#### #53144 DYNAMICS OF FAR-RIGHT MOBILIZATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This seminar aims to provide the participants with a general yet inclusive outline of the contemporary research on far-right mobilization in Western Europe, with a focus on its potential for transnationalization, or in other words, transnational diffusion. Following a social movements perspective, this seminar looks at various far-right actor types and their multifaceted online and offline mobilization strategies for purposes such as becoming transnational. The seminar is especially suitable for those who are willing to learn about the definitions of the far-right, mobilization theories and the far-right, the process of transnationalization for (far-right) social and political mobilizations, and the historical trajectory of far-right mobilization in Western Europe. Participants will also gain a comprehensive insight into various research methods used for exploring far-right mobilization and transnationalization. Key objectives of the seminar include equipping students with the analytical tools to dissect far-right politics and mobilization both theoretically and empirically. At the end of the seminar, by critically engaging with diverse interdisciplinary perspectives and case studies, students will develop a nuanced understanding of far-right mobilization and its potential transnationalization, as well as the implications of these processes for liberal democracy.

#### **SEMINAR OUTLINE & LITERATURE**

### I. INTRODUCTION

17 April 2024 - WEEK 1: Organization of the Seminar, Course Requirements, and Introduction

#### II. **DEFINITIONS**

24 April 2024 - WEEK 2: Far-right, extreme right, radical right, populist right and others

# **Compulsory Reading:**

Mudde, C. 2019. The Far Right Today. Polity, introduction & chapters 1-2.

## **Additional Readings:**

Castelli Gattinara, P. 2002. "The study of the far right and its three E's: why scholarship must go beyond Eurocentrism, Electoralism and Externalism". *Fr Polit*, 18:314–333. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41253-020-00124-8

## 8 May 2024 - WEEK 3: Social and political mobilization

## **Compulsory Readings:**

della Porta, D., and Diani, M. 2006. Social Movements: An introduction. Blackwell, chapter. 2.

Tarrow, S. 2015. "Contentious Politics", in Donatella della Porta, and Mario Diani (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, Oxford Academic. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.8

## Additional Readings:

Mudde, C. 2019. The Far Right Today. Polity, chapter 3: organization.

Mcadam, D., Tarrow, S., and Tilly, C. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge, chapter 1.

# 15 May 2024 - WEEK 4: Far-right as a social movement

## **Compulsory Readings:**

Castelli Gattinara, P., and Pirro, A. L. P. 2019. "The Far Right as Social Movement". *European Societies*, 21(4): 447–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2018.1494301.

Caiani, M., and della Porta D. 2018. "The Radical Right as Social Movement Organizations", in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Oxford Academic. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190274559.013.17.

## Guest Speaker: Andrea Pirro - University of Bologna

## Additional Reading:

Zaslove, A. 2008. "Exclusion, Community, and a Populist Political Economy: The Radical Right as an Anti-Globalization Movement". *Comp Eur Polit*, 6(2): 169–89. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110126">https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110126</a>.

## III. THEORIES OF MOBILIZATION

### 22 May 2024 - WEEK 5: Social Movements Theory

#### Compulsory Readings:

Tilly, C. 2006. Social Movements 1768 – 2004. Paradigm Publishers, chapter 1.

della Porta, D., and Diani, M. 2006. Social Movements: An introduction. Blackwell, chapter 1.

Toscano, E. (ed.) 2019. Researching Far Right Movements: Ethics, Methodologies, and Qualitative Inquiries. Routledge, chapter 1.

# Guest Speaker: Emanuele Toscano - Università degli Studi Guglielmo Marconi

## Additional Reading:

della Porta, D., and Diani, M. 2006. Social Movements: An introduction. Blackwell, chapter. 8.

# 29 May 2024 - WEEK 6: Political Mobilization: cleavages, protesting parties

## **Compulsory Readings:**

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S. and Frey, T. 2006. "Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared". *European Journal of Political Research*, 45: 921-956. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00644.x

Kitschelt H. 2006. "Movement Parties", in R. Katz, and W. Crotty (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics*, Sage Publishers, pp. 278–90.

Borbáth, E., and Hutter, S. 2022. "Bridging Electoral and Nonelectoral Political Participation", in Giugni, M., and Grasso, M. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Participation*, Oxford University Press.

Guest speaker: Endre Borbáth, Universität Heidelberg – WZB Berlin Social Science Center

### Additional Readings:

Borbáth, E., and Hutter, S. 2021. "Protesting Parties in Europe: A comparative analysis". *Party Politics*, 27(5), 896-908. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068820908023">https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068820908023</a>

Caiani, M., and Ondřej, C. (eds.) 2019. Radical Right: Movement Parties in Europe. Routledge, chapter 2.

#### IV. TRANSNATIONALIZATION

## 05 June 2024 - WEEK 7: What is (far-right) transnational mobilisation?

### Compulsory Readings:

Tarrow S. 2005. The New Transnational Activism. Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-2.

della Porta, D., Andretta, M., Mosca, L., and Reiter, H. 2006. "Globalization and Social Movements", in *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*. University of Minnesota Press, chapter 1.

# Additional Readings:

Rovira Kaltwasser, C., and Zanotti, L. 2023. "The Populist Radical Right Beyond Europe". *Journal of Language and Politics*, 22(3): 285–305. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.22136.rov

Schlembach, R. 2011. "The Transnationality of European Nationalist Movements". *rbph*, 89(3): 1331–49. https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.2011.8359

# **Bonus Reading Suggestion:**

della Porta, D., Kriesi, H., and Rucht, D. 1999. Social Movements in a Globalizing World. Macmillan.

### 12 June 2024 - WEEK 8: How to become transnational?

# **Compulsory Readings:**

McDonnell, D., and Werner, A. 2020. *International Populism: The Radical Right in the European Parliament*. Oxford Academic, chapter 7. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197500859.003.0001">https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197500859.003.0001</a>

Tarrow S. 2005. The New Transnational Activism. Cambridge University Press, chapter 3.

## Guest speaker: Timo Koch, City University of London

#### Additional Readings:

Koch, T. 2024. "Family Ties and Ethnic Lines: Ethnopluralism in the Far Right's Mobilization in Europe". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1–21. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2024.2328323">https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2024.2328323</a>

Bourne, A. 2017. "Social Movements and the Transnational Transformation of Public Spheres". *Journal of Civil Society*, 13(3), 231–246. https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2017.1354807

## V. MEASURING TRANSNATIONALIZATION

## 19 June 2024 - WEEK 9: Measuring Transnationalization

## **Compulsory Readings:**

Nissen, A. 2022. Europeanisation of the Contemporary Far Right: Generation Identity and Fortress Europe. Routledge, chapter 2. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003226604

Froio, C., and Ganesh, B. 2019. "The Transnationalisation of Far Right Discourse on Twitter". *European Societies*, 21(4): 513–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2018.1494295

## **Additional Readings:**

Leidig, E. C 2019. "Immigrant, Nationalist and Proud: A Twitter Analysis of Indian Diaspora Supporters for Brexit and Trump". *MaC*, 7(1): 77–89. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i1.1629

## VI. ETHICS OF RESEARCHING THE FAR-RIGHT (TRANSNATIONALIZATION)

## 26 June 2024 - WEEK 10: Ethics of Researching the Far-right

## **Compulsory Readings:**

Vaughan, A. 2023. "Principle versus practice: the Institutionalisation of ethics and research on the far right". *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2023.2282228

Segers, I. B., Gelashvili, T., and Gagnon, A. (2023). "Intersectionality and care ethics in researching the far right". *Feminist Media Studies*, 1–6. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2023.2280884">https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2023.2280884</a>

Guest speaker: Sabine Volk, Universität Passau

### VII. TRAJECTORIES OF FAR-RIGHT TRANSNATIONALIZATION

03 July 2024 - WEEK 11: Case Study Presentations

10 July 2024 - WEEK 12: Case Study Presentations

## VIII. IS THE FAR-RIGHT BECOMING (MORE) TRANSNATIONAL?

17 July 2024 - WEEK 13: Future trends, Wrap up

## Additional Readings:

Winter, A. 2019. "Online Hate: From the Far-Right to the 'Alt-Right' and from the Margins to the Mainstream", in Karen Lumsden, and Emily Harmer (eds.) *Online Othering: Exploring Digital Violence and Discrimination on the Web*. Springer International Publishing, 39–63.