



## *Riding the Populist Wave*

In spite of the fact that Conservative, Christian democratic and Liberal parties continue to play a crucial role in the democratic politics and governance of every Western European country, they are rarely paid the attention they deserve. This cutting-edge comparative collection, combining qualitative case studies with large-N quantitative analysis, reveals a mainstream right squeezed by the need to adapt to both ‘the silent revolution’ that has seen the spread of postmaterialist, liberal and cosmopolitan values and the backlash against those values – the ‘silent counter-revolution’ that has brought with it the rise of a myriad far-right parties offering populist and nativist answers to many of the continent’s thorniest political problems. What explains why some mainstream right parties seem to be coping with that challenge better than others? And does the temptation to ride the populist wave rather than resist it ultimately pose a danger to liberal democracy?

TIM BALE is an expert on European politics and political parties. He won the UK Political Studies Association’s W.J.M. Mackenzie prize for his book, *The Conservative Party: from Thatcher to Cameron* (2010) and is a frequent contributor to broadcast, print and social media in both Britain and beyond.

CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER is an expert on populism, who has held visiting appointments at Nuffield College, Sciences Po, the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) and Uppsala University. He is the co-author of the book, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (with Cas Mudde, 2017) which has been translated into more than ten languages.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-51876-2 — Riding the Populist Wave  
Edited by Tim Bale , Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-51876-2 — Riding the Populist Wave  
Edited by Tim Bale , Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

# Riding the Populist Wave

Europe's Mainstream Right in Crisis

*Edited by*

TIM BALE

*Queen Mary University of London*

CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER

*Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-51876-2 — Riding the Populist Wave  
Edited by Tim Bale, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India  
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781316518762](http://www.cambridge.org/9781316518762)  
DOI: 10.1017/9781009006866

© Tim Bale and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Bale, Tim, 1965– author. | Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal author.  
Title: Riding the populist wave : Europe's mainstream right in crisis / edited by Timothy Paul Bale, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser.  
Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.  
Identifiers: LCCN 2021024885 (print) | LCCN 2021024886 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316518762 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009009058 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009006866 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Populism – Europe. | Political parties – Europe. | Right and left (Political science) – Europe. | Europe – Politics and government. | BISAC: POLITICAL SCIENCE / American Government / General | POLITICAL SCIENCE / American Government / General  
Classification: LCC JN40 .B34 2021 (print) | LCC JN40 (ebook) | DDC 320.56/62094–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021024885>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021024886>

ISBN 978-1-316-51876-2 Hardback  
ISBN 978-1-009-00905-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	page vii
<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
1. The Mainstream Right in Western Europe: Caught between the Silent Revolution and Silent Counter-Revolution	1
TIM BALE AND CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER	
2. The Demand Side: Profiling the Electorate of the Mainstream Right in Western Europe since the 2000s	38
EELCO HARTEVELD	
3. The Supply Side: Mainstream Right Party Policy Positions in a Changing Political Space in Western Europe	67
TARIK ABOU-CHADI AND WERNER KRAUSE	
4. Austria: Tracing the Christian Democrats' Adaptation to the Silent Counter-Revolution	91
REINHARD HEINISCH AND ANNIKA WERNER	
5. France: Party System Change and the Demise of the Post-Gaullist Right	113
JOCELYN EVANS AND GILLES IVALDI	
6. Germany: How the Christian Democrats Manage to Adapt to the Silent Counter-Revolution	141
SARAH E. WILIARTY	
7. Italy: The Mainstream Right and its Allies, 1994–2018	170
PIETRO CASTELLI GATTINARA AND CATERINA FROIO	

8. The Netherlands: How the Mainstream Right Normalized the Silent Counter-Revolution	193
STIJN VAN KESSEL	
9. Spain: The Development and Decline of the Popular Party	216
SONIA ALONSO AND BONNIE N. FIELD	
10. Sweden: The Difficult Adaptation of the Moderates to the Silent Counter-Revolution	246
ANDERS RAVIK JUPSKÅS	
11. The United Kingdom: The Conservatives and their Competitors in the post-Thatcher Era	269
RICHARD HAYTON	
12. The Mainstream Right in Western Europe in the Twenty-First Century	290
TIM BALE AND CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER	
<i>References</i>	315
<i>Index</i>	345

## *Contributors*

- Tarik Abou-Chadi, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Zurich
- Sonia Alonso Sáenz de Oger, Associate Professor, Georgetown University in Qatar (GUQ)
- Tim Bale, Professor, Queen Mary University of London
- Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Assistant Professor, Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo
- Jocelyn Evans, Professor, School of Politics and International Studies, University of Leeds
- Bonnie N. Field, Professor, Global Studies Department, Bentley University
- Caterina Froio, Assistant Professor, Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics (CEE), Sciences Po
- Eelco Harteveld, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam
- Richard Hayton, Associate Professor of Politics, School of Politics and International Studies, University of Leeds
- Reinhard Heinisch, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Salzburg and Associate at the European Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh (ESC)
- Gilles Ivaldi, Researcher in Politics, CEVIPOF, CNRS/Sciences-Po Paris
- Werner Krause, Postdoctoral Researcher and Lecturer, Department of Social Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- Anders Ravik Jupskås, Deputy Director, Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Department of Political Science, University of Oslo
- Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Professor, School of Political Science, Universidad Diego Portales and Associate Researcher at the Centre for Social Cohesion and Conflict Studies (COES)

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-51876-2 — Riding the Populist Wave  
Edited by Tim Bale , Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

viii

*List of Contributors*

Stijn van Kessel, Senior Lecturer in European Politics, School of Politics  
and International Relations, Queen Mary University of London  
Annika Werner, Senior Lecturer, School of Politics and International  
Relations, Australian National University  
Sarah E. Wiliarty, Associate Professor of Government, Wesleyan  
University



## Figures and Tables

### Figures

1.1	Electoral results in national elections of right-wing parties in Western Europe	<i>page 3</i>
1.2	Electoral results in national elections of left-wing parties in Western Europe	4
1.3	Typology of right-wing parties in Western Europe	9
2.1	Educational level of mainstream right and other voters, by subfamily	46
2.2	Occupational groups of mainstream right and other voters, by subfamily	47
2.3	Income groups of mainstream right and other voters, by subfamily	48
2.4	Age groups of mainstream right and other voters, by subfamily	49
2.5	Gender composition of mainstream right and other voters, by subfamily	50
2.6	Pseudo- $R^2$ for sociodemographic variables	51
2.7	Explanatory power (pseudo- $R^2$ ) of sociodemographic variables, by country	52
2.8	Distribution of attitudes, by subfamily	55
2.9	Marginal effects of attitudes, by subfamily	60
2.10	Marginal effects of attitudes, by country	61
2.11	Marginal effects of sociodemographic and attitudinal variables on mainstream right support vs. (1) all other voters and (2) PRR voters	62
3.1	Mainstream right parties' movements on the economic conflict dimension, 1980–2018	76
3.2	Mainstream right parties' movements on the cultural conflict dimension, 1980–2018	77
3.3	Mainstream right parties' movements on the consumption–investment dimension, 1980–2018	79

3.4	Mainstream right parties' movements on traditional morality, 1980–2018	81
3.5	Mainstream right parties' movements on immigration, 1980–2018	82
3.6	Mainstream right parties' movements on European integration, 1980–2018	84
3.7	Coefficient plot: the impact of populist radical right success on mainstream right parties' policy positions on different conflict dimensions	85
4.1	Austrian national election results and government participation	94
4.2	Economic right–left score of main Austrian parties, MARPOR data	98
4.3	Sociocultural right–left score of main Austrian parties, MARPOR data	99
4.4	Multiculturalism in Austrian parties' manifestos, MARPOR data	103
4.5	European integration in Austrian parties' manifestos, MARPOR data	104
4.6	Who did ÖVP voters elect in the previous election?	110
5.1	Electoral results in legislative and presidential elections of right-wing parties in France since 1981	118
5.2	Policy positions of French parties	126
5.3	Mass attitudinal positions of French electorate	129
5.4	Age differentiation on mass attitudes of the conservative electorate	137
5.5	Religious practice differentiation on mass attitudes of the conservative electorate	138
6.1	Electoral results for the Bundestag in post-war Germany	149
6.2	Right–left score (RILE) of German parties, MARPOR data	156
6.3	Position on welfare of German parties, MARPOR data	157
6.4	Position on traditional morality of German parties, MARPOR data	160
6.5	Position on the European Union of German parties, MARPOR data	162
6.6	Position on multiculturalism of German parties, MARPOR data	163

*List of Figures and Tables*

xi

7.1	Right–left position of right-wing parties in Italy, 1994–2013	174
7.2	Electoral scores of right-wing parties in Italy, 1994–2018	175
7.3	The supply side of right-wing politics in Italy, 1994–1996	178
7.4	The supply side of right-wing politics in Italy, 2001–2008	182
7.5	The supply side of right-wing politics in Italy, 2013	186
8.1	Vote share of three traditional mainstream parties	196
8.2	Dutch centre-right parties’ movements on immigration; the cultural conflict dimension; traditional morality; and European integration, 1980–2017	204
9.1	Spaniards’ ideological positions, 1983–2019	219
9.2	Election results (vote percentages), Congress of Deputies, 1977–2019	221
9.3	The salience of economic and sociocultural issues, PP and PSOE manifestos, 1979–2016 (% of sentences)	229
9.4	Economic and sociocultural left (negative) and right (positive) positions, PP and PSOE, 1979–2016	230
9.5	Salience of centre–periphery territorial and cultural nationalist issues, PP and PSOE manifestos, 1979–2016 (% of sentences)	232
9.6	Pro-periphery (negative) and pro-centre (positive) territorial and cultural nationalist positions, PP and PSOE, 1979–2016	233
9.7	Ideological position of PP voters by ideological categories, 1982–2019	239
9.8	Percentage of PP voters by ideological categories, 1982–2019	240
10.1	Electoral support of parliamentary parties in Sweden, 1991–2018	250
10.2	Laver’s ‘pure position’ score for the Moderates along three key ideological dimensions, 1991–2018	253
11.1	Vote share (%) at UK general elections, 1992–2019	271
11.2	Changes in parties’ left–right scores 1992–2017 (MARPOR)	272
11.3	Conservative and Labour vote choice by libertarian–authoritarian position	286

**Tables**

3.1	Mainstream right parties in Western Europe, 1980–2018	74
3.2	The impact of radical right success on policy positions of the mainstream right – regression results	90
4.1	Demographic characteristics of ÖVP voters	107
5.1	Four main phases of the mainstream right in France since 1981	122
7.1	The demand side of right-wing politics in Italy, 1994–1996	179
7.2	The demand side of right-wing politics in Italy, 2001–2008	183
7.3	The demand side of right-wing politics in Italy, 2013	186
8.1	Dutch parliamentary election results, 1989–2017, in % of the vote	198
8.2	Cabinets in the Netherlands from 1989	211
9.1	Age and education of PP voters compared with survey sample	235
9.2	Work status and occupation of PP voters compared with survey sample	237
10.1	Electoral support for the Moderates for different groups, 1991–2018	257
10.2	Net loss and gain for the Moderates, 2006–2018	261
11.1	Profile of 2017 Conservative voters	285

## *Preface*

The origins of this project can be traced back to 2011 when the editors of this volume were working together at the University of Sussex. During this time Cristóbal was working on a book on the right in Latin America, while Tim was doing research on the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom. Soon after Tim started a new job at Queen Mary University of London and Cristóbal started a new job at Universidad Diego Portales in Santiago de Chile. Nevertheless, we continued to stay in contact – and continued to remain baffled about the absence of comparative studies on the mainstream right in Western Europe. This bafflement led Tim to travel to Santiago de Chile in March 2018 and we started not only to write a framework for analysis on this topic, but also to think about who else might be interested in writing on the state of the mainstream right in the different countries of Western Europe. Thanks to the support of the Thyssen Foundation, we were able to organize a two-day meeting at Queen Mary University of London in March 2019, in which we discussed a first draft of several of the chapters of this edited volume. We want to thank Susan Scarrow and Thomas Poguntke, who provided invaluable feedback to all authors during this workshop.

After this, we provided detailed comments to each of the authors and we decided to commission two additional chapters covering the demand and supply sides of the mainstream right in Western Europe. We are extremely grateful to all the colleagues who have participated in this project, and to Ariel Becerra, Camila Díaz and Cristóbal Sandoval who have been very helpful in the preparation of the final version of this manuscript. At the same time, we would like to thank John Haslam from Cambridge University Press, who supported this project from the very beginning, and the two anonymous reviewers, who provided detailed comments and suggestions not only for each chapter but also to the book project seen as a whole. Moreover, we discussed the subject of this book with different friends and colleagues, who gave us

invaluable comments and ideas. In this regard, we are particularly grateful to Sarah de Lange, Carlos Meléndez, Cas Mudde, Jan-Werner Müller, Kenneth Roberts, Paul Taggart, Lisa Zanotti and Andrej Zaslove.

Last but not least, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser would like to acknowledge support from the Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (FONDECYT project 1180020), the Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies COES (ANID/FONDAP/15130009) and the Observatory of Socioeconomic Transformations (ANID/PCI/Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies/MPG190012).

Tim Bale and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser  
Eastbourne and Santiago de Chile