

# Introduction

## The Extreme Right in Western Europe

Introduction  
Central Concepts  
Conclusion

### Introduction

Seminar Outline

Formal Requirements

### Central Concepts

Who?

What?

### Conclusion



Slides: [http://www.kai-arzheimer.com/  
The-Extreme-Right-in-Western-Europe/](http://www.kai-arzheimer.com/The-Extreme-Right-in-Western-Europe/)

## Introduction

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15. 04.	Introduction and central concepts	Mudde (2007, ch 1 & 2)
22. 04.	The Extreme Right before 1980	Blinkhorn (2000, pp. 8-88), Prowe (1994)
29. 04.	The supply side	Rydgren (2005), Lange (2007)

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## Countries I

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06. 05.	France/Belgium	Hainsworth (2000), Mayer (2003), Swyngedouw and Ivaldi (2001), Erk (2005)
20. 05.	Italy/Austria	Gallagher (2000), Ruzza and Fella (2009, ch.2), Luther (2000), Luther (2009)
27. 05.	Scandinavia/Germany	Widfeldt (2000), Bjørklund and Andersen (2002), <a href="http://www.politik.uni-mainz.de/ereps/download/germany_overview.pdf">www.politik.uni-mainz.de/ereps/download/germany_overview.pdf</a> , Sommer (2008)

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## Countries II

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10. 06.	Netherlands, Great Britain, Ireland	Mudde and Holsteyn (2000), Holsteyn, Irwin and Ridder (2003), Eatwell (2004), Ford and Goodwin (2010), Garner (2007)
17. 06.	Spain, Portugal, Greece, Switzerland	Davis (1998), Ignazi (2003, pp. 187-196), Husbands (2000)

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## Explanations

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24. 06.	Ideology vs Protest	Brug and Fennema (2003), Brug, Fennema and Tillie (2005)
08. 07.	Immigrants	Rydgren (2008)
01. 07.	The Role of Religion	Arzheimer and Carter (2009)
15. 07.	Extreme Right Voting in Context	Arzheimer (2009)

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# Course Repository Systems

1. ReaderPlus for required readings:  
<https://www.zdv.uni-mainz.de/readerplus/>
  - ▶ Reader Number: 6996
  - ▶ registration code: osaful
2. Homepage for general information, slides, reading list etc.:  
<http://kai-arzheimer.com/>  
[The-Extreme-Right-in-Western-Europe/](http://kai-arzheimer.com/The-Extreme-Right-in-Western-Europe/)
3. Jogustine for administration and email:  
<https://jogustine.uni-mainz.de/>

# Requirements

- ▶ Regular attendance; you may miss not more than two classes
- ▶ *Active* participation ← you *must* do the assigned readings
- ▶ Otherwise: no credits
- ▶ **You Must Read!**

## “Modulabschlußprüfung” / “Schein”

- ▶ An essay ( 5 000–6 000 words)
  - ▶ Well structured
  - ▶ Properly referenced
  - ▶ Cleverly argued
- ▶ You will pick an essay title from the list that I will distribute
- ▶ More information: Course outline
- ▶ **Your essay is due on August 2, 2010**
- ▶ **There is just one deadline**
- ▶ Should you fall ill between July 1 and August 2,  
**you must provide a medical certificate**

## Which parties are we interested in?

- ▶ “Modern” (post 1980) parties
  - ▶ Some are older
  - ▶ But “third wave” began in the 1980s
  - ▶ + many new parties
- ▶ West European Parties
  - ▶ Comparison with Eastern Europe would be highly relevant/interesting
  - ▶ Cf Mudde (2007)
  - ▶ Time constraints + relatively solid knowledge on Western Europe
- ▶ The usual suspects: Freedom Parties (Austria, Norway, Denmark), Front National (Belgium, France), Vlaams Belang (Belgium), Lega Nord (Italy) ...
- ▶ *And their voters*

## What do they have in common?

- ▶ Became successful after 1980; support often very variable
- ▶ Not exactly respected by large parts of elites/citizenry
- ▶ Often dodgy – are they really democratic?
- ▶ Obsessed with immigrants/immigration
- ▶ Often labelled as “Extreme Right”
- ▶ But what is “Right”?

## What is Right (and what is Left?)?

- ▶ Multitude of political issues
- ▶ Many (not all) of them two-sided (and gradual)
  - ▶ Spatial representation
  - ▶ E. g. low levels of taxation vs. high(er) levels of taxation
- ▶ High-dimensional “Space” of political ideas and preferences (every issue a dimension)
- ▶ Issues usually grouped together → simplification, fewer (two or three) dimensions
- ▶ Most prominent dimension in European Politics: Left vs. right
- ▶ Employed by journalist, politicians, citizens, scientists

## What is Right (and what is Left?)? II

- ▶ Historic roots in French Revolution
- ▶ Two sub-dimensions
  - ▶ Social-moral: “progress” (left) vs. tradition/“roll-back” (right)
  - ▶ Economic: state control of economy (left) vs. free markets (right)
- ▶ Positions on sub-dimensions do not always coincide (CD parties, liberal parties)
- ▶ In postwar Europe, dominance of economic dimension until late 1960s
- ▶ “New” political conflicts → new party families
  - ▶ Green/left-liberal parties (from 1970s)
  - ▶ Extreme Right parties (from 1980)
- ▶ Postwar Extreme Right chiefly “right” in the social-moral sense – more on that soon

## What are party families?

- ▶ Degree of similarity between European party *systems*
- ▶ “Family resemblance” between e. g. German, Belgian and British labour/social-democratic parties → social-democratic party family
- ▶ Delineation of party families
  1. Name
  2. Ideology
  3. Membership in international federations; co-operation
  4. History and social base (cleavages)
- ▶ Extreme Right family – tricky

## Labels. . .

- ▶ How should we label the party family?
- ▶ Multitude of labels renders them next to useless: Extreme Right, Radical Right, Populist Right, New Populism, Anti-Immigrant Populism, Neo-Fascism, Nativism, Racism . . .
- ▶ Sub-groups within party family make things worse
- ▶ Extreme Right label arguably most popular in the literature
- ▶ Various strategies for defining the Extreme Right (Mudde, 2007, pp. 13-15)
  - ▶ Family resemblance, ideal types and prototypes
  - ▶ Minimal definition: finding things that all members have in common (lowest common denominator)
  - ▶ Maximum definition: largest number of similarities within (part of) the family

## Right-wing extremism vs. The Extreme Right

- ▶ Radicalism:
  - ▶ Being close to a pole of an ideological dimension
  - ▶ A relative category
- ▶ Extremism
  - ▶ The closing down of the marketplace of ideas, anti-pluralism (Lipset and Raab, 1971)
  - ▶ Any ideology that is opposed to the democratic rights of its adversaries
- ▶ In short, the opposite of liberal democracy, thereby an absolute category
- ▶ *Some Extreme Right parties are extremist, but not all (or the majority) of them*
- ▶ This is my reading, but others use other definitions
- ▶ This can be confusing, so we need to be somewhat clearer about definitions

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## Minimum Definition

- ▶ Features of all parties generally considered part of the family
- ▶ **“Nativism”** (Mudde, 2007, pp. 18-20)
  - ▶ States should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group; non-native elements (persons/ideas) threatening to the homogeneous nation-state
  - ▶ More specific than nationalism
  - ▶ Not necessarily racist (“equal but different”)
  - ▶ More general than anti-immigrant
- ▶ Family of ethnic parties
- ▶ Probably best attempt to capture what family members in Western *and* Eastern Europe have in common

## Maximum Definition

1. Nativism
  2. Authoritarianism (Mudde, 2007, pp. 22-23)
    - ▶ *Not* referring to non-democratic regimes
    - ▶ A psychological construct going back to Adorno et al. (1950)
    - ▶ The belief that “authorities should be trusted to a relatively large extent . . . they are owed obedience and respect” (Altemeyer, 1981, p. 151)
  3. Populism
    - ▶ A style
    - ▶ A (thin) ideology: “common sense”; “the corrupt elites” vs. the “pure people” – can clash with authoritarianism
- ▶ Applies to a large sub-group within the party family

## Mudde: “Populist Radical Right Parties”

- ▶ “Extreme Right” reserved for anti-democratic parties (Mudde, 2007, p. 24) – departure from his earlier work (e.g. Mudde, 1996)
- ▶ Radical Right: nativism + authoritarianism
- ▶ Populist Radical Right: + populism → maximum definition
- ▶ Interesting, relevant and influential work, but I rather stick with “Extreme Right”
- ▶ Or simply nativist parties?
- ▶ Mudde (1995): We know who they are, even if we do not know what they are . . .

## The Extreme Right, old and new

- ▶ Back in the 1980s, 3rd wave of electoral success (mis-)understood as revival of interwar Extreme Right (“return of the fuhrers”)
- ▶ Later, “old vs. “new” Extreme Right (subgroups, Ignazi and Ysmal)
- ▶ In fact, most (not all) contemporary Extreme Right groups different from interwar Right, because the environment has changed
- ▶ More on that next week

## Conclusion

- ▶ Emergence of a “new” party family in Western Europe during 1980s
- ▶ Core feature: nativism, opposed to immigration *from outside Western Europe*
- ▶ Heterogeneous party family with fluent borders and many labels
- ▶ Borderline cases and definitional chaos
- ▶ Permanent presence and policy impact in many countries
- ▶ Its rise can be explained by both demand and supply side factors

## For next week

- ▶ Mudde (2007, ch 1+2) to get a clearer idea of what this is all about
- ▶ Blinkhorn (2000) for a compact presentation of the Extreme Right between 1919-45
- ▶ Prowe (1994) for a relatively early comparison of old/new right-wing groups
- ▶ **Read, or you will be shot** (well, not literally)

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