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Transforming the Transformation?

The East European radical right in the political process

Edited by
Michael Minkenberg

Transforming the Transformation?

The book aims to take a closer look at the significance of radical right parties, along with other organizations, in terms of their involvement in the political process of the new democracies.

In particular, the book attempts to highlight (a) the radical right's interaction with other political actors (parties, governments, interest groups) and (b) the effects of such interaction with regard to agenda-setting and/or policies in 'loaded' policy fields (minorities and immigration, law and order, religion, territorial issues, democratization).

The main theme of the book is the role of radical right parties and other actors in political processes, in interaction with other actors (parties) and with a measurable outcome (policies, election results, regime changes) which indicate shifts away from the liberal-democratic order institutionalized in the course of the post-Communist transformation. This is done by looking cross-nationally at particular facets and themes (for example, coalition formation or policy outputs in countries where the radical right has been in governmental office) and by in-depth analysis of country cases.

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26 **Transforming the Transformation?**
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Contents

List of figures x
List of tables xii
Notes on contributors xiv
Acknowledgments xix

Introduction 1
MICHAEL MINKENBERG

PART I
Contexts and concepts 11

1 **Transforming transformation theory** 13
KLAUS VON BEYME

2 **Profiles, patterns, process: studying the East European radical right in its political environment** 27
MICHAEL MINKENBERG

PART II
Comparative perspectives 57

3 **The democratization of hostility: minorities and radical right actors after the fall of communism** 59
LENKA BUSTIKOVA

4 **The populist radical right in the political process: assessing party impact in Central and Eastern Europe** 80
ANDREA L.P. PIRRO

5 Lighting the fuse: the impact of radical right parties on party competition in Central and Eastern Europe 105
BARTEK PYTLAS AND OLIVER KOSSACK

6 The impact of radical right parties in the Baltic states 137
DAUNIS AUERS AND ANDRES KASEKAMP

PART III
Country cases: East-Central Europe 155

7 The radical right in Poland – from the mainstream to the margins: a case of interconnectivity 157
DOMINIKA KASPROWICZ

8 Transforming Hungary – together? An analysis of the Fidesz–Jobbik relationship 183
PÉTER KREKÓ AND GREGOR MAYER

9 The impact of the Czech radical right on transformation and (de-)consolidation of democracy after 1989 206
MIROSLAV MAREŠ

10 Actors, agenda, and appeal of the radical nationalist right in Slovakia 224
OĽGA GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ AND GRIGORIJ MESEŽNIKOV

PART IV
Country cases: Balkan and beyond 249

11 The emergence of a new radical right power: the Romanian Orthodox Church 251
GABRIEL ANDREESCU

12 'Righting it up': an interplay-based model for analyzing extreme right dynamics in Romania 278
RADU CINPOEŞ

13 The Bulgarian radical right: marching up from the margins 299
KIRIL AVRAMOV

14 Parties and subcultures in the process of mobilization: the internal dynamics of the radical right in Ukraine 319
ALINA POLYAKOVA

15 Conclusions: actors, interaction, and impact in comparison 348
MICHAEL MINKENBERG, WITH OLIVER KOSSACK

Index 360

Figures

2.1 Xenophobia in Europe 40
2.2 Modeling the effects of the radical right on the status (rights) of national minorities 48
4.1 Competition of Bulgarian parliamentary parties on the ethnic minorities dimension (2006–2012) 89
4.2 Competition of Hungarian parliamentary parties on the ethnic minorities dimension (2006–2012) 91
4.3 Competition of Slovak parliamentary parties on the ethnic minorities dimension (2006–2012) 94
5.1 Spatial shifts along the GAL/TAN dimension in the Bulgarian party system (2002–2010) 112
5.2 Spatial shifts along the GAL/TAN dimension in the Hungarian party system (2002–2010) 114
5.3 Spatial shifts along the GAL/TAN dimension in the Polish party system (2002–2010) 116
5.4 Spatial shifts along the GAL/TAN dimension in the Romanian party system (2002–2010) 118
5.5 Spatial shifts along the GAL/TAN dimension in the Slovak party system (2002–2010) 119
5.6 Distribution of summarized narratives of 'threat' to 'Catholic values,' 'traditional Polish values,' and 'traditional family' among LPR and PiS 122
5.7 Distribution of summarized narratives of 'irredentism,' 'historical dominance,' and 'threat' to 'sovereignty' among SNS and SMER 124
5.8 Distribution of summarized 'historical/mythic,' 'martyrology/trauma,' and 'organic/spiritual' national identity narratives of Jobbik 125
5.9 Distribution of summarized 'historical/mythic,' 'martyrology/trauma,' and 'organic/spiritual' national identity narratives of Fidesz 126
7.1 Forms of the radical right in Poland and their mutual relationship 163

7.2 LPR state subsidies and campaign spending (2001–2009) 166
8.1 The aggregate number of new Jobbik party cells emerging between March 2007 and 2009 191
8.2 Electoral support for Jobbik (2010–2013) 192

Tables

2.1 Criteria of exclusion in right-wing radical discourse 29
2.2 Dominant actors of the radical right in selected East European countries: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic (1990–2013) 32
2.3 Radical right election results in national parliamentary elections in Eastern Europe in comparison to Western Europe, from 1990 35
2.4 The East European radical right in government: overview of government coalitions 36
2.5 Radical right parties' positions and context factors in Central and Eastern Europe (2000s) 43
2.6 Arenas of interaction and hypothesized effects of the radical right 47
3.1 List of radical right parties 61
3.2 East European signatories of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages 67
3.3 List of ethno-liberal parties 68
3.4 Decriminalization of same-sex consensual acts between adults 70
3.5 Acceptability of having a homosexual in the highest elected political position 72
3.6 Acceptability of having a person from a different ethnic origin than the majority of the population in the highest elected political position 73
3.7 Factor analysis: group hostility over time 75
4.1 Electoral results of populist radical right parties in national elections (2005–2014) 85
8.1 Approval of change to democracy and capitalism (1991–2009) 184
8.2 The myth of the 'stolen transition' – in light of leading right-wing politicians' statements 196
9.1 Attitudes of the Czech population toward selected national groupings living in the Czech Republic in 2012 215

10.1 Results of nationalist parties in the Slovak parliamentary elections (1990–2012) 236
10.2 DEREX scores – Slovakia (2004–2011) 237
10.3 Election results for different social groups in 2012 general elections 240
11.1 People refusing to elect an individual to public office for reasons of identity (2013) 254
11.2 People rejecting individuals of a different identity (2013) 255
11.3 The level of trust (some trust and a great deal of trust) in different institutions in Romania (1996–2014) 265
12.1 The four levels of depth model for analyzing structure, culture, and agent interplay in Romania (1989 to present) 282
13.1 Participation of populist radical right and 'generic' populist parties in the Bulgarian parliamentary elections (2001–2013) 302
13.2 Results of the parliamentary elections in 2009 and 2013 and electoral support of Bulgarian voters, as surveyed in January 2013 (%) 303
13.3 Support for populist radical right parties before and after the 'winter of discontent' in Bulgaria (2013) 305
14.1 Patterns of interaction: risks and benefits for parties and subcultures 326
14.2 Percent of the popular vote received by Freedom in selected regions (Ukraine 2007–2012) 329
14.3 All interviews by group and region (Ukraine 2010–2012) 330
14.4 The determining factors of party–subculture interactions (Ukraine 2010–2012) 332
15.1 Strength of radical right-wing parties in Eastern Europe (pre-2004–2014) 349
15.2 Strength of radical right-wing movements in Eastern Europe (pre-2004–2014) 350
15.3 The radical right in Eastern Europe: patterns of interaction in selected arenas (post-2000) 353
15.4 The radical right in Eastern Europe: impact in selected arenas (post-2000) 356

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Michael Minkenberg
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Introduction

Michael Minkenberg

Contrary to some expectations, membership of the EU does not mean a definitive domestication or even end of ultranationalist politics in Eastern Europe,[1] i.e., a politics which challenges the foundations of the new democratic order and at the same time in many ways the state socialist past. Moreover, the persistence of this phenomenon cannot simply be interpreted as a reaction to EU membership or increasing immigration; it precedes the former while the latter hardly exists as a political challenge or issue. Instead, ultranationalist politics in the region and its most articulate carrier, the radical right, should be seen in a larger context, especially in light of the region's particular historical legacies; the dynamics of the regime change after 1989; and the dynamics of the political process in the new democracies.

Starting with the notion of a fundamental tension between democratic politics and the politics of the radical right, the argument can be advanced that the radical right plays a crucial role in the post-1989 transformation processes across the region, that it itself is a transformative force. This is so because it affects the various kinds of transformation, i.e., the political-constitutional, the economic, the socio-cultural, and the state-building and boundary (re)drawing processes, which have taken place simultaneously but with their own distinct logic and which make the East European regime change stand apart from all transformation processes in other world regions (see Merkel 2010: 324; also von Beyme 1994; Stark and Bruszt 1998; Elster *et al.* 1998; Bunce 1999).

Transforming the transformation: some preliminary remarks

A quick glance at the literature on the process reveals an interesting transformation of the concept itself, if not a paradigm shift (see Carothers 2002). Early transformation literature on the countries in post-1989 Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe typically employed a focus which organized the analyses in light of the perceived or assumed goal, or *telos*, of transformation, i.e., the establishment of democracy. This teleology

or 'democracy bias' is reflected in the central questions being asked, such as: does "the transition from authoritarian rule" (O'Donnell *et al.* 1986) lead to democracy or not, what facilitates and what hinders this process (see Bank 2010: 34–36; Albrecht and Frankenberger 2010a: 43–47)? In the meantime, the completion of regime transformation is not equated anymore with the onset of democracy: "The demise of an authoritarian regime does not necessarily signify the commencement of democratization, as one authoritarian regime may simply give way to another" (Hadenius and Teorell 2007: 145). The latter pathway has received increased attention in the literature (see Albrecht and Frankenberger 2010b; also Bunce *et al.* 2010). Yet, these new authoritarian regimes, variously labeled 'electoral authoritarianism' or 'hybrid regimes' (see Diamond 2002; Schedler 2006) are located outside the EU, mirroring the teleological logic that EU membership equates to a complete transformation and consolidated democracy. But as a number of comparative case studies show, transformation is not only an open process, but also an uneven one. For example, Romania and Slovakia in the 1990s, despite the demise of the old regimes, underwent a period of 'deviation' into a nationalist-authoritarian or national-communist phase before joining the other post-communist countries in Eastern Europe on their path to democracy and EU membership (see Mungiu-Pippidi 2010: 66). It is hardly coincidental that this phase of retardation involved radical right parties in government and the persistence of a strong identity-based cleavage (see Minkenberg, Chapter 2, this volume; also Elster *et al.* 1998: 267).

From these observations follows the difficulty of assessing whether a definitive democratic consolidation has taken place once EU membership is achieved and whether the politics of ultranationalism and the radical right has been successfully 'tamed' by the new political order, its elites, and European integration. While the force and plausibility of (post- or reformed) communism seem to retreat with time, hence contributing to a consolidation of the democratic regime and capitalist economy (see Beichelt 2001: ch. 5), the same cannot be said for the other systemic opposition, i.e., the radical right (see Minkenberg 2002, 2009, 2013; also Mudde 2007). In most countries in the region the radical right, here defined as exclusionist ultranationalism (see Minkenberg, Chapter 2, this volume), continues to play a significant albeit not incessant role in the politics of democratic governance. It may be too much to take their existence as an indicator of an unsuccessful democratic consolidation (which would raise some interesting questions about democracy in Western Europe). But their anti-systemic thrust in the context of young democratic regimes with under-institutionalized party systems and unresolved ethnic cleavages does point at a fundamental challenge to the process of democratization.

Hence, the role of the radical right in the political process, its patterns of interaction and its effects need closer scrutiny, both from a cross-country comparative perspective and via in-depth country case analyses,

and the analytical concepts as well as the political contexts of these processes need to be spelled out.

It is the purpose of this book to take such a closer look at the significance of radical right parties, along with other organizations and subcultures on the far right, in terms of their involvement in the political process of the new democracies in Eastern Europe. In particular, the book attempts to highlight (1) the radical right's interaction with other political actors (parties, governments, interest groups, movements) in the respective country or cross-nationally, and (2) the effects of such interaction with regard to agenda setting and/or policies in 'loaded' policy fields (minorities and immigration, law and order, religion, territorial issues, democratization) which indicate shifts away from the liberal-democratic order institutionalized in the course of the post-communist transformation. This is done by looking cross-nationally at particular facets and themes, for example the influence of radical right parties on other parties' positions, and by in-depth analysis of country cases.

By doing so the book is distinct from existing research in two ways. First, unlike most comparative studies of the radical right (see Ignazi 2003; also Carter 2005; Norris 2005; Mudde 2007) it does not restrict itself to conventional party and election studies, but looks at the dynamism the radical right brings to the political process and its interaction with other actors. Second, the book provides a truly comparative approach to the study of the radical right in Eastern Europe which goes beyond existing research in which the radical right is portrayed in rather descriptive and all-encompassing fashion with limited analytical depth and often in a country-specific way.

The country cases chosen include those new democracies in the region which have been under Soviet (i.e., foreign) control prior to 1989, have established democratic regimes since then and have advanced their transformation by becoming members of the European Union in 2004 and 2007. The underlying logic of case selection follows the reasoning that the role of the radical right in a democratic process can only be meaningfully studied if the democratic game has been in town for more than just a few years. Hence, the countries covered are Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, the Baltic Republics, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. Some references to other cases will be made in the comparative contributions. The Ukrainian case has been included to provide evidence from a transformation process which did not lead to the introduction of a stable democracy and EU membership. Yet, a constitutional framework for contentious politics was established in which radical right actors can engage freely and a significant radical right movement has emerged which connects the political margins with the mainstream (see Ghosh 2013).

Plan of the book

In order to accomplish its task, the book has been organized into three major parts which closely connect to and inform each other although, as an edited volume, it does not strive for or provide a single and overarching methodology linking all chapters. However, the common theme of the processual character of the radical right will be addressed in all chapters: interaction, process, and outcomes in a pluralism of approaches, depending on the country and focus. The first part introduces a broad comparative and conceptual discussion and the context in which the radical right is located. In the first chapter, Klaus von Beyme addresses the theoretical as well as macro-political and social contexts of the phenomenon from a pan-European perspective. A critical review of transformation theory based on new empirical evidence leads to the situating of the radical right and its role in the transformation process in Eastern Europe. Populist challenges to democracy are highlighted, as well as counter-forces to populism and the emergence of 'neo-democracy' as a response to 'post-democracy.' The subsequent chapter by Michael Minkenberg focuses more narrowly on the East European radical right by carving out its distinct ideologies (compared to its West European counterpart) as well as the patterns of success and failure in electoral terms and the role of non-party formations of the radical right. The chapter then contextualizes the East European radical right historically and structurally, pointing out the volatility of the party systems, the legacies of the non-democratic past and the particular ethnic and cultural make-up of the countries. The chapter concludes by sketching an analytical model, derived from social movement research, which can be used to study the interaction patterns of the radical right as a contentious actor and its agenda setting and policy effects through the analysis of its interaction with other political actors, most notably parties and governments.

The second part of the book provides a set of thorough comparative analyses which look at issues and variations of interaction patterns across the entire region and in particular groups of countries such as those in East-Central Europe or the Baltics. In the third chapter, Lenka Bustikova studies the transformation of minority issues in the region, starting with the observation that the repressive regimes in Eastern Europe before 1989 thwarted the democratic aspirations of many in the region and at the same time curbed expressions of group animosity, thus preventing outright attacks on minorities. She argues that this delicate balance was disrupted in the 1990s as new democracies transformed their economic and political systems, thereby allowing a third transformation: that of the relationship between majorities and ethnic, religious, and social minorities. The chapter considers radical right actors, defined by their positions on identity issues, as important actors of transformation: in states with resolved ethnic boundaries at the end of communism, the expansion of minority

rights generated a politicized and to some degree violent response. The issue of ethnic minorities and minority rights is also addressed in the fourth chapter by Andrea Pirro. Based on expert surveys, he looks more closely at the impact of radical right parties in Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Slovak Republic and their contribution to shifts in the party system as far as minority issues are concerned. Pirro holds that the mainstream competitors' response to the radical right is gradual and mostly passive, but once the agenda of the radical right is set, its effects are likely to withstand the specific electoral results of these parties. A similar theme is struck in the fifth chapter by Bartek Pytlas and Oliver Kossack. They argue that active political participation of radical right parties in the sphere of issue competition causes spatial as well as narrative shifts to the right (i.e., moving to the traditionalist end of a non-economic, socio-cultural cleavage) among their mainstream competitors and in many cases the East-Central European party systems in general. Moreover, the chapter contends that radical right parties influence the salience of conflicts along the socio-cultural axis, as visible by the variation of party convergence and polarization of the party system in this dimension. The final comparative contribution focuses on the Baltic republics. In the sixth chapter, Daunis Auers and Andres Kasekamp start from the observation that the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania share broadly similar contemporary historical trajectories such as the experience of the Russian Empire, and, after a brief independence, incorporation into the Soviet Union before they reemerged as independent states in 1991. However, they point out that beneath this general narrative lie differences which also relate to the electoral success and political relevance of radical right populist parties and movements in the region. In Estonia, radical right-wing mobilization, mainly motivated by anti-Russian sentiment and Euroskepticism, has not yet resulted in parliamentary representation. In Latvia, however, the radical right populist party, All for Latvia, formed an electoral coalition with the more established and moderate nationalist For Fatherland and Freedom/Latvian National Independence Movement party and has recently become part of the governing coalition. Lithuania, in contrast, has several electorally successful populist parties of both the right and the left. Their prominence in the Lithuanian case can largely be explained by the lack of the ethnic cleavage which strongly characterizes the Estonian and Latvian political party system and heavily influences political discourse. What all four comparative chapters demonstrate across the entire region is the salience of the ethnic cleavage, which, in the absence of other stable cleavages, turns out to be a significant factor for radical right-wing mobilization.

The largest section of the book consists of a number of country case analyses. It is split in two, according to geographical and geopolitical criteria, with the third part including East-Central European democracies, i.e., 'early joiners' of the EU, and the fourth part consisting of 'late joiners' and the

borderline case of Ukraine. In the seventh chapter, Dominika Kasprowicz tackles the Polish case by including into the picture both radical right parties' influence at the parliamentary (party policy) level and other types of radical right activism and influence in the non-governmental arena. The chapter distinguishes and underlines two types of relations between radical right actors – internal and external – which inform their impact on their political environment. While the now defunct League of Polish Families (LPR) has had profound effects on the mainstream right party Law and Justice well beyond its time as coalition partner, the emerging National Movement builds on the legacies of the LPR and combines them with new issues and other (non-party) actors 'on the ground.' The most notorious case of radical right politics and political transformation can be observed in Hungary. In the eighth chapter, Péter Krekó and Gregor Mayer address the issue of the interaction between the right-wing government party Fidesz and the far-right party Jobbik, along with its non-party formations such as the Hungarian Guard. After the 2010 elections, Fidesz has used its two-thirds majority for a 'revolutionary' political line with the intention of 'transforming the transformation' and implementing some of the policy solutions taken from the manifesto of Jobbik in 2010. This strategy of pushing the party into an even more radical position in order to be able to distinguish itself from Fidesz aims at narrowing Jobbik's political room for maneuver and possibility for growth, though up to now with limited success. The specific character of the Hungarian case is that the governmental party, fighting a constant fight against the international political establishment and against the 'colonization' of the country, is playing the role of the government and the opposition at the same time. Hence, right-wing-inspired transformation politics in Hungary is not the domain of the radical right proper but characterizes government politics as well. The ninth chapter, by Miroslav Mareš, analyzes the direct and indirect impact of the radical right on the transformation and (de)consolidation of democracy in the Czech Republic. Starting from a description of the organizational and ideological developments of the Czech radical right, several fields of consolidation are discussed from the point of view of profiling the radical right and assessing its impact. Due to the relative weakness of radical right parties at the polls and their isolation by the mainstream political actors, however, the effects of the radical right on Czech politics and society have been rather limited. The Czech Republic's neighbor state, Slovakia, and its radical right actors are at the centre of the following chapter by Oľga Gyárfášová and Grigorij Mesežnikov. They focus on the social context of this phenomenon, agenda setting, and trends in popular support, thereby distinguishing societal impact from political and policy impact of the radical right. Their study also identifies main characteristics of the electorate of the major radical right party, the Slovak National Party (SNS), and inquires to what extent recent electoral losses of the party are the consequence of strategic shifts of the SNS's nearby mainstream and radical right competitors.

The final part of the book looks beyond East-Central Europe towards the southeast and further east. Here, Romania, as the largest new EU member state after Poland and a case of a rapid and strong resurgence of the radical right after 1989 and its subsequent diffusion in the larger society and body politic, deserves closer attention and is treated in two chapters. Gabriel Andreescu discusses the Romanian Orthodox Church as a new player on the far right by introducing the concept of active and passive resources of radical right politics. Among these resources is the specific kind of national communist rule in Romania before 1989, as a basis for the Party for Greater Romania's (PRM) success immediately after the regime change. While the PRM underwent a gradual decline after the year 2000, the radical right ideology did not vanish with it but found other inroads into society promoted by non-partisan agents, first and foremost the Romanian Orthodox Church. The spreading of anti-democratic, radical right ideology is put forward by the Church's dominant position in religious education and fuelled by the anonymity and range of the internet, as evidenced by the new relationship between the Church and the state in the 2000s. The subsequent chapter by Radu Cinpoeş complements this analysis by focusing on the interplay between Romanian radical right actors and their context. The case of Romania can be explained by looking at transformative processes emerging from the interplay between agents and their contexts, one structural and the other cultural. The chapter provides a multi-layered analysis of the interplay, focusing on different levels of depth and nuance, such as broad structural and cultural shifts, simulated compliance in inter-party dynamics, incorporation of the extreme right into the mainstream through 'political cruising,' and incorporation of the extreme right through 'casual intolerance.' The chapter concludes by showing that political actors in Romania have negotiated the tensions between these levels of interaction by undermining the relevance of the structural context through a simulated conformism to it, while on the other hand making way for embracing an unbridled culture of right-wing extremism. Romania's neighbor country, Bulgaria, is the topic of the thirteenth chapter. Kiril Avramov deals with the emergence and development of the Bulgarian radical right after the break-up of bi-polar party competition in 2001. Until its comeback in the Bulgarian 'winter of discontent' in 2013, the most visible representative of the Bulgarian radical right, the party Ataka, used to experience slow but steady electoral decline over the past years by institutionalizing a 'marriage of convenience' with the governing centre-right party, GERB. Arguably the decline could be attributed to the interplay between the centre-right and radical right actors 'mainstreaming' Ataka into the Bulgarian political life, visible for instance in the adoption of some of the most abrasive behavioral standards by other political actors and their public acceptance. The chapter argues further that the mainstreaming of Ataka opened a window of opportunity for speedy growth of a number of other radical right formations on party and

sub-party levels. The fourteenth chapter, by Alina Polyakova, adds two new dimensions to the analysis of the radical right in the political process in Eastern Europe. It provides a case outside but on the border of the EU which is radically torn by the question of its relationship to the EU and its other neighbor, Russia. And it adds a ground-level and bottom-up perspective by focusing on radical right activists' mobilization and interaction across various groups and parties. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in the three years prior to the All-Ukrainian Union Svoboda Party's electoral rise between 2009 and 2012, the chapter examines the micro-processes of political mobilization at the level of the individuals who make up the radical right. It compares how Svoboda and various nationalist subculture groups negotiated their level of interaction in two Ukrainian regions, Galicia and Volyn, and observes two distinct patterns of party–subculture interactions: cooperation (in Galicia) versus rejection and fractionalization (in Volyn). By focusing on the social actors, this research directly addresses an unexamined but central piece of the radical right phenomenon: namely, how the internal dynamics of the radical right affect the organizational structure of political mobilization. In the conclusion, Michael Minkenberg and Oliver Kossack summarize and synthesize the major findings from all chapters. They track changes in all countries and arenas of interaction from ca. 2000 onwards. The findings document many instances of rightward shifts which run against the assumed linearity of the various transformation processes since 1989.

Note

1 For easy reading, Eastern Europe here refers summarily to countries usually grouped as East-Central Europe, Southeast Europe, and the Baltics, i.e., EU member countries which formerly had communist regimes or were part of the Soviet Union.

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The impact of radical right parties in the Baltic states

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