

What constitutes right-wing extremism?

An analysis of three European political parties

Author: Erik Mellander
Supervisor: Åsa Boholm
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Abstract

The end of World War II resulted in the dissolution of the German *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) and the Italian *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (PNF). The strength of fascist and national socialist ideologies was significantly weakened after the war. However, the ideas survived and are still visible in European societies in the form of right-wing extremism. Right-wing extreme features such as anti-globalisation, nationalism, and xenophobia exist globally as well, for example the political and societal development in the Philippines, India, Brazil, China, and the United States indicates right-wing extreme tendencies.

Although many right-wing extreme studies have been made, scholars cannot agree on an uncontested definition of the concept. The aim of this study is to contribute to the development of an analytical and comparative framework for the study of political parties. Theoretical inspiration draws from Cas Mudde's work on right-wing extremism. The analytical framework is used to examine three political parties in three countries: the Swedish *Nordic Resistance Movement*, German *Alternative for Germany*, and the *Swiss People's Party*.

The analytical framework is used to dissect the selected party's association with right-wing extremism. A content analysis of each party's manifesto enables a more detailed analysis of the specific associations to right-wing extremism in each case. Right-wing extremism is a broad phenomenon which includes several distinct dimensions that might be present to a greater or lesser extent. The thesis offers a systematic account of the ideological content of party programs which enables comparison between organisations. Although branded as "right-wing extremist" the thesis shows that there is considerable variation between the political parties.

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Abbreviation list

AfD	Alternative for Germany, Alternative für Deutschland
AoIR	The Association of Internet Researchers
BNP	British National Party
GD	Golden Dawn
<i>GDP</i>	Gross domestic product
EU	European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMR	Nordic Resistance Movement, Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen
SD	Swedish Democrats
SMR	Swedish Resistance Movement
SVP	Swiss People's Party, Schweizerische Volkspartei

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1 Introduction

The focus on right-wing extreme parties among scholars increased during the early 1980s and ever since many studies have been made on the topic. However, many authors mention the limitation of their study due to the contested definition of right-wing extremism (Carter, 2018, p. 159).

A definition does not only explain the meaning of a certain concept, it also specifies its meaning. It tells us what is included in the concept, but also what is excluded. Therefore a definition of right-wing extremism distinguishes what is included and excluded. It is important to make this distinction to move forward with exploration and analysis, and also crucial for a scientific community to communicate (Carter, 2018, p. 159).

The lack of an uncontested definition of right-wing extremism among scholars has a visible effect outside the scientific community as well. A current example is the different labels that have been attached to the Swedish Democrat Party. It has been categorised as far right (Habib & Embury-Dennis, 2018) and populist nationalist (Teitelbaum, 2018), and the Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfvén even argued that the party is right-wing extreme (Löfvén, 2019).

The problem of not having a clear definition of right-wing extremism has been noted in both the scientific community and public discourse.

Right-wing extreme political movements are not limited to Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. The theme is currently salient all over Europe such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Greece, France and Finland. In particular the post-socialist eastern Europe has become a breeding ground for right-wing extreme parties. In the 2010 Hungarian general elections, *Jobbik* won almost 17 percent of the votes (Boros, Vasali, & Nagy, 2013, p. 9). In the torn and politically unstable Ukraine the party *Svoboda*, with its nationalistic populist rhetoric, has become increasingly popular (Ghosh, 2013, p. 199). One of the most well-known right-wing extreme parties in Europe is the Greek *Golden Dawn (GD)*. The party does not hide its pro-national socialist views and surprised many when it received 7.15% of the votes in the European elections already in 2009 (Georgiadou, 2013, p. 83)

This thesis does not include more than three political parties, from three European countries: *Alternative for Germany (AfD)* Germany, *Swiss People's Party (SVP)* Switzerland and the *Nordic Resistance Movement NMR* Sweden. The reason for selecting these three is primarily because they all have been labelled right-wing extreme. *Alternative for Germany (AfD)* is often characterised as a right-wing populist party, and sometimes as right-wing extreme. Members of the party have posted anti-Semitic content on Facebook and also expressed fantasies about killing refugees and leading Social Democrats (Amann, et al., 2018). The *Swiss People's Party (SVP)* has been accused of

promoting extreme right rhetoric by encouraging “*anxiety among citizens about globalisation*” and directing the “*citizens’ dissatisfaction with their economic, political and social climate against foreigners*” (Stockemer, 2012, p. 197). The party’s advocacy to prioritise Switzerland first, condemn multiculturalism, international immigration and European integration also exemplifies SVP’s right-wing extreme tendencies (p. 197). The *Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR)* has the goal to create an “*ethnically pure pan-Nordic nation*” and to deport most of the non-ethnic Northern European residents. Due to NMR’s anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant and anti-gay rhetoric (Hustad, 2018), it is generally considered that the political party is right-wing extreme.

2 Aim and research question

The focus of this thesis is to give an theoretical contribution by developing an analytical framework, inspired by Cas Mudde’s (Mudde, 1995) study, that can serve as a definition of right-wing extremism and test it on empirical cases. The cases are: Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR) Sweden, Alternative for Germany (AfD) Germany and Swiss People’s Party (SVP) Switzerland. The aim of this thesis is also to understand the association between the selected political parties and right-wing extremism. The association to right-wing extremism and what differences/similarities exist between the political parties are the empirical contributions of this thesis. The idiosyncratic definitions of right-wing extremism among scholars are the motivation for this thesis.

The analytical frame work contains five ideological features: racism, nationalism, xenophobia, strong state and anti-democracy (Mudde, 1995, p. 206). These features will be identified in the empirical material to determine each party’s association to right-wing extremism. The thesis modifies Cas Mudde’s model so the features xenophobia and racism are replaced with “*exclusivism*”. This is further developed in the analytical framework section.

The research questions are:

1. How can the concept of right-wing extremism be understood and used in research?
2. How do the three selected cases relate to right-wing extremism?
3. What differences and similarities are there between the selected cases in regards to right-wing extremism?

3 Delimitations

The party manifestos are the only empirical materials that are used to research the parties’ association to right wing extremism. It could be argued that including material such as party newspapers, internal documents or social media accounts would give a in depth understanding of

parties. However, it would become too comprehensive for this thesis. All the three selected parties have in common that their manifestos are available in English and published online. Parties with right-wing extreme tendencies but not having an English manifesto online, have been excluded from this thesis.

Criticism could arise due to the ideologically uneven set of parties included in the study. However, the main purpose of this thesis is not to distinguish likeminded parties in regards to right-wing extremism. The main role of the three cases is to be tested out by the developed definition of right-wing extremism. This means that it does not matter whether the cases are ideologically similar or comparable in any other way. In a future study it would be interesting to have a stronger focus on an empirical contribution with the purpose of finding out how parties associate to right-wing extremism. A more careful selection of empirical cases would then be prioritised so the result would be more relevant.

Although, the analysis of the three political parties are meant to highlight how the developed definition of right-wing extreme can be implemented into research, thus giving a theoretical contribution, the thesis does not discard the empirical contribution. The in-depth content analysis of each party's manifesto and how the result distinguishes them from each other is the empirical contribution. Hence, this thesis main purpose is to give a theoretical contribution, by developing and testing out the definition of right-wing extremism, but an empirical contribution is also evident by the result of the political party analysis.

In some scientific literatures and media articles the concepts *radical right* and *far right* are used when the topic of nationalist right-wing extremism is being treated. Since the main focus of the thesis is to get a better understanding of right-wing extremism, other concepts that are used to define nationalist movements are excluded in the analysis.

4 Relevance to Global Studies

The concept of right-wing extremism is the focus of this thesis. Many of the features associated to the concept, such as nationalism, protectionism, and anti-globalisation is prevalent in societal contexts around the world. Thus, it is relevant to the field of global studies.

It has been argued that the distinct economic and social views among many European right-wing extreme parties make it difficult to categorise right-wing extremism as ideologically right or left (Melzer & Serafin, 2013, p. 236). Resistance to globalisation unites many of the right-wing extreme parties. The anti-globalisation rhetoric can also explain the increased popularity that right-wing extreme parties has enjoyed in recent decades. According to Stöss (2017, p. 17) "*low economic*

growth, mass unemployment, the fall in wage levels, increased competition between business and industrial locations, and predatory competition on employment markets” during the 1980s have paved the way for critique of globalisation. The market situation in combination with increased migration to Europe have made right-wing extreme anti-globalisation rhetoric more attractive (p. 17).

Nationalism and resistance to globalisation is not only visible in Europe, it can be found all over the world. Examples are the nation-states China, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia, which have at one time or another banned foreign satellite broadcasts. Many governments have strived for strengthening the state-national identities through television broadcasts, such as the Globo network in Brazil or the Televisa group in Mexico (Scholte, 2005, p. 232).

Scholte (2005, p. 226) argues that globalisation has an impact on how people express their identity. Supraterritorial spaces have made it possible to create new identity expressions. The one-dimensional state centred nationhood, which prevailed in the mid twentieth century, has transformed to a greater pluralism (p. 226). A new self-identification has resulted in the recent decades of globalisation. However, the specific nation-state identity has been replaced by multidimensional identities. When self-identification is lost and there is a struggle to find a specific identity on a global scope, the sense of self can become ambiguous (p. 226). This can explain the popularity parties with nationalist extreme- or radical right messages enjoy.

As Scholte (p. 226) suggests there is a clash between the security of the nation-state identity and the idea of multiculturalism, globalisation and neo-liberalism.

5 Background

The following section initially describes the overall nationalistic and protectionist situation in Europe and how political parties are expressing these views share similarities but also differ from one another. Following that, an outline of the selected parties is presented. The outline provides a background of the selected parties AfD, NMR and SVP which explains their history and political goals.

5.1 The far right in Europe

The overall popularity for nationalistic and protectionist parties varies in different nations. Some have government seats and others are the main opposition voice. The ideological stand and main political policy also distinguish the radical right spectrum. In regards to voter success, the two parties *Swiss People’s Party* (29%) and *Austrian Freedom Party* (26%) stands out in a European perspective (BBC, 2018). Most parties in the radical right Europe consider themselves as anti-establishment but accept the existing democratic system, however, not all parties share this view. One of the most

violent right-wing extreme parties in Europe: *Golden Dawn* in Greece, is strongly anti-establishment and calls other politicians “thieves” and the Greek polity a *pseudo-democracy*. The party wants to change the system from the core and implement direct democracy (Ellinas, 2014, p. 4). It shares this extreme rhetoric with other European parties such as the Swedish *Nordic Resistance Movement* (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 25). The hostility towards immigration, anti-Islamic rhetoric and Euroscepticism unite most of the parties on the far-right spectrum in Europe (BBC, 2018).

5.2 Alternative for Germany

The Alternative for Germany (AfD) was formed in 2013 as a protest against the bailouts of indebted European Union members such as Greece. However, due to the open-door policy promoted by the German chancellor Angela Merkel, which resulted in 1.5 million migrants entering the country since 2015, the party has adopted a strong anti-immigration stance (Chase, 2017).

The party is ideologically split between a far-right and a moderate wing. The far-right fraction is represented by the 76-year-old Alexander Gauland, and the moderate faction by the 38-year-old economist Alice Weidel. The two factions have made it difficult to apply a suitable ideology to the party (Chase, 2017).

The party wants to fundamentally reform the country through the spirit of freedom and democracy. AfD emphasises that it has an open mind towards other nations and cultures, however it has primarily German in heart. This means that there is a higher prioritisation for upholding human dignity, support families with children, retain the western Christian culture and maintain the German language and traditions in a peaceful, democratic and sovereign nation state for the German people. This will only be possible when AfD has reached its goal to transform the government and all of its institutions to once again become servants of the citizens of Germany (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 5).

5.3 Nordic Resistance Movement

The *Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR)* was established as the *Swedish Resistance Movement (SMR)*, and it was one of the white power groups that emerged in the 1990s. The name Nordic Resistance Movement was adopted in 2016 and established branches of its movement in the other Nordic countries. Since then, NMR has been the most active National Socialist movement in Sweden. (Expo, 2018). Although, the following section will mostly focus on a period of time where the party was called SMR, I will refer to the party as NMR to avoid name entanglements.

The founders of the movement *Klas Lund* and the central character *Magnus Söderman* were during the late 1980s and the 1990s prominent figures in the white power world, and in organisations such

as the *Vitt Ariskt Motstånd* (*White Aryan Resistance*) (Löow, 2015, p. 70). The publisher *Nordland* was an important feature for the dissemination of *NMR's* propaganda. The publisher played a crucial part in the white power propaganda and music in the 1990s (p. 70). However, *NMR* were very anonymous in its first years, compared to other similar groups such as *Nationalsocialistisk Front* (*National Socialist Front*). There was no direct way of contacting *NMR* and the only way they communicated to the outside world were through websites, newsletters and the newspaper *Folktribunen/Nationellt Motstånd* (p. 70). *NMR* became more visible in the turn of the century when the party started distributing different kinds of propaganda material (p. 72).

In 2012, *NMR* conducted militant actions in forms of assaults and stabbings, especially aimed at political opponent, which has resulted in killings (p. 72). *NMR* was able to gain wide national attention after they attacked an anti-racist demonstration in *Kärretorp* in late 2013 and has since then occupied most of the spotlight from other national socialist groups (pp. 75-76).

NMR tried to sabotage the general elections in 2014. People who showed up at the polling station in the Stockholm regions were disturbed and threatened by members of the movement (p. 76). The movement was able to get one seat in the *Ludvika* city council through a *Swedish Democrat* (*SD*) ballot in the same elections. They entered a new stage in their history by both disturbing the elections and also gaining one seat (p. 76).

5.4 Swiss People's Party

In 1971, the Farmers, Artisans, and Citizens' party (generally known as the Agrarian Party) merged together with the Citizen's Party to create the *Swiss People's Party* (*SVP*). The party has strived for conservative social and economic policies which include lower taxes, reduced spending and the protection of the Swiss agriculture and industry. *SVP* has long opposed the idea of joining international bodies such as the United Nations and the European Union. Traditionally, the party enjoyed most of its support in the rural areas of the country. However, the support has grown in urban areas in recent years (Britannica Academic, 2011).

It was not until the 1990s that the party made its biggest electoral success when it adopted a more populist agenda, especially on immigration and social welfare. In 1999 it won the largest vote share and the second largest number of seats in the *lower house* of the *parliament*. In the 2003 and 2007 elections, *SVP* increased their votes and gained seats in both *the house* and the *Federal Council*. Due to internal disagreements, Widmer-Schlumpf and other moderates in the party decided to broke from *SVP* to form the *Conservative Democratic Party*, in 2008. A strong anti-immigration rhetoric has been one of *SVP's* core messages in recent years (Britannica Academic, 2011)

6 Previous research

This section presents previous research conducted in the field of right-wing extremism. Since there is no consensus among scholars, how to define right-wing extremism, different arguments regarding the concept are presented. Discussing right-wing extremism is not uncommon when other concepts are included such as far-right and radical-right. There seems to be a general notion that these terms belong to one ideological family and that there are several subfamilies (Löow, 2015; Norris, 2005). Scientific articles that attempt to discuss the differences between these terms are therefore included.

It is common that parties are conceptually categorized into one family, however this could be misleading (Norris, 2005, p. 44). Instead it could be more useful to differ between two or three *subfamilies*, for example *neoliberal*, *anti-immigrant*, or *populist* strands (p. 44). Sabrina P. Ramet was able to classify five strands among radical right parties in central and Eastern Europe: *ultranationalists*, *fascist and crypto-fascist*, *clerical*, *ultraconservative*, and *radical-populist*. Each category is based on the historical association, ideological identity and philosophical idea of respective party (pp. 44-45).

Labels such as the *new right* and *neoconservatism* are misleading in the sense that they associate the parties with pro-market ideas, which popularity among nationalistic parties greatly varies (p. 45). To put an overarching label, such as *neofascist*, has also been deemed inaccurate. Herbert Kitschelt argues that the term cannot be used considering the number of parties that distance themselves from historic fascism such as the *Freedom Party of Austria*, the French *Front National* and the *Swiss Democrats* (p. 45). These parties do not advocate for the traditional characteristics associated to fascism, such as a populist anticapitalistic rhetoric with the purpose of rallying the working class against the economic elite (p. 45).

The use of the term *extreme right* is also common. However, this label can imply groups that are beyond the legal boundaries of democracy by using threats and violence as strategies (p. 45).

While the previously mentioned labels have proven to not include the whole spectrum of the various aspects of the parties in question, the *radical right* term has shown to be the more suitable as an overarching label (p. 46). The term was popularised by Daniel Bell's work *The Radical Right* in 1963 and become popular among other American social scientists during that era (p. 46). The term was also used in German literature which led to the *Office for the Protection of the Constitution* that prohibited certain parties to participate in elections (p. 46). The positive aspects of the term are that they avoid prejudging the policy content or rhetoric of the parties by labelling them as *anti-immigrant*, *nationalist*, *antisystem* or *populist* (p. 46).

While the radical right parties accept the basic rules of democracy, right wing extremist groups reject them. Right-wing extreme groups bear a strong resemblance to how fascist groups used to operate, the same cannot be argued about radical right parties (Art, 2013, p. 128). There are different ways to distinguish the far-right movements and their ideas depending on researcher's perspective and theoretical stance. One way is to identify a contrast in the criteria of exclusion in the far-right discourse (Minkenberg, 2013, p. 11). The criteria of exclusion is listed as *racism, anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, religiocentrism (fundamentalism), xenophobia, nativism, heterophobia* (p. 12). Whether a radical right party distance or embrace historical ideologies and regimes, such as Nazism or fascism, is also relevant to identify distinctions within the radical-right family (p. 12). The combination of historical relation to anti-democratic regimes and the exclusion criteria list results in a far-right sphere that contain four groups: *extreme right, ethnocentrism right, populist right, religious-fundamentalist right*. These groups inherent different criteria of exclusion and ideas to accomplish their respective political objectives (pp. 13-14).

In his article about the Greek Golden Dawn (GD), (Ellinas, 2014) discuss the distinction between the radical right and the extreme right as well. While *GD* shares some ideas with other western radical right parties, such as the French Front National, the Austrian Freedom Party, and the Belgian Vlaams Belang, the overall rhetoric of the party makes it closer to parties like the German *National Democratic Party* and the *British National Party (BNP)* (Ellinas, 2014, p. 3). *GD* is located on the extreme side of the far-right spectrum because of the party's ideological view (p. 3). Nationalism advocated by most radical right parties are based on the importance of a national culture and anti-immigration. Meanwhile nationalism advocated by *GD* is grounded on biological conceptions and the strive for *racial preservation* (p. 4). The distinction is visible in the European Parliament as well, where the leader for the Front National, Marie Le Pen, ruled out joining forces with *GD* after the party's electoral breakthrough in the European elections 2009. *GD* has only had official contacts with *BNP* as a result of the stigmatisation (p. 4).

There is a scholarly consensus that the appearance of radical right parties in Western Europe has to do with how immigration transformed the structure of most European societies (Art, 2013, p. 130). The majority of the countries in Western Europe were ethnically homogenous before the 1970s, which is no longer the case (p. 130). This is due to a combination of state policies wanting to attract more foreign workers to fill domestic labour shortage, large number of political asylum seekers from different regions of the world, and the increased ability for illegal immigrants to reach Europe for economic promises (p. 130). This has drastically changed the ethnic compound in most Western European societies. The ethnic diversity varies from countries where for example Norway has the

lowest spectrum of diversity with a non-native population around 10 percent. Meanwhile, in Switzerland 20 percent of the population is foreign (p. 130).

Not many scientific articles discuss how to define right-wing extremism and the overall discussions among scholars about the topic seems to not be highly prioritised. Therefore, it appears that an uncontested definition of right-wing extremism is not a concern. However, not taking the time to formulate concept formation and definitions risks to develop long-term issues. The idea of having definitions is not only to deliver a *meaning* but also to specify the meaning. When specifying the meaning one does not only tell us what is included in the definition, but also what is excluded. Thus, a definition of right-wing extremism tells us both what is included and excluded in the concept. The establishment of a definition is the first step by moving forward with exploration and analysis, and it is also essential for a scientific community to communicate (Carter, 2018, p. 159).

Although the general definition of right-wing extremism is divided, there are two aspects of the concept where the vast majority of scholars agrees. First is, that the concept of right-wing extremism describes an ideology (Carter, 2018, p. 160). This explains why most extreme/radical parties are considered to belong to one distinct party family which displays ideological coherence and can be distinguished from other party families. Second, there is a broad agreement among scholars that the ideology is right-wing. The concern with this logic is how to define the *right*, which is a difficult task. There are many characteristics of the *right* to consider, which makes it hard to identify a common core. Many scholars have, however turned to the work developed by Bobbio (1996) who differentiate the right from the left by the attitude towards in(equality). While the left has a more egalitarian attitude, the right has a more inegalitarian view and believes in a higher rate that inequality is natural. The traditional left-right economic divide does not become equally relevant considering that economic issues, most of the time, are a secondary priority for these parties (Carter, 2018, p. 161).

7 Theoretical framework

The following section will discuss the operational definition of right-wing extremism developed by Cas Mudde and his theory revolving the concept. Criticism towards Mudde and especially the minimum/maximum definition approach is also discussed.

7.1 How to define right-wing extremism

The difficulty to unequivocally define right-wing extremism compared to for example socialism, liberalism or communism can be explained by the latter mentioned ideologies long history and more or less fixed description. To find a non-contested definition of right-wing

extremism is therefore difficult (Mudde, 1995, p. 205). The only consensus that exists among scientists is “that right-wing extremism is an ideology that people are free to fill in as they see fit” (p. 205). This is why the definition of the concept is different depending on which scholar you ask (p. 205). There are scholars that define right-wing extremism on the basis of one single feature. For some scholars xenophobia has been viewed as the main feature that define right wing extremism while other view the progress-hostile policies expressed by the parties as the defining factor for right-wing extremism (p. 205). Mudde has two major problems with this approach. First, by making the direct association between xenophobia and right-wing extremism, xenophobia becomes superfluous. Second, to narrow right-wing extremism down to only one feature, whether it is xenophobia, hostility to progress or similar terms, leads to a limited knowledge of a broad and complex phenomenon (p. 205).

However, most studies regarding right-wing extremism do not have the problem of using only one feature to define the concept. A combination of ideological features, that are distinguishable from each other, are the general perception of what right-wing extremism is (p. 206). To find out the features that have been mentioned most frequently to define right-wing extremism, Mudde lists 26 scientific papers that define and describe the ideology. The literature originates from three different linguistic areas (Dutch, German and English) to minimize the influence of country-specific features. He found out that five features were mentioned, by at least half of the authors: *nationalism*, *racism*, *xenophobia*, *anti-democracy* and *the strong state* (p. 206).

Cas Mudde’s approach of having specific features to define right-wing extremism/radicalism has been criticised. Andrej Zaslove (2009) is sceptical about the necessity to develop a minimal and a maximum definition. Zaslove is concerned about narrowing down the core definition of the concept and argues that instead of Mudde’s intention to enable it to travel across time and space, the opposite will occur. Zaslove further explains that the definition loses its heuristic value and the ability to explain the rise and continuous success of radical right parties (Zaslove, 2009, pp. 312-313). He does not deny that the populist radical right possesses a core ideology. However, it should not be reduced to a limited number of core concepts. The risk is that definitions become too limited, which leads to important ideological concepts being excluded. Zaslove further expands on this criticism by questioning what kind of economic ideology the populist radical right possesses, which Mudde argues is not a core issue for the populist radical right parties (Zaslove, 2009, pp. 313-314).

Zaslove advocates for the studies made by Mair and Mudde (1998), which have a broader examination of party ideologies. He praises the two authors’ emphasis to characterise party families

on the basis of their ideological profile instead of simply the policies put forward. This requires a more comprehensive and in-depth approach compared to the analysis of policy position. A broader variety of sources is needed such as party papers and program of principle. The creation of ideological party families enables political parties to move from one category to another over time. It also makes it easier for researcher to group parties together that has developed out of different set of circumstances. Zaslove emphasises that this approach is relevant considering the rise of new radical, extreme and populist parties (Zaslove, 2009, p. 313)

7.2 Conceptualising the features

Considering the complexity of each feature and the difficulty to define them, it is crucial to conceptualise them before using in the empirical research (Mudde, 1995, p. 206). The conceptualisation process consists of two stages. The first stage requires that the theoretical concept is operationalised so it can be measurable and verifiable. The second stage consists of defining the *operational definition* in such a way so it can *travel* which means to ensure that it can be used for different national or cultural surroundings (p. 206).

The conceptualisation of the five features results in different sub-features. In the case of nationalism, two sub-features were identified: internal homogenisation, and external exclusiveness (pp. 209-210). The racism feature also results in two sub-features: classic racism, and new racism (culturism) (p. 211). Xenophobia only contains one sub-feature: ethnocentrism (p. 212). The feature of anti-democracy is characterised by the sub-features: strong leader, and anti-pluralism (p. 215). Lastly, the fifth feature, the strong state, contains two sub-features: law-and-order, and militarism. Anti-pluralism can also be implemented in this feature, but since it has already been measured in the anti-democracy feature, there is no need to use it again (p. 216).

7.3 Features and sub-features

This section is dedicated to clarify the definitions of the features and sub features used by Cas Mudde.

7.3.1 Nationalism

Nationalism can historically be traced back to the late 18th century and it is therefore a relatively young phenomenon. Although, the definition of the concept is rather controversial, some consensus can be found in the literature. Nationalism can be described as a "*political doctrine that proclaims the congruence of the political unit, the state, and the cultural unit, the nation*" (Mudde, 1995, p. 209). By referring to Koen Koch (1991), Mudde identifies two forms of nationalism: internal homogenisation and external exclusiveness (p. 210). States that advocates internal homogenisation include only people from the own nation. This state can be achieved through a combination of

strategies such as separatism, assimilation, expulsion and finally genocide (Mudde, 2007, p. 16). By promoting external exclusiveness, there is an aim of bringing all members of the nation into the territory of the state. In a moderate form, this can be achieved through transferring population, by for example moving extraterritorial nationals back within the state boundaries (p. 17). A more radical interpretation of external exclusiveness is achieved by territorial expansion. In this case is a specific territory considered to belong to the nation, whether it is inhabited by nationals or not (p. 17)

7.3.2 Racism

When discussing racism, two definitions emerge. The first is *classic racism* which involves the belief in natural and hereditary differences between the races. The central belief is that one race is superior to the others (Mudde, 1995, p. 211). But classic racism has over time been replaced with the second definition: *new racism*. The two terms are similar in the sense that they emphasise the natural and permanent differences between groups of people. However, the two definitions differ in the sense that *new racism* does not emphasise a superior 'home group' and an inferior 'other group'. (p. 211). The new racism views all races and cultures as equivalent, but they should develop separately and independently. Furthermore, development is believed to be situated within the own culture since every individual is bound to his or her culture by nature. A natural development cannot occur when one steps out of it (p. 211). Another distinction between the two definitions is that groups are defined by their race in classic racism, meanwhile, new racism has culture as the most important criterion (p. 211).

To avoid conceptual stretching and concept entanglement, Mudde replaces the term *new racism* with *culturism*. However, the definition stays the same (p. 211)

7.3.3 Xenophobia

Xenophobia is described as the fear, hate or hostility towards ethnic foreigners (Mudde, 1995, p. 212). When examining the original Greek definition, it translates to *fear of strangers*, but has a broader definition in the scientific literature (p. 212). *Ethnocentrism* is a term that is closely related to *xenophobia*. The term is similarly defined in the English and Dutch literature "*as a rule defined broadly, as a complex of attitudes in which a positive attitude towards the ingroup is linked with a negative attitude towards outgroups* (p. 212). A narrower definition is presented in the German literature. Imanuel Geiss defines it as a collective xenophobia:

"... Ethnocentrism: a great or small Volk stands in the centre of humanity - opposite to them all other Volker and people are secondary or inferior." (Mudde, 1995, p. 212)

The German tradition of ethnocentrism is seen as a specific form of collective xenophobia and is defined "as holding one's own *Volk* or nation to be superior to all others" (p. 213).

7.3.4 Anti-democracy

An uncontested description of *democracy* does not exist among scholars which results in challenges of defining *anti-democracy*. It is therefore important to find out if an adequate definition of anti-democracy can be developed (Mudde, 1995, p. 214). The first step is to define *democracy* which has repeatedly been up for discussion throughout history and has therefore proven to be a normative concept in the scientific and societal discourse. To find a broadly accepted definition of democracy is not in the interest of Mudde's study. Since the challenge of defining a broadly accepted concept of democracy can result into an endless task, Mudde develops an operational definition of democracy based on a compilation of other authors which can be classified into two groups (p. 214). The first group is based on the idea that democracy is mainly a procedure. Thus, democracy is defined principally as pluralism. In this case anti-pluralistic notions are equated to anti-democracy (p. 214). The second group has a substantive notion on democracy. This group views democracy as the acceptance of the fundamental equality of the citizens. A rejection of the fundamental equality of the citizens is an anti-democratic act (p. 214). Both of the description of anti-democracy are thereafter combined into one concept, the *organic vision of the Volk* (p. 214)

The *Volk* is considered the living soul or an organism. The state is viewed as nothing more than a political limb of the *Volk* and also part of the organism. In theoretical terms, everyone could be equally important in the organic state. However, this vision between the state and the *Volk* is not shared in the right-wing extreme view (p. 214). Only one person is by nature gifted to rule and this leader has the absolute power. His leadership is not negotiable, only he is able to decide what is good and bad for the *Volk* (p. 214)

Based on both descriptions of democracy, it is evident that the organic vision of the *Volk* can be classified as anti-democratic. The anti-pluralist aspect, mentioned in the first group, manifested itself in the idea that an individual who go against the *Volk*, and therefore also the state, is not accepted. Since the individual is nothing without the *Volk*, his or her interests shall therefore never deviate for those of the *Volk* (p. 214). The aspects of anti-democracy from the second group can also be found in the organic vision of the *Volk*. The leadership principle demonstrates that *natural inequality* exists. The fact that the fundamental idea of equality among citizen is rejected, proves that the *organic vision of the Volk* also matches with the second group's criteria for the definition of anti-democracy (p. 214).

7.3.5 Strong state

The *strong state* consists of the sub-features: *anti-pluralism*, *law-and-order* and *militarism* (Mudde, 1995, p. 216). Since *anti-pluralism* and the organic vision of the *Volk* have been developed in the previous feature of *anti-democracy*, this feature will solely include the sub-features of *law-and-order* and *militarism* and how the parties relate to them.

Law-and-order is not a sub-feature which is only limited to right-wing extremism, but also to the non-extremist right wing ideologies and conservatism. This sub-feature is characterised by order and authority where punishment rather than rehabilitation is the preferred way to deal with criminals. The conditions in solitary confinements should be poor and the ultimate penalty is capital punishment. To be able to maintain order, the state should prioritise a strong police force (p. 216).

Militarism emphasises a strong army to protect national interests. The army should be well maintained with a lot of manpower, newest technology and a large amount of equipment. To serve in the army is considered as the highest honours and if someone would express pacifistic ideas, it would be considered a sign of weakness (p. 216). Fascism and Nazism are the best examples of extreme militarism. In this kind of state, war is considered to be the natural condition and peace is only an artificial period between wars. War is the ultimate goal for a nation and it is not just a national will (p. 216). Ethnocentrism becomes a big part of extreme militarism as well, where the home state is considered superior to other states and there is a duty to dominate them (p. 216).

7.4 Application of theory

Cas Mudde's right-wing extreme theory is used in the analysis of AfD, NMR and SVP. However, some modifications have been made for this thesis. The most noticeable changes are the number of features, the names of the features, and the composition of sub-features.

The feature of nationalism remains untouched with its sub-features internal homogenisation and external exclusiveness. However, to make sure that all features have more or less the same number of sub-features, *ethnic nationalism* is added as a sub-feature to nationalism as well. The ethnic community is the primary unit in ethnic nationalism, meanwhile the state is the political expression of the ethnic community. To be a fully accepted member of the ethnic community one has to fulfil the criteria of *ius sanguinis*¹ and accept the required ethnicity (Mudde, 2000, p. 187)

Ius sanguinis and *ius soli* are two ways for states to determine membership to their society. Although *ius sanguinis* can be used through an ethnic nationalistic mind-set (p. 187), it is not necessarily used to determine membership through genetics or biology. It is instead determined that the child's

¹ *Jus sanguinis*, latin for blood rights

nationality is based on the national membership of at least one of the parents. Thus, a child will automatically be granted citizenship to the state that the parent has legal ties to (de Groot, 2018, p. 321). If a state practices *ius soli*, nationality will be granted if a child was born within the state's territory. Citizenship is granted to the child without any other conditions (p. 322).

One of the biggest modifications has been made with the features of racism and xenophobia. The problem that this thesis has encountered is that they become intertwined in their definitions. The two terms are distinct from each other. However, when analysing their sub-features, especially ethnocentrism and culturism, there are striking similarities. The difficulty to distinguish the two features also makes it difficult to identify more sub-features. This has been solved by transforming them as sub-features of *exclusionism* instead. The term exclusionism is the mind-set of distinguishing groups from each other. The *they/them* group is excluded from certain aspects of life of the *we/us* group (Mudde, 2000, p. 187). Both racism and xenophobia contain aspects of this logic and therefore become suitable sub-features. With the exception of these two terms, exclusionism also contains the sub-features of ethnocentrism and ethnopluralism.

Ethnocentrism is the belief in permanent (natural or hereditary) differences between groups of people based on race and/or ethnic community. All groups are believed to be equal but different. People should, therefore, live within their own group and live separate from other groups. People have both the right and the duty to live and develop separately in their own *natural way* (p. 187)

Anti-democracy contains three sub-features: *elitism*, *monism* and *technocracy*. None of these are mentioned as sub-features in Mudde's original work. However, they are a part of the anti-democratic mind-set (p. 188). *Elitism* is the belief that people are divided into leaders and followers from birth. The small elite should lead the rest of the people without interference. Everyone who does not belong to the elite are not able to decide in difficult matters such as politics (p. 188).

Monism is an anti-pluralistic idea where contradictions within the ethnic community and state are unacceptable. The individual is nothing without the state and therefore they share the same interest (p. 188).

The strong leader sub-feature is replaced by *theocracy*. Technocracy means that people should receive leading roles based on their qualities and not through democratic elections. These people take care of political and economic matters (p. 188).

The strong state feature has one more sub-feature added, *nationalisation*. The endeavour of expanding state control can be considered a left-wing idea. However, it is also common within

the right-wing extreme sphere (Melzer & Serafin, 2013, p. 233). No other modifications have been made in the strong state feature.

Each feature and their sub-feature are used in tables to measure how the parties associate to them. Instead of the five previous mentioned main features, this thesis contains four: *nationalism*, *exclusionism*, *anti-democracy* and *the strong state*.

Table 1
Features and sub-features of this thesis

<i>Nationalism</i>	<i>Exclusionism</i>	<i>Anti-democracy</i>	<i>Strong state</i>
External exclusiveness	Racism	Elitism	Law and order
Internal homogenisation	Ethnopluralism	Monism	Militarism
Ethnic nationalism	Ethnocentrism	Technocracy	Nationalisation
	Xenophobia		

8 Method

The aim of this thesis is to better understand the definition of right-wing extremism and to investigate how NMR Sweden, AfD Germany and SVP Switzerland manifest it. The main empirical material that I have used are the manifestos belonging to each party. Since extensive readings of the material is crucial to understand the parties' association to right-wing extremism it is necessary to conduct content analysis. Although content analysis will always be qualitative, since it depends on interpretation of text, a complementary quantitative research strategy, when conducting content analysis, is often very useful. A quantitative approach enables a systematic and objective analysis with neutral rules (Bryman, 2012, p. 290).

8.1 Selection of sample documents

The fact that content analysis can be applied to many different documents makes it a suitable method. If a researcher wants to study the media reporting on X (X could for example represent crime, social science research or drink driving) there are many considerations that need to be taken into account. For example, which media should be in focus? Will it be radio, television, magazines or newspapers? If choosing newspapers, will it be all newspapers, tabloids or broadsheets? If both tabloids and broadsheets, will all of them be used and will Sunday papers be included? If we choose newspapers, including Sunday newspapers, will both local and national ones be included? Will free newspapers be used as well? Will all of the news

items in the newspapers be candidates for analysis? Would letters to the editor and feature articles be included? (Bryman, 2012, p. 293)

One of the most crucial sampling of data in this thesis is to decide which political parties should be included in the study. Or more specifically which party has the most suitable documents for the research. The following requirements have been developed: the selected party has to be from Europe, the manifesto must be comprehensive enough to be able to gather as much information as possible, the party has to be accused of being right-wing extreme by for example media articles or scientific papers, and the manifesto has to be in English. The sampling of the parties' manifestos are the only documents that are analysed to determine their association to right-wing extremism. For example, pamphlets, social media accounts and party newspapers are not included. Second hand sources that describe the selected parties are also excluded in the analysis part. Only the manifesto that the parties has produced themselves are used to determine the association to right-wing extremism.

The initial process of finding suitable empirical material for the thesis was to identify parties that could potentially be included. Several media articles about right-wing extreme parties emerged when searching for "*right-wing extreme parties in Europe*" on internet search engines. Similar searches were also made on ProQuest, Gothenburg University library website and online search engines to identify suitable right-wing extreme candidates from academic papers. Parties such as Le Pen, Jobbik, Fidesz, Lega Nord, Golden Dawn, Svoboda, National Democratic Party and several others emerged from the search results of the media articles and scientific papers. There were many candidates that fulfilled the requirement of being labelled right-wing extreme. However, none of the above-mentioned parties fulfilled the other requirements. The biggest problem is that the most alleged right-wing extreme parties only have a brief conclusion of their policies on their website. To find parties that have a comprehensive manifesto turned out to be difficult. Many comprehensive manifestos which eventually appeared were outdated or lacked the required language of this thesis. At the end, AfD, NMR and SVP were the only political parties that fulfilled all of the required criteria for this thesis.

8.2 What should be quantified?

It is necessary to decide exactly what should be quantified in the selected documents when conducting content analysis. This varies depending on what is researched. One can for example decide to count the frequency of certain words to reveal a pattern in the selected document (Bryman, 2012, p. 295), or choose to demonstrate a disposition in the analysed

document, by for example determine whether journalists report an issue in a favourable or hostile way (p. 298). However, this thesis uses none of these approaches. Instead there is a focus on coding the texts in terms of certain subjects and themes, as Bryman puts it:

“Frequently in a content analysis the researcher will want to code text in terms of certain subjects and themes. Essentially, what is being sought is a categorization of the phenomenon or phenomena of interest.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 297)

The phenomena in this thesis is right-wing extremism and from the study of Cas Mudde five categories can be identified: nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy, and the strong state. While these categories are relatively straightforward, a more interpretive approach for the coding process is necessary. Thus, instead of Mudde’s five features, the four main features *nationalism, exclusionism, anti-democracy* and *the strong state*, are used. How the three parties associate to these categories are measured through sub-features: nationalism (external exclusiveness, internal homogenisation, ethnic nationalism), exclusionism (ethnopluralism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia), anti-democracy (elitism, monism, technocracy), strong state (law and order, militarism, nationalisation).

How the political parties associate to the categories will be determined by a 0-2 scale: not present=0, present to some degree= 1, fully present=2.

8.3 Coding

In the process of doing a content analysis, the coding stage is crucial. A content analysis coding scheme has two main elements: designing a coding schedule and designing a coding manual (Bryman, 2012, p. 298).

All the data that is related to the item being coded are entered into a *coding schedule* (p. 298). Each column in the figure is a *dimension* which is coded (p. 298). The selected parties are represented in the column headings with their abbreviations and in the blank cells below are the codes applied.

To be able to get any information out of the coding schedule, a coding manual has to be created as well. The coding manual is a statement of instructions to coders, which also includes all the possible categories of each dimension that is coded (p. 299). The coding manual provides a list of all the dimensions, the different categories subsumed under each dimension, the numbers (codes) which correspond to each category, and guidance to *“what each dimension is concerned with and any factor that should be taken into account in deciding how to allocate any particular code to each dimension”* (p. 299)

It is here that the right-wing extreme categories, as mentioned earlier, are included.

By successfully structuring a coding schedule and a coding manual, it is possible to measure the parties' association to right-wing extremism.

The party's association to each category is determined by the 0-2 scale and the numbers are displayed in the blank columns. Each main category is first measured through its sub-features. For example, how the parties associate to the *Strong State* category is measured through its sub-features law and order, militarism and nationalisation. When each sub-feature of the category has been determined, they are all put together to decide the total score of the strong state category. The higher the parties score is in each category, the stronger association to right-wing extremism. Exactly how to decide an association, for example whether all categories need to be fulfilled or how high or low the score has to be to determine an association, will be elaborated in the in the discussion part.

8.4 Manifesto overview

The following section will briefly describe the content of manifesto belonging to each selected political party. The manifestos are published by each party with the purpose of declaring their political views, intentions, and motives.

8.4.1 AfD's manifesto

AfD's manifesto is titled "*MANIFESTO FOR GERMANY, The Political Programme of the Alternative for Germany*". The party logo is visible in the bottom corner which states the German name of the party "*Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany , 2016)*". The next three pages contains the table of contents which reveals that there are ten chapters and a total of ninety-five pages (pp. 1-3). Before going into the chapters which contain AfD's political issues there is a one-page preamble. The preamble is titled "*COURAGE TO STAND UP FOR GERMANY WE ARE NOT SUBJECTS, BUT FREE CITIZENS*" "*We are liberals and conservatives. We are free citizens of our nation. We are staunch supporters of democracy.*" Here AfD describes its ideological view and what it wants to accomplish for Germany (p. 5). The rest of the document is dedicated to the ten chapters containing the political issues².

² https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf

8.4.2 NMR's manifesto

NMR's manifesto is titled "*OUR PATH New Politics For a New Time*" and below is their logo and also their name "*Nordic Resistance Movement*" (Nordic Resistance Movement, 2016). The table of contents can be found on page four and is divided into nine bullet points instead of chapters. The points are meant to treat the different societal topics that the party prioritise. However, no titles are listed next to the points which makes it difficult to divide them into specific categories. The table of contents also reveals three sections before the points. The first one is titled "*Additional foreword to the English edition*" (p. 5). This can be perceived as a message to ideologically like-minded individuals to resist Zionism and other threats in the world (p. 7). The next part is titled "Do you want to support the struggle?". Here the party suggests how to support the movement through money, journalism or by organising. The preface is three pages long. This part describes the development of the manifesto, the threats that the Nordic region is facing, and the ideological viewpoint of NMR (pp. 9-11). The last part of the manifesto is titled *afterword* where the party describes how it will continue its political struggle (pp. 50-51)³

8.4.3 SVP's manifesto

The title of SVP's manifesto is: "*SVP – the party for Switzerland*", and in the bottom corner is the party sign with a rising sun and a text below stating "*SVP The party of the middle class*" (Swiss People's Party, 2015). The next two pages contain the publication data and table of content (pp. 2-3). After that there is a short summary of all the topics that will be treated in the manifesto. This part is called "*Our agenda for a free, independent and sovereign Switzerland – overview*" (pp. 4-7). The party also dedicates two pages to shortly summarize the threats Switzerland's direct democracy, neutrality and federalism is facing (pp. 8-9). The rest of the document contains twenty chapters that treat the political issues the party prioritises.⁴

8.5 Ethical consideration

The knowledge of ethical principles is important when conducting social research. The principles can be broken down into four main areas that the researcher needs to be aware of. The first consideration is that the research can harm the participant. This involves "*physical harm; harm to participants' development; loss of self-esteem; stress; and 'inducing subjects to perform reprehensible acts'...*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 135). Second consideration is to have full consent from the participant (p.

³ <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Our-Path.pdf>

⁴ https://www.svp.ch/wp-content/uploads/Parteiprogramm_SVP-englisch.pdf

138). The third is to avoid privacy invasion. The fourth consideration is to avoid deception (p. 142). An example of deception is to present a research as something it is not (p. 143).

The Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) publishes ethical guidelines for conducting research on the Internet. One important consideration is to discern if the analysed content is regarded as private or public (Markham & Buchanan, 2012). In this case, the analysed material is produced to be public. It is supposed to present, and if possible, attract the audience.

Content analysis is the major focus of this thesis and no information has been extorted from human subjects. Since no surveys or interviews have been conducted, none of the previous mentioned ethical concerns have been taken into account. Thus, there are no ethical constraints to conduct the study.

9 Analysis and result

In the following section the manifestos belonging to the selected political parties are analysed and compared to the right-wing extreme features. The manifestos are analysed separately to ensure a clear distinction between the political parties. How the manifestos are associated to each feature is determined through a scale 0-2. If there is no association to a feature, the result is 0, if there is an association to some degree, the result is 1, and if there is a full association to a feature it results in 2. At the end of each analysed feature, the score of the sub-features are combined to determine if there is an association to the main feature. If a political party possess half of the total score, it is determined that there is an association to the feature.

9.1 Alternative for Germany

9.1.1 Nationalism

9.1.1.1 *External exclusiveness*

The German party predicts a demographic shift due to the low birth rate in the country. This will most likely affect the economy negatively. AfD advocates for policies which would support families and thereby increase the chances of a higher birth rate. The party also wants to optimise opportunities for basic and advanced education, and to develop models to extend working life, due to the increased life expectancy (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 41). However, it is the combination to halt emigration and to encourage Germans who live abroad to move back to the country (p. 42) that indicates external exclusiveness.

AfD argues that pension schemes, health insurances and nursing care insurances will be negatively affected due to the demographic changes (p. 36). However, the party does not consider immigration

as a way to solve the negative trend and argues that the higher birth rate among most immigrants will lead to ethnic-cultural changes in the society (p. 41).

Although, AfD does not explicitly argue that its efforts to halt the negative demographic trend is based on the idea of maintaining the German ethnicity. But instead for economic and societal function reason, it is visible that ethnicity matters in their reasoning. The refusal to use immigration as a way to ease the problem and the party's fear of ethnic-cultural changes indicates that ethnicity is relevant. A radical interpretation of external exclusiveness cannot be identified from the analysis of AfD's, manifesto; however, indications of a moderate interpretation is more visible. *External exclusiveness is therefore present to some degree.*

9.1.1.2 Internal homogenisation

AfD argues that the integration system in Germany is not fulfilling its purpose. Instead of migrants integrating themselves to Germany it is the other way around. AfD emphasis that immigrants have the main responsibility to integrate themselves to their new country. Anyone who lacks the motivation to do so will not be included to the German society. (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 62).

To properly integrate to the German society, one has to master more than just the linguistic and written requirements. A migrant also has to respect and endorse the legal and social system, and after a reasonable period of time earn their own living (p. 62).

Although, AfD has high requirements on migrants to become accepted citizens, it is difficult to argue that internal homogenisation is fully present in the party's manifesto. None of the various strategies such as separatism, assimilation, expulsion or genocide (Mudde, 2007, p. 16) can be identified in the manifesto. However, AfD argues that assimilation is an idea that could be worth striving for (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 62).

AfD's strict integration requirements and the party's positive view on assimilation could justify an association to internal homogenisation. The party's endeavour to make it easier to conduct deportations could also suggest the strategy of expulsion. However, the arguments surrounding deportations are mainly aimed at foreigners who are involved in violent- and drug-related crimes (p. 25). Except for previous mentioned examples there are no apparent support for the other strategies of internal homogenisation. *Internal homogenisation is therefore present to some degree* in AfD's manifesto.

9.1.1.3 Ethnic nationalism

The German party does not explicitly state that a German ethnic community should be considered the primary unit in the society. However, the role that ethnicity plays in society is not discarded by AfD.

The preamble of the manifesto briefly summarises what the party considers problematic in the German society, what it wants to accomplish, and how it will accomplish it. Beyond the party's endeavour to impose direct democracy, strengthen the social market economy, and reinforce federalism, there is an emphasis how important the German cultural heritage is. The common cultural values and historical traditions are the reason for the democracy and freedom that the country enjoy today (Alternative for Germany, 2016, p. 5). The retaining of German cultural and traditional values is a high priority for AfD. The party describes itself as open minded towards other nations and cultures. However, it emphasises the need to be and remain German at heart. There is an endeavour to uphold human dignity, support families with children, preserve western Christian culture, and maintain the German language and traditions in a peaceful, democratic and sovereign nation state belonging to the German people (p. 5).

As previously discussed, AfD views the ethno-cultural changes in the German society as undesirable. The party fears that the low birth rate among Germans, compared to the higher birth rate amongst immigrants, will drastically change the ethnic compound in Germany. AfD claims that the below-average education among Muslim immigrants in combination with their higher birth rate will lead to undesirable ethnic-cultural changes. (p. 41)

AfD argues that granting citizenship to immigrants should be the last part of a successful integration process. Mastering the language and culture is crucial to become a citizen. The party opposes the so-called *Jus soli* principle, no matter the citizenship status of the parents. At least one parent has to inherit German citizenship to enable a naturalisation process of the child (p. 64).

It can be argued that an ethnic nationalist association can be identified in regards to the party's endeavour to preserve German culture and traditional values. AfD's view that the state should be a political platform to enhance these values further strengthens this association. The term *ethnicity* is sparsely used in the manifesto, however, there are indications that it has a significant part in AfD's societal view. The party fulfils most of the criteria of ethnic nationalism and thus the element is *fully present* in the manifesto.

Table 2
Nationalism in AfD's manifesto

<i>Sub-feature</i>	<i>Quote</i>	<i>Score</i>
<i>External exclusiveness</i>	<i>‘‘Finally, it is important to stave off the emigration of highly qualified professionals. Germans who have already emigrated should be encouraged to return with custom tailored initiatives.’’ (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 42)</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Internal homogenisation</i>	<i>‘‘Assimilation as the most advanced form of integration is worth striving for, yet, it cannot be enforced.’’ (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 62)</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Ethnic nationalism</i>	<i>‘‘During the past few years it has become evident that Muslim immigrants to Germany, in particular, only attain below-average levels of education, training and employment. As the birth rate is more than 1.8 children amongst immigrants, which is much higher than that of Germans, it will hasten the ethnic-cultural changes in society.’’ (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 41)</i>	<i>2</i>
		<i>4/6</i>

9.1.2 Exclusionism

9.1.2.1 Racism

AfD makes distinctions between groups of people in their manifesto which is apparent in their recurrent antagonistic view of Islam and Muslims. The party claims that Muslim migrants who have arrived to Germany in recent years inherent a below-average level of education (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 41) and the ever-increasing number of Muslims in Germany is a threat to the state, society and values of the country (p. 48).

However, due to the definition used in this thesis, no association to racism can be ensured. Since believing in the permanent and natural hierarchy of races is the main definition of racism (Mudde, 2000, p. 187), it is difficult to determine an association to the element based on their view of Muslims and Islam. With the exception of the party's view of Islam and Muslims, it does not seem to express hostility towards any other groups of people. AfD even expresses how Germany needs to make sure that the country is attractive for highly skilled immigrants (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 61). The party views the Canadian immigration policy as a role model for Germany (p. 61). The sub-feature of *racism is therefore, not present* in AfD's manifesto.

9.1.2.2 Ethnopluralism

To preserve the German culture and tradition is important for AfD. The party considers this to be a vital duty to make sure that the country has a unique characteristic in a world of globalisation and digitalisation. AfD wants German culture to be predominant and argues that it derives from three sources. The first is the religious traditions of Christianity, second the

scientific and humanistic heritage which ancient roots were reformed during the Renaissance and age of Enlightenment periods. The third derives from the Roman law which the constitutional state is originating from. (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 46)

This summary of the German culture and traditions is the foundation of the country's free and democratic society and also plays a big role in social interactions, the relationship between sexes and parenting (p. 46). AfD argues that the idea of multiculturalism threatens the indigenous German culture. Prioritising imported cultures, instead of German culture, will threaten the social peace and the nation state as a cultural unit. It should therefore be the duty of the government and the civil society to protect the German cultural identity as the predominant culture (p. 46).

The distinction of German culture and the need to protect it could indicate ethnopluralism. The association is further strengthened by the call for stricter immigration policies (p. 58). The party advocates for a moderate legal immigration which is based on a qualitative criterion. The immigration influx should be regulated through Germany's social, economic and cultural interests. This further indicates the party's fear that immigration will threaten the cultural manifestation in the country (p. 61). However, AfD does not explicitly argue for ethnicities/races to live and develop separate from each other. The party also argues for the necessities of immigration, although in drastically smaller propositions (p. 61). Thus, *ethnopluralism is present to some degree* in AfD's manifesto.

9.1.2.3 *Ethnocentrism*

Opposition towards Islamic practice and its followers is prevalent in AfD's manifesto. The party expresses support for freedom of faith. However, it also considers many of the Islamic ideas and practices incompatible with the laws and culture of Germany. AfD argues that Islamic practice goes against the liberal-democratic constitutional order, the laws, and the Judaeo-Christian and humanist foundation of the German culture (Alternative for Germany , 2016, pp. 47-48).

AfD acknowledges the many law-abiding and well-integrated Muslims. It also states that preventing religious radicalisation amongst Muslims is one of the party's priorities. However ethnocentric indications are visible by the party's argument that Islam does not belong to Germany and that Muslims are a threat to the German society, state, and values (p. 48).

It is questionable that criticism of religion is the same as ethnocentrism, however, stating that "*Islam does not belong to Germany*" (p. 48) can be regarded as more than criticism. AfD's antagonistic position towards the religion indicates the belief that German culture is superior

to Islam, which highlights an association to ethnocentrism. Thus, *ethnocentrism is fully present* in AfD's manifesto.

9.1.2.4 *Xenophobia*

AfD argues that Germany is not a traditional immigration country based on its geographical location, history and dense population. The party states that the country *"has turned into an immigration country without any legal framework"* (Alternative for Germany, 2016, p. 57). AfD refers to Canada and Australia as better examples how to *"manage immigration with social and employment consideration in mind"* (p. 57).

AfD also criticises how the term refugee has been used to grant irregular migrants to permanently stay in Germany. The party argues that *"true refugees should be granted shelter as long as there is war in the countries of origin"* (p. 58). However, as soon as the reason to flee has ended, migrants with refugee status have to leave Germany (p. 58).

It has been noted that AfD wants to reduce the number of granted asylum seekers in Germany and for those who are allowed to stay, it is not sure that they can become permanent residents. In regards to immigrants as a group it is questionable whether AfD's view is a manifestation of fear, hate or hostility, as defined by xenophobia. The most xenophobic elements of the manifesto can instead be identified in the party's, previously mentioned, antagonistic view of Islam and Muslims. It is apparent that the party does not approve of immigration from Islamic states. The government's fight to reverse the negative demographic change in Germany by supporting mass immigration is problematic, according to AfD. The party also points out that Muslim immigration is problematic due to their below-average education, training and employment (p. 41).

This highlights xenophobia from AfD in regards to Muslim immigration. Thus, *xenophobia is fully present* in AfD's manifesto.

Table 3
Exclusionism in AfD's manifesto

Sub-feature	Quote	Score
Racism	<p><i>“Germany is competing with other high-technology countries in winning truly skilled immigrants. The legal instruments used in this context have to be revised thoroughly. The Canadian model of immigration, adapted to the specific needs of Germany, could serve as an example. It should primarily be applied to prospective immigrants from abroad. Only in exceptional cases should it be open to foreigners already living in Germany without a permanent residence permit, for example to foreign students from third countries who have gained an academic degree in Germany.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 61)</i></p>	0
Ethnopluralism	<p><i>“The AfD is committed to German as the predominant culture. This culture is derived from three sources: firstly, the religious traditions of Christianity; secondly, the scientific and humanistic heritage, whose ancient roots were renewed during the period of Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment; and thirdly, Roman law, upon which our constitutional state is founded.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 46)</i></p>	1
Ethnocentrism	<p><i>“Islam does not belong to Germany. Its expansion and the ever-increasing number of Muslims in the country are viewed by the AfD as a danger to our state, our society, and our values.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 48)</i></p>	2
Xenophobia	<p><i>“In order to fight the effects of this negative demographic development, political parties currently in government support mass immigration, mainly from Islamic states, without due consideration of the needs and qualifications of the German labour market. During the past few years it has become evident that Muslim immigrants to Germany, in particular, only attain below-average levels of education, training and employment. As the birth rate is more than 1.8 children amongst immigrants, which is much higher than that of Germans, it will hasten the ethnic-cultural changes in society.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 41)</i></p>	2
		4/8

9.1.3 Anti-democracy

9.1.3.1 Elitism

The party's argument for a lean government could indicate association to elitism. However, the reasoning for a leaner government is not based on an elitist idea, instead the party wants to transfer many of the governmental tasks to the people. The party argues that the *“government should merely provide a framework within which its citizens can thrive”* and that government expansion is ideological driven which threaten the fundamental right of freedom for its citizens. The government has taken responsibility for too many tasks and there should instead be a focus on the four classic

functions performed by the government: “domestic and foreign security, justice, foreign relations, and financial administration. (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 8)

This highly contradicts the idea of elitism, where a small elite control the majority of the societal functions, without the interference of the people. The fact that AfD advocates for a Swiss inspired referendum model also contradicts elitism (p. 8). There is no evidence that the party believes that people from birth can be divided into leaders and followers. Also, many of the implementations that AfD advocates, such as leaner government and direct democracy, contradicts elitism. *Elitism is therefore not present in AfD’s manifesto.*

9.1.3.2 Monism

In several sections of the manifesto AfD criticises the media for propagating unfavourable policies or misleading citizens. It is especially in migration issues that the party considers the media together with government agencies to be dishonest and downplaying problems involving the influx of migrants (*Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 63*)

Media is not only responsible for the misleading information in regards to migration, but also in family policies. Together with politicians and other organisations the media propagates undesirable family policies, such as single-parent families, instead of encouraging traditional family structures. (p. 43)

AfD criticises the media and politicians to exacerbate the low birth rate by propagating that children interfere in one’s career negatively (p. 36).

AfD’s media criticism can be viewed as an indication of monism. However, the party does not outline any policies that would infringe on the freedom of press or freedom of speech. On the contrary AfD proposes free communication and a more diverse media landscape (p. 47). *This makes the association to monism dubious. Thus, monism is not present in AfD’s manifesto.*

9.1.3.3 Technocracy

AfD’s support for direct democracy is based on the argument, that the German people’s involvement in the political decision making, should be enhanced. The Swiss referenda model should replace the current representative democratic system (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 8)

AfD argues that representative democracy does not only limit the citizens involvement in political decision making, it is also a problem in regards to the election of political candidates. The influence that political parties have in regards to the parliamentary setup is too large. The parties’ pre-selected lists limit the voters’ choice to select independent candidates. The members of parliamentary composition are thereby highly influenced by the parties’ most favourable candidates (p. 11).

AfD shows no aspirations to grant individuals leading roles in political matters solely based on the person’s qualifications, as defined by technocracy. On the contrary AfD wants to decentralise the political power in Germany and to transfer it more to the people. The emphasis to transfer more political power to the citizens, and especially in regards to influence the election of political candidates, highlights the opposition to technocracy. *Technocracy is therefore not present in AfD’s manifesto.*

Table 4
Anti-democracy in AfD’s manifesto

Sub-feature	Quote	Score
Elitism	<p><i>“Government should serve its citizens, and not vice versa. Therefore, only lean government is good government. Government should merely provide a framework within which its citizens can thrive. A constant and often ideology-driven expansion of government functions has reached financial and practical limitations, and is a threat to the fundamental rights of freedom of its citizens. Government has taken on too many tasks. There is a need to focus on four classic functions performed by government: domestic and foreign security, justice, foreign relations, and financial administration.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 8)</i></p>	0
Monism	<p><i>“The AfD favours a media policy which is based on Germany’s Constitution. Our central concept is that of free communication, which allows anybody to operate communication channels and unrestricted reporting by the media, thereby generating a natural diversity. Whereas this is what we want to facilitate, we equally want to remove restrictions and obstacles.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 47)</i></p>	0
Technocracy	<p><i>“The AfD’s aim is a redesign of the electoral system, which places the decision on the composition of Parliament back in the hands of voters, thereby strengthening the free mandate of the elected Members of Parliament. We are thus in favour of a system whereby candidates are free to put themselves forward for election on election lists in state and federal elections. In turn, voters would be given the power to cumulate or split their vote, or delete candidates on election lists.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 11)</i></p>	0
		0/6

9.1.4 Strong state

9.1.4.1 Law and order

AfD emphasises that juveniles, who commit crimes, should be punished firmer than they are today. The party wants to lower the age of criminal responsibility from eighteen to twelve. By forcefully punish heavy crimes, a strong message will be sent as a warning to other young offenders (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 24). The party also advocates for firmer

disciplinary actions towards perpetrations with foreign background. Punishments such as repatriation and retraction of citizenship should be easier to administer than it is currently (p. 25).

Attacks on officials will be severally punished with a minimum sentence of three months. (p. 25)

Previous police reforms have not improved the constituted body, according to AfD. The party emphasises that improving the staffing plans and modernising equipment should instead be prioritised (p. 24).

The tougher measures that AfD advocates highly associate to *law and order*. *The law and order sub-feature are therefore fully present* in the party's manifesto.

9.1.4.2 Militarism

AfD stresses the need of a strong and effective military. The party states the responsibility that all German citizens have to achieve a well-functioning army. This will be possible by imposing compulsory military service. Exceptions can be made, but the party considers military service to be the duty of a young man. Women should also have the opportunity to do military service on a voluntary basis. Civilian service should be provided for those who oppose military service. No minimum period for military service is expressed by the party (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 31).

AfD comprehensively describes which implementations need to be done to have a working German military force:

“Germany needs military forces whose leadership, strength and equipment are adapted to the requirements of future conflicts, and which comply with the highest international standards. It needs troops which are trained according to the requirements of modern combat, as well as an administration which is oriented towards the welfare of the troops, combined with considerably reduced bureaucracy.” (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 30)

Furthermore, AfD stresses the importance to increase the military budget to be able to preserve *“the security and freedom of Germany and its Allies”*. The size of the armed forces and its equipment need to be adapted to the task and the foreign and security policy requirements (p. 31).

The fact that AfD advocates for a higher prioritisation of the German Armed Forces by increasing the military budget, modernising the military, and the call for all citizens to be

involved in the Armed Forces, indicates association to militarism. However, Mudde's description of militarism also includes the right-wing extreme view on *pacifism* and how this is considered as a sign of weakness (*Mudde, 1995, p. 216*). From the analysis of the manifesto, no denouncement towards pacifism could be identified. AfD even suggests civilian service alternative for those who are not willing to participate in the military service (*Alternative for Germany, 2016, p. 31*). There is also an absent of extreme militarism in AfD's manifesto. The association to militarism is therefore *present to some degree*.

9.1.4.3 *Nationalisation*

AfD describes itself as a conservative-liberal party, it is therefore difficult to find any support for nationalisation in their manifesto. On the contrary, AfD advocates for individual citizens to be more self-determine and endure less state interfering (*Alternative for Germany, 2016, p. 34*). AfD considers that the state should be drastically restricted to interfere in economic issues (p. 66) However, privatisation of state-owned administrations should be decided through citizen approval (p. 68)

Instead of a state-directed economy, AfD calls for a social *market economy* inspired by Walter Eucken, Alfred Müller-Armack and Wilhelm Röpke, which was implemented by Ludwig Erhard (p. 66).

No support to increase public assets can be identified in AfD's manifesto, thus, *nationalisation is not present*.

Table 5
Strong state in AfD's manifesto

AfD	Quote	Score
Law and order	<p><i>“Due to increased brutality of juvenile delinquents and the pressing problems of young offenders with extensive criminal records, it is appropriate to fully apply the criminal law devised for adults to all persons from the age of 18 years, and to lower the age of criminal responsibility to 12 years. The state has to forcefully punish heavy crimes and, in doing so, send out an unmistakable warning and a message that preventative measures will be taken, thereby regaining the respect of young serial offenders.”</i></p> <p>(Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 24)</p>	2
Militarism	<p><i>“The military budget has to be increased to a level which is adequate for preserving the security and freedom of Germany and its Allies. The size and equipment of the armed forces need to be adapted to both the tasks at hand, and to foreign and security policy requirements.”</i> (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 31)</p>	1
Nationalisation	<p><i>“Any form of state-directed economy will sooner or later end in misallocation and corruption.”</i> (Alternative for Germany , 2016, p. 66)</p>	0
		3/6

Table 6
Total score received by AfD

Right-wing extreme features	Score
Nationalism	4
Exclusionism	5
Anti-democracy	0
Strong state	3
	= 12/26

9.2 Nordic Resistance Movement

9.2.1 Nationalism

9.2.1.1 External exclusiveness

The Swedish party wants to unite all of the Nordic nations into one *“united ethnic Nordic Nation”*. The party insists that this is not an endeavour to increase Swedish supremacy, instead it represents all of Nordic people. A united Nordic Nation would ensure a self-sustained and sufficient military, economy and culture (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, pp. 10-11).

The unification of the Nordic countries will be achieved through a simultaneous uprising (p. 18) It is not described how the uprising would be achieved, which makes it difficult to determine if the party associates to a radical interpretation of external exclusiveness. The association to the radical interpretation is further complicated by the claim of the party that it does not represent a certain ethnicity or nation within the Nordic region. If, for example, NMR would represent the Swedish nation and have radical interpretation of external exclusiveness, it could claim that Swedish speaking territories in Finland belong to Sweden. However, the movement argues that it represents the Nordic people, race and ethnicity as a collective. If we shift the focus from viewing groups of people as Swedes, Danes or Finns and instead view it as Nordic people, we got a whole other situation. In this case, NMR claims that it represents Nordic people and to ensure their survival they all have to come together under one state (p. 18). NMR considers that the territories of the different Nordic nations and people living there actually belong to the Nordic Nation. When applying this perspective, there is a stronger association to external exclusiveness. Thus, *external exclusiveness is fully present* in NMR's manifesto.

9.2.1.2 *Internal homogenisation*

A united Nordic Nation would include a variety of nationals and ethnicities such as Danes, Swedes, Finns, Islandic, Sami and Inuit (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 18). However, this diversity would not include individuals of non-Nordic decent since NMR prioritises the preservation of the *Nordic race* and the promotion for *biological diversity* among humans (p. 31). To save the *Nordic race* is not enough to simply stop immigration to the region (p. 12), it is also necessary to initiate repatriation of non-northern European ethnicities (p. 13).

The party admits the lack of modern and accurate racial terms, due to the taboo surround race research. However, the movement argues that it is obvious who is of Nordic decent or closely related in most cases. Modern genetic profiling will be implemented in cases where it is harder to determine. In broad terms, NMR accepts the majority of "*indigenous*" people from the western world to stay in the Nordic Nation with full citizen rights (p. 14).

The party's call for repatriation of non-Nordic/European races and ethnicities highly associates to the strategy of expulsion. NMR's highest priority is the survival of the native race and ethnicity and this must be achieved by any means possible (p. 12). *Internal homogenisation is therefore fully present.*

9.2.1.3 *Ethnic nationalism*

NMR argues that the ethnic Nordic population is threatened by displacement. Especially “mass immigration of foreign races” is portrayed as the biggest threat to the “*racial survival and freedom*”. The low birth rate among Nordic women in contrast to immigrants results in the demise of the ethnic Nordic population. Multiculturalism and mass immigration are in reality a genocide on the Nordic people (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 12).

NMR’s most important goals are therefore to ensure racial survival and freedom (p. 12). The state and the government should play a crucial role in the well-being of the ethnic community. How the current governments measure success through *Gross domestic product (GDP)*, should be replaced with the endeavour for racial survival (p. 21).

NMR further outlines that it is not loyal to any social or economic class, instead it is exclusively devoted to the well-being of the race (p. 22)

To become a fully accepted citizen of the Nordic Nation, both parents have to be citizens. If only one parent has a citizenship, the other one has to be of a closely related race. Honorary citizenship can be granted to foreign races in rare instance (p. 22).

NMR’s devotion to ensure the survival of the ethnic community highly resemble the idea of ethnic nationalism. The fact that it is practically impossible to become a member of the ethnic community, as an individual of non-northern European decent, further confirms the association to ethnic nationalism. *Ethnic nationalism is fully present* in the manifesto belonging to NMR.

Table 7
Nationalism in NMR's manifesto

Sub-features	Quote	Score
External exclusiveness	<i>“Taking the concept of “new politics for a new time” a step further, the party platform presents a geopolitical solution for a united Nordic region. We are not referring to a revival of the old union under Swedish supremacy, but of a Nordic Nation with equal rights for all of the Nordic people; a united and self-sustaining/sufficient Nordic Nation that would be able to assert itself militarily, economically and culturally in these uncertain times.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, pp. 10-11).</i>	2
Internal homogenisation	<i>“Those who will be allowed to stay in the Nordic countries are, among others, all northern European ethnicities, a large portion of the central and eastern European ethnicities, parts of the southern European ethnicities and people with a northern European ethnic ancestry currently residing in other parts of the world. In other words, we mean that a majority of the indigenous people from the so-called Western world would be permitted to stay in the Nordic countries with full citizen rights, regardless of when they came into the country.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 14)</i>	2
Ethnic nationalism	<i>“A government must adapt and be formed by the racial and cultural characteristics of its people. A well-functioning form of government in the Nordic Nation may, for example, not be well suited to other world regions such as China, Somalia or Brazil. How well-functioning a government is should not be first and foremost measured by its GDP, but rather how well it manages to adapt and adjust in order to support the well-being and survival of its own people.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 21)</i>	2
		6/6

9.2.2 Exclusionism

9.2.2.1 Racism

The survival of the Nordic race is a recurrent theme in NMR's manifesto and the party distinguishes the different races based on not only visual, but also mental characteristics: intelligence, character and personality traits (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 14). NMR emphasizes that the primary goals for the Nordic government must be to ensure the survival of the Nordic race (p. 21). The movement guarantees that a Nordic Nation government would ensure the survival of the Nordic race and not be loyal to any particular social or economic class (p. 22). The majority of foreigners that are indigenous to the western world are permitted to stay and enjoy citizen rights (p. 14). A larger number of Non-Nordic people will never be allowed to remain in the country (p. 13).

These examples highlight a distinction between people with the centrality of a racial mind-set. Racism is therefore fully present in NMR's manifesto

9.2.2.2 *Ethnopluralism*

The Nordic party strongly believes in permanent differences between races and ethnicities. The party argues that there are more than physical traits that distinguish the different races. *“Intelligence, character and personality traits”* are also factors that distinguish races (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 14).

To ensure the survival of the Nordic race is the most important issue for NMR. The party argues that the biggest threat to this is mass immigration from foreign races (p. 14)

NMR argues for the preservation of *biological diversity* by stating that different races and ethnicities are equivalent, but should live and develop separately. The party argues that the mixing of different races and cultures will eventually erase the biological diversity among humans. The *“genocidal”* ideology of multiculturalism and forced integration must be abolished to ensure the racial diversity in the world (p. 31).

These examples strongly highlight an ethnopluralist sentiment. Thus, *ethnopluralism is fully present* in NMR’s manifesto

9.2.2.3 *Ethnocentrism*

The movement argues that Nordic people have historically lived separate from foreign races and therefore preserved a unique gene pool (p. 12). The Nordic race can be distinguished by its accomplishments in *“research, innovations, arts and works of high culture”*. Without the efforts of the Nordic and western people, mankind would not have developed (p. 36)

The combination of distinguishing intelligence based on race and arguing that the achievements of the Nordic and western people are the reason for humankind’s development indicates a superior mindset. *Ethnocentrism is therefore fully present* in the manifesto belonging to NMR.

9.2.2.4 *Xenophobia*

Considering the low birth rate among Nordic people and the large influx of foreign migrants, NMR predicts that the native Nordic ethnicities and races will diminish (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 12). The movement even calls the influx of foreigners as an invasion which *“threaten the native populations, ecosystems and biological diversity”* (p. 31). Limiting immigration will only postpone this problem (p. 12).

NMR describes Jews and Zionism as a problem. The party claims that Jews are responsible for pushing the 1975 decision to embrace multiculturalism in Sweden, and thereby sanction mass immigration to the country (p. 12).

NMR further argues that the global Zionist elite not only wants to promote the state of Israel but also to create instability in every nation that threaten their goals. Multiculturalism, mass immigration, liberalism and cultural-Marxism are tools that they use to designate ethnically homogenous countries, especially in the west. This is due to a long tradition of racism conducted by Jews (p. 16)

NMR’s view on immigrants as invaders and accusing Jews of destabilising the society highly associates to xenophobia. Thus, *xenophobia is fully present* in the party’s manifesto.

Table 8
Exclusionism in NMR’s manifesto

<i>Sub-features</i>	<i>Quote</i>	<i>Score</i>
Racism	<i>“There are different races in our world with not only visual but mental characteristic differences including intelligence, character, and personality traits. This is an undeniable truth shown in both scientific research as well as common sense” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 14)</i>	2
Ethnopluralism	<i>“By acknowledging that mankind is a part of nature, we must also realize that humans cannot be exempt from the laws of nature with regard to biological diversity. No true environmental party can support “multiculturalism”, as this genocidal ideology constitutes the polar opposite of biological diversity and evolutionary progress. We encourage a world of free nations, where races live separately but in cooperation with one another. We encourage a world where each race develops after their own surroundings and in accordance with nature. Mass immigration, “multiculturalism” and forced integration must be abolished in order for the richness and diversity of the world to survive.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 31)</i>	2
Ethnocentrism	<i>“Research, innovations, art and works of high culture are things that have historically distinguished the Nordic race from others. Without our own and other Western people’s achievements and ingenuity in these areas, the progress of mankind would have come to a standstill centuries ago. The Nordic Nation must cherish and make use of this creativity and promote and nurture it in the future.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 36)</i>	2
Xenophobia	<i>The Nordic Resistance Movement takes invasions of foreign species that, through unnatural means, establish themselves in the Nordic nature very seriously, as this would threaten native populations, ecosystems and biological diversity. (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 31)</i>	2
		8/8

9.2.3 Anti-democracy

9.2.3.1 *Elitism*

The *all Nordic Senate* will have the biggest role when deciding a new leader (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 24) . The Senate will consist of competent individuals, which are hand-picked from different societal arenas, such as the civil administration, private companies, scientific institutions, and the military forces. In contrast to the current *career politicians*, the focus of the senators are the people. Selecting a leader would be decided behind closed doors (2016, p. 24)

There are high demands on the leader and impeaching him/her should not be a complicated issue. Instead it is the senate that inherent the highest power, since it has the authority to both decide and impeach a leader. The people's ability to vote whether a leader should step down or not, further underlines the vulnerable situation that the leader has (p. 25)

NMR does not emphasise that people are divided from birth into leaders and followers. However, the party distinguishes the societal elite from the rest of the people. The party's view on larger cities as unnatural for people which should only be inhabited by the societal elite, highlights the distinct mindset. (p. 30).

There are some clear indications of elitism from the readings of the manifesto. The movement has been vocal for its support of direct democracy and how people should be more involved in the decision making (p. 25). However, this is not emphasised in regards to electing senators. Instead the senators should be *hand-picked*, and who makes that decision is not further elaborated. The senators in the senate play an important role in NMR's Nordic Nation and thus indicates that the movement considers the decision of senators very crucial. Since the people seem to be excluded in the decision of electing senators, one can argue that there is an elitist viewpoint in this regard from NMR.

The divided view that NMR has between the people and the elite also indicates an elitist mentality. This thesis can, however, not find any evidence of the party believing that people were born into leaders and followers. Also, the support that NMR has for direct democracy contradicts the idea that the followers are not allowed to interfere in the decision making. *Elitism is therefore present to some degree* in NMR's manifesto.

9.2.3.2 Monism

NMR views homosexuality as a tool to create division between the genders and that the “*homosexual lobby*” is so powerful that it has successfully made homosexuality normal and desirable (*Nordic Resistance Movement*, 2016, p. 39)

The movement considers a family created by a man and woman as the most obvious formation. This natural dogma must therefore be the only way of discussing families (p. 39). NMR does not see the need to criminalise homosexuality, except in circumstances of publicly displaying it (p. 39).

Their viewpoint on homosexuality is a good example of how contradiction in regards to sexual orientation is not acceptable. Which highly correlate to monism.

Monism tendencies are also apparent in NMR’s denouncement of “*anti-Nordic propaganda*”. The anti-Nordic sentiments come especially from the media that “*propagates for mass immigration and integration*”. Other than lying and withholding consequences of multiculturalism, the media is also destabilising members of society by propagating cultural Marxism and other societal dissolving ideologies (p. 27).

The manifesto contains a lot of denouncements towards the perceived anti-Nordic propaganda rhetoric. This is considered as a big problem and hate speech law should be replaced by laws against anti-Nordic speech. The party claims that this will only be aimed towards media and other high-power organisations, that would conduct this kind of propaganda, and not towards individuals (p. 26).

NMR emphasis that it supports freedom of speech, unless it is misused by for example “*pursue activities against the Nordic people*” (p. 47)

How the movement views homosexuality and the strict anti-Nordic rules that NMR wants to implement, is strongly connected to monism. Thus, *monism is fully present* in NMR’s manifesto.

9.2.3.3 Technocracy

The senate has an important role in NMR’s Nordic Nation and seems to have the highest decision-making power. The senate is, for example, tasked to appoint a suitable leader for the Nordic Nation and makes important decision in issues that concern the Nordic people (*Nordic Resistance Movement*, 2016, p. 25).

It is the election of senators to the senate that indicate technocracy. NMR explains that individuals will be hand-picked from different parts of the society such as “*civil administration, private*

companies and corporations, scientific institutions and the Nordic military forces.” Individuals who have proven that they can distinguish “themselves through actions favouring society and the good of its people” (p. 24) can become senators.

The party does not go into further details regarding who is included in the decision of *hand-picking* of senators. However, it seems like it is not through a referendum. NMR emphasis that the people should be allowed to interfere in the decision making. This is elaborated in their support for direct democracy (p. 25).

Here, there are no mentioning of citizens being allowed to participate in the decision-making of electing senators, only that referendums can be granted if enough signatures are gathered. Considering that the most important legislative assembly consists of members that has been hand-picked, presumably from the party, there is an association to technocracy. *Technocracy is therefore fully present* in NMR’s manifesto.

Table 9
Anti-democracy in NMR’s manifesto

Sub-features	Quote	Score
Elitism	“Large cities should primarily be the home of political, financial and military elite, in addition to commerce and industry. On the whole, large urban cities are not sound living environments for people as they degenerate and alienate people from both nature and others, thereby weakening the society.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 30)	1
Monism	“The media in Sweden propagates for mass immigration and integration. They lie and withhold information about the consequences of “multiculturalism”, and they publicly expose and scapegoat Swedes who protest or attempt to organize against the genocide, as criminals. The situation is similar in the rest of the Nordic countries. In an attempt to confuse and destabilize members of society, the media also propagates for cultural Marxism with its ideology to dissolve societal traditions and norms, as well as other subversive ideologies. Summarily, the media is acting in a hostile manner towards the people, resulting in catastrophic consequences ethnically, culturally and racially. Anti-Nordic propaganda under National Socialist rule will be illegal.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 27).	2
Technocracy	“The senators will consist of competent individuals, hand-picked directly from all societal arenas including civil administration, private companies and corporations, scientific institutions and the Nordic military forces. Senators are to be chosen from those individuals who have consistently distinguished themselves through actions favoring society and the good of its people. Senators will not be selected from today’s career politicians, conflicted by their loyalty to their party alone, as we see today” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 24)	2
		5/8

9.2.4 Strong state

9.2.4.1 *Law and order*

NMR emphasizes that their National Socialist ideological viewpoint does not necessarily advocate harsh punishments, but certain crimes deserve a higher penalty. The offender should expect harsh punishments in cases where the victim is mentally or physically inferior as for example children elderly, or animals (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 48)

The party expresses the seriousness of capital punishment, and despite of the decision being irreversible, is it necessary in some instances. When dealing with especially ruthless crimes and all the evidence point towards the convicted, death penalty should be implemented (p. 48).

If a convict has committed a crime, which do not result in death sentence, rehabilitation will be applied instead. NMR emphasizes the importance for a convict to return to the society and becoming a productive citizen (p. 48).

NMR does not believe that the answer to reduce crime is to impose long prison sentences or to increase the number of police officers on the streets (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 47). Instead it is a question of reducing the class differences in the society (p. 47).

Another key component to reduce crime is by strengthening the *national community* where everyone views each other as family members (p. 48)

There is an association between NMR and the law and order, in regard to the view on capital punishment. However, when it comes to aspect of poor conditions in solitary confinements and the generally un-prioritized prisons (Mudde, 1995, p. 216), a full association cannot be found. The priority to rehabilitate convicts instead of solely to punish contradicts the feature. *NMR associates to the feature of law and order to some degree.*

9.2.4.2 *Militarism*

NMR wants everyone to understand the seriousness of the Nordic Nation's military. The party wants to send a clear message to the outside world and also "*educate and unite*" the people to ensure that the nation will be defended (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 42).

To defend the Nordic Nation is the highest military priority. However, the movement emphasises the importance of having offensive capabilities as well. This ability should be used to intervene in the nearby region if necessary, and also "*help sympathetic of closely related ethnicities against a common enemy*". The Nordic army will have a standing army with the best trained professionals, officers and the best equipment that the country can produce (pp. 42-43)

The citizens need to be prepared for the reality of war. NMR therefore advocates for compulsory military service for at least two years. Everyone who has completed their service will be able to store and maintain their weapon in the civilian life. Any enemies attempting to invade the Nordic Nation will thereby be faced by an armed population (p. 44).

Military personal should be highly ranked in the Nordic Nation. This has been noted when NMR discusses the compound of senators, which is one of the highest ranked positions in the Nordic Nation. Among the senators are also personal from the military forces (p. 24).

The important role that the military has in the Nordic Nation is further described under the title *A natural lifestyle*. Here, NMR stresses that big cities are unnatural and alienate people from each other. Only the societal elite should live there. Among them is the military:

“Large cities should primarily be the home of political, financial and military elite, in addition to commerce and industry.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 30)

The movement has a positive view on the military lifestyle and even argues that the idea of being a soldier should be normalised and military careers encouraged (p. 43). It has been noted that the military is a high priority for NMR. The importance of the military is noted by NMR’s normalisation of the military, call for every citizen to be military involved, emphasis to increase the military budget, and the modernisation of military equipment. Unlike AfD, NMR does not seem to provide any civilian service alternatives for citizens, who are not willing to do the military service. It can therefore be argued that pacifism is not acceptable in NMR’s worldview. The movement’s willingness to make the military a great part of the society can even indicate an extreme form of militarism. This is further confirmed by their endeavour to make every citizen to a soldier and to propagate that the surrounding world is hostile and willing to invade at any time. However, the movement does not explicitly glamorise war and in some sections describes war in negative terms. *Militarism is therefore fully present* in NMR’s manifesto, but not the extreme form of it.

9.2.4.3 *Nationalisation*

The Nordic party argues that nationalisation of the monetary infrastructure is necessary. This is because the banking system allows private banks to create imaginary money, which only gain the banking elite on the expense of governments and citizens. By nationalising the monetary infrastructure, the Nordic Nation will be able to control the circulation of money through its own government-controlled bank (*Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, pp. 19-20*).

NMR does not only advocate for more state control in regards to the monetary infrastructure. The movement also argues that the state should be allowed to reclaim control of areas, where the public interests are perceived as more important than profit-seeking interests. Health care, education and social welfare are to be owned by the government to ensure that access to these not develop into a class issue (p. 35). *NMR is, however, not entirely against private enterprises. The absence of state inference can be granted in some instances* (p. 35)

Although NMR expresses some benefits with private enterprises, it has been noted that the party strives for nationalisation and increased state control in the Nordic society.

Nationalisation is, therefore, fully present in the manifesto belonging to NMR.

Table 10
Strong state in NMR's manifesto

Sub-features	Quote	Score
Law and order	<i>“Correctional facilities of today are in many respects failures, as being jailed is more akin to storage than actual rehabilitation. We will not doom former convicts to always be outsiders in society, but instead ensure that correctional facilities rehabilitate prisoners to such an extent that once they serve their sentence, they will have an honest chance for a new life.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 48)</i>	1
Militarism	<i>“The Nordic Nation must also have an offensive military capability to swiftly intervene in our immediate region as necessary and/or have the ability to help sympathetic countries of closely related ethnicities against a common enemy. This offensive capability is not meant to be used lightly; but in extraordinary cases, and for good reason, it can be used as a preventative measure against threats that may eventually affect the people of the Nordic Nation. To achieve this, the Nordic Nation will require a standing army filled with the best trained professional soldiers and officers, and the best equipment the country can produce. Should a foreign threat arise, these professional soldiers will act as leaders and commanders of the reserve military forces. “ (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, pp. 42-43)</i>	2
Nationalisation	<i>“A government whose mission is to serve its people, has a completely different level of accountability and long term planning than a private company with a high demand for profit. For example, a government owned bank could offer interest free loans, government owned media could be free from advertising, and a government owned bus company could operate in rural areas that a private company would deem not profitable. Furthermore, government ownership over areas of public interest ensures that healthcare, education and social welfare are equally available to all, and will never develop into a class issue where the affluent have access to superior services.” (Nordic Resistance Movement , 2016, p. 35).</i>	2
		5/6

Table 11
Total score received by NMR

Right-wing extreme features	Score
Nationalism	6
Exclusionism	8
Anti-democracy	5
Strong state	5
	= 24/26

9.3 Swiss People's Party

9.3.1 Nationalism

9.3.1.1 *External exclusiveness*

The party does not advocate for any territorial expansions, as a part of the radical interpretation, nor to call for extraterritorial nationals to move back to Swiss territory, as part of moderate interpretation. The Swiss party even seems to emphasize the opposite of the external exclusiveness by giving no special treatments for Swiss nationals, who have emigrated and want to move back. The same rules will be applied to emigrated Swiss as for any other migrants in an immigration process.

Thus, *external exclusiveness is not present* in SVP's manifesto.

9.3.1.2 *Internal homogenisation*

The Swiss party considers the past few years' high naturalisation ratio of migrants as problematic. Compared to other European countries it is only Luxemburg that grant more citizenships than Switzerland (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 32). The problem of naturalising too many foreigners is that they have not yet mastered the requirements of becoming fully accepted members of the Swiss society. Examples of the requirements are understanding any of the country's national languages and fully accepting the local customs (p. 32).

Migrants, who want to become accepted members, must have the desire to integrate themselves. Instead of spending tax money on integration polices, SVP considers that integration only works if a migrant takes the initiative and has the desire to do so (p. 33). If migrants refuse to take the initiative of integrating, they cannot stay (p. 34). *If a migrant has*

successfully integrated to the Swiss society, the last step is to grant him or her naturalisation (p. 32).

SVP advocates tougher requirements to become included to the Swiss society. However, whether the measures, that the party presents, correlates with internal homogenisation is questionable. None of the strategies to achieve internal homogenisation is clearly evident in the party's manifesto and unlike AfD does SVP not describe assimilation as a possible alternative. Thus, *internal homogenisation is not present* in SVP's manifesto.

9.3.1.3 *Ethnic nationalism*

In several parts of SVP's manifesto, the party emphasis how the state and government should be a political expression of the Swiss people. This is especially apparent in the party's view on direct democracy and that it should not be undermined (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 8). However, not once SVP expresses this as a way to strengthen the ethnic community or to ensure ethnic survival. In a matter of fact SVP does not mention the term *ethnicity* one single time in their manifesto. It is therefore difficult to argue that ethnic nationalism is fully present in terms of safeguarding the ethnic community.

As previously outlined, in the internal homogenisation section, SVP criticises Switzerland's high number of naturalisation and wants to implement stricter requirements to be granted Swiss citizenship. However, these requirements are not based on what ethnic background the migrants inherent. Rather it is a demand on the individual to fully integrate and learn one of the official languages (p. 34). Unlike the previous mentioned parties, SVP makes no statements whether they are in favour of the *ius sanguinis* principle or not.

SVP highlights an indifferent view on preserving the ethnic community and does not reject the idea of accepting other ethnicities in to their society, if a successful integration has been completed. Considering that the party does not seem to have a strong opinion in regards to *ius sanguinis*, the association to ethnic nationalism is even more doubtful. Thus, *ethnic nationalism is not present* in the manifesto belonging to SVP.

Table 12
Nationalism in SVP's manifesto

Sub-features	Quote	Score
External exclusiveness	<p><i>‘Swiss who emigrate abroad also have to integrate themselves in the country where they have relocated, learn the language and customs there, follow the laws and make their own living. With this in mind, it is clear: integration is primarily the responsibility of the migrants and must be required of them. Anyone who refuses to learn one of Switzerland’s national languages, flouts Swiss laws or does not earn their own living must leave Switzerland.’ (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 34)</i></p>	0
Internal homogenisation	<p><i>‘Naturalisation is intended to be the last step to integration and should only be given to those who behave correctly, earn their own living and have a good knowledge of at least one of the country’s national languages.’ (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 32)</i></p>	0
Ethnic nationalism	<p><i>‘Only those who have successfully integrated and mastered one of the country’s national languages should be given the opportunity to be- come naturalised.’ (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 34)</i></p>	0
		0/6

9.3.2 Exclusionism

9.3.2.1 Racism

The manifesto belonging to SVP does not mention the term race or emphasise the importance of racial ideas. However, the party makes distinctions between the Swiss people and foreigners. SVP considers the current immigration policy to be too liberal and thereby making the country vulnerable for a big influx of foreigners. The consequences are mostly described as negative for many societal functions, such as overflowing streets and increased rents (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 31).

SVP makes a clear distinction between Islam/Muslims and the Swiss society. SVP describes that Muslim immigrants bring ideas of law and order which do not belong in Switzerland. The party problematises the Islamic communities’ call for being legal entities under the public law (p. 91).

Similar to AfD, it is difficult to argue that these examples correlate to racism, as defined in this thesis. This is further underlined by the fact that the party shows no interest in racial matters, such as advocating for distinguishing races or believing in racial hierarchies. SVP’s view on foreigners is not based on racial ideas, it is rather everyone without Swiss citizenship who are included to their view in this matter. The negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims can be viewed as antagonistic. However, considering that this is a religious group and not racial, it is also here hard to argue for a racist association. Thus, *racism is not present* in SVP’s manifesto.

9.3.2.2 *Ethnopluralism*

According to SVP, Switzerland and the Swiss people can be distinguished by the Christian faith, that has shaped the country. It has impacted both the culture and the political landscape and is visible in several areas of the society. The protestant principles have formed the country's entrepreneurship and performance-driven society. Meanwhile the catholic principles have shaped the idea of the individual value, which also has impacted Swiss federalism where individuals should take responsibility of their own problems (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 91)

The party does not seem to argue that there is a specific threat which would undermine Swiss culture. However, they point out that there is a development of radical Islamic ideas that do not coincide with Swiss culture and legal system (p. 91).

SVP is positive to labour migration and emphasizes that Switzerland has always offered a generous but controlled welcome for migrants who are willing to work in the country (p. 30). However, the party considers that immigration in recent years has not been controlled (p. 31). SVP lists a number of negative consequences due to the excessive number of immigrants, such as: increased unemployment, rents getting higher, wage pressure, foreigners burdening the welfare system, and more (p. 31)

Due to the lack of examples, which involve ethnic, racial or cultural issues, it could be argued that presence of ethnopluralism is ruled out. However, although there are no evident aspiration to preserve the Swiss ethnicity or race, SVP presents a table which highlights how the Swiss population will become a minority in a near future if immigration will not halt (p. 32). This is also the strongest argument for an association to ethnopluralism. The fact that SVP predicts that the Swiss population will become a minority indicates that the party does not completely dismiss the idea of a Swiss ethnicity which need to be preserved. There is therefore *ethnopluralism to some degree* in SVP's manifesto.

9.3.2.3 *Ethnocentrism*

Similar to AfD, the Swiss party expresses negative sentiments in regards to Islam and Muslims. SVP argues that not all Muslims inherent extreme ideas. However, it is clear distinction between Swiss laws and the Islamic ideas brought in by Muslim migrants (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 91).

It has been noted that the party also has a double standard in regards to religious and cultural expressions in public. While SVP emphasizes the importance to highlight typically Swiss cultural and religious expressions, such as Christian crosses and crucifixes, it also demands that typically Islamic

expressions, such as wearing veil while working in public services and minarets, should be banned (p. 93).

In addition to this, SVP makes a clear distinction between western and non-western religions by not granting them as legal entities under the public law (p. 93).

SVP can come across as ethnocentric in regards to its stand towards Islam. The party is careful to not generalise the whole religion and instead mentions *radical Islam* and *Islamism* as problematic. The party also makes clear that only a small minority of Muslims inherent Islamist ideas. However, SVP's description of Muslim immigrants who are lacking democratic values, which they inherent from their countries (p. 91), highlights ethnocentric elements. The party's unwillingness to grant legal entity of non-western religions can also indicate ethnocentrism.

It is not entirely evident if these examples are based on an idea of cultural superiority or constitutional and legal superiority. Ethnocentrism is therefore present to some degree.

9.3.2.4 *Xenophobia*

The Swiss party views its country's immigration policy as problematic and wants to limit the influx of foreigners to the county. However, SVP stresses that it welcomes foreign workers and are willing to provide them with jobs (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 30). This is one of few examples where SVP describes foreigners in a positive term. According to the party, the number of immigrants is too high and many foreigners have become a burden on the welfare system (p. 31). SVP argues that "*Switzerland is among the countries with the highest ratio of foreigners to native citizens.*" Next to this bracket, the party presents a table which highlights that Switzerland will have more foreigners than Swiss in the near future (p. 32).

One of the more evident xenophobic statements in SVP's manifesto is how they portray Muslim immigrants. As previously mentioned, SVP argues that Muslim immigrants come from countries which lack the democratic rule of law and therefore have ideas that are incompatible with the Swiss rule of law (p. 91). This generalisation of Muslim migrants associates with the fear of foreigners or immigrants which is expressed by xenophobia.

The party's resistance towards an excessive immigration can be argued as a criticism towards the Swiss immigration policy system rather than fear or hate towards migrants. However, the portrayal of Muslim migrants brining ideas that are incompatible with Swiss laws and norms, highlights xenophobia in the manifesto. This thesis will therefore argue that *xenophobia is fully present* in SVP's manifesto.

Table 13
Exclusionism in SVP's manifesto

Sub-features	Quote	Score
Racism	<p><i>“Immigration to our country is appealing to foreigners for economic, political and social reasons. In international comparison, only few other countries score higher than Switzerland in terms of quality of life, which is due to our political system, our stability, our security, the liberal economic system and last but not least the beautiful scenery. In short: it pays for foreigners to immigrate to Switzerland. However, it is a disadvantage for the Swiss if this immigration is not controlled and limited.” (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 31)</i></p>	0
Ethnopluralism	<p><i>“If immigration is not controlled, in less than 50 years Switzerland will be home to</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>• More than 16 million inhabitants</i> <i>• More foreigners than Swiss” (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 32)</i> 	1
Ethnocentrism	<p><i>“(SVP)...rejects the recognition of non-Western religious communities as legal entities under public law and the state training of the religious leaders of these religious communities.” (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 93)</i></p>	1
Xenophobia	<p><i>“Clearly, only a small minority sympathises with extreme Islamist ideas. But Muslim immigrants often come from countries in which there is no democratic rule of law. They bring with them ideas of law and order that are incompatible with our legal system and our democratic rules. Radicalisation and isolation trends are problems that should not be underestimated. In our country, too, there are individuals and groups who sympathise with a radical Islam. At the same time, Islamic communities are raising their voices and calling for recognition as legal entities under public law or training for their spiritual leaders at our universities. These challenges and the demand for special legal treatment should not be naively accepted without criticism.” (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 91)</i></p>	2
		4/8

9.3.3 Anti-democracy

9.3.3.1 Elitism

The Swiss party is a strong proponent for direct democracy and considers it to be currently undermined. The party accuses other parties for limiting direct democracy by refusing to implement decisions made by the people (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, pp. 8-9).

SVP’s determination to strengthen the country’s referenda system contradicts the idea that the common man cannot be a part of the decision making, as advocated by elitism.

Similar to AfD, SVP also advocates for less governmental and state control. SVP argues that a prosperous society is based on healthy small business sectors rather than relying on the public sector (p. 5).

Elitism is not present in SVP's manifesto.

9.3.3.2 *Monism*

The party argues that it is not in favour of *“the absolute equating of same-sex partnerships with marriage”* and is *“against the adoption of children by same-sex couples”* (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 97). SVP does not highlight a similar hostility towards homosexuality like NMR and no denouncement of same sex relationship can be found in their manifesto. However, the same rights heterosexual couples enjoy is not granted to homosexuals.

SVP criticises the media together with other organisations and political parties for creating hysteria and accuses them of scaremongering (p. 77). The media align themselves with centre-left parties to push expensive environmental agendas (p. 72).

To portray media in this way can indicate monism. However, similar to the arguments developed by AfD, SVP wants to push for a more diverse media landscape (p. 80).

The association to monism can be ruled out in the case of the view of media, due to the party's support for a diverse media landscape. However, the fact that SVP does not fully grant homosexuals the same rights as heterosexuals, indicates that contradictions in regards to sexual orientations is not completely acceptable. *Monism is therefore present to some degree.*

9.3.3.3 *Technocracy*

SVP is a strong proponent of direct democracy and argues that it enables a larger focus on the citizens. The Swiss people have a broader freedom to be involved in political decisions (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 8)

Since Switzerland consists of certain cantons and municipalities, the country is a federal state. However, SVP argues that federalism in Switzerland is undermined. Other parties want to move more power to the EU and federal authorities in Bern. Instead of cantons and municipalities having stronger political power to determine their own way of living, other parties advocate to centralise schools, housing, taxes and education as much as possible. SVP wants to do the opposite and strengthen federalism. Federalism gives citizens the possibility to have stronger voice in the political decision making (p. 9)

SVP's arguments against joining the EU is also based on the idea that self-determination and the political influence of the citizens will become weakened if joining (p. 14).

How the party emphasises the importance of citizen involvement in political decision making, contradicts technocracy. There are no other examples in the manifesto that would suggest

that leader roles would be given to individuals without the people’s consent. With the examples presented and the lack of other theocratic examples in the manifesto, this thesis decides that the *theocracy is not present* in SVP’s manifesto.

Table 14
Anti-democracy in SVP’s manifesto

<u>Sub-features</u>	<u>Quote</u>	<u>Score</u>
Elitism	<p><i>“The SVP is the only party that supports direct democracy unconditionally. The other parties want to progressively limit it. They refuse to implement decisions made by the people by declaring nonbinding international law as being superior to national law. They want to thwart popular initiatives and referendums by pre-examining the subject matter of the initiative, rejecting it or expressly warning against it.”</i></p>	0
Monism	<p><i>“A diverse, independent media landscape is the key to a functioning democracy.” (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 80)</i></p>	1
Technocracy	<p><i>“Thanks to direct democracy, our focus is on our citizens. They not only have the ability to elect their public authorities, they are also able to decide on factual issues. This prevents politicians from making decisions over the heads of citizens.” (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 8)</i></p>	0
		1/6

9.3.4 Strong state

9.3.4.1 Law and order

SVP considers that the criminal justice system has failed in regards to weak implementation of punishments. In particularly violent crimes, and the priority of helping perpetrators instead of giving victims the justice they deserve (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 43).

SVP also wants stricter legislation on juvenile crime. This is to prevent criminal organisations to recruit children, who receive lenient sentences (p. 44). The party further points out that judges should be able to sentence a minor to similar punishments as an adult. *“Expensive and onerous therapy approach”* should be replaced with tougher penalties (p. 44).

In two instances SVP advocates for punishment through deportation. If a person commits a serious crime which involves *“pre- meditated murder, murder, aggravated assault, robbery, human trafficking, rape, etc.”* the person will be deported. If someone commits a less serious crime such as *“unlawful detention, arson, violence and threats against officials”* deportation will be implemented if the person has a previous conviction (p. 44)

Harsher punishment should also be implemented in instances involving violent crimes, especially if it is aimed at the police or officials (p. 44).

Due to the party's emphasis on tougher measurements in regards to punishment of criminals, *SVP fully correlate with the law and order feature.*

9.3.4.2 *Militarism*

The Swiss party stresses that the country should have an efficient army which purpose is solely defensive. The army should ensure that Switzerland remains a neutral state which contribute to peace (Swiss People's Party, 2015, p. 48). SVP views Switzerland's militia army as an insurance and a final recourse in defending the country's freedom (p. 47).

The party argues that everlasting peace between people is not realistic and that Switzerland therefore should prepare for any serious threats that the country might encounter. To have a security policy that is adapted to the state of the surrounding world is therefore a big priority (p. 47). The party advocates for more funds being transferred to the military and criticises the cuts that has been made. Both an increase in the military budget and larger military force is required (p. 48). SVP also strongly opposes the Swiss army to join any international military alliances and to participate in operations abroad (p. 48).

SVP views the military as a vital part of the society which is visible by the party's emphasises to modernise and increase military funding. It is also apparent in the way that the party describes the surrounding world as unstable and that *wars are an unfortunate reality* (p. 47). However, militarism is not fully present in the manifesto belonging to SVP. Although, SVP considers the military to be an important part of the nation, there is no glamorisation of the army. To call for a strictly defensive army and declining participation in international operations, indicates no endeavour to participate in combat. *Militarism is therefore present in some degree.*

9.3.4.3 *Nationalisation*

Nationalisation is mentioned in SVP's manifesto eight times and is every time described in negative terms. The Swiss party is, for example, against state interventionism in the health care sector (Swiss People's Party, 2015, pp. 59-60)

SVP also argues that there is an ongoing nationalisation of families as well. According to the party the state discriminates the traditional family. State interventions in society functions that run smoothly and efficient, make it seem like there are measures which are designed to change the society. The state interferes too much in the upbringing of children and do not limit itself to the educational remit (p. 95).

The view on lesser state interference has also been noted in how the party advocates for a more liberal market. SVP argues that the whole country depends on healthy small business. However, this is undermined by the growing state (p. 5).

SVP’s distinct opposition to state interfering makes *nationalisation not present* in the party’s manifesto.

Table 15
Strong state in SVP’s manifesto

Sub-features	Quote	Score
Law and order	<p><i>‘Today, our criminal justice system has various faults. For one thing, and particularly in the case of violent crimes, the sentences imposed are too lenient. Many judges fail to apply the sanctions that are available to them. Too many too lenient sentences and lax enforcement ensure the absence of the required deterrent effect. A further problem is posed by proceedings that are in part far too long. In the meantime, our criminal law is heavily focused on finding sanctions to accommodate and offer help to perpetrators, thereby placing greater weight on the therapeutic effect than on the punitive and deterrent effect. This results in the victim being forgotten, particularly when it comes to violent crimes.’</i> (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 43)</p>	2
Militarism	<p><i>‘‘The haemorrhaging of the army as a result of a further reduction in military spending must be stopped. Since 1990, expenditure for the military has dropped from 19 per cent to 7.2 per cent of the national budget. In comparison to states such as Sweden and Finland, Switzerland uses the least amount of funds for its army, measured on the basis of gross domestic product. In the view of the SVP, annual funds in the amount of no less than 5.4 billion Swiss francs and a force of at least 140,000 army members are imperative. Setting a maximum number of service days for each year is not required. As a rule, refresher courses should last for three weeks.’</i></p>	1
Nationalisation	<p><i>‘‘The state keeps growing and growing. Federal government spending has doubled since 1990. The public sector is taking on more and more tasks. Since there is a lack of political willingness to get a grip on the spending explosion, taxes, levies and fees are being raised. The bill is being footed primarily by small businesses. This dynamic must ultimately be broken because the prosperity of the whole country is dependent on a healthy small business sector. Every Swiss franc spent must first be worked for.’</i> (Swiss People’s Party, 2015, p. 5)</p>	0
		3/6

Table 16
Total score received by SVP

Right-wing extreme features	Score
Nationalism	0
Exclusionism	4
Anti-democracy	1
Strong state	3
	= 8/26

Table 17
Total score comparison between the three parties

Features	AfD	NMR	SVP
Nationalism	4	6	0
Exclusionism	5	8	4
Anti-democracy	0	5	1
Strong state	3	5	3
Total=	12	24	8

10 Discussion

The following section begins with discussing the theoretical contribution, by describing how right-wing extremism can be used in research and also adapted to a global perspective. The second part discusses the empirical contribution by presenting the three political parties association to right-wing extremism.

The concept of right-wing extremism can seem diluted considering the lack of consensus among scholars how to define it. This can be further emphasised by the twenty-six definitions of right-wing extremism derived by Cas Mudde, which no less than fifty-eight features were mentioned (Mudde, 2000, p. 11). In contrast to other ideologies, such as socialism or conservatism, it is more difficult to understand if a political party is right-wing extreme or not. A better approach is therefore to measure the association to right-wing extremism, as has been done in this thesis. The broad definition of right-wing extremism can also enable a more precise study for the societal context, where it is present. Right-wing extremism can be manifested differently depending on who is advocating for it, and where in the world it is demonstrated. The flexible set of features can especially be useful in a

global perspective. Considering that societies in different countries have specific issues and contexts, right-wing extremism can manifest itself differently. As an example of this diversity there is the Ukrainian party Svoboda, which is widely considered as an extreme-right party. While most far-right and extreme right parties in Europe oppose EU and its organisation, Svoboda is positive to the idea of joining the union and has even stated that Ukraine should play a crucial role in it (Ghosh, 2013, p. 209). This example highlights that even in a smaller European context distinction can be identified which could affect the relevance of certain features.

Cas Mudde's approach to define right-wing extremism by using features and sub-features has highly inspired this thesis. This approach has been criticised for limiting the definition and that important ideological concepts are excluded (Zaslave, 2009). However, I would argue that this approach does the opposite. Instead of viewing the features as permeant, they can be modified. This enables the use of suitable features that can be adapted to a particular societal context or certain period of time. Right-wing extremism twenty years ago, is not necessarily the same today. By using Mudde's approach, a researcher has more freedom of adapting the definition of right-wing extremism to the circumstances required for his or her study.

Four features have been used to determine the right-wing extreme association. Thus, we have to ensure what combinations of features constitute right-wing extremism. Considering the debateable definition of right-wing extremism, it is impossible to come up with an objective answer to this question. However, three different approaches can be used to determine what combination of features constitutes right-wing extremism (Mudde, 1995, p. 218)

The first one is closely related to a qualitative approach where all of the features are not as equally important. The qualitative approach is commonly used in Germany where anti-democracy is the most important feature. If a party does not advocate anti-democracy, it cannot be labelled as right-wing extreme (Mudde, 1995, p. 118). The analysis of this thesis resulted in NMR receiving the highest score in anti-democracy. NMR scored five out of six in this category, meanwhile AfD scored zero and SVP one. Based on the German qualitative approach, NMR is the only party which can be labelled right-wing extreme.

The second approach is more quantitative and all of the features are equally important. The most important criteria are the number of features which enables several options. One way of using this approach is to define right-wing extremism as an ideology containing all features. Another way is to label a party as right-wing extreme if it possesses only half of the features (Mudde, 1995, p. 218). Whichever way this approach is used, NMR once again qualifies as right-wing extreme, since the party almost has a full score in all of the features. However, in regards to the Swiss SVP and German

AfD it is not as apparent. Based on the first approach none of the parties can be labelled right-wing extreme since they do not clearly possess all of the features. Another scenario appears when using the second approach. From the results of the AfD manifesto analysis it is clear that three out of the four features can be associated to the party (nationalism, exclusionism and strong state). This also qualifies AfD as right-wing extreme. Although, SVP has the low total score eight out of twenty-six, it is also labelled right-wing extreme based on this approach. The party neither possess the features of nationalism nor anti-democracy. However, it possesses strong state and exclusionism. By having an association with two out of four features, SVP also qualifies as right-wing extreme.

The third and last approach is a combination of both qualitative and quantitative criterions. One way of using this approach is to combine anti-democracy with any other feature to label a party right-wing extreme. However, another combination of features can be used in this approach as well. It is possible to label a party right wing-extreme by combining one of the exclusive features such as nationalism or exclusionism with one of the *right-wing* features of anti-democracy and the strong state (Mudde, 1995, p. 219). As previously mentioned in the first qualitative approach neither AfD nor SVP possesses the anti-democracy features. Thus, no association to right-wing extremism can be made by combing anti-democracy with another feature. Only NMR can be labelled right-wing extreme by combining anti-democracy with any other feature. However, both AfD and SVP scored high enough to possess the strong state feature which can be combined to any of the exclusive features. In AfD's case, the strong state feature can be combined with both nationalism or exclusive considering that the party possesses both exclusive features. Since SVP has no association to nationalism this feature cannot be used. However, the Swiss party possess exclusionism which can therefore be combined with strong state. Thus, all three political parties can be labelled right-wing extreme based on the mixed qualitative and quantitative approach.

A summary whether the different parties possess the different approaches or not is presented in the following table:

Table 18
Party association to the different approaches

	AfD	NMR	SVP
Qualitative approach	No	Yes	No
Quantitative approach			
All features	No	Yes	No
Half of the features	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mixed approach	Yes	Yes	Yes

The total score that each political party received highlights a significant difference between NMR and the other two parties. The Swedish party received twenty-four out of twenty-six points which in comparison to AfD's twelve and SVP's eight points clearly suggests that NMR has the strongest association to the definition of right-wing extremism. One of the more apparent distinctions that can be made between NMR and the other political parties is the anti-democracy result. NMR has a strong association to the feature with five out of six points meanwhile SVP only scored one and AfD had no association at all. NMR also distinguishes itself in regards to the nationalism feature, where a full association, six out of six, can be ensured. Although AfD also received a high score with four out of six, no association could be found when analysing SVP. Here, we can also confirm that the similarities between AfD and SVP, in regards to the received score, end. AfD clearly emphasises the importance of nationalism more than SVP. Similarities between the parties in regard to the definition of right-wing extremism have been noted in both the exclusionism and strong state features. Although, NMR also here scored the highest, AfD and SVP are not far behind. Based on the result of this thesis, all the parties possess the feature.

11 Conclusion

The contested definition of right-wing extremism among scholars has been the main motivation for making this thesis. Thus, the purpose of the study has been to give a theoretical contribution by developing an analytical framework, that can serve as a definition of right-wing extremism and test it on a selection of empirical cases. The result of the analysis on the three political parties AfD, NMR, and SVP has also given an empirical contribution. The three research questions of this study set out to answer have been: how the concept of right-wing extremism can be understood and used in research, how the three selected cases relate to right-wing extremism, and what differences and similarities there are between the selected cases in regards to right-wing extremism

Considering the lack of an uncontested definition of right-wing extremism, I have argued that it is difficult to conduct research with the aim of simply figuring out if a political party is right-wing extreme or not. Instead, I recommend the research strategy used in this thesis where the aim is to measure the association right-wing extremism. I also argue that the broad definition of right-wing extremism makes it suitable for research in many different societal contexts. Considering that right-wing extremism can manifest itself differently depending on who and where it is advocated, different set of features is necessary to include. The lack of permeant set of features associated to the concept can therefore be helpful. The flexibility of the right-wing extreme concept also ensures that the included features are suitable for the time it is demonstrated. The set of features that was associated to the concept twenty years ago is not necessarily the same today.

A main finding of the analysis was that NMR has an association to all of the approaches, meanwhile, AfD and SVP have no association to the qualitative approach, and no association to the quantitative approach (in the case of possessing all the features). However, an association could be ensured to the quantitative approach in the case of possessing half of the features, and an association could also be confirmed to the mixed approach. This result suggests that NMR can be branded right-wing extreme, whichever approach is used. Meanwhile, AfD and SVP are not right-wing extreme in relation to the quantitative approach, however, they are in regards to the quantitative and mixed approach.

Based on the score that each political party received, NMR distinguished itself significantly from the other parties with the total score of twenty-four out of twenty-six. In comparison AfD and SVP received relatively similar numbers of twelve and eight.

In future research it would be interesting to have a similar analysis approach as in this thesis, however with the aim that is more founded on empirical contribution. Including political parties that are more comparable in regards to ideology and electoral success, would result in an interesting contribution. A broader variety of empirical material would also be included to ensure that sufficient amount of information has been gathered. Material that could be relevant to include would for example be: party newspapers, social media accounts, and official documents aimed at members from the party leadership.

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