RADICAL RIGHT
MOVEMENT PARTIES
IN EUROPE

Edited by
Manuela Caiani
and Ondřej Císař

Routledge

In this timely book Manuela Caiani and Ondřej Císař successfully develop a thoughtful and ambitious framework for analyzing the interaction between radical right-wing party politics and social movement mobilization, which is substantiated in empirically rich chapters. An important contribution that should be read widely.

– **Jens Rydgren,** *Professor of Sociology,*
Stockholm University, Sweden

Social movement studies have mainly addressed progressive movements. Focusing on the concept of movement parties, this interesting collection shows however that the toolkit of concepts and theories developed in the analysis of contentious politics can be usefully adapted to understand the contemporary challenges of regressive actors.

– **Donatella della Porta,** *Director of Centre of Social Movement*
Studies, Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy

By focusing on the movement qualities of radical right parties in West and East as well as party-movement interactions, this theoretically inspiring and empirically rich volume adds a significant piece of research to the comparative study of radical right politics in Europe.

– **Michael Minkenberg,** *European University*
Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder), Germany

RADICAL RIGHT MOVEMENT PARTIES IN EUROPE

This book provides state of the art research by leading experts on the movement parties of the radical right. It examines the theoretical implications and empirical relevance of these organizations, comparing movement parties in time and space in Europe and beyond.

The editors provide a theoretical introduction to radical right movement parties, discussing analytical frameworks for interpreting their causes, forms, and effects. In the subsequent sections of the book, chapter authors examine a range of empirical case studies in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches, and make a significant contribution to the literature on social movements and party politics.

This book is essential reading for scholars of European party politics and students in European politics, social movements, comparative politics, and political sociology.

Manuela Caiani is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and Sociology of the Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS) of Florence. Her research interests focus on: Radical Right, Populism, Europeanization and social movements, political mobilization and the Internet, qualitative methods of social research, political violence, and terrorism.

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RADICAL RIGHT MOVEMENT PARTIES IN EUROPE

Edited by Manuela Caiani and Ondřej Císař

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
AN	Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance)
ANEL	Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες (Independent Greeks)
ANO	Akce nespokojených občanů (Action of Dissatisfied Citizens)
BB	Bündnis Bürgerwille (Alliance Citizenship)
BFB	Bund freier Bürger (Federation of Free Citizens)
BI	Bloc Identitaire (The Identitarians)
BK	Bürgerkonvent (Citizens' Convention)
BNP	British National Party
BPI	Blok proti Islámu (The Block against Islam)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)
CEEC	Central Eastern European countries
CPI	CasaPound Italia (CasaPound Italy)
CR	Czech Republic
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
DLF	Debout la France (France Arise)
DOI	Declaration of Independence
DPS	Direktdemokratische Partei Schweiz (Direct Democratic Party of Switzerland)
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
DVU	Deutsche Volksunion (German People's Union)
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

FANE	Fédération d'action nationale et européenne (Federation of National and European Action)
FDDV	Freiheitliche Direktdemokratische Volkspartei (Free Direct Democratic People's Party)
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party)
Fidesz	Magyar Polgári Szövetség (Hungarian Civic Alliance)
FN	Forza Nuova (New Force)
FN	Front national (National Front)
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party of Austria)
FW	Freie Wähler (Free Voters)
GNR	Groupes nationalistes-révolutionnaires (Revolutionary Nationalist Groups)
GO!	Grassroots Out
GRECE	Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne (Research and Study Group for European Civilization)
GUD	Groupe Union Défense (Union Defense Group)
HSĽS	Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana (Hlinka's Slovak People's Party)
HZDS	Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)
ICO	International Civilian Representative for Kosovo
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISSB	Institut für strategische Studien Berlin (Institute for Strategic Studies in Berlin)
IVČRN	Islám v ČR nechceme (We Do Not Want Islam in the CR)
JOBBIK	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (Movement for a Better Hungary)
KAN	Kosovo Action Network
KDH	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie (Christian Democratic Movement)
LAOS	Popular Orthodox Rally
LEGIDA	Leipziger Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes (Leipzig Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident)
LMP	Lehet Más a Politika (Politics Can Be Different)
LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin (League of Polish Families)
ĽSNS	Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko (People's Party Our Slovakia)
M5S	Movimento 5 Stelle (Five Star Movement)
MDF	Magyar Demokrata Fórum (Hungarian Democratic Forum)
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MIÉP	Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja (Hungarian Justice and Life Party)
MNR	Mouvement National Républicain (National Republican Movement)
MP	Member of Parliament

MPF	Mouvement pour la France (Movement for France)
MS-FT	Movimento Sociale – Fiamma Tricolore (Social Movement – Tricolour Flame)
MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement)
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt (Hungarian Socialist Party)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ND	New Democracy
ND	Nouvelle Droite (New Right)
NHS	National Health Service
NMR	Nordisk Motståndsrörelsen (Nordic Resistance Movement)
NPD	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic Party of Germany)
OAS	Organisation armée secrète (Secret Army Organisation)
ODS	Občanská demokratická strana (Civic Democratic Party)
OF	Œuvre Française (French Work)
OFA	Ohrid Framework Agreement
OĽANO	Obyčajní Ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti (Ordinary People and Independent Personalities)
ON	Ordre Nouveau (New Order)
ONR	Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp)
PACS	Pacte civil de solidarité (civil solidarity pact)
PASOK	Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)
PCA	Political Claims Analysis
PDF	Parti de la France (Party of France)
PEGIDA	Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident)
PIS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice)
PO	Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform)
POS	Political Opportunities Structure
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Party)
PZPR	Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (Polish United Workers' Party)
RBM	Rassemblement Bleu Marine (Marine Blue Gathering)
RN	Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)
SD	Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats)
SDSM	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia
SDU	Sverigedemokraternas Ungdomsförbund (Sweden Democrats Youth Organisation)
SFRJ	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SHO	Slovenské Hnutie Obrody (Slovak Movement of Revival)
SIEL	Souveraineté, Identité et Libertés (Sovereignty, Identity and Freedoms)

SLD	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (Democratic Left Alliance)
SĽS	Slovenská ľudová strana (Slovak People's Party)
SMER-SD	SMER – sociálna demokracia (Direction-Social Democracy)
SMK	Magyar Közösség Pártja (Party of the Hungarian Community)
SMO	social movement organization
SN	Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party)
SND	Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczny (National-Democratic Party)
SNJ	Slovenská národná jednota (Slovak National Unity)
SNS	Slovenská národná strana (Slovak National Party)
SP	Slovenská pospolitosť (Slovak Togetherness)
SP-NS	Slovenská pospolitosť - Národná strana (Slovak Togetherness - the National Party)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPD	Svoboda a přímá demokracie (Freedom and Direct Democracy)
SPR-RSČ	Sdružení pro republiku - Republikánská strana Československa (Coalition for the Republic–Republican Party of Czechoslovakia)
SRP	Samoobrona Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej (Self-Defence)
SSO	Strana svobodných občanů (Free Citizens' Party)
SVP	Schweizerische Volkspartei (Swiss People's Party)
SVT	Sveriges Television Aktiebolag (Swedish Television)
SYRIZA	Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς (Coalition of Radical Left)
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
ÚPD	Úsvit přímé demokracie (Dawn of Direct Democracy party)
UPR	Union Populaire Républicaine (Popular Republican Union)
USAID	United States of Agency for International Development
VMRO-DPMNE	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity
VV	Vetvendosje (Self-determination)
VV	Věci Veřejné (Public Affairs party)
WA2013	Verein zur Unterstützung der Wahlalternative 2013 (Association for the support of the Electoral Alternative 2013)
ZK	Zivile Koalition (Civilian Coalition)

PART I
Theory

1

RADICAL RIGHT MOVEMENT PARTIES IN EUROPE

An introduction[1]

Manuela Caiani and Ondřej Císař

This volume, exploring various radical right organizations in twelve European countries, presents the first comparative study of Radical Right Movement Parties in Europe. Based on a common analytical framework, chapters offer a highly differentiated view of how radical right politics develops across Europe through the interplay between radical right political parties and movements.

Movement parties, as a new type of political organization, have proved successful in mobilizing voters in many countries (Kitchelt 2006). Thus far, however, the academic focus has been mostly on left-wing movement parties and ideologically hybrid organizations, such as those that emerged in Southern Europe during the Eurozone crisis (for example Syriza, Podemos, and the Five Star Movement; della Porta et al. 2017). The radical right has as yet remained outside the focus of this research (although we list some exceptions below). Nevertheless, the radical right – in its populist and extreme variants – is one of the most researched objects in the social sciences (for example Mudde 2007; Caiani et al. 2012; Caiani 2017b), and seems to share features with other movement parties. In fact, some of these organizations have been seen to straddle the conceptual space between party and movement (Gunther and Diamond 2003) in that they contest elections in order to gain representation in office, yet seek to mobilize public support by framing contentious issues in particular ways (Minkenberg 2002). Whilst some attempts have been made to bridge the party political literature and social movement studies (for example Minkenberg 2003; McAdam and Tarrow 2010), the two branches of scholarship have only rarely crossed paths in analyses of the radical right (recently there have been new contributions such as papers in a forthcoming special issue of European Societies, see Gattinara and Pirro 2018; Minkenberg 2018).

In an attempt to bridge social movement and party politics studies within a wider concern with democratic theories, della Porta et al. (2017) present both new empirical evidence on left-wing political organizations such as Syriza and

Podemos that emerged after the 2008 crisis, and conceptual insights into these topical socio-political phenomena within a cross-national comparative perspective. Although their book is a ground-breaking work on movement parties, it does not focus on the radical right, nor does it include Eastern European cases. Similarly, in a recent work Hutter (2014) demonstrates the usefulness of studying both electoral and protest politics to better understand the impact of globalization on political mobilization, including the radical right. He particularly emphasizes how cleavage politics can be helpful to understanding the formation of new social movements and populist parties in Western Europe, but he relies only on quantitative evidence and does not include Eastern Europe either. Examining the collapse of the post-9/11 anti-war movement against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Heaney and Rojas (2015) focus on activism and protest in the United States. They show that how people identify with social movements and political parties matters a great deal, and they consider the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street cases for comparison. Theirs is an important book, but it includes only US movements.

As for right-wing groups, while the new right-wing populist parties' mobilization of the 'losers' in the processes of globalization is seen to be the driving force behind the restructuring of West European politics, some scholars have recently gone beyond party politics (for example see Kriesi et al. 2012) to show how the cleavage coalitions that are shaping up under the impact of globalization extend to state actors, interest groups, and social movement organizations, and how these various actors frame the new conflicts. However, these scholars do not pay specific attention to movement parties. Finally, Minkenberg (2015, 2017) focuses on the radical right's interaction in many Eastern European countries with other political actors, such as parties, governments, and interest groups, and underlines the effects of such interaction with regard to agenda-setting and policies in 'loaded' policy fields, namely minorities and immigration, law and order, religion, territorial issues, and democratization. However, he does not focus on movement parties and he does not include Western European cases.

In this book we aim at shedding light on this new object of investigation in the social sciences, by asking the following questions: what are the main features of movement parties on the radical right? What organizational and strategic features qualify these networks of organizations as movement parties rather than party movements? What is the lifecycle of movement parties, in terms of their emergence and breakthrough, the structuring of movement party relations, and the construction of shared collective identities?

Movement parties appear to be of particular scholarly (and social) relevance today in a 'Europe in crisis mode' (i.e. the euro debt/financial crisis, the migration crisis, the Greek crisis, the Ukraine crisis, the migrant crisis, Brexit, etc.) which has seen only moderate policy response from the political mainstream. Politics is indeed about the conflict between political interests and issues which are advocated by parties, social movements, and citizens' groups. The literature on political parties has conceptualized this terrain of contested political issues as a country's political interaction space. While the party literature has used this model

to understand interactions among political parties and explain the mobilization of the radical right, we suggest extending this idea to include not only political parties, but also protest politics and social movements. Throughout the world, we can see street mobilizations turning into new political parties (such as Jobbik) and vice versa, i.e. established political figures spawning political mobilizations (Tea Party movement, Fidesz).

This volume focuses on one segment of these mobilizations that, alongside previous crises, has been gaining momentum against the backdrop of the current migrant crisis and that is *the interactions of radical right parties and movements*. As such, the volume seeks to bridge two types of literature – that on radical right parties and that on social movements. Social movement studies have tended to declare social movements the defining feature of established post-1968 democracies and have generally prioritized the protest arena of action. However, without taking political parties into account, it is hardly possible to make sense of radical right mobilization in most post-industrial countries. This type of interaction between movements and parties constitutes one of the most important challenges for the social sciences. At present, their interaction remains under-theorized. Therefore, this book investigates one of the most debated *theoretical and empirical problems* we face. It is hoped that it will also stimulate conversations across various research areas by bringing together scholars working on social movements and political parties.

Focusing on the interactions between electoral and protest politics seems especially important for studying the segments of the population that tend to express their grievances not through street protest, but through the protest vote, which is more common among people siding with the radical right than it is among movements on the political left (Hutter 2014). While the relationship between the electoral and protest arenas is one of reinforcement in the case of the left, on the political right, a substitutive effect seems to be at work. However, there are cases that exhibit a different pattern (see especially Chapters 8 and 9 on Germany and Sweden in this volume). There are examples where the electoral mobilization of the radical right was not accompanied by a decrease in political protest action. Although we lack a rigorous approach to explain this puzzle in the present volume, it seems that there are certain additional conditions that must be met in order for the substitutive effect to take place (see the concluding Chapter 15 in this volume).

Given that European societies are currently facing multiple challenges, such as the recent economic recession in some parts of the continent, the rise in political populism, and xenophobic mobilization against diverse 'others', this type of research that focuses not only on protest, but also on its electoral consequences is about to become even more important. This has been made all the more true by the European 'migrant crisis', which has clear potential to politically reconfigure not only the European political arena, but also national politics in many member states. In this respect, this volume focuses on a problem of a great relevance, seeking to engender a novel stream of research on the movement parties of the

radical right addressing these issues. It examines the theoretical implications and empirical relevance of these organizations, comparing movement parties in time and space, drawing on empirical cases investigated with different methods, and trying to bridge the social movement and party politics literature.

The *first aim of this book* is therefore to fill the empirical gap that at present exists in the discussions of these dimensions of politics and political interactions, by providing a detailed map of emergent tendencies towards the formation of movement parties among European right-wing organizations. Focusing on Eastern as well as Western Europe, the volume offers a very wide perspective on the subject.

Moreover, although the volume's concern is with radical right organizations, its findings can be read in comparison to findings on other types of radicalism (e.g. religious radicalism) and the role of movement mobilization in them, offering in this way a valuable insight into one of the most recent and promising fields of investigation within extremism and radicalism research (i.e. the interactions of parties and movements).

Second, besides its descriptive side, this book offers a systematic study of different types of movement parties in different countries and is thereby able to reveal – and possibly explain – differences in the intensity, and especially in the forms of party movement interactions, while also offering reflections on developments, convergences, and divergences in these interactions. This is of crucial interest for the scientific discussion and literature on these political dimensions.

The volume makes a significant contribution to the research on radical right 'movement party organizations' in three ways: theoretically, by showing the importance of underexplored topics in the study of the radical right; methodologically, by expanding the scientific boundaries of this research field through an interdisciplinary approach and new methods of analysis; and empirically, by providing new evidence about radical right movement party organizations from Western, Eastern, and Central Europe. The book is divided into three sections. After discussing, in this introduction (Caiani and Císař), the new conceptual category of the movement party and its applicability to the radical right (underlining differences and similarities with left-wing organizations), this book reviews the scholarship on radical right parties and movements in Europe. It focuses on three strands of this extensive literature (for an overview, see Caiani 2017): first, the *political opportunity explanations* for the fortunes of these parties and movements; second, *internal supply-side approaches*, referring to internal organizational resources, leadership, communication, and propaganda, etc.; and third, the *cultural dimension* of the emergence and the rise of radical right parties and movements (framing and cultural resources). The goal of this book is to shed light on all these aspects (*contextual opportunities*, *resources*, and *culture*) in each chapter, with empirical evidence drawn from different case studies in Europe: Western Europe (including Northern Europe), and Central and Eastern Europe (including the Balkans). More specifically, in Chapter 2 Caiani and Císař illustrate the theoretical framework of the book, within which all chapters could be located; conceptualizing radical right movement parties, and discussing an analytical framework and some hypotheses

for interpreting (and explaining) their mobilization. From Chapter 3, the book focuses on Western Europe. In particular, Chapter 3 (Schwörer) investigates the successful new German party 'Alternative für Deutschland' (AfD), tracing its development starting on the street and ending up in Parliament. As the chapter's author notes, since the post-war era, the German Federal Republic has mostly been 'spared' successful parties and movements on the radical right, but the emergence of the AfD, often considered a right-wing populist phenomenon, has put an end to that. The analysis, based on party documents and speeches, reveals how the party's ideological character has changed and moved from being a moderate right to a radical right populist party. In Chapter 4, Hanna and Busher argue that the concepts of movement parties and party movements provide a useful lens through which to enrich understanding of the evolution of the radical right in the UK. Specifically, such concepts enable a better description and analysis of the complex and shifting relationships between the main political actor in this space, UKIP, and both the loose network of smaller radical right groups, and mainstream political parties and their activists. This argument is developed by tracing the trajectory of UKIP and its interactions with cognate actors from the early 1990s through to the 'Brexit' referendum and its immediate aftermath. Chapter 5 (Frigoli and Ivaldi) is devoted to the French case, and questions whether the Front National (FN) can still be considered (with respect to its origin and developments) an example of a radical right movement party. The authors suggest that the FN's contentious frames have achieved greater resonance in mainstream politics, media, and society as a result of the mainstreaming of the party itself, and of the radicalization of the mainstream. They conclude that, while increasingly bridging radical right and mainstream politics, the FN has retained its profile as a movement party, exploiting the resources and initiatives provided by the broader 'reactionary' movement within which it functions.

Chapters 6 and 7 move to Southern Europe. In Chapter 6, Castelli Gattinara focuses on the radical right in contemporary Italy, describing its main ingredients as: subcultural identification, street mobilization, and electoral participation. In Chapter 7, Fielitz focuses on a neglected political party: the radical right Independent Greeks (ANEL), which can be considered one of the most visible symptoms of the representative crisis of Greek democracy. The chapter argues that while much attention is being paid to the electoral fate of Syriza and the rise and persistence of the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn, little is known about the political performance of ANEL, which in fact represents a unique case of rapid ascendance from an indignant right-wing movement into a governmental force in conditions of political and economic crisis.

Weisskircher and Berntzen (Chapter 8) direct their attention to the anti-Islamic PEGIDA mobilization and its relationship to party politics (especially the AfD mobilization). They identify three different dimensions of movement party relations: First, a number of activists tried to enter the arena of party politics in subnational politics, but overwhelmingly failed to do so. Second, extra-parliamentary radical right mobilization did not grow particularly weaker, at least in the case of PEGIDA, when radical right parties were getting stronger. There is no substitutive

effect (under the conditions of crisis) like that described in the literature. Third, in the rest of Germany, as well as in other Northern and Central European countries, PEGIDA was often associated with 'subcultural milieus' that included individuals from minor and sometimes major political parties, whose support was sometimes essential for organizing small-scale street activism. Ultimately, the chapter assesses the relevance of party politics for understanding the biggest anti-Islamic social movement in contemporary Europe.

Finally, Chapter 9 (Peterson) analyses the relationship between a movement party and its radical fringe in Sweden. The author examines in depth the Swedish Democrats and the militant factions within the Swedish radical right movement, and shows that the radical right movement in Sweden, both its more moderate party arm and its militant fringe factions, share similar goals – the difference lies in their choice of tactics and rhetoric. The party 'make-over' process resulted in new additions to the fringe – two splinter parties, which were only ostensibly in competition with their 'mother party', and rather mobilized the more 'untameable' supporters of the goals of the wider movement. In terms of more general dynamics, the Swedish chapter demonstrates that the successful electoral mobilization of the radical right has not had a substitutive effect on the radical fringe; in Sweden these two arms instead strengthen each other.

In the second part of the book (from Chapter 10 onwards), the book addresses the rise of new radical right party movements in East-Central Europe and their politics and policies. More specifically, in Chapter 10 Pirro focuses on the organizational and ideological transformation of the radical right in Hungary. Using primary and secondary data, the chapter demonstrates that Jobbik is today one of the most successful radical right organizations effectively contesting elections in Europe. It has upheld its movement party profile and contributed to the rejuvenation of the radical right by politicizing and mainstreaming issues such as 'Roma crime' and 'political crime'. The author concludes that the radical right in Hungary can still be regarded as being in the movement party phase, which in no way contradicts its institutionalizing trajectory. In Chapter 11 on Poland, Stanley shows that the – still ongoing – consolidation of the Polish party system has created both constraints and opportunities for radical right movement parties. Indeed, it is argued that the philosophy of the right-wing Law and Justice Party, taken as a case study, has been to 'leave nothing between us and the wall', as it attempts to cater to radical right concerns and adopt elements of the movement repertoire of action, even during its time in power.

Císař and Navrátil (Chapter 12) focus on the emergence of radical right parties in the Czech Republic, with a focus on the period of migrant crisis (2015 and after). It is argued that the period of migrant crisis offers a unique opportunity to investigate possible transformations of radical right organizations, since the crisis forms the most likely case of the transformation of extra-parliamentary organizations into parties. However, unlike Hungary, the Czech case presents a different path to the mobilization of radical right parties, as its radical right parties are not based on any movement in the country. A number of important radical right

parties seem to have originated in the sector of private business rather than from the mobilization of social movements. In this respect, the Czech case enriches our understanding of the multiple paths radical right party mobilization has taken in Eastern Europe. Chapter 13 (Gyarfášová) on Slovakia stresses the role of 'nativist' movements and parties in the political process of the country. They illustrate that although nativist movements and right-wing national political parties have been an integral part of Slovakia's politics since the earliest years of the democratic transition, this phenomenon has been through several metamorphoses in terms of actors, organizations, appeal, and electoral success. The latest stage of this development is the radical right People's Party Our Slovakia Party that entered the national parliament after the 2016 general election. Although the party has no coalition potential, since it is isolated in the parliament and its role is limited to opposition, it has nevertheless a relevant impact on the political process and political discourse in the country.

Finally, Chapter 14 of the book concerns South-Eastern Europe (i.e. the Balkans). Here, Stefanovski and Vardari, compare two 'hybrid' movement parties, as the authors call them, in two countries very much neglected by Western scholars and research, namely: Kosovo and Macedonia. By conducting discourse analyses of in-depth interviews, newspaper articles, and materials produced by the organizations themselves in these two countries, the chapter investigates and compares the similar socio-political configurations that enabled the emergence of two social movements and their development into political parties located at different points on the left-wing axis: the (movement) party 'Vetëvendosje' in Kosovo and 'Levica' in Macedonia. The political opportunity structure (POS) approach is used to interpret the empirical findings. The chapter also points out that it is the formation of a domestic–foreign alliance that creates a closed political structure which is inaccessible to local actors, and they in turn evolve into movement parties in order to overcome marginalization and gain access to the new decision-making process.

In the concluding chapter of this book (Chapter 15), a typology for interpreting the possible 'types of relations between (radical right) parties and movements' is proposed, together with empirical evidence derived from the case studies presented in the book and beyond (Caiani and Císař). More specifically, on the basis of a typology that presents nine types of possible relations between parties and movements, case studies of recent waves of radical right mobilization in European countries are interpreted. These different possible patterns of interaction between political parties and movements are further debated and problematized. Future research is still needed, along with more theorizing on the consequences of radical right mobilization for democracy.

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