

Introduction

The Extreme/Radical/Populist Right in Western Europe

Introduction

Seminar Outline

Formal Requirements

Central Concepts

Who?

What?

Conclusion



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Introduction, History & Concepts

18. 04.	Introduction and central concepts	Mudde (2007, ch 1)
25. 04.	The Extreme Right before 1980	Blinkhorn (2000, pp. 8-88), Prowe (1994)
02. 05.	The supply side: Authoritarianism, the Economy, and the EU	Lange (2007) and Vasilopoulou (2011), background: Rydgren, 2005

Countries I

09. 05.	France/Belgium	FR: Mayer (2013), BE: Jamin (2012), background: Hainsworth, 2000
16. 05.	Italy/Austria	IT: Bulli and Tronconi (2012), AT: Aichholzer et al. (2014), background: Ruzza and Fella (2009, ch.2), Luther, 2000

Countries II

23. 05.	Scandinavia/Germany	Scandinavia: Demker (2012), DE: Arzheimer (2015), background: Sommer, 2008
06. 06.	Netherlands, Great Britain	NL: Bos and Brants (2014), GB: Ford and Goodwin (2014), background: Ford and Goodwin (2010) and Holsteyn and Irwin (2003)
13. 06.	Greece, Switzerland	GR: Ellinas (2013), CH: Skenderovic (2012), background: Ellinas, 2012

Explanations

27. 06.	Ideology vs Protest	Brug (2003), Brug, Fennema and Tillie (2000)
04. 07.	The Role of Religion	Arzheimer and Carter (2009) and Zúquete (2008)
11. 07.	Immigrants	Rydgren (2008)

Course Repository Systems

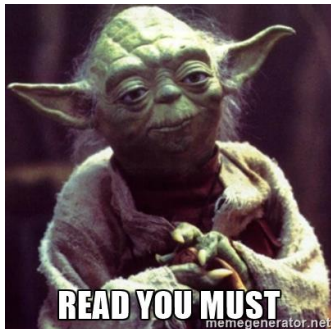
1. Reader for required readings:
<https://reader.uni-mainz.de/>
2. Homepage for general information, slides, syllabus etc.:
[https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/
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3. Jogustine for administration and email:
<https://jogustine.uni-mainz.de/>

Requirements

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

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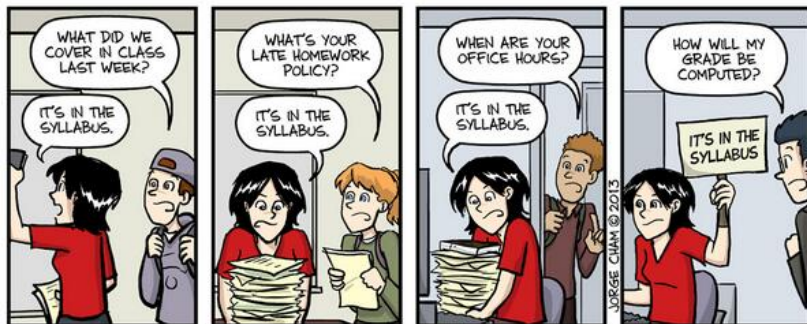
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“Modulabschlussprüfung”

- ▶ An essay (6 000 – 7 000 words)
 - ▶ Well structured
 - ▶ Properly referenced
 - ▶ Cleverly argued
- ▶ More information: Course outline

The short version



IT'S IN THE SYLLABUS

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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?)?

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- ▶ 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

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- ▶ 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

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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
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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 → 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
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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

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