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THE RISE OF THE FAR RIGHT IN EUROPE

Bachelor's Thesis

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I declare I have written the bachelor's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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ABSTRACT

Politics in Europe is currently experiencing the increasing emergence of political parties that are considered as far right, or radical right. These parties enforce ideology that includes anti-immigration, anti-Muslim and anti-establishment sentiments with nationalist and populist aspects. The phenomenon is not something that has not been experienced before, but the characteristics these currently growing far right parties have are different from those in the past. The objective of this research is to identify why these extreme ideologies are increasingly gaining support in Europe. It was founded that there are three main reasons that enabled this development; the unstable economic situation in Europe, the refugee crises caused by the Syrian civil war, and the increased populism amongst the far right parties. This research was conducted through empirical analysis including four case studies. The cases studied were selected by their relevance to the topic and in order to present a comprehensive picture of the European far right. The case studies are France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Austria.

The title is: The Rise of the Far Right in Europe

Keywords: far right, European Union, National Front, Party for Freedom, Jobbik, The Freedom Party of Austria, populism, immigration crisis

INTRODUCTION

Far right parties have gained some remarkable support in Europe during the recent years. The parties have been reported to gain record results in regional and national elections all across Europe, in France, Austria, Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium and Hungary, to name a few. The rise of the Europe's far right is not a new phenomenon but ever since the Second World War, the supporters of the right-wing ideology in Europe have been a minority. These far right parties in Europe are all different and independent actors in European political field but they have few things in common; firstly, all of them are, to some extent, anti-immigration, especially towards immigration from the Middle East. Secondly, they are discontent with the European Union (EU) and consider it ineffective. Thirdly, they are worried about their financial futures because of the economic crisis in Europe. Lastly, they all have populist politician party leaders.

One of the most prominent characteristic all the biggest far parties in Europe share is the anti-immigration stance. For example, the leader of the Dutch Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid; PVV), Geert Wilders, is known for his anti-Muslim stance and disrespectful comments towards Muslim immigrants. The situation has even escalated in such a way that Wilders now have bodyguards with him all the time wherever he goes in order to guarantee his safety (Deutsch 2015). There is a wave of fear sweeping over Europe about the radical Islamist preachers who will plan terrorist attacks in Europe. People believe that the immigrants are a threat to Europe and that is why many of the Europeans are now opposing immigration, or at least feel that the influx of immigrants should be more controlled. Xenophobia, which means the fear of something different, and Islamophobia, a fear of Islam, are growing in Europe, which feeds the far right parties who will use the fear in their advantages by promising regulations on immigration and thus, increase the number of people supporting the parties.

Another characteristic that the far right parties in Europe have in common is the

Euroscepticism, or the discontent with the European Union. Most of the European far right parties have some negative attitudes towards the European Union, either they are against the idea of deeper integration of Europe and feel that the Union has too much power, or they are sceptical about the Union in general and do not believe it is effective or permanent solution to the problems in Europe. The Europeans feel anxious about their future in the European Union because of the financial crisis that occurred in 2008. Europeans feel that the European Union is not functioning in the way that it should, meaning that it does not focus enough on enforcing the well-being of Europeans. Thus, people are concerned about their future in terms of employment, social services and welfare (Eurobarometer 2014). As a result of the financial crisis, Euroscepticism has increased and the support towards the Euro has been diminishing, which has helped the far right to gain more support. This is due to the fact that some of the European Union's goals are to unite the European Union in social and economic terms but many Europeans tend to think this has not happened, at least not in the way it would benefit the people of Europe, and thus, criticism towards the European Union has increased. This kind of development furthers the positive image of far right because they promise less involving in the European Union level and more focused administration in a state level. The parties are then seen as a possible solution to the situation and that way they appeal to the voters. The far right's discourse can be described in three main aspects of ideology; anti-establishment, anti-immigration and the national preference over cultural pluralism (Guibernau 2010).

In addition to anti-Islam and -immigration, and to anti-establishment stances, populism has increased its presence among the European far right. Most of these parties use populism in order to gain more support from the public. Populism is a way of influencing the public using thoughtful rhetoric and charismatic representative. In the rhetoric, "us" is used as a reference to the party members and to those who support the party. "Them" is the reference to the others and to those who do not support the party's ideology. The idea of "us" versus "them" is used often in populism and in the rhetoric of the populists leaders. Populism has become the weapon of the far right and so far, as can be seen from the electoral results, it has been rather effective one.

The phenomenon of the rise of the far right is extremely current. The most prominent development started at the early 2000 but only during the recent year has the far right parties managed to win seats in parliaments. This has happened in all over Europe; in France, the

Netherlands, Belgium, Hungary, Greece, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden. The development is also continuing to this day. Recently, in 13 March of this year, the right-wing populist anti-immigrant and Eurosceptic party, Alternative for Deutschland (Alternative für Deutschland; AfD) managed to gain a record result in three German states in the regional elections. The party that was founded only three years ago made a significant result by gaining access to the state assemblies in eight states. (Anti-refugee…2016).

In this paper, I will be exploring the rise of the far right parties in the European Union, specifying in the cases of France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Austria. I will research this phenomenon through the research question 'why the far right is rising in Europe today and which factors are the reasons behind this phenomenon'. I aim to analyse the recent occurrences concerning the growing popularity of the far right parties and ideologies through empirical analysis studying the phenomenon from effects towards causes. I will use qualitative research methods to conclude my findings. I will assume that the far right has gained support in Europe because of three main reasons; the economic instability in Europe, the Syrian refugee crisis, and the increased populism. The importance of this study is the radical nature this phenomenon has. It is hard to understand what drives people to vote for far right, which enforces discriminating visions by opposing Muslims, Jews, Roma people and/or gays. By studying the phenomenon one could perhaps find an alternative solution to the anxiety the Europeans are experiencing.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first section includes the theoretical background and the basic concepts and terminology when studying this phenomenon. The second section then gives empirical evidence to support the theory and deepens the study by providing case studies in four European Union member states; France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Austria. I chose these four countries as a case study in order to get as comprehensive picture as possible of the nature of the phenomenon throughout Europe. The current far right in France is one of the oldest in Europe and also one of the biggest in the sense that it has the most seats in national government and in the European Parliament among the far right in Europe. The Netherlands was chosen since the country has always been perhaps the most open-minded society in Europe and thus, it is interesting to see the rise of such discriminate sentiments as the far right plant. Hungary's far right is one of the most radical far rights in the parliament of any European state and thus, it was chosen to show the more radical side of the phenomenon. Austria's far right belongs to the group of newly

emerging parties. Although the far right in Austria has existed for a long time it only started to gain significant support later. Hence, Austria was chosen because it represents the more current development of the rise of the far right. After the case studies, the final section goes into deeper in analysing the factors influencing the phenomenon of the rise of the far right and discusses the reasons more thoroughly.

1. DEFINING RIGHT-WING

From the Second World War until the 1980s the far right was irrelevant and a minor actor in European political field. At that time, far right movement was considered as fascist movement and thus, it faced a lot of criticism. Fascism has been very unpopular ideology ever since the Second World War, which was characterized by fascism. Thus, the far right was insignificant for several decades. Moreover, because the far right was automatically linked with fascism or neo-fascism it was also connected with the neo-fascist Italian Socialist Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano; MSI), which was, at the time, the only party that openly described itself as extreme right-wing party that was advocating pre-war fascism (Ignazi 2003, 1). Nevertheless, in the 1980s the Europe's far right started to evoke again. The development first started in the Western Europe, namely France, but has now propagated all over Europe, and established a firm presentation in European politics. These newly emerged far right parties are not neo-fascist in any way but before they were mistaken as ones because they were the only parties supporting ideologies that one would put at the right end of the right-left political spectrum. Regardless of their position in the spectrum they do not have any fascist aspects in their ideologies but are actually representing something different. This is why these parties can be consider as the "new" far right. I will be using this form later on in this paper as well, and my point with this is to make the reader understand that the parties that are considered far right parties in Europe today are not fascists and share no connection with the fascist ideology. These parties that I will address as the "new" far right are mainly criticising the legitimacy of the prevailing system and whether or not it is democratic. Piero Ignazi, a professor and a scholar of political science form the University of Bologna, wrote the following to describe the new far right:

> "They (the far right) are fiercely opposed to the idea of parliamentary representation and partisan conflicts, and hence they argue for corporatist or, mainly, direct or personalistic mechanisms of

representation; they are against the idea of pluralism because it endangers (the ideal of) societal harmony; they are against the universal idea of equality as rights should be allotted on the basis of ascriptive elements (race, language, ethnicity); and finally they are somewhat authoritarian because they conceive supra-individual and collective authority (State, nation, community) as more important than the individual one. All these holistic and monistic elements put these parties in conflict with the basic principles of contemporary liberal democracy." (Ignazi 2003, 2)

The following chapters will broaden the understanding of the political ideologies and the division of right-wing and left-wing politics. I will define what right- and left-wing politics are and how these are characterised. Also a definition for the far right is studied in this chapter. The aim of this chapter is to give a deeper understanding of the theoretical background of the far right and the division of the left and the right. This knowledge provided will then make the understanding of the rise of the far right easier.

1.1 Dichotomy of left-wing and right-wing

One can separate the traditional left- and right-wing politics by their principles of ideology. Generally speaking the Left-wing ideology is characterised by the pursuit of some sort of social or economic change in the society. Traditionally the supporters of the left-wing are the poor, disadvantaged and the working class. The ideology of the left-wing usually supports the notions of equality within the society, liberty, and collectivism (Heywood 2013).

On the other end of the spectrum is the right-wing ideology. The supporters of the right-wing are usually those people who are more advantaged in the society and who have interests in business and support the capitalistic economy. The right-wing is characterised by conservative way of thinking with the notion of maintaining the existing social order rather than supporting any sort of reform in the society. The right-wing favours individualism, authority, tradition and nationalism (Heywood 2013).

The division of left-wing and the right-wing is usually presented in political spectrum. There are three types of these spectra; the linear spectrum, horseshoe spectrum and the two-

dimensional spectrum. Political parties do not study these spectra or traditional division of the left and the right in order to fit the party in a particular frame. It is even possible that inside a party there exists the party's own division between left and right. Thus, many parties have both traditional left-wing and right-wing characteristics in their agenda (Heywood 2013). The idea to classify parties as left-wing or right-wing is conventional and makes it easier to distinguishing the differences. The aim is to simplify the differences but it can also be misleading (Tansey 2000, 73).

In contemporary liberal democracies, as the one in Europe, the left and the right is complemented with the big centre, which has characters of both the left and the right by supporting the constitutional system but also believing to the benefits of gentle social, economic and political change. There also exists the far left and the far right in liberal democracies but they are usually a minority. The far left and far right has the need to radically change something in the existing system. For the left this means such sentiments as anti-capitalist, socialist and Marxist, and for the right nationalist, conservative and capitalist tendencies. The traditional extreme cases of far left would be communism, and of far right fascisms (Tansey 2000).

1.2 Defining the far right

The classification of the far right is started at the horizontal political spectrum. The position in that spectrum is the first criteria in the classification. The far right is located at the right end of that spectrum indicating the traditional values of right-wing ideology. Whether a party can be considered as far right party it is necessary to look at the positioning of other political parties in the same spectrum. There exists no line or point in the spectrum to indicate whether a party is far right or just moderate right and thus, the separation is made by studying the positions of other parties. It is important to note that the position of other parties differs from party-system to party-system. (Ignazi 2015)

In addition, not all the parties that are at the right end of the spectrum can be considered as far right. There is a second criterion of classification, as well. The second criterion is the party's ideology. Far right parties traditionally have tendencies towards fascism by referencing fascist ideology through symbols, slogans and supporting the "third way" aside from capitalism and communism. The presence of fascist traditions is an indicator of a party

belonging to the far right but the lack of traits does not means that the party does not belong to the far right. Fascist ideology does not appeal to the majority of the people hence there is no point to be advocating it. The new far right that emerged in the 1980s have no connections with fascist ideology but they are still considered as far right. The new far right has an ideology that radically opposes the existing norms of the society (Ignazi 2015, 31, 32). Thus, those political parties that are at the right end of the political spectrum and share the same ideology of opposing the existing social and political norms can be considered as the new far right. The new far right accepts the concept of parliamentary democracy even though most of them are anti-establishment. The problem for the far right is the forces that control the European Union. These forces have too much control over the national governments and the power is in the hands of the "elite" when it should be in the hands of those people who want the best for the general population (Guibernau 2010). In conclusion, the new far right and the traditional far right differ drastically from each others. The traditional consideration of far right being fascist can no longer be considered as a fact.

As explained earlier, to consider the current far right as a "new" far right does not mean that phenomenon of the rise is new but the agenda of these parties has been shaped to fit our time. The far right that is emerging in Europe today is a new way of portray far right. The new far right has a much more clear aim on what it wants to achieve and this is the case in every European country where the far right has gained footing. The far right believes that the precious ideas of nationalism and nation sate are being threatened by mass immigration, globalization and deeper European integration, matters that the new far right tries to avoid (Right-Wing…2013, 10).

When defining the far right, populism needs to be addressed since it is one of the most prominent characteristics of the new far right parties in Europe. Populism can be considered as a method of trying to influence people in political sense. Using specific rhetoric combined with suitable ideology of a party and using them in same context is a way of persuading the people. Right-wing populism is characterised by "us identity" connecting the notion of "us" to nationalism, ethnicity and religion (Right-Wing…2013, xiv-xx). Populism is also an expression of discontent towards the policy-makers and towards those who has the power. It is criticism towards the existing political environment where the power is taken away from the public, even though, in democracy that is were the power should be. The main emphasis of populism is on the notion that the people should be the ones governing the society in order

for the decisions to be made in such a way that benefits the people. When power is externalized to the "elite" the people suffers.

The problem with the concept of populism is that it is hard to understand who belongs to "the people" or to "us" and who does not. In historical context it can be said that African slaves or Jews have not belonged to the concept of "us". The contemporary political populism is based on the discontent of the public towards the national governments who are seen as not fulfilling their duties for the sake of the people and therefore, it is possible to argue that Europe has drifted away from real democracy. By giving more power to the people the problem can be solved. Populism tries to lower the threshold between politics and the public. By using rhetoric means that are formed in a way that the public gets the sense that "we" are united against "them". This means that we, the general population, are threatened by something, by them. In right wing populism, the elite is the one who threatens the people against whom the rhetoric is used. For example, race or nationality are used by populism to create "natural" distinctions between "us" and "them" (Right-Wing…2013).

However, there is a problem with the European new far right. The far right parties share some core issues, such as immigration, economic instability and nationalism but it lacks comprehensive unifying ideology. This is why it is difficult to define the far right. The definition is hard because of this lack of unifying ideology but also because the term far right includes everything from neo-fascists groups to moderate liberal right-wing parties that radically oppose some aspects of existing society and political environment, such as the Finns Party in Finland, for instance. The new far right does not aim to reform the democratic system but is rather criticising the way the existing democracy is practised. The far right thinks the Europe is governed by the elite and that European Union is overtaking the importance of a single state (Guibernau 2010).

2. FAR RIGHT IN EUROPE

The following chapter will give the reader a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of the rising far right in Europe by providing four case studies; France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Austria. Each state will be studied individually to understand the development in each of the states. I will pay attention to the historical background of the far right by concentrating in one party in each state. Then I will examine how the support of each party has increased and how significant has the growth been. Lastly I try to analyse in which direction the support of these parties is going. The aim of this this chapter is to provide examples of the development of far right parties in Europe. With these case examples I will show how the far right have increased its support in these given states and analyse the factors behind this development.

Some far right party leaders, as Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French far right party Front National, have predicted that the European Union will collapse at some point and that the power the European elite has is not in accordance to the democratic values. The elite has been called as the "monster in Brussels". There is a discontent among these far right parties towards the sufficiency of the European Union and thus, the dissolution of the Union would give the European countries the possibility to work more efficiently on their internal issues and focus less on collective European issues. The parties have argued that the power should be given back to the people from the elite and the power of Brussels to be diminished (Traynor 2013).

There is a debate between the scholars about whether the far right parties are threatening the position of other parties in national governments and if they are, to what extent is the popularity of the far right going to impact on them. This debate could be because of the insufficiency of empirical research in this context. It is impossible to know the impacts of far right in the future, and thus, to find a common ground on the matter is difficult. Nevertheless, by studying the subjects, it is possible to narrow down the possible effects and

then construct a plausible conclusion (Right-Wing…2013).

2.1. The case of France

French far right party National Front (Front National; FN) was considered as one of the winning parties in European Parliamentary election in 2014 when it became the country's biggest party in the European Parliament by winning 24 seats out of France's 74. Party's ideology most notably includes anti-immigration, anti-establishment and Eurosceptic views. The success in European Parliamentary elections was only the beginning (A look…2014). FN got nearly seven million votes in French regional election in last December. Surprisingly, the party did not manage to win in any regions and was defeated by France's two biggest parties The Socialist Party (Parti socialiste) and The Republicans (Les Républicains). Even though the FN did not win in any regions the result was remarkable, regardless (Toijonen 2016).

The post-war far right emerged in France in the 1980s. The most prominent French far right party, the FN, was founded in 1972 and Jean-Marie Le Pen, the father of the current leader Marine Le Pen, was appointed President of the new party. At that time, the party's ideology was characterized by nationalism, conservatism, and anti-communism stance. During the first years of party's existence there were some internal disagreement between those who believed that the party should take a more fascist direction, following the example of the Italian Social Movement (MSI), and those opposing this idea. Jean-Marie Le Pen was one of those who opposed a more fascist approach and promoted for more legitimate direction to be taken. After few years of disagreements the more radical wing of the party, called New Order (Ordre Nouveau; ON), left the FN (Ignazi 2003).

The far right in France was a minor player in the political field from the emergence of the FN until the 1984 European elections. Before the 1984 European elections, the party had only gained minor support in elections, 1,3% being its best result. Nevertheless, the direction was about to change. Already in the 1982 the party gained its first more significant percentage in cantonal elections scoring over 10% of the votes. The next year same occurred in municipal elections, and in 1984 European elections the party suddenly got 11,2% of the votes. These events brought the FN into the map of French politics and to the awareness of the bigger public. The party managed to gain electoral success because it was able to politicize new topics, such as immigration, which at the time was not a big theme in politics. The party was

also able to refine immigration to public in such a way that it would be seen as a direct problem as well as an indirect problem. Moreover, the party benefited from the general discontent of the people towards the politics and political institutions of France. The prevailing atmosphere that increased the gap between the public and the political system contributed lowering the threshold of people to vote against the system. A party that advocated such ideas was the FN (Ignazi 2003).

Later, in the early 1990s the party declared itself as the advocate of the low-income workers, low-educated people, and the people from the countryside. In the party's congress in 1994 the FN announced its official policy to be defending the national interests over the interests of the EU. In fact, in the presidential elections in 1995 where Jean-Marie Le Pen managed to get 15,3 % of the votes, 30% came from the working class and 25% from the unemployed (Ignazi 2003).

The success of FN in France in the 1980s and 1990s was surprising not only because of the fact that they represented the far right, but also because of geographical reasons. Many of supporters of the FN came from the areas of eastern France, which usually was considered a strong part of the left wing. The area has low immigration rates and low unemployment rate, factors that usually would not be founded in FN strong area. One could assume that the FN strong areas are those with high rates of crime, unemployment and immigration. Moreover, when comparing the voters of the FN to the voters of traditional right wing there are some distinct differences. In addition to the geographical change also most of the voters are men, 60% more or less. Another new feature among the voters of FN is that also so called "blue collar" workers who are still young and obtain only few qualifications, which makes them vulnerable for unemployment tend to vote for FN (Knapp, Wright 2006, 243).

Regardless of not winning in any regions in the French regional election last December, the FN still has strong support. Position in opposition will give Le Pen the opportunity to direct her criticism towards the ruling parties. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the fact that FN did not win in any region, would not impact Le Pen and her party. This was a huge lost for the party and it emphasises the fact that the party still has less power in the French Parliament. At the same time, unemployed rates are rising, as well as the anxiety of the people. Hence, there is a possibility for the FN to use those factors in its favour, and perhaps increase the party's support and gain access to the government in the next elections (French…2015).

2.2 The case of the Netherlands

The situation in the Netherlands is a good example of the development of the far right in the whole Europe. After the Second World War the far right has not been significantly present in the country's politics but during the last ten to fifteen years the far right has started to gain support again. As a result, the country now has the most right-wing government since the Second World War. Europe is now seeing the biggest rise of the far right since the Second World War, as is the Netherlands.

The Netherlands have been considered as one of the most liberal, open-minded and tolerant societies in Europe for a long time. From the 1990s the country has faced a rapid sift to the right. This shift hit its peak in 2010 Dutch Parliamentary elections when the country's biggest far right party Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid; PVV) got 15% of votes and gained 24 seats out of the 150 in the Dutch House of Representatives. (Right-Wing…2013)

The PVV was founded only in 2005 by its leader Geert Wilders. Wilders was earlier a member of the conservative People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) but left the party due to his decreased support inside the party caused by personal criticism towards him. He then decided to form his own party, which is now one of the biggest in the Netherlands. In 2005 Wilders, established a new party that opposed the current establishment. This was a consequence of the growing acceptance in the Dutch government to agree Turkey to join the European Union. (Spoerri 2013) This position has not changed since the establishment of the PVV. Wilders have said that Turkey will never joint the European Union because the country does not belong to Europe and the people are not Europeans. Wilders posted a video online in 2015 saying "an Islamic state like Turkey does not belong to Europe". The video was criticised by Mark Rutte, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands as insulting and unconsidered. (Deutsch 2015)

Since the founding of the party, Wilders is still the leader but many other things have changed in ideological, electoral and political terms (Mudde 2016). Ideologically the party has changed its position a few times. It started as a liberal conservative party, which was also strongly anti-Islam and islamophobic. Later on the party started to lean towards neo-conservatism and neoliberalism but was still not considered as far right. Only during the last few years has the party turned into a far right party. Its ideology is now characterised by anti-establishment, anti-immigration, anti-Islam, and ethno-nationalism. PVV is now advocating

for the separation of the Netherlands from the European Union and from the Eurozone and welfare chauvinism (which means that the state welfare should be directed to a certain group, like the natives, and not to the immigrants). What has remained the same throughout the party's history in terms of ideology is the anti-Islam aspect. Opposing Islam is the party's, and especially the leader Geert Wilder's, main concern. It is also what makes the party most radically different from other similar parties, such as the FN and The Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) (Mudde 2016).

In electoral terms the party have also gone through some changes. The party has managed to grow from a minority party into one of the biggest one in the country. Overall, the support from the voters has been increasing throughout the existence of the party. The people who tend to vote the PVV are mainly working class or less educated males, like the voters of other far right parties in Europe. The supporters of the party also seem to be rather reliable and had not rejected the party even though Wilders has been accused for being too extreme with his words and slogans. (Ibid.)

Wilders is one of the most radical opponents of Islam in Europe. He has warned that the Europe might face an "islamization" which he has connected with the increased immigration form the Middle East and Northern Africa. He believes that the immigration of Muslims will lead to a situation were Islam will become the majority religion in Europe. Although, the immigration of Muslims is Wilders biggest issue, he has also advocated decreasing immigration from the Eastern Europe as well. According to Wilders, immigration from Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania is not beneficial for the Netherlands. (Vossen 2011)

The position against Islam and Muslims is the key in PVV's succession. Moreover, Wilders is known and admired amongst he's supporters for his courage to openly advocate anti-Islam and anti-immigration and advocating nationalism. Wilders has been accused of using too radical and inappropriate wording in his statements but these accusations have had little to no affect in his delivery. In addition to the anti-Islam stance, Wilders is anti-establishment. Wilders has also advocated for the withdrawal of the Netherlands from the European Union and from the Eurozone. However, in the Netherlands the anti-European Union ideology does not have as much support as the anti-immigration ideology has. (Spoerri 2013)

Wilders knows how to act in front of a crowd and uses mass media and the internet in his advantage. The party does not have organizations that support them such as youth

branches, or any other additional advocates of the party's policies other than the official website of the party, but still the party has managed to gain lot of supporters. This is due to the thoughtful usage of populist rhetoric. The organizational structure of the party can also be considered some what weak or almost non-existing since Wilders is the one who decides the PVV candidates in any given elections. Moreover, he chooses which party representatives are allowed to talk to the media. In this way, Wilders has more control over the presentation of the party. Wilders is prominent figure in the media and continually makes provoking statements. The party is very popular in the social media as well, and uses it as one of its tools to increase the amount of supporters.

In the spring of 2017, the Netherlands will hold its next general elections. The aim of the PVV is to enter a coalition government but all the other major parties in the Netherlands has announced that they will not enter a coalition with the PVV. Wilders has assessed that in case the PVV is left out of the coalition, the public will organize demonstrations against the Dutch government since the party is one of the biggest one in the country (Deutsch 2015).

2.3 The case of Hungary

As the new far right in Europe emerged around the 1980s, the Hungarian one stayed out of the picture for another decade. The far right in Hungary emerged after the fall of the Soviet Union and communism, but still staying only as a small minority. The first Hungarian far right party was founded in 1993, later than most ones in Western Europe. The first party was Party of Hungarian Justice and Life (Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja; MIÉP), which reached its highest electoral result in 1998 with 5,5% and 14 seats in the Hungarian Parliament. Nevertheless, from the next elections onward the party's support has decreased and is no longer relevant in Hungarian politics (Right-Wing…2013).

From the aftermath of the MIÉP the currently most prominent far right party in Hungary, Movement for a Better Hungary, generally known as Jobbik (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom) was born. The party was founded in 2003 as a successor of initially a far right student organization founded a year earlier. In its first elections, the Hungarian Parliamentary elections in 2006, the party got only 2,2% of the votes and 0 seat in the Parliament but in the next elections in 2010 the support increased significantly resulting almost 17% of the votes ensuring 47 seat in the 386 seat Parliament. In 2014 elections the

party managed to score 20% of the votes, which meant 24 seats out of 199 (the size of the parliament of Hungary was reduced in 2014 from 386 seats to 199 seats). Surprisingly in the European Parliamentary elections in 2009 Jobbik was able to ensure 15% of the votes winning 3 seats out of 22 Hungarian seats in European Parliament. In the last elections in 2014 the support was more or less the same, resulting same 3 seats (Right-Wing…2013).

At the begging, the main agenda of the party was the prevention of the socialist rule to ever returning into power in Hungary but soon after, the party reformed its political agenda and replaced the old one with conservatism, anti-communism and anti-globalism. Today, Jobbik still have these same agendas as a base of the party ideology. Conservatism is important especially in terms of Hungarian identity and national conservatism but also in socioeconomic terms, meaning the Hungarian enterprises and products should be favoured over the multinational ones. Communism and globalization are seen as obstacles in the development of Hungary and thus, the party opposes them. Globalization is threatening the Hungarian culture and individualism by enforcing deeper integration of Europe and multiculturalism, both which, again, threatens the growth of Hungary. Thus, the party is also anti-establishment and Eurosceptic (Pirro 2015).

Other prominent aspects in the Jobbik's ideology are the anti-immigration and anti-Semitism. Hungary's geographical position makes the country's borders one of the first European Union borders the immigrants who come from Africa and from the Middle East face. Thus, the ongoing refugee crisis has been extremely noticeable in the Hungarian southern border. This is one of the issues Jobbik has taken into consideration in its populist rhetoric. Jobbik uses populism by calling the refugees as "them" and the Hungarians as "us" in the sense that "they" are threatening "our" culture and cultural identity, traditions and security (Pirro 2015). The party has been accused of being anti-Semitist and anti-Israeli but the party has rejected these accusations. Nevertheless, in 2013 couple hundred Jobbik supporters rallied against the World Jewish Congress, which was held in Budapest. The rally was meant to be a protest against the Israeli's attempts "to buy" Hungary. Jobbik's leader Gabor Vona announced that Hungary is not for sale and that "The Israeli conquerors" are a threat to Hungarian nationalism. Some of the supporters of Jobbik were wearing black uniforms, similar to the uniforms of the banned paramilitary branch of the party, the Magyar Gárda. Thus, the Hungarian government tried to ban the rally but was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, no major unrest occurred (Jobbik…2013). However, this event could prove that

there is anti-Semitist sentiments in the ideology of Jobbik, event though the party have denied it.

According to the research of Adrás Kovács, a professor in Central European University in Budapest and Senior researcher in the Centre of Social Research at the Hungarian Academy of Science, the voters of Jobbik are ideologically driven and support ideas of anti-Semitism, nationalism (some even extreme) and are xenophobic. The voters of Jobbik can be identified with three major characteristics. The first, and the largest, group of voters consists of those individuals who suffered great losses in economic and social terms after the collapse of communism. To this group we can also add those individuals who experienced similar losses in the aftermath of the European financial crisis in 2008. The second group is basically opposite to the first one. The second group consists of students and people who have relative high social status and who have not experienced losses in economic or social terms due to political or economical changes but are more radical in terms of nationalism, anti-Islam, and anti-Semitism. The third group of voters is characterised by the support towards the party's Roma people stance. The party wants a radical change to the Roma people situation that Hungary has. Roma people are country's biggest minority. Many of the Roma people life together in slums and suffer from poverty caused by unemployment. These people are not integrated into the society and live off by the state welfare only. Moreover, they are often accused of criminal activities. The people who vote Jobbik because of its approach towards the Roma people problem, feel that Jobbik is the only party in Hungary that considers this issue as a political problem and has taken more radical and opposing approach into solving it (Right-Wing…2013, 228).

Jobbik has gained support also from other far right movements and organizations in Eastern Europe. It has been said to possess close ties with far right movements in Poland, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Belarus, Czech Republic, Romania and Serbia, and operating as a mentor to these movements by encouraging them to take more actions in political means in order to get a foothold in national parliaments and that way increase the influence of the far right in Eastern Europe. In the Western Europe, on the other hand, the party has not been as successful in founding organizations sharing same views as Jobbik. Jobbik has been accused of having an anti-Semitist view, which is what all the Europe's most prominent far right parties do not accept (Goettig, Lowe 2014). Moreover, the party suffers from a similar problem in Hungary, as well. The country's biggest party, Fidesz is not interested to work with Jobbik in the

parliament due to the radical differences in the views of the parties. Jobbik has also announced that it will not be satisfied with coalition and will not enter that, thus the party is now in opposition. Consequently, Jobbik's possibilities to gain real power in Hungary are at stake by the lack of suitable partners. (Dunai 2015)

2.4. The case of Austria

The Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs; FPÖ) is representing the populist far right, and is Austria's third largest political party. FPÖ is known for its anti-immigrant and anti-establishment stance. The party has campaigned especially against Muslim immigrants and against the spread of Islam in Europe (A look…2014). The party currently holds 38 seats out of 183 in Austrian National Council (first chamber of Austrian Parliament), 13 seats out of 61 in Federal Council (Second Chamber of Austrian Parliament), and 4 seats out of 18 Austrian seats in European Parliament.

The history of the party begins in the 1950s when its ideology was 'national liberalism' with notions of pan-German nationalism and liberalism. Through most of its history it was always "the third" party with only a little, if any, influence, and always in the opposition. In the 1990s Jörg Haider, a right-wing conservative, became the leader of the party when the liberal branch of the party resigned and established a new party, the Liberal Forum. Haider was controversial politician who was xenophobic and radically anti-system or anti-establishment supporter, but he was also charismatic, typical populist leader, who managed to appeal also to the lower class voters (Terry 2014).

It was only in the beginning of the 2000s when the party significantly increased its support among the Austrian people. In the year 2000 the party gained access to the coalition of the Austrian federal government for the first time. The party was, at the time, know for its indiscriminate attitude towards National Socialism, more commonly known as Nazism, and of use of slogans that had references to anti-Semitism. Consequently, this was not taken lightly in the EU, and the Union imposed sanctions to the Austrian government because the FPÖ was not considered as acceptable party to enter any liberal democratic government. The sanctions were abolished later that year but the party's internal problems resulted to the resignation of Jörg Heider. He was replaced by Heinz-Christian Strache who still today continues to be the

leader of the party. Despite the internal problems that the FPÖ had the party managed to stay as a part of the government until 2005 by the end of which it had basically lost all of its support from the people (Right-Wing…2013).

The party started to gain more support again in the late 2000 when it decided to reform its strategy and focus more on anti-Islam, rather than anti-Semitism, and on the uncertainty of the future due to the European financial crisis. The party's support increased in a steady pace from the late 2000s. Main reasons for this were the concerning economic situation in Europe and also the internal issues in Austrian politics between the two biggest parties, the SPÖ (the social democrats) and the ÖVP (the Christian democrats), and their coalition government (Right-Wing…2013).

In the Vienna elections in autumn 2015 the FPÖ reached it best election result so far. The reason for this was the humanitarian catastrophe in Syria, which resulted in a massive refugee crisis in Europe. Tens of thousands of refugees passed through Vienna in 2015, most of them while trying to reach Germany. This increased the fear against the rising number of immigrants in Austria and thus, the FPÖ, as anti-Islam and anti-immigration far right party, saw a record result in the elections. The party got 31% of the votes and finished second after the Social Democratic party (39,5%). (Refugee…2015)

The party uses somewhat controversial vocabulary in its public statements. A negative attitude towards Islam is perhaps the most glaring aspect in the FPÖ diction. It can be seen clearly form the party's rhetoric that Islam and Muslims are seen as radicals and as a threat to Austria, Europe and Christianity. The party's Handboch Freiheitlicher Politik (HFP) is the official document of the party's ideology. These above-mentioned and up-coming controversial statements towards Islam can be found all thorough out this document. Several claims of the danger and threat opposed by Islam can be found. For example, teaching Islam in Austria is seen as a way to radicalize Muslim children in schools by teaching them to consider Sharia law over the legal Western democratic thought (HFP 2013, 52; Right-Wing…2013, 144). The party opposes Minarets since they provoke Islamist radicalism by symbolising the power of Islam over other religions (HFP 2013, 53; Ibid.). The document presents a study (without acknowledgements of who conducted it) according to which half of the Austrian children will be Islamists by the year 2050 (HFP 2013, 52; Ibid.).

In conclusion, it can be said that the party feels that Islam is a threat that needs to be taken into account in all aspects of life; otherwise the people of Europe are in danger of losing

their cultural identity and the European society as the Europeans know it. Implementing the Muslim way of life into a European society is not sustainable and unlikely to be succeeded in. Thus, the only way to solve this problem is to decrease the immigration and deepen the integration of Muslims into the society. The HFP shows to the reader that the party is anti-Islam, anti-cultural diversity and islamophobic. All these examples are characteristics of a far right ideology. In a globalized world that we live in today, enforcing such ideas have become somewhat popular, as we can see from the other chapters of this paper.

3. REASONS BEHIND THE RISE IN SUPPORT OF THE FAR RIGHT

As can bee seen from the case studies in this paper, the growth of the far right has somewhat similar paths throughout the Europe. It is possible to identify few specific reasons why far right parties have gained support in the recent years. It can be argued that changes in economic or political environment in any given state could lead to new tendencies in states policies but there are also more profound reasons behind the changes as well. One of the most important aspects that impact the electoral success of a party is the internal organizational structure and leadership, and the dynamics and relationship of these two. With this, the importance of a charismatic leadership is emphasized. This is one of the mutual characteristics of Europe's far right parties. The parties I have studied in this paper have a charismatic, populist leader that is supported by a stable organization. An exception is the Netherlands. Wilders is charismatic leader but the party structure is anything but stable. Wilders is the only one with power inside the party. Nevertheless, one could assume that a charismatic leader would be beneficial to any party no matter where it is located in the political spectrum, but it can be argued that this is even more important in the case of far right parties because these parties tend to be more "prone to factionalism and infighting". This means that the existence of a charismatic and respected leader prevents factionalism and infighting from happening. (Carter 2005, 65) Moreover, in the case of far right parties, the leader is such a key figure of the party and its ideology that without this particular leader the party could simply fade away from the political map.

There are several indicators that show that the Europeans have concerns about their future. Eurobarometer is a survey conducted by the European Commission. It is based on face-to-face interviews, which are published twice a year in a Eurobarometer report. The respondents are from the European Union member countries but also respondents from Macedonia, Turkey, Montenegro, Serbia and Albania are included. The interview consists of

question regarding political environment, security environment, economics, and so on. The questions concern both the situation in the respondents' home country and in the European Union as a whole. Moreover, a group of questions regard the functions of European Union and how the public feel about the European Union. In the latest report in spring 2015 the three most important issues that the people in European countries are dealing with at the personal level are general rise of prises and living costs, unemployment and health, and social security. At the top, 27 % of the Europeans find the rising prices and cost of living as the most important issue to them although the percentage has fallen three percent since the last report (autumn 2014), and almost 20 % from the spring 2012. The second most important issue was unemployment with 16 % which also saw a reduction of 3 % from the last report. The third most important issue among the Europeans was the health and social security with 16%. The household financial situation, pensions, the education system, working conditions, and immigration were also mentioned. Naturally, the results vary inside different countries in Europe (Eurobarometer 2014).

The report also discusses the attitudes of the Europeans towards immigration. In the report, two kinds of immigration are indicated; immigration of the people inside the European Union and immigration from outside of the European Union. A majority (51%) of the Europeans feel that immigration within European Union is a positive thing, and 40% believe it is a negative one. On the other hand, immigration from outside of the European Union is a positive thing for 34% of the respondents and a negative thing for 56%. A clear majority of the European Union countries see immigration from outside the European Union in a negative light. Only in five European Union countries immigration from outside the European Union evokes more positive feelings than negative ones. These countries are Sweden, Romania, Ireland, Croatia, and Spain. In rest of the European Union countries the situations is vice versa. This means that an absolute majority of the respondents feel that immigration from outside the European Union is a negative thing. Most critical views towards immigration from outside the European Union are from Czech Republic (81%), Greece (78%), Latvia (78%) and Slovakia (77%) (Eurobarometer 2014). What can be seen from the results of the report is that the general public in Europe is concerned about their economic future including employment, and their security. Negative attitudes towards immigration are a prevailing thought among the public. Based on these facts one can assume that this type of situation in Europe is propitious for the far right parties to gain more support.

The historical developments of these studied countries have both similarities as well as differences. As can be seen from the previous chapter, the FN and Jobbik were originally opposing communism, and were created based on that idea. Although, the FN was established twenty years before Jobbik, both parties had the same original agenda. PVV and FPÖ, on the other hand, were established based on the anti-European Union ideology, PVV even more so. These both parties were more concerned about the nation-state issue that was threatened by the increased integration of the European Union. Moreover, the FN and the FPÖ benefitted from the internal disagreements in their national governments, and acted as critics towards the ruling establishment.

In this chapter I will be examining reasons why the support of the far right has increased and what factors impact the rise. Three main reasons behind this development are founded; economic instability of the Europe and the European Union, increased immigration due to the refugee crisis, and the rise of populism and the alienation of the general public from the politics. These have resulted in distrust between the public and the national governments and the public's discontent towards the European Union, and in cultural anxiety created by the increased immigration in Europe.

3.1. Economic instability

One reason why the far-right has gained support during the recent years in Europe is the economic instability, which was the result of the financial crisis of 2008. Economic instability creates financial insecurity and thus, increases the anxiety and discontent of the people. Since the end of the Cold War, the prevalent ideology of socialism weakened due to the collapse of communism. The traditional values of socialism that relied on labour unions, the feeling of togetherness, and equality, shifted towards individualism. Capitalistic individualism that seeks profit is a hard idea to combine with socialism and thus, socialism lost it supporters. To make the economy more profitable the low-skilled manufacturing industry was moved to the developing countries where the expenses were lower than in Europe. Thus, the low-skilled workers of Europe soon found themselves unemployed and uneducated to make up with the new demands of the labour markets. To increase the feeling of dissatisfaction towards the state and towards the society, the incoming immigrants were

labelled as "thieves" because they found job in a society were general population suffered from unemployment. The truth is that the locals simply disregarded the fact that many immigrant worked illegally or in dangerous conditions. Moreover, the locals themselves many times refused to do the low-skilled work since it was regarded as something an immigrant would do (Guibernau 2010).

The European Union has been struggling to manage the crisis and has been forced to cut expenses in almost all sectors of daily lives of people. Thus, anti-establishment stance and nationalism enforced by populist leaders has increased its support. As explained earlier in this paper, nationalism is one of the features the far right parties are characterised by. Moreover, in many cases the far right parties are driven by the idea of European Union having less power and influence in the Europe and having a strong nation-states rather than integration of Europe into one bigger entity. This is seen as problem by these far right parties because in that case the focus of the European Union would be on the welfare of the European Union over the welfare of individual states. Nations state is easy to understand and to comprehend because it is defined society with borders and common conception of who belongs to the society, and thus, the feeling of solidarity is easier to create. The European Union is not a nation-sate and thus, there is no feeling of solidarity among the Europeans, which makes the Union too complicated for the Europeans to comprehend (Zidan 2015).

3.2 Immigration and concerning multiculturalism

Many European leaders and the general population in Europe believe that the immigrants, if not properly checked at the borders, will pose a threat to Europe. After the attacks in Paris in January 2015 and later in November the same year, fears over radical Islamism intensified significantly. As some of the attackers came to Europe as alleged Syrian refugees the criticism towards the European Union way of dealing with the refugee crisis increased. Many European now feel that the European Union need a more aggressive plan of action regarding the entry of the refugees to the European Union. Some people even believe that the European Union should not take in any refugees since it only causes problems and undermine the security of the European Union (Traynor 2015). Since the media has made it sure that the world is aware of the Islamic State and how it executes and beheads innocent people in the name of Islam, it is no wonder why attitudes towards immigrants are, in many

cases, negative. The fear is that with these immigrants or refugees comes terrorists whose aim is to terrorise Europe. The fear is legitimate but often exaggerated (Byman 2015).

On January 2015 the Parisian news paper agency Charlie Hebdo was attacked by two gunmen who shot dead twelve people. The gunmen were later identified as French citizens from Algerian decent but being part of Al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen. Since the attacks, the debate over the possible threat the immigrants from Islamic countries pose to Europe have taken over control the discussion over immigration and the current refugee crisis and turned it into a debate over national security. There is a widespread believe among the Europeans that if Europe does not take more actions to control who gets to come to Europe, there is no way of knowing whether a person is a radical Islamist terrorists, possible assigned by a terrorist organizations, or not. Only the speculation over this matter is enough to enforce the arguments of Eurosceptic and the far right, even without evidence of the refugees committing terrorist attacks or crimes of any kind. Consequently, Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French far right party FN argued that there is a need to abolish the Schengen zone in order for the France to protect its citizens, and that without this action there is no possibility of guaranteeing the security of the French people (Troianovski, Walker 2015).

Ms. Le Pen is not alone in her stance, also the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban has stated that there absolutely exists a link between the refugees from to the Middle East and terrorist threat in Europe. In addition, immigration has also increased unemployment and crime in Europe, according to Mr. Orban. He also argued that illegal immigration is connected with rising unemployment and crime in Europe. Hungary is one those EU countries that border a non-European Union country and thus, face a lot of immigrants and refugees who try to get to the European Union. The country is so concerned about the threat the immigrants pose that it even build a fence to its southern border to make sure it controls the influx of the immigrants and refugees. The Prime Minister of Hungary belongs to the Hungary's biggest political party The Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Alliance), which is a right-wing national conservative party. Nevertheless, the party is now started to lose its position to Jobbik, the more radical right-wing party. There is a reason to believe that the immigration crisis and the development of Jobbik are connected. The Hungarians believe that the Fidesz is just not tackling the problems radically enough (Szakacs 2015).

With the problem of immigration, another problem arises. The increased amount of foreigners in Europe is constantly growing and one can see foreigners everywhere in Europe

these days. Due to globalization, cultural values and distinct characteristics of a culture are diminishing and all the cultures are mixing in with one another creating more monotonous culture. It is a fact that there are cultures and languages dying all the time in the world, and numerous smaller ethnic groups fear for that to happen to their culture. For instance, France is very protective of its own language and concerned about the spread of English language in the world. France still is an official language in many global events, such as the Olympics, and the language is widely used in European Union institutions. Even though French is probably not in the risk group of disappearing languages, the French have adopted the idea that the spread of English language poses a threat to the rest of the languages in the world. All these types of fears and doubts towards the national languages and cultures in Europe enforce the anxiety towards immigrants who seem to be practising their own culture and thus, threat the survival of the national culture. Thus, the integration of the immigrants is important to the people who are concerned about losing the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe (Guibernau 2010).

In conclusion, the problems that the people are experiencing in Europe, concerning their financial well-being and future prospects, are mainly due to the financial crisis of 2008 and the aftermath of that. Before the crisis the European Union was growing economically and the member states economies were rather stable. Now that the crisis has weakened the economy and made the life of the general public more difficult, the people need someone to blame. The anxiety that grows in Europe is directed towards immigrants and to the policy-makers and thus, the far right, as an advocate of this general public, gains more voters.

3.3 Populism

As discussed earlier in this paper, an increasing number of Europeans are feeling discontent with their politicians and their government. In democracy, the role of politician, party and the national government is to represent the people. The growing feeling of doubt towards the political system among the people results eventually in decreasing number of voters in a society. At the same time as people are lacking trust towards their governments, more integration in a European level is encouraged. For example, the electoral turnout in the European parliamentary elections is very low. In the last elections in 2014 the turnout was 43%. This means that less than half of those who have the right to vote actually used that

right. Ever since the first European parliamentary elections in 1979, where the turnout was 63%, the number has been decreasing. Slovakia holds the record of the lowest turnout percentage in the European Union, 13% in the elections in 2014 (European Parliament). The problem is that the European Parliament is what controls the European Union. If the people do not feel that the European Union has their interests in mind, they also feel that their votes are not going to change anything, and thus, people tend not to vote.

Moreover, deeper integration in the European level, which is advocated by those who are pro-European Union, is connected with the idea of weakening of state sovereignty. This increases anxiety among the citizens who feel that the state is no longer representing their views and ensuring their economic, social and political benefit but is rather too focused on integrating Europe and ensuring the growth of the European Union (Guibernau 2010).

In addition to the above mentioned political mistrust, another reason why far right reached new voters is populism. Populism has become a very distinctive characteristic of far right parties in Europe. These parties deliberately try to use populism in order to increase their support among the public and gaining more voters. Among the other parties, populism is not being used as widely and thus, it can be said to be a characteristic of the far right. It is a fact that every party needs voters in order to be successful and gain power in a given country to influence policies but not all parties use populism. In principle, the theory is very simple; parties are forced to listen to the voter's opinion in order to gain their votes. This creates a dialogue between the parties and the voters in which the parties may need to adjust their policies or some political aspects of their ideology for the sake of their electoral success. This means that the parties need to be able to react to the opinions of the voters, otherwise the party will not get any votes. Reacting to the opinions of the voters is mandatory if the party wants to be elected to the government. To implement this theory, the parties have two options, either the parties try influence voters directly, or through a mediator (Political…2002, 43-44).

As Thomas Poguntke explains, a party can use organizational mediators in order to gain support. These mediators are, for example, labour unions, religious groups, or a youth organization of a party. The party elites and the organizational elites communicate on the behalf of the people who belong to the party or the organization. Thus, direct contact between party members and the individual members of the organization does not exist. In other words, the voters are not in communication with the party members directly but through the organization they belong to. The advantage of the organizational mediator is that the party

will have a clearer and more comprehend picture of what the party's voters want. This is because the organization represents several voters and coherently come up with suggestions, feedback and grievances to the party. The party can then adjust their policies knowing that a big portion of their voters feel this way. Moreover, as long as the integration inside the organization is high, the structure stable, and the loyalty of the members is to the organization, the members of the organization tend to vote for those parties that the leaders of the organization vote regardless of their personal preferences (Political…2002, 46).

Another way for a party to be connected with the voters is by direct linkage. Again, as Poguntke explains, direct linkage means that the party will try to impact the public through media, internet, and campaigning. With these manners it is crucial for the party representative to know how to act in front of a crowd and how to be charismatic. Rhetoric is also very important. The basic idea of direct linkage is the direct communication with the party elites and other members and the public, meaning the voters. The parties try to find out what the public think through surveys and questionnaires in order to adjust their policy agendas to match the ideas of the public and that way gain more voters on their side. Using direct linkage may be difficult for the parties because the individual alone is more likely to change his or hers mind than a group of individuals in an organization would. Moreover, with the direct linkage, the party have to deal with all the individual grievances, which make it harder for the party to see the bigger picture. Although the organizational mediator is considered more effective for a party, a clear advantage of a direct linkage is its ability to reach everyone. Using the media, for instance, even those who are more likely to not to take part in society by, for example, voting can still be reached through direct linkage but not through organization (Political…2002, 45).

The new far right parties in Europe, those which emerged around 1980s, mainly prefer direct linkage with their supporters. Most of them have not established youth organizations nor tried to cooperate with different organizations. Older parties can usually trust their relatively solid group of voters who are members of an organization which is linked with the party. For example, religious organizations or groups can be expected to vote a party that shares same religious values. Thus, they may find it difficult to draw new voters.

On the other hand, the new far right parties that mainly use the direct linkage, needs to rely on clever techniques and rhetoric to gain new voters and the people who are not integrated into an organization are more prone to the populist campaigns run by the far right

parties. This is what can be seen in the far right parties of today. They use direct linkage, thoughtful presentation, and populist rhetoric in order to gain more support through media from those who are not involved in party politics or would not normally vote. The populist direct linkage have been successful for the parties I have examined earlier in this paper; FN, FPÖ, PVV and Jobbik. Decisions made by individuals could be determined by the effectiveness of a political campaign rather than organizational or societal pressure, or preference (Political…2002).

CONCLUSION

The rise of the far right ideology is not a new phenomenon nor does it seem to be shortly lived one either. The new far right has been growing since its emergence in the 1980s and 1990s and the trend is going upwards. One have been able to witness this trend already for almost 40 years thus, it cannot be argued to be a temporary consequence of dissatisfaction of the society but rather a more permanent change in the Europe's political environment.

In this thesis, I aimed to analyse the reasons behind the rise of the far right parties in Europe. In conclusion, through research I was able to find the answer to the question of 'why the far right is rising in Europe today and which factors are the reasons behind this phenomenon'? This was because of three main factors; economic instability, refugee crisis, and populism. Combination of these three factors creates propitious environment for the far right ideology to grow slow and steady. Economic instability and refugee crisis have created anxiety and fostered fear, while populism has given hope. The answer was founded through empirical research that analysed the phenomenon.

As mentioned, one of the factors that enabled the rise of the far right was the impaired economic situation in Europe. Economic instability in Europe and the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008 has increased the concerns of the Europeans over their futures in financial terms. As can be seen from the Eurobarometer, unemployment and the economic situation in the countries of the European Union were listed high in topics that concerns Europeans. Hence, the rise of the anti-establishment sentiments has increased while the satisfaction towards the EU has decreased. The feeling that the EU is too much involved in internal issues of the states and that the states care too much about the problems of EU are growing amongst the European citizens resulting in the increasing Euroscepticism.

In addition, Syrian refugee crisis that has increased immigration to Europe has been identified as another factor behind the rising far right phenomenon. The concerns over radical Islam can be legitimate but to consider the Syrian refugees as a threat, cannot. There is a need for the European Union to find common policy and solution to the refugee crisis, which

would aim to the integration of the refugees. It can be argued that the EU has not paid enough attention to the integration issue and thus, it now experiences the problems with refugees and immigrants. The attackers in Paris in January 2015 were second generation immigrants who were born and raised in France, but still they felt desperate and had the need to do something extreme in the name of Islam. This shows that the EU has failed, at least to some extent, to integrate the immigrants into the society.

The last found factor that affected to the rise of the far right was increased populism. Populism has grown to be one of the most prominent features of the far right, and the far right parties have adopted populism as one of their most important tool of influence. The use of populism has become extremely popular among these parties purely because it has been so effective. These far right parties do not have traditional organizational mediators behind their support but are enforcing rhetoric that appeals to the general public. The populist sentiment is what unites these "new" far right parties that have been increasing their support in Europe. Moreover, populism is what separates them from other right-wing parties.

The core problem to the far right parties is the fear over losing the European identity. These parties feel that the only effective way to answer to the increasing threat of multiculturalism and European integration is to radically enforce policies that protect this identity. How the Europe is going to answer to the rise of the far right is a big question. When more and more voters are leaving their previous parties to vote for the far right, how are these parties going to stay in the governments. Moreover, the future of the European Union can be at stake if Eurosceptic parties get into power. European people tend to feel that other parties are not aggressive enough, or do not know how to tackle the important issues, or what issues are important. Hence, some levels of reforms are needed from other parties in Europe to answer to the challenge posed by the far right.

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