Winter Term 2016/2017
University of Cologne
Faculty of Management, Economics and Social Sciences
Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (CCCP)
Chair of International Comparative Political Economy and Economic Sociology

Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe

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Time: Monday, 14:00-15:30

Room: Hörsaal VIIb, Albertus-Magnus-Platz 1

Description: The last three decades have witnessed the strengthening and mainstreaming of Extreme Right Parties (ERPs) in most Western European party systems. While the electoral fortunes of parties within this family vary greatly, many have managed to establish themselves as relevant actors in government coalitions in countries such as Austria, the Netherlands or Switzerland. These developments have led to heated debates both among mainstream politicians as well as political scientists. This course aims at discussing these developments comparatively. In the first part of the seminar students will be introduced to the ideology of Extreme Right Parties, relating it to established concepts of comparative politics such as party families, cleavages and party competition. Secondly, we will look at what explains the vote for ERPs and how this relates to changes in the economic and political contexts across Western European political systems. Thirdly, we will analyze the impact of ERPs on cultural as well as economic and social policies. Finally, we will look at specific country cases in order to determine what similarities and differences exist between ERPs in Europe.

Prerequisites

The focus of the seminar literature will be on empirical studies which mainly follow a quantitative research design. Therefore, a general understanding of this kind of methodology is highly recommended. Since nearly all reading assignments are in English, this will be the general classroom language as well. Participants therefore must know enough English to be able to participate actively. Perfection is not required – you just need to understand and make yourself understood.

Registration

Students have to register via KLIPS.

Reading assignments

At the beginning of October the required texts for the sessions of the seminar can be accessed via ILIAS. If you register via KLIPS you will automatically have access to the ILIAS files.

Working requirements and assessment method

All participants are expected to:

- complete assigned obligatory readings according to schedule
- actively contribute to class discussions
- give a 20 minutes group-presentation, focusing on ERPs in one country (final part of the seminar)

Submission of the research paper

The research paper have to be handed in an electronic version via email to spies@wiso.uni-koeln.de. The paper version should be handed in personally at the secretary of the Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (*IBW Gebäude*, *Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2*, *1st floor*, *Room 1.09*). **Deadline for both is 20th March 2017.**

The paper version must contain the following signed statement:

http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/wiso_fak/cccp/Lehre/ErklaerungzuArbeiten.pdf

Course schedule

17.10.2016: Introduction

Further reading:

Mudde, Cas (2007). Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter I.

24.10.2016: The Ideology of ERPs

Obilgatory reading:

Prowe, Diethelm (1994). ""Classic" Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts". In: Contemporary European History 3, pp. 289–313.

Rydgren, Jens (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.

Further reading:

Lange, Sarah L. de (2007). "A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right". In: Party Politics 13.4, pp. 411–435.

31.10.2016: The Voters of ERPs

Obilgatory reading:

Lubbers, Marcel, Mérove Gijsberts, and Peer Scheepers. 2002. "Extreme Right-Wing Voting in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 41 (3): 345–78.

Further reading:

Brug, Wouter van der, 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.

7.11.2016: Political Context

Obilgatory reading:

Spies, Dennis, and Simon T. Franzmann. 2011. "A Two-Dimensional Approach to the Political Opportunity Structure of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 34 (5): 1044–69.

Further reading:

O'Malley, Eoin. 2008. "Why Is There No Radical Right Party in Ireland?" West European Politics 31 (5): 960–77.

14.11.2016: Economic Context

Obilgatory reading:

Swank, Duane, and Hans-Georg Betz. 2002. "Globalization, the Welfare State and Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Socio-Economic Review* (1): 215–45.

Further reading:

Arzheimer, Kai. 2009. "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe 1980-2002." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 259–75.

21.11.2016: ERPs as Coalition Partners

Obilgatory reading:

de Lange, Sarah L. 2012. "New Alliances: Why Mainstream Parties Govern with Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties." *Political Studies* 60 (4): 899–918.

Further reading:

Bale, Tim. 2003. "Cinderella and Her Ugly Sisters: The Mainstream and Extreme Right in Europe's Bipolarising Party Systems." West European Politics 26 (3): 67–90.

28.11.2016: Impact on Immigration Policies

Obilgatory reading:

Akkerman, Tjitske. 2012. Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996—2010). *West European Politics* 35(3):511-29.

5.12.2016 Impact on Economic and Social Policies

Obilgatory reading:

Heinisch, Reinhard. 2003. "Success in Opposition – Failure in Government: Explaining the Performance of Right-Wing Populist Parties in Public Office." *West European Politics* 26 (3): 91–130.

12.12.2016: Summary and Information on Term Papers

Further reading:

Mudde, Cas. 2013. Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What? *European Journal of Political Research*, 52(1):1–19.

19.12.2016: France and Belgium

<u>France:</u> Hainsworth, Paul (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.

Mayer, Nonna (2013). "From Jean-Marie to Marine Le Pen: Electoral Change on

the Far Right". In: Parliamentary Affairs 66.1, pp. 160–178.

Belgium: Jamin, Jérôme (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

9.1.2017: Italy and Austria

<u>Italy:</u> Ruzza, Carlo and Stefano Fella (2009). Re-inventing the Italian Right. Territorial

Politics, Populism and 'Post-Fascism'. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.

Bulli, Giorgia 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.

Austria: Aichholzer, Julian 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.

Luther, Kurt Richard (2000). "Austria: A Democracy under Threat from the

Freedom Party?" In: Parliamentary Affairs 53, pp. 426–442.

16.1.2017: Switzerland and Germany

Switzerland: Skenderovic, Damir (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.

Germany: Arzheimer, Kai. "The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic

Party for Germany?" West European Politics 38 (2015): 535-556.

Sommer, Bernd (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.

23.1.2017: Netherlands and Great Britain

Netherlands: Holsteyn, Joop J.M. van 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.

Bos, Linda 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.

Great Britain: Ford, Robert 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.

— (2014). "Understanding UKIP. Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind". In: The Political Quarterly 85.3, pp. 277–284.

30.1.2017: Denmark and Greece

Denmark: Demker, Marie (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.

Greece: Ellinas, Antonis A. (2012). "LAOS and the Greek Extreme Right Since 1974". 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. 124–139.

— (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.

6.2.2017: Concluding Session