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*A comparative analysis of two populist  
parties in two ex-fascist nations: AfD in  
Germany and VOX in Spain.  
Coming to terms with the past*

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# **Comparative analysis of two populist and far-right oriented parties in two different European countries: AFD in Germany and VOX in Spain**

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A mio padre e mia madre, che hanno pianto quando, dopo avermi accompagnata a Roma, sono  
ripartiti per Bari  
al loro incondizionato sostegno  
ai mille sacrifici  
al loro infinito amore.

## Introduction

One of the name that we have probably been hearing for the past five years in TV, reading newspapers, in classes, in offices and even in the streets is Europe. Usually this word is inserted in a longer sentence, such as: “Do we really need the European Union?”, or maybe, “Italy would be better off without the European Union sanctioning them every now and then”. Well, we can substitute to Italy every other country in Europe, Spain, Germany, Hungary, Finland and so on, and the result would not change. Everybody is questioning the function and the real utility of being a Member State in this complicated mechanism called European Union, made up of a lot of bureaucracy, sanctions game but with the basic and fundamental principle that all the issues between Member States must find a solution with diplomatic pacts in a table, and not with fire and blood in a battlefield, something that has happened in Europe until 1945.

In my dissertation, I analyzed two left-winged populist parties in two very different European countries: Germany and Spain. These two nations have something in common which starts as the basis from my study, for instance, they both experienced a dictatorship which left marks on their history that nobody could erase. Germany, after all this time, is still trying to come to terms with that happened during the Second World War and how a “Hitler” could have been possible and how to prevent it from ever happen again. In fact, Germany must be very careful while dealing with some issues such as immigration, culture integration and general political fairness since the shadow of the “Nazi” period is still there, ready to be used in order to remind Germans the responsibility they have against history.

Spain experienced the disaster of a Civil War, monarchists against republicans, which led to the Franquismo. Francisco Franco was a hard to define dictator. Some analysts consider him as fascist as Hitler or Mussolini were, other historians consider that the definition of “fascist” could not really be applied to the Spanish dictator. This is a debate I will not enter, because it would need a dissertation for itself. But what is sure, is that it still was a regime, with an high military control, propaganda and all the powers to the only man in the government. Franco died in 1975 and some time later, Spain entered in the process of “transiccion” from a dictatorship to an open, democratic European state. As we can see from the dates, 1945 happened thirty years before 1975, this means that Germany had a longer time space in order to adjust itself to the changes brought by a

democratization and an eventual opening to the world. Spain, on the other side, did have a hard time adjusting to the new context in which they found themselves after the death of Franco.

This follows, that the two countries have lived similar situations which led to two different destinies, whose results are more than visible nowadays. In fact, another criterion which helped me to choose exactly these two countries is the big GDP difference. Let's remember that after WWII, Germany was completely destroyed, both as a nation (since the majority of the cities have been bombarded, walls divided East and West sides, Germany was considered the only responsible of the War) and a society (the geographically divided Germany was translated into an actual division of the population, both ideologically and socially). People of the eastern block were obviously closer to the "communist" ideology, and following what was happening in the URSS, the rates of unemployment in these parts of Germany was higher than the side controlled by the UK and USA. At the same time, the birth rates was higher in eastern Germany than in the rest of the country, following the principle established by the Soviet Union.

After the Reunification, Germany was able to reconstruct itself and become the leader Nation in Europe with the highest GDP of its history.

Spain, on the other side, still economically suffers from the regressive time it lived with Franco and it was not able to recover itself as quickly as Germany did, presenting one of the lowest GDP in Europe.

Considering these two basic criteria, for instance, economic development and past history, I decided to highlight a specific topic, which my research was going to be about and using it as a meter of comparison between the two countries, id est, the influence and rise of a far-right politically oriented populist parties in Europe.

In fact, in the past decade, Europe has practically been overwhelmed by the birth of minor, maybe initially margined, parties, which usually are the result of a small radical group belonging to a big important party, which decided to leave their "mother" party in order to create a group (maybe aspiring to become a party themselves= unified by same ideas, same views of the world and strong ideals.

There are a lot of examples for almost every European country, but coherently to what I've decide to focus my research to, I've decided to analyze the party AfD in Germany and VOX in Spain.

The first chapter, following this introduction, focuses on what is politically and socially happening in the European Union right now, more specifically, why the populist parties were able to emerge, gain votes and actually enter in Senates, Chamber of Deputies and Parliaments. It will provide a

general description of the actual political and social status quo in Europe, especially in the states that have been victims of a populist kind of politics.

The second chapter will present the first case study, AfD in Germany. It will first present the chronological history of the party, starting by its birth in 2013 and the last European elections in 2019, explaining in which regions they got the best results and why, and, more importantly, what changed during one sixteen years. Then, there will be an accurate analysis of the ideology and programs of AfD and in what aspects they fit to the definition of populism, namely what are their main points which provoked their success. Following this research, there will be a focus on the first elections to which AfD took part (in 2004) and their last one, in order to understand what practically changed and how other internal or external forces influenced the result of the election causing the rise of AfD.

The third chapter will analyze the case study concerning Spain, namely the party VOX. Since we are dealing with a comparative analysis, the analysis will proceed in a parallel way to what has been applied for German AfD . In fact, there will be an introduction to the history of the party, which will show how and when the party was born, who are the members and why they decide to found this party until the last elections in 2019. Then there will also be a precise description of the ideology of the party, especially their programs after the 1st October of 2017, date in which the president of the catalan Generalitat Carles Puigdemont proclaimed the republic of Catalonia independent.

The third section of the chapter will focus on how this event (the catalan Golpe) has influenced the course of the history of VOX, providing an actual help since it is most likely the reason why VOX could enter the Parliament and have this big success.

The fourth chapter will provide the actual comparison. In fact, after having clear what are the points of the programs of both parties, the ideology towards common issues such as migration, nationalism and the European Union and in what kind of social group they base their electorate, the chapter will be able to compare both of them, to find the analogies or eventual actual differences.

Following the results, the chapter will try to imagine what destinies will expect both parties, trying to guess them according to the results of the newest European elections held in 2019 and the general political trend in Europe.

Websites, books, papers and opinion of experts will be indicated in the bibliography.

## **1.1 The rise of right-oriented Populism: Europe**

The European Union guaranteed peace in a “continent” which has witnessed more wars than it could be ever able to count. After 1945 and the horror caused by the WWII, countries wanted peace more than anything. The big issue which characterized the EU was the fact that every Nation Member already had their own identity, spoke a language which is internal to the nation, has its different traditions and habits, so it can prove to be difficult sometime to create a common ground for the parties involved to reach a pact.

So the “Europeanness” presents itself as a false identity.

After the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States, a process of domino started in Europe.

Italy held a referendum on the 4th December that pretty much forced the President of Minister Matteo Renzi to resign, which led to a new hope for the populist parties to take the power. In the following elections, the two winners were, effectively, the two Italian populist parties, La Lega and Movimento 5 Stelle, with the Lega which is right-leaning.

In France, Marine Le Pen has worked hard in order to promote anti-EU policies, strong French nationalism until reaching the most important group of electorate: working class and unemployed. The FN is, right now, the third strongest political party in France and the only ways to not give them the complete power over the nation are Republican alliances.

The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, the Austrian right-wing populist party, has proved to have an amazing flexibility in order to come to terms with the fact that they need pacts to enter the government. Using instrument of direct democracy, the party promoted his agenda made up of anti-Europeism and anti-migration, until reaching the 35% of the votes in Austria.

Also the current governments of Poland and Hungary are reinforcing the idea that another wave of far-right leaning parties are possible. In Poland this has been possible thanks to the help of the coalition with the Catholic movement, which exercises a big influence in the country. In Hungary the power of populist parties has been represented by Fidesz who used a big anti-EU and anti-migration rhetoric.

In the United Kingdom, the UK independence party has been consistent in its anti-EU message, leading to what we know as Brexit. UKIP has been very able in distancing itself from the far-right extremist party, British National Party by not agreeing with their economic libertarianism.

The Alternative für Deutschland made the impossible possible, for instance, making the world understand that Germany is not immune to a successful right-wing extremism, even after their past.

Under the leadership of the many leader which succeeded themselves in the party, AfD has increased its right wing populist message, implementing a lot of anti-immigration, EU-skepticism in the their program.

In Spain, the populist party has always been the left-leaning Podemos, which recently changed its name in Unidas Podemos in order to support the feminist cause in Spain, but recently this role has been taken quite better by the nationalist party VOX, whose ideas seem taken from the years of the dictatorship in Spain.

As we can see, the phenomenon of populism is spread all over Europe, and clearly, it comes from the ability of these parties or their leader to exploit and politically use the discontent of the population concerning a range of political, economic and social issues, which are capitalized by populists the same way across all countries but tending to be stuck in their national peculiarities. One of the general trends is the opposition to globalization which has two aspects: immigration and international trade and finance. One non-european example for how the populism acts towards migration is given by Trump's programs against Mexicans and Muslims.

For what concerns the international trade, every state has its own populist idea depending on their internal economy, for example, AfD in Germany is not supportive of the continuous help Germany provided to some countries such as Greece, a different position from the Eastern European countries which realize they can not totally be against the European Union since they needed its help, but at the same time lean onto another simple idea: Europe is Germany-oriented especially in its economy. For right-wing populist, immigration is not only a simple question of "how many people can we manage to feed, give work to" in a specific country. It is quite the opposite of a mere altruistic and responsible thought. In fact, right-leaning populists see immigration as a real threat against a presumed (let's say constructed) identity of a population and with it their traditional values. In fact, every nations seems to have their personal enemies: Hungary identifies a kind of target in the Roma minority, while according to Trump, the enemies are the illegal Mexicans and people from other countries of Latin America. In Germany the enemy is one party, the CDU, which ruined the Germany society by an accepting-all policy, while in Spain there is one external threat, the Muslim migrants which probably are seen as the new Ottoman Empire which established itself in Andalusia in the middle age by the leaders of the party, since they really talk about a Reconquista. The other threat, or so seen, by VOX, in an internal one and is represented by the various independentista parties, especially the one in Catalonia and in the Basque country, whose ultimate goal is to make their regions a de fact nation, independent from Spain.



Every time we talk about a political party, the most cynic but realist analysts try to understand how and from which basis they get their financial support. The data available are not enough in Europe to really answer these questions, differently from the US, whose laws require more transparency regarding the campaign donation.

In Western Europe, there are many situations that differ from each other, so it is almost impossible to classify a rule. In fact, let us take an example which will also be explained later in the dissertation, AfD proclaims that they stand, as a party, contrary to the economic interests of the majority of the parts that represent their financial support. This sounds odd, why would anybody finance something that it will probably turn against them in the long (very long) run?

There come other factors in the play, which are the personal interest of single small businessmen who can eventually enjoy the social protection promised by the party, or a working class which decide to leave a left-leaning ideology because of a decreasing social integration of workers and then support a populist right-wing party which tells them exactly what they need to hear in that moment.

In Eastern Europe, the constellation of financial support and actual electorate to right-wing extremist parties seems freer. Almost the majority of the old population which craves social protections and policies based on patriotism are perfectly equilibrated by a younger electorate who feel the need to have all the freedoms and progresses promoted by the EU.

An important factor which can be identified in every right-wing and especially populist affiliation is the theatricality of their political communication. The actors, usually the leaders or speakers of the party, need to use a specific rhetoric which is very different from the one used in the past. In fact, the message that these parties want to give to the population is that they are on their side, they are like them and for this reason they are the best ones suited for the role of Head of State.

Right-wing populist need to be provocative, also in order to receive attention from the media, emotional and have simplified speeches. These methods should be good enough to hide the racist, too patriotic and sometime wrong message and make it effective, especially in contexts like a TV debate, in which the form requires little attention and more feelings.

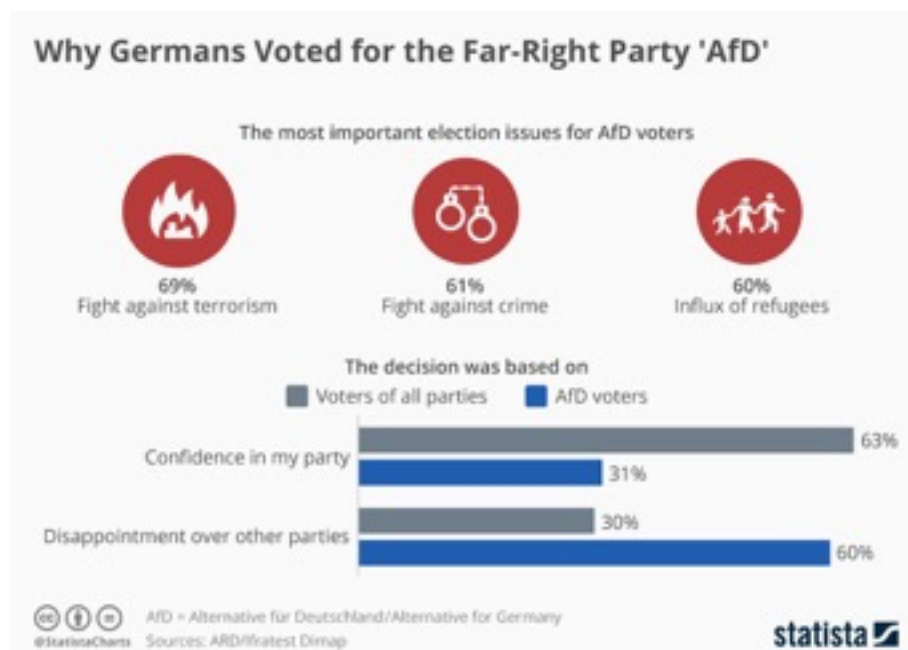
In order to provoke, the majority of these parties throw away the principle of the “political correctness”, which has dominated politics, which follows in the breaking of national taboos (the Franquismo in Spain, the nazi vocabulary in Germany used by AfD), according to the will of the “silent majority”. This idea makes the political populist leader martyrs, because they are ready to sacrifice themselves to say what, according to them, most people are thinking but not have the courage to say.

Emotional appeals, exaggerations, fear, anger and deception have entered in Europe and maybe, they are here to stay.  
So are populist parties.

## 2. Germany's case: AfD

While talking about populism and nationalism in this new century, it is important to present a correct and coherent case study, in order to understand how the changes in the political scenario have translated into actual parties and how these new parties will eventually shape the national politics.

I would like to introduce my analysis of the German extreme-right populist party AfD (Alternativ für Deutschland), starting from their founding followed by a lot of electoral failures, until reaching the success in some parts of Germany and entering later in the Bundestag. There will also be a focus on the ideology of this party, in what it follows the general principles of a populist party and in what they are peculiar.



## **2.1 The rise of AfD: Chronological History**

Alternative for Germany (Alternativ für Deutschland) is a German party founded in April 2013 as a right-wing political party. Alexander Gauland, Bernd Luck and Konrad Adam are considered the founders of this party, considering that their purpose was to oppose German federal policies concerning the eurozone crisis, with the idea that the euro had proven to be unsuitable as a currency for a strong economy and that southern European countries were sinking into poverty exactly for this reason, since the Euro proved to fail in this situation.

On 14 April 2013, the AfD announced its presence in the first convention in Berlin, when they elected the party leadership and adopted a party platform with the goal to confront German supported bailouts for poorer southern European countries. The deputy-speaker were elected: Alexander Gauland, Roland Klaus and Patricia Casale.

On 22 September 2013 the AfD won 4.7 % of the votes in the 2013 federal election, missing just the 5% to enter the Bundestag, which is a success considering the new party. In the same year, it gained their first representance in the state parliament of Hesse. Something changed in early 2014, when the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany ruled the proposed 3% vote hurdle for the representation in the European parliament. AfD decided to present once again in the elections with the slogan Mut zu D\*EU\*TSCHLAND, which emphasizes the slogan EU in the word Germany.

On 25 May 2014 European elections, the AfD came in the fifth place with 7.1 % of the national vote and seven members in the EU parliament, being accepted into the European Conservatives and Reformists and, just two months later, the party scored 9.7 % of the vote in the Saxony state election, later 10.6 % in Thuringian and 12.2 % in the Brandenburg state.

A year later it entered in the Hamburger parliament and gained representation also in the Bremen state elections. Hamburg is a crucial point for the course of the party, since it is their first representation in winning seats in a western German state, with not really relevant economic crisis, pretty high employment rate and a globalized mentality.

In the elections of 2016, AfD could count on the turning point of their campaign, the migration debate being the dominant national issue. On 13 March 2016 elections were held in three different Bundesland and these elections saw AfD receiving double digit percentages of votes in all three states, giving them the basis to create their official platform, in a conference held on 30 April to 1 May 2016. This policy platform was based upon the later principles of the party: opposition to Islam, calling for the ban of Islamic symbols in Germany since “Islam is not part of Germany”. In the 2017 German Federal elections the AfD was able to get 12,6 % of the vote and received 94 seats, receiving for the first time seats in the Bundestag. It won three constituency seats, which would have been enough for a party which started without being able to enter in any parliament. This is the start of a bipolar story of the party.

## **2.2 AfD: Ideology**

The AfD was founded alongside the lines of many populist parties in Europe, but since Germany has a particular history compared to other countries in Europe, the reaction of voters, parties and principles of the AfD are consequences of their time. The basic ideas of the party are: German nationalism, right-wing populism, Euroscepticism, social conservatism, economic liberalism, anti-Islam, anti-immigration, direct democracy based on the Swiss model.

First of all, the focus on German nationalism is something Germany has not experienced since the end of World War II. In fact, given the course of history, Germany could not really talk about a prideful nationalism since it was easy to label it as “National socialism” who Germany had a terrible experience with. What AfD tries to invoke in their electorate is the “Stolz auf Deutschland” feeling in repudiation to Germany’s culture of shame with regard to its Nazi past. An example in order to defend this affirmation, are the words of Petry, who led the moderate wing of the party, who stated that Germany should reclaim the word “völkisch” from its past Nazi connotations, while Höcke created a very scandal, not only by always speaking about Fatherland and Volk (words connected to the Nazi time) but also because of something he stated during a speech in reference to

the Berlin Holocaust Memorial: “Germans are the only people in the world who plant a monument of shame in the heart of the capital”.

The idea that the leader of the party follows takes its basis in the core of what is populism, which literally would mean to speak on the behalf of an entire population. In fact, Germany has proven with their political decisions and the majority of their laws to be, now, a country completely different to what it was when Adolf Hitler took the power, so right now, the modern Germany is not guilty of anything because half of the population did not even exist or were too young to be responsible of what happened. But history is not a great forgiver, because it is still there in order to teach what can happen to the world and what we can do in order to avoid disasters.

So, going back to the AfD rhetoric, the party believes that it is useless now to talk about the topic and they are certain that there is a majority which remains silent but thinks exactly the same. So, they speak on their behalf.

Another characteristic of AfD is a tendency towards soft Euroscepticism. The position is generally positive towards Germany's participation in the European Union but very critical towards further European Integration, towards the euro as a currency for all EU Members and the bailouts by the eurozone for countries such as Greece. In fact, the very core of the opposition is Germany's financial support of other Eurozone states and for this reason, the goal of AfD is to not cede further elements of its sovereignty to the European Union. As consequence, it is easy to state that AfD follows a national-socialist conservatism while talking about social and political programs, and a rather economic liberalism, following the US model.

Another populist (especially in Europe) feature of the AfD is their anti-islam position, provoked by the continuous policies of acceptance of migrations. According to the speakers of the party, Germany is not an islamic state and for this reason all the Islam-related symbols should be banned. Adding to the anti-islam position, there are antifeminism and slightly against same sex marriage policies. The party is against same sex marriage, adoptions for same-sex couple but favors civil unions.

The AfD speakers consider concepts such as feminism, sexualism and migrations all coming from an ideology called “green communism”. In fact, the party supports the traditional roles for women, aligning itself with groups opposed to modern feminism.

AfD recently presented its ideas against climate change, showing a certain skepticism towards the dangers of climate change.

So, in conclusion we can definitely say that the ideology of AfD reflects a right-wing populist party, but we could further question how right-wing is the nationalist AfD? It is certainly far-right, since

their leader has talked of fighting an “invasion” of foreigners, giving the idea that Islam is alien to German society and creating a rhetoric with Nazi overtones.

### **2.3: 2013 Elections vs 2017 Elections: what changed**

The elections of 2017 proved to be fundamental for the AfD, who got 94 seats, with the 12,6 % of votes, becoming officially the third party in Germany. It is true that they were not able to overcome parties like CDU and SPD, but we need to consider that just four years ago the party did not reach 5%.

What made the AfD so successful? The popularity of AfD wanes as the numbers of incoming migrants dropped off, at least that is what the Chancellor Angela Merkel stated. But then it becomes difficult to explain why the AfD is so strong in states such as Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Saxony-Anhalt, though the refugees numbers have slowed. This means that there must be other factors which guarantee AfD's success, which imply Germany's changes in sociological channels. The big critique (and strong point) of AfD is provided by the words of Angela Merkel herself. In fact, the Chancellor states that AfD offers no solutions to problems, but at the same time AfD supporters respond that there would not be problems without Merkel's refugee policy, or at least not to this extent. In fact, Germans do not want an AfD government, neither do they believe that it could be the best solution for Germany, but what appeals them is that there is a party speaking out on migration. Migration is the turmoil point for Germany, which feels the need of a party which can speak out the problem, getting a representation in the Bundestag. The destiny of AfD will be later discussed in a comparative analysis, but what is certain is that the party could actually use a difficult situation for Germany in order to gain their best interests.

### **3. Spain's case: VOX**

As stated in the introduction, the emergence of the rising of far-right parties in Europe has become a routine that democracy faces. When I analyzed AfD it was clear that their actual power did not lie on a precise legislative or governmental program, but rather in a specific political agenda which is similar to all populist parties of far-right.

In Spain, this ability has been shown by the political party VOX, led by Santiago Abascal, when it secured 12 seats in Andalusia's regional assembly just last December, representing the return of the right (far) to Spanish democratic institutions.

As we have seen with the agenda of other parties of this kind, La Lega, AfD, also VOX is a conservative, nationalist party which places immigration at the central point of the democratic debate, but in this case, the success of VOX may not be caused directly by the migration crisis, as it is clear for other countries. In fact, Spain not only is recently done with a long dictatorship, and their GDP is not the greatest in Europe but they are also going through a national crisis: the "Golpe" Independentista.

In fact, on the 1st October 2017, the Catalan referendum has been held by the Generalitat (which is the Catalan parliament) under the lead of Carles Puigdemont, who claimed that Catalonia should be able to hold a referendum in order to decide their status.

According to a variety of political and social analysis (which will be explained later in this chapter), the Catalan crisis has been the most important variable in determining the success of VOX in the election of December 2018 and the wave of far-right populist parties in Europe have most certainly favored the rise of a party, which in 2013 did not have any kind of credit and could never imagine the success they were going to get.

Spanish voters have turned to VOX as a reaction to the pro-independence waves and movements in Catalonia (and before Catalonia, the Basque Country), since the electorate perceives it as a big threat to two aspects: Spain's unity for the most nationalist Spanish folks, and especially, a big economy threat since Barcelona (and all the region) disposes of the highest GDP of the country and is, in all effects, the industrial strength of Spain. The failure to deal with the Catalan separatists has angered a big part of the Spanish electorate, which decided to give more confidence to a party that could defend the national interests.

Ivan Espinosa de los Monteros, director of international affairs at VOX, told the CNBC, that the principle idea to which VOX relies in the one of unity and that, following the Catalan referendum, Spain has been under attack.

The view about the migration crisis is peculiar. In fact, Vox divides into a bad and a good migration, depending on the country the migrants come from. If they are from countries like South America, whose culture and history is strictly connected with the Spanish one, then this migration is a good one, and should be supported by the government. If, on the opposite side, we are dealing with an african or arabic migration, then VOX asks for a lot of restrictions, since they believe this culture is too different and will not be able to integrate and will absorb the Spanish culture.

The threat that this party could present to the European Union does not seem as dangerous as their French, Italian or German counterpart. In fact, this party does not seem to relate anti-euro parties especially for what concerns fiscal policies. But the speakers of the party clearly states that Spain, in their country and in general Europe, have been ruled by left-handed progressivists, so it is not wise to underestimate the power that this revolutionary party could have in both Spain and Europe.

The recent elections of April 2019 showed us that Spain is, indeed, left-leaning but at the same time did not really disappoint VOX voters, especially in the Community of Madrid. In fact, the result of the General Elections have proven to be a disappointment for all VOX voters, since the socialist party PSOE got the majority of the votes, followed by a new PP, right-wing party which VOX thought could eventually be on their side but, after the campaign, stated that VOX is indeed extremist and does not really follow the lines of the PP.

### **3.1 VOX: History of an apparent failure**

Vox was founded in 2013, and became officially a party at a press conference held in Madrid on 16 January 2014, as a group of the PP (Partido Popular) decided to leave this party in order to create a movement and later an actual party more coherent to their ideas and free of scandals like corruption. The idea of the members that left the PP and joined VOX was based on a social conservatism. In fact, the ultimate goal of the program in 2013 was the abolition of regional autonomies (Comunidades autonomas) and their parliaments, in favor of the recentralization of the State.

The first time that VOX ran for an election was in the 2014 European elections, which presented to VOX as the first big failure, since the party failed to win any seats in the European parliament.



Some months later, in September 2014, the party decided to create a new board. In fact, Santiago Abascal was elected as new President and Ivan Espinos de los Monteros as General Secretary. The party, later, participated in the elections of 2015, scoring only the 0,23 % of votes, and a year later, scoring even less, with just 0,20 % of votes.

In 2017, the miracle for VOX happened, and Catalonia is very much involved. In fact, in the fall of 2017, the numbers of votes or general preferences for VOX increased of a percentage of 20, as a likely consequence of the terrorist attack in Barcelona. Parallel to the growing liking for VOX as a party, it is important to consider the bigger and more and more complicated constitutional crisis. In fact, as protest, VOX decided to not present their party in the Catalan regional election of 2017, knowing probably very well that this region is very hostile to them. On the 1st October 2017, Carles Puigdemont, president of the Generalitat, declared Catalonia an independent state following the result of an (illegal) referendum held in Catalonia, which provoked a big wave of protests (pro and contra) in the whole Nation.

After the Catalan Declaration of Independence, VOX sued the entire parliament of Catalonia, whose leader still was Carles Puigdemont, and the majority of independents politicians.

After these events, the popularity of VOX grew, giving as a result a greater electorate. In fact, in 2018, VOX was able to enlist an independent legislator in the Comunidad of Extremadura.

The turning point of the history of VOX happened in 2018 in the Andalusian regional elections. Andalusia has been under a left-wing government for years and years, and it came as an enormous surprise that an extremist party like VOX was able to enter this specific regional parliament for the first time, winning 12 seats.

In the General Elections of 2019, VOX received a bittersweet result. In fact, it obtained 10,26% of votes, translating into 24 seats and also meaning that they were going to enter the Congress of Deputies for the first time, but everybody can agree that, after what happened in Andalusia, VOX was more than certain that their votes would have been more, giving to the party a greater importance and an essential power: the one to create coalitions.

Another important result for VOX came with the “Elecciones Autonomicas”, especially in the region of Madrid. Even though the PSOE was the most voted party, VOX was able to get by itself 12 seats, which considered the starts is a pretty important result.



### 3.2 VOX: Ideology

VOX was born with a focus on economic liberalism and more important, on recentralization. After some months, there was a shift towards more ideas compatible with the majority of European right-wing populist parties, ideas such as criticism of multiculturalism (especially an anti-Islam vision) and a further opposition to immigration, especially from countries whose religion is the Muslim one. VOX, on the contrary of other parties, supports immigration, but a specific one: the one coming from Latin America. This kind of immigration represents the possibility of repopulate Spain with people who come from a similar background (in fact, spanish is the language spoken in almost all South America with the exception of Brasil and the influence of Spain is still evident).

The position towards the EU is very analog to the one of AfD; VOX it is not anti-European country but follows the soft euroscepticism, believing that Spain should not concede its sovereignty to the EU, since it should reside in the Spanish nation alone.

VOX is distrustful of the media, especially after the invite not received to participate at the pre-General Elections debate.

While the party is extremely close to the French National Fron, especially for what concerns the social and political agenda, it is easier to find a perfect similarity with the AfD, considered the economic proposals which include a radical tax cut.

VOX is considered antifeminist, especially because of the proposal to repeal the gender violence law, which they find unuseful and discriminant against of the sexes and replace it with another law, more general family violence law that will take care and offer the same protection to every kind of victim, men, women and children of any sex, who suffers from abuse. VOX also believes in what I've stated while talking about AfD, for instance the green communism. In fact, according to them, feminism in nothing more that a mere (and wrong) way to get more votes and presents the example

of the progresist party of Pablo Iglesias. The party was called Podemos (we can), but after some internal changes to the party and the importance given (by the media and by the society in general) to the feminism issue, the party changed its name to Unidas Podemos (which is translated as Together we can, in the feminine form). VOX classifies this action as a selling and producing an idea according to the trend of society without really having a firm conviction.

The party also requests the immediate closure of mosques in Spain, considered the symbol of a religion which should not belong to Spain and considered the place in which the process of fundamentalization happens. Alongside, it promises the arrest and expulsion of extremist imams, almost calling out a deportation of tens thousands of Muslims in Spain, calling it a Reconquista, which explicitly refers to a new expulsion of Muslim immigrants from Spain. The vision of the country according to VOX and its voters appeals to the Catholic-inspired culture, which is present and strong in Spain, differently from countries like Germany or the UK.

VOX also proposes the building of walls around Ceuta and Melilla, two spanish cities in Marocco, for two reasons: the one, mere practically, is that it would avoid immigrants to enter Spanish territories, and secondly, to physically separate what it is Spanish and what it is not.

The central point of all Spanish campaign is the recentralization of the State, which is also the point that may seem more appealing to every Spaniard who felt betrayed and shocked after the attempted Golpe in Catalonia. VOX blames not only the Catalan Generalitat which is the actual responsible for what happened in Catalonia, but also the previous government, ruled by the PP, which was not able to manage the situation before and at the end led to the destruction of Spain.

### **3.3 2013 Elections vs 2018 Elections**

As I stated right in the start, when we talk about the first years of VOX as a political party, we can refer to it as a failure. Not only was VOX absent from every Parliament in the whole nation, but they were also never considered a potential governmental power, which reflected something very peculiar to the Spanish context of the post-Franco: a rejection to everything that could lead or remind the period of the civil war. In fact, one of the biggest debate in 2013, when VOX was born as a party was the use and the importance given to the Spanish flag. The flag is a symbol strictly connected to the nation, and the yellow/red flag that we now see, is a modification of the flag used by Franco during his regime (the republican flag, before Franco has a violet line in the flag itself).

After the transition to a democracy, especially in the communities like the Basque Country and Catalonia itself, a feeling of not-belonging to the flag started to arise, and parallel the recognition of the identity to two different flags started to become stronger: one is the Euskara flag, which is infamously known for its affiliation with the terroristic movement ETA, and the other one, the Independentista, used in Catalonia during the past years.



This variety of flags, which reflects the variety of identities in one nation, became a problem for everyone who wanted to show off the Spanish flag. In fact, people who had the Spanish flag outside their house were considered and accused to be fachas, and VOX used this pretty simple idea transforming it into their motto: People thanks to VOX will stop being ashamed to be proud of their nation and will be free to show off as much as possible. This idea did not seem to appeal many voters in the elections of 2013, and also in 2014, 2015 and 2016. Why? Well, the party was pretty new, has few ideas that seemed too far away from the reality, maybe too extremist, Catalonia and Basque country seemed a distant problem, the campaign did not seem appealing.

Then, VOX discovered the social networks. In fact, since politics must follow the times and all the changes that occur with it, the social campaign changed. VOX reached a lot of young people, especially the one feeling that Spain was being under attack and should be protected in every way, even changing something that has been so important in the post-Franco constitution, the autonomy of the communities.

The Andalusian election in 2018 proved to be a big battlefield, since VOX was able to have their two persona exploits: the first one is actually being elected, since they failed to enter any parliament before that time, and second one, being elected in a region whose traditions have always been left-leaning.

After this enormous success, polls have waited for the elections of 2019 to have better results for the party, but VOX was not able to sustain an effective campaign against the other bigger parties, losing effectively the elections, but getting at least representation in the Chamber of Deputies, a dream that in 2013 seemed far away.

#### **4. Comparison: AfD and VOX**

The two parties have proven to act in two countries, whose basis really differ from each other, therefore there are many differences to recognize at their core, but at the same time it is clear that we can identify a similar path which, more generally, has been followed by the majority of right-wing parties in Europe (La Lega, The National Front) and oversea (Jair Bolsonaro in Brasil, Donald Trump in the US).

In their first years, both AfD and VOX took their first steps in the margins of the political scenario of the time: for the German voters this situation lasted until 2015 and 2016, when the Chancellor Angela Merkel decided to accept and offer asylum to 1.5 millions of applicants. As I have stated before, while describing the reasons that led the AfD to their success, the German party was able to exploit the general fear produced by a migration crisis which has not see any precedent in Europe after the Second World War. In Spain, we need to add to this delicate migration crisis, the catalan procès which has added an internal concern to a fragile state. ù

This follows, that the first important characteristic that AfD and VOX share, is that they both operate in two countries which are living a big national-identity crisis. According to the Franco delle Donne, Spanish expert of political communication who works in Germany, the two parties have been able to deal with the taboo of the national identity, which is in fact considered to have a

bad connotation as word, because of the past (Franquismo in Spain and the Hitler-dictatorship in Germany) of the two countries.

In Germany, no other party except for AfD is able to pronounce the words national identity and for this reason, they are usually the ones dominating the debates in which they need to appeal to Germany as a nation and to the German population as a one.

Because of their extremely exposed national pride, both VOX and AfD have been called “nazis” but the Spanish case is peculiar. Santiago Abascal, in the famous reunion of VOX in the Palacio de Vistalegre, has spent half of the time to ironize with pride the reasons why the other parties accuse them of being “fachas”.

VOX does not have any kind of moral or ethic complex in affirm their national pride, especially in the darkest Spanish times. In fact, among the many social proposals, VOX gives a lot of importance to the eventual derogation of the “Ley de Memoria Historica”, whose italian correspondent is Legge dell’Apologia al Fascismo.

Another common ground in which VOX and AfD follow the same path is the ability to exploit the social media as a new political communication form. In fact, ignoring the relationship that the parties have with the past of their countries, they can be considered parties of their time, which means, that they are more than able to use the new communication forms, since they can not count on the support of traditional media.

Hansel himself admits that both parties need internet as much as possibile, considering that they are not able to reach voters through the normal channels.

It is clear that the two parties present similarities in both they way they try to appeal to voters and the arguments they use for this reason. The famous German newspaper “WELT” published in March 2019 stated that “ *Nun hat auch Spanien seine AfD*”, expressing a bit of concern towards the rise of this party in Spain and the consequences that it can lead in Germany. The article highlights an important principle considere a very big ideological affinity between AfD and VOX, and a substancial difference between Germany and Spain: the concept of the nation political and territorial unification. VOX most important point, which is the core of its campaign and more likely the core of its success, is the Catalan situation. I have already discussed what was this crisis about while talking about the rise of VOX and also expressed why a lot of analysts consider Catalonia the most important key that led VOX to a triumph, but one thing that remains important is the fact that the Spanish society is strictly fractured. The Catalans claimed to have suffered more than the rest of the nation during the Franquismo because of the prohibition they had to go through and for this reason they feel more legitimate to ask for a political, social, and more important, linguistically

independence, which, according to VOX represents nothing more than an attempt to separation led by a minority of catalans. This idea of unification of Germany is not as strong as we can see in Spain. It is important to say that in Spain, Franco lived way more than Hitler, which creates a shadow in any form of political decision.

The social programs of the two parties also share a point (which is also agreed upon by other nationalist european parties), which is a critical and negative attitude towards the Islamic world and the migration from Islam countries. VOX considers the Catholic tradition an important part of the european society and does not agree with the integration of other cultures, always linking to what they call national identity: Spain is a catholic country (or at least, so states Santiago Abascal) and for this reason it should not be expected from Spain to build mosques and integrate a culture and a religion which does not marry the catholic and european principles. The same idea is stressed by the German AfD, since their position towards Angela Merkel's acceptance of migration waves was clear.

Another delicate aspect that characterize both parties is the rejection of a lot accomplishments and advances obtained by liberal democracies in both countries such as the auto determination of abortion (safe and legal abortion), regard to women's rights, regard to minorities, freedom of speech and media.

In this case, I think it is necessary to add something about the difference between Spain and Germany for what concerns the concept of national sovereignty issue. In particular, VOX addresses this problem to the "enormous" autonomy that the "comunidades autonomas" enjoy. For instance, according to the party, Catalonia would have not came to the golpe point if the community of Catalonia had not had so much power in its region and if the central Spanish government had, on the contrary, exercised more authority. In this sense, VOX's critiques are directed towards the so-called totally freedom of the communities from the central government. The AfD case is pretty different. In fact, the concept of national sovereignty remains the core of the programs, but it is expressed in another form. According to the German party, the return to a stable national sovereignty can happen only with the rejection of the submission to the European Union. This ideological line is nothing new to VOX itself, which supports the idead that the European Union is a danger to the Nation States.

Another parallelism between VOX and AfD is identified in the reasons for their success.

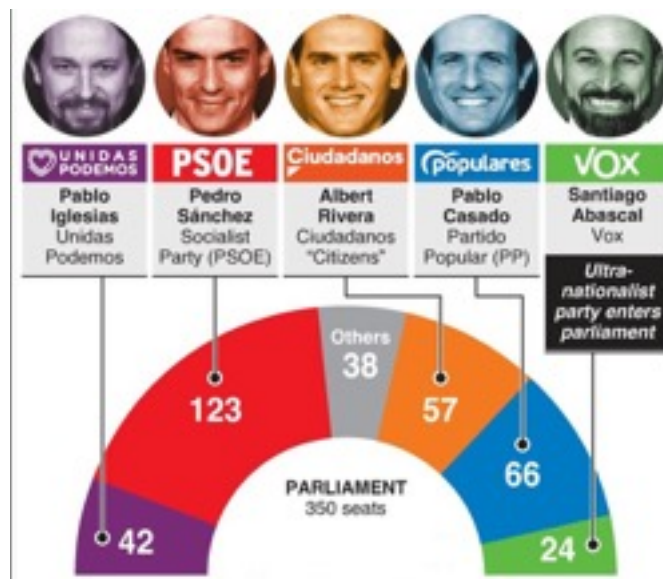
VOX started getting more votes when voters realized that neither the PP (Partido Popular) nor the PSOE (Socialist workers of Spain) were actually able to provide solutions to the socio-economic problems Spain had to face, and the same situation happened in Germany, where the CDU (christian

democracy) and SPD (social democrats) failed in the exact same way. The experience of the economic crisis in 2008 and the migration crisis in 2015 showed to the political scenario that the present and governing parties were an example of a wrong way of doing politics.

A further similarity between the two parties is the image they give to the public, and especially, to other parties. More interesting is seeing how these two parties are described by their counterparts and notice the characteristics they share.

On one side, VOX is accused of being “facha” as I’ve explained before. On the German side, The Die Linke (the left) leader, Katja Kipping, has recently stated what her opinions about AfD are. According to her, the AfD’s political project points to a modern fascism. The XXI fascism does not need symbols or mottos, but it es explicitly antidemocratic and dangerous.

After having indicated the similarities between the two parties, I think it would be in the best interests to understand how AfD and VOX have practically influenced their nations, and afterwards, understanding whether the destiny of the two parties will possibly take two parallel lines, crossing or maybe having a very different fate.





## 4.1 Effects of the two parties in the their nations

The AfD stands for an unprecedented political, and maybe social, success but at the same time, it can be considered Germany's modern political failure. Since it is a new party, AfD breaks taboos. AfD's leader, Alexander Gauland, considers his party a thorn in the side of a political system that has become outdated, and for this reason, as many other new political parties promise, he wants to drive out anyone who has been part and played a role in the old "Merkel system", including some media protagonists, in order to create a peaceful revolution. The question is: revolution against what?

The AfD has proven to be extremely strong in some specific parts of Germany: eastern state of Saxony and across all east. For all these years in Germany, elections and political games have been shaped by a simply characteristic, a polarity between left and right, plain, simple, easy. During the crisis of 2008 and 2015, new parties came into the play, creating a complex system, in which the only ones who seem to be profiting is the AfD.

We've discussed that the AfD can be seen as a protest party, but actually, there is little support of the idea that the AfD is nothing more than the result of a protest against mainstream parties. Rather, the German party has created a coherent supporter base, which is motivated by economic right-wing preferences and especially by cultural factors. To understand what are these factors and the impact that the results had on Germany, I need to include several variables which capture: demographic characteristics, religion, education, income, unemployment rate, East/West.

Let's start by saying that the East factor is crucial. In fact, the East Germany is statistically poor, having an higher rate of un employment. At the same time, AfD got lower votes in areas with higher incomes. It should logically follow that higher unemployment should be a cause for AfD's success. The analysts of 2009 elections proved that higher unemployment makes an area less likely to vote for the AfD.

This result is translated into: AfD's voters are not people who are currently seeking for jobs, are not people who need to believe in a hope for Germany's future. On the contrary, the effect that the AfD creates on their voters and Germany as a nation is not a hopeful one, but a deception one. They do not necessarily apple to people promising them a better future, but what they do is trying to show the voters how bad things have been in the past. Their weapon is not hope, but it is deception.

In fact, many analysts refer to this situation as the “German paradox: strong in economy, angry in politics”.

The Integration Barometer showed that the majority of Germans have a positive idea of life in “immigration country Germany”, which means that the Merkel-voters still justify and respect the welcoming policies of the CDU.

The political reality in Germany is less catastrophic than what the populist and anti-immigration rhetoric has announced to the public.

The German political culture values stability, so if they perceive that something is going on in their country, even without realizing it by themselves, there can be a certain discontent, especially towards a classical system. AfD comes into the play exactly in this situation, when the despair is big and they have the chance to construct for them a stable basis of voters. The appeal is to between 15 and 17 percent of the population, which is enough to have election’s success.

AfD’s entrance into Parliament has set the stage for other ideas to develop. In fact, it has shown that German voters are not only interested in what it will happen in their economy, since differently from other European countries, they feel sure. The turning point is the social crisis, which is the biggest impact AfD had on Germany.

The party VOX got its first seats in the Parliament, establishing their debut in the national Spanish political scenario. According to Google, Vox has generated more than three times more search inquiries than any other Spanish political party in the past years. There are many reasons to explain the media-success of Vox among voters: vocal activists, the rallies in Madrid and Valencia, and the exclusion from the important televised debates between the main party leaders, in which all other parties were present, with a practical reason, not having deputies yet in parliament. It is not easy to understand the vote reaction to VOX with the Google data, but what is clear is that to be popular as a newcomer than anything else, and VOX will benefit from it.

The rise of VOX means a lot of things and will bring many consequences in Spain. First of all, very simple, Spain is moving towards a five-party politics instead of their “traditional” four-party politics, without considering the regional movements in Catalonia and the Basque Country. These last movements were crucial to create the Spanish turmoil and helping Abascal in the success of VOX. In fact, the Spanish legal system allows for concerned groups to carry on legal actions towards groups which did not respect the law. VOX has been part to the persecution in the train of Catalan separatists, proposing not only a move towards the recentralization of some powers, but also, getting rid of the powers given to the “autonomias”.

Now that they actually managed to enter the parliament, Abascal's men will need to decide how to carry on their political and social attitude. Spain, despite its political fragmentation, is trying to make solid economic progress and the only way to do this, is to come to terms with Catalonia, whose issue practically split into two blocs Spanish politics. On one side, PSOE and Podemos feel the need to pact with the independentists, on the other Ciudadanos and PP believe there will never be a pact with a group which is ready to break Spain. Exactly in this moment, VOX enters in the play and determines the situation, offering to Ciudadanos a pact with just a 0.2 %, which is not much but enough to enter the Congress and create an opposition.

## **5 Conclusion: AfD and VOX - two different destinies?**

As we can see from the description of the parties, analyzing their foundations and programs, the two parties have roots in their period of time, which means that in order to understand their success we need to contextualize them, which leads to an important question: what are their destinies?

Germany has as its political protagonist a new grand-coalition government, GROKO. GROKO is the result of a decision by the SPD to agree to another link-up with the CDU, and what was actually able to create this coalition is the fear to lose votes to the right-wing AfD, which means that the underlying purpose is not to achieve political and social goals, but rather to give time for AfD to lose political consent. Is it going to work?

To be true, AfD is not living its best moment. The reasons are a lot, first of all we need to think that their rise from a marginal, non-influent party to part of Bundestag was rapid and not very controlled. There have been many tensions in the party, especially in the leadership level (as we've already described while talking about the chronological history of the party). A party which is only four years old fills hundred of legislative seat

at national and state levels without the structure and discipline of a regular German party. It is also true that their social popular momentum is not ending. In order to predict what will happen with AfD, I need to remind that the party was born as an intellectual reaction against CDU's financial policies within Europe, in order to maintain a sovereignty in the nation, but according to the flow, it later became an anti-integration party, doing nothing more than simply reflecting a real element of perceived racism and also that Germany really has disadvantaged groups and regions.

In the Bundestag, the AfD opposed to the Grand Coalition, stating that this is something that has been already tried, leading to a political free ride to pursue policies that Germany did not want. Examples provided where the EU financial commitments, same-sex marriage. GROKO is helpful, in this sense, for AfD, since it provides new attacks in their style.

This does not necessarily mean that AfD is destined to continue their rise, because Angela Merkel, before leaving the Bundestag is preparing something big. In fact, this is the final term for the chancellor and she is starting to prepare her succession, not including AfD in the process. The name is Jens Spahn, openly gay but also critic to the growth of Islam in Germany, since he considers it the reason of the new wave of racism in Germany which includes anti-semitism, homophobic and misogynist tendencies. In the choice of the succession, once again AfD is very influential. In fact, both CDU and SPD are pretty much limited in the choice of politicians coming from western Germany, since new political faces from eastern Germany belong either to AfD or neo-Marxist Parties. This means that without the East in Germany, AfD would not have a serious electorate.

According to all these ideas, AfD will need to change some of their features in order to appeal to a larger variety of voters.

In Spain, the situation of VOX is as complicated as we can imagine, especially considering the contradictory results got by the General Elections, the European Elections and the Comunidad of Madrid Elections.

In fact, when we talk about the General Elections of April 2019, as we have already said while talking about the political situation in Spain, we can say that the elections produced winners, losers and VOX. The right party has now seats in the Parliament and got a lot of media attention. The electoral market is a zero-sum game, so we can consider VOX both a winner and a loser at the same time. In fact, the party did not get as many votes as they thought they could get, giving the victory to the PSOE, but at the same time they became fundamental for a right coalition, which means that a big party such as PP, which would have never even considered VOX something to rely on, now need to take them into account. It is not easy to certainly know if voters will flow from PP to VOX,

but an early answer to this question came with European Elections, in which VOX lost a lot of their voters, who preferred not “wasting” their votes in a party which still did not have good numbers. This may seem as VOX is losing votes after the General Elections, and this statement is true in some specific regions, as for example Andalusia, but the community of Madrid stayed faithful to the right-party, making them into the key party. This victory for VOX has been clouded by an increasing success of their “enemies”: the nationalists parties, for instance Esquerra Republica de Catalunya.

This data left us uncertain about the destiny of VOX, but it is sure that it will be crucial the way VOX will act in Madrid and how ERC will act in Catalonia.

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**Analisi comparativa di due partiti populistici di estrema destra in due nazioni ex-fasciste con un PIL molto diverso tra di loro: AfD in Germania e VOX in Spagna**

La mia tesi di laurea è il frutto di esperienze vissute da me personalmente in due nazioni molto diverse ma che mantengono molti tratti in comune: Germania e Spagna.

Partendo da un interesse verso ciò che sta attualmente succedendo in Europa, ho ritenuto interessante vedere come, in due nazioni pesantemente toccate da un passato atroce, con la dittatura di Franco preceduta da una sanguinosa guerra civile in Spagna e l'esperienza della dittatura Nazista di Adolf Hitler in Germania, sia stato possibile per due partiti dichiaratamente di estrema destra, presentarsi alle elezioni e riuscire, dopo vari sforzi, a persino ottenere risultati per loro soddisfacenti.

Descrivo il mio lavoro passo per passo.

Nel primo capitolo della tesi, ho introdotto l'argomento generale con dei riferimenti che verranno approfonditi nei capitoli successivi. Infatti, mi sono occupata di dare una definizione generale di cosa sia effettivamente un partito populista, quali siano i suoi obiettivi e soprattutto quali sono le ideologie alla sua base. Un partito populista si presenta sempre come la voce di una maggioranza silenziosa, cioè l'unica partita sulla scena politica con il coraggio di dire ciò che gli elettori pensano ma non osano pronunciare a voce alta perché, sempre secondo loro, schiacciati dalla pressione del "politically correct". Proprio per questa ragione, leader di un partito come AfD (letteralmente, Alternativa per la Germania) possono dire, in un discorso a Berlino che ha sicuramente sofferto una guerra non da molto conclusasi, che il periodo Nazista in Germania non è altro che un "escremento di uccello" rispetto ad una gloriosa e millenaria storia tedesca.

Quindi, utilizzando provocazioni, mirando a colpire il cuore, lo stomaco ed i sentimenti degli elettori, i partiti populistici non portano nei loro programmi delle vere e proprie proposte di legge (al contrario, al riguardo si dimostrano abbastanza incompetenti), ma si occupano di dare voce, spesso urla, alla delusione, al discontento generale e ad un malessere della popolazione, utilizzandolo per renderlo il proprio cavallo di battaglia e conseguentemente dire agli elettori esattamente ciò che vogliono sentirsi dire.

Dopo aver spiegato quindi, cosa sta succedendo in Europa dall'anno 2000, ho presentato vari esempi di nazioni che al momento hanno dei parlamenti, ministri e deputati apparenti a gruppi di matrice populista.

Non essendo il populismo in generale il mio argomento, nel secondo capitolo ho subito introdotto la situazione politica in Germania, parlando del partito AfD. Analizzando la storia del partito, si può notare come siano passati dall'essere dei veri e propri emarginati politici nel 2003, anno della creazione di AfD, a dei propri vincitori e maggior pericolo per Angela Merkel nel 2016. Il loro

successo è stato causato da una serie di fattori, ma una delle cause più plausibili è sicuramente stata la politica del Cancelliere tedesco, che ha deciso, umanamente forse ma sicuramente intelligentemente, di accogliere in Germania una serie di profughi e di richiedenti di asilo. Questa mossa non è particolarmente piaciuta alla classe media tedesca, la quale nazione pur presentando un Prodotto Interno Lordo altissimo in Europa, sta vivendo una crisi economica e sociale, soprattutto dopo i vari attentati di matrice islamica che hanno colpito il paese. AfD, sfruttando questa situazione a suo vantaggio, ha espresso una serie di idee contro l'accoglienza di profughi provenienti da paesi in cui è molto praticata la religione musulmana, ritenendo essa stessa cause dei problemi sociali in Germania, che secondo loro, non è una nazione pronta a ricevere un multiculturalismo del genere. Si aggiunge a questa idea, anche una specie di scetticismo nei confronti dell'unione Europea, colpevole di aiutare le nazioni che si trovano in una forte crisi utilizzando i finanziamenti della Germania (idea molto discutibile e frutto di una serie di fake news).

Il terzo capitolo segue analogicamente ciò che è stato detto nel secondo capitolo, descrivendo e analizzando parallelamente il partito di estrema destra spagnolo, VOX. In maniera simile a AfD, gli inizi di VOX sono stati dei veri e propri fallimenti, non riuscendo loro ad ottenere un numero di voti sufficienti persino per essere considerati un vero partito. Anche in Spagna la situazione si è rivolta a loro favore, ma non principalmente per la crisi degli immigrati. Infatti, ad aumentare l'attenzione su VOX è stata una vera e propria crisi interna alla Spagna, cioè il referendum del primo Ottobre del 2017 in cui la comunità autonoma della Catalogna avrebbe deciso se rimanere in Spagna come sua comunità oppure diventare eventualmente uno stato a parte, creando la Repubblica della Catalogna. VOX si è subito posta in prima linea contro qualsiasi tipo di gruppo, movimento o azione indipendentista, rimarcando quanto fosse importante l'Unità della Spagna. La loro proposta di legge è infatti quella di abolire le comunità autonome per prendere la Spagna più centralizzata ed evita altri referendum in Catalogna, nei paesi Baschi o qualsiasi parte della Spagna.

Ad accompagnare questa principale idea, ci sono anche delle proposte anti-femminismo, anti-ecologia, anti-immigrazione, tipiche di un partito di tendenza populista di destra.

Nel quarto capitolo ho messo a confronto i due partiti, analizzando le loro enormi analogie, che, come detto prima, sono punti in comune con molti partiti populistici, ma soprattutto, soffermandomi sulle eventuali differenze che sono tipiche e legate alla nazione in cui si opera, ad esempio, le richieste di AfD, soprattutto di un tipo di economia più liberale in cui si possa eventualmente dare meno spazio a degli aiuti di tipo sociale non potrebbero essere applicate in una Spagna colpita da una crisi che tutt'ora è presente.



Il quinto capitolo tratta della conclusione della mia tesi, in cui, secondo i dati raccolti, ci si chiede se i due partiti possano essere effettivamente in grado di governare e se i loro destini possano in qualche modo intrecciarsi o rimanere due linee parallele.