

Belgium

	PO	FL	FR	EU	Best %	Last %	Government
N-VA	X		X		20.3 (2014)	16.0 (2019)	2014-2018
PVDA / PTB		X		X	8.6 (2019)	8.6 (2019)	
VB	X		X	X	12.0 (2019)	12.0 (2019)	
FN	X		X	X	2.3 (1995)		
LDD	X			X	4.0 (2007)		
PP	X		X	X	1.5 (2014)		

Parties represented in parliament:

The ***Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (New Flemish Alliance, N-VA)*** was founded in 2001 by a right-leaning faction of the Flemish nationalist *Volksunie* (People's Union, VU). The party is in favour of a gradual secession of Flanders from Belgium. Although the party has elitist roots, it has become increasingly populist over the years – also embracing, at times, a people-centric discourse. When it comes to cultural issues, the party has moved closer to the far right. We have therefore classified the N-VA as both borderline populist and far right.

The ***Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest, VB)*** was founded as the Vlaams Blok (Flemish Block) in 1978 and is one of the oldest populist and far-right parties in Europe. The initial goal of the party was Flemish independence, but soon after its foundation the party became increasingly anti-immigrant. In 2004, the party was dissolved after it was condemned for racism and continued as the Flemish Interest. Other parties in Belgium have established a *cordon sanitaire* against the VB – i.e., they refuse to cooperate with it in any way or at any level of government.

The ***Partij van de Arbeid van België/Parti du Travail de Belgique (Workers' Party of Belgium, PVDA/PTB)*** is a Marxist party, founded in 1979. The party is the only Belgian party in parliament (other parties in Belgium are either Flemish or Wallonian). The PVDA/PTB was a rather small party until the mid-2010s. From then onwards, the party increased its popularity, in particular in Wallonia. The PVDA/PTB is far left because of its adoption of radical Marxist principles, and also moderately Eurosceptic. Although the party does incorporate some populist elements in its rhetoric, overall it does not have a populist conception of politics. As such we have not classified this party as populist or borderline populist.

Parties not/no longer represented in parliament:

The ***Front National (National Front, FN)***, the Walloon namesake of the French Front National, was founded in 1985 and propagated a strong unitary Belgian nationalism. The party borrowed many ideas of Jean-Marie Le Pen's party with the same name in France. Between 1995 and 2007, the party received about 2% of the vote. After 2010, the party disappeared from the Chamber of Representatives. In 2012 the party changed its name to *Démocratie Nationale* (National Democratie, DN).

The populist ***Lijst Dedecker (List Dedecker, LDD)*** entered the political stage with 4% of the vote in 2007. This was a neoliberal party, highly critical of the established political order and the EU. The subsequent elections in 2010 led to a big electoral loss of 4 out of 5 seats. The party has not been represented in parliament since 2014.

The populist and far-right ***Parti Populaire (People's Party, PP)***, founded by Rudy Aernoudt and Mischaël Modrikamen, was active between 2009-2019. This party never received more than 1.5% of the vote, but it did obtain a parliamentary seat in 2010 and 2014. The party does no longer exist.