Doctoral School of Political Science

Dissertation summary

András Hajdú

Radical Right and New Nationalism

The Radical Right as Reaction to the Challenges on the National Sovereignty in various Western European Countries

entitled Ph.D. dissertation

Senior supervisor:

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Tartalom

1. Previous studies and the explanation of the topic

From the late 1980s Western Europe has experienced the rise of new parties which have rejected the process of immigration and the model of the multicultural society, thus they have turned against the political elite which has been dominating the politics in Western Europe since World War II. The terminology of these new parties was a central question in the literature for nearly two decades. Scholars have failed to reach an agreement on which parties could be identified as the members of this party family and how we should call them. In many cases the politicians and the media use terms driven by their interests to stigmatize these parties, which phenomenon complicates the definition and identification of this party family and its members. In 2015, a new group, the Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF) was formed in the European Parliament. The ENF Group was created by parties which were positioned to the right edge of the party systems by the scholars, the media and the politicians as well. The core members of the ENF Group carried on their cooperation after the EP election in 2019. They established the Identity and Democracy (ID) Group in 2019.

During the 1990s the scholars' focus turned from the debate about the radical – extreme terminology (Norris, 2005:43-46; Mudde, 2007:11-62; Kitschelt, 2007:1178-1181; Bíró Nagy et al., 2011:7-11; Dúró-Hajdú, 2020:15-18) to the voters of these parties. Due to the fact that these parties reached new electoral successes during the 1990s – moreover the number of the successful parties rose in this decade –, the scholars concentrated on the demand-side, aimed to understand the main causes of the demands of the voters for these parties.

The electoral relevance of the radical right parties inspired the early comparative studies (Betz, 1994; Kitschelt-McGann, 1995). During the past decades the radical right has become the most researched party family, especially studies in their impact on national party systems and in electoral behaviour were very popular (Kitschelt, 2007:1176-1177). In the 2010s the broadening of the literature became exponential, and it engaged to the debate about populism and the interpretation of democracy models.

The earlier studies contained several details about the structural elements: the transformation of the politics, the media and the economics; the changes of the international political order which was established in the late twentieth century. These changes created a new political dimension. The studies about the transformation of the demand-side (how the financial status and the social-cultural preferences of the voters changed) argue that there are causal laws why someone became a voter of a radical right party. The studies about historical inheritance (von Beyme, 1988), the formulation of the populist challenge (Mény – Surel, 2002) and the analysis

of the electoral basis (Kitschelt – McGann, 1995; van der Brug et al., 2000; Lubbers et al., 2002) explore the social, financial and psychological specifies of the radical right voters.

The electoral behaviour as the central question is the consequence of the general nature of the contemporary political science. The main goal of the political knowledge of the democracy is vote-maximizing, which presume the knowledge that how the voters would behave in various political situations. The dominant methodology of the contemporary political science wants to translate the political process to models, which could allow not only recognize electoral behaviour but also manage it (Lánczi, 2004:13-16). The ultimate goal of the outstanding interest in the voters of the radical right is to explore the causes of their behaviour and to predict – or to block from the perspective of the rival political actors – the possibility of their electoral success (Daigle et al., 2019:93-102).

The question of how the radical right parties could represent political and social conflicts which structure the national political context had minor importance in the literature. Though the contemporary generation of the cleavage theory assigns a central role for the migration (Kriesi et al., 2008), the studies which were based on this theoretical argument focused on the attitudes of the voters (Givens, 2005), the political agenda (Ellinas, 2010) and the policy reactions of other political actors (Biard, 2019).

The permanent electoral relevance raised the question whether the radical right parties were emerged by the migration issue, or they could be interpreted as the representatives of a more complex system of political conflicts. Modern social sciences presume strong causality between economy and social structure, hence, between economic and political processes (notably Marx and Weber). The most basic typology of this causality is the classical cleavage theory elaborated by Lipset and Rokkan (Lipset – Rokkan, 1967). The classical cleavage theory has the qualities to illustrate both the historical political conflicts and its changes within the same theoretical background. If we adopt the cleavage theory, the modification of the surroundings causes changes political interests which determine the political conflicts and the political actors. The illustration of the structural changes creates the framework of the research to analyse the new actors, especially the parties which adapted the new situation.

The classical cleavage theory described the party systems in the West and interpreted them as specifies which were inseparable from the importance of modern capitalism. The authors of the classical political economy (Ricardo, Smith) recognized that the modern capitalism was a widely complex phenomenon, which determined the politics, institutions and moral principles beyond the economic sphere. The theory which presumes that the economic changes cause relevant political changes is present in political science. The transformation of the global

economic system, the digitalization and robotization changed both capitalism and politics. The service sector-dominated economic system has created a new social structure (post-industrial society) which has reconstructed the political context for the 2000s (Oesch, 2006; Ares, 2020). In my dissertation, I examine how radical right parties relate to the classical and new cleavage theories. What is the fundamental basis, which got these parties to the same political position despite their different pasts and national political contexts? Do they represent these conflicts only in rhetorical level or have they got strong ties in organizational and socio-cultural term with these social conflicts?

The analysis of the supply-side, the radical right parties and party systems could answer these questions. Previously I published 9 book chapters and 5 journal articles in the topic of radical right. In addition, I lectured on 10 conferences (see 5. chapter) about my research activity. Before my studies in the PhD School of Political Science I wrote my MA thesis about the charismatic political leadership and radical right.

2. Research methods

2.1. Research question and hypotheses

The research question and the hypotheses of the dissertation are relevant in the cases of those radical right parties which cooperated in the ENF (2015-2019) and later in the ID (2019-) Group in the European Parliament. In these cases, it has not been debated neither within nor outside the academic sphere that they represented clear right-wing position quite far of the mainstream position. At the same time these parties have been active in widely different national political systems, therefore, their characters and functions were different in several aspects. The hypotheses referred to the party elites. I examined by them whether the elites of the selected parties represented the political conflicts which determine their programme or not.

- Research question (RQ): What is the common fundamental basis of those parties which cooperated in the ENF/ID Group despite their different political context and history?
- Hypothesis 1 (H1): The radical right parties regard the European Parliament and other common European institutions as secondary political arena, therefore, their politicians are heterogeneous, flexible and fluctuate quickly in these institutions.
- Hypothesis 2 (H2): Because of their nativist political ideology, the radical right parties have ethnically homogenous elite, and the members of it were born in the nation state.
- Hypothesis 3 (H3): The economic transformation and the realignment of blue-collar workers change the elite of the radical right parties, and new politicians appeared in these parties with blue-collar background.
- Hypothesis 4 (H4): The re-urbanization creates a new urban-rural cleavage, wherein the radical right parties represent the rural pole.

2.2. Methodology

The methodological framework of the dissertation is based on a macro qualitative method, the theory of the most different cases design, which is a current qualitative method of comparative politics. Comparative studies mostly led to the conclusion that the similar outputs are structured by similar causes. But the outputs are made by the complex combination of causes, especially at the macro political level which is so complex casuality network that the relevance of the conventional method of data analysis is limited. Comparative qualitative methods, as the most different design involve holistic and adaptive modality, therefore they are commonly used by

research studies when limited number of cases are investigated with multiple variables (Jackson, 2003:717-719). This method based on comparing two or more very different cases and finding their similarities, which could determine how robust any relationship among these cases may be. This research strategy allows for checking if a correlation holds true no matter in which country. The most different cases design also allows to compare phenomena on a lower level than the systemic one – most often at the level of individual actors (Przeworski – Teune, 1970; della Porta, 2008:215-216).

In my dissertation I write about parties. The units of observation are parties and I collect data about the selected parties. I use a non-probability sampling technique, judgment sampling to selected the cases and the control case.

The case study chapters start with a political process and its political impacts which could illustrate the characteristics of the national capitalism models where these parties exist. This part is followed by the description of the programme of the radical right party and the research on whether the new political conflict became a cleavage or not. The chapter about the reurbanization (7th chapter) is not so detailed than the previous three ones (European integration – 4th chapter; migration – 5th chapter; economic transition – 6th chapter). The different structure is reasonable because the fourth period of the modern city development (see chapter 6.1.) is such a global process which has more common features in Western Europe than the three other transitions which are much more prejudiced by the national context. Another aspect was the limit of the scope of the dissertation.

2.3. Case selection

The sample was the member parties of the ENF Group which was established in 2015. All of the relevant parties of the Group were West European, they represented especially the countries of the 'Core' Europe (see chapter 1.5.). This speciality did not change in 2019 when the ID Group was established.

Only the two Polish MEPs of the Congress of the New Right (*Kongres Nowej Prawicy*, KNP) represented the post-communist region. Because of its short history, single electoral success (2014 EP) it seemed inconvenient to be compared with the other parties. The independent British MEP was also an irrelevant political actor in the aspect of the research question. The UKIP joined with several MEPs to the ENF Group only in the last part of the 2014-2019 term. That period was far over the prosperous ages of the party and was shadowed by the departure of Nigel Farage, which was verified by the electoral results in 2019.

The League (*Lega*) from Italy was not a selected case, because the history and the cultural roots of the party show many similarities with the members of the regionalist party family. This was the main aspect before the 2010s when its categorization was debated by the scholars. Among others Ignazi defined the party on the border of the radical right family rather than one of its components (Ignazi, 2006:61). Though under Salvini the party softened the Northern pofile, the regionalist sentiments did not dissapear. The Flemish Interest (*Vlaams belang*) has also several similarities with the regionalist movements, at the same time the party defines the Flemish separatist nationalism on ethnic bases. Although the anti-immigrant rhetoric became dominant during the 1990s, the main goal of the party is to create the independent Flemish state. These ideological debates created conflicts in the 1990s and separated the radical right (see chapter 1.4.1.). In the last decade these conflicts were overshadowed by the 'common enemies': the political elite which promoting the European integration and the non-European immigrants.

Three parties were selected from the sample: FN/RN (France), PVV (Netherlands), FPÖ (Austria). The control case was the AfD of which every MEP joined the ID Group in 2019. All of the selected parties ran on parlamentary election in the same year, in 2017 during the 2014-2019 EP term.

Although all of the four countries are part of the 'Core' Europe they have many specialities which constructed unique, national political system and capitalism model. France is the typical example of the unitary state and its economic system is characterized by the wide governmental intervention. The semi-presidential system is also a special form of government, which was created in the 1950s. The Netherlands is also a unitary state; however, it is a constitutional monarchy and the system of government is parliamentary. The Netherlands is the ideal type of the consensus-oriented politics in opposite to the competing nature of the French politics. Apart from the previous two states, Austria is a federal republic, which politics was characterized by the so called *Proporz* system. The *Proporz* system has been a political practice in which the two main parties, the SPÖ and ÖVP and have distributed proportional the main political and economic positions. The strong cooperation resulted in a solid corporative system and politically based allocation of resources. Though the corporative system was debated, its role remained remarkable even in the 2000s. Germany has also a special European political system. After 1945 the federal republic has evolved a specific system of government (chancellor democracy) and economic system (social market economy). The united Germany gained the leading role of the EU in the 1990s which caused that the German political challenges and conflicts got European significance.

The national context and political environment determinate the profile of the political actors. This is the reason why the selected parties are quite different in many aspects: history, political character and position in the party system. Many scholars consider the French National Front as a prototype of the radical right parties. It has strong and hierarchic party organisation. Despite the fact that under Marine Le Pen's leadrhip the party gained the strongest party on the right it is still in the political *cordon sanitaire*. The second case, the Dutch Party for Freedom is the persoanl political project of Geert Wilders. The PVV could be a transformed party because of Wilders' liberal political past. It has liberal roots that gradually propagates more and more radical anti-islam and anti-establisment programme. For a short time (2010-2012) it supported a centre-right minority government, but after its collapse, the PVV became isolated in the Dutch politics. The Austrian Freedom Party represents the ideological legacy of the revolutions in 1848 and the pan-German ideology. Though it has many conflicts with the other parties, in opposite to the above mentioned two parties the FPÖ is a relevant and conventional party in Austria, which could form coalitions at every political level (local, regional and federal) both with right-wing and left-wing parties.

The control case is the AfD which is a quite new political phenomenon. It was established in 2013. Its organization, internal mechanism differs from the former three parties. The AfD is an isolated party in the German party system but it has had very strong impact on the German political agenda. The existance and rise of the AfD also changed the mechanism of the party system and coalition options in Germany.

2.4. Sources and data analysis

My dissertation focuses on theoretical questions, therefore, it is based on theoretical approaches. In addition, I used content analysis, statistical data analysis and the analysis of the relationship between elite social background and the character of the selected radical right parties. The content analysis is used to analyse party documents and leaders' personal statements (for example biographies and programme books). Statistical data analysis is used to synthetize former published data and results. The analysis of the social background of the elite is important because it is a central element to answer the research question. The social background of the elite could illustrate how deep are the conflicts which are represented by the radical right parties. Have the radical right parties become the representatives of classical and new cleavages or not?

Bartolini and Mair (1990) and Róna (2008) conceptualised such political divisions as cleavages which have empirical (long-term differences between the electoral basis of the parties by social

background – social structural), normative (strong ideological differences between the electoral basis of the parties – collective identity) and organizational (the social background of the party elites is congruent with the position of their parties in the social conflicts) elements. I used this cleavage definition in my dissertation. The presence of a cleavage is necessary to declare that a party is the representative of some social group. The sources of the socio-demographic background of the elite were the websites of the European Parliament, of the national parliaments and of the party's own digital platforms. These sources were complemented by the results of former studies and other secondary sources (for example interviews). The examination of the organizational element had a central role in my dissertation because many special socio-demographic and ideological distinctiveness of the electorates were already published. At the same time the studies about the elite of these parties, especially their politicians under the leaders have been limited in the past decades. Therefore, the relation between the cleavages and the radical right parties offered most of the new details in the research topic radical right.

My research programme contained three field studies. I studied the regional and local election campaign in Vienna in October 2015, the presidential campaign in France in April 2017, and the federal election campaign again in Vienna in October 2017.

I investigated four processes in my dissertation: the European integration, the migration, the economic transition and the re-urbanization. The case studies are not country-specific in the sense that they do not focus on one particular party but rather than the four processes and the political reactions of the selected parties. The chapters start with the analysis of the process and its impacts on the selected countries. This part is followed by the description of the reaction of the radical right party, furthermore by the analysis of the conflicts on the level of the political and party elites.

3. Conclusion of the dissertation

The research question of the dissertation was what connects the various radical right parties. What do they represent together? The programmes of the four parties declare that the global challenges to the national sovereignty and the new social conflicts could be managed on the level of the nation state. This resolution is possible if the sovereignty of the nation-state were strengthened and broadened. These parties think that the strengthened nation-state could manage a new nation-building process and create a new national community on behalf of the crisis of nowadays. This new nation state-centred, nation-(re)building political project is the ideological bases of the new nationalism.

3.1. The sovereignty of the nation-state as central question

The conclusion of the dissertation is that the four selected parties interpret the four investigated process (European integration, migration, economic transition, reurbanization) as threats to the nation-state and the national sovereignty. This conclusion is quite different from the previous common standpoint of the literature.

The interpretation of the European integration with such political content is not new. But the migration has been interpreted by ethnical and cultural issues, and not in the context of the national sovereignty. In my research I concluded that migration got a sovereignty aspect in the case of the radical right parties in the last decade. The economic transition and the re-urbanization are connected in many points, it is observed if the global capital lack or leave a territory, the middle-class could not expand in that area. Several development and public policy programmes are dependent on the demand of the global capital and transnational companies, which could also be interpreted as sovereignty problem.

There are three arguments in the contemporary European political systems which articulated a political reaction to this conflict. The first one interprets the nation and the nation-state as the construction of modernity and this has the consequence that in the postmodern age – when the capitalism is changing – the political communities must find new fundamental basis. The representatives of the post-national standpoint declare that the global challenges (for example economic globalisation, climate change, migration) to the nation-state have the consequence that the nation-state is not optimal to manage these new conflicts. 'Its time is over' – the new situation needs new polities and policies which are beyond the previous political frame.

The second argument represents the hesitation, what is dominant inside the catch-all parties. They react to the issue of the national sovereignty, but they do not want to confront with the

mainstream actors and their arguments. They could not do this because of their catch-all strategy.

The third argument is represented by the parties which were investigated in my dissertation. Their central political issue is the competence of the nation-state and the national sovereignty. They argue that the national sovereignty should be strengthened and the state could manage again a nation-building process. It should create a political community again which has a dominant perception about the fundamental basis of the nation as a political entity. This fundamental basis is not necessarily an ethnic basis, it could be articulated also in cultural perspective (see the programme of the FPÖ about the national minorities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). The radical right parties presume that the actual form of the European Union restricts the sovereignty of its member states, in addition it supports organizations (for example NGOs) and processes (for example decentralization) which also limit national sovereignty. This logic also determinates the Islam and the transition of the global economy as a threat. The economic nationalism and protectionism – which could produce both left-wing and right-wing policy programme depending on the national context – connected to the issue of the national sovereignty as well. This point could justify policy actions to restrict the global capital, and other policies to get on against the segregation and gentrification of the cities or the aging and impoverishment of the countryside. I call this political programme as new nationalism in my dissertation.

3.2. The new nationalism as political reaction

The decline of the government intervention – both in economic and social fields – the demolition of borders, the transition of the global economy and the international relations together created a new competition. The majority of the traditional middle-class and the blue-collar workers have felt in the last decades that they could not succeed in the new situation which set up the protectionist attitude in their social groups (Tamir, 2019:3-21). The vulnerability of the nation-states for the global capital and the rise of the transnational companies enhance this process. But why was the nationalism reborn and why did it become the 'funnel of political protest' in this situation?

The answer is based on the complexity of the nationalist politics. Nationalism is a complex political promise which contains the cultural and economic protectionism, the political unity and the social mobility. Its promise is based on historical examples and imagine a future when the political community will be unified and the capability of state could be reconstructed. Nationalism is a political doctrine and the emotion that the political unit and the cultural or

ethnic community should be congruent. But the legitimacy of the political community which was based on this theory is damaged when several members of the nation must live in other states which are ruled by other nations. Another conflict is when they should live together in their own country with members of another nation in large number (Bogdanor, 2001:403-404). The best-known author of the modernist theory of nationalism, Gellner thought that the nationalism intensifies in cases when the congruence of the nation and nation-state is damaged. In that situation the borders of the inhabited area of the nation are not congruent with the borders which are recognized by the international law (Gellner, 1983:1-7). This political conflict, the questioning of the power of the dominant national community, appears in theories which interpret the rise of the radical right parties (Betz – Johnson, 2004:323; Mudde, 2010:1173). Minkenberg finds that the myth of ethnic homogeneous nation forms is the basis of the in-group/out-group divide in the rhetoric and in the political strategy of the radical right. Some scholars of populism believe that the anti-establishment programme of the radical right propagates that the national homogeneity is under threat, perhaps it is already collapsed because the elite 'did not save' it from the internal and external challenges. This populist standpoint allows the radical right parties to position themselves as the opposite pole to the individualization and migration (Minkenberg, 2017:13-16).

The former definition of nationalism, which related to modernization changed after 1945 and got new, negative interpretation (Tamir, 2019:13-21). But as a political ideology, it did not lose its relevance and the negative interpretation did not become universal. Despite the critiques in the period of the decolonization the nationalism remained such a political ideology which propagate the national autonomy and sovereignty against the imperialism (Hazony, 2019:21-60).

The concept of nationalism appeared again in positive context in Europe in the 2010s, and it is related to the political changes in Western Europe. Scholars (e.g., Hazony, 2019; Tamir, 2019) define nationalism openly as a positive political programme against the 'hyper' globalisation. The pro-nationalist theorists define nationalism as a chance to rebuild the national sovereignty and control the economic and social processes as well as a chance to control the elite. Two new terms spread about these processes in the political science: new nationalism and neo-nationalism.

The term new nationalism has been popular primarily in the political journals, particularly in 2016, in the year of Brexit and the victory of Trump. Stephen Bannon who organized the Trump supporter Breitbart website and later joined Trump's team in the White House, gave a central role to economic nationalism in the presidential campaign and the early period of the Trump

administration. Bannon and the right-wing of the Republican Party have a nostalgy for the American state-building nationalism. This political programme has many common points with the modernist theory of nationalism. Gellner thought that the modern nation or modern nation-state is a construction which was built by political ideas and interests since the second half of the 19th century. This process passes of primarily in Europe, though several politicians tried to adapt this political programme on other continents (Gellner, 1983). The new nationalism propagates that if the nation-building project was successful (for example helped the political modernization with the universalization of civil rights and education) in the past it could be again a tool to strengthen the political community (Tamir, 2019:22-30).

The term neo-nationalism which was also used by scholars has a quite similar content. A book chapter published in 2006 (Gingrich – Banks, 2006) interprets neo-nationalism as a counter political phenomenon to economic, political and cultural globalization. The authors enhance the anti-globalization attitudes in this study which was accommodated the popularity to the anti-globalist literature of the 2000s. Eger and Valdez followed this concept in their study about the radical right and the EP election in 2019. Their study, titled 'The rise of neo-nationalism' regards that the issue of the sovereignty and authority of the modern nation state is one of the important issues in contemporary Europe. In this division, the radical right represents the sovereigntist pole (Eger – Valdez, 2019). This conclusion differsfrom the previous theories which interpreted the migration as the 'omnibus issue' in the case of the radical right (see chapter 4).

Eger and Valdez compared the election manifestos of the parties in 18 Western European countries between 1970 and 2015. They concluded that during this period the radical right parties increasingly made nationalist claims. The radical right has dismissed multiculturalism and articulated protectionism while the positive aspects of globalization and international cooperation became dominant in every other party family. Nationalism not only characterized these parties but also divided them much explicitly from other party families. They differ from left-wing parties that favour egalitarianism and the extension of welfare policies to non-native-born people. The protectionist standpoint of the radical right divides them from the right-wing parties which prefer economic liberalism and liberal cultural policies (Eger – Valdez, 2019). This conclusion has many common points with the theory of the GAL-TAN cleavage. That theory suggests that globalization is transforming European politics and has been creating a new cleavage between the winners and losers of the globalization (Kriesi et al., 2008).

Eger and Valdez consideregard the European integration as the central point of the national sovereignty issue. They investigate the immigration and globalization along its cultural and

ethnical impacts (Eger – Valdez, 2019:126-128). The conclusion of my dissertation is that the selected parties interpret all the European integration, the migration, the economic globalisation and the re-urbanization as issues of sovereignty. My conclusion is that the issue of national sovereignty is more important ideological element of the radical right than it was supposed by previous theories.

However, this sovereignty-centred politics is in opposite to the mainstream political standpoint. The liberalism dominates Western politics (Schlett, 2018) and the fundamental basis of the legitimate political system is the individual liberty not only in politics but also in the academic sphere, in culture and in economy as well (Hazony, 2019:34-44). Hazony thinks that globalization and liberalism interlocked and created a dominant political concept. This dominant concept has three political rivals in the West. The neo-catholic nationalism stands for the scriptural moral minimum, however, in spite of the theoretical and political debates it accepts the contemporary political and economic system of the international field. A minor group of conservatives also stands for the scriptural moral bases, and persists in this basis for the protestant tradition of sovereignty. These political actors have more conflicts with the mainstream than the first group. The third rival group is composed by the neo-nationalists. Neo-nationalists invigorate the nationalism of the French revolution, propagate the conception of the congruence of nation and state, oppose the migration and the activity of international organizations and are far away from the religious thoughts. Nowadays the members of this third category have the most conflicts with mainstream political actors (Hazony, 2019:57-59).

This is the case particularly with the investigated parties in my dissertation. The selected parties interpret the European integration which restricts the sovereignty, to represent the interests and the economic autonomy of the nation states. Migration is interpreted as the creation of a new population which differs from the former majority, refuses the integration programmes, its institutions linked to other countries. Therefore, migration also restricts the sovereignty of the nation-sate. The globalized economy limited the relevance of public policy and governmental development programmes. The re-urbanization synthetized the three processes: the changing structure and changing nature of the settlements transform the electoral behaviour and the politics.

The selected parties reacted to these changes with promoting a strong and sovereign nation-state. These parties aim to strengthen the nation-state and make it feasible to manage a nation-building project again. The theory of the state-building nationalism was re-born through the radical right parties. But this narrative could be questioned, because it is controversial that the polarized western societies could still be defined as nations or not. Another question is which

social groups want to be the part of a West European nation in its classical definition. Many scholars (for example Hazony, Minkenberg, Mudde) represented the view that several political actors also perceive these social and political conflicts, but it is not determinate that the reaction would be the rebranded version of the nation-building nationalism as the modernist theory of nationalism interpreted that political phenomena.

3.3. How did the programme of the new nationalism become a part of the political systems?

The politicians who propagated national sovereignty in the previous decades are already on the periphery of the politics. The critical voices disappeared from the mainstream parties. This situation contributes to the uniformized standpoint of the mainstream parties on the issues such as the European integration or migration. The politicians who have Eurosceptic or anti-immigrant attitudes left the mainstream parties, created their own parties (for example Pasqua and de Villiers in France), retreated from politics (for example Bolkestein in the Netherlands) or join the radical right (for example former CDU members in Germany). Neither protectionist nor market-oriented political innovations (for example in the case of the VVD or FDP) could be successful inside the mainstream parties during last decades. This political situation created an opportunity for the radical right. The programme which labelled as eclectic and tool of the vote maximalization strategy got a new interpretation. The central role of the state and the nostalgy for the state-building nationalism is the new frame. This opportunity structures the new electoral gains of the radical right. The question is how wide the electorate which resonates to this political message (see the chapter 7 and the Appendix of the thesis).

At the end of my dissertation I concluded that only the cleavage between the ethnic majority and minority (2nd hypothesis) was relevant in terms of the empirical, normative and organizational elements. Radical right parties have not got any Muslim politicians, the migration background also rare among their politicians. Their opponents have the invers character among politicians. The 1st hypothesis was verified only in the case of the PVV which can be explained by the special organization model of the party. In the case of the working class (3rd hypothesis) my research could manifest 'only' status voting, not a new cleavage. The 4th hypothesis could not be confirmed. The socialization out of the classical elite proved more determinants than the rural background of the leaders of the selected radical right parties.

1. table. The conclusions of the four hypotheses.

	FN/RN	PVV	FPÖ	AfD	Conclusion
H1	-	+	0	0	The radical right politicians look at the European Parliament as patronage position
H2	+	+	+	+	This divide contains structural, normative and organizational elements, identified as a cleavage
H3	-	-	-	-	Manifested 'only' as status voting
H4	0	+	0	+	The socialization out of the classical elite is determining not the rural background

In spite of this results, the radical right could not be interpreted as a group of anti-immigrant single-issue parties. As the dissertation illustrated, these parties react to a much wider perspective of social and economic phenomena. Obviously, we could not exclude the possibility that the organisational elements appear unequivocal in the next years which could transform the current political divisions to cleavages. The concept of the anti-immigrant single-issue parties would also be misleading because this issue integrated to a broader political conflict, to the debate about the nation-state and the national sovereignty (see chapters 7.1. and 7.2.).

Another important aspect is that the selected parties are already connected to each other not only through ideology but also in terms of international cooperation and organizations. Their presence in the European institutions urged the parties to cooperate, and political on-goings also brought them closer during the last decades. This cooperation evolved more professional in the 2010s in terms of organization and ideology. The latter one is the new nationalism.

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5. List of Author's publications related to the subject

5.1. Book chapters

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5.2. Journal articles

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Hajdú András [2017]: Generációváltás a radikális jobboldalon? A francia Nemzeti Front és a Flamand Érdek elitjének összehasonlítása. In: *Politikatudomány Online,* No. 4, 64-95. pp.

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5.3. Conference Lectures

2019

- Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XXV. Vándorgyűlése, Budapest (ELTE-ÁJK)

  Panel: Politikai vezetés és kormányzás – analitikus és normatív perspektívák (panelvezető: Illés Gábor)

  Előadás címe: A prófétai imázskonstrukció lehetőségei és korlátai a kortárs politikai versenyben – Geert Wilders és egyszemélyes „pártjának" sikerei és korlátai

2018

- Politológus Doktoranduszok IV. Konferenciája, BCE-PTI Budapest

  Panel: Populizmus és radikalizmus (panelvezető: Kurtán Sándor)

  Előadás címe: Új munkáspártok – a radikális jobboldal és a munkásosztály új politikai szövetsége?

- Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XXIV. Vándorgyűlése, Budapest (MTA-PTI)

  Panel: Politikai vezetők, állam, demokrácia (panelvezető: Körösényi András)

  Előadás címe: Brutus Caesar trónján – Jörg Haider és Heinz-Christian Strache útja a hatalomba

2017

- Politológus Doktoranduszok III. Konferenciája, BCE-PTI Budapest

  Panel: Populizmus és radikalizmus (panelvezető: Várnagy Réka)

  Előadás címe: Kihívás jobbról – az AfD a német pártrendszerben

- Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XXIII. Vándorgyűlése, Győr

  Panel: Politikai és elitista politikai vezetők a demokráciaelméletben és a kortárs demokráciákban (panelvezető: Körösényi András)

  Előadás címe: Populista, radikális, outsider – milyen a radikális jobboldali vezető?

2016

- Politológus Doktoranduszok II. Konferenciája, BCE-PTI Budapest

  Panel: A politika eltérő perspektívákból II. (panelvezető: Papp Zsófia)

  Előadás címe: Generációváltás a radikális jobboldalon?

- UACES (University Association for Contemporary European Studies) Annual Conference, London (Queen Mary University of London)

  Panel: The Left and the Financial Crisis (Chair: Michael Holmes)

  Előadás címe: The various faces of Populist Euroscepticism (Dúró József – Hajdú András)

- Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XXII. Vándorgyűlése, Esztergom

  Panel: Politikai elit és politikai vezetők (panelvezető: Körösényi András, Metz Rudolf)

  Előadás címe: Vezér és dinasztia. Család mint politikai erőforrás?

2015

- Politológus Doktoranduszok Konferenciája, BCE-PTI Budapest

  Panel: Politikai intézményeken innen és túl (panelvezető: Róna Dániel)

  Előadás címe: Kék hullám? A 2015-ös bécsi tartományi választás elemzése

- Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XXI. Vándorgyűlése, Pécs

  Panel: Országgyűlési választások képviselőjelöltjei (panelvezető: Várnagy Réka)

  Előadás címe: Két generáció, két eltérő jelölési stratégia?