

Class 1: The Far Right in Europe and Beyond

Introduction to Course

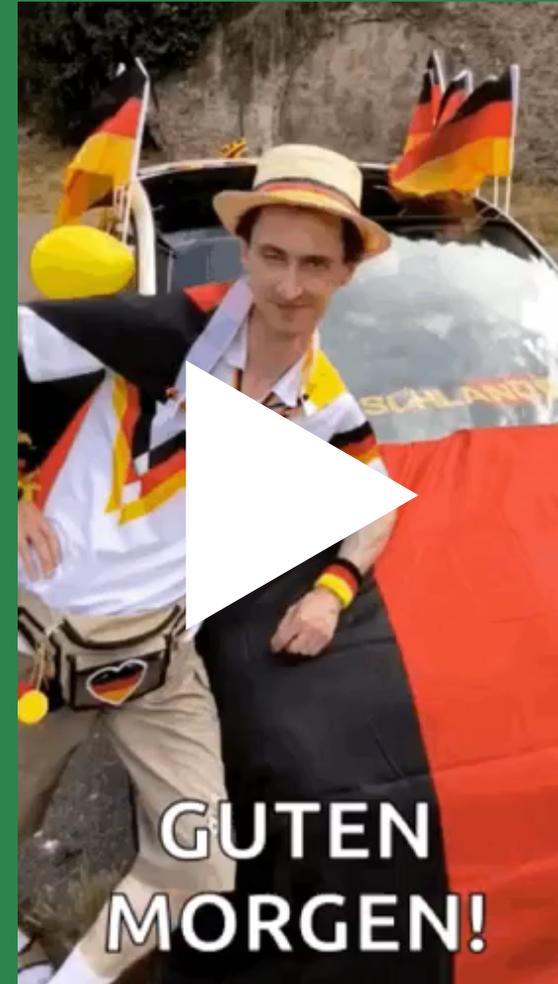
Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Course Introduction
- Course assessments
- Course practicalities
- Presentation groups
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Course Introduction

- What is 'far right'?
- Course structure
- Learning aims
- What the course is
- What the course is not...



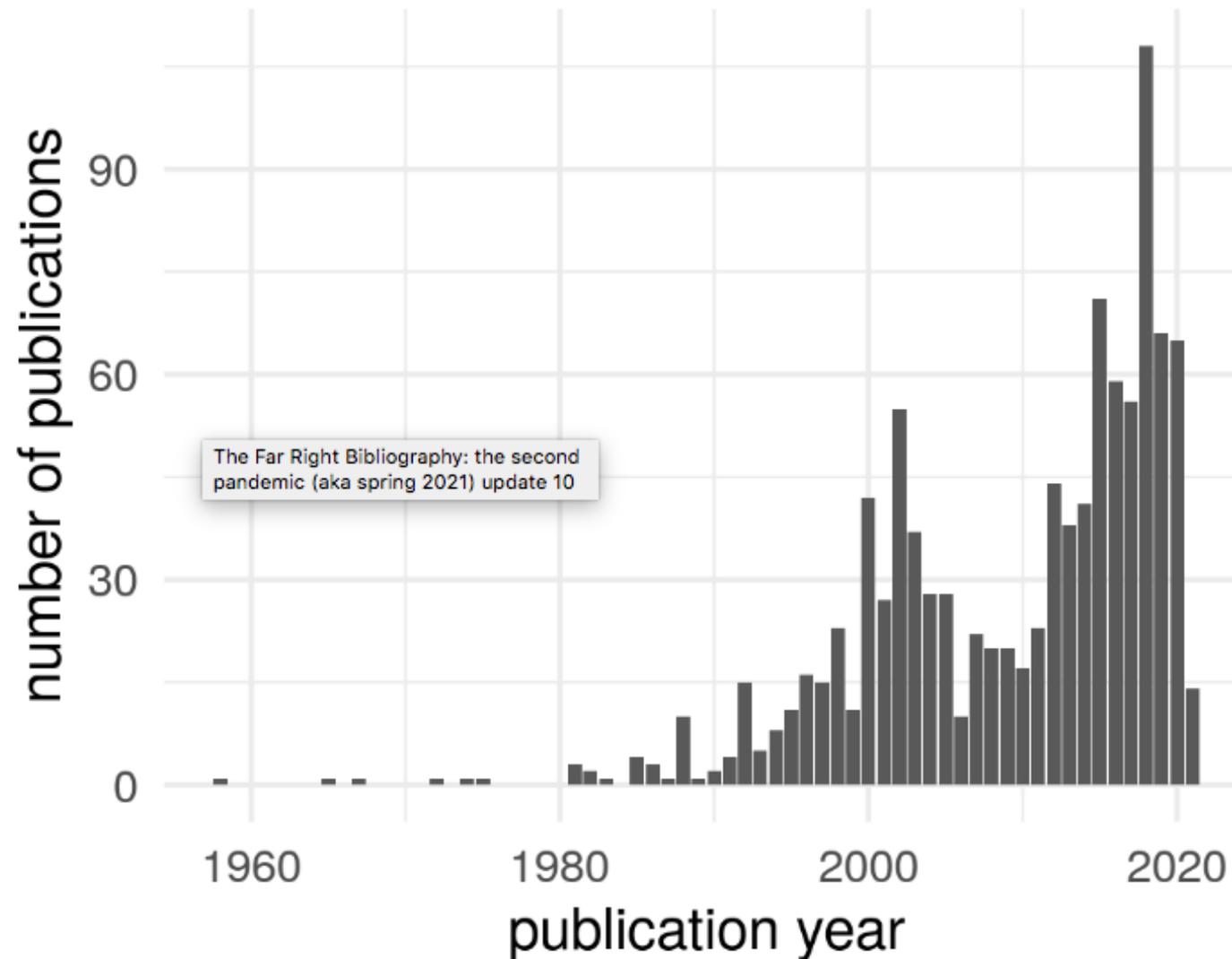
Read the syllabus!

- We have a shiny new (developing) website for the course
 - <https://michaelzeller.de/course-fr/>
- Before our next meeting, your task is to peruse the website
 - especially the **Syllabus**, **Schedule**, and **Report example** pages.

Defining 'far right'

- 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

Publications on radical right (from Arzheimer)



From Arzheimer's bibliography: <https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/tag/bibliography/>

Structure of the course

- PART I - What is 'far right'?
 - Concepts
 - Far-right ideology: from transnational traits to local idiosyncrasies
- 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 - Individuals in far right
 - Radicalisation
 - Violence
 - Online
- PART V - Studying the far right
 - Methods, ethics, and safety

Initial class poll



Take the survey at

<https://forms.gle/epUVVCkebH3sQcW76>

Holidays

Several holidays overlap with our class meetings:

- 1 May (Class 2)
- 29 May (Class 6)
- 19 June (Class 9)

FOR NOW, no make-up classes are planned...

- requires attentive reading and preparation so we can cover the material in the surrounding classes
- possibly adding short recorded lectures...

- 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
 - gather, assess, and present data about far-right socio-politics

What the course is

- A seminar—a big one, but still a seminar
 - **very important to read for informed discussion**
 - answer specific questions, clarify concepts
 - evaluate research, connect to related empirical material
 - losing my hearing + big room + quiet speaker = ☹️
 - so **please speak up**
 - lengthier discussions → may not cover all slides
 - I will learn your names—but I need your help: **participate in discussions**
- If you have a comment related to the discussion, say it! It's much better than telling me after class

What the course is not...

- not for activism against the far right
 - it's a seminar, like many others, with real-world implications
- not for airing grievances about far right and caricaturing far-right supporters
 - good research on the far right takes seriously its ideology, organisations, and supporters—and tries to divorce analysis from normative commitments

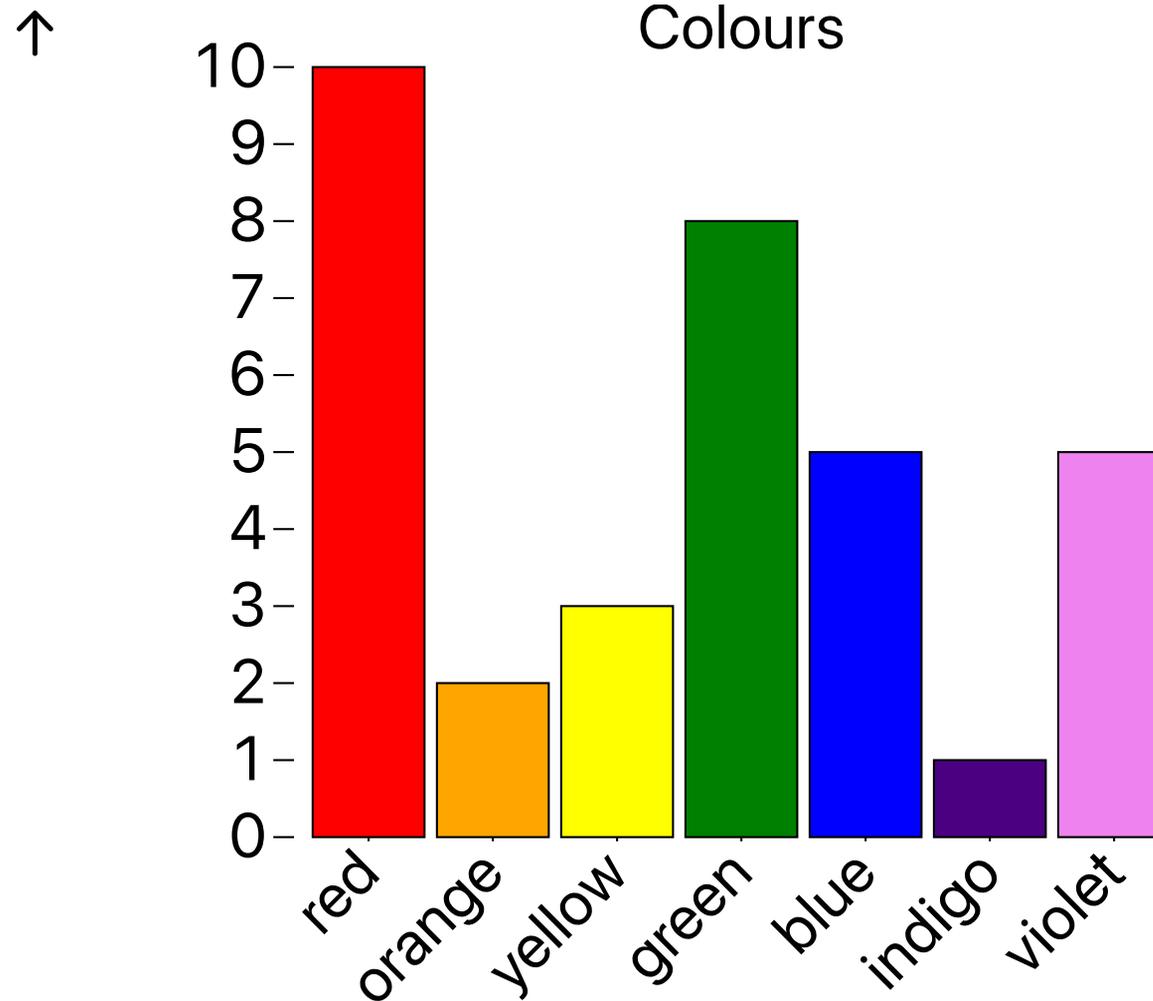
Connection to Vorlesung

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

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

Initial class poll

Poll results (Respondents: 34)

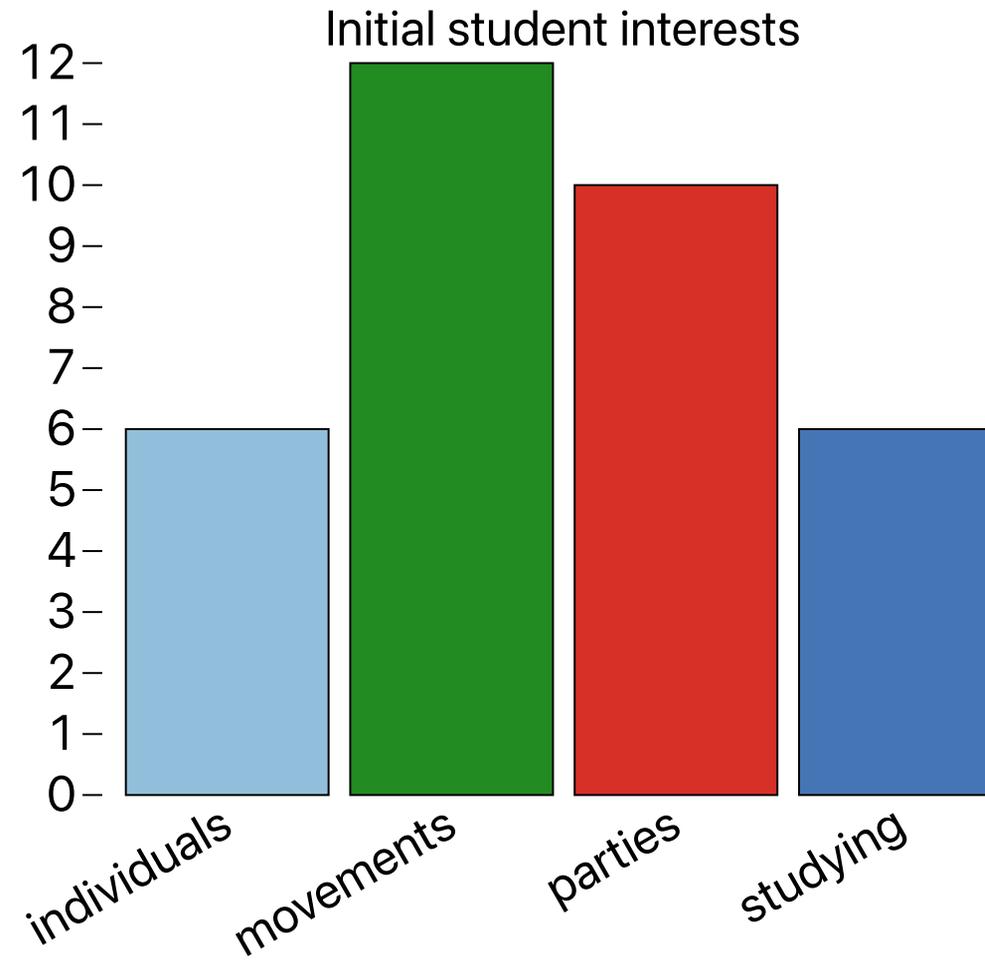


Initial class poll



Initial class poll

↑



Course assessments

- Participation
- Presentation
- Essay (Data report)

Course assessment

	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
- make note of any questions or comments you have as you go through the readings
- most of the readings are research journal articles
 - more in-depth than book chapters—requires greater concentration
 - consider complementing with a general reader (examples listed in [Syllabus](#))

Presentation (*Referat*)

- short (max. 20 mins.) group (3-4 people) presentation on a method
- groups and date today, topics due to me by **Week 4 (15 May)**
 - but there are advantages to booking early...

Essay (*Hausarbeit*): Data report

Course assessment summary

Overview

Participation

Presentation

Data report

	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	

For the essay and writing in general...

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
-
-

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

Course practicalities

- Typical class meeting
- Office hours and communication
- e-learning site
- resources
- about me
- Q & A
- student introductions

Typical class meeting

- Opening question(s)/discussion point(s)
 - e.g., theoretical dilemma, typology forming, item from the news
- Summarising lecture on theory/findings related to week's topic
 - discussion points
- Short video relevant to topic
- Discussing the reading(s)
 - highlighting important points (esp. theory and research design)
- Presentation of further research relevant to week's topic
- Summative discussion: takeaways, new ideas, lingering questions

Throughout, we will use *cases* to link *theory* to *real-world events*

Office hours and communication

- 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
- Please use your **LMU email address for communication**
 - this is important for the security of the university email system

- Self-enrol: The Far Right in Europe and Beyond
 - access key: “FRpol”
- All course readings are available
- **But better to look at the new, shiny, developing, purpose-built website::** <https://michaelzeller.de/course-fr/>

Resources

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>

Resources

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

About me

- 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)
 - specialisation in qualitative methods (incl. QCA, [Bayesian] process tracing), but also quant. text analysis, network analysis
- researcher in funded projects on ...
 - violent/banned far-right groups and online content moderation
 - radicalisation, violent extremism, polarisation, and resilience
- current work: militant democracy; far-right activist networks; political violence (in 1970s Northern Ireland; in contemporary Italy); paths to female leadership in Asia; protest and polarisation

About the course

- Q & A

About you! Student introductions

- Information about you, possibly including...
 - Expectations for this course
 - favourite joke
 - Study programme
 - favourite song
 - Country (place) of origin
 - top source for news
 - Background in education/research
 - secret skill
 - Academic/professional aspirations

Presentation groups

If presenting required for your course of study, form groups of 3-4.

Tell me your group and top 3 preferred dates:

<https://forms.gle/6oRRsp9gaeNtGTSv6>



Concept formation

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

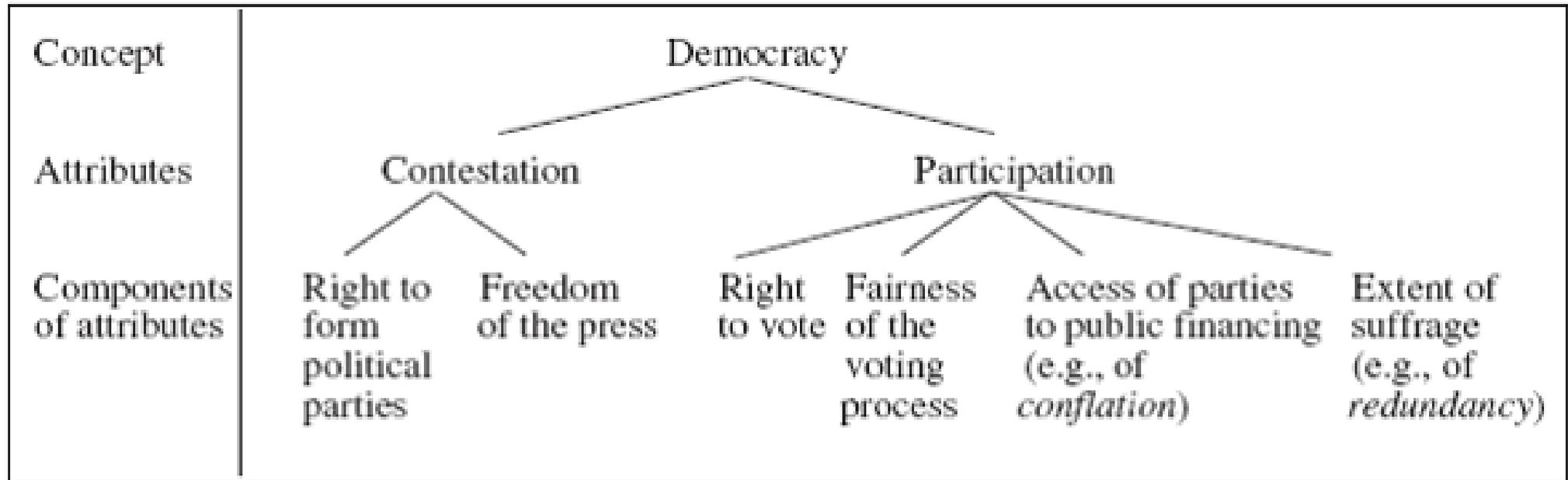


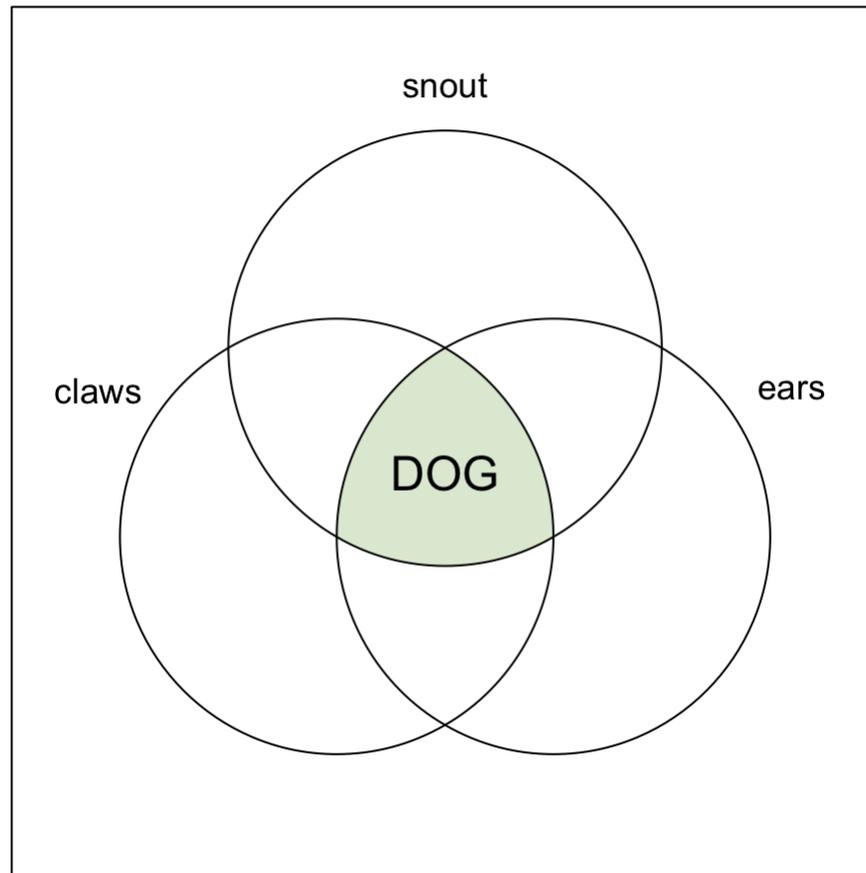
Figure 1. The logical structure of concepts.

Concept formation

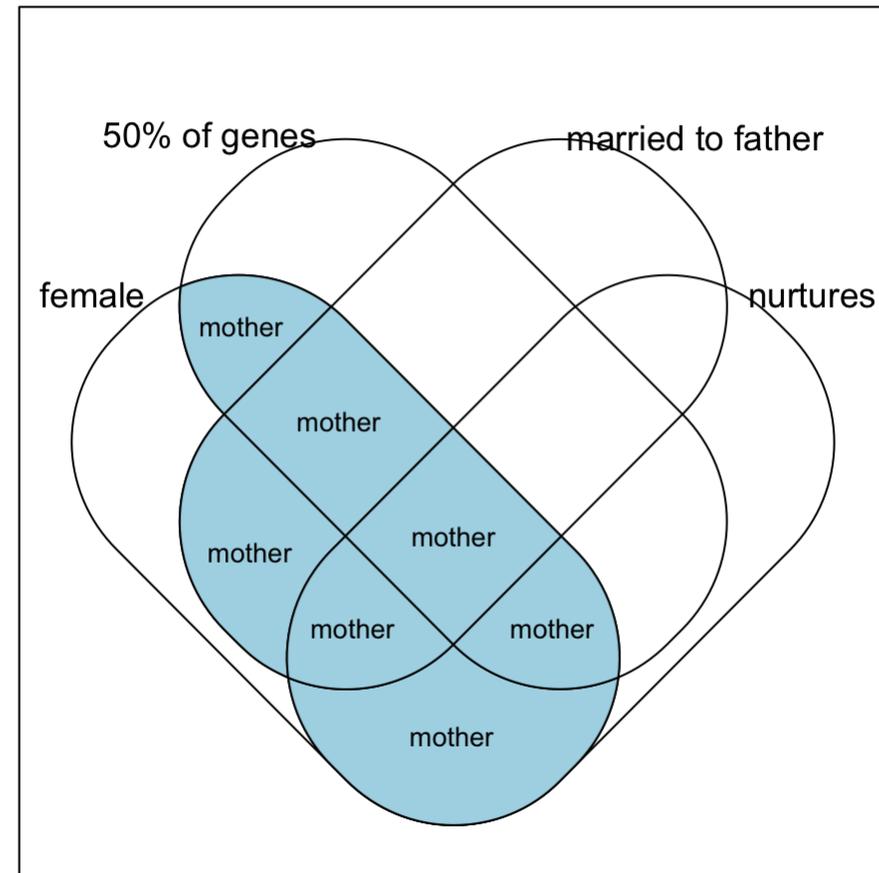
- identifying bounds of concepts
 - See Sartori (1970)
- broadly, three types of concepts in social science
 1. **classical**: all criteria are shared by all cases
 2. **radial**: some criteria are shared by all cases; others are not
 3. **family resemblance**: No criterion is shared by all cases

Visualising classical/radial concepts

Classical concept (all criteria)



Radial concept (all share 'female')



and family resemblance: no characteristics shared by all (e.g., games)

Classical vs. radial (Collier and Mahon 1993)

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

Options (according to Mudde)

1. family resemblance
2. Weber's ideal type
3. *Primus inter pares* ("first among equals"): one example that sets the model for all others
4. lowest common denominator: group on the basis of the (few) features that all individual members have in common. This would lead to a so-called "minimum definition" (cf. Eatwell 1996)
5. greatest common denominator: a "maximum definition," maximise possible number of similarities within (part of) the family

Ideological components (maximum definition)

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------|--------------------|
| • nationalism | → | • nativism |
| • exclusionism | simplifies | • authoritarianism |
| • xenophobia | → | • populism |
| • strong state | to | |
| • welfare chauvinism | → | |
| • traditional ethics | | |

I will discuss these terms in next week's slides

Radical and extreme

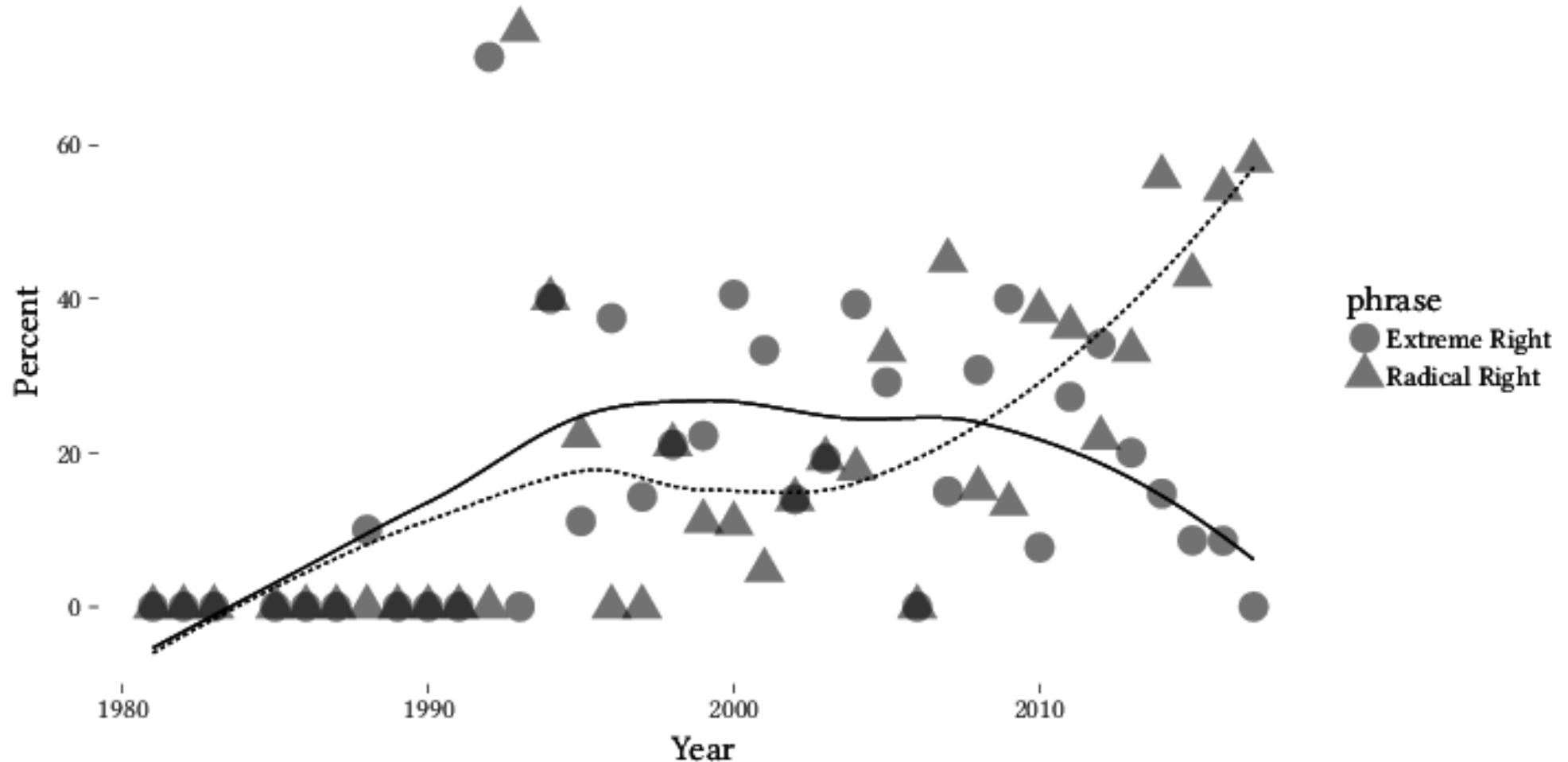
Again...

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

Radical and extreme



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 Sirsch. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018. 23-40.

Examples?

What cases are you familiar with?

How should we categorise them and why?

Examples - talking through (party) cases

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

even trickier with movements?

Points to be aware of?

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

Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

<https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58>

Alternatively, send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

References



- 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.