BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

Tolerance of Intolerant?

Right-Wing Populism and Extremism as a Threat to Liberal Democracies

BACHELOR THESIS

Bratislava 2020   **Adam Duffek**

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this bachelor thesis is my own work and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used academic and other sources of literature are referenced and listed in Bibliography.

Bratislava, February 14, 2020

Adam Duffek

Signed: _____

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes Right-Wing Extremism and Populism as a unified entity that is being successfully spread across today's liberal democracies and becomes part of their mainstream politics. It builds up an argument that parties of Populist and Extreme Right create a polarized environment of societies consisting of closed antagonistic groups. This polarization is caused by bringing and politicizing new socio-cultural issues, the radicalization of the political realm and thriving on and deepening issues brought by globalization. Moreover, the ideology of Populist Radical Right directly opposes the rules and values of liberal democratic regimes.

These parties are dismantling proper functioning and division of power of the democratic body. Rise and success of Right-Wing Populist and Extremist parties create great polarization of societies, systemic cleavage, that directly endanger the functioning of Liberal Democracies. This thesis argues that highly polarized societies where people cannot agree on the basic rules of democracy are the outcome of the success and rise of Populist Radical Right. Such conditions are very problematic for the stability of liberal democratic regimes.

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Abstrakt

Táto bakalárska práca analyzuje pravicový extrémizmus a populizmus ako spoločenský fenomén, ktorý úspešne naberá na sile v dnešných liberálnych demokraciách a stáva sa dôležitou súčasťou mejnstrímovej politiky. Hlavnou tézou tejto práce je pôsobenie a vplyv strán krajnej a populisticej pravice na vznik polarizovaného prostredia v spoločnosti, ktoré sa skladá zo znepriatelených uzavretých skupín. Toto polarizované

prostredie vzniká aktivitou zmienených politických strán, ktoré v spoločnosti prinášajú a spolitizúvajú nové sociálno-kultúrne problémy. Tieto strany svojím pôsobením radikalizujú celé politické spektrum a úspešne prehlbujú polarizáciu zapríčinenú globalizáciou. Politické pôsobenie strán populistickej a krajnej pravice priamo odporuje pravidlám a hodnotám liberálnej demokracie. Tieto politické strany ohrozujú správne fungovanie liberálnej demokracie a taktiež fragmentujú rozdelenie moci v demokratických štruktúrach. Vážne polarizovaná spoločnosť, kde sa ľudia nevedia zhodnúť na základných pravidlách demokracie, je výsledkom vzostupu politických strán pravicového extrémizmu a populizmu. V takých podmienkach je stabilita a správne fungovanie liberálnej demokracie ohrozené.

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Introduction

To start with, the main topic of this thesis is the explanation of the success of political parties of Populist and Extreme Right and the consequences of this success on the functioning of liberal democratic regimes. In so explanation, this thesis use concepts from fields of political theory, psychology as well as aspects of sociology. Theoretical bases of this work are built on texts from Mudde on Extremism and Democracy, Almond & Verba on Civic Culture, Rummens & Abts on Defending Democracy as well as, Norris on Critical Citizenship.

While some theories define support for Right-Wing Extremism and Populism as a reactionary to a certain crisis, or as ideological support of a fraction of society, this thesis deals with Right-Wing Extremism and Populism as a systemic cleavage, that occupies most of the advanced democracies in the world. Support of political views of these parties, nationalism, populism, and euro-skepticism are becoming more and more prevalent in most societies. These principles of Right-Wing Extremists and Populists however directly oppose those of liberal democracy, tolerance, equality and inclusiveness. While the Right-Wing Extremism and Populism is increasing in support among citizens of liberal democracies and does not indicate any changes in the future, the important question arises. Is this the future of liberal democracies? How can liberal democracies function when more and more prevailing opinions are those that oppose fundamental principles of democracy, polarize societies and undermine their functioning?

Presence of Right-Wing Extremism and Populism in advanced democracies amount to certain consequences. Even moderate opinions tend to become more radical when faced with those of extremists. Radicalization always means a further push from the center, from the moderate and rational political support. This push in turn inevitably provides polarization in society. While some stay moderate other inclines towards extreme and the common idea of democracy and common rules of a political democratic game no longer stay the same for everyone. It undermines the principles of advanced liberal democracies today, which leads to significant systematic polarization and destabilization of democratic regimes.

This thesis will analyze the principles of Populist and Extremist on the right spectrum, explain how they operate and provide an argument of consequences that lead to their rise on a scale of today. Lastly, this thesis will focus on the impacts of Right-Wing Extremism and Populism on democratic regimes from the view of systematic cleavage. Most of the literature while providing an excellent account for causes and implications of Right-Wing Extremism and Populism in advanced democracies lacks the notion of systematic cleavage, which occupies modern societies. The relevance of this problem is that it explains systemic cleavage as an issue that threatens advanced democracies, the issue that explains the problem that most democracies face today and shape their existence tomorrow.

Right-Wing Populism and Extremism across Europe

"Specter is haunting Europe". It is not specter that was brought by Marx and Engels with Communist Manifesto in 1848, however, it shares quite similar qualities. As for the 19th century also today's specter emerges in the era of liberal democracies and it is the eminent danger for them. Like a specter, it emerged from outside of the mainstream and (or) illegal waters, from insurgency to finding its way to the wide society. Today's specter is Right-Wing Populism and Right-Wing Extremism and its emergence in most Western democracies. While Populism is the irremovable aspect of Right-Wing Extremism and all parties on the extreme right are populists, not all Populist parties are extremists. Therefore, there is a difference between parties that are Right-Wing Populists and Ring Wing Extremists. The title of being extremists entitles the aim of deep changes in a political social system, inclination towards Fascism in the right-wing spectrum. Right-Wing Populist is not necessarily Fascist, their inclination to social and political changes is much more subtle, however as this thesis explains and deals with, there is a very narrow slippery slope from Populism to Extremism on the extreme right political spectrum.

Populism and Extremism are on the rise, they are becoming mainstream political orientations with wide support. Populist Party politics in past decades became a permanent part of European politics. Series of Elections in the western hemisphere in the past several years only ratify these claims. The success of parties as SPD in the Czech Republic, Lega Nord in Italy, Peoples Party in Denmark, ĽSNS in Slovakia, Freedom Party in Austria, Front National in France and Hungary and Poland with Orbán and Kaczyński respectively. Every single one of these political subjects received in past elections close to 10 percent of votes or more and became either an important part of the government or significant part of the opposition. Right-Wing Populists and Extremists are on the rise and this rise is far from a small portion of society, it was never more significant since the end of the Second World War. Let's discuss how western democracies arrived at this point and what constitutes such significant support for Extremism and Populism.

While this chapter talks about Ring Wing Extremism and Populism, it enters an issue that was tackled by many scholars on this topic as Mudde, 2007; Rydgren, 2007 or

Mouffe, 2005. This chapter tries to define the Right-Wing Extremist and Populist Parties that are present in most of the political realms, but it is not universal. In fact, no theory clearly distinguishes political parties that are Right-Wing Extremists or Populists. Political parties are categorized into certain ideological groups based on several aspects. What policies they support, liberals or conservatives, socialists or liberals, national or international issues or what is their relation to other foreign political parties to which 'family' of political parties they belong to. This categorization is very subjective and can cause a lot of confusion. Political parties that are considered in the ideological center can suddenly support policies of extremists or liberal parties support conservative solutions on some issues, parties of extreme right can, when received enough voters, become more moderate on certain issues to broaden their support possibilities, etc.

Populists tend to support policies of Extreme Right when issues of nationality, religion or ethnicity are concerned. Extremists and Populist tendencies are prevalent in a multitude of political parties (Taggart, 2017). Refuge crisis and its aftermath is an excellent example of how various parties became hostile towards the pillars of liberal democracy and supported very extreme right solutions. It goes even further, when scholars, for example, Mouffe, (Mouffe, 2005) in the "The End of Politics" define the role of Right-Wing Extremists parties only in opposition because once they get into the government they are not able to execute all their populist policies and start to lose support. This is not a case for example in Italy with Matteo Salvini and his party Lega Nord, or Viktor Obrbán and his party Fidesz that is not considered as extreme right party, but proposed many policies which definitely are from the camp of the extreme right. Other such issues also arise in works of Cas Mudde (2016), where he argues that most of the parties also discussed in this thesis should be referred to as a Right-Wing Populists instead of Right-Wing Extremist. The term Extremist applies, that they promote serious change in system functioning, while Mudde argues that most of these parties don't necessarily oppose democracy as they oppose other issues and therefore 'Populists' instead of 'Extremists'. However, as illustrated before, classifying parties into certain categories can be very hard as well as confusing, therefore this thesis will use Right Wing Extremism as well as Right-Wing Populism to illustrate democratic fragmentation, as they both oppose functioning of liberal democracies and fragment such systems.

While extremists openly oppose democratic function and create an environment in which such fragmentation flourish, populists are not necessarily in opposition to democratic functioning. As already mentioned populism in one of the main aspects of Right-Wing Extremists and while populist not necessarily oppose democratic values, their behavior signature to all populists create problems for democratic functioning that are mostly similar to those of Right-Wing Extremists. All in all, the division of political parties based on ideology is more confusing than exact, extreme right policies are executed not only by extreme-right parties and as for Mouffe haven for Extreme Right parties is no longer only in opposition. Therefore, this thesis will use Right-Wing Populism and Right-Wing Extremism as a concept based on nativism, populism, and authoritarianism a shift in the western political realm, like a specter that is haunting Europe.

First of all, right-wing extremism consists of three main aspects, Nativism, Populism, and Authoritarianism (Mudde, 2016). These are the three pillars shared across all the RWE movements in the western hemisphere. Nativism as an idea, that state should be solely inhabited by members with the nationality of such state, and any non-state persons and ideas are considered as a threat towards state homogeneity. The immigration crisis was a significant topic for RWE parties. The notion of an outside enemy that is about to enter our state and destroy our culture was moving force for the majority of these parties. The notion of cultural issues is fundamental for RWE which will be discussed later. Authoritarianism as normative believes of strictly ordered society, where any disobedience of authority should be strictly punished. What is typical for authoritarianism are higher sentences for crimes and new laws that forbid non-linear behavior. Finally, populism, which divides society into two, strictly antagonistic, groups. 'the people and will of people' and 'corrupted elites' (Mudde, 2016), where the will of people is seen as a homogeneous force. This notion of homogenous force also portrays that RWE is anti-pluralistic. They oppose any notion of new ideas or different approaches in society and consider them as illegitimate (Rydgren, 2007). RWE parties are the 'anti-party parties' (Mudde 2016; Rydgren 2007) and they portray themselves as 'purifiers' (Mudde, 2016) of political order.

Right-Wing Extremist and Populist Parties maintain their position between two poles, of fighting against the political system that is inevitably bad and corrupted, but at the

same time being part of the same system as a political party, that is an only real choice of opposition and the only one that 'combat' the 'corrupted elites'. Being part of the system and at the same time not being part of the system is what Right-Wing Extremism and Populism brings as one of the biggest threats to liberal democratic regimes. This position allows them to promote any values, policies, and solutions that can be either, popular, controversial or radical, but they are entirely not coherent with democratic values. The nature of these solutions is usually very simple and straight forward, however very far from the values of liberal democracy. Such solutions can appear to a specific type of voters, especially because these solutions are simple and promise quick results, but at the same time, these solutions by their non-democratic nature also divide societies. Solutions that oppose freedom, equality or tolerance will always produce a certain amount of polarization in democratic regimes.

The mechanism of bringing simple solutions by parties of Populists and Extremists Right also influences moderate parties. Moderate parties coexist with values of the liberal democracies and they are not able to maintain their policies and solutions with that of populists or extremists that are proposing solutions and policies without evaluation of their democratic validity or legitimacy. Therefore, moderate political parties can appear to be incompetent in the eyes of the voter of populists and extremists and can improve such appearance only by becoming more radical. The response of moderate parties becoming more radical in order to improve their position towards voters contributes to the radicalization of political order.

Right-wing extremists orient their positions around the three major issues of corruption (populism), immigration (nativism) and security (authoritarianism) (Mudde, 2016). Taggart in his definition of Right-Wing populist also added issues Regionalism and Euro-skepticism (Taggart, 2017). Issue coverage of Populist, as well as Extremist on the Right spectrum, also shows that these camps share quite a lot of similarities, moreover, their positions and their impact on democratic regimes are very similar, almost interchangeable. The slippery slope of populism towards extremism is very significant. Populists, as well as Extremists, focus on sociocultural issues, rather than socio-economic ones as mainstream political parties. They focus on issues that mobilize voters and open new struggles. These issues are driving force for populism and extremism (Mudde, 2016; Taggart, 2017). These issues that are brought into

politics are not necessarily 'new' to society, they are usually already prevalent. However, once they are brought by populist and extremist parties into politics, they tend to become issues of mainstream politics. Willingly or not, mainstream political parties have to concern themselves with such issues and bring them to resolutions, which ultimately legitimize them (Mudde, 2016; Taggart 2017). This mechanism tends to radicalize political order (Mudde, 2016) and radicalize society among ones that support already legitimized issues brought by extremists and populists, and ones that do not support such issues.

Extremists and Populists portray themselves as a 'purifiers', which battle betrayed ideology of mainstream parties (Mudde, 2016). Populist and extremist portray politics as something that turn people and ultimately corrupt and they want to keep a distance from such politics (Taggart, 2017). However, at the same time they are part of politics and to function in such a system they undergo all aspects of such a system as any other political party. Populist and Extremists portray themselves as 'anti-party parties' (Mudde 2016; Rydgren 2007; Taggart, 2017), being part of politics and not being part of politics at the same time, being an insurgent and stable political party. Populism has thin nature, it is usually attached to other ideologies and most importantly, populism is very fluid, it constantly changes and adapts, it is shaped by the environment in which it exists (Taggart, 2017). While mainstream parties usually evolved around some ideology and problems which shape their policies, populists and extremists came to power by bringing a certain issue that has the ability to invoke emotions of either fear or anger and mobilize their voters. However, after they succeed with such a strategy they can change their agenda into any different or new issues.

The success of populists and extremists is based on swaying voters from socioeconomic issues, like salaries or employment, towards socio-cultural ones, such as immigration and national identity. The change from socio-economic to socio-cultural issues can definitely appeal to certain voters and the fact that they deal, with also different issues than profit and cost, can certainly support their claim of being a different party. They mainly deal with ethno-national identity (Rydgren, 2007) on the socio-cultural field. RWE argues that to prevail the traditional values of a certain nation, in which most of 'national values' are based on historical myths conserved by

such nations, separation from other cultures is necessary (Rydgren, 2007). These claims entail several problems mainly that they did not encounter reality and presuppose that national identities were always stable and more importantly never encountered each other. Lastly, the change from socioeconomic issues to sociocultural is inevitably bringing emotions in the political realm and voters are swayed from rational support to emotional one.

Nowadays Right-Wing Extremists and Populist's ideas are spread widely across societies and their support is increasing. "Across Europe, the average share of the vote for populist parties in national and European parliamentary elections has more than doubled since the 1960s, from around 5.1% to 13.2%.119 During the same era, their share of seats has tripled, from 3.8% to 12.8%." (Norris & Grömping, 2017, p. 24). Cas Mudde (2016) explains this phenomenon as 'pathological normalcy'. 'Pathological normalcy' entails that while RWE parties are present in society, they directly influence stances on any topic. They radicalize all stances, even the moderate ones and shift the political discussion to extremes (Mudde, 2016). As previously mentioned, by changing discussion to 'new' socio-cultural issues, Extreme Right-Wing parties provide grounds where also moderate parties had to make a clear position that divide societiy and citizens are facing 'new' issues like nationality, culture, security, immigration and corruption that are targeted on emotions rather than rational resolutions. In today's politics mere presence of Populists and Extremists Parties radicalize societies, which results in serious polarization that create fertile grounds for their support and endanger the functioning of such liberal democracies. Polarized societies, where people focus on newly opened old issues based on emotional rather than rational resolutions like corruption, migration, Euro-skepticism, nativism, regionalism, national and ethnic identities, are what presence of Populist and Extremists parties cause and at the same time need for their functioning.

'Pathological Normalcy' of Right-Wing Extremism tends to radicalize values of the whole political spectrum (Mudde, 2016). While such political parties are present in societies and as described in this chapter, their success is based on swaying voters to new issues as nationality, culture, security, immigration, corruption and Euro-skepticism. Society is suddenly forced to face 'new' issues on rather emotional than rational level. These issues are not new in the political realm per se, however, they

differ from issues that mainstream politics tend to concern with. These issues also tend to bring new voters, first-time voters as well as voters that were disappointed with mainstream party performance. These 'new' socio-cultural issues tend to polarize society into antagonistic groups, which can result in devastating consequences. Rules under which democratic societies function are not in consensus by everyone when radical right and populist parties came to power. This phenomenon is caused by the nature of such parties, to polarize and thrive on polarization.

To start with issues that are brought by Right-Wing Populists and Extremists let's start with nativism. Nativism entails that state should be solely inhabited by people of the nationality of such a state. Under the umbrella of nativism, it can be assign issues of culture, nationality, immigration as well as security. Looking on data from Euro barometer 493 (2019) on EU28, 61% people think that Roma people are being discriminated in their country, 59% think that people are discriminated based on their ethnic origin and 59% of people think that people are being discriminated based on color of their skin and finally more than half of the EU 28 citizens think that people are discriminated based on their religion. To add, in Euro barometer 47.1, 1997, 65 percent of the EU-15 people agree with the statement, "Our country has reached its limits; if there were to be more people belonging to these minority groups we would have problems" (Euro barometer 47 1997; Mudde,2011, p.8). This data portrays, that EU democracies have strong sentiment for Nativism and are most definitely fertile ground for RWE movements. This issue also brings the polarization into societies of those that are for and against nativism and all other aspects that it entails as described here.

To further the notion of polarization that is brought by 'Pathological Normalcy' (Mudde, 2011) of Right-Wing Extremist and Populists, lets tackle issues of populism. Populism is dividing society into two strictly antagonistic groups, 'the people and will of people' and 'corrupted elites', where the will of people is seen as homogeneous force (Mudde, 2016; Taggart, 2017). Now, the sentiment of populism is to divide and polarize. For populists there is always a good side and bad side, every issue has a villain and hero. And while populism usually targets 'corrupted elites' data shows that populism, as well as nationalism, has strong incentive among EU countries. Euro barometer 477 (2019) on democracy and its values in EU28 shows, that while the

majority of people are satisfied with free and fair elections, freedom of speech and safeguarding fundamental rights, 57% of people are not very or not at all satisfied with a fight against corruption in their countries. Furthermore, 50% of people think that 'political parties are not taking into account the interests of people like them'. This can be and is constantly used by populists and RWE parties as to how they represent the 'will of ordinary people'. To stronger the incentive of corruption in Euro barometer 432 (2015) 23% of EU 28 citizens consider corruption as the threat towards security with the second-highest rise from past years right after terrorism. This provides another case, which shows how populists and RWE parties gain their supporters and why they are increasing in power.

Data provided above shows, that if Right-Wing Populist and Extremist parties are successful in swaying voters towards issues of nativism, culture, security, immigration, corruption, Euro-skepticism, regionalism and nationalism there are strong bases for their support and further development. As the notion 'pathological normalcy' presuppose presence of Right-Wing Populists and Extremists in society radicalize also other more moderate stances (Mudde, 2016), mainly because also moderate parties if they want to succeed and when the demand for such issues is, and data shows that is, they need to address these issues and by doing so, they legitimize them and open space for them in wide public. Therefore, the more successful parties of Extreme and Populists Right are, the more radical political spectrum gets, and finally, more polarization is present in societies. Success and rise of these parties presuppose systemic polarization and political cleavages where people no longer have consent on basic principles of democratic functioning. This polarization divides democratic societies into closed antagonistic groups and can be critically dangerous for their functioning.

Economy, Identity and Emotions; What brought voters of Right-Wing Populism and Extremism?

After addressing the definition of Right-Wing Populism and Extremism, the next important issue to tackle is the support for such movements. Where do the supporters come from, what are the biding factors among supporters of Right-Wing Populist and Extremists? As already mentioned in the introduction, support for such parties is growing and is most significant since the end of the Second World War (Norris & Grömping, 2017). While still increasing Support of Ring Wing Populists and Extremism is a complex issue that brought discourses in academia. Dominant theory for support of such parties has been unchanged almost since the end of the Second World War. From the first emergence of populism through the 1970s and 1980s and it is used to explain support for populism by many scholars to this day (Mudde, 2007; Salmela, 2017; Rydgren, 2007; Taggart, 2017; Mieriņa & Koroļeva, 2015). This theory is usually shaped into different variations, but ultimately all of them consist of either all, or some of the three main aspects of this theory. These three main aspects are a struggle of identity, economical struggle and emotional response to these struggles. All of these issues have one common factor and that is Globalization, and economic and social developments of Globalization. Scholars like (Rydgren, 2007; Mieriņa & Koroļeva, 2015; Salmela, 2017; Nef, 2002) explain that support for Right-wing Extremism is caused by Globalization, developments that changed the structure of societies as well as a political structure in European democracies.

Firstly, Globalization revolutionized most aspects of life and functioning of societies. Means of transport and the spread of information are modernized and faster than ever before. This opened new possibilities for people and reshaped all aspects of life. It also created a migration of people either for jobs or other opportunities that are ultimately enabled, because of the Globalized World. The pre-globalized world of relatively stable and closed nation-states is being uncontrollably reshaped. The new allocation of people, businesses, but also cultures, ideas, and identities are all consequences of the globalized world. The functioning of Nation-states and the importance of its government started to loose previous powers with the breakdown of territorial or rather national boundaries in the interconnected world with the rising influence of international organizations as well as immense international companies.

With the decline in the power of Nations, identities weakened as well. Strong stable identities rooted in Nation-states certainty became the concept of the past. Economic changes which opened a new place for business, from national to international arena. Emergence and implementations of Neoliberal policies, that become a necessity, without possible alternative (Nef, 2002). The emergence of international organizations and associations, that challenges national governance and its importance for decision making. Competition of cultures, that was brought by migration, allocation of new cultures in previously stable national ones (Kriesi et al, 2008). It is visible that Globalization directly weakened the Nation States, National Identity as well as the political power of Nations (Kriesi et al, 2008; Nef, 2002; Salmela, 2017; Mieriņa & Koroļeva, 2015). Globalization brought a wide range of new issues to all aspects of life and became an immensely complex enigma of the modern world. For the purpose of finding the sources of support of Right-Wing Extremism and Populism caused by globalization, as the name of the chapter suggest, this chapter will focus on Economy, Identity and Emotions.

The first aspect of globalization to tackle is the economy and its changes caused by Globalization. The emergence of the international arena for business on a scale of today's proportions, with prevailing neoliberal policies of the open and free market and trade, opened new possibilities for business and potential employers. Globalization opened possibilities for businesses to enter the international field and no longer be bound to the national arena. Companies become able to look and, or move, for cheaper variants of the workforce when no longer bound to the national arena (Nef, 2002; Salmela, 2017). Relocation of jobs to cheaper alternatives (Salmela, 2017) is one of the outcomes of neoliberal policies. Mobility of information, people, capital and jobs among many other positive outcomes, that this chapter does not intend to argue against, brought also issues of so-called allocation to cheaper alternatives with higher incomes for business (Salmela, 2017). These allocations necessary endanger among many, mainly workers, as well as middle-class citizens (Mieriņa & Koroļeva, 2015; Salmela 2017; Nef 2002).

Factories and other businesses previously rooted in the national economy and its rules, become able to allocate their business in other countries as well as other continents, where cost-benefit ratio would be much higher. In return, people in domestic

employment structures had to undergo the elimination of certain assurances of employment. Whether their skill specialization for certain type of work would be applicable in next few years, whether they can be sure that their job is going to last for at least foreseeable future, whether they are going to be able to apply for a job, whether they are going to earn enough in their job and many other obstacles and uncertainties are faced by workers as well as middle-class citizens, the majority of any society.

Assuming all previous information, it would seem that globalization of the post-capitalist world directly threatened the economic aspects of the life of many people and mainly endanger employment assurances and its possibilities. Some theories of support for Right-Wing Populists and Extremists suggest that this causation of globalization and resulting unemployment is a key to the rise of such political parties. Less-educated lower class citizens, even more, if unemployed are those that are more likely to support right-wing extremism (Mieriņa & Koroļeva, 2015). It would seem that employment is a key aspect of whether people will support or will not support populists and extremists. This theory was long used to explain support for parties of extreme and populist right from the Second World War, until now. However, it does not hold up to empirical evidence. Strictly speaking about employment, economic situation in western hemisphere in getting better and better every year, people earn more and buy more, according to Eurostat, employment is higher, than ever before, rate of employed people in age range from 20 to 64 in 2018, reached 73,1 percent, the highest rate since 2002 (Eurostat, May 2019). At the same time with such a rise in welfare and the highest rates of employment, Europe is witnessing the highest rise of Populism and Extremism since the Second World War. Moreover, supporters of such parties are hard to find only among people with less education or unemployed, nowadays supporters of such parties are also among well educated, employed citizens across social classes (Mudde 2016; Salmela 2017).

The theory of unemployment frustration as a key aspect in support of Right-Wing Populism and Extremism does not hold up with the current situation in European politics. This, however, does not mean that globalization does not play a role in the support of Right-Wing Extremists and Populists, on the contrary. Focusing rather on the psychological aspects of globalization than those of unemployment, as previously

stated even the allocation of businesses can cause other problems if not merely unemployment. Previously mentioned elimination of assurances of employment, not meant job itself, but the assurances of its stability in future, skill specialization and its validity in future, proper finical evaluation and many more struggles caused inevitable uncerainties. Globalization necessarily created an immense field of uncertainties for people. It is no longer about not being able to have a job as it is about the uncertainty of its future, future of whole industry where the job is located in, the perception of being recognized by others as a part of the specific industry and fixate to such identity become more of the struggle than leverage (Bauman, 1996). Specifically because of rapid changes and uncertainties caused by Globalization. This among other issues created problems for workers as well as middle-class citizens. The uncertainty of employment and no future stability nor vision created a dangerous mixture of emotions in societies. Feeling of vulnerability in a rapidly changing globalized world, where it is very hard to adapt and keep adapting constantly to new trends and changes, becomes a struggle for many people. There are no stable social identities and it is up to people in societies to adapt to new rules of the game, where because of uncertainty as the main anchor of globalization people do not build and hold strong social identities, they possess many and changed them at will (Bauman, 1996; Hall, 1996).

Globalization established a situation of great uncertainty among people which ultimately resulted in the fragmentation of social identities. This uncertainty created emotions of vulnerability, precisely because of social identities are becoming so weak and people use many and changed them at will. it is not worth to bound to any, in ever-changing globalized world risks are too high to bound to specific social identity (Bauman, 1996; Hall, 1996). While in uncertainty and vulnerability there are people that are able to adapt to rapid changes and can profit from such environment, these would be people called winners of the globalization, while another side of the coin are people that feel the anxieties, insecurities, vulnerability, fear and even shame of not being able to adapt to rapid changes (Kriesi et al, 2008; Salmela, 2017). The theory of winners and losers of globalization can illustrate, that not necessarily all people faced with challenges of rapid changes and weak social identities react the same to these challenges. But even those that are categorized as winners and they do benefit from globalization, still have to face the same challenges as everyone else. While their current situation and current circumstances like their education, location where they

live or their social or financial capital, enable them to profit from globalization and be labeled as winners. These by no means mean that they will stay winners in the future, precisely because of uncertainties and rapid changes that make tomorrow different and unpredictable.

Challenges posed by globalization result in the emotional response of people. The anchor of globalization that comprehends all issues of this complex and enigmatic phenomenon is uncertainty. Uncertainty that creates situation of not knowing what to expect from tomorrow, not knowing whether current social status of individual will last in future, what changes will the international and interconnected sphere of politics as well as business and corporation come up with, technological changes that shape functioning of humankind and its impact on global society, social nets and internet with its spread of information and consequences of such system on all aspect of individual and society. To comprehend globalization and its consequences on support for Right-Wing Populism and Extremism, the common factor is uncertainty, uncertainty in fragmented social identities, uncertainty in the economy both for individual and for society or and nation-states.

These uncertainties cause an emotional response of people and its backlash has two levels (Salmela, 2017). Firstly, there is a response to the economic situation on the individual level. Fear, shame and insecurities of not fulfilling expectations from society (Salmela, 2017), because of the uncertainty of ever-changing globalized world where social identities are very fragile and as talked earlier its consequences on employment and salaries. In combination with highly individualized responsibilities for failure in today's societies (Salmela, 2017), it creates a dangerous mixture of emotions. If such emotions of fear, shame and insecurities are suppressed, they can transform into emotions of anger and hatred (Salmela, 2017; Mieriņa & Koroļeva, 2015; Kriesi & colleagues, 2008). The hatred always needs an enemy and a scapegoat that is causing all the problems and in this case, the enemy is the 'other' and corresponding social groups. These groups are usually in minority, they cannot properly defend themselves, because they lack certain social and political recognition to do so, or even if they have political or social recognition they are perceived as ones that are causing all the problems of otherwise 'well-functioning' society. These

groups are refugees, migrants, homosexuals, unemployed, ethnic minorities, political and cultural elites, mainstream media and NGOs.

Now, that it is established that uncertainty of globalization can cause people's hatred towards certain social groups, this incentive is very close to the agenda of Right-Wing Populists and Extremists. While the incentive of hatred and anxiety is already present in society it opens new possibilities for Parties of Extreme Right to mobilize and attract voters. As discussed in the previous chapter, these parties create and flourish from polarized societies, they sway voters towards sociocultural issues and it is the main objective of populism to divide society into black and white relations. Therefore, while globalization enables emotions of fear and insecurity to create hatred and find social group that can be blamed for causing all problems, this creates perfect condition for parties of Extreme and Populists Right to flourish as they address the same issues that are already present in societies, while they not only promote such stances, they politicize them. Populists and Extremists create political body that addresses issues of insecurities and fears created by globalization These parties create impulses of hatred towards certain social groups by the nature of their populistic tendencies of dividing society into people and the enemies of the people, these enemies are refugees, migrants, homosexuals, unemployed, ethnic minorities, political and cultural elites, mainstream media and NGOs. Parties of Populist and Extremist Right strengthen and deepen already present emotions of fear and hatred in societies and they thrive from such situation, while deepening the polarization of societies. The more uncertainties and challenges the current globalized capitalistic world creates, the more incentives, tools to mobilize and sway voters there are for parties of Populist and Extreme Right and the great polarization and fragmentation of society is.

The second level of response towards uncertainties caused by globalization is very distant from individual aspects of the first. It is based upon distancing from highly individualized social identities, that because of their fluid and uncertain nature can hold up negative emotions and instead, promotes very strong and highly collective identities, that should provide certain meaning and positive feeling of pride and belonging (Salmela, 2017), without any entry cost. These identities can be that of nationality, religion, traditional gender roles, language, ethnicity, cultural belonging (Salmela, 2017) or even certain regional identities and 'traditional' family values.

Fixation towards stable collective identities, as nation, ethnicity, religion or even culture, creates issues of distancing from the reality of the interconnected globalized world. It also promotes separation, moreover polarization in already multicultural societies of 'us' and 'them'. Today's interconnected globalized world entitles mobility as never before, people of different cultures, ethnicities, nationalities, religions, languages, etc. coexist in modern multicultural societies. The so-called 'backlash' of nationalism and overall fixation towards highly collective identities creates problems of separation. The creation of international governmental bodies, for example, the European Union, taken away the certain notion of sovereignty of nation-states. Global or international problems become equivalent of those of domestic governments and asserting the will of people on the domestic level in liberal democracies become a tougher challenge, while asserting issues and rules posed by international government bodies that nation-states are part of as well (Nef, 2002). This mechanism played also a role in the 'backlash' of nationalism and people's fixation towards highly collective identities.

Parties of Right-Wing Populism and Extremism are no strangers to 'backlash' of nationalism and people's fixation towards highly collective identities. In fact, they are the ones that bring these issues to politics and politicize them. Promotion of nativism, national identities and their role in 'successful' functioning of nation-states and hostility towards multiculturalism, the strong opposition of integration of other cultures, religions, languages, and ethnicities are the core agenda of these parties, issues that mobilize voters, and polarize societies. The political response towards the current refugee crisis in Europe illustrated how these parties used this issue as a main mobilizing factor for voters, how they maintain a strong position of nativism and illustrated refugees as an immense thread and main enemy of national and cultural integrity of states. Even more moderate parties recognized refugee crisis as such and legitimize approach of Extremists and when this issue entered politics it not only tackled already present fixation towards stable collective identities caused by globalization, but also strengthen and legitimize the position of Right-Wing Populists and Extremists that promoted nativism and thrived from such situation. Fixation towards collective stable identities caused by globalization is what Parties of Extreme and Populists Right politicize and use as a driving force for their support. Detachment from complex international politicized institutions, while promoting the role of the

domestic government that is trying to preserve 'true' values, is also a significant part of the agenda of Parties of Extreme and Populist Right. Euro-skepticism, mainly the phrases 'dictate from Brussels', has become frequently used phrases among structures of Populists and Extremists in European politics. These parties once again are using belief caused by globalization, where domestic governments lose the certain notion of sovereignty while facing also international structures, and politicize it, using it as a core part of their program while promising detachment from such structures. This detachment implies separation from structures that States are already part of, promote nativism and finally polarize society.

To conclude, Globalization is an enigmatic phenomenon of the modern world that reshaped all political, social, national and international structures. While being such a complex issue, it entails one common character and that is the creation of uncertainty. This uncertainty is causing the emotional response of people, which created new challenges. On one level, it is a change of insecurities and fears caused by Uncertainty into anger and hatred towards social groups of the 'other' like migrants, refugees, minorities, unemployed, etc. On the second level, it is fixation towards highly collective identities that didn't require any entry costs, like nationality and religion. Individualized social identities because of Uncertainty are fluid and fragmented and people rather fixate towards collective stable identities. These challenges created an environment of polarization in societies. The environment that is extremely beneficial for parties of Extreme and Populist Right. Not only that these parties thrive in and deepen polarized societies, but they also use challenges posed by globalization, make it their own, politicize them and use them as a moving force of mobilization of voters. This mechanism results in deepening polarization in societies, increasing already present feelings of uncertainty, fear, and hatred and finally, shifts political preferences towards extremes, mainly because these parties are increasingly successful in gaining support.

Liberal Democratic Regimes and their Fragmentation caused by Right-Wing Populism and Extremism

Previous chapters dealt with definition and functioning of parties of Extreme Right as well as, explaining reasons of their success, chapter two illustrated how the rising support and success of such parties deepen polarization in already fragmented societies. This last chapter will deal with the notion of Right-Wing Extremism and Populism as a threat to the functioning of liberal democracies. Mainly, what does polarized and fragmented society means for the future of liberal democratic regimes?

First of all, in order to illustrate how the Right Wing Extremists fragment democracy, let's define democracy, its principles, and its functioning. The nature of liberal democracy, as well as its functioning, is based on three core values, tolerance, liberty and equality (Popper, 1966; Rummens & Abts, 2010). Functioning liberal democratic regimes should assure that these values are equally distributed among all citizens. These values are however not only normative goals of liberal democracy. They need to be applied in the actual functioning of liberal democracy. "Their realization in actual democratic societies should proceed on the basis of legislation and policies that take into account the specific interests, values and circumstances of all citizens" (Rummens & Abts, 2010, p. 652). These values entitle that liberal democratic regime is that of inclusive character, everyone is entitled to contribute to its functioning on an equal level.

All values and opinions in society should be equally distributed and valued, this, however, entitles many obstacles that will be dealt with later in the text. The mechanism of implementing these values and opinions into the lawmaking process and actual functioning of the system is however not that simple, since a liberal democratic regime consists of a relatively complex body of institutions and so-called 'players of the game'. The democratic body can be divided into two main spheres, the informal public sphere, where all previously mentioned values, interests, and opinion emerge and the formal institutional sphere, where they are processed, valued and transformed into laws and policies (Rummens & Abts, 2010; Norris, 1999; Habermas, 1996). The informal public sphere should present all political stances on all kinds of issues without exclusion or limitation. These values and opinions are subjected to

open and free public discussion and transformed into political stances on the level of organizations, political parties, protests and other social movements. Then they are subjected to formal institutional spheres, where they are transformed into laws and policies. This mechanism implies that open public discussions result in influencing, shaping and safeguarding formal institutional processes. This mechanism is however not sufficient, the free spread of new concepts and ideas could be not only profitable for liberal democracies in order to equally represent the whole spectrum of values and issues as well as institutional functioning, but also very dangerous. Therefore, both the public sphere and institutional sphere should safeguard whether new concepts and ideas are not only based on valid and legitimate arguments, but also whether they are sound with core principles of democracy, tolerance, liberty, and equality. This opens a place for the area of problems when taken into account the present success and popularity of parties of Extreme and Populist Right.

It is not required to go far, in order to see, that core principles of Parties of Extreme and Populist Right oppose the values of liberal democracy. In fact, they are in exact opposition. Tolerance and equality are submitted by nativism, Parties of Extreme and Populist Right suggest, that only specific groups of people are entitled to contribute to the democratic system or society itself, these people share a certain common characteristic, whether it is a nationality, ethnicity, religion or even specific value stances. This value system is based on the division of social groups, division of 'us' and 'them', while them entitles threat to the functioning of our system. The inclusion of people in a liberal democratic system is submitted by the exclusion of extreme right parties based on nativistic values. The values of liberty are opposed by the authoritarian tendency of the extreme right. The tendency of strictly ordered society, with a strong emphasis on obedience, however towards specific persons or a specific set of rules, is shivering liberties of individual as well as society as a whole. These parties tend to present policies that are discriminatory towards certain social groups, social movements or even non-governmental organizations that are considered as 'other'. If such policies are successfully implemented into the law making process of liberal democracies, in combination with the exclusion paradigm, it can have severe consequences, especially on any opposition forces and individuals, based in civil society or in politics.

The nature of populism represented among these parties, entitle the division of society into antagonistic groups of the people and the elites. This division is deepening the polarization in the society, where politics is seen as something evil and corrupted and totally separated from the people. The spread of populism suggests that the functioning of a democratic regime is failing, mainly because the informal public sphere, which is supposed to present all kinds of values, needs and opinions are unable to precede its agenda and shape or influence the formal institutional sphere. Populism also suggests that the formal institutional sphere is that of corrupt elites, which completely ignore influence coming from the informal sphere, while these elites are preserving only the self-interests.

Firstly, populism represents popular frustration or the so-called voice of people against the elites. This mechanism ignores the previously discussed normative approach to democratic functioning. Populism suggests, that the informal public sphere is ineffective in achieving its goal of shaping and influencing the formal institutional sphere, therefore all the needs, opinions, values and suggestions by people are not represented by democratic institutions and ultimately policies and laws. This suggests that all the values, needs, suggestions and opinions in the public sphere are not represented in actual politics and institutional body is working either against or not in accordance with people. Secondly, populism also suggests that the formal institutional sphere is ineffective, not only because politics is ultimately evil and turn people bad, but also is represented by corrupted elites that represent and promote only self-interests or interest against the 'will of people'.

Parties of Populist and Extreme Right undermine the entire functioning body of democratic regimes and suggest that such a system is incapable to function, while putting themselves into positions of saviors of this situation. It is also very important, that these parties are putting themselves into the position of being and not being part of the democratic system at the same time. While being in the system enables these parties to exist as a political body, gain support and influence, their agenda suggest that at the same time they oppose the system they are being part of. Being in the system to attain the position of the political party, but on the other hand, not being in the system of 'corrupted elites' and maintaining the position of saviors, with the voice of the people.

To conclude, these parties clearly oppose democratic values, however, their presence and popularity in today's democratic systems have much deeper consequences. They divide society into antagonistic groups by promoting socio-cultural issues, mainly nativistic and populistic values. This also shrives liberties of individuals of certain discriminated social groups. Populism opposes the functioning of the entire democratic body of both the informal and formal sphere. These parties present themselves as a part of the democratic system and insurgent group at the same time. The continuous popularity of these parties among voters suggests two major problems for functioning democratic systems. Firstly, deep and severe polarization of society into antagonistic groups. Secondly, the fragmentation of the democratic system, its values, its institutions and its mechanisms of the division of power.

Core values of democracy are necessary for its proper functioning, however, they are hardly sufficient for regime stability (Norris, 1999). There are three main components that ensure the stability of the democratic regime, firstly it is previously mentioned adherence of democratic principles but also rules, secondly, active participation of people in politics and lastly, the social trust towards democratic institutions and political elites (Norris, 1999; Almond & Verba, 1963).

Active political participation is a necessary and important component of functioning democracy. However, this participation also entitles, that it should be well informed and rational activity (Almond & Verba, 1963). Political participation is dependent on two closures, on the one pole it is disagreement about all aspects of democratic functioning, on the other, consensus on all aspects. Political participation suggests that there are two states of democratic involvement and either of them when fulfilled entitle negative outcomes. While there is an overall consensus among people on all issues of politics, it produces political passivity when there is no need for change (Almond & Verba, 1963). The passivity of people in the democratic system leaves formal institutional body uncontrolled and more importantly, less legitimate over the course of time, when there its lack of influence from the informal public sphere.

On the other hand, when there are severe disagreements about political functioning and direction of democratic institutions, which is also called 'political cleavages' (Almond & Verba, 1963), it creates a huge demand for political participation. However, this active participation entitles the involvement of polarized antagonistic

groups that lacks the agreement upon basic rules of the democratic game, as well as the basic values of a democracy (Almond & Verba, 1963; Norris, 1999). The stable democratic regime should be that of a balance between consensus and political cleavage. There needs to be an agreement upon basic rules and values of democracy, to ensure that political participation is inclusive and democratic. Furthermore, there is a need for 'critical citizen' (Norris, 1999) that is well informed and rationally contributes to democracy with active participation. Finally, the presence of certain disagreements among democratic citizens is to ensure that people stay interested and active in politics.

Political movements of Extreme and Populist Right are that of exclusionary character. These parties create divisions based on sociocultural issues. The populistic vision of system functioning is very distinct from that of democracy. Spread of populism enables a decline in social trust towards democratic institutions and elites, as they are seen as inevitably bad and detached from the people. These parties are relatively successful in the mobilization of voters and conveying people to participate in politics, by bringing and politicizing new socio-cultural issues. However, this participation is rather that of emotional rather than rational character. The mobilization of these parties is based on social exclusion, fear, populistic resolutions, anti-pluralism and hatred. The outcomes are polarized closed social groups, of emotionally motivated people, that disagree on most of the democratic principles, norms, and rules. The presence of these antagonistic groups also entitles very low social trust towards democratic institutions, elites, as well as principles. Issues brought by nativism and authoritarianism of these political parties are also opposing the character of democratic principles, as well as deepening polarization of these hostile groups. These closed antagonistic groups are that of a very different vision of how should system function, as well as what are the rules and norms of such a political system. The rise of Extreme and Populist Right parties in democratic systems creates deep political cleavages of groups that disagree on principles, rules, and norms of the democratic game. This deep polarization fragments liberal democratic regimes and paralyzes their proper functioning. The stability of such fragmented democratic systems, where people disagree on democratic rules, is very low. This opens possibilities for the collapse of such systems.

Every chapter in this thesis dealt with parties of Populist and Extreme Right and their effect on creating and deepening polarization in societies of liberal democracy. Whether it is a mobilization of voters by bringing new socio-cultural issues that enable emotional political support, the radicalization of the political realm, deepening and politicizing issues caused by globalization, opposing democratic principles and lastly, undermining division of power of democratic body, while undermining trust toward democratic institutions and role of people in such systems. This thesis argues that the present success and popularity of parties of Extreme and Populist Right with nature and consequences of their activity is creating a deep systemic polarization of liberal democratic regimes, which results in deep fragmentation and instability of such regimes. Previously discussed three components of democratic stability are all endangered, not necessarily only by the presence and success of these parties, but by the systemic polarization that these parties create, that ultimately overshadow democratic functioning and stability. Continuation of success and popularity of Parties of Populist and Extreme Right will deepen systemic polarization of liberal democracies that hand in hand also deepen fragmentation and instability of these regimes.

Conclusion

The current rise and success of Right-Wing Populists and Extremists parties openly endanger the functioning of liberal democratic regimes in Europe. These parties, by nature of their activities based upon populism, nativism and authoritarianism oppose liberty, equality, and tolerance, values of liberal democratic regimes. The success of these parties is based on swaying voters towards politicized socio-cultural issues that mobilize voters. These issues tend to mobilize voters, however on emotional rather than rational level. The presence of these parties among mainstream political realm, tends to radicalize the entire democratic body of party politics. When issues of populists and extremists enter democratic discussion, even moderate parties have to respond to such issues, which provide legitimacy to them, but also radicalize entire democratic discussion.

The radicalization of the political realm inevitably polarizes society. Parties of Populist and Extreme Right thrive on problems brought by globalization. These problems are already present in societies and are causing insecurities and uncertainties, which lead to an emotional response of hatred and attachment towards highly collective identities. While globalization caused a rather complex set of issues, that penetrate all spheres of life and society, populists and extremists politicize these issues, implement them into a public democratic discussion and legitimize them. These parties offer populistic solutions to issues brought by globalization that are hardly in correspondence with liberal democratic values. This mechanism deepens already present polarization and promotes and legitimizes negative emotional responses to globalization. This polarization is something that is not the only product of functioning and success of these parties, it is also a requirement for their functioning, these parties thrive in polarized societies.

The outcome of the present success of these parties suggests that presented polarizations will only deepen, resulting in systemic cleavage of democratic societies, polarized societies of antagonistic and closed groups Systemic cleavage, in which people no longer agree on same values and rules of the democratic game. Theories on democratic citizenship and political cleavages suggest that while certain polarization is needed to draw people's interest in politics and proper functioning of democracy, it

cannot pass a certain point, where there is no longer an agreement on same rules and values of political game, because democratic regime in such state is unstable and cannot properly function anymore. If the outcomes of popularity and rise of Populist and Extremist parties continue and systemic polarization of societies will deepen it is very unlikely that such a future is that of liberal democracies. Liberal democracies need to defend themselves again forces of Populism and Extremism.

Lastly, this thesis offers a hypothesis based on the wide consensus on academic field, which propose measures that are required to ensure and implement in order to defend Liberal democratic regimes from fragmentation. These measures should decrease polarization and tensions in societies, decrease the incentives that are driving force for populists and extremists, and lastly most importantly increase public trust towards Liberal democratic regimes.

Liberal democratic regimes in order to ensure their stability and future existence need to act against forces of Populism and Extremism. These parties are able to exist only because of principles of liberal democratic regimes, and yet despite that, they are the ones that openly oppose democratic principles and functioning. While liberal democracy is based on the free and open spread of ideas and opinions, it doesn't mean that ideas and opinions that oppose values and rules of the democratic game, and ultimately results in its own fragmentation, should be allowed to penetrate all spheres of democratic body. It is a task for both levels of democratic body, institutional and informal public sphere, to provide enough sufficient checks and balances, which ensure and limit forces of populism and extremism.

The informal public sphere of democratic regime needs to be better informed about democratic functioning, principles, norms, and values of the democratic game. There also needs to be a consensus about these issues. The informal public sphere should critically evaluate and distinguish between democratic and non-democratic movements, while the latter should be limited by checks and balances. All of this can be achieved through informative campaigns and educational processes.

The formal institutional sphere needs to firstly ensure, that public trust towards political institutions and elites is at least sufficient, in the majority. This entitles that they need to work properly, be transparent and lower levels of corruption which is the driving force of Populists. Political elites need to ensure that they are not alienated

from people, and that they are accountable. It is also a task for democratic institutions not to legitimize parties of Populists and Extreme Right by directing their agenda towards the same issues that are brought by these parties. And finally, to ensure that core values, norms, and rules of democratic regimes are safeguarded and the whole democratic body is working in accordance with them. Democracy needs do defend itself. Defend itself against the 'Haunting Specter' that is fragmenting and destabilizing democratic regimes from the inside.

Resumé

Táto práca analyzuje politické strany pravicového populizmu a extrémizmu a ich vplyv na mieru polarizácie v spoločnosti. Práca taktiež skúma, ako vzniknutá polarizácia ovplyvňuje stabilitu demokratického režimu, v ktorom sa spomínané strany nachádzajú. Hlavným cieľom práce je poukázať na súvis medzi aktuálnym úspechom strán krajnej a populistickej pravice ako aj prehlbovanie polarizácie v demokratických spoločnostiach.

Hlavný argument práce sa rozvíja naprieč všetkými troma kapitolami. Prvá kapitola analyzuje strany krajnej a populistickej pravice a opisuje úspech týchto strán, ktoré prinášajú do politického spektra nové sociálno-kultúrne problémy. Tieto problémy sú skvelým nástrojom na mobilizáciu pre politické strany, avšak prehlbujú polarizáciu v spoločnosti. Politizácia týchto problémov takisto spôsobuje radikalizáciu politického spektra, pretože sa s nimi musia zaoberať aj všetky ostatné politické subjekty.

Druhá kapitola rozoberá problémy spôsobené globalizáciou, a ich následky na prehlbovanie rozdielov a následnú polarizáciu. Táto kapitola označuje neistotu, ako hlavný činiteľ komplexných problémov spojených s globalizáciou. Opisuje, ako strany krajnej a populistickej pravice politizujú tieto problémy, prehlbujú ich a využívajú ich na mobilizáciu voličov.

Záverečná kapitola opisuje normatívne fungovanie liberálnej demokracie, jej základné hodnoty a naznačuje, ako strany krajnej pravice priamo odporujú týmto hodnotám. Ďalej táto kapitola hovorí o prehlbovaní polarizácie, ktoré je opísané v predošlých kapitolách v kombinácii s rôznym interpretovaním pravidiel a hodnôt demokracie a ako tento mechanizmus spôsobuje systémovú polarizáciu. Táto polarizácia znamená, že spoločnosť je zložená z uzavretých znepriatelených skupín, ktoré sa nevedia zhodnúť na základných pravidlách a hodnotách demokracie a ako takéto fungovanie spoločnosti priamo ohrozuje stabilitu demokratického režimu.

Záver práce ponúka teoretické riešenia, ktoré môžu napomôcť v boji proti vzostupu populizmu a extrémizmu, tak isto ako môžu napomôcť stabilite v spoločnosti a ultimátne stabilite samotného demokratického režimu.

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