Introduction

The Extreme/Radical/Populist Right in Western Europe
Introduction

Seminar Outline

Formal Requirements

Central Concepts

Who?

What?

Conclusion

Slides: http://www.kai-arzheimer.com/extreme-western-europe-seminar/
# Introduction, History & Concepts

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<tr>
<td>18. 04</td>
<td>Introduction and central concepts</td>
<td>Mudde (2007, ch 1)</td>
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<td>02. 05</td>
<td>The supply side: Authoritarianism, the Economy, and the EU</td>
<td>Lange (2007) and Vasilopoulos (2011), background:</td>
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<td>Rydgren, 2005</td>
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<td>09. 05</td>
<td>France/Belgium</td>
<td>FR: Mayer (2013), BE: Jamin (2012), background: Hainsworth, 2000</td>
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## Countries II

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## Explanations

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<td>27.06.</td>
<td>Ideology vs Protest</td>
<td>Brug (2003), Brug, Fennema and Tillie (2000)</td>
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Course Repository Systems

1. Reader for required readings:
   https://reader.uni-mainz.de/

2. Homepage for general information, slides, syllabus etc.:
   https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/
   extreme-western-europe-seminar/

3. Jogustine for administration and email:
   https://jogustine.uni-mainz.de/
Requirements

- Regular attendance; you may miss not more than two classes
- *Active* participation $\iff$ you *must* do the assigned readings
- Otherwise: no credits
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“Modulabschlußprüfung”

- An essay (6000 – 7000 words)
  - Well structured
  - Properly referenced
  - Cleverly argued
- More information: Course outline
The short version

WHAT DID WE COVER IN CLASS LAST WEEK?
IT'S IN THE SYLLABUS.

WHAT'S YOUR LATE HOMEWORK POLICY?
IT'S IN THE SYLLABUS.

WHEN ARE YOUR OFFICE HOURS?
IT'S IN THE SYLLABUS.

HOW WILL MY GRADE BE COMPUTED?
IT'S IN THE SYLLABUS.

IT'S IN THE SYLLABUS

This message brought to you by every instructor that ever lived.
www.phdcomics.com
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 (but lit on CEE growing quickly)

- The usual suspects: Freedom Parties (Austria, Norway, Denmark), Front National (Belgium, France), Vlaams Belang (Belgium), Lega Nord (Italy) . . .
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- 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”, also “Radical Right”, “Populist Right”, “New Right”, “Far Right”
- But what is “Right”?
What is Right (and what is Left?)?
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 / Radical Right Family / Populist 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 most popular in the literature for some time, now Radical Right
Present & Past use of terminology

- **Radicalism:**
  - Being close to a pole of an ideological dimension
  - A relative category

- **Extremism**
  - Anti-pluralism (Lipset and Raab, 1971)
  - Any ideology opposed to the democratic rights of its adversaries
  - The opposite of liberal democracy, thereby an absolute category

- *Older Terminology:* “Extreme Right” includes extremist parties, but not all (or the majority) of them

- Very confusing, we need clearer definition/terminology
Labels...

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- Sub-groups within party family make things worse
- Extreme Right most popular in the literature for some time, now Radical Right
- Various strategies for defining coherent group of parties (Mudde, 2007, pp. 13-15)
  - Minimal definition: finding things that all members have in common (lowest common denominator)
  - Maximum definition: largest number of similarities within (part of) the family
Minimum Definition

Features of all parties generally considered part of the family
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- “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
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- 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 (openly) anti-democratic parties (Mudde, 2007, p. 24) – departure from his earlier work (e.g. Mudde, 1996)
- Radical Right: nativism + authoritarianism
- Populist Radical Right: + populism $\rightarrow$ maximum definition
- Accept that there is enormous variation in the family (and within parties)
The Radical 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)
- In fact, most (not all) parties 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
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Class Question

▶ In teams of five students, pick one right-wing party you are reasonably familiar with and answer these questions

1. Are they nativist?
2. Are they extremist?
3. Are they populist?
4. Are they authoritarian?

▶ Designate one person to keep notes


References IX

