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**Analiza Programatică a Radicalizării Dreptei
Tradiționale (MRR) în Țările de Jos și
România: Povestea unui Caz Tipic și Divers.**

Teză de Doctorat

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Rezumat

Peisajul politic european contemporan este tot mai mult provocat de integrarea și normalizarea extremei drepte, care a câștigat constant un sprijin electoral tot mai puternic și mai permanent pe întregul continent. Izolate istoric la periferia spectrului politic printr-un strict cordon sanitar, aceste partide contestatatoare au devenit acum actori esențiali ai puterii. O evoluție evidentă și plină de consecințe în acest mediu aflat în schimbare este apariția tot mai frecventă a guvernelor de coaliție, formale și informale, constituite între partidele consacrate ale dreptei tradiționale și partidele contestatatoare de extremă dreapta. Cercetările empirice existente demonstrează într-o proporție covârșitoare că aceste alianțe strategice și dinamica concurențială în schimbare au fost însoțite de o radicalizare ideologică și retorică tot mai mare a dreptei tradiționale. Această radicalizare, caracterizată adesea printr-o alunecare către nativism, autoritarism și populism, a fost deosebit de pronunțată în domeniile de maximă importanță ale migrației și politicii culturale, unde partidele consacrate încearcă să asimileze platformele extremei drepte pentru a recupera alegătorii alienați.

Deși literatura existentă în științele politice documentează cu succes această radicalizare a dreptei tradiționale prin studii cantitative transversale, rămâne o lacună metodologică și teoretică semnificativă. Modelele spațiale cu un număr mare de cazuri (Large-N) sunt extrem de eficiente în urmărirea schimbărilor agregate, dar există o nevoie presantă pentru studii de caz interne (within-case), calitative și mai granulare, care să exploreze evoluțiile profund dependente de context, mecanica internă a partidelor și dependențele de parcurs istoric ale acestui fenomen. Mai mult, atenția academică a fost orientată disproporționat de mult către problemele socioculturale. Prin urmare, este necesar să se evalueze dacă dreapta tradițională se radicalizează și în alte domenii politice majore, în special în politica externă, care a devenit un nou punct central al contestării ideologice în fața realităților geopolitice în schimbare, a euroscepticismului și a regresului democratic.

Abordând aceste lacune, obiectivul principal al prezentei teze de doctorat este de a explora și documenta radicalizarea dreptei tradiționale atât în politicile de migrație, cât și în cele externe. Obiectivul final nu este doar descrierea acestor schimbări, ci formularea unor ipoteze robuste, testabile, pentru viitoare investigații comparative pe această temă. Pentru a atinge acest scop, studiul dezvoltă un cadru analitic original menit să formuleze modul în care normele liberale și iliberale concurente modelează platformele partidelor în ceea ce privește migrația și relațiile externe. Prin categorisirea pozițiilor politice de-a lungul unui continuum de norme liberale și iliberale, cadrul oferă o matrice precisă pentru măsurarea radicalizării în timp.

Cercetarea utilizează un design de tip studiu de caz exploratoriu. Pentru a asigura o analiză cuprinzătoare în diverse medii democratice, studiul utilizează o strategie de selecție a cazurilor bazată pe distribuție, concentrându-se pe două contexte politice și geografice distincte. Țările de Jos, o democrație vest-europeană consolidată, cu un istoric

stabilit și bine documentat al radicalizării dreptei tradiționale, servește drept caz tipic. Arena sa politică, caracterizată printr-o fragmentare ridicată și o presiune electorală persistentă din partea competitorilor de extremă dreapta, acționează ca bază de referință pentru observarea modului în care un establishment de dreapta tradițională se adaptează presiunii nativiste continue. În schimb, România, o democrație emergentă la frontierele estice ale Uniunii Europene, servește drept caz divers. Spre deosebire de omologii săi occidentali, dreapta tradițională românească a menținut istoric o orientare ferm pro-europeană și în linii mari centristă. Selectarea României permite studiului să testeze limitele teoriilor radicalizării într-un context definit de moșteniri istorice diferite, vulnerabilități geopolitice distincte și o amenințare de extremă dreapta mai nouă, dar aflată într-o ascensiune rapidă.

Analiza empirică se bazează pe o metodologie calitativă triangulată. Corpusul principal de date include manifestele oficiale ale partidelor, acordurile formale de coaliție și documentele interne ale partidelor, completate de cercetările academice existente asupra ambelor contexte naționale. Din punct de vedere metodologic, studiul utilizează metoda urmăririi proceselor (process tracing) pentru a evalua și cartografia riguros și cronologic schimbările de politică în cadrul partidelor de dreapta tradiționale. Această abordare longitudinală permite identificarea conjuncturilor critice specifice, a șocurilor electorale și a negocierilor de coaliție care declanșează schimbări ideologice, depășind astfel simplele imagini statice ale pozițiilor partidelor.

Analiza empirică dezvăluie o divergență izbitoare între cele două contexte. În Țările de Jos, dreapta tradițională prezintă o radicalizare clară și susținută în politica privind migrația, adoptând progresiv norme mai iliberale și o retorică de excludere ca răspuns la presiunile electorale competitive. La polul opus, analiza demonstrează că dreapta tradițională din România nu se modifică radical în niciunul dintre domeniile de politici evaluate. În pofida apariției unor competitori interni de extremă dreapta, dreapta tradițională din România rămâne ancorată în politica sa externă pro-europeană consacrată și în pozițiile sale moderate privind migrația.

Studiul concluzionează că radicalizarea dreptei tradiționale nu este o tendință pan-europeană monolitică și inevitabilă, ci depinde în mod semnificativ de context. Divergența dintre cazurile olandez și românesc indică faptul că trei mecanisme principale guvernează radicalizarea: proeminența temei (issue salience), asumarea temei (issue ownership) și, în mod crucial, natura competiției politice. Pe baza acestor observații comparative, teza construiește în final o serie de ipoteze nuanțate cu privire la modul în care constrângerile geopolitice, viabilitatea coalițiilor și relevanța temelor interacționează pentru a facilita sau inhiba radicalizarea dreptei tradiționale, oferind o fundație vitală pentru viitoarele cercetări academice.

Cuvinte-cheie: dreapta tradițională, extremă dreapta, norme liberale, norme iliberale, radicalizare.

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