

University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science  
*JRA401H1*

**Location and Meeting Time:** SS 2114, Mon 10-12

**Instructor:** Kai Arzheimer (kai.arzheimer@utoronto.ca),

Munk School of Global Affairs, Devonshire Place1, Room 219N

**Instructor office hours:** Thursday, 9:30-10:30, or by appointment

## 1 Course Description

Parties of the so-called “Radical Right” (related designations include the “Extreme”, “Far”, “Populist”, and “New” Right) are now a salient feature of most West European polities. In established liberal democracies such as Denmark and the Netherlands, these parties have provided crucial support for minority governments, and in Austria, Italy, and Norway, they even formally joined governing coalitions. At the same time, these parties are seen as somewhat dubious, if not dangerous by many observers, and their (relative) underperformance in the 2017 Dutch, French, and German elections was hailed as a victory for liberal democracy.

In this course, we will read some classic and many more recent texts to study the Radical Right in Western Europe in a comparative perspective. To this end, the first part of the course will introduce some core concepts, provide you with some historical background on right-wing extremism in Europe, and will also introduce some of the core ideological themes of the Radical Right. In the second part of the course, each week I will present a different pair of country cases to give you an idea how these general concepts translate into real world party/electoral politics. In the third and final part, we will return to a strictly comparative approach and see how various purported explanations for Radical Right voting (gender, Islamophobia, protest and xenophobia) play out in practice, and how the Radical Right affects policy making in Europe.

## 2 Intended Learning Outcomes

- To comprehend the nature of Western Europe’s Radical Right parties; to recognise their family resemblance and to understand how and where they are different from classic right-wing extremism.
- To get a good overview of the Radical Right’s highly varied appeal, success and impact in a host of core Western European polities.
- To critically evaluate some common claims about the sources of Radical Right support and its impact on Western European societies.

## 3 Lectures, communication, attendance

Accommodation of *absences* for religious or medical reasons is possible but should be discussed with the instructor (see section 8). In any case, missing more than two or three classes may imply zero points in the participation component of the final grade.

*Students are expected to read the materials before each class*, according to the schedule outlined below in section 5. The instructor will devote part of the class to summarize the most relevant concepts and ideas included in the materials, to explain the connections between them, and to respond to any doubts. This lecture part, however, will not cover the materials in their entirety, and that is why students should have read them beforehand. The rest of the session will be devoted to a discussion on the topics covered that day. *Students are expected to participate in these discussions and debates.*

*Students are also expected to follow European and EU politics.* A part of each lecture will be devoted to discuss current developments and events in Europe. Students are required to participate in these discussions, too.

*This course has a Blackboard site.* The instructor will use it to communicate important information regarding the course, including assignments’ grades, as well as to upload essential readings and materials. Students are expected to check out the Blackboard site regularly (ie. every other day).

*Email is the preferred way of communication between the instructor and the students.* Students can expect a reply to their messages in the following 24 hours, weekends excepted.

The Faculty of Arts and Science *deadline to cancel the course* without academic penalty is March 14, 2018.

## 4 Assignment and assignment submission policy

*The course assessment is based on participation in class and two written assignments. Term work requirements consist of:*

1. *Participation* in class discussions (20% of the final grade)

*Expectations:* Each session consists of a lecture ( $\approx$  50 minutes) and an interactive component (group discussion, team work etc.). Even during the lecture, I will frequently stop to garner input from the students, and students are expected to interrupt me at any time should they have questions. Students are expected to participate on a regular basis. An intervention during a discussion or debate may consist in giving a reasoned opinion, posing questions to the rest of the class, or both. You have to show you have read and understood the material. What I value is engaging, provocative interventions, questions, answers or thoughts that establish links among the readings, the questions and/or current events. At the bare minimum, you have to show you have read the material. Rambling or talking at length off-topic, or showing you have not worked on the material, will accrue you no points.

2. Assignment 1: research paper (40% of the final grade)

*Requirements:* Length: 14 pages, including bibliography, double spaced. It is compulsory to use in the paper the relevant literature, from the list of readings in this syllabus and beyond. You will work on *one* of the following questions:

- Why was the Vlaams Blok / Vlaams Belang in Flanders so much more successful than the Front National in Wallonia, and why did it decline eventually?
- Has the French Front National really changed under Marine Le Pen? If yes, how, and what do you make of the most recent events?

*This paper is due by February 26 before 10 am (submission via blackboard/turnitin). You will also hand in an identical hardcopy in class.*

3. Assignment 2: research paper (40% of the final grade)

*Requirements:* Length: 14 pages, including bibliography, double spaced. It is compulsory to use in the paper the relevant literature, from the list of readings in this syllabus and beyond. You will work on *one* of the following questions:

- Is the Radical Populist Right after 1980 really completely different from the old, interwar right?
- How does UKIP fit into the Radical Rightwing Populist party family?

*This paper is due by April 2, before 10 am (submission via blackboard/turnitin). You will also hand in an identical hardcopy in class.*

*All these assignments must be completed to receive credit for the course.*

*Students should discuss the idea for the research paper with the instructor well before the submission deadline. The instructor will be available to discuss the assignments as the students are working on them during the term. Waiting until the last week or days before the submission deadline to discuss the assignments is strongly discouraged.*

*Students are required to submit an electronic copy of the assignments by the deadline.* “Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection for possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site”.

*Students should submit via Blackboard a signed copy of the Academic Integrity Checklist (the form is on Blackboard) by February 26. Otherwise the assignments will not be graded.*

*Late delivery of assignments carries a penalty of 3% of the assignment’s grade per day, with a limit of seven days. This means assignments delivered eight or more days after the deadline will not be accepted.*

## 5 Course overview / readings

The following is a list of the classes held during the term, with their respective dates, readings, and the assignments’ due dates. Students should read the materials before each class. Some materials are at Course Reserves (CR) at the Robarts Library. The rest will be available from the course Blackboard site (BB), either as a link to the source or a pdf document. The list of readings might be complemented with specific materials (journal and newspaper articles, statistics) for a given class. These additional materials will be available from Blackboard as well.

## January 8: Introduction and central concepts

- Cas Mudde (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1

## January 15: The Extreme/Radical Right before 1980

- Martin Blinkhorn (2000). *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1919-1945*. Harlow: Pearson, pp. 8-88
- Diethelm Prowe (1994). “‘Classic’ Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts”. In: *Contemporary European History* 3.3, pp. 289–313

## January 22: The supply side: authoritarianism, the economy, and the EU

- Sarah L. de Lange (2007). “A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right”. In: *Party Politics* 13.4, pp. 411–435. doi: 10.1177/1354068807075943
- Sofia Vasilopoulou (2011). “European Inegration and the Radical Right. Three Patterns of Opposition”. In: *Government and Opposition* 46.2, pp. 223–244
- If you can find the time: Jens Rydgren (2005). “Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family”. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 44, pp. 413–437

## January 29: France and Belgium

- France: Nonna Mayer (2013). “From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen: Electoral Change on the Far Right”. In: *Parliamentary Affairs* 66.1, pp. 160–178. doi: 10.1093/pa/gss071
- Belgium: Jérôme Jamin (2012). “Extreme-Right Discourse in Belgium. A Comparative Regional Approach”. In: *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe. From Local to Transnational*. Ed. by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins. London et al.: Routledge, pp. 62–77
- Background: Paul Hainsworth (2000). “The Front National: From Ascendancy to Fragmentation on the French Extreme Right”. In: *The Politics of the Extreme Right. From the Margins to the Mainstream*. Ed. by Paul Hainsworth. London, New York: Pinter, pp. 18–32; Marc Swyngedouw (1998). “The Extreme Right in Belgium: Of a Non-existent Front National and an Omnipresent Vlaams Blok”. In: *The New Politics of the Right. Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*. Ed. by Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall. New York: St. Martin’s Press, pp. 59–75

## February 5: Italy and Austria

- Austria: Julian Aichholzer et al. (2014). “How has Radical Right Support Transformed Established Political Conflicts? The Case of Austria”. In: *West European Politics* 37.1, pp. 113–137. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2013.814956
- Italy: Giorgia Bulli and Filippo Tronconi (2012). “Regionalism, Right-Wing Extremism, Populism. The Elusive Nature of the Lega Nord”. In: *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe. From Local to Transnational*. Ed. by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins. London et al.: Routledge, pp. 78–92
- Background: Kurt Richard Luther (2000). “Austria: A Democracy under Threat from the Freedom Party?” In: *Parliamentary Affairs* 53, pp. 426–442, Carlo Ruzza and Stefano Fella (2009). *Re-inventing the Italian Right. Territorial Politics, Populism and ‘Post-Fascism’*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge, chapter 2

## February 13: Scandinavia and Germany

- Germany: Kai Arzheimer (2015). “The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany?” In: *West European Politics* 38, pp. 535–556. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2015.1004230
- Scandinavia: Marie Demker (2012). “Scandinavian Right-Wing Parties. Diversity More Than Convergence?” In: *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe. From Local to Transnational*. Ed. by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins. London et al.: Routledge, pp. 239–253
- Background: Jørgen Goul Andersen and Tor Bjørklund (2000). “Radical Right-Wing Populism in Scandinavia: From Tax-Revolt to Neo-Liberalism and Xenophobia”. In: *The Politics of the Extreme Right. From the Margins to the Mainstream*. Ed. by Paul Hainsworth. London, New York: Pinter, pp. 193–223; Bernd Sommer (2008). “Anti-capitalism in the name of ethno-nationalism: ideological shifts on the German extreme right”. In: *Patterns of Prejudice* 42.3, pp. 305–316. doi: 10.1080/00313220802204046

## February 19: Reading week, no class

## February 26: The Netherlands and Great Britain

- Britain: Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin (2014). "Understanding UKIP. Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind". In: *The Political Quarterly* 85.3, pp. 277–284. doi: 10.1111/1467-923X.12099
- Netherlands Linda Bos and Kees Brants (2014). "Populist Rhetoric in Politics and Media A Longitudinal Study of the Netherlands". In: *European Journal of Communication* 29.6, pp. 703–719. doi: 10.1177/0267323114545709
- Background: Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin (2010). "Angry White Men: Individual and Contextual Predictors of Support for the British National Party". In: *Political Studies* 58.1, pp. 1–25. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00829.x; Joop J.M. van Holsteyn and Galen A. Irwin (2003). "Never a Dull Moment: Pim Fortuyn and the Dutch Parliamentary Election of 2002". In: *West European Politics* 26, pp. 41–66

## March 5: Greece and Switzerland

- Greece: Antonis A. Ellinas (2013). "The Rise of Golden Dawn. The New Face of the Far Right in Greece". In: *South European Society and Politics* 18.4, pp. 543–565
- Switzerland: Damir Skenderovic (2012). "Challenging the Exceptionalist View. Favourable Conditions for Radical Right-Wing Populism in Switzerland". In: *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe. From Local to Transnational*. Ed. by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins. London et al.: Routledge, pp. 209–224
- Background: Ellinas (2012) and Husbands (2000)

## March 12: Ideology vs protest

- Wouter van der Brug, Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie (2000). "Anti-Immigrant Parties in Europe: Ideological or Protest Vote?" In: *European Journal of Political Research* 37.1, pp. 77–102
- Wouter van der Brug (2003). "How the LPF Fuelled Discontent. Empirical Tests of Explanations of LPF Support". In: *Acta Politica* 38, pp. 89–106
- Matthijs Rooduijn, Wouter van der Brug and Sarah L. de Lange (2016). "Expressing Or Fuelling Discontent? The Relationship Between Populist Voting and Political Discontent". In: *Electoral Studies* 43, pp. 32–40. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.04.006>

## March 19: The role of religion

- Kai Arzheimer and Elisabeth Carter (2009). "Christian Religiosity and Voting for West European Radical Right Parties". In: *West European Politics* 32.5, pp. 985–1011. doi: 10.1080/01402380903065058
- José Pedro Zúquete (2008). "The European Extreme-Right and Islam. New Directions?" In: *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13.3, pp. 321–344. doi: 10.1080/13569310802377019
- Background: Tim Immerzeel, Eva Jaspers and Marcel Lubbers (2013). "Religion as Catalyst or Restraint of Radical Right Voting?" In: *West European Politics* 36.5, pp. 946–968. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2013.797235

## March 26: Gender

- Tjitske Akkerman (2015). "Gender and the Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis of Policy Agendas". In: *Patterns of Prejudice* 49.1-2, pp. 37–60. doi: 10.1080/0031322X.2015.1023655
- Eelco Harteveld et al. (2015). "The Gender Gap in Populist Radical-right Voting: Examining the Demand Side in Western and Eastern Europe". In: *Patterns of Prejudice* 49.1-2, pp. 103–134. doi: 10.1080/0031322X.2015.1024399

## April 2: So what: Real-world effects of Radical Right mobilisation

- Tjitske Akkerman (2012). “Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government. Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996-2010)”. In: *West European Politics* 35.3, pp. 511–529. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2012.665738
- Tjitske Akkerman and Matthijs Rooduijn (2015). “Pariahs Or Partners? Inclusion and Exclusion of Radical Right Parties and the Effects on Their Policy Positions”. In: *Political Studies* 63.5, pp. 1140–1157. doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12146
- Tim Immerzeel, Marcel Lubbers and Hilde Coffé (2016). “Competing With the Radical Right”. In: *Party Politics* 22.6, pp. 823–834. doi: 10.1177/1354068814567975

## 6 Academic integrity

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto’s *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* ([www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm](http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm)). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

- In papers and assignments:
  - Using someone else’s ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
  - Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
  - Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
  - Making up sources or facts.
  - Including references to sources that you did not use.
  - Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including
    - \* working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work,
    - \* having someone rewrite or add material to your work while “editing”.
    - \* Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own.
- On tests and exams:
  - Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
  - Looking at someone else’s answers
  - Letting someone else look at your answers.
  - Misrepresenting your identity.
  - Submitting an altered test for re-grading.
- Misrepresentation:
  - Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor’s notes.
  - Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

*In short: Don’t cheat. Use your common sense and the many resources provided by the University. If in doubt, contact your instructor or the Office of Student Academic Integrity: <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students>*

## 7 Accommodation for disability

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services at 416-978-8060, [accessibility.utoronto.ca](http://accessibility.utoronto.ca).

## **8 Religious Accommodations**

The University has a general policy of accommodating absences for reasons of religious obligation, strongly articulated on the Provost's webpage ([www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/publicationsandpolicies/guidelines/religiousobservances.htm](http://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/publicationsandpolicies/guidelines/religiousobservances.htm)). Students are expected to give reasonable advance notice of their absence.