insight about what factors changed during this year 2002, what made the rise of RRPP suddenly possible, and what factors created the downfall of the LPF after 2002. Because of the sudden rise of RRPP, the Netherlands is a good case to test the theory on.

The political situation in Flanders regarding RRPP is interesting for the testing of the theory as well, since RRPP, contrary to the Netherlands, have been present the last decades and *Vlaams Belang* (VB) is now even one of the biggest parties in Flanders. By describing the situation in the Netherlands and Flanders I can analyse three different situations regarding RRPP and the rule of 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' in it.

### 5.1 A marginal rule for RRPP; the Netherlands before 2002

Traditionally, RRPP have played a marginal rule in The Netherlands. As written in chapter 2, the only radical right populist party that played any rule before 2002 in the Netherlands was the *Centrum Democraten* (CD) with 1 seat in parliament in 1989 and 3 in 1994. The Dutch political situation has since decades been dominated by three big parties and several medium and small parties. Until 1994 the Christian Democratic Party CDA has been in every government since the WW II often in coalition with either the social democrats PvdA or the liberal democrats VVD. From 1994 till 2002 however, a 'purple' coalition of the liberals and the socialists excluded the Christian democrats eight year from government.

The last two decades however, the high use and abuse of the social security and the healthcare system made the Dutch welfare state too expansive and the government tried to make reforms step by step. The political arena stayed relatively stable despite these economical problems, the high criminality rates and the social problems with the fast growing groups of non-western immigrants; neither in the years of economical prosperity as economic recession, the three big political parties have been threatened by extreme left or extreme right parties from any significance.

The only RRPP in those years that made it to the Dutch parliament, the *CD*, tried to speak for the Dutch who were dissatisfied with the political system and threatened by the big group of non-western foreigners. In many areas in the Netherlands, immigrants and foreigners formed over 20 % of the population and in cities like Rotterdam this percentage is even over 40%.<sup>2</sup> However, unlike other West-European countries, the RRPP never played any rule of significance.<sup>3</sup> The *Centrum Democraten* (CD) led by Hans Janmaat had it biggest success in 1994, with 3 seats in national parliament and 77 seats in municipal elections. This success however, also became the end of the *CD* since there were not enough appropriate representatives to fill the unexpected number of seats and many of them turned out to be failures. Hans Janmaat was not able to lead the party and cope with the internal conflicts and all the scandals which were appearing around the party and its representatives, and with the next elections, the CD disappeared from the political stage. (Betz and Immerfall 1998, p.115)

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<sup>2</sup> [www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl) 22-12-2005

<sup>3</sup> 1 seat in 1989 and 3 in 1994

## 5.2 The sudden rise of RRPP; the *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* (LPF) in the Netherlands

After eight years of a 'purple' coalition between 1994 and 2002, the elections in that year would bring big changes in the political proportions/relations in the Dutch national politics. The coalition the left PvdA and the Right/liberal VVD had been relatively successful, but at the same time had led to a shift to the middle of all big mainstream parties. Real big differences between left and right disappeared and all the parties seemed more and more the same to many Dutch.

After the political success of the charismatic gay sociology professor Pim Fortuyn in the local elections in Rotterdam ( he won 35% of the vote), Pim Fortuyn decided just some months before the national elections to campaign with his own political party, the *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* (LPF). Pim Fortuyn's campaign was mostly about the reformation of the political system, immigration, integration, security and crime. Despite the economic prosperity during the last decades, Pim Fortuyn accused politics of ignoring the voice of the people and ignoring the troubles many have with the great joint influence of non-western immigrants in the Dutch society. (economist London, 30 nov 2002, vol 365, iss 8301 p 39) Although the LPF became extremely popular in a short period of time, mainstream parties and politicians ignored him, judged him or even accused him for being fascist or racist, which Fortuyn wasn't after all. Fortuyn had the support of some rich businessmen and together with his charisma and his popular message Fortuyn got a lot of media attention. With his 'performance' he clearly showed the different approach he had towards politics compared with the self-interested, arrogant and old fashion politicians from the mainstream parties. Compared with Hans Janmaat from the CD, Pim Fortuyn was much more moderate and had most of all much more charisma and political feeling. Two weeks before the national elections (in the polls Fortuyn seemed to become the second or largest party in the Netherlands) Pim Fortuyn was shot by a left radical. The LPF, however continued its national campaign and won 26 seats (17%) at once and became the second largest party in parliament and joined government together with the CDA and VVD.

The three months old LPF however, turned out to be a group of individuals without political experience rather than a well organised political party without its leader and founder Pim Fortuyn. Without clear leadership and the differences in political opinions within the party, the LPF and the government collapsed one year after its start. In the elections afterwards the LPF was reduced to only 8 seats in parliament and at the moment the LPF doesn't get more than one seat in the different polls. (Ian Bruff 2003 and Ellemers 2002)

## 5.3 Longlasting succes of RRPP; the *Vlaams Belang* (VB) in Flanders

Although Flanders is a part of the bigger federal Kingdom of Belgium, the political, social and economical situation in Flanders can be compared with the situation in the Netherlands. There aren't huge differences in the welfare system, the unemployment rate and economical growth and like the Netherlands, Flanders has had a big influx of non-western immigrants and even the political proportions in parliament are more or less comparable. However, the most eye-catching difference between the two countries is probably the appearance of the strong and successful radical right populist party in Flanders politics; *Vlaams Belang* (VB). The VB main topics are the Flemish identity, an independent Flanders, anti-immigration, anti-Islam, law and order, lowering of taxes and reform of the Belgium/Flemish political structure and government. However, the theme of an independent Flanders is becoming less important



and the topics of immigration and the reorganisation of politics have become more important. (Betz and Immerfal 1998, p 59-73)

Since the elections of 1988 the VB has played a significant role in Flemish politics and during the last elections for the Flemish parliament the VB received more than 25% of the votes. The party is well represented in European Parliament, the Belgium federal parliament, the Flamish parliament and the different city councils. In cities like Antwerpen the VB is the biggest party with more than 33% of the votes<sup>4</sup>. The party has a strong financial base and has a well organised party structure, lead by the charismatic and rhetoric Filip Dewinter. The VB has been growing steadily every electionround since 1988 and attracts voters from almost all other mainstream parties. Like in the Netherlands the mainstream parties seem all to move to the political middle and many people start to lose trust in these parties. (Kitschelt 1995, p 55 ) In contrast with the Christian Democrats (CVP) and the Socialists (SP), the Liberals (VLD) however, seems to profit a little from the right wind in Flanders and has booked some marginal success the last years.(P. De Decker, 2005, p154, 155) Because most of the other political parties saw the rise of the VB as a threat, they often formed a *cordon sanitair* to exclude the VB of participating in coalitions. This however only had a positive influence on the image of the VB and a negative influence on the image of the mainstream political parties and confirmed their image as undemocratic and aristocratic.(de Witte 2000, p 707)

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<sup>4</sup> [www.vlaamsparlement.be](http://www.vlaamsparlement.be)- 20-12-2006 / [www.vlaamsbelang.org](http://www.vlaamsbelang.org) 20-12-2006

## 6 Analysis

The description of the RRPP in Flanders and the Netherlands shows us big differences in the success of RRPP in Flanders and the Netherlands even though the political and socio-economic factors are more or less the same. Even if there would be some differences in the socio-economic and political systems in the two countries, the huge difference in the success of RRPP couldn't be explained by that. The RRPP in Flanders have been extremely successful for more than two decades, while the existence of a strong RRPP in the Netherlands seemed to be impossible, until the short success of the LPF. Hereafter, I will apply the theory of 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' to explain this situation.

### Demand

Unlike Flanders RRPP 'demand' didn't seem to exist in the Netherlands because of the marginal vote for the CD. However, the sudden success of the LPF in 2002 showed that unlike most people thought, there was radical right populist 'demand' at that moment. In my theory it is likely that this demand already existed for years but that it was never 'mobilised' by the right 'supply'. As written before, radical right populist 'demand' is most likely to occur if two specific elements are present; a big amount of non-western immigrants in the country and dissatisfaction with politics and the political system. Like in Belgium, the Netherlands has attracted many foreign labours, immigrants from the old colonies and refugees who form a big part of the population, especially in the urban areas.<sup>5</sup> Dissatisfaction with politics and the political system could be assumed as well since election turnouts have been historically low the last decades in the Netherlands with a 73% turnout only in 1998 for national elections and 59% for local elections.<sup>6</sup>

Even if these elements have created a 'demand' for RRPP in the Netherlands, the CD never got more than 1% or 2% of the national votes. Without any big changes in the number of immigrants, unemployment or obvious dissatisfaction with the political system, radical right populist LPF suddenly got almost one out of 5 votes in national elections. This sudden success of RRPP in the Netherlands must have been a result in a chance of radical right populist 'supply'.

### Supply

The fact that there wasn't successful RRPP in the Netherlands before 2002, even though there probably was radical right populist 'demand' could support my hypothesis that without a decent radical right 'supply', radical right populist 'demand' won't result in a successful radical right populist movement.

In the two decades before 2002, there was however RRPP in the form of the *Centrum Democraten*. However, the CD didn't fulfil the three elements necessary to create a successful radical right populist 'supply'. At that time, the political situation in the Netherlands was probably not ready for RRPP. Since the left PvdA and the right VVD never formed coalitions together there was always a clear division between the left and right and the VVD was placed more to the right of the political spectrum than nowadays. VVD's leader Frits Bolkestein even

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<sup>5</sup> The number of non-western inhabitants in the Netherlands has reached almost the 1.8 million, which is almost 12% of the Dutch population. ([www.cbs.nl](http://www.cbs.nl) 22-12-2005) The number of foreigners in Belgium has almost reached one million, almost 10% of the population. (<http://aps.vlaanderen.be> 18-12-2005 )

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.digischool.nl/gs/community/histoforum/stembus/#opkomst>

mentioned the problems high criminality, unemployment, school drop-outs and abuse of the social security by immigrants and attracted many right-wing voters by doing so. However, the problems of the multicultural society were practically ignored and silenced in Dutch national politics and everyone who mentioned to link criminality and unemployment with immigration was often labelled as racist. This attitude to the problems of the multicultural society caused the labelling of the RRPP CD as racist party and gave it a very bad image. Apart from this political situation, the party structure of the CD was far from optimal. The party was badly organised, there were many internal conflicts, the leader Janmaat had no charisma and the party was probably too much a one-issue party.

When Pim Fortuyn entered politics in 2002 the political situation was changed a little, the left PvdA and the right VVD had been in government together for 8 years and the difference between the two were getting less and less obvious. During that time the communistic/socialistic party SP gained success and the existing parties on the right didn't really have an answer. This situation made it easy for Pim Fortuyn to enter politics with his right-populist party and the polls before the elections showed he was gaining a lot of support which compensated the disadvantage that the LPF was a new party. Because the LPF was one of the biggest parties in the polls, people were convinced that their vote would be useful and could really change the political situation. Because of the very young age of the party (3 months old before the elections) the LPF was more a one-man show than a well structured party with a good organisation. But because the charisma and rhetoric qualities of Pim Fortuyn and the broad political programme, this bad organisational structure was well compensated. However, after the murder of Pim Fortuyn, the bad structured and badly organised party collapsed within months without the leadership of its founder Pim Fortuyn. In Flanders however, radical right populist 'supply' have had huge support of radical right populist 'demand' and this success can probably be explained by the three elements of successful radical right populist 'supply' as well. The VB has nowadays a well organised party, with many political experienced members and a good financial position. The party is led by the charismatic Dewinter and through the years the party has developed a well balanced and broad political programme. The fact that the VB is one of the biggest parties in Flanders helps the party gaining votes and the political situation, with broad coalitions of all kinds of parties in one government, helps the VB to distinguish itself from the existing parties and to criticize the political situation.

## Mobilisation

As written in the theory, the factor 'mobilisation' has an important role in the creation of a successful RRPP as well.

The radical right populist 'demand' and radical right populist 'supply' in Flanders has been connected in Flanders by the relatively successful mobilisation. Because the VB has sufficient financial resources, the election campaigns have always been well organised and the VB has used controversial campaigns.<sup>7</sup> The charisma and rhetoric qualities of the political leader of the VB, Dewinter, have created a successful mobilisation. The fact that the VB has been politically active in the different communities in Flanders and has a strong network of activists has brought the party close to the 'demand' as well. The party has grown as well a structured organisation and holds many conferences and party meetings to reach the 'demand' and even persuade others to support the VB<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> [www.vlaamsbelang.org](http://www.vlaamsbelang.org) 20-12-2005

<sup>8</sup> [www.vlaamsbelang.org](http://www.vlaamsbelang.org) 20-12-2005

In the Netherlands, the 'mobilisation' has played an important role in the difference in success between the LPF and CD. The LPF used almost all elements contributing to a successful mobilisation, while the CD lacked almost all of them.

The political leader of the CD, Janmaat didn't have enough charisma to persuade and convince potential voters to support RRPP. Moreover, most media completely ignored each and everything the CD did or said and they only reported negative issues about the party and its members. Many members were successfully accused for racism or criminality and the party wasn't able to speak with one clear voice to the potential voters.

Fortuyn however took maximum advantage of all the media attention he got. First of all, he had a weekly column in one of the biggest magazines, he was guestspeaker in a weekly business-program on TV and when Fortuyn joined national politics almost every tv-show was willing to interview him. With his common language, his controversial style and his charisma, Fortuyn got a lot of attention of the people in the Netherlands and he became more and more popular. Pim Fortuyn had also the luck that some rich businessmen supported his campaign financially.

## 7 Conclusion

In this essay I have tried to prove my hypothesis that the success of RRPP depends on three different elements 'supply', 'demand' and 'mobilisation'. To this theoretical model I have added different factors that contribute to the creation of radical right populist 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' in order to be able to analyse the theory. I have tested this theoretical model on the different political-parties in Flanders and the Netherlands, (the VB, the CD and the LPF) that I classified as RRPP at the beginning of the essay.

The situation in Flanders where VB has been successful the last two decades, shows the existence of radical right populist elements 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' because the particular factors that cause radical right populist 'demand', 'supply' and 'mobilisation' can be found. The fact that these three elements exist in Flanders and the existence of a successful radical right populist party at the same time could be support for my theory.

The situation in the Netherlands however could give us an even better support since the success of RRPP changed here and by analysing the different elements and factors, the theory could be tested quite well. Before the rise of the LPF in 2002, no any radical right populist party has been successful eventhough factors can be found that contribute to the creation of radical right populist 'demand'. The sudden rise of the LPF in 2002 gives a proof for this as well since the factors that influence radical right populist 'demand' hadn't changed that much until than, but the LPF was successful at once anyway. The 'supply' and 'mobilisation' however had changed a lot and were very different at that moment than they had been before. In contrary to the LPF, the CD didn't have a good 'mobilisation', and at the time of the LPF, there were much more typical factors that contributes to a successful radical right populist 'supply' than the during the 20 years before with the CD. The LPF had a well structured political programme, mainstream parties had moved to the political middle and it was doing well in the polls. The CD in contrary was more or less a on-issue party, had concurrence form the moderate right and was never a big party, not even in the polls. The statement that successful RRPP not only depends on 'demand' but also on 'mobilisation' and 'supply' is moreover supported by the fact that the LPF collapsed again after the dead of Fortuyn and thus its charisma and the positive media attention disappeared and the party turned out to be a bad-structured and bad organised party.

Although it is hard to prove a theory by a small case study like this, this essay has showed at least that the success of RRPP depends not only on the political identities of the people (demand) but probably even more on factors like the political situation and party structure (supply) and on the charisma of party leaders and the role of the media (mobilisation).

### 7.1 Future research

Because of the limited amount of allowed pages, it wasn't possible to deepen the theory or to test it on more cases. It could be interesting to add the theory of social constructivism to the theory described in this essay. The theory of social constructivism could help to analyse the construction of the demand and the supply in the social context. Moreover, more attention could be paid to the influence of the different elements on each other and for example how big the influence of 'mobilisation' is on the amount of 'demand' or how 'demand' can influence 'supply'.

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