

Class 1: The Far Right in Europe and Beyond

Introduction to Course

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

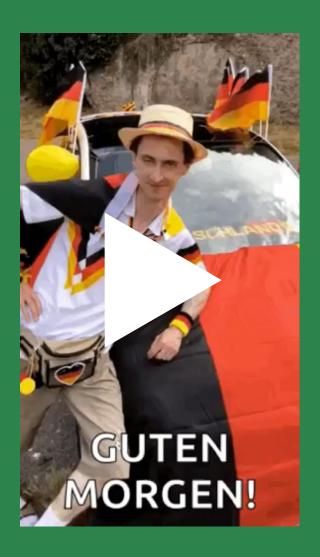
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- Course Introduction
- Course assessments
- Course practicalities
- Presentation groups
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Course Introduction



- What is 'far right'?
- Course structure
- Learning aims
- What the course is
- 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.

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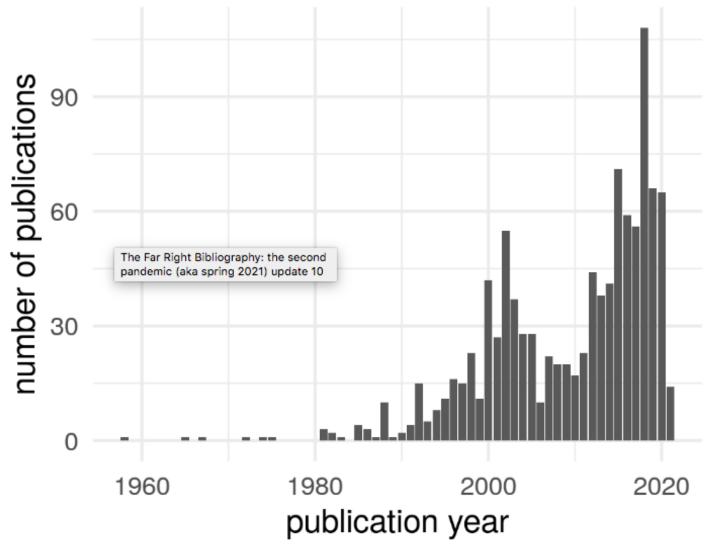
Defining 'far right'



- 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)

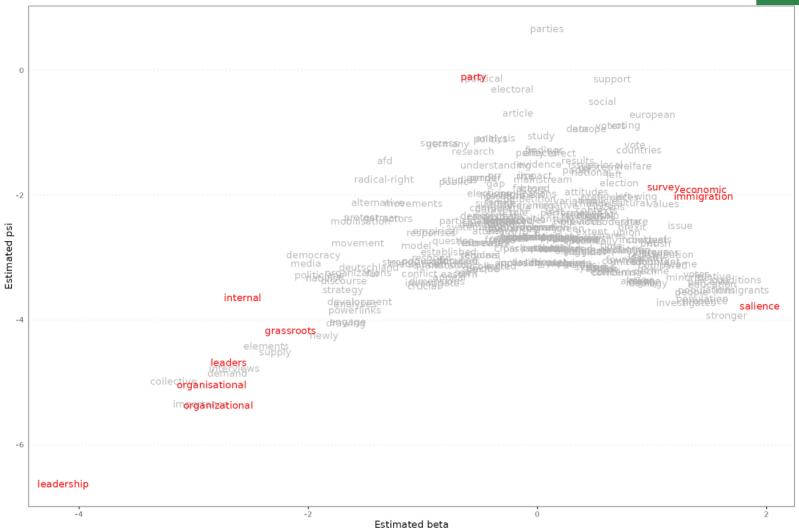




From Arzheimer's bibliography: https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/tag/bibliography/

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 counterstrategies

- 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





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



- A seminar—a big one, but still a seminar
 - very important to read for informed discussion
 - answer specific questions, clarify concepts
 - evaluate research, connect to related empirical material
 - losing my hearing + big room + quiet speaker = ⊗
 - so please speak up
 - lengthier discussions → may not cover all slides
 - I will learn your names—but I need your help: participate in discussions
- If you have a comment related to the discussion, say it! It's much better than telling me after class

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

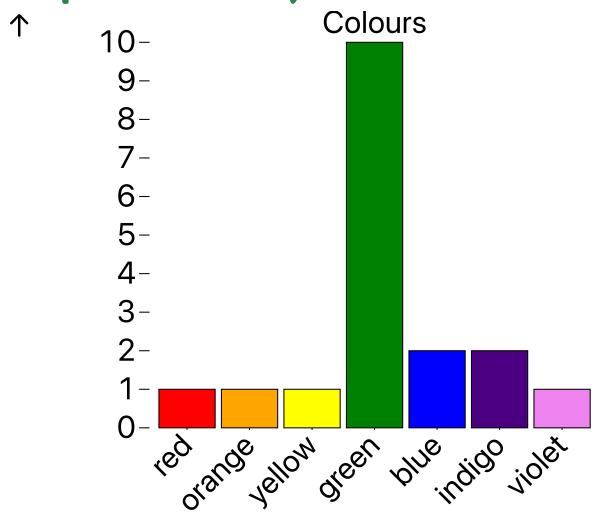


This seminar is connected to **Prof. Dr. Berthold Rittberger**'s lecture (Vorlesungsübung: The Political System of the European Union)

- is everyone enrolled in that?
- we will tie in Prof. Rittberger's content through class discussions

Poll results (Respondents: 18)

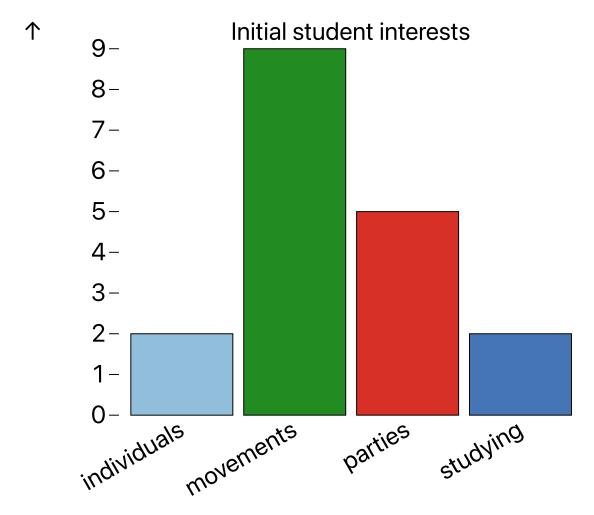














Course assessments

- Participation
- Presentation
- Essay (Data report)

Course assessment



	BA main	BA minor (60)	BA minor (30)	Pedagogy	Exchange
Participation	X	Х	X	X	X
Presentation	X	X	X (or Exercise)	X (or Exercise)	X
Essay	X	X			X
Exercise			X (or	X (or	
			Presentation)	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 in Syllabus)

Presentation (Referat)



- short (max. 20 mins.) group (3-4 people) presentation on a method
- groups and date today, topics due to me by Week 4 (15 May)
 - but there are advantages to booking early...

Essay (*Hausarbeit*): Data report



Course assessment summary



Overview	Overview Participation Presentation Data report						
	BA main	BA minor (60)	BA minor (30)	Pedagogy	Exchange		
Participation	n X	X	X	X	X		
Presentation	n X	Х	X (or Exercise)	X (or Exercise)	X		
Essay	Х	Х			X		
Exercise			X (or Presentation)	X (or Presentation)			
Klausur				X			

For the essay and writing in general...



Crafting Papers for Publication

757

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
- Short video relevant to topic
- Discussing the reading(s)
 - highlighting important points (esp. theory and research design)
- 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
- But better to look at the new, shiny, developing, purpose-built website:: https://michaelzeller.de/course-fr/

Resources



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

Twitter: @ kai_arzheimer

 Extreme Right Bibliography: https://www.kaiarzheimer.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



Presentation groups

If presenting required for your course of study, form groups of 3-4.
Tell me your group and top 3 preferred dates:

https://forms.gle/6oRRsp9gaeNtGTSv6



Concept formation



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

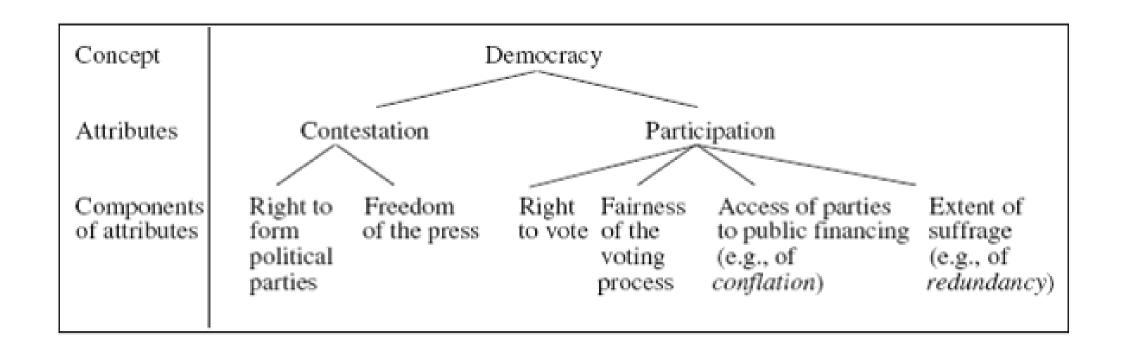


Figure 1. The logical structure of concepts.

Concept formation

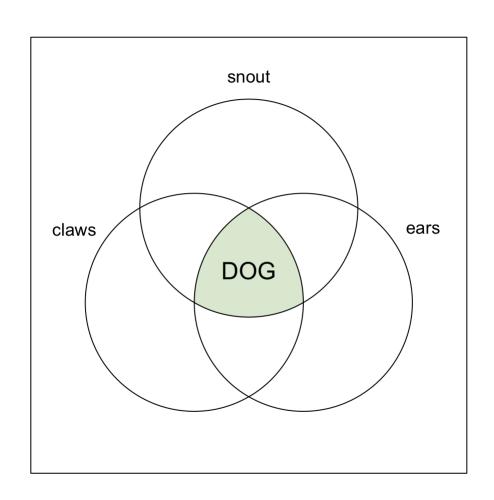


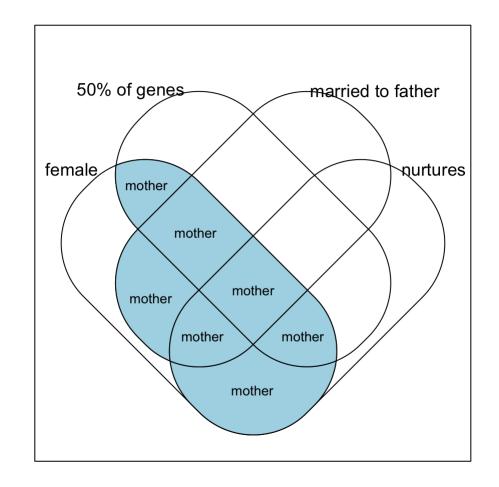
- identifying bounds of concepts
 - See Sartori (1970)
- broadly, three types of concepts in social science
- 1. classical: all criteria are shared by all cases
- 2. radial: some criteria are shared by all cases; others are not
- 3. family resemblance: No criterion is shared by all cases

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	Cor	npone		
Primary Category	Dog	A	₿	c	
					• • • • • • • • • •
Secondary Categories	Retriever	A	В	С	: D :
	Sheepdog	A	В	С	E :
	Spaniel	A	В	С	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 Mother	Components					
Primary Category		A	В	С	D	Ę	
Secondary Categories	Genetic mother	A	. в	•••	•••	• • •	
	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

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 (maximum definition)



nationalism

 \longrightarrow

nativism

exclusionism

- simplifies
- authoritarianism

xenophobia

populism

• strong state

to

welfare chauvinism

 \longrightarrow

traditional ethics

I will unpack these terms in next week's slides

Radical and extreme



Again...

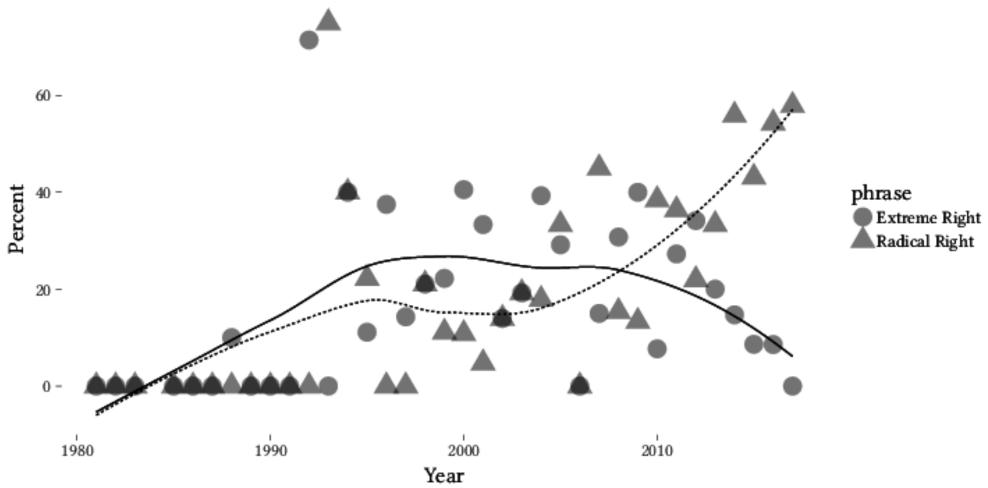
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Extreme right: rejection of democracy (Ignazi's 'antisystem'—but that depends on the system)

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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?

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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?

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- concept formation
- measurement
- methods
- descriptive vs. causal inference
- generalisation



Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58

Alternatively, send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

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.