

Table 1: Dominant Actors in the German Right-wing Radical Family (1990s)

	Party/campaign organization	Social movement organization (SMO)	Subcultural milieu
Fascist/autocratic right	NPD/DVU	ANS/FAP, NPD	Neonazis, "Comradships" Skinheads
Racist/ethnocentrist right	NPD/DVU Republikaner	ANS/FAP East: NPD/DVU (<i>Neue Rechte</i>)	Neonazis "Comradships" skinheads
Populist right			
Religious-fundamentalist right			

Abbreviations/Translations:

ANS: Aktionsfront Nationale Sozialisten (Action front of National Socialists)

DVU: Deutsche Volkunion (German People's Union)

FAP: Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Free German Workers Party)

NPD: Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland (National-democratic Party of Germany)

Table 2: Development of the German Radical Right in the 1990s:
Groups (upper row) and Members (lower row)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Militant Right-wing extremists, Skinheads (a)		4200	6400	4 5600	1 5400	3 6200	5 6400	3 7600	5 8200	5 9000	2 9700	1 10400
Neonazis	27 1400	30 2100	33 1400	27 2450	33 2940	43 1980	48 2420	40 2400	41 2400	49 2200	60 2200	65 2800
Political Parties				8 55130	4 45400	4 35900	3 33500	3 34800	3 39000	3 37000	3 36500	3 33000
DVU	22000	24000	26000	26000	20000	15000	15000	15000	18000	17000	17000	15000
NPD	7300	6700	5300	5000	4500	4000	3500	4300	6000	6000	6500	6500
REP				23000	20000	16000	15000	15500	15000	14000	13000	11500
Others	34 2900	38 3950	41 4000	40 3120	45 3830	56 3560	52 2660	63 4300	65 4500	77 4200	78 4200	72 4300
Sum total (c) (minus multiple memberships)	32200	9800	41900	64500	56600	96 46100	108 45300	109 48400	114 53600	134 52400	143 52600	141 50500

Notes:

a) After 1995, militants of the extreme right included manifestly violent persons and those with sufficient evidence of a tendency towards violence

b) DLVH: Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat.

c) Beginning with the 1994 Report (i.e. 1993 data), the "Republikaner" (REP) were included, hence the dramatic increase of total membership.

Sources: Michael Minkenberg, *Die neue radikale Rechte im Vergleich. USA, Frankreich, Deutschland* (Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), 301, Table 7.19; Bundesministerium des Inneren, *Verfassungsschutzbericht 1999* (Bonn 2000), 18, *Verfassungsschutzbericht 2001* (Bonn 2002), 34.

Table 3
The Right-wing Radical Attitude Potential in Germany, 1998
(in per cent)

	Germany	West	East
<i>In ideological components</i>	11	10	16
Authoritarianism	13	13	13
Nationalism	15	14	20
Xenophobia	26	23	39
Welfare chauvinism	6	6	5
Pro-Naziism	6	6	5
Antisemitism			
<i>In occupational groups</i>	14	7	22
Unemployed	19	18	24
Workers	8	7	12
Employees	2	1	11
Civil Servants	12	12	15
Self-employed	15	15	18
Non-working			
<i>Total</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>17</i>

Source: Richard Stöss, *Rechtsextremismus im vereinten Deutschland* (Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1999), 30, 35

Table 4: Attitudes towards immigration of different migrant groups to Germany (in per cent)

	<i>West</i>				<i>East</i>			
	1991	1992	1996	2000	1991	1992	1996	2000
<i>Labour migrants from EU countries</i>								
Allow immigration without constraints	34	35	33	32	13	13	11	13
Restrict immigration	56	56	55	62	62	63	51	66
Prohibit immigration completely	10	9	12	7	25	24	38	21
<i>Labour migrants from non-EU countries</i>								
Allow immigration without constraints	11	10	8	8	6	4	4	4
Restrict immigration	61	62	59	72	56	59	46	57
Prohibit immigration completely	28	28	33	20	39	36	49	40
<i>Asylum seekers</i>								
Allow immigration without constraints	13	12	13	10	16	14	12	9
Restrict immigration	65	65	66	74	69	67	67	71
Prohibit immigration completely	22	23	22	16	15	19	21	21
<i>German resettlers from Eastern Europe</i>								
Allow immigration without constraints	22	19	15	14	15	16	13	11
Restrict immigration	68	71	74	76	73	73	69	74
Prohibit immigration completely	10	10	12	11	12	11	18	15

Source: ALLBUS 1991, 1992, 1996, 2000, in Statistisches Bundesamt (ed.), *Datenreport 2002* (Bonn 2002), p. 561.

Table 5: Party Strength and Movement Strength of the Radical Right and Context Factors in Western Europe (1990s)

	Var 1a	Var1b	Var 1c	Var 2a	Var 2b	Var 2c	Var 2d	Party Strength	Movement Strength
Austria	0.5	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	1	HIGH	LOW
France	0.5	0.5	1	0	0.5	1	0.5	HIGH	LOW
Italy	0.5	0.5	1	0	0.5	1	0.5	HIGH	LOW
Belgium	(0)	0.5	1	1	0	0.5	1	MEDIUM	?
Denmark	1	0	0	0.5	1	0.5	1	MEDIUM	MEDIUM
Norway	1	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	1	MEDIUM	HIGH
Switzerland	0	0	0.5	1	n.d.	0.5	1	MEDIUM	?
Germany (West)	0.5	0	0.5	0.5	1	0	1	LOW	MEDIUM
Germany (East)	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	LOW	HIGH
Great Britain	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	LOW	HIGH
Sweden	1	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	1	LOW	HIGH

Variables:

Var 1 Culture:

1a nation type: ethnocultural nation 1, political nation 0

1b political culture: nationalist 1, liberal-democratic 0

1c religious tradition: Catholic 1, Protestant 0

Var 2 Structures

2a Cleavages: convergence 1, polarization 0

2b cleavages: strong New Politics voting, 1 weak 0

2c pol. opport. structures: state and parties' latitude 1, exclusion/repression 0

2d pol. opport. structures: PR elect.system 1, majority 0

Sources: see M. Minkenberg, "The West European Radical Right as a Collective Actor", in: *Comparative European Politics* 1 (2003), p. 166.