The Radical Right-Wing Populist Party and the Role of Discourse

Case study: the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)

Master Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the phenomenon of the Radical Right-Wing Populist Party in Western democracies. Why the RRP party has been chosen as the main actor of this study is its anti-democratic practice of producing xenophobia, racism and racial discrimination. Therefore the questions of interest arose: first which opportunity structures enabled the emergence of RRP parties, and second what was the role of their discourse, as a major tool of the RRP parties, especially in producing racism and discrimination in institutional terms. Moreover the study relies on different discourse analytical approaches to racism, as theory and as a method; as well as on other theoretical approaches which explain the rise of RRP parties and their impact.

Different opportunity structures led to their rise and success, which shows that the national context needs to be taken into account. Regarding the discourse, the study shows that due to its hegemonic role to shape and influence the discursive and non-discursive practices, the accomplishment of the goals of the RRP parties was guaranteed. However the study also shows that their discourse should be placed within the national context. Therefore deriving a common formula for the role of their anti-immigrant discourse in making an impact is not possible.

The case study of the Austrian Freedom Party FPÖ shows that the use of their anti-immigrant discourse contributed to their electoral success, was very well accepted in the party-system and led to a change of the wider national political discursive practice. In addition, it made an impact on the non-discursive practice, which resulted in adoption of anti-immigrant policies, and furthermore strengthened institutional discrimination.

**Keywords:** radical right-wing Populist Party, RRP party, discourse, discursive practice, anti-immigrant discourse, institutional racism, new racism, institutional discrimination, xenophobia, xeno-otherism
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZÖ</td>
<td>Coalition of the Future of Austria</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FPÖ</td>
<td>Austrian Freedom Party</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>RRP</td>
<td>Radical Right-Wing Populist</td>
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<td>NRR</td>
<td>New Radical Right-Wing</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPÖ</td>
<td>Social Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>VdU</td>
<td>League of Independents</td>
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<tr>
<td>ÖGB</td>
<td>Austrian Federation of Trade Unions</td>
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<td>ÖVP</td>
<td>The Austrian People’s Party</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The division of the West versus the East or the North versus the South is known to be existent since the imperial and colonial times. The Western civilization has always been associated with superiority of the white race, and male domination. Obviously, Europe as part of the western civilization possesses these same attributes and this well-known concept still seems be dominant in the power relations between states. When one speaks in terms of the today’s concept of Europe, one refers to the Europe that managed to overshadow the bruises from the two World Wars, and the one that seems to have found its strength in establishing a unity of European states. A unity that soon became the standard for nurturing democratic norms and values engaged itself in further spreading them to other countries, in and out of Europe.

What appears to be atypical for these western European democracies are certain undemocratic practices of racism, as well as the closely linked societal problems of xenophobia and discrimination. In fact, these xenophobic and discriminating practices are: “diametrically opposed to all the values embodied in Europe, namely the protection of human dignity and the promotion of mutual respect, understanding and solidarity between peoples”. Yet, the rise of the radical right- wing parties both extremist and especially the newer form- populist have become a ‘normal’ practice of the Western Democracies, which have put many fears of the people into political action and gained a lot of success often comparable to that of established parties rather than to marginalized parties.

1.2 Aim of the Research

The main concern from a theoretical point of view will aim at defining concepts of discrimination and racism in institutional terms. The main actors in this study are the RRP parties which will be analyzed both empirically and theoretically. The combination of the RRP parties and the concepts of racism and discrimination, in discursive terms, will aim at examining the ways in which the discourse, as a major tool of the RRP parties, serves their needs in achieving

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1 Miles, R. in Racism and Migration in Western Europe by John Wrench and John Solomos, Berg Publishers, Oxford, UK, 1993, pp.3-4
their desired goals, and furthermore will aim at measuring the influence of the discourse in institutional terms.

Moreover, by using the example of discourse analysis, it is expected that will contribute to a more accurate depiction of the problems of institutional racism and institutional discrimination, which otherwise would be left only on the theoretical level, as theoretical concepts.

1.3 Limitations of the Research

The limitations of the research lie in the fact that the theoretical models of the RRP parties are too broad to give a firm ground for explaining the emergence and the success of each case of RRP party. Therefore the proposed theoretical models need to be placed within the specific case, and only then a conclusion can be drawn, which again would be applicable only for understanding the specific case. The same goes for the theoretical models explaining racism and discrimination, which theoretically serve well in conceptualizing the problem, but require a combination with a method of discourse analysis in order for a conclusion to be derived of what the discourse is an instance. To sum up, one should look at the results of the study as tied to a specific actor, in specific time and in specific national and political conditions, otherwise the sole theory would be too broad, and the results too specific.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

After the presentation of the research problem in the first chapter, in the second chapter the thesis will proceed with explaining the concepts of racism and discrimination, which will be used throughout the thesis. Then in the third chapter theoretical models will be presented which aim at analyzing racism through three different approaches, which although different still contribute to a more broad understanding of the theoretical concept of discourse and racism. In the fourth chapter the methodology will be presented, which will prepare the way for the analysis. In the analysis, in the fifth chapter the radical right-wing party will be presented, its populist ideology, as well as the opportunity structures leading to its emergence. Then in the sixth chapter propositions about the impact the RRP parties have on the decision making level and institution-shaping level, as well as the impact of the RRP parties’ discourse on these levels will be put
forward. In the seventh chapter the case study of the Austrian FPÖ will be analyzed, on both levels: the opportunity structures leading to its rise and its anti-immigrant discourse will be presented through a critical discourse analysis. In the last eight chapter a conclusion will be summarized.

1.5 Research Problem

The main actors which have the power to influence in a society are the institutions presented by the elites. One possible way of looking at the production of institutional racism and institutional discrimination would be an approach where the elites would be a powerful actor contributing at most. Still, the everyday racism is not to be neglected, as it is an implication of racism deeply entrenched in a particular society, which in fact serves as a ground for its further reinforcement.

As the extremist right-wing parties in the past few decades have been gaining more and more electoral support it would be interesting to see if they really make a difference by “stereotypically” engaging themselves with issues of racism, xenophobia and discrimination.

Especially the discourse that they produce, as part of the wider socio-cognitive chain have been considered to be the most influential factors in producing institutional racism. Thus I argue that the discourse they express is not only making an indirect impact through the use of their xenophobic language in order to attract the electorate. In fact, more importantly what I tend to analyze is that it is revealing their implied racist ideologies, also as part of a discursive as well as non-discursive practice. Without knowing the political, as well as historical conditions that prepare the way for the right-wing parties, one wouldn’t be able to understand their nature and furthermore their influence on Western democracies, no matter if marginal or decisive.

1.6 Research Questions

What is undeniable about the right-wing radical parties is that they have managed to have made their way to the party-system. The radical right once a marginal party now in its populist form shares seats in the parliament collaborates with the government, side by side with the established mainstream parties, and thus has come to the stage of making a difference in democracies. Yet it is striking how these parties biggest “accomplishment” is considered to lie in their ability to spread xenophobia, racism and producing institutional discrimination all directed towards
migrants in these democracies. Therefore, if having assumed that their success is mainly based on these features, then the need arises for taking a deeper look into the following research questions:

1) Which opportunity structures in the party-system need to arise in order for the emergence and the rise of RRP parties to be ensured?

2) What is the role of their anti-immigrant discourse?

- How does their discourse enable the spread of racism and the institutionalization of discrimination?

In the specific case study of the Austrian RRP party FPÖ firstly the opportunity structures in the historical-political terms will be examined. Then in the second analysis the nature of its discourse will be analyzed and its achievements will be assessed.

2. RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

2.1 Racism, Xenophobia, Discrimination

Racism has been always associated with the notion of race, most commonly in emphasizing the superiority of the white race over the others. Therefore, it refers to excluding people on the grounds of physical features and mainly according to their skin color. It involves a differentiation or a construction of the ‘Self’ versus the ‘Others’.

In fact, some authors would make a difference between racism and ethnicism, whereas:

“…Refers to the notion of superiority and inferiority according to perceived innate and natural traits of groups, whereas ethnicism is rooted in ethnic stereotypes, prejudices and perceptions of cultural difference usually with overtones of superiority”.

Although here a distinction won’t be made due to the difficulty of tracing these differences in negative stereotyping of these groups and for the purpose of including both, ethnicity and race as discriminatory grounds. In fact this is the form that the new racism takes, namely the introduction of additional grounds on which people can be further excluded, such as

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discriminating on the grounds of culture. Cultural characteristics could basically be anything from: religion, ethnicity, citizenship, language, to having a foreign-sounding name. This idea also links to the perception that ethnicity should be included as part of the whole package of racism.

Furthermore, the concept of racism can be viewed from a multidimensional point of view, which is known as a syncretic racism. Syncretic racism covers everyday racism, xeno-racism and similar forms of racism such as racialization and otherism.

When it comes to the term xenophobia is defined as ‘fear of foreigners’. It includes otherism in terms of distinguishing between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, and thus excluding ‘Them’ from the same opportunities that people can have in one society. Consequently this new racism or xeno-racism is characterized by a more of an implicit or even vague form of expressiveness of the racist dimension. Now, racism is not anymore about the domination of the white race, as it’s not strongly associated with the neo-fascist ideology, but it’s all about the discourse oriented towards protecting the welfare state, expressing intolerance for immigrants, their (non)/integration.

"While racist in substance, it is xenophobic in form: its outwardly defensive mode of expression disguises a stronger opposition to migrants and the continuation of racism in a new guise“.

The new racism can furthermore be associated with nationalism, whereas the ‘otherizing’ actions arise due to the fact that the native citizens of a nation-state have a relationship with their state, which if distorted since being challenged by new cultures entering from the back door in the new state, causes confrontation with the existing, native culture of the nation. The result of this confrontation of different cultures in Europe is exactly the reason for the appearance of a so-called new European racism, mainly associated with the process of immigration of non-EU

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4 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
citizens in the EU states and their integration in the new societies. In fact immigration would be an important factor contributing to the heterogeneity of a nation-state, threatening the initial national homogeneity, but certainly wouldn’t be a new, exclusive feature of Western democracies in Europe, considering the fact that immigration itself is not a new phenomenon in the EU. But, the new feature of the European racism would lie in the idea of a mergence of the national problems of racism and their rise at an EU level. This argument of the emergence of a ‘new’ racism can be further backed up by the idea of a European national identity, on which the EU is still working.⁹

Coming back to the claim that immigration is the factor contributing to racism, it has to be emphasized that no matter if it is an influential factor it is certainly not the only one. However, the focus of this study will be put on immigration as an issue that is lately being politicized by the RRP parties and thus used as a discursive tool through which they express racist and xenophobic attitudes.

2.2 Institutional Racism and Institutional Discrimination

In order to depict the problem of racism and discrimination in institutional terms and explore the capacity of the institutions of producing these two, a more detailed distinction is needed. As the racial discrimination refers to differentiation between different ethnic groups in the society, first it needs to be placed in different contexts regarding the actors or processes responsible for its creation. It can take the form of individual, institutional, and structural.

Firstly, individual refers to the actions conducted by individuals from an ethnic group that intentionally have ‘otherizing’ and destructive effects on the members of another ethnic group.¹⁰ Herein, members of a hegemonic and dominating group can do discriminatory actions against the ‘Others’, as well as the inferiorized groups can equally discriminate members of their own or other ethnic groups.¹¹ Secondly, institutional discrimination occurs as a result of institutional policies, routines, norms, and functions, as well as of individuals who through power and

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¹¹ Ibid.
influence control institutions; and has the form of intentional or unintentional. And thirdly, structural refers to the institutional order, arrangements and organizations of a society that often indirectly or unintentionally discriminate against individuals and groups who come from different ethnic backgrounds. Its procedures don’t necessarily lead to discrimination, but more often to exclusion of groups. I would like to emphasize here that this thesis will be dealing merely with the institutional and the structural type of racial discrimination, under the name of institutional discrimination.

The concept of institution can be grasped in different ways, as a norm, practice, policy, or it can be personified in elites within the organizational setting. Although an institution is comprised of norms and practices, there is a difference between it and the norm, which refers to “single standard of behavior”. These are very important features of the understanding of the institution which one has to have in mind when applying the concept of institutionalism to the concepts of racism and discrimination. As norms can be either prescriptive the institutions or the elites would be the ones that promote the norm or the ones believing in the adequacy of the norm, as in the case of racial superiority, for instance. Accordingly, “the others accepted it as obvious or inevitable or had no choice but to accept it”. It is through this acceptance of the norm that an internalization of the norm might arise, as a result of a norm-conforming behavior. I argue that the RRP parties if viewed as an institution, which has the access to norms, would be considered to be the bearer of the greatest responsibility in creating institutional discrimination.

“For instance governments may be used through law and exercise of administrative power in such a way to normalize discriminatory or exclusionary practices, in some cases unintended, affecting the life chances of immigrants”.

Regarding the case of immigration the role of the elites, from a top-down approach of discrimination is crucial.

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12 Ibid., pp. 5-6
13 Ibid. p. 6
15 Ibid., p. 892
16 Ibid., p. 8
Also the reason why elites will be placed in the context of institutional discrimination is due to the fact that the study is focused on the practices initiated and conducted by them which result with ‘otherizing’ effects. Furthermore the difference between the concept of institutional discrimination and the concept of institutional racism which the RRP parties potentially produce and reproduce through their ideologies, can be explained through different reasons.

First, institutional racism refers more to “particular social institutions”, which cannot be associated with the whole society.\textsuperscript{17} When applying the concept of institution to institutional racism, taking into account the nature of the institution it could refer to any kind of institutionalized practice or incentive in the society aimed at racializing. The notion of institutional discrimination refers to the “institutional arrangements themselves”, which have the ability or the power to undertake racist actions whether by discourse or by (un)intentional policies resulting with exclusion.\textsuperscript{18} Whereas institutional racism can be easier to trace due to the fact that it embodies actions of individuals working as representatives of institutions, institutional discrimination rather occurs as a product of their actions, no matter if the bearer of the responsibility is known or not. What is most important to be noticed here is the exclusionary effect against “others” which exists as an evidence of these actions.

Second, what further distinguishes racism and racial discrimination in institutional terms is that elites don’t necessarily need to be expressing racism in order to introduce discriminatory policies directed against the ‘others’. i.e. the migrants. Certain racist motives can be hidden behind the discriminatory practices and policies, but when it comes to the institutional establishment as a holder of administrative power, the responsible individuals and their actions are rather hidden, it is only the result- the concrete exclusionary actions which are evident. Although racism and discrimination can be put both in individual terms and in institutional terms, they can also function in both individually and institutionally at the same time.\textsuperscript{19} Still, even in institutional

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid. p. 9
discrimination it is individuals who have conducted such discriminatory acts, which if more organized become embedded and even become ‘processes of discrimination’:

“Processes are established, routine and subtle; only occasionally will an individual ‘act’ of racial discrimination become visible within these processes, and only intermittently can one individual actor be identified as responsible for the exclusion of another from rightful opportunities”. ²⁰

Another claim in support of the distinctive role of discrimination and racism is that institutional discrimination wouldn’t necessarily be the reason for the emergence of racial inequalities, but it is responsible for strengthening these inequalities. ²¹ In terms of practice, the implementation of anti-discrimination laws at even higher levels than the national, at the international level and EU level doesn’t yet result with less racism, but could only criminalize discriminatory acts leading to the exclusion of individuals. What these anti-discrimination laws wouldn’t be aimed at criminalizing are the acts of the elites designing anti-immigration laws, which in itself would be a contradiction. Therefore it is assumed that as long as discrimination exists in these institutional terms, i.e. the policies or laws implemented by the elites directed towards excluding immigrants from their rights as equal citizens with the ‘native’ citizens, racism in institutional terms will also exist.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: Discourse Analysis

3.1 Discourse as a Social Practice- Fairclough’s Approach

Originally, the study of linguistics is the one dealing with the use of language. As linguistics only deals with the use of language in individual terms, what is needed in this study is a theory that explains language from a social point of view. In fact, socio-linguistics is a study more inclined towards the social aspect of the use of language, i.e. that language is a social construction. Therefore, the more appropriate term to use in this context is discourse instead of language. Here an approach from the linguist Fairclough will be explained, who made a vast impact on the study

of discourse as a social practice. Having said this, he explains discourse, first: as a form of action and a form of representation, in individual terms.\textsuperscript{22} And second, as a concept where discourse is linked to social structure, and furthermore he distinguishes between discourse as being molded by social practice, and having the power to shape the social reality.

By being constituted by social practice is meant that discourse is influenced by the existing social relations within a society, by class, by relations referring to institutions, by norms and non-discursive and discourse conventions.\textsuperscript{23} By constituting it is meant that discourse is ascribing a meaning to the world by constituting, first: the social identities, second the social relationships between people, and third the belief and knowledge.\textsuperscript{24}

So far two main elements have been interconnected in the study of discourse, i.e. texts and social practice. Fairclough adds another element to these and that is discursive practice, which can be a certain form of the social practice, but also the other way around: social practice can be a product of a discursive practice.\textsuperscript{25} As a political analysis of texts will be conducted, in this context a critical meaning will be attributed to them, and not a pure linguistic analysis of the text. Therefore here more of an analysis of the discursive and social practice will be provided.

The production and the interpretation of the text are socially constrained by both the social norms and conventions which are socially embedded, and also by the social practice which determines which of the elements of member’s resources have been used and how they are used.\textsuperscript{26} Most important and relevant for doing a critical discourse analysis is establishing a link between discourse and power.

Fairclough in his theorizing about power dedicated a lot of literature on this very connection. He claims that “socio-linguistic conventions have a dual relation to power: on the one hand they incorporate differences of power, on the other hand they arise out of- and give rise to- particular relations to power”. \textsuperscript{27} Power can also be seen in terms of ideology and hegemony, and furthermore ideology can be linked to discourse in three ways: ideology as a practice of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Fairclough N., \textit{Discourse and Social Change}, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 1992, p. 64
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 75
\item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid, p. 82
\end{itemize}
institutions, which consequently can be analyzed in discursive terms; ideology can be constitutive of subjects, and the struggle of state institutions to having the access to be a part of discourse and influence discourse. Furthermore, the production and interpretation of texts can be viewed in hegemonic terms as making an impact on the change of discourse, but also on changing the power relations within the society. However, by having established a connection between discourse and hegemony, whereas discourse is perceived as an ideological concept, still this relationship doesn’t need to be viewed as one-sided. Instead if a certain political discourse of a society is predominant after being reproduced for some time it becomes a norm, rather than a pretentious practice. As it becomes widely accepted by its citizens, it does no longer only constitute, but also gets constituted by them.

Therefore another important issue that arises in light of the racist discourse is whether the discursive change that fades away, due to becoming a norm itself, can be traced within a society. Especially when analyzing western European democracies one would pose the question of the level of democracy if a society seizes to be democratic due to reproducing a racist discourse. Consequently the essential role that analysts of discourse need to play is to pay attention to this link between the social practice and its change with the discourse tendencies. If this is accomplished then a more appropriate depiction of the current discursive practices will be put forward.

Since Fairclough’s approach explains social changes in general, which are applicable to the study of racist discourse, also other relevant approaches will be presented which deal with the link between discourse and racism in political and institutional terms.

3.2 Socio-cognitive Discourse Analytical approach to Racism- Van Dijk’s Approach

In the analysis of ‘elite racism’ Dijk takes the stance that this type of racism is a top-down approach and according to him prejudice and discrimination are embedded in cultural norms, values, ideologies of dominant groups. In his view power doesn’t simply refer to having the proper means to position above the others, but also discourse as a powerful form could affect individuals or whole groups and lead to changing mindsets.

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29 Ibid. p. 93
Dijk defines racism as a:

“Societal system of white group dominance over non-European groups of peoples, implemented by generalized everyday negative practices and informed by shared social cognitions about socially construed and usually negatively valued racial or ethnic differences of the out-group.”

Dijk also speaks of reproduction of racism as a very important element. He claims that reproduction of racism is a result of the reproduction of social cognitions, consequently the elites are more likely to contribute to the cognitive reproduction of racism.

Although text and talk reveal a lot about the speaker’s attitudes, it is certainly the meaning (lexis), rather than the form (intonation, word order) that are more important categories for analysis of political discourse. Dijk’s approach towards discourse is interdisciplinary, as he is merging the concepts of text and talk, the concept of cognition and social strategy. In light of this discourse he makes the link “between the individual and the social, between cognition and communication, between the social beliefs and the ways they are expressed and reproduced by group members”

Social cognitions refer to what people know, i.e. the cognitions they share as part of one culture about social affairs, and also what they mutually share as critical social opinions. Within the concept of discourse, this would mean how certain prejudices about ethnicity are being expressed in discourse. Regarding social group or institutions, they would be the ones that would influence the direction of the path of the social cognitions, depending on the context and on their position within the society. Consequently institutions which possess power would play the role of shapers of opinions and knowledge about social affairs, through their discourse. Van Dijk states that power elites have access to the sociocultural discourse not only solely by having the power to act, but also by having an access to public discourse.

In his previous work on discourse and racism Dijk speaks about the “7 D’s of Discrimination”: dominance, differentiation, distance, diffusion, diversion, depersonalization or destruction, and daily discrimination, as strategies which enable minority groups to be distinguished as “the

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31 Ibid., p. 25
32 Ibid. p. 36
33 Ibid. pp. 44-45
other”. He also contributes in theorizing racist discourse where he speaks about three different types of memories which contribute to construction of prejudices. The first type is semantic memory, which is a social memory gained from the mutually shared beliefs from the society, and it is these beliefs that form the cognitions about the ‘out-group’. According to him the social and cultural values of a society such as language, religion of that social group serve as a basis for forming prejudices. The second type is episodic memory, which refers to the memory which is comprised of personal or expressed experiences, and later on the speakers through the use of text refer to the previously said. The third type is the control system, which explains the link between communicative goals and interests with the situational and individual social cognitions. The control system is in charge of all the information about ethnicity, perceptions, interpretation of this information, and especially the link between the ‘positive self-presentation’ and the implied negative attitudes towards the minorities or foreigners.

Dijk’s elitist approach has been criticized on the grounds that is being only one-sided as favoring the top-down approach. But I believe that this model is the most suitable one for explaining elitist discourse, i.e. the racist discourse of right-wing parties.

3.3 Discourse-historical Approach to Racism- Wodak’s Approach

The discourse-historical analysis of Wodak does make use of the above presented approaches, but still doesn’t entirely agree with them, and furthermore adds more to the whole picture of discourse in racial terms. Although the discourse-historical approach is a critical discourse analytical product, Wodak doesn’t accept the idea of the postmodernist approaches of discourse and power which place a major emphasis on language and discourse as independent features. Moreover Wodak accepts the idea of self-presentation and negative other-presentation of Dijk, but on the other hand doesn’t accept the socio-cognitive approach. In light of this, she doesn’t agree with the claim that institutional racism should be perceived only as a top-down approach, whereas power in this context is viewed to be too simplistic. The idea in Wodak’s approach is rather a two-fold meaning that politicians are not only autonomous actors in this game by

35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., p. 17
generating ideologies and power, and thus making an impact on interests and identities of the people in the society, but also as being shaped by their opinion through listening to their ideas, needs and interests.\footnote{38}

The discourse- historical approach encompasses three interrelated aspects:

1) ‘Text or discourse immanent critique’ that refers to the contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas implicitly expressed in the text or in the discourse.\footnote{39}

2) ‘Sociodiagnostic critique’ refers to uncovering the hidden intentions, especially those manipulative practices, which can be derived either from the discourse of the speakers, or from the political, social or contextual knowledge of the analyst who further on puts it in the context of that discourse, i.e. gives a meaning to it.\footnote{40} This critique fits especially well in discourse critical approach towards political discourse whereas politicians’ discourses can be analyzed as reflecting an image of positive- self presentation and negative other-presentation.\footnote{41}

3) The last one is the ‘prospective critique’ which refers to the ethical element of discourse inclined towards bettering the communication process in the institutions. This can be associated with undertaking steps towards combating discrimination and also aiming at promoting positive action, through discursive practices.\footnote{42}

The discourse- historical approach views language as a social practice, also shared by Fairclough. Furthermore “discourses as linguistic social practices can be seen as constituting non- discursive and discursive social practices, and at the same time, as being constituted by them”.\footnote{43} Discourses constitute social practices in the following way: by constructing concepts as: races, ethnicity, identity; reproducing a ‘social status quo’ tied to these concepts, transforming the status quo, and lastly may contribute to destructing the status quo.\footnote{44} The historical dimension of this approach is present here, since by transforming the status quo is meant: both being critical

\footnote{38}{Ibid. p. 32}
\footnote{39}{Ibid.}
\footnote{40}{Ibid. p. 33}
\footnote{41}{Ibid.}
\footnote{42}{Ibid., p. 34}
\footnote{43}{Ibid., p. 36}
over the past events and being critical over how past events are presented in present times, i.e. the status quo.

Since the discourse-historical approach is a multidisciplinary approach it combines social practices, discourse and historical aspects. Furthermore this approach is context oriented and aims at analyzing:

“1) The immediate language or text internal co-text; 2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (discourse representation, allusions/evocations etc.; 3) the language external social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific situational context; and 4) the broader socio-political and historical context in which the discursive practices are embedded and to which they are related”. 45

The discourse-historical approach adds to the value of the critical discourse analysis by emphasizing the historical aspect of the discursive practice tied to the socio-political events preceding the emergence of FPÖ and the maintenance of its success.

3.4 Conclusion

As is obviously stated in these approaches to discourse, they are all different, but still one can find common grounds. What connects them is the social approach to discourse, which fits well into specific national and political contexts. Fairclough, Dijk and Wodak all agree that a link has to be made between discursive and social practices, which both influence each other. Even this claim is included in Dijk’s elitist to racism approach, according to which social cognitions are culturally, i.e. endogenously embedded, and therefore the racist discourse is a product of these socio-cultural conditions. This is the essential approach that will be used throughout this study. The right-wing parties are adapting to the culture where they emerge, make use of the socio-cultural and political conditions, and act as people’s representatives, due to their populist appeals. Therefore their discourse reflects culturally and socially constructed beliefs, part of a wider social context, not only biased, culturally exogenous beliefs. If RRP parties wouldn’t have been following this concept, they wouldn’t even have emerged on the party-scene, even less succeed to rise, nationally and in all Western democracies.

45 Ibid.
It is undeniable that discourse is a social construction by all the actors participating socially in a particular culture. However, since this study is on the discourse of radical right-wing parties, and as discourse is one of the most important tools of work for party-members and party-leaders, then it is inevitable for a stronger emphasis on a top-down approach to be taken regarding their impact on the production and reproduction of racism, through discourse. More importantly, their impact through discourse is easy to be measured through empirical data, by analyzing their text and talk.

The discourse-historical approach of Wodak contributes for this study not to leave out the historical aspect as an important factor contributing to establishing a link between the socio-cultural aspects of yesterday with discursive practice of today. This will be applied in the critical analyzes of speeches that made an impact on the policy-making of migration and integration policies and on institution-shaping level, which includes the other parties in the political system; through detecting fallacies in their speeches, not only from a linguistic point of view, but also more through their meaning, which can be traced back to the political and historically embedded context.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Strategy

Methodology refers to the different techniques that are used in order to gain knowledge.\(^4^6\) It aims at combining the questions of ontology and epistemology, namely the objective reality out there, and how we get to know about this ‘reality’, respectively. In order for a coherent research to be conducted an appropriate combination of the theory and research needs to be made. It is exactly this feature that defines a particular research strategy. One can choose between quantitative or qualitative research strategy, according to the choice of the epistemological and ontological features of the study.

I have decided to use the qualitative research strategy due to the fact that I will be using a post-positivist, i.e. epistemological stance, whereas a meaning will be assigned to the social world, through the interpretation of the social actors as part of that reality. The ontological stance is

constructionist, whereas the behavior of social actors is not exogenous to the particular context. Furthermore, a qualitative strategy is characterized with an emphasis on words rather than on a quantity of the examined data, which is what I will be focusing on. Moreover the research will be a deductive one, where the theory that is proposed will happen to be hold or not, as given in the research.

4.2 Discourse Analysis as a Method

Discourse analysis can be used as a theory and as a method, which is often hard to be separated. There is no fixed concept of using discourse analysis, which would be applicable to any study. On the contrary, each study requires its own method appropriate for the specific research topic.

Why a critical discourse analysis has been chosen as a method is its three-dimensional approach which takes a look at the text and its content; then offers an analysis of the discursive practice.

In this case, parliamentary debates on migration and integration held in the Austrian National Parliament, in particular those of the MPs from Austrian People’s Party (FPÖ) and from MPs from the Austrian People’s (ÖVP) party will be used as empirical materials. By referring to them, the aim is to analyze what they speak about migration and migrants and how this influences the production and reproduction of racism, by digging into the following three aspects, relevant for a discourse-analytical approach:

1) Analysis of particular contents or topics of a certain discourse, which contains racist, nationalist or ethnicist aspects; 2) analysis of discursive and also argumentative strategies; 3) “linguistic means (as types) and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as tokens) of the discursive practices are deconstructed”.  

First, “Topics are abstractly defined as the (macro) propositions that constitute the global meaning (or semantic macrostructure) of text or talk.” The global meaning refers to a common meaning that can be ascribed to the all parliamentary debates of FPÖ, preceding the adoption of crucial Acts on migration and the Integration Agreement, but in this case, since a small study,

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48 Wodak and van Dijk, Racism at the Top, Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States, Drava Verlag, Austria, 2000, pp. 58-59
only one parliamentary debate will be analyzed. Furthermore the ‘local speech topic’ refers to a local meaning of the particular debate.

The topics that are commonly used by opponents of the so-called soft-law on migration will be tested if they have been also applied by the right-wing Populist Party FPÖ. The following topics used, by using the model of Wodak and Kryzanowski:\footnote{Kryzanowski M. and Wodak R., \textit{The Politics of Exclusion, Debating Migration in Austria}, Transaction Publishers, U.S., p. 74}

- Topic 1: Collective Identity, with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”
- Topic 2: Employment Issues, with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”
- Topic 3: Welfare State Issues, with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”
- Topic 4: Law and Order Issues, with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”
- Topic 5: Liberal Values Issues, with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”
- Topic 6: Immigrant Status, with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”
- Topic 7: Racism, with “pro-immigrant” and “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclination”

Also two more topics will be examined, which are considered to be specific for the Austrian example.

- Topic 8: “Orientation towards Political Opponents”, again with “pro-immigrant” and “anti-immigrant inclinations”, where the pro-immigrant status is being used in an ironic sense, even if their pro-immigration arguments have been used to supporter a “pro-immigration” policy, which in fact had an anti-immigrant content.\footnote{Ibid.}

- Topic 9 refers to “Migrant Examples/Statistics”, here only with an anti-immigrant inclination.\footnote{Ibid.} Also those arguments with a pro-immigrant inclination referring to a certain topic have been used in the same hypocritical way, i.e. not really supporting a pro-immigrant stance, but instead boosting the anti-immigrant one.
Second, the discursive practices will be examined whose initial purpose is to reach a certain linguistic, social, political or a psychological goal.\textsuperscript{52} Herewith, a lot of attention will also be payed to argumentation, with an emphasis on fallacies and topoi. Under fallacies within argumentation are commonly considered: ”overgeneralization, playing on sentiments, begging the question, setting up straw men, focusing on undesirable consequences, citing authorities, or populism.”\textsuperscript{53} In order for the arguments about migration to be linked with the conclusion certain topoi need to be used.\textsuperscript{54} As topoi are context-dependent, the ones developed specifically for the selected parliamentary debates will be analyzed. However, the most common ones appearing in parliamentary debates on immigration, which also refer to the positive self-presentation of the nation, are the pro bono publico topoi.\textsuperscript{55} Therefore topoi of national financial problems, which are being related to the context of immigrants, then topoi of nationalism by emphasizing the national cultural homogeneity, as common ones in parliamentary debates on this matter are expected to be present here as well.\textsuperscript{56}

Furthermore, strategies of positive- self presentation and negative other presentation will be examined, and thus three different types of strategies\textsuperscript{57}:

1) “\textit{Referential nomination- categorizing}” of in-groups and out-groups through the usage of “biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors”;

2) “\textit{Predicational strategies}”- labeling social actors as more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively”, usually by stereotyping them;

3) “\textit{Argumentation strategies}”- using certain topoi with which positive and negative attributions are being justified;

\textsuperscript{52} Wodak, \textit{Discourse and discrimination, Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism}, Routledge, London, UK, 2001, p. 44
\textsuperscript{53} Wodak and van Dijk, \textit{Racism at the Top}, Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States, Drava Verlag, Austria, p. 71
\textsuperscript{55} Wodak and van Dijk, \textit{Racism at the Top}, Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States, Drava Verlag, Austria, p. 73
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
These strategies are the most appropriate strategies, characteristic for discourses of migration, racism, foreigners, nationalism etc. Therefore they will be applied for the analysis of the parliamentary debates of FPÖ and ÖVP. The ‘positive self presentation’ is glorifying the Austrian nation, and the ‘negative other presentation’ is aimed at immigrants in Austria.

Third, regarding the discursive practices, the critical discourse approach of Fairclough also enables the researcher to analyze the aspects of interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Intertextuality offers an understanding of the relation between texts. A certain text can always refer to previous texts, i.e. to topics originating from another text, and also all of the analyzed texts can be put in the context of one discourse. In fact intertextuality is considered to be fitting well in the question of hegemony, whereas:

“...one can conceptualize intertextual processes and processes of contesting and restructuring orders of discourse as processes of hegemonic struggle in the sphere of discourse, which have effects upon, as well as being affected by, hegemonic struggle in the wider sense.”

In this way the texts produced by the elites of FPÖ, as well as their general discourse can be put in the wider context of their potential hegemonic influence over other discourses, considering the fact that FPÖ’s unique discourse has been labeled as “monopolized” in the Austrian party-system as well as the whole political establishment.

Interdiscursivity is the relation between different types of discourse, and more importantly here it can also refer to different types of discourse “‘within a particular heterogeneous linguistic product”. Herewith a distinction needs to be made between genres and discourses, as discourses are more independent categories than genres. A genre is not just a type of text, “but also particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts”. On the other hand a certain discourse can be associated with different types of genres. In this case a discourse on immigration can be associated not only with parliamentary debates, but also with party programs, speeches of MPs and laws.

In conclusion, the discourse analytical approach will serve as a tool for the analysis of parliamentary debates and their specific context, where by testing the variety of different topics their content related topoi will be revealed. Subsequently, the use of the topoi will be taken as a tool of FPÖ for making an impact on the decision-making level, and the institution-shaping level.

4.3 Materials

The materials used for the historical analysis of the FPÖ, as a first part of the analysis, rely on secondary literature as books and articles. The second part of the analysis, which is a discourse analysis of the parliamentary debate on the 2002 “Integration Agreement”, is made on the grounds of the parliamentary debate itself as a primary source of literature. Since the analysis is in German language, this required translation, which I have conducted myself. I have tried to make it as valid as possible and paid attention for the content to be preserved, as usually the sole translation of each word doesn’t lead to coherence of the text. In the rest of the study, the theoretical and the methodological parts rely on secondary literature.

4.4 Research Design

Regarding the research design, the study will be making a use of a qualitative case study, which will be a single instrumental case study. Case study is mainly used within a qualitative study, although it’s not always the case. “The crucial question is not whether the findings can be generalized to a wider universe, but how well the researcher generates theory out of the findings.” The motives for the choice of Austria as a specific case are twofold, first Austria’s involvement with Nazism, and thus its historical connection with explicit expression of xenophobic and racist attitudes, and second Austria’s political climate whereas opportunities have been opened up for the uprising of the xenophobic Populist Party FPÖ, whose discourse gained popularity among the electorate as well as among the mainstream Austrian parties.

What was specific about the Austrian case is that the leader of the Austrian FPÖ managed to make use of the opportunities that before him nobody recognized as attractive for gaining party success. Since Austria hadn’t come to terms with its Nazi past, in particular of accepting the

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mistake, the leader of FPÖ Haider used this opportunity to remind the Austrian nation to praise its national identity, in a nationalistic way. Therefore compared to France for example, Austria didn’t make up a whole new xenophobic discourse, but instead used the old one wrapped up in a new form. Also, not only FPÖ managed to be a pioneer in light of this, but another important reason for its success lies in its populist features, which implies listening to the people’s issues and placing them in a context of their party goals. A further important characteristic which makes this case unique is that FPÖ, as part of the coalition with ÖVP has been a part of the parliament, as well of the government, and thus had access to more power in the process of policy-making.

If we take a look at the discourse of FPÖ we can observe an open, explicit racist xenophobia, which has in fact never been banned in Austrian politics. Consequently, this leaves enough space for using both types of racism, the old one purely racist in essence, and the new xenophobic one, which is revolving around immigration anti EU-integration issues. Its discourse has been influential on Austrian politics, indirectly and directly. On the direct side, its impact was exercised through the introduction of new laws, and on the indirect side through the parliamentary debates, party programs. Therefore I will be aiming at depicting the capability of FPÖ to change politics “simply” by the use of discourse.

5. THE RADICAL RIGHT-WING AND THE POPULIST IDEOLOGY

“Politics does not operate in a vacuum; it reflects as much the state of society as it seeks to influence and shape its direction”. Therefore, the extremist right parties, in whichever form they appear on the political stage throughout the time, have always been reflecting the political movements appearing as a result of different struggles and ideologies characteristic for the time being. Since the appearance of fascism, to the postwar neo-fascism up until the today’s form of populism, the extreme and populist right wing parties have undergone tremendous changes. That is why some authors, specializing in RRP parties, would prefer one term over another, due to their different classifications and associations with different political ideologies.

61 Williams, M., Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies, Palgrave Macmillan, Gordonsville, VA, USA, 2006, p. 173
As the purpose of this study is the newer type of far right parties, emphasis will be put on it. This particular form of radical right dates from the late 1980s and early 1990s, and has been born in the Western European democracies. Trying to define the radical right and furthermore to attribute a proper name to it, considering the fact that each one more or less differs from the other ones originating from other countries, seems to be a problematic matter. Radical right, neo-populist right or neo-fascist right are the most commonly used terms. However, the European preference is the use of ‘extreme right’, whereas in the US is the ‘radical right’, and a further distinction of the German practice is between the extreme and the radical right, the second one referring to nationalism and racism of the extreme right, which is usually not associated with lack of liberal democracy. Moreover right-wing extremism is said to be existent since the 70’s, before the term right-wing radicalism. In sum, the party type examined throughout the study will be labeled as radical right-wing Populist Party.

A comparison has been made between the emergence of the RRP party and the emergence of fascism, whereas the later one had appeared as a result of attempts to repress the modernity of socio-economic class issues, and therefore doesn’t resemble to the right-wing radicalism in the post-war period. Why this type presents itself as populist is explained through their negative view on the party-system, but not on the democratic establishment. They are opponents only of the representative model of democracy, and proponents of the model of direct democracy. Moreover, they are populist due to their capability of acting as a chameleon to the newly arising tendencies in the party-system, as well as to the electorate, or simply said, to the ordinary people’s interests. These parties don’t want to be viewed neither as extremist, anti-democratic, nor as anti-establishment party- it is then when they become unpopular. On the contrary, the populist parties want to present themselves as mirrors of the people and they succeed in doing this up to a certain extent, which from their point of view is one of the reasons to be established in the first place. They appear due to the electorate’s demand for their need, which the RRP parties ensure by recognizing the people’s mistrust in the current party system. This originates mainly from corruption, the ruling of a two-party-system, which one would criticize as being anti-democratic in nature.

Populist movements are proponents of conservative stances and opponents of changes when it comes to changes in the globalization process. From an economic point of view, populist movements are favoring the dominance of the state in controlling the economy, and they are less favorable of open-market economy. This is further associated with a potential threat of declining of the welfare state, in this case in economic terms, as only one side of the coin. In general the populist movement is a ‘counter-attack’ of the ‘elites’, which in fact refers only to their populist ideology. Other social dimensions are not to be neglected as constituting the whole ideological apparatus of the contemporary RPP parties.

The ‘newer’ dimension of the today’s RRP parties is the ethno-nationalist dimension, which lies in their ideology of distinguishing between ‘Us’ vs. ‘The Other’ between the people. Namely, ‘Us’ refers to the notion that the people are to be associated with a certain state only if belonging to it in terms of nationality based on biological and cultural traits; whereas ‘The Other’ are being excluded on grounds that they belong to the same state, but not only in geographical terms, not in terms of nationality. As the today’s form of racism doesn’t rely much on biological race, instead refers to issues of prejudice based on cultural characteristics, the ethno-nationalist or ethno-pluralist dimension of the RRP parties revolves around this same matter.\textsuperscript{65} A problem to start with is the clash of different cultures arising in a society, that shouldn’t be mingled, and preferable solution is preserving these cultures untouched by each other, thus avoiding the risk of assimilation of one of them with the other. It is mainly due to these sociocultural issues that the RRP parties are being labeled as ‘right-wing’ parties.\textsuperscript{66} Referring back to the welfare state and its preservation in its traditional form, populist right wing parties are in fact more concerned over this cultural dimension. This claim explains why these parties are fiercely proposing an elimination of everything that stands on the way of preserving the natural and cultural traits of the people within the nation-state. Subsequently they propose: a restriction of immigration, citizenship, and stricter mode of law and order, associated with them, not least restricted solely to immigration; as well as the maintenance of the conservative gender roles. Another reason why they are being placed on the far right, i.e. as extremist is due to their anti-pluralism, which lies in their opposition of the democratic political system and their opposition of democratic values in

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid. p. 11
general. However, not to be neglected is that they do want to project a pro-democratic picture of themselves, which shows how their role differs from circumstances at hand. Within the political system they could be considered as extremist, but on the other hand they consider themselves only as populist, and furthermore differently from the electorate as either one or the other option. That is why RRP parties shouldn’t be generalized, instead the specific conditions under which they operate need to be carefully considered in order to be put in any strict classification, whether in an extremist context, or simply in a populist context.

5.1 Explaining the Rise of RRP Parties; the Demand and Supply Side

Although the national context is an important factor in uncovering the reasons for the establishment of RRP parties, before going to the specific case of FPÖ, several reasons will be proposed, which will serve as theoretical guidelines in recognizing the specific characteristics of the Austrian case.

At first, when mentioning that RRPs have arisen on the political party scene, this fact immediately leads one to question the initial circumstances under which they have appeared in the first place. After all these parties don’t have that much of a long life-time. If one would distance their appearance from the neo-fascist movements, consequently one could claim that their establishment is a totally new practice, a lacking one in the political system and party systems of the Western democracies. On the one hand, this claim contradicts the nature of the populist ideology - their opposition of the modernity in a socio-economic sense, which is as an important feature of these parties. But, on the other hand, the claim that they are a modern establishment does make sense in terms of the demand that arose for them from the electorate, especially in the environment of a two-party system, where they are viewed as an alternative to the well-established parties who managed to come up with strategies different from the commonly used ones, all for the purpose of gaining popular support.

First, in order for an opportunity for a new party to be created, niches in the party structure need to arise. This would happen when the electorate would be unsatisfied with the current choice offered by the existing party-system, which is known as a political resentment. This opportunity would be further intensified if the electorate’s opinion changes which means they would no longer give support to the ‘old’ parties. Here the right-wing populist parties need to recognize
these shifts of public opinion and ‘blindly’ follow them. The right wing parties don’t even have to believe in those issues as long as they recognize that the public wants these changes and present themselves as strong supporters of these issues, as turners of the wheels of the party’s ideology.

Also, an important condition that needs to be fulfilled regarding the rise of RPP parties is the ability to attract as many voters as possible, from the ones that used to be supporters of already established parties. By acting as a catch-all party or as a party-entrepreneur they would be attracting voters from both blocs the left and the right one. Moreover, it is important for the newly recruited voters to be kept on their side not only for the particular cause of reserving their vote for the elections, but also between elections. Studies of RRP parties in Western Europe show that support for them has increased steadily in the past two decades, from the 1980’s at least up until 2004, reaching a slight downturn in 2001. All in all the support for them tripled.

The political resentment theory then doesn’t hold here, considering the fact that these parties do again gain support from the electorate continuously between elections. Another claim exists, which tends to explain the electorate’s support through their concern over other issues, apart from the political resentment. Namely these issues revolve mainly around unemployment, an issue of great importance for the lower educated class, then also from a great influx of immigration, from refugees, economic migrants to asylum seekers and the rise of a lower class in societies, as a characteristic of the post-industrial era.

Second, another important factor needs to be fulfilled in order for opportunity structures to be opened up, such as the dealignment and realignment process. The former refers to a no longer support of the same political parties, and the latter to a process of shift of voting support towards new issues. The realignment process is characterized by two most important cleavage dimensions existing in party politics, the sociocultural and socioeconomic one. The socioeconomic one refers to the issue of capital versus state interference with the economy, and

69 Ibid p. 11
the sociocultural to the “cultural liberal values against authoritarian or particularistic values on issues such as immigration, citizenship, the family, law and order, and the like”.70

The socio-cultural cleavage has been popular for a longer period, even before the popularity of the socio-economic cleavage, but nowadays the sociocultural one is more dominant in party politics. However, this claim is linked to the specific national case, which means that not necessarily the socio-cultural cleavage predominates. Therefore, if both compared on a national basis one could come to a conclusion that the socio-economic problems would be more appealing to the lower classes of the society, especially the long-term unemployed, low-educated and low-skilled classes, whereas the socio-cultural cleavage dimension would be more appealing to larger masses of voters, no matter of their class.

Regarding the process of dealignment, again the politics of resentment can play a role, if the politicians are considered as being incapable of solving problems. In particular when talking about resentment, it is often considered that it comes from the electorate’s perception of politicians and political parties as loosing sense with reality and thus not tackling certain issues as was their initial goal as a party ideology. For instance, social fragmentation and individualization processes haven’t been taken seriously by the left bloc as newly arisen problems.71 The Socialist and Social democratic parties used to be in charge of the issues of relevance for the working class and its protection, as well as the protection of the welfare-state. As soon as the changes around these issues were made towards a minimized support for them, the electorate no longer could trust these parties and therefore this leads to a decreased electoral support for them. Consequently, opportunities for new parties naturally arise.

Third, the politicization of new issues is of a great importance as opportunity structure for RRP parties. The practice has shown that mainly issues of immigration, the diminishing of the welfare state by proposing a preservation of nationalism and opposing multiculturalism, EU membership, as well as the open-market are the most common issues around which the emerging NRR parties concentrate their policies and programs. “Using immigration as a funnel allows right-wing radical parties to translate popular concerns of the day into problems caused by foreigners in

Especially if no other party thought to use it as a major issue-making a use of the niches in the partyism, so the RRP parties can attract voters that are unsatisfied with either the incumbent party-system offer or the ones that have been unsatisfied with the system in general, mainly the blue-collar and white-collar workers, employed and unemployed, young voters and old voters. Also, this protest from the RRP parties can come as an opposition to the mainstream adopting liberal policies on these matters, or it simply could originate as their ideology historically anchored within the party. In this study, particularly this factor will be paid attention to at most; as already presented as one of the reasons for the rising of RRP parties, more importantly the outcomes from politicizing such an issue, which will be presented as impacts on multiple levels.

In the same manner as new issues start to occupy the party-system, i.e. as some issues are being politicized later on they can, as well come to the point of being depoliticized. This is connected to the claim about the processes of realignment, as the socio-economic cleavage dimension is left behind and replaced or more dominated by the socio-cultural dimension. More importantly it is the elites that influence these cleavages and which push forward the promotion of one of the two dimensions. On the demand side it is up to the voters to accept the depoliticization of a certain issue, most likely, due to their resentment of the government, the system, or personal resentment. However one can only speak about cleavages, and thus depoliticization of certain issues in time frames and national frames. An issue that might be currently depoliticized might at the same time be undergoing through politicization in another country or party-system. In fact one could also differentiate between the issues of importance for the RRP parties vs. those of their supporters. “The fact, however that for the radical populist right economic questions and unemployment appear to be of secondary importance does not necessarily imply that radical right-wing populist politics is essentially postindustrial, noneconomic politics.”

Therefore one cannot claim whether the socio-cultural cleavage dimension followed after the socio-economic one, neither the other way around. What is more likely, in the context of the

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72 Williams, M., Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies, Palgrave Macmillan, Gordonsville, VA, USA, 2006, p. 73
emergence of these parties, is that the politicians can speed up the politicization or depoliticization of issues and turn it in their own use- for the purpose of gaining electoral support.

Fourth, on the supply side of the game, the emergence of the RPP parties can be explained by the structure of the party system. Those electoral systems that have simple- majority with a single ballot in their design are likely to have two- party system, which is called Duverger law. This logic furthermore explains that the simple- majority system with a dual ballot leads to multipartyism. Obviously if the party system allows for more than two parties to come to office, potential seats in the parliament would also be opened up for the RPP parties. The encouragement or discouragement of the parties can be explained through the electoral structure. Namely two factors in particular play major role in the emergence of marginal parties, in this case the RRP parties, i.e. the mechanical and psychological. The mechanical refers to the electoral rules of the majoritarian system where the third and fourth largest parties gain fewer seats in proportion to the actual number of gained votes. The psychological factor limits the opportunity of these parties to enter the political scene in the first place, since the low electoral threshold often shuts down the door for them. Consequently they remain out of office and end up on the streets as protest or simply as social movements. The psychological effect on the demand side can as well discourage voters not to waste their vote for a marginal, non-established party.

Fifth, the ideological space provided by the mainstream right is also believed to play a role in opening up of opportunity structures for the RRP parties. If the mainstream parties are positioned in the center, and if both of them the mainstream left and the mainstream right are not risking the chance to accept more conservative ideological issues, the electorate supporting these issues would be left without a space. That is how RRPs come to use this open space to enter the party- system. Furthermore the opening of electoral space for RRP is explained through two claims;

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according to the Kitschelt’s thesis this occurs when the ideological gap between the mainstream-left and the mainstream right is tight, and according to van der Brug’s thesis the more centrist positioned the right parties are, the bigger the opportunity for RRP. But, studies on Western European Political democracies have in fact proven the opposite. Those countries that had the narrowest ideological gap between the center-left and the center right had a smallest number of RRP parties “(whether calculated by the average vote or seats for these parties in elections held from 1990 to 2004, or during the most recent period, from 2000 to 2004)” Therefore no special connection between the narrow ideological gap and the opening of electoral space for these parties can be established. Neither does the thesis about the centrist positioning of the mainstream parties and its correlation with the votes and seats for the RRP parties hold empirically.

Sixth, these antitheses lead one to conclude that it is not the sole positioning of the mainstream parties with the combination of their ideological conviction that the RRP parties manage to use as a ready-made formula. One should also have in mind the adjustments that the RRP parties make to the ideological convictions of the already established parties. These adjustments should be made according to the specific national political situation, but concentrating too much on a winning formula, used by the established parties, would not always be a good recipe for their own success. What is also interesting in regards to the acceptance of a successful party strategy is the case of the RRP party- the French Front National. Namely the Front National first came up with the idea of combining xenophobic, ethno-nationalist approach, characteristic for the new far right, with a populist anti-establishment tactic. As soon as this strategy proved to be a successful one for the party itself, the trend was set for other parties in the Western democracies to follow.

Seventh, not only the RRP parties are the ones to make an adjustment of the issues of importance for establishing their ideological conviction. Also the mainstream parties in order to gain greater electoral support accept the radical right-wing discourse which, again depending on the national

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80 Ibid., p. 196
81 Ibid.
83 Ibid. pp. 21-22
context, seems to be in the interest of both of them, of the mainstream and of the newly arising radical right-wing parties, at least when it comes to their cooperation within a coalition. The mainstream and the radical right-wing in this case usually agree on issues such as law and order, immigration, conservatism, certainly with a different interpretation of them; the mainstream would approach them with a less of emphasis, and the radical right-wing would be emphasizing the radical feature in terms of xenophobic and racist attitudes.  

Eighth, in light of this adjustment of issues, the mainstream parties are inclined to form a coalition with the RRP parties, for the sake of gaining power, and particularly winning elections. In this way they would avoid opening up space for other emerging parties to take over their discourse about the issues they favor, and thus threaten their success at elections. When it comes to the radical right-wing parties, they often have to act in a less populist way than usual if they have decided themselves to be joining a coalition. This means that now they will no longer operate as protest parties standing against the whole political establishment and play the role of representatives of people’s interests. They are rather gaining in some countries a catch-all strategy, with a leadership characteristic as of entrepreneurs, appealing to everybody. Subsequently their ideology comes to be accepted as legitimate and not that radical anymore. However the catch-all type of party will be more likely to join a coalition with the mainstream parties due to their intention of appealing to large masses of people. But, on the other hand this could be put in the frame of the new trend appearing in party-organization, which would especially be applicable to the emerging NRR parties. Nowadays, even the catch-all type of party is considered to be left behind, being replaced by the cartel party, having a marketing organizational characteristic, where the leaders act as managers. All in all, alliance with mainstream parties is considered to be appropriate for both: the emerging NRR parties when they are about to start their electoral career, and for already existent RRP parties— which also connects with the strategy of the cartel party when appealing to the wider electorate.

Lastly, party structure is considered to have a different influence on the success of RRP parties. Whether a radical right-wing party reflects more of a populist image or moves further to the right is decided by its party-members. Therefore having a uniting stance on this matter would either contribute to their electoral success, in attracting more voters, or if not would lead to opening up of niches in the political space for other parties, taking advantage of their internal party disagreements. However, not necessarily a uniting strategy works out for the party’s success. Sometimes a hierarchical structure can also lead to a maximization of a party’s success, as is the case with the FPÖ’s leader Haider, who managed to move FPÖ to the right and contributed to its success. On the other hand, in some cases making use of anti-establishment strategies is considered anti-democratic by the electorate, and this leads to losing many votes from voters. When speaking about party leaders it is important to be mentioned their decisive role in achieving party’s success. But, it is still vague which factors regarding new leaders of already established RRP parties contributed to the parties’ success; whether it is the charisma of the leader or the change in ideology and rhetoric.

5.2 RRP Parties’ Impact on the Institution-shaping Level

An impact that can be measured and at the same time put in the context of the success that an RRP party can achieve is the impact on other institution in the context of Western democracies. The most likely type of impact an RRP would make would be the one connected to the positioning of other parties in the party-system. It is often considered that the rightward positioning of the RRP parties on the issue of immigration would be easily acceptable by the mainstream parties, but in order for this influence to be proven a relationship needs to be established between the two.

Different relationships exist between the positioning of the RRP parties and the acceptance of their stance on the immigration issue, and their shift to the far right. A weak one would be a result of non-acceptance of the far right stance on immigration due to its viewing the RRP parties as illegitimate. In fact a week relationship between the positioning on immigration issues of the

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88 Ibid., p. 23
90 Williams, M., Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies, Gordonsville, Palgrave Macmillan, VA, USA, 2006. p. 68
RRP parties and the positioning on immigration issues on other party types: mainstream right, mainstream left, liberal or center and the green, proved to be the most common one. This was analyzed empirically in a cross-national study of RRP parties, at that time, the fifteen EU member-states, including Norway and Switzerland, from the period between 1990 and 2000.\textsuperscript{91} A conclusion had been drawn that the sole positioning of the right-wing parties does not necessarily lead to a shift in positioning of the mainstream parties to the far right.\textsuperscript{92}

Regarding the existence of a strong relationship, such could arise if the mainstream parties collaborate with RRP parties, by forming coalitions. This further implies a consensus or harmonization of their view on certain policies, in this case this claim is proposed for the issue of immigration and the mutual discourse they share. Furthermore, from an empirical point of view, other cross-national of RRP parties have shown this strong relationship only in specific national cases, where a rightwards shift of mainstream parties in the party-system, had arisen as a result of the positioning of the RRP parties. A comparative study of four democracies: Austria, Norway, France and Canada varying from periods between the mid- to late forties to the mid- to late nineties has been examining the relationship between the shift to the right of other parties relative to the RRP parties. The relationship was proven to be linear only in the cases of Austria and Norway, and not in the cases of Canada and France.\textsuperscript{93} Furthermore this growing shift to the right had occurred in different periods in both countries; in Austria this shift took place between 1986 and 1995, whereas in Norway between 1989 and 1993.\textsuperscript{94}

Therefore this leads to the conclusion that this relationship, whether week in some countries or strong in others needs to be placed only within the national context, because theoretical generalizations wouldn’t be able to depict the right national picture.

If one leaves out other potential factors leading to this shift, such as the above mentioned simplistic of ideological competition between the parties, and instead take the role of anti-immigrant discourse, one can come to different conclusions about the shifting of the mainstream parties further to the right, i.e. the impact the discourse has on the institution shaping level. In the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{91} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{92} Ibid. p. 69
  \item \textsuperscript{93} Norris P., \textit{Radical Right, Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market}, Cambridge University Press, USA, 2005, pp. 267, 268, 269
  \item \textsuperscript{94} Ibid., p. 268
\end{itemize}
context of the Austrian FPÖ, in order to test the impact it has on institution-shaping, a tool that will be used to measure this impact is its explicit anti-immigrant discourse which has been taken over by their coalition partner- the ÖVP.

5.3 Impact of Political Discourse on the Institution-shaping Level

The ability of the elites to influence on the discourse of other institution and thus on other elites speaks about how far their power can take measures. If one takes a look at the elites as exercising a top-down approach over the discursive as well as non-discursive social practice, then first one needs to go deeper into socio-cultural package of beliefs, knowledge and opinion, and where they takes place. The elites would initially form their opinion on the immigration issue as a result of the wider socio-cultural context, most likely shared by other actors participating in the same culture. Elites, at least the ones that are populist appealing, act as mirrors of the people, or in this case of the electorate. They listen to their needs, and later on react in their direction. However, the elites even if populist cannot represent the nation as a whole, due to the populist essence that interprets the people as a ”homogenous moral entity”, and furthermore: “the common sense of the people should always take precedent and cannot be curtailed by ‘undemocratic’ institutional constrains such as constitutional protections of minorities”95. Therefore the RRP parties cannot act as representatives of the whole population, but rather only the people who belong to this ‘homogenous entity’.

It is very likely that not the entire constituency is anti-establishment inclined. If the RRP elites represent the electorate that doesn’t support the mainstream, or the one that is left without a “home” on the ideological scale, then it is to be assumed that the elites would be supportive of just a small part of the electorate who obviously shares different knowledge and beliefs than the “mainstream” electorate. In this case, i.e. the case of the RRP party-elites one could claim that they represent the far-right constituency or the supporters of socio-cultural issues, which matches with their own ideology, if taking a top-down elitist approach. “Within the framework of a study of elite discourse on ethnic affairs, such a political discourse both reflects and

95 Mudde C., The Populist Radical Right, A Pathological Normalcy, Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM) and Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER), Sweden, 2008, p. 7
influences popular as well as other elite concerns”\textsuperscript{96}. In light of this, as the social practice could easily influence the discursive practice, and also the other way around as the discursive practice can influence the non-discursive social practice, then the elites would end up talking about new issues as a result of a certain social practice. Later on this established discursive practice, exercised by the elites could take part in the socio-cultural practice, and thus could get accepted by the people, respectively. This explains how the elites get to expand their range of issue-support when they realize that other unpolarized, or simply current social events would make a good basis for their politicization, by converting them to new political issues on their political agenda.

Apart from the populist appeal of the RRP elites and their mutual sharing of the same ideology with the people who they represent, and thus reflecting a discourse in the spirit of their ideology; this same elitist discourse can be seen as being shared with other elites or institutions. The question that will be posed here in this context and that will be examined in the discourse analysis is what is the impact of the discourse of FPÖ over ÖVP, as coalition partners?

By examining the discourse, conclusions will be derived also about a potential shift in the ideological orientation of the party accepting a new far-right discourse. In fact this discursive analysis will reveal social cognitions of ÖVP, i.e. which norms, beliefs, knowledge and opinions have been involved with their ideological stance, and hence reveal if they have been modified with the acceptance of a new discourse. One should be aware of the possible fallacies being made in the text and talk of politicians when they speak about ethnic affairs and immigration in particular, as they could be claiming not to be anti-establishment in nature, but be projecting a clear far-right stance on immigration, as well as be supportive of such policies.

The discourse about immigration in general and about immigrants as minorities, when accepted by other institution- in this case by the mainstream parties contributes to the legitimization of their work as a party, and thus adds a positive feature to their otherwise anti-establishment fashion. Having the access to political discourse, and specifically to be able to speak about issues revolving around the exclusion of immigrants, and more importantly be supportive of them, further leads to a promotion of ‘allegedly’ pro-immigration and anti-immigration policies. The

power of the discourse can be measured by the acceptance of the same anti-immigrant discourse by other parties in the system, through an acceptance of a discursive practice of a positive presentation of the nation and of a depreciative presentation of the ‘others’, as well as of the discourse about the issues of law and order, unemployment, immigrant status, racism and the like, all attached to the immigration topics in parliamentary debates. As the discursive practice can be influential on the social cognition, in the context of the elites or institutions, this means a wider acceptance of a discriminatory discourse, which could become a practice within the partyism as an institution.

At the same time such a discriminatory implying discourse, through the fact that is established by the elites within institutions, could also have an impact on the wider socio-cultural cognitions in the society, by excluding of some and inclusion of others. “In ethnic affairs, it is primarily the administration and the politicians who define the ethnic situation and set the terms and boundaries of public debate and opinion formation”97. By being shaped by the people to a certain extent, and by promoting an ideology to them as well as an ideologically reflective discourse in line with the people, the RRP elites are likely to contribute to forming their cognitive and socio-cultural cognition and discursive practice. A potential racist or discriminatory elitist discourse could also become a practice by the people if approved and legitimized by them, in the same way it can get rejected by others, depending on the social cognitions of the people or the constituency. In fact in order for the discourse to become powerful it needs to get support at more levels in the society.

“Peripheral parties get their important issues into the mainstream by changing the way people think about them. They change the popular discourse, the agendas first of people and then of governments. This is where their impact becomes evident. They plant a seed in the popular consciousness, which over time can be strategically manipulated.”98.

In light of the inseparable relationship between the discursive and the social practice, it is only through this socio-cognitive practice that the racist discourse will come to power in both institutional, and in the societal arena.

98 Williams, M., Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies, Gordonsville, Palgrave Macmillan, VA, USA, 2006, p. 50
5.4 RRP Parties’ Impact on the Decision-making Level

In order for a radical right-wing party to be able to make an impact its power position needs to be taken into consideration.\textsuperscript{99} The RRP parties that are taking the form of social movements, as not being a part of the parliament won’t have the access to influence the decision-making procedure. On the other hand, the parties that are in the parliament, whether being a stronger or a weaker organizational type of party would have a greater impact on governmental decisions. The high-organizational party type in general makes a much bigger impact compared to the other party-types: social movements and low organization types; through their propaganda, internet media, regular opinion, public leadership and entrepreneurial influence, but not necessarily on policy.\textsuperscript{100}

One mustn’t forget the initial goal of the establishment of parties in the first place, no matter of the party type, which has always been to implement the policies they are in favor of, and thus make an impact on legislation. According to the theory about the political parties’ influence on policies in general, the access they get to push their favored policies through depends on their powerful position in the government, whether a single or a coalition party, or whether it holds a majority or minority seats in the parliament, so to influence the legislative procedure.\textsuperscript{101} When it comes to RRP parties and their impact on policies the criteria have been rather different on measuring their impact. Their success and subsequently their impact has risen when they actually become part of government coalitions, compared to their previous state of not even being able to achieve the required threshold for being eligible to run for office. A number of RRP parties across Western Europe have managed to get the access to policy-making, through proposing legislation initiatives, when elected thanks to their coalition partners. The practice has shown that their favorite policies are the anti-immigration policies which aim at cultural, linguistic and other coercive assimilation of migrants, rather than supporting integration and diversity.\textsuperscript{102} Also the immigration policies are mostly aimed at combating illegal or so-called irregular migration and at halting the entrance of non-EU citizens in the EU by imposing visa regulations, for the RRP parties across EU as well at the EU level. The result of these policies of the EU is the creation of

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., p. 39
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
“Fortress Europe” functioning as a closed system of states being hostile not only to the “Eastern World”, but also to the integration of the other European countries in Europe.

This practice of favoring stricter migration or clear anti-immigration policies lies in contrast with the need to address racism as a problem and to taking measures against its combating. Legislation initiatives on these issues, combating racism and immigration, in the European Parliament have been compared in the period from 1994 to 2002 in order for a link to be established whether importance would be given to fighting racism as a product of higher influx of migration.\textsuperscript{103} The study has shown a low number of legislation initiatives on racism throughout the whole period, with a steady rise in 2002, though.\textsuperscript{104} Whereas legislation initiatives on immigration have been constantly rising, which have also reached a peak level in 2002.\textsuperscript{105} Only a small number of seats in the European Parliament have been filled out by the radical right wing parties, but that doesn’t mean their power position has been decreased as they have formed groups or fractions together with other parties; right-wing or mainstream right parties. Furthermore the increasing number of immigration legislation initiatives can also be considered as a factor contributing to increasing problems with discrimination at the entire EU level. This leads one to conclude that radical right-wing parties have achieved a lot since their participation has started in the parliament; in the case of the EU achieving even a bigger impact on policy-making through legislation initiatives, thanks to their coalition with other mainstream parties. The supranational EU level gives them the opportunity to use their power position for achieving a greater impact on national level as well. Being able to make decisions is certainly a much bigger impact than simply talking about issues, but first in order to be able to assess this level of impact, the role of discourse in policy making needs to be examined.

\subsection*{5.5 Impact of Political Discourse on the Decision-making Level}

The same elites- the RRP parties and their members, by being in the same position, whether holding seats in the parliament or simply as existing as a registered party running for office, can exercise another type of influence through their further use of political discourse as part of the wider public discourse. Prior to passing a law on immigration, first parliamentary debates on

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{103} Williams, M., \textit{Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies}, Palgrave Macmillan, Gordonsville, VA, USA, 2006, p. 72
\bibitem{104} Ibid.
\bibitem{105} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
policies or bills are being run. As parliamentary debates are considered to be having a fixed form of expression it is to be assumed that they are representing the mutual and ultimate stance of their coalition on a certain issue. At least this pre-set opinion on a certain issue is characteristic for the particular talks in the parliament before launching a new law or proposing new laws. Then it is assumed that the parliamentarians are discussing their views in accordance with the official position of their native party, or the official coalition stance. In this way racist discourse is contextual, when discussing a certain topic prior to making it a policy or a bill, and this is how the previously known socio-cognitive practice consisting of their norms, values and opinion as well as their official discursive party practice links with their parliamentary discursive practice.

As the discourse on immigration can have a pro-immigration or anti-immigration feature, which both variants can be hiding in itself a pro-immigrant or anti-immigrant stance, thus potentially implying racism, what is easier to be a revealed as a clear racist discourse is the one explicitly expressed. It is considered that the discourse reflecting racist attitudes, and potentially anti-immigrant attitudes, would be the actual one presented by the party expressing and presenting it. On the other hand the anti-racist discourse, potentially including anti-immigration stance, and thus supporting discrimination, has two variants. It can either be a true anti-racist discourse or it can be a disguised anti-racist, in fact being a racist discourse. The real anti-racist discourse could be recognized due to being “consistent” and supported by firm arguments, as well as from the specific content dependent topoi that link them with these arguments with the conclusion; but the disguised one is the one which makes use of additional negative arguments, most likely about anti-immigration and about emphasizing a positive self-presentation of the nation.

The above claim about a racist/anti-racist discourse would be applicable to the situation where the coalition parties FPÖ and ÖVP would be sharing the same opinion. But it certainly wouldn’t be referring to a situation where FPÖ hadn’t been holding seats in the parliament, and ÖVP hadn’t yet been oriented far right. Therefore the discourse which will be analyzed needs to be put in a specific time-frame tied to the specific socio-political context. In this sense what is expected from the parliamentary texts is for their propositions on stricter immigration laws to be accepted.

107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
Moreover as the elites are talking about these policies, their discursive and non discursive social practice is assumed to be having an additional impact on the social cognition of the population through the powerful source of the media, at least in the opinion formation. Also the discursive and the non discursive effects of the discourse could also contribute to shaping the national picture, which would be associated with a stronger positive self-presentation and consequently a negative other presentation. The parliamentary debate that will be examined is chosen due to the fact that the FPÖ was reigning at that time, so it assumed that topics which they discuss about and propose as policies later on come to the stage of being implemented. Therefore it is assumed that the discourse has an actual impact on the decision-making level, which is assumed to be derived from the discourse analysis.

6. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RISE OF FPÖ

6.1 Research Design

The analysis will consist of two main parts; where in the first one the opportunity structures of RRP parties discussed above will be put in the specific context of the Austrian right-wing populist FPÖ (The Freedoms Party). Furthermore FPÖ will be placed in the specific national socio-political context, for the purpose of examining the opening up of opportunity structures which had contributed to its emergence and its success, respectively. The party-political events relevant for the FPÖ’s case will be presented in historical continuity from the beginning up to the present time. The presentation of the political structures in the Austrian party-system and their change throughout the time will be conducted for the purpose of achieving a better understanding of the rise, the success and the failure of FPÖ. After having presented the historical background of FPÖ with its most important opportunity structures for the FPÖ, the analysis will continue with a second part.

The politicization of the migration issues require a special attention, as derived from the theoretical elaboration, in all western democracies serves as a main opportunity issues leading to their rise. Having assumed its importance, in the second part an analysis of the discourse of FPÖ’s anti-immigrant will be presented. The discourse analysis, i.e. the analysis of the discursive practice will be conducted with the purpose of digging into the wider socio-cultural cognitions of
the FPÖ. As the discursive and non-discursive practice influence each other, this would offer a ground for understanding how big of a role do the anti-immigrant attitudes, right-wing populist ideology, and the right wing discourse, respectively play for this right-wing Populist Party, and thus for its success. Moreover the discourse analysis will also be encompassing the discourse of the ÖVP, which will provide a more broad understanding of the role and the influence of FPÖ’s discourse.

6.2 The Rise and the Success of FPÖ

After the Second World War in 1945, the ‘Second Republic’ of Austria was established on the grounds of the consociational system combining the Catholic conservatism and the Socialism represented by the two major parties the Christian Democrats or the Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP), and the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ), respectively. The Freedom’s Party arose as a third party standing in opposition to the others, which when first established was the party’s initial goal. It fact it originated from the League of Independents (VdU) in 1955/56 with a former Nazi as a party-leader. After the war Austria considered itself as the victim of Nazism, attitude from which it had never really freed, but instead was covered up and was transformed into a taboo. As nobody dared to speak about it again, FPÖ found convenient the opening up of this ideological space and tackled issues no other party before had the courage to, due to the consociational architecture of the party-system, designed to prevent Nazi parties of entering the system. The so-called Proporz system was designed for the leading parties in coalition, SPÖ-ÖVP, to rule proportionately with all the state institutions.

When it first started out, FPÖ was only an opposition party and didn’t achieve much success measured in electoral support, due to the skepticism of the voters as the country just recently abandoned Nazism and proclaimed neutrality. Although FPÖ emerged out of the pan-German nationalism, throughout the time it changed its ideology, as it shifted to the liberal ideology, which speaks a lot about the party’s contradictory image throughout its existence. It happened in the period from the 1960’s to the 1970’s that the party gained its second recognizable feature- by proclaiming itself as liberal. But still in this period the party didn’t manage to enter the government, but only merged in a coalition with SPÖ in 1963, as it needed support to be a strong
opposition. In the third period between 1970 and 1986 which was characterized as a period of “acceptance” FPÖ achieved much more. In 1983 entered the parliament with SPÖ; however the coalition didn’t last for that long, only until 1986. But surprisingly the new liberal image of the party was not welcomed by the constituency and FPÖ started losing its support.

The beginning of the fourth and last period started out as soon as Jörg Haider took over leadership of the party, who was the reason for ending this coalition. This period is known as “populist protest”, as Haider moved the party to the far right. “Haider’s FPÖ emerged as a medium sized party with backing of a million voters and as one of the most successful right of centre forces in European politics”. One of the reasons for the success was the weakening of the SPÖ- ÖVP coalition and the constituencies’ hunger for changes, as well as a hunger for more democracy, as this coalition persisted since the beginning of the ‘Second Republic’ after the Second World War. Moreover another reason for gaining popular support was a politicization of the new issues, so far not tackled by Austria- the immigration question. It turned out that Haider only expressed what the constituency, or the population in general thought, and now they finally got the opportunity to align with somebody’s ideology, so close to their views on these issues. Haider as a political figure attracted support due to his flexibility in changing opinions and simply adjusting to the political conditions in the ‘Second Republic’ and also following, or at least claiming to follow people’s views. When still not part of the government, Haider was strongly favoring: direct democracy, furthermore freedom of opinion, terminating state monopolies, as well as raised his voice against corruption and manipulation of public funds.

The above mentioned features of FPÖ are the ones that make it a Populist Party- the quest for direct representation of the population among the most important ones. Moreover, as the notion of populist parties implies not being anti-democratic, it has always been hard for right-wing parties to admit they are anti-democratic, and would even less like to be labeled as being extremist parties. Even when Haider was asked to specify whether he was on the right side he

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110 Ibid., p. 3
would answer: “We’re neither right nor left, we’re just in front”. What rightist in Austria meant was to be related to either with “German nationalism or Catholic fundamentalism”. Haider would always aim at disguising the truth to suit his own needs. But FPÖ was far from just a populist right-wing party. Its close link to Nazism was an indicator of being an extreme right-wing party, also derivable from its discourse clearly and explicitly expressing xenophobia, when talking about foreigners in the parliament. Thus, this type of discourse became a kind of a “trademark” of FPÖ.

More controversy followed FPÖ when it got to be viewed as being out of the constitutional ‘bow’, due to its propositions of forming a ‘Third Republic’ by changing the constitution in 1993, which led politicians from other established parties to think of a resemblance with the concept of the ‘Third Reich’. They feared that by proposing a new constitution and reformation of the ‘Second Republic’ Haider actually meant a dictatorship, whereas if he would become a chancellor it would be only him as a dictator and nobody else between him and the people. Nobody wanted for this idea to be realized. Later on in 1996 even the European Parliament asked for FPÖ’s “isolation” on the political scene in its resolution: “…that racist parties constitute the crystallization point for xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism in society and it is necessary to ostracize them and isolate their political leaders, such as Mr. Le Pen and Mr. Haider, in the Union in order to combat racism and anti-Semitism.”

Furthermore other opportunity structures that opened up for the FPÖ were the favorable partyism conditions characterized by the dealignment and realignment processes. Regarding the realignment process, FPÖ made use of the reduced popularity of the socioeconomic cleavage dimension, as it recognized a potential in abandoning the state intervention of economy and introduced the socio-cultural dimension by politicizing the immigration question for the first time. Also the dealignment of the population with the established party-coalition SPÖ-ÖVP which lasted for 40 years worked well for its success. It was due to this fact that the need for changes coming from a third party arose. Moreover the dealignment process can be linked not only with their saturation with the party system as such, but also with the constituencies’ deeper

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113 Ibid., p. 35
114 Ibid., p. 39
116 Ibid. p. 160
resentment with the issues the established parties promote, or on the contrary the issues they have left out from their political agenda. Herewith a lack of support for the national identity, the preservation of the nation and separating the immigrants from the nationals, can be added as further issues of importance for the Freedom’s Party.

Regarding the resentment theory FPÖ was massively supported by the lower class, mainly by the workers, due to his support of the small-scale economies. What its supporters were mostly unsatisfied about in 1981 was with the political system in Austria- 47%; moreover 17% believed that “under certain circumstances” a dictatorship would suit Austria better than a democracy would; in 1986 their vote for the FPÖ was given out of protest against the established parties, and in the 1990s they voted for it due to its ability to cope with scandals and privileges.\footnote{Plasser, Sommer and Ulram in Betz, \textit{Radical Right- Wing Populism in Western Europe}, The Macmillan Press LTD, London, UK, 1994, p. 51}

Another reason adding to the “sudden” rise of FPÖ in 1986, in the time of Haider’s takeover of the leadership, was the so-called ‘Waldheim Affair’. Namely Waldheim became a president of Austria in 1986, as a representative from ÖVP. But soon his popularity was threatened when rumors spread about his former involvement with Nazism, when he used to serve as an intelligence officer in the Wehrmacht.\footnote{Ibid., pp.222-223} Although his “dark” Nazi past was not in accordance with the image that Austria was trying to project about itself as being neutral on this matter, this affair has opened new niches in the electoral space in the sense that it broke the taboo or the culture of silence about Austria’s past. At first Waldheim was denying his Nazi inclination, but then turned the issue in the direction of it being a normal practice for anybody who had served for the army. Also he presented Austria as the victim who suffered from Nazism and from Hitler. Therefore the public had accepted this view and continued to take a stance of how important it is to think about the past and how this shaped their identity; and furthermore how important it is to have a distinct identity- and thus to be Austrian. FPÖ recognized the need of the people for stronger nationalist ties with the Austrian state, since they didn’t have the chance to express these nationalist feelings before and to nurture this connection. An interesting fact linked to Waldheim’s affair is that Haider supported him which approved his Nazi, extremist views. But all this contributed only positively to opening up the way for a politicization of this issue, which
Haider didn’t have to bother to introduce it himself. This image didn’t bring any good to ÖVP, but this issue certainly was used pragmatically by Haider. In the spirit of his entrepreneurship he simply used the niches in the party system and politicized the question of nationalism. From this moment on Austrian party politics was no more revolving around the pan-Germanism, and instead moved to the Austrian nationalism.

The organizational structure of FPÖ had certainly contributed to the rise of the party. Due to its authoritarian nature it has been also called “Fuhrerpartei”. Haider’s entrepreneurial role hasn’t been played only in the function of presenting an image of a party willing to stand next to the established parties, capable of achieving success, but also in the function of mobilizing support from within the party’s structure. “FPÖ’s representatives were dependent on Haider rather than the other way around”. Haider had been the ultimate leader in the party delegating tasks to the party’s members, choosing candidates for elections and also boosting the party with politicians who would refresh the party’s image.

In 1995 Haider expressed strong opposition against the parties and a greater call for changes in the government system in the time when FPÖ was going through a phase of viewing itself as a movement. Therefore he called for direct democracy which would downgrade the parliament and give more power to the people to decide. This was the main FPÖ’s idea of about the structure of the “Third Republic”, which came out right after the elections in 1994.

In the elections in 1994 Haider managed to gain the greatest electoral success of 22 percent, although since established FPÖ always used to get seats in the parliament. So, finally it got the support needed to impose itself as an influential and more importantly as a democratic party, even though it didn’t favor the image of a party in the traditional sense. At that time FPÖ wasn’t yet prepared to enter the government, due to the skepticism that the public had about his radical approach to politics, followed by continuous, ambiguous promises whose potential outcome after elections the public couldn’t predict. This was due to his ability of adjusting his promises according to the opportunity structures. However FPÖ remained in strong opposition by

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119 Ibid.
120 Williams, M., Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies, Gordonsville, Palgrave Macmillan, VA, USA, 2006, p. 159
attracting a great amount of supporters; especially inclined were workers which often are a target group of marginal and right wing parties. Haider didn’t attract voters from other classes since at this time Austria was doing quite well in economic terms, so the immigration issue couldn’t have been presented as a solution of potential economic problems.

However what most inclined voters to vote for the FPÖ in the 1995 elections were the common scandals created by them, then their favoring of cuts on public spending, protectionism of the welfare state, the immigration issues were less important, and lastly the human factor- Haider’s behavior and especially his charisma. In these 1995 elections it was expected for an ÖVP-FPÖ coalition to be established, but the fear of Haider’s antidemocratic moves arose. The reason for this was mainly Haider’s scandal over his speech in the honor of Waffen SS (the German army in the Second World War). Although the mismatch of the standard coalition ÖVP-SPÖ contributed to better opportunity structures for the FPÖ, still ÖVP couldn’t legitimize Haider support of National Socialism and FPÖ was soon left out from this potential coalition. This leads to a conclusion that a weak SPÖ-ÖVP coalition contributed to opening up of opportunity structures for FPÖ and greater electoral success, but at this time still didn’t reserve them entrance in the government.

Haider further used the resentment politics tactic to spread negative feelings when it came to the question of joining the EU. But at first he did support the accession of Austria in the EU, at the next elections to the European Parliament in 1996. Then, as soon as another issue appeared to be disappointing for the people- the highest level of unemployment in Austria, he immediately used this it for the purpose of recruiting his voters. It is how the FPÖ managed to gain 28 percent of the vote, just 2 percent less than the other the leading parties SPÖ and ÖVP; and even took over SPÖ’s working class voters, which were outnumbered compared to SPÖ voters. At these elections it called for a more democratic EU, again emphasizing its anti-establishment tactics by opposing the EU institutions as being elitist and not listening to the needs and interests of the EU citizens. Although still not part of the government the electoral success of FPÖ speaks a lot about

its vast support by the people and its power to recruit electorate, which helped to strengthen its role as a strong opposition.

The opening up of ideological space by the narrow gap between the ruling coalition partners positioned in the centre, turned out to be productive for FPÖ, unlike the empirical study of the Western democracies. This can be also linked not only with the need for more conservative inclination from other parties to satisfy a certain electorate, but can also be associated with the need for more democracy in Austria. Although the changes brought by Haider some would consider as not being felt by the electorate or the people, they certainly have been felt in institutional terms. The need for a more democratic party-system has been there and some would claim that the source of the change would be found only in a radical movement.\textsuperscript{124} FPÖ offered all that: a radical stance and a conservative stance, although it had some vague left and right views, as it supported neo-liberal economy, less state support, and anti-slav or anti-immigration issues in general, respectively.

Under the influence of FPÖ the mainstream parties made an adjustment of their political positioning as much as it suits to their ideological conviction. Often they used to accept the propositions coming from FPÖ only for the reason of avoiding greater trouble if Haider would have entered a coalition with them in the government. Therefore SPÖ and ÖVP used to accept his propositions in a milder form. Certain issues would be acceptable such as immigration issues, privilege for politicians, the economy and defense, which were also in favor of FPÖ in order to establish itself as an influential player on the party-scene, but anything connected to supporting old Nazi convictions especially publicly expressed was without doubt unacceptable. Moreover the adoption of these aforementioned issues first necessitates an acceptance of their discourse on these matters.

The biggest electoral success for FPÖ happened at the elections in 1999 when it came out as second, even leaving ÖVP behind itself. ÖVP “betrayed” SPÖ this time in joining a coalition with it as a traditional partner, which for FPÖ turned out to be a favorable condition. Consequently in 2000 ÖVP decided to form a coalition with FPÖ for a second time. If before 2000 FPÖ would influence party politics in Austria to a decent extent, since 2000 its impact had

profound changes on institution shaping - as a coalition partner of the ÖVP in the government and consequently a vast impact on the decision-making procedure. As soon as the news about a right-wing Populist Party entering the government broke, Austria had to face sanctions for allowing this precedence, which led to emphasizing domestic party politics and thus to a stronger emphasize of the national identity.  

6.3 FPÖ’s Fall and “Comeback”

Gaining electoral support however doesn’t imply a successful office and maintenance of the votes throughout the mandate. If the conditions which were essential for the rise and the success of the FPÖ, then the lack of those conditions contributed to its failure in popular support and to a demise of the party itself. For instance, the reasons on the demand side were the practice of voting due to resentment as well as the closely connected process of dealignment. Namely FPÖ lost a great deal of its electorate, which can be derived from the election results and number of seats gained in the parliament (percent; number in parentheses): in 1995 21.9% (41), in 1999 26.9% (52), in 2002 10.0% (18) and in 2006 11.0% (21). It is assumed by the FPÖ that they had lost a third of its voters - those that it attracted due to its resentment with the traditional coalition SPÖ-ÖVP. Those voters are easy to be attracted before the elections, but when in position they might realign from the party they had supported, or they might not have supported it all, but only voted for it due to resentment.

FPÖ was criticized for its incompetence in running its ministries, as its greatest asset had always been considered to be its charismatic leader; its populist appeal aimed at maximizing its vote share, and therefore these couldn’t work when in position. The failure of FPÖ as part of the coalition comes from the intra-party politics within the coalition. Haider didn’t hold any ministry and gave away the party-seat and therefore was ―free‖ to oppose the government as in the old times. His “rebel” attitude manifested in scandals of his nature - aimed at discouraging the government’s work and his further fight against politicians’ corruptness which reasons worked towards a loss of his and FPÖ’s credibility.

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125 Müller W. and Fallend F., Changing Patterns of Party Competition in Austria, From Multipolar to Bipolar System, West European Politics, Vol.27, No.5, November 2004, p. 802
126 Heinisch R, Right-Wing Populism in Austria, A Case for Comparison, vol. 55, no. 3, 2008, p. 44
127 Luther in Müller W. and Fallend F., Changing Patterns of Party Competition in Austria, From Multipolar to Bipolar System, West European Politics, Vol.27, No.5, November 2004, p. 819
128 Ibid., p. 50
Furthermore FPÖ introduced policies which wouldn’t have been possible to be implemented when in opposition, as well as the other way around; it had to support certain policies that would have been unimaginable in opposition. The ÖVP had accepted some of their proposals, but mostly acted as the leader in the coalition.\(^{129}\) What mostly the incumbent coalition had agreed upon were the economic and social policies. The acceptance of FPÖ’s anti-immigrant position had led to a united stance on the immigration policies they implemented. In fact during their coalition more laws have been implemented compared to the traditional SPÖ- ÖVP coalition, which didn’t originate from the fact that the coalition has been very unified, but rather due to conditions of the opposition. Namely, the opposition had transformed from a bilateral, previously the FPÖ, the Liberal Forum and the Greens, and in this case the SPÖ and the Greens- to a unilateral one. But when mainstream parties accepted policies close to the ones favored by the RRP parties it is considered that it could lead to a decline of the RRP parties’ electoral support\(^{130}\), which could be another reason for FPÖ’s reduced support and thus to its failure.

One also shouldn’t forget the fact that RRP parties’ roots are entrenched in xenophobic and racist ideologies, therefore what they strive for when they gain popular support is changing the immigration policies in a radical direction, often in contradiction with human rights and provoking criticism from many international bodies, as well as civil society groups working for a legitimate treatment of immigrants. When FPÖ’s xenophobic ideas had been put into policy proposals and its failure to push them through due to the hindrance of their coalition partner, then the weakening of its power position in the government and in the eyes of the voters is understandable.

As FPÖ’s internal discontent, coming from Haider’s resentment of not being able to exercise an ultimate leadership position in his party as well as in the coalition, the ÖVP- FPÖ coalition had been terminated in 2002. His oppositional tactics simply worked more for the success of his party than in the government. It was a matter of circumstances that again in 2003 the ÖVP again turned to FPÖ, as it was the most suitable option for maintaining its leadership position, since it wanted to make sure it keeps its voters. Also ÖVP wanted to make sure that FPÖ doesn’t go

\(^{129}\)Müller W. and Fallend F., Changing Patterns of Party Competition in Austria, From Multipolar to Bipolar System West European Politics, Vol.27, No.5, November 2004, p. 823

radical again, which it had learned from its previous practice that, when FPÖ is in coalition used to agree on less restrictive policies.  

In the 2004 elections FPÖ lost the most votes so far since it joined the coalition with ÖVP. This time FPÖ was criticized for its emphasis only on attracting votes and non-acceptance of neo-liberal economies and again internal party problems resulted with a support of only 6.3%, all spiced up with his anti-establishment attitude.

As this coalition was even less successful then the last one, in 2005 Haider feared from a potential loss of his leadership position in FPÖ, and therefore turned to a more safe alternative of again being in his safe leading position which he achieved by establishing his own party- BZÖ (“The Coalition of the Future of Austria”). Many would claim that Haider’s charismatic leadership has been one of the top reasons for FPÖ’s success, subsequently FPÖ’s prospects after Haider didn’t seem to be so bright. However FPÖ after leaving the governmental position had been brought back to its roots, when it used to be anti-establishment in nature, in particular towards the other parties. It also came back to its initial support of the right-wing populist policies as it was in the period from 1986 and from 1999, but now was led by a new leader, Heinz-Christian Strache. In 2006 FPÖ concentrated fiercely on anti-immigration, welfare chauvinism and anti-corruption and was determined to stay in opposition, unlike the BZÖ. On the other hand BZÖ had similarities with the FPÖ in supporting more or less the same issues. At these elections FPÖ gained more electoral support which reached 11%. The majority of its supporters were the ones favoring the immigration issues. At this point one can conclude that FPÖ was back on track.

If comparing the success of mobilizing the electorate before part of the coalition with the reduced success when part of the coalition, one can conclude that FPÖ was far better in attracting its voters as an outsider. What turned out not to work towards electoral success of the FPÖ was


133 Hainsworth P., The Extreme Right in Western Europe, Routledge, New York, NY, 2008, p. 40


the acceptance and thus legitimization of its xenophobic attitudes converged in policy proposals by the mainstream ÖVP. That is why FPÖ played on the safe side and later on in the 2008 elections was determined not to enter the government. FPÖ assumed that if the same situation from before 2000 was to be repeated- a grand coalition government of SPÖ- ÖVP, it would eventually lead to greater electoral success and lead to a stronger FPÖ’s bargaining position, after these elections. Not only the reluctance to participate in government came from the FPÖ itself, but also from the ÖVP who didn’t find it competent enough to share a coalition with. Therefore the radical right at these elections achieved the biggest success ever, FPÖ as well as the BZÖ. The comeback of the SPÖ- ÖVP coalition was constructed in a way to hinder the FPÖ in increasing its bargaining power. FPÖ’s success is ascribed due to the tougher economic times, furthermore Haider’s death and thus demise of their main competitor BZÖ, its concern not only over the standard immigration issues, national identity and EU skepticism, but now as being a “social homeland party”, also over economic and social issues, and the weakening of the ÖVP, which tried to take over the anti-immigrant attitude of FPÖ.

6.4 Conclusion

What is to be derived as a common conclusion from the above analyzes of the emergence and the electoral success of FPÖ is that there was a great deal of favorable political opportunities. The main ones will be summarized. Firstly, the historical conditions served well to refer to the Nazi past and appeal to an electorate sharing their views, and furthermore to use this dark past for awakening nationalist sentiments among the people. Secondly, regarding the party system and its opportunity structures- the processes of dealignment opened up niches as the electorate hadn’t been offered other choice, but the grand mainstream oriented coalition SPÖ- ÖVP. Also the resentment politics influenced the electorate to start parting from their political choice. Thirdly, the realignment process played a role, where the new cleavage socio-cultural dimension gained salience, whereas the old socio-economic one had started to decline. In particular, responsible for this cleavage was the FPÖ who created this opportunity. Fourthly, and connected to the last one is the importance of the politicization of the immigration issue, for the first time brought up as a new political issue by FPÖ, and moreover Haider’s “monopolization” of anti-immigrant

137 Ibid., p. 1052
discourse in Austria tied to this issue. In this sense it is worth concluding that FPÖ exercised influence over the party system by shifting the mainstream further to the right. But when it comes to its electoral success sometimes this proved to be of disadvantage, as it resulted in shrinking of the electoral niches. However its success often depended on the willingness for cooperation of its traditional coalition partner- the ÖVP, i.e. the intra party relations within the coalition and the inter-party relations when outside of coalition. Fifth, the charismatic leadership of Haider is also considered to be of a great advantage in launching the party to such a successful level due to converting it from an outsider right- wing extremist party to a party in position, as a coalition partner to a mainstream party which contributed to a “normalization” of the right wing xenophobic discourse, at least in the political arena.

7. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

7.1 FPÖ’s Anti-immigrant Discourse as a Ground for Discourse-analysis

The sole fact that FPÖ managed to transform itself from a minor, outsider party to a main competitor of the established mainstream parties and even became a “regular” coalition partner with one of them, speaks about how well the opportunity structures have been inclined towards its emergence in the party system and later towards its success. Now when FPÖ’s development has been elaborated, a further emphasize will be put on its anti-immigrant discourse well known as a “trademark” of all RRP parties, through which they reveal their ethno-nationalist xenophobic attitudes. FPÖ’s anti-immigrant discourse, which has been considered to be “monopolized” by it, since no other party in Austria used it before as a core political issue, serves as an essential basis for formulating policy propositions and for designing actual policies. Also as already stated FPÖ has gained most popularity as it had been a pioneer in establishing the strictest anti-immigrant policies. Since the most successful tool for its success has been the establishment of this type of policies and at the same time the use of discourse in the same spirit, then this requires an analysis of their unique (for Austria) anti-immigrant discourse, potentially full of xenophobic and racist modes of talk. By analyzing the discursive practice of FPÖ it is expected that its non discursive cognitive practice will be revealed, which would contribute to an assessment of the role of FPÖ’s discourse in institutional terms.
7.2 Discourse Analysis of the Parliamentary Debate on the 2002 “Integration Agreement”

This document has been chosen due to the fact that it was the first immigration law passed by the new coalition of ÖVP-FPÖ since 1999, and the fact that it was the first law FPÖ had passed as part of this coalition. Furthermore this parliamentary debate, taking the form of a text will be analyzed since a potential xenophobic or racist discourse is expected to be present, under influence of the FPÖ’s discourse.

The Integration Agreement is a document following after the “Act on Foreigners” 1997 and the “Act on Asylum” from 1997 and the “Foreign Labor Act” from 1975. As the “Integration Agreement” came out as a continuation of these documents; as well as a result of the Parliamentary debate on July 9, 2002 then this implies an intertextual connectivity between them. So, here the question of intertextuality would serve to establish a connection between these inter-connected texts, as they all refer one to another, to the preceding ones and the ones to follow. However here will be conducted a discourse analysis of only one document, which could help in establishing this intertextual link.

In addition to this intertextual connection the text to be analyzed could be seen as a part of different discourses; the following text refers to the discourse about the ‘Integration Agreement’. But as texts can be interconnected, not least in the topics they discuss about, but also they can be associated with different types of discourses. Therefore the discourse about the ‘Integration Agreement’ in the following parliamentary debate can be linked, for instance to discourses about foreign criminality, foreign unemployment etc. - which is an example of a relationship of interdiscursivity. Furthermore these different discourses (foreign criminality, foreign unemployment) could also be included in other texts, preceding, or following after the ‘Integration Agreement’.

Also in regards to interdiscursivity the specific type of genre in this discourse analysis are speeches of MPs in the Austrian Federal Parliament, placed within the ‘law-making procedure’ as a “field of action”. By being aware of the links between different types of genres in the following discourse analysis this genre can also be linked with laws, amendments, other

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speeches or statements of MPs. In the same manner as the discourse and the text are intertwined, the genre also is to be linked with them. This overview of intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and genres served to depict an overall picture of where the “Integration Agreement” stands in the discursive space.

First, the discourse of FPÖ will be analyzed, where the aforementioned proposed topics of relevance will be tested and put in the specific context of the following text. Furthermore the discourse analysis will be aimed at revealing the specific content dependent topoi- arguments that connect the argument to the conclusion and fallacies- as breaches of argumentation rules. This method draws on the discourse analytical method of analyzing racism and discrimination developed by Wodak in Discourse and Discrimination and in Politics of Exclusion.

In the following example the argumentation strategies and the topoi will be analyzed, which make the positive presentation of ‘Us’ and the negative presentation of ‘Them’ justifiable.

**Example 1:**

“We will take these numbers very seriously, because we do not want any further immigration or new immigration to pose a threat to the Austrian labor market, and that is why we have to start from the root. The root of the immigration, emigration of people from the East lies in us, on the one hand in the wage level, and the other hand in the good, tight-knit Austrian social system. This is also why most of the emigrants indicate Austria as a target. And therefore we have to consider new measures.”139 (Speaker: Ing. Peter Westenthaler, p. 52)

Here one can clearly recognize the topic of ‘Collective Identity’ aimed at depreciating the East and glorifying the Austrian nation as well as the Austrian state. The topic of ‘Racism’ had also been explicitly used to racialize the emigrants- as originating from the East, i.e. as non-Europeans. Also the topic of ‘Welfare State Issues’ is used to portray immigrants as “enjoying” the advantages of the good Austrian social system. In addition, all of these topics have been used with an anti-immigrant inclination.

139 http://www.parlament.gv.at/PG/DE/XXIV/NRSITZ/NRSITZ_00031/fname_170529.pdf#search=%229.%20Juli%202002%22
1) The referential or nomination strategies used here are assimilation: “reference to the social actors as groups, realized as plurality”, in particular the form of collectivization is used when referring to social actors as groups without specifying their quantity: “people”, “we”\textsuperscript{140}. The use of “we” and “us” is for the purpose of depicting the whole Austrian nation as the ‘ingroup’, which serves to categorize “people from the East” as an ‘outgroup’. Also actionalization is used to refer to the social activities of the discriminated “emigrants” and politicization- “good, tight-knit Austrian social system”.

2) Also the use of the predicational strategy in positive- self and negative-other representation, which serves to deprecate or appreciate the social groups, is present here. By using the attribute of “good, tight-knit Austrian social system” a positive self-presentation of the Austrian nation-state is expressed. This statement is also to be connected to the topic of ‘Welfare State Issues’.

3) Argumentation strategy: The topos of threat is employed for the purpose of depicting immigrants as threat to the Austrian labor market, and in order for this danger- the immigration to be avoided or eliminated one needs to take certain measures. And furthermore the speaker uses vague language by not specifying who are actually the immigrants, but rather uses a populist approach to categorize them as the ‘people from the East’. Another topos, specific for the national positive self-presentation is topos of advantage or usefulness which implies that in case an action is of advantage or useful then one should do it, in this case the topos of pro bono nobis (to the advantage of ‘us’), closely linked to the topos of pro bono publico (to the advantage of all)\textsuperscript{141} - mentioned in the chapter on the method. The topos of advantage of ‘us’, refers to ‘us’, as the Austrian nation- the opposite of ‘them’, who consider as being an advantage for them to undertake new measures of halting migration in order to save their, i.e. Austrian labor market.

In the following example the topic of ‘Employment Issues’ is used with an anti-immigrant sense when talking negatively about immigrants, in particular about the high level of unemployment among them. Then the topic of ‘Law and Order Issues’, also with anti-immigrant sense has been

\textsuperscript{140} Wodak, Discourse and discrimination, Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism, Routledge, London, UK, 2001, p. 53
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p. 75
employed to present immigrants as criminals. Furthermore the topic of ‘Orientation towards Political Opponents’ has been applied with anti-immigrant orientation when FPÖ is praising itself as a party capable of solving immigration and integration problems and accusing the SPÖ of incapability, again with anti-immigrant inclination. By labeling immigrants as criminals and unemployed the topic of ‘Racism’ with anti-immigrant inclination can be recognized.

**Example 2:**

The fact that today we are talking about integration, about better integration measures for the immigrants that live here, is in itself a confirmation of the failure of SPÖ’s reign, as You from the SPÖ haven’t managed to establish integration and to adopt integration laws neither in the Austrian capital Vienna, where the number of unemployed immigrants is the highest of all, nor at the federal level.

That is why we have such a high level of unemployment among immigrants, that is why we also have a relatively high level of criminality among immigrants, and that is why this government took office, to prevent these grievances, to eliminate the grievances that you have caused. We are also clearing up this area, ladies and gentlemen! (Speaker: Ing. Peter Westenthaler, p. 53)

The **topos of criminality** is used to refer to portray immigrants as criminals. Here the fallacy of **pars pro toto** is implied in the stereotypical generalization that most of the immigrants are criminals as well as unemployed. At the beginning of the statement a logical fallacy is implied whereas in order to accuse the SPÖ of conducting the wrong integration policies it is assumed that the sole fact that integration is the subject of discussion speaks about their failure of their reigning. The speaker also attacks verbally SPÖ (fallacy of **argumentum ad hominem**), although he doesn’t address a particular MP still, by using a personal allegedly polite form of the personal pronoun ‘You’.

In the following example the topic of ‘Orientation towards Political Opponents’ is present when referring to the President of ÖGB, which is an institution, inclined towards the SPÖ- in the time

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142 http://www.parlament.gv.at/PG/DE/XXIV/NRSITZ/NRSITZ_00031/fname_170529.pdf#search=%229.%20Juli%202002%22
of the debate had been a party in opposition. Also regarding this topic, when accusing SPÖ of not doing anything for the integration of immigrants, one can recognize the allegedly “pro-immigrant” stance, which is derived from the previous criticism of SPÖ that the “right policy” is the one accepting everybody in the country, and the claim that Austria is an immigration country; and not least in this particular text, also FPÖ’s popular claim: “Austria is no country of immigrants” further supports its anti-immigrant stance.

The topic of ‘Law and Order Issues’ has been referred to when speaking about the previous coalition government’s immigration policy. In particular the following speaker’s statement has been directed only towards the SPÖ and not towards the ÖVP, which is understandable to refer to it as the antagonist, since ÖVP used to be their coalition partner at the time which he refers to in his statement. Moreover the topics that have been used here are with an anti-immigrant inclination.

Also the ‘Topic of Racism’ is combined with the ‘Topic of Migrant Examples/ Statistics’, where generalization has been used to depict all the migrants as not integrated in the Austrian society, thus supporting the argument that many of them don’t speak the German language.

Example 3:

“The Honorable Mr. Verzetnitsch MP, the President of the ÖGB\textsuperscript{143}, has said: If we change the law, we will change it in the right direction! Honourable Mr. Verzetnitsch - he's not here now-, I do not think we will find the right way, because what you consider as the right way in the immigration policy, was what we had to experience in the past years. Your immigration policy was characterized by your claim that Austria is an immigration country, without having stipulated the existing immigration regulations and requirements in these immigration countries. You have said, anyone, who wants to, can come. But what happened to the people later was more or less the same for you. Therefore, today there are still many foreigners, who have lived in Austria for 20 years and who can’t even speak the German language, therefore cannot participate in the

\textsuperscript{143} ÖGB (Österreichischer Gewerkshautschaftsbund) stands for the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions
social life and therefore also have not been integrated.”144 (Speaker: Dr. Helene Partik-Pablé, p. 70)145

In this case the *topos of number* has been used when given as an inargumented statement for the purpose of supporting the argument that under the ruling of SPÖ (which lasted for around 40 years) and their ‘wrong’ integration policy some immigrants have not learned to speak the German language even if living in Austria for 20 years. That is why this topos is a fallacy, in specific the *fallacy of ambiguity*. The *topos of responsibility* is used to hold the previous government responsible for allowing “anyone, who wants” to come to their country and then not doing anything for their integration. The *topos of past* is meant “to warn of a repetition of the past”, referring to the past years of wrong politics of the previous government.

In the following example the topic of ‘Orientation towards Political opponents’, with an anti-immigrant sense is presented as when introducing the proposals about compulsory German courses for the integration of immigrants.

**Example 4:**

“Now you are bothered with the fact that now, we are introducing this forced course, this German course as a mandatory course. Yes, we are introducing a mandatory course! I admit that we do want to make these German courses mandatory. I don’t need to deny this at all.”146 (Speaker: Dr. Helene Partik-Pablé, p. 71)

The *topos of advantage*, in particular *pro bono nobis* - to the advantage of us is implied here for the purpose of emphasizing the determinacy of the claim about introducing these compulsory courses, without providing any supporting arguments why this compulsory feature is of importance. Also the *argumentum ad hominem* when verbally attacking the opponent is used, again for the purpose of avoiding any supporting claims for the adequacy of the proposed law.

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145 http://www.parlament.gv.at/PG/DE/XXIV/NRSITZ/NRSITZ_00031/fname_170529.pdf#search=%229.%20Juli%202002%22

146 Ibid.
By simply affirming what has been implied the speaker tries to further persuade the opponents by presenting this law as non-restrictive for the immigrants.

In the following example the topic of ‘Liberal Values Issues’ is combined with ‘Racism’, with both anti-immigrant and immigrant sense, ‘Immigrant Status’ as well as topic of ‘Law and Order Issues’, both with an anti-immigrant sense. The topic of ‘Liberal Values Issues’ serves to justify the non-respect for human rights, where AIDS- infected immigrants are being racialized and stigmatized on the grounds that they pose a potential threat to the health of the Austrian nation. The use of the topic of ‘Racism’ is to be derived from the denial of stigmatization. Denying racism, at least according to the understanding of the so-called new racism confirms the opposite- in fact it works towards the boosting of racism. The Topic of ‘Racism’ is used with an allegedly “pro-immigrant sense”, but on the contrary with an implied “anti-immigrant sense”. However, not necessarily the denial of racism implies a production of racism. Here rather the proposition of excluding AIDS- infected immigrant of granting a residence permit for Austria reveals racist attitudes. The ‘Topic of Immigrant Status’ highlights the justification that emigrants infected with AIDS should be exempted from obtaining a first-time resident status, i.e. immigrant status in Austria. This topic is closely connected to the ‘Law and Order Issues’, where laws from other countries from serve to validate a potential Austrian restrictive migration law.

Example 5:

"No residence for AIDS infected. AIDS infected immigrants from July 2000 shall no more be granted a residence permit in New Zealand. The Ministry of Immigration stated in Wellington on Wednesday, that top ministers have agreed on a mandatory AIDS test for immigrants and refugees who would like to stay for longer than two years in the country."- End quote.

Ladies and gentlemen! Health tests are also a precondition for immigration in Belgium, France, Greece, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Australia, Canada and the USA.

Ladies and gentlemen! The health certificate for granting a first-time resident status in Austria is neither a stigmatization nor a harassment, but an absolutely necessary
measure for avoiding any hazards to the public health in Austria. 147 (Speaker: Hermann Reindl, p.89)

The *topos of threat* is used to justify why the AIDS-infected pose a threat if being accepted as immigrants in the country. The restriction in the migration policy directed towards this category of immigrants would eliminate “*any hazards to the public health in Austria*”. The *topos of reality* serves to justify FPÖ’s proposals for tightening up the migration policy, in particular for the AIDS infected immigrants, in the same manner as the other above-mentioned countries did. The *topos of example*, by referring to other countries’ immigration policies serves to justify this immigration policy, without taking into account the national context on this matter, by referring to other countries immigration policies. Therefore this supports the claim that if other countries have agreed on this policy, then ‘we’ also should, by not providing any further arguments but the unjustifiable potential threat for the public health. The *topos of definition* serves to explain the purpose of the health certificate, that it’s not a racializing measure for halting migration, but a measure for preventing health hazards.

Now the discourse of the ÖVP will be analyzed, so as to trace down differences or/and similarities with FPÖ’s right wing discourse. Then at the end, results from the whole discourse analysis will be presented, with the aim of making an assessment of the discourse of both parties.

In the following example the topic of ‘Anti-Racism’ is used to deny any racial incidents in the country, with an allegedly pro-immigrant sense so as to further justify the argumentation that this government deals well with the integration problems, or more precisely has none of these problems. The pro-immigrant inclination is a disguise here due to the claim that the Turkish immigrants have now integrated, which implies that before that hasn’t been the case. Moreover by depicting the integration climate in the country as a non-problematic one the speaker aims at contradicting the claims of the opposition parties that there are integration problems in the country and at justifying the capability of their coalition in designing a successful immigration policy, which identifies the topic ‘Orientation towards Political Opponents’, also with a pro-immigrant sense. But also, more importantly the same claim of ÖVP stands in a contradiction

147 http://www.parlament.gv.at/PG/DE/XXIV/NRSITZ/NRSITZ_00031/fname_170529.pdf#search=%229.%20Juli%202002%22
This speaker’s argument that no integration problems exist tries to aim at a positive self-presentation of the country, by applying false examples of race riots, specific for other countries which have had extremist right riots, which wrongly connects this argument to the conclusion that there are no integration problems. Also when talking about the fact that no race riots have happened in Austria, the speaker distorts the real situation in Austria, when in fact speaking about other examples in other countries- this is the so-called straw man fallacy. This is done with the purpose of depicting a positive picture of the country.

Furthermore the statement of having no integration problems is logically invalid due to the fact that integration is difficult to be defined and thus measured and also due to the purpose of this debate- to propose a new integration law. Consequently, the need for integration of migrants exists. This logical fallacy also lies in the fact that the coalition government supports the integration of only a certain type of immigrants, i.e. - the newly arriving immigrants, which has been stipulated in the Integration Agreement.

The speaker offers no arguments to back up his statement on integration, apart from connecting the argument about the peaceful atmosphere in the society with also a positive argument about the immigrants being integrated. “No race riots”, therefore “the people are integrated”- referring

148 Ibid.
to the immigrants. The fallacy is being inferred here - the *non sequitur* on the grounds that a false connection has been made between the stated arguments and the conclusion, which conclusion obviously, from a logical point of view, is not to be derived from the proposed argument.\(^{149}\)

Moreover, what *the topos of example* through the fallacy of *pars pro toto*, aims at is generalization- to apply a positive example to a whole group, as Turkish immigrants are just one nation among the immigrants.

In the following example the topic of ‘Law and Order Issues’, with both pro- and anti-immigrant inclination intertwined in a vague way, can be detected when the same MP gives arguments for a stricter integration legislation regarding the compulsory attendance of German courses, which if the ones concerned do not adhere to would be repatriated. As this has been expressed through a racist language with offensive words the topic of ‘Racism’ is used, with an anti-immigrant inclination. In order to justify the appropriateness of this law to deal with the problem of integration the speaker uses the topic of ‘Liberal Values Issues’, with a pro-immigrant inclination, by referring to the human rights article and its adherence to in the in this law, i.e. later on established as Integration Agreement.

**Example 7:**

*The German course is to be attended for one and a half year. One also gets an extension of this period; one even gets a part of the money refunded by the State. And if only one says after four years: I would indeed like to stay here, but I don’t want to learn German!, then I think it corresponds to the will of the vast majority of this country, that you tell the person concerned: It’s make or break: If you want to stay here, then learn German, if you do not want to learn German, please go back to where you came from! According to the Article 8 on Human Rights, Mr. Posch, The right to a family will not be thereby affected in any way, because we have made it clear that families will not be separated. But this*  

gentle pressure on the integration is an important matter, which is a milestone in the legislation.\textsuperscript{150} (Speaker: Dr. Andreas Khol, p. 61)

The topos of abuse has been applied here, for the purpose of supporting the argument that against the ones that would not abide by this proposed law, appropriate measures will be taken.\textsuperscript{151} Therefore if the immigrants don’t learn the language within one and a one and a half year they would face consequences- will have to leave the country. This type of topos has been commonly used when restricting a certain immigration policy.\textsuperscript{152} Regarding this argument and the connection the speakers makes with the “vast majority of this country” as supporters of it, this is done with the aim of avoiding to present firm arguments for this proposition. In fact this populist appeal uncovers the argumentum ad populum type of fallacy. Another topos is the one of humanitarianism which is used to depict the proposal for this new integration law in a positive way and thus cover up the restrictions that this proposal brings to the integration. The topos of law or topos of right is present when the speaker gives arguments that human rights will be included in this integration law. By attacking verbally the MP from SPÖ, the fallacy argumentum ad hominem is employed in order for more firm arguments to be avoided. Lastly in order to justify the restrictions of this integration policy, the speaker does this by generalizing, through the fallacy pars pro toto: “And if only one says after four years”.

7.3 Assessment of the Parliamentary Debate

The fact that one example of a parliamentary debate cannot give a fully encompassing picture of the discourse characteristic of FPÖ, should be taken into account if trying to generalize the nature of this discursive practice. But what it can do is to provide at least a small picture of where the discourse stands in particular space and time, so it can be compared with the widely known general notion of its rightist and populist essence. It is possible that they may turn out to be similar or totally different. However in this parliamentary debate what makes this discourse

\textsuperscript{150} http://www.parlament.gv.at/PG/DE/XXIV/NRSITZ/NRSITZ_00031/fname_170529.pdf#search=%229.%20Juli%202002%22
\textsuperscript{151} Wodak, Discourse and discrimination, Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism, Routledge, London, UK, 2001 p. 80
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.
The immigration law, i.e. the Integration Agreement was adopted as a result of this parliamentary debate, which discourse was heavily influenced by at that time ruling coalition FPÖ-ÖVP. Firstly, as the topics connected to migration were examined, one can notice that the discourse of FPÖ is characterized with anti-immigrant stance, which aimed at tightening up of the immigration policy. The most common topoi used by them in this discourse analysis are the topoi of threat of immigrants. They were again and again presented as the ones taking advantage of the Austrian system, and therefore mostly the arguments were turned in the direction of restricting the immigration policy. Having used threat of immigrants in discursive terms implies a xenophobic attitude towards them, which overlaps with the initial notion of FPÖ’s discourse as presented before the analysis. Furthermore other common topoi are topoi of examples and topoi of numbers also aimed at generalizing about immigrants, or stereotyping them as unemployed and criminals through the use of ambiguous numbers and often ambiguous arguments, through the topos of ambiguity. Also verbal attacks against their political opponents were commonly present, through the fallacy of argumentum ad hominem, also when aiming at covering up the restrictiveness of their proposed policy.

Commonly the Austrian nation was presented positively as an in-group, whereas the immigrants were presented negatively, as an out-group. If through this construction of the self and the other a racist attitude can be detected, the new form of racism, as already discussed, implies much more than simply emphasizing a superiority over non-whites or non-Europeans. One can detect a language full of racializing, and otherizing discursive tactics which although free of clear offensive words, since not addressed directly to immigrants, still had racist effects. Even when using an allegedly anti-immigrant stance the real intention of the discourse was uncovered, thanks to the use of fallacies and topoi. All in all, the discourse of FPÖ was clearly anti-immigrant and as such expressed, loud and clear.

The discourse of ÖVP interestingly, one can notice is also anti-immigrant in nature, but not so clearly expressed as the FPÖ. Even an example of contradiction is present, regarding the consolidation of their stances, where the FPÖ claimed there were integration problems, whereas the ÖVP claimed this wasn’t the case. As already stated the false pro-immigrant discourse is to
be revealed due to the lack of argumentation. This is precisely the case with ÖVP’s discourse, which was commonly characterized by a pro-immigrant sense, but however this was the false version of it, which was proved by the detected topoi and fallacies. The MPs from ÖVP are also commonly attacking the political opponents as incapable of running a successful immigration policy. The ÖVP also commonly presented the Austrian nation in a positive way, thus racializing between ‘Us’ and the ‘Others’. On the question of tightening up the integration policy, as far as the language comprehension is concerned they were on the same stance. To assess the nature of the ÖVP’s discourse, it is generally anti-immigrant, or rightist oriented, very similar to the xenoracist and anti-immigrant one of the FPÖ.

In conclusion the right-wing discourse in this debate on migration can be characterized as anti-immigrant in nature, racist, xenophobic, furthermore directed towards ‘otherizing’ or differentiating between in-groups and out-groups. The right wing discourse full of these attitudes can influence the non-discursive practices, which is not only theoretically to be derived from the proposed theories, but also empirically one can conclude an impact in institutional terms, through the creation of discriminatory policies. Therefore these type of policies directed at excluding migrants are a clear example of a production of institutional discrimination. Institutional discrimination can also be legitimimized, or reproduced by other institutions, in this case by the mainstream-right party, i.e. the ÖVP.

The role or the impact if the right-wing discourse of FPÖ can be summarized on two levels:

1) Decision-making level (the discourse influences the creation of discriminatory policies)

Here a small part of what the Integration law is presented, in order for this influence on this level to be illustrated. After the debate the strict proposals about the compulsory German classes expressed in this debate have been implemented in the “Integration Agreement” (Integrationsvereinbarung- IV)\textsuperscript{153}:

“If migrants do not embark on language classes within the first two years of their stay in Austria, they risk a fine of 100-200 Euros”. Also if they have not completed the language course after four years, the following sanctions may come into effect:

a) Setting of an extension to provide proof of completion of the required course hours;
b) Reduction or withdrawal of government grants for the remaining language classes;
c) Refusal to issue a settlement permit;
d) A fine for failure to integrate;
e) Expiry of one’s residence permit.

However the discourse of ÖVP also needs to be taken into consideration as also exercising an influence over the decision-making procedure.

2) *Institution-shaping level (acceptance or legitimization of the right-wing discourse by the mainstream-right party ÖVP)*
8. CONCLUSION

This thesis was dealing with the phenomenon of the radical right-wing Populist Party, which played the role of the main actor. Its ideology can depicted as mainly populist, appealing to a mass electorate, encompassing those from the right-oriented to the mainstream one. Its main advantage lies in its adjustment to current issues and accordingly in offering a solution only to daily problems, rather than to the “ever-lasting” ones, typical for the mainstream parties. Furthermore it is anti-establishment in nature by opposing the other parties, although with an allegedly pro-democratic image. It’s most popular policies are the anti-immigrant ones aimed at halting migration and rejecting the option of multiculturalism in their nation-states. These are the general common characteristics attributable to the RRP parties.

When it comes to the factors contributing to its emergence as a party-type, there is a great deal of them that worked differently under different circumstances. Interestingly, the FPÖ couldn’t predict that some factors which appeared to be advantageous, then in other times would lead to a minimization of electoral support for them. Therefore the national context with all its historical-political conditions is what matters if trying to explain why some RRP parties have succeeded and other have failed, or even came back with the greatest electoral support ever, as in the case of FPÖ. As the most important opportunity structures in the party-system leading to the emergence and to the success of the RRP parties, and the specific case example of FPÖ have been already summarized then what is worth paying attention to in this summary are the rest of the factors which ensured the RRP parties a steady working basis. Namely that is their discourse closely tied to their ideology and everything else they stand for, and what this discourse is capable of achieving.

Since the salience of the socio-cultural cleavage as an opportunity structure came out as advantageous for the RRP parties and at the same time matched with the nature of their ideology, no wonder that the issues on their agenda have always been directed towards a politicization of these socio-cultural issues. The role of the elites, as part of their hegemonic image has been to get access to discourse and thus shape it. Consequently the discourse serves to them as a tool through which they could present their ideology and attract the electorate. In this sense, it seems as their discourse served as the most powerful weapon for them, since often their intention hasn’t been to collaborate with established parties. Commonly the protest RRP parties have remained
operating “only” on the discursive arena, through which they are enabled to influence the non-discursive societal arena. But those parties which have managed to establish themselves in the party-system as competitive to the mainstream ones gave a rather different shape to the political discourse, by facilitating its power to make changes.

The political discourse on immigration or the RRP parties’ discourse has different roles in constituting both the discursive and the non-discursive practice. As derived from the discourse analysis of the parliamentary debate of the FPÖ, what characterized this discourse was its anti-immigrant content, which is in accordance with the ideology they promote - the preservation of the national identity and opposition of multiculturalism; therefore topics of collective identity, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, immigrant status, employment issues, the welfare state, racism etc. Its discursive practice was proved to be full of xenophobia - by expressing danger and threat from immigrants; then racist and inclined towards otherizing by implicitly or explicitly expressing language typical for attributing depreciative labels to immigrants or foreigners. To emphasize here, often the racist and xenophobic attitudes have been intermingled and hard to distinguish. This could also be a result from the new racism, which was evident in the discourse analysis of the FPÖ. Furthermore, the discourse contained specific context dependent arguments, which reveals further characteristics of the content of the discourse, in line with the initial proposition of its anti-immigrant, xenophobic and racist nature.

Moreover if one of the roles of the RRP’s discourse is taking part in the political discursive practice, then through this practice the discourse can influence on the non discursive practice in institutional terms. Derived from the case of the FPÖ as an established RRP party, this happens on the levels of: the decision making, and the institution-shaping level. The discourse of the RRP parties, at least of those parties that run for office and are more established, gets to be accepted by the mainstream parties due to different reasons, such as: the mainstream parties prefer accepting their discourse as to minimize the chances of the RRP parties to enter the government, or simply if willing to cooperate with them in order to shrink the niches in the electorate, so as to ensure success for themselves. In this way the right-wing discourse as accepted becomes also legitimimized. In terms of the institutions, in particular the discursive practice becomes a ‘normalized norm’, widely accepted among the elites. This was the case with FPÖ, which became known for a ‘monopolization’ of its anti-immigrant discourse. Furthermore,
in the case of the Austrian party-system this discursive practice had led to a more rightist orientation of their politics on a “daily basis”. This type of impact is to be placed within the institution- shaping level.

On the decision-making level, the right-wing discourse, as derived from the propositions and from the discourse analysis of FPÖ, plays a role in proposing legislation. By formulating legislation the anti-immigrant discourse enables the adoption of anti-immigrant policies. These policies are known to be aimed at exclusion of the ‘out-groups’ in the society, and therefore the role of the discourse at this level is discriminating in institutional terms. In sum, the anti-immigrant discourse plays a role in the production of institutional discrimination.

In conclusion, the discourse of the RRP parties has definitely served their needs in establishing themselves on the party-system and in maintaining their electoral success, by enabling them to conduct their goals: promote their views, attract the electorate, propose legislation, adopt policies, which affirms the aim of this study.
APPENDIX

Original Transcript of Examples (Chapter 7)

Example 1:

Example 2:
Dass wir heute über Integration sprechen, über bessere Integrationsmaßnahmen für hier lebende Zuwanderer, ist allein schon ein Armutszeugnis für die SPÖ-Regierungszeit, denn Sie von der SPÖ haben es weder in der Bundeshauptstadt Wien, wo es die höchste Zahl an Arbeitslosen, auch an ausländischen Arbeitslosen gibt, noch auf Bundesebene geschafft, Inte-gration zu leben und Integrationsgesetze zu beschließen.

Deshalb haben wir eine so hohe Ausländerarbeitslosigkeit, deshalb haben wir auch eine relativ hohe Ausländerkriminalität, und deshalb ist diese Regierung angetreten, diese Missstände zu verhindern, die Missstände zu beseitigen, die Sie verursacht haben. Wir räumen auch in diesem Bereich auf, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren!

Example 3:
Herr Abgeordneter Verzetnitsch, Präsident des ÖGB, hat gesagt: Ändern wir das Gesetz, aber ändern wir es in die richtige Richtung! Herr Abgeordneter Verzetnitsch – er ist jetzt nicht da –, ich glaube, wir werden nicht den richtigen Weg finden, denn was Sie als richtigen Weg in der Einwanderungspolitik ansehen, das mussten wir in den vergangenen Jahren erleben. Ihre Einwanderungspolitik war dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass Sie gesagt haben, Österreich ist ein Einwanderungsland, ohne dass Sie aber die in Einwanderungsländern vorhandenen Einwanderungsbestimmungen und Auflagen vorgesehen haben. Sie haben gesagt, jeder, der möchte, soll
kommen. Was aber dann mit den Leuten passiert ist, war Ihnen mehr oder weniger egal. Deshalb gibt es ja heute auch noch viele Ausländer, die seit 20 Jahren in Österreich leben und nicht einmal die deutsche Sprache sprechen, daher auch nicht am gesellschaftlichen Leben teilnehmen können und daher auch nicht integriert sind.

**Example 4:**


**Example 5:**


Meine Damen und Herren! Gesundheitsatteste als Voraussetzung für die Zuwanderung gibt es auch in Belgien, Frankreich, Griechenland, Großbritannien, Luxemburg, Portugal, Spanien, Australien, Kanada und den USA.

Meine Damen und Herren! Das Gesundheitszeugnis für einen Erstaufenthaltstitel in Österreich ist weder Stigmatisierung noch Schikane, sondern eine unbedingt notwendige Maßnahme zur Vermeidung der Gefährdung der Volksgesundheit in Österreich.

**Example 6:**

diese generelle, pauschale Verurteilung, die immer wieder von Ihnen kommt, rechtfertigen würden.

Example 7:

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Further Readings:

