

Winter Term 2017/2018
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

Instructor: PD Dr. Dennis C. Spies
Email: spies@wiso.uni-koeln.de
Phone: 0221 470 8811
Office Hours: Please write an email to: spies@wiso.uni-koeln.de
Time: Monday, 14:00-15:30
Room: Seminar Building 106, S26
ECTS: 9 points

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 1 or 2.

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 has 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 19th March 2018.

The paper version must contain the following signed statement:

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

Course schedule

9.10.2017: Introduction

Further reading:

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

16.10.2017: The Ideology of ERPs

Obligatory 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.

23.10.2017: 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:

Rydgren, Jens. 2008. "Immigration Sceptics, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-Wing Voting in Six Western European Countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 47(6): 737–65.

30.10.2017: 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.

6.11.2017: Economic Context

Obilgatory 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.

Further 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.

13.11.2017: 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.

20.11.2017: 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.

27.11.2017 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.

4.12.2017: 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.

11.12.2017: France and Belgium

France: 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

18.12.2017: Italy and Austria

Italy: 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.

8.1.2018: 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.

Berbair, Nicole, Marcel Lewandowsky, and Jasmin Siri. 2015. "The AfD and Its Sympathisers: Finally a Right-Wing Populist Movement in Germany?" *German Politics* 24(2): 154–78.

15.1.2018: 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.

Hayton, Richard. 2010. “Towards the Mainstream? UKIP and the 2009 Elections to the European Parliament.” *Politics* 30(1): 26–35.

22.1.2018: 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.

29.1.2018: Concluding Session