

The Far Right in Europe and Beyond

Class 1: Course introduction and concepts

Michael C. Zeller
(LMU München)

18 April 2024

TODAY:

1 Course introduction

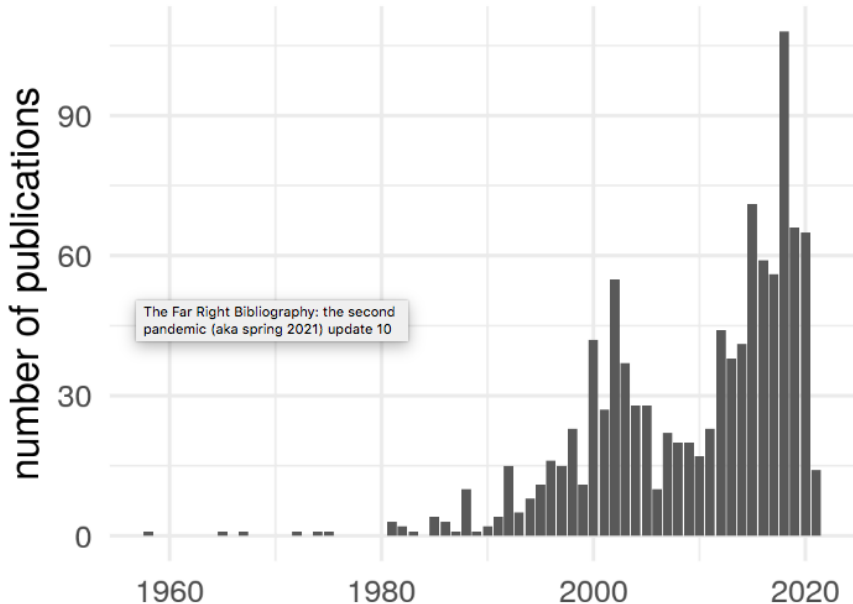
2 Onto our topic: concept formation and conceptualising the far right

Section 1

Course introduction

- What is 'far right'?
- Course structure
 - no class on 9 May and 30 May (holidays), topics covered in prior and subsequent sessions
 - any assignment submission requirements remain the same
- Learning aims
- Course assessments
- Office hours and communication
- e-learning site
- Q & A
- student introductions

- 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



The Far Right Bibliography: the second pandemic (aka spring 2021) update 10

PART I - What is 'far right'?

- Concepts
- Far-right ideology: from transnational traits to local idiosyncracies

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 - Radicalisation, violence, online activity

- Radicalisation
- Violence
- Online

PART V - Studying far right

- Methods, ethics, and safety

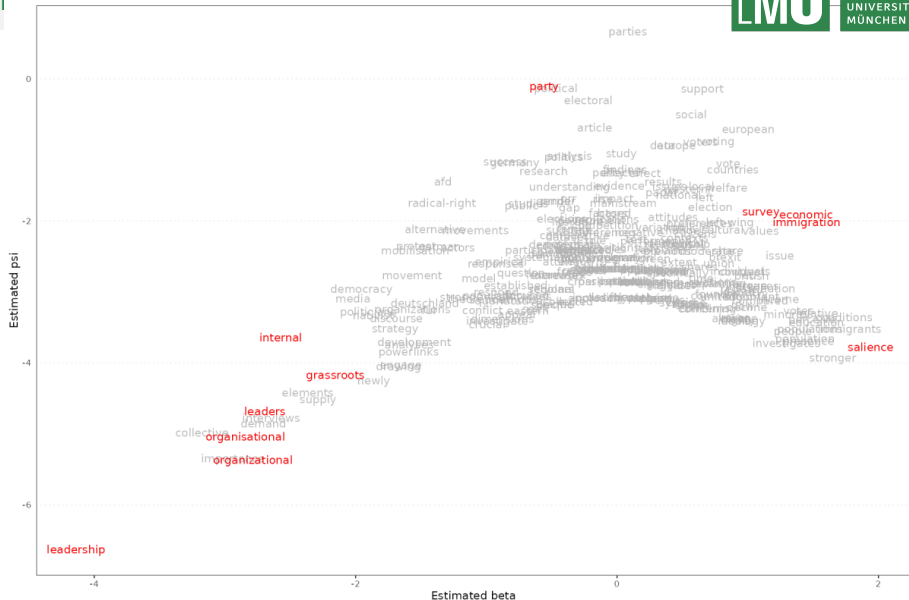


Figure 2: Wordfish from Arzheimer's bibliography: Y-axis - how likely the

- 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

- neither training in nor forum for activism against the far right
 - it's a seminar, like many others, with real-world implications
- not a place for airing grievances about the far right and caricaturing its supporters
 - good research on the far right takes seriously its ideology, organisations, and supporters—and tries to divorce analysis from normative commitments
- dogmatic positions about far-right activity
 - we will respectfully debate—and likely disagree at several points—about what qualifies as far right, how it should be researched and understood, and what to do with the fruits of research

This seminar is connected to **Prof. Dr. Berthold Rittberger's** lecture
(15026 Vorlesungsübung: *The Political System of the European Union*)

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

| | 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
- **Presentation** (*Referat*)
 - short (max. 20 mins.) group presentation introducing EU politics area, present a piece of research on the far right in this area of EU politics
 - groups, topics, and presentation date due to me by **16 May**—but there are advantages to booking early...
- **Essay**
 - report on a far-right phenomenon (e.g., voters, a party, protests, violence)
 - gather and present data, generate analytical insights
 - 3000-4000 words (excluding citations)
 - **14 June**: draft dataframe due. **5 July**: short synopsis due. **16 August**: full, final report due.
 - consider working with data visualisation and analysis software!

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| 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 | |

● Exercise

- memo on an assigned far-right actor (e.g., a party, movement, or organisation)
- basic description and any important context, gather and present relevant data (e.g., a memo on a party might present their election results in the last five national elections; on a movement, a string of protest events), importance of this data and far-right actor
- topic assigned right after class on **4 July** — due on **10 July**
- 1000-2000 words
- I will offer suggestions about useful sources for your assigned topic

● Klausur

- 90-minutes exam in essay form, by arrangement

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
-
-

Figure 3: Patriotta, G. (2017). Crafting papers for publication: Novelty and convention in academic writing. *Journal of Management Studies*, 54(5), 747-759.

It is feasible that final papers could provide a start for a research publication. For those interested in research careers, this should be kept in mind.

- Opening question(s)/discussion point(s)
 - e.g., theoretical dilemma, typology forming, item from the news
- Short summarising lecture on theory/findings related to week's topic
- Discussion point
- Discussing the reading(s)
 - highlighting important points (especially theory and research design)
 - *students who do the reading will find this discussion most illuminating*
- Presentation of further research relevant to week's topic
 - *another reason to attend class: this further research might help you on your assignments*
- Summative discussion: takeaways, new ideas, lingering questions

Throughout, we will use *cases* (especially the cases you are familiar with) to link *theory* to *real-world events*.

- 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

- Self-enrol: 15030 The Far Right in Europe and Beyond
 - access key: “FR2024”
- All course readings are available
- The **syllabus** is there – the mystical, magical source of all knowledge about the course

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>

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

- 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)
 - focus on comparative politics
 - specialisation in qualitative methods (incl. qualitative comparative analysis [QCA], [Bayesian] process tracing)
 - dissertation on the demobilisation of far-right social movement campaigns
- researcher in funded projects on
 - bans of right-wing extremist organisations and related online content moderation
 - radicalisation, violent extremism, polarisation, and resilience
- specialisation in qualitative methods, but also with quantitative text analysis, network analysis, and some inferential statistical methods
- a slowly-developing website with some resources <https://michaelzeller.de/>
- current research work: protest and polarisation; militant democracy (in Germany) and organisational proscription; far-right movement leadership; contention around the Istanbul Convention

- Q & A

- Information about you
 - Study programme
 - Country (place) of origin
 - Background in education/research
 - Expectations for this course
 - Academic/professional aspirations?

Section 2

Onto our topic: concept formation and conceptualising
the far right

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

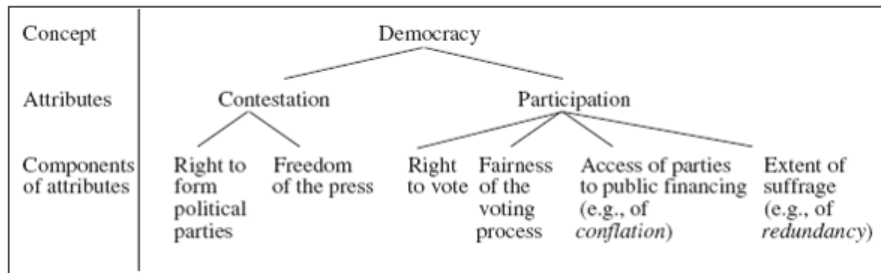


Figure 1. The logical structure of concepts.

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

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

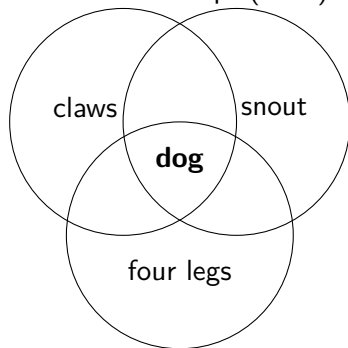
B = Provides 50% of genetic makeup

C = Gives birth to child

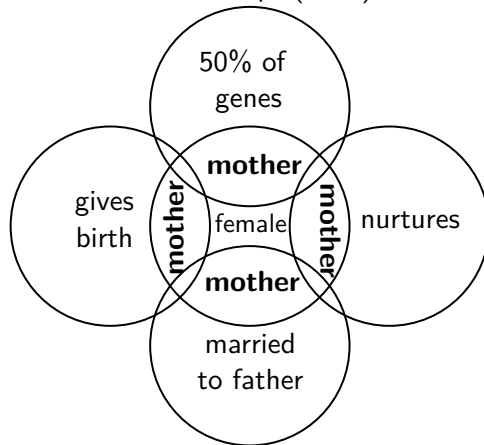
D = Provides nurturance

E = Married to father

Classical concept (**bold**)



Radial concept (**bold**)



and family resemblance, where no characteristics are shared all
other examples?

Options

- ① family resemblance
- ② Weber's ideal type
- ③ *Primus inter pares*
- ④ lowest common denominator
- ⑤ greatest common denominator

- nationalism
- exclusionism
- xenophobia
- strong state
- welfare chauvinism
- traditional ethics



- **nativism**
- **authoritarianism**
- **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)

And **far right** encompasses them both

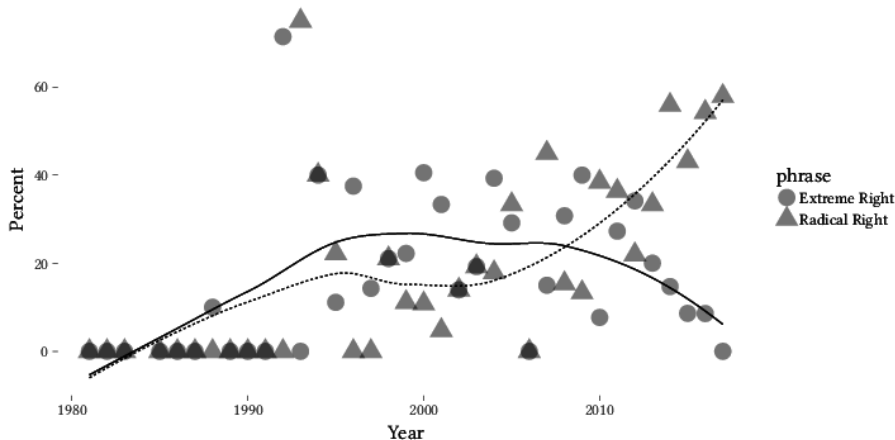


Figure 4: From: Arzheimer, Kai. “Conceptual Confusion is not Always a Bad Thing: The Curious Case of European Radical Right Studies.” *Demokratie und Entscheidung*. Eds. Marker, Karl, Michael Roseneck, Annette Schmitt, and Jürgen

What cases are you familiar with?

How should categorise them and why?

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

even trickier with movements?

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

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.