Class 1: The Far Right in Europe and Beyond

Introduction to Course

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Course Introduction
- Course assessments
- Course practicalities
- Onto our topic: concept formation and conceptualising the far right

Course Introduction

- What is 'far right'?

- Course structure

- Learning aims

- What the course is not…

First task...

Read the syllabus!

- We have a shiny new (developing) website for the course

  - https://michaelzeller.de/course-fr/

- Before our next meeting, your task is to peruse the website

  - especially the Syllabus, Schedule, and Report example pages.
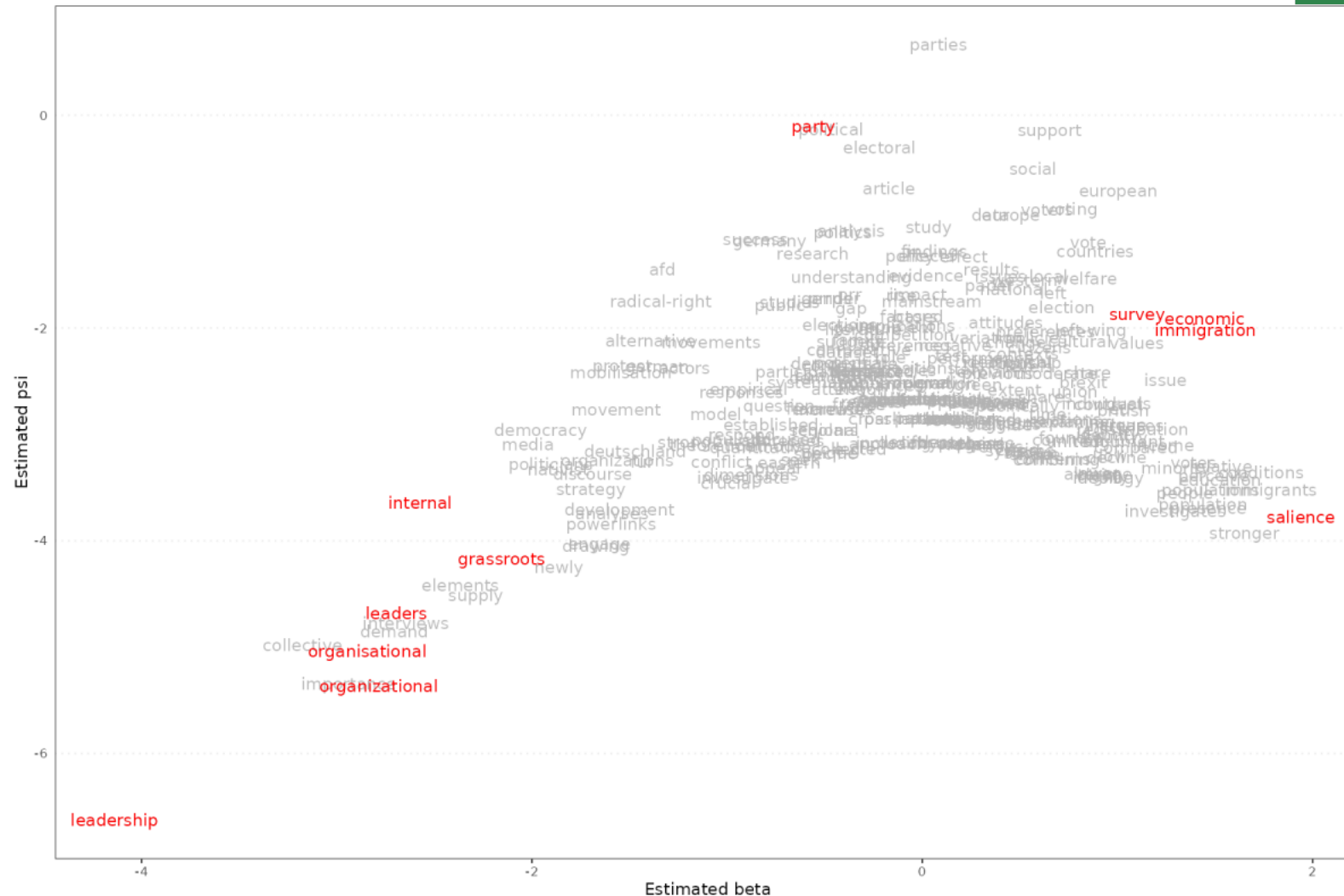
Defining 'far right'

- Broadly: a **noun** or **adjective** referring to phenomena that reject (at least elements of) *liberalism* and/or *democracy*, and is characterised by nationalism, exclusionism, xenophobia, strong state, welfare chauvinism, traditional ethics, authoritarianism, and/or populism

- Radical right (populist and non-populist cases): opposition to fundamental values of liberal democracy (radical) and belief in a natural order with inequalities (right)

- Extreme right: rejection of democracy (Ignazi's 'antisystem'—but that depends on the system)

- far right encompasses both these terms

Publications on radical right (from Arzheimer)

The Far Right Bibliography: the second pandemic (aka spring 2021) update 10
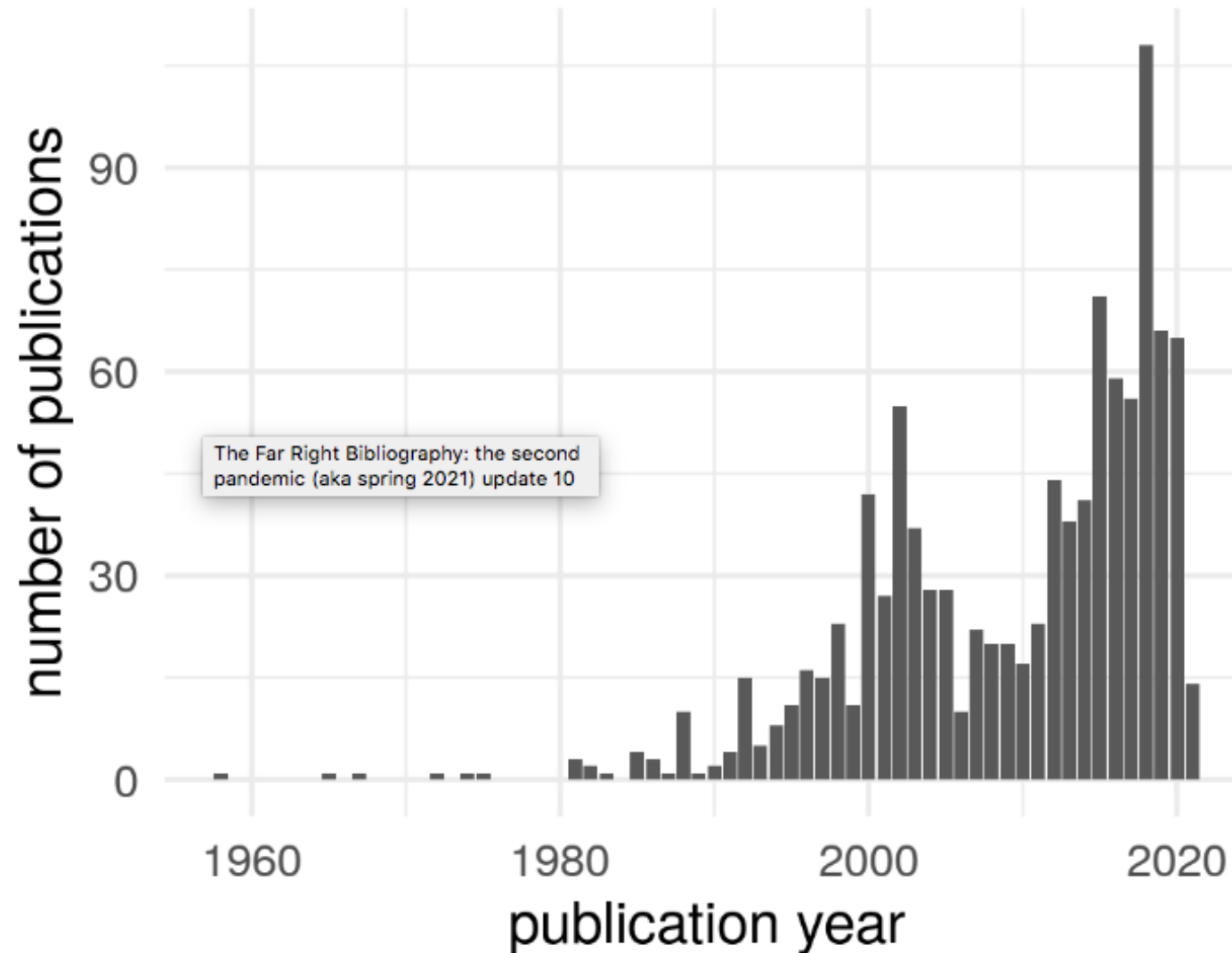
From Arzheimer's bibliography: https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/tag/bibliography/

Idea of the research field (Arzheimer, 2022)

Wordfish from Arzheimer's bibliography: Y-axis - how likely the appearance of a word is in research on far right; x-axis - strength of association of a word with underlying dimension

Structure of the course

- PART I - What is 'far right'?
    - Concepts
    - Far-right ideology: from transnational traits to local idiosyncrasies
- PART II - Far-right parties
    - Radical and extreme
    - Representatives
    - Voters
    - Responses and counter-strategies

- PART III - Far-right movements
    - Movement-parties
    - Mobilisation and movements
    - Counter-mobilisation
    - Demobilisation
- PART IV - Individuals in far right
    - Radicalisation
    - Violence
    - Online
- PART V - Studying the far right
    - Methods, ethics, and safety

Initial class poll

Take the survey at

https://forms.gle/epUVVCkebH3sQcW76

Holidays

Several holidays overlap with our class meetings:

- 1 May (Class 2)
- 29 May (Class 6)
- 19 June (Class 9)

FOR NOW, no make-up classes are planned…

- requires attentive reading and preparation so we can cover the material in the surrounding classes
- possibly adding short recorded lectures…

Aims

- knowledge about past and contemporary far-right political and social activity

- familiarity with breadth of research literature covering the far right

- Capacity to…

  - assess developments in far-right socio-politics, especially by identifying underlying factors and comparing across contexts

  - critically evaluate research on the far right, especially by evaluating the data and methods used

  - gather, assess, and present data about far-right socio-politics

What the course is not...

- not for activism against the far right
    - it's a seminar, like many others, with real-world implications

- not for airing grievances about far right and caricaturing far-right supporters
    - good research on the far right takes seriously its ideology, organisations, and supporters—and tries to divorce analysis from normative commitments
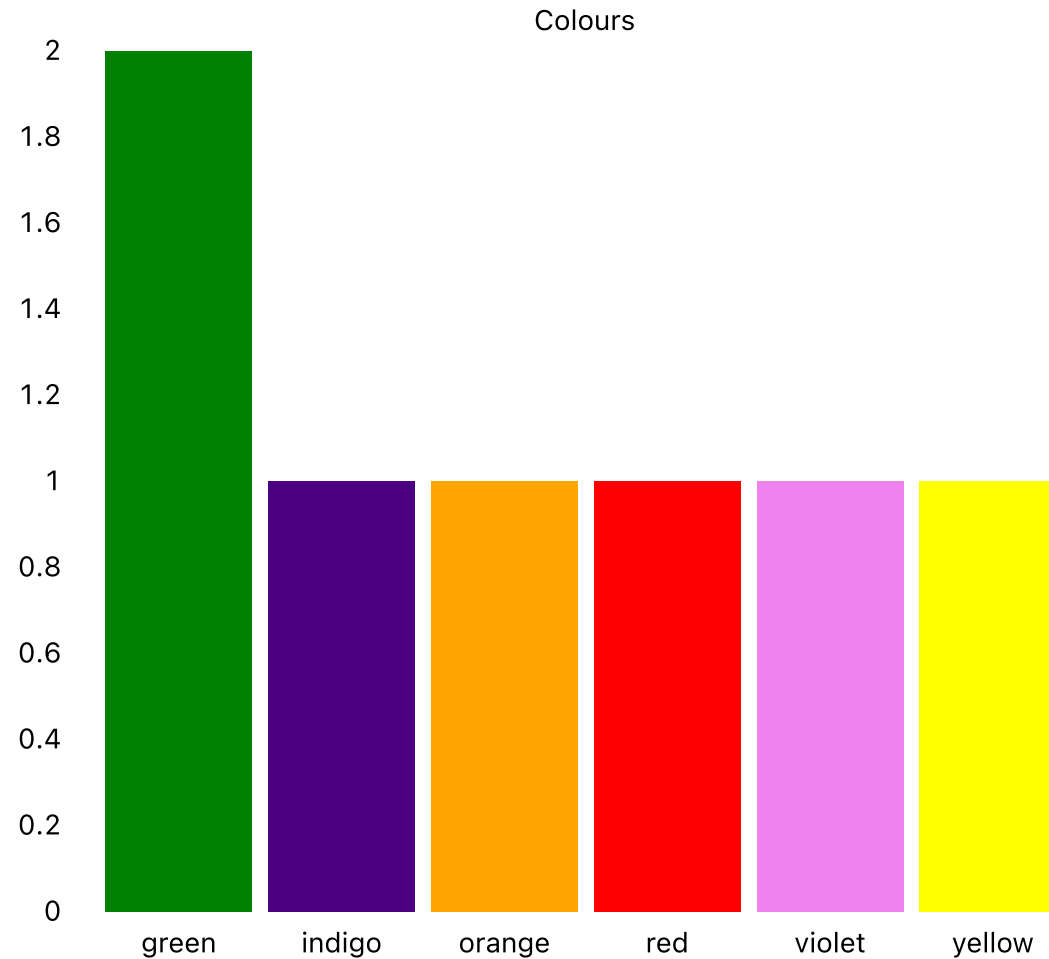
Connection to Vorlesung

This seminar is connected to **Prof. Dr. Berthold Rittberger**'s lecture *(Vorlesungsübung: The Political System of the European Union)*

- is everyone enrolled in that?

- we will tie in Prof. Rittberger's content through class discussions
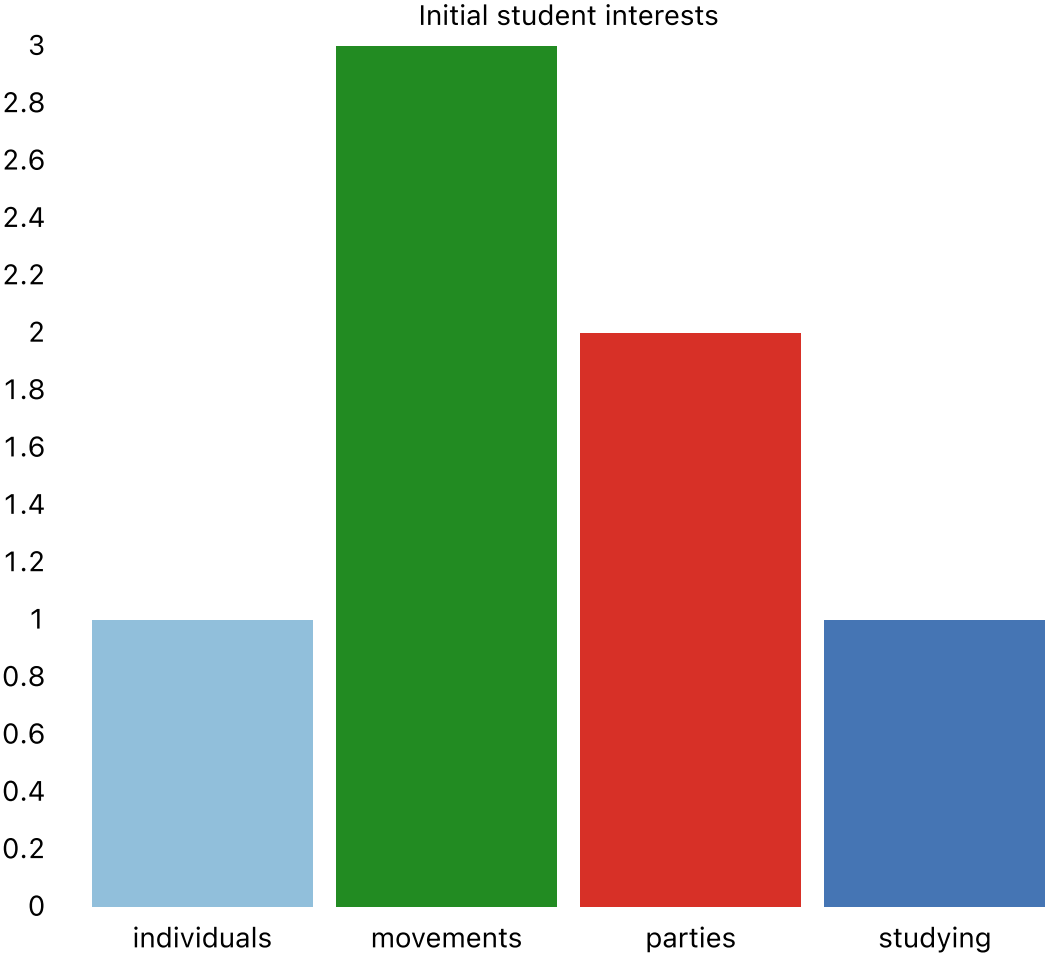
Initial class poll

Course assessments

- Participation

- Presentation

- Essay (Data report)

Course assessment

	BA main	BA minor (60)	BA minor (30)	Pedagogy	Exchange
Participation	X	X	X	X	X
Presentation	X	X	X (or Exercise)	X (or Exercise)	X
Essay	X	X			X
Exercise			X (or Presentation)	X (or Presentation)	
Klausur				X	

Participation

- do the readings and discuss in class

- make note of any questions or comments you have as you go through the readings

- most of the readings are research journal articles

  - more in-depth than book chapters—requires greater concentration

  - consider complementing with a general reader (examples listed at of Syllabus)

Presentation (*Referat*)

- short (max. 20 mins.) group presentation on a method

- groups, topics, and preferred date due to me by Week 4 (15 May)
    - but there are advantages to booking early…

Essay (*Hausarbeit*): Data report

- data report on a far-right phenomenon (e.g., voters, a party, protests, violence)

- gather and present data, generate analytical insights

- 2500-3500 words (excluding citations)

- 28 June: short synopsis due. 16 August: full, final report due.

- consider working with data visualisation and analysis software!

- A couple rules apply:

  1. **no national-level election data** (if you want to study a party/parties, consider EU-level or regional-level or local-level);

  2. **no drawing any data from or citing Statista or other data curation services**.

Course assessment summary

	BA main	BA minor (60)	BA minor (30)	Pedagogy	Exchange
Participation	X	X	X	X	X
Presentation	X	X	X (or Exercise)	X (or Exercise)	X
Essay	X	X			X
Exercise			X (or Presentation)	X (or Presentation)	
Klausur				X	

For the essay and writing in general...

Table III.   A semiotic checklist

1. This is what I am focusing on
2. This is why it is relevant
3. This is what is known/not known (and why it needs attention)
4. This is my burning question
5. This is how I aim to address the question (theoretically/empirically)
6. This is what I did
7. This is what I found
8. This is what it means
9. This is what I add
10. This is why you should care

Patriotta, G. (2017). Crafting papers for publication: Novelty and convention in academic writing. *Journal of Management Studies, 54*(5), 747-759.

Course practicalities

- Typical class meeting

- Office hours and communication

- e-learning site

- resources

- about me

- Q & A

- student introductions

Typical class meeting

- Opening question(s)/discussion point(s)
  - e.g., theoretical dilemma, typology forming, item from the news
- Summarising lecture on theory/findings related to week's topic
  - discussion points
- Discussing the reading(s)
  - highlighting important points (esp. theory and research design)
    - *students who read will find discussion more illuminating*
- Presentation of further research relevant to week's topic
- Summative discussion: takeaways, new ideas, lingering questions

Throughout, we will use *cases* to link *theory* to *real-world events*

Office hours and communication

- best to send an email

  - michael.zeller@gsi.uni-muenchen.de

  - m.zeller@lmu.de

- 11.00 - 12.00 on Wednesdays at GSI (Oettingenstr. 67) - Room H105

- or by appointment

Moodle

- Self-enrol: The Far Right in Europe and Beyond

    - access key: "FRpol"

- All course readings are available

Resources

Kai Arzheimer's website: https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/ and Twitter: @ kai_arzheimer

- Extreme Right Bibliography: https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/extreme-right-western-europe-bibliography/

Cas Mudde's podcast, *Radikaal*: https://www.radikaalpodcast.com/ and his Twitter: @ CasMudde

C-REX: https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/

- *Knowing what's (far) right: A compendium*: https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/groups/compendium/c-rex-compendium-print-version.pdf

Resources

ECPR Extremism & Democracy website:
https://standinggroups.ecpr.eu/extremismanddemocracy/

- *e-Extreme* newsletter:
  https://standinggroups.ecpr.eu/extremismanddemocracy/newsletter/
- Routledge book series: *Extremism and Democracy* and *Fascism and the Far Right*

Anti-Defamation League: https://www.adl.org/

and much, much more

About me

- tell me if you have problems understanding me

  - there's an accent at work that I tragically cannot shake off

- Ph.D. in political science from Central European University (CEU)

  - specialisation in qualitative methods (incl. QCA, [Bayesian] process tracing), but also quant. text analysis, network analysis

- researcher in funded projects on ...

  - violent/banned far-right groups and online content moderation

  - radicalisation, violent extremism, polarisation, and resilience

- current work: militant democracy; far-right activist networks; political violence (in 1970s Northern Ireland; in contemporary Italy); paths to female leadership in Asia; protest and polarisation

About the course

- Q & A

About you! Student introductions

- Information about you, possibly including…

    - Expectations for this course

    - favourite joke

    - Study programme

    - favourite song

    - Country (place) of origin

    - top source for news

    - Background in education/research

    - secret skill

    - Academic/professional aspirations

Onto our topic: concept formation and conceptualising the far right

- fundamentals of social science concepts

- Mudde's approach for the far right

Concept formation

- **concepts** are the building blocks of social science research
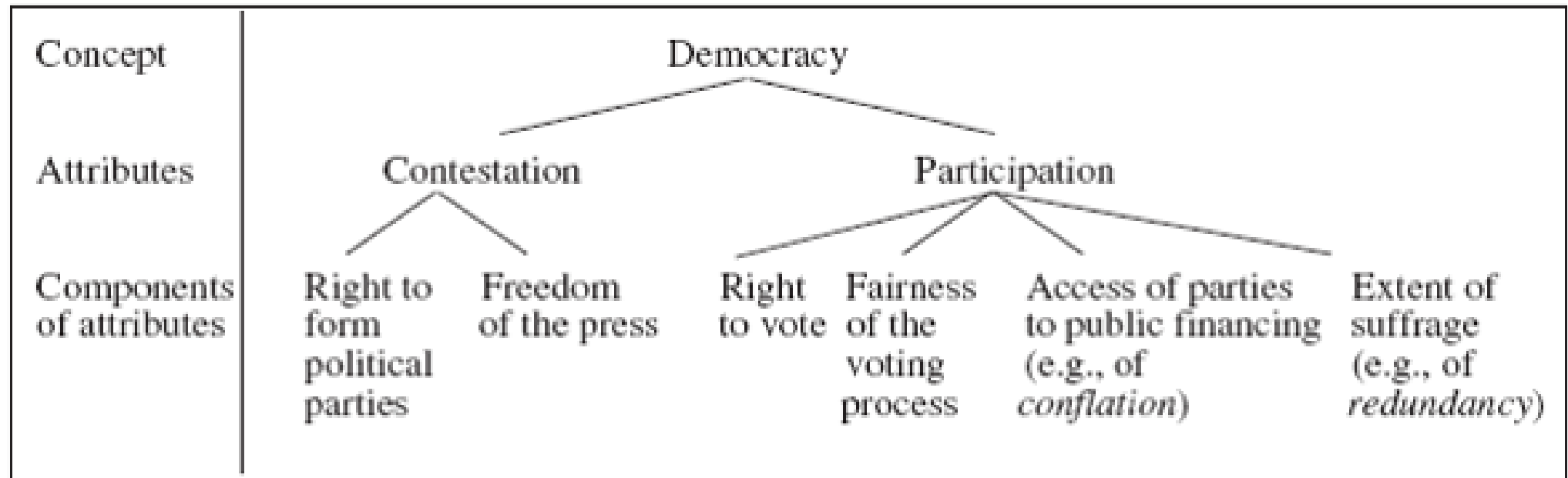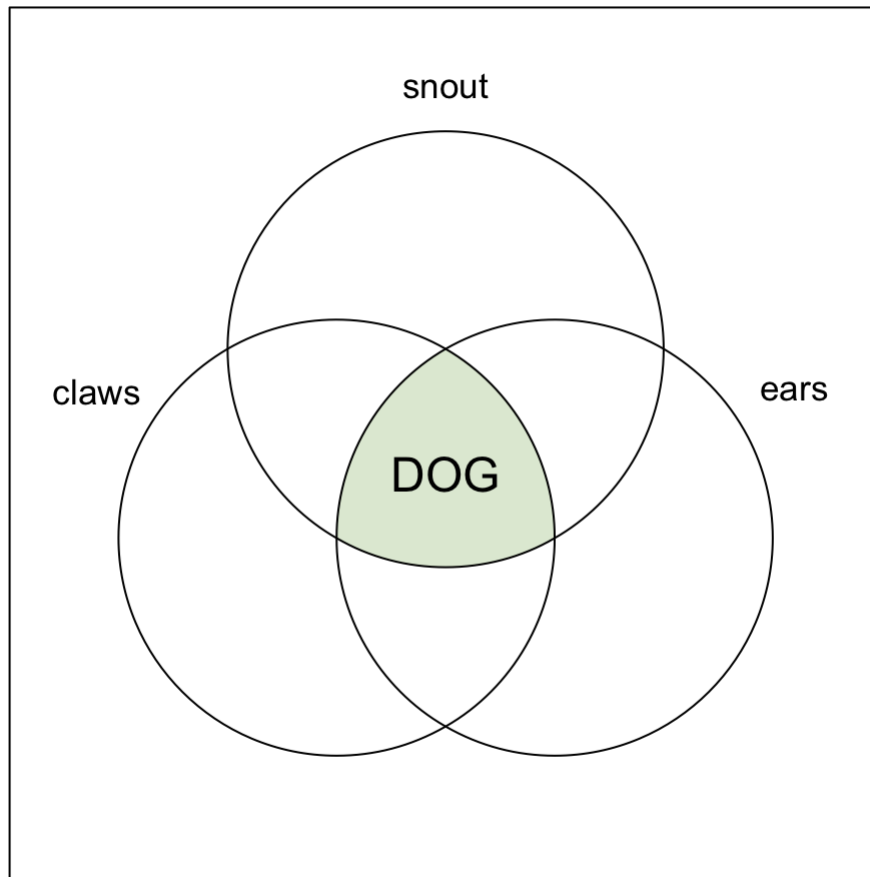 - a term denoting an abstract idea

Figure 1. The logical structure of concepts.

Concept formation

- identifying bounds of concepts

  - See Sartori (1970)

- broadly, three types of concepts in social science

1. classical: **all** criteria are shared by **all** cases

2. radial: **some** criteria are shared by **all** cases; others are not

3. family resemblance: **No** criterion is shared by **all** cases

Visualising classical/radial concepts

Classical concept (all criteria)   Radial concept (all share 'female')
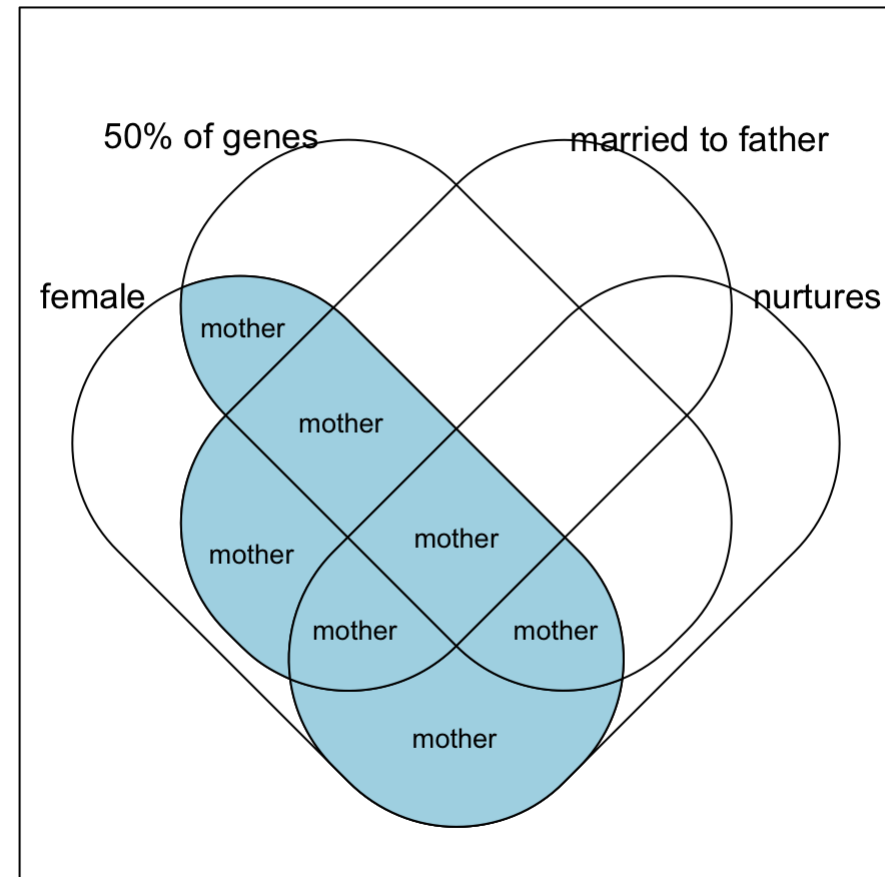
and family resemblance: no characteristics shared by all (e.g., games)

Classical vs. radial (Collier and Mahon 1993)

FIGURE 4

Differentiation of Classical and Radial Categories

Classical Category: Dog

	Category	Components					
Primary Category	Dog	A	B	C			
Secondary Categories	Retriever	A	B	C	D		
	Sheepdog	A	B	C		E	
	Spaniel	A	B	C			F

Note: Differentiating characteristics of secondary categories are *in addition to* those of the primary category.

A, B, and C = Hypothetical set of general attributes of dogs
D, E, and F = Hypothetical attributes that differentiate specific types of dogs

Radial Category: Mother

	Category	Components				
Primary Category	Mother	A	B	C	D	E
Secondary Categories	Genetic mother	A	B			
	Birth mother	A		C		
	Nurturing mother	A			D	
	Stepmother	A				E

Note: Differentiating characteristics of secondary categories are *contained within* the primary category.

A = Female
B = Provides 50% of genetic makeup
C = Gives birth to child
D = Provides nurturance
E = Married to father

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Options (according to Mudde)

1. family resemblance

2. Weber's ideal type

3. *Primus inter pares* ('first among equals'): one example that sets the model for all others

4. lowest common denominator: group on the basis of the (few) features that all individual members have in common. This would lead to a so-called "minimum definition" (cf. Eatwell 1996)

5. greatest common denominator: a "maximum definition," maximise possible number of similarities within (part of) the family

Ideological components

- nationalism

- exclusionism

- xenophobia

- strong state

- welfare chauvinism

- traditional ethics

↓

- **nativism**

- **authoritarianism**

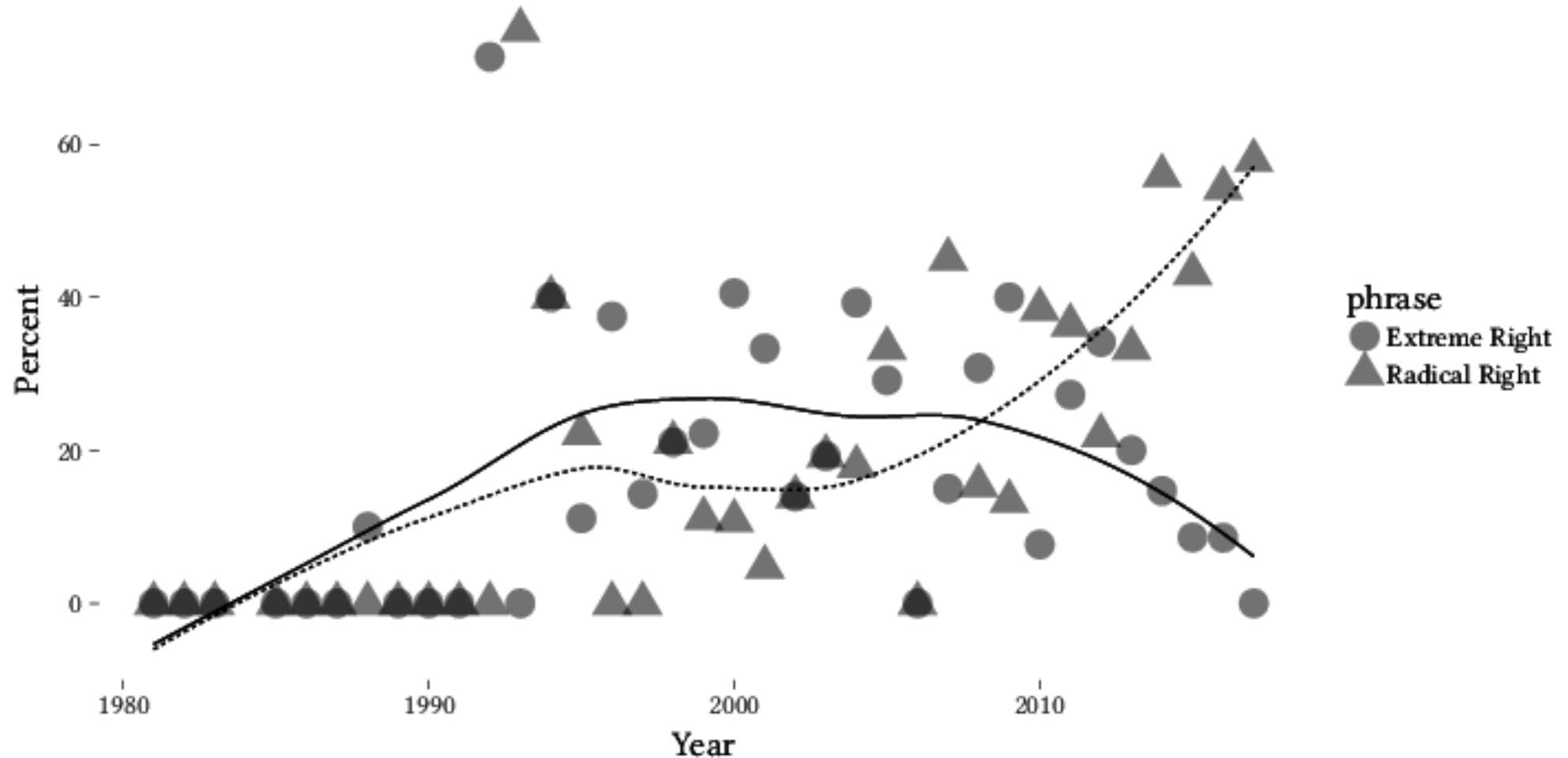- **populism**

Radical and extreme

Again...

Radical right (populist and non-populist cases): opposition to fundamental values of liberal democracy (radical) and belief in a natural order with inequalities (right)

Extreme right: rejection of democracy (Ignazi's 'antisystem'—but that depends on the system)

far right encompasses both these terms

Radical and extreme

From: Arzheimer, Kai. "Conceptual Confusion is not Always a Bad Thing: The Curious Case of European Radical Right Studies." Demokratie und Entscheidung. Eds. Marker, Karl, Michael Roseneck, Annette Schmitt, and Jürgen Sirsch. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018. 23-40.

Examples?

What cases are you familiar with?

How should we categorise them and why?

Examples - talking through (party) cases

Radical	Extreme
AfD	Der Flügel?
FPÖ	NPD
UKIP?	British National Party
RN/Front National	Britain First
PiS/United Right	Casa Pound
Fidesz	Mi Hazánk Mozgalom
FdI, Lega, Forza Italia?	Golden Dawn
Partij voor de Vrijheid	

even trickier with movements?

Points to be aware of?

- concept formation

- measurement

- methods

- descriptive vs. causal inference

- generalisation

References

Collier, David, and James E. Mahon. 1993. "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87 (4): 845–55. https://doi.org/10.2307/2938818.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 64 (4): 1033–53.