**CPO 3930 Special Topics: The European Radical Right in a Comparative Perspective**

**Syllabus Updated: August 20th, 2025**

Instructor: Mr. James “Jay” C. Stewart, III

Office: Bellamy 556

Office Hours: By Appointment, Generally Before/After Class.

Instructor Email: [jstewart2@fsu.edu](mailto:jstewart2@fsu.edu)

Class Times: Tuesdays & Thursdays 11:35 AM - 12:50 PM

Class Location: HCB 0310

**Course Description:**

The rise of Radical Right Parties globally (but particularly in Europe) presents a significant shift in the political landscapes of established democracies. This course will delve into the complex dynamics propelling this phenomenon, examining this phenomenon using the tool kit of comparative politics.

We will begin by defining Radical Right Parties and discussing the limitations of many of these definitions. We will take a detour to discuss the atrocities of the Nazi Regime and the patterns of far-right violence in the post-war era. We will then discuss some of the country level attributes that make countries more or less susceptible to Radical Right parties. We will discuss cultural and economic grievances and how those might lead one to vote for a Radical Right Party. We’ll then discuss the conditions under which intergroup contact and immigration might be important drivers of voting for Radical Right Parties, drawing insights from Social Identity Theory as well as contexts outside of Europe. We will also discuss how Radical Right Parties interact with Gender and women’s representation.

This course will contain references to racism, violence, genocide, antisemitism, islamophobia, as well as *many other sensitive and possibly triggering topics*. We will address these topics from the perspective of social science. To foster a constructive learning environment, it is extremely important that students maintain an *objective* stance as much as possible, not necessarily rejecting the normative implications of the subject material but remaining cognizant of the normative/positive divide.

**Course Materials** (required)**:**

The Far Right Today, Mudde ISBN: 978-1-5095-3684-9

Cultural Backlash, Norris and Inglehart, ISBN: 978110844422

The Extreme Right in Western Europe, Success or Failure? Carter ISBN: 978-0-7190-7049-5

**NOTE:** “The Extreme Right in Western Europe, Success or Failure?” and “Cultural Backlash” are available through the FSU Library online, so feel free to not purchase these books.

**Free Expression:**

The State University System of Florida and its twelve public postsecondary institutions have adopted a Statement on Free Expression to support and encourage full and open discourse and the robust exchange of ideas and perspectives. The full statement can be found [here](https://www.flbog.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/SPC_09_Civil-Discourse_Final_CE.pdf). In this spirit, to create a classroom environment that supports respectful, critical inquiry through the free exchange of ideas, the following principles will guide our course:

* Treat all members of the class with respect, even if (especially if) you disagree with their ideas or opinions.
* Rational debate is grounded in facts and a commitment to discovering the truth. This distinguishes it from trolling and bullshitting.
* Reasonable minds can differ on any number of perspectives, opinions, and conclusions. No ideas are immune from scrutiny and debate.
* Individuals are free to express any ideas and opinions they wish, even if others find those ideas and opinions to be wrong-headed, offensive, blasphemous, or abhorrent.
* Individuals must be free to express their ideas and opinions without fear of being bullied, threatened, or silenced. Assertions that the speech in question is “harmful” or constitutes “violence” do not negate this principle.
* You will not be graded on your opinions.

**Attendance Policy:**

Attendance is mandatory. Due to the relatively large class size, attendance will be taken by two methods.

First, as part of our lectures, I will ask students questions. I will generate a random list of students to ask questions each day. If you are present, and answer the question, you will be counted as present. If you are not present to answer the question, you will be marked absent.

Second, on days where we have a reading quiz, I’ll use the reading quiz as my way of taking attendance.

Participation is not just being physically present, but awake, and involved in class activities. I will grade participation by attendance, but I reserve the right to mark a student absent if they are sleeping in class, actively hindering class discussion (for example, watching sports/tv shows on your laptop), or using one’s cellphone during unapproved times (this is of course, not an exhaustive list of reasons one may be marked absent and lose participation points). **You will not lose participation points for not knowing something! “I don’t know” is a correct answer at times!**

**PROVISIONAL AI Policy:**

You are allowed to use any AI tools you wish while writing in this course. I only ask that you email me (*24 hours after the Canvas Due Date, or earlier*) separately from turning in assignments on Canvas telling me: 1. Which AI did you use? 2. What prompt(s) did you give it? 3. Describe any steps you took to verify the information. 4. Describe any edits you made.

I highly suggest not using some AI tools like ChatGPT or Google Gemini too frequently, because part of the learning process is figuring out how to write effectively. However, I am cognizant of the fact that students use AI and want to 1. instill best practices, and 2. foster a healthy skepticism of the results given by AI.

That being said, I highly recommend using Research Rabbit (<https://www.researchrabbit.ai/>) and Zotero (<https://www.zotero.org/>) when writing your papers!

*Using AI without emailing me the requested information afterwards will be treated as an academic honor policy violation!*

**NOTE:** This AI Policy is provisional, and I reserve the right to cancel it via a canvas announcement with three (3) business days’ notice.

FURTHER NOTES On AI (This section is from <https://odl.fsu.edu/ai-resources>)

**University Policy**

The University is working on a generative AI policy that will provide specific resources and recommendations for faculty. In the meantime, please know that the current [**FSU Academic Honor Policy**](https://fda.fsu.edu/academic-resources/academic-integrity-and-grievances/academic-honor-policy) addresses misconduct such as:

* Using “work from print, web, or other sources without acknowledging the source” (plagiarism).
* “Improper access to or use of any information or material that is not specifically condoned by the instructor for use in the academic exercise” (cheating).
* “Unauthorized altering or inventing of any information or citation” (fabrication/falsification).

The policy also speaks to other violations that may be facilitated by AI tools.

**UGA Generative AI Webinar** (<https://www.usg.edu/teaching-and-learning-excellence/assets/facultydevelopment/documents/Generative_AI_Sept_2023_USG_webinar.pdf>)

**Email Policy:**

Please expect a response within one business day. For example, if you email me at 4:59PM on a Friday, I will respond by 4:59PM on the following Monday. If you do not receive a response within a business day, please follow up with me. I’m writing a dissertation, and sometimes I’m just crazy busy and forget! Email is the best way to contact me*.* ***Please do not use Canvas Messenger***. I reserve the right not to respond to emails if the question being asked is answered clearly on the syllabus.

**Grading Policy:**

The Final Grade in this course will be determined as follows:

Final Exam 150 Points

Research Paper 100 Points

Research Paper Idea 25 Points

Research Paper Peer Review 25 Points

Syllabus Quiz 50 Points

IU Plagiarism Assignment 50 Points

Academic Honor Policy Quiz 50 Points

Pop Reading Quizzes (10) 50 Points (Each) (lowest two dropped)

Participation/Attendance 150 Points

*Total*  1000 Points

One small extra credit assignment will be given. **There will be no further extra credit.**

Evals (100% completion) 25 Points

*Further details on assignments will be given on canvas as we approach those assignments and discussed in class on the first day of the course*.

The Indiana University Plagiarism online course is an excellent resource for knowing what is and what is not plagiarism. Everyone in academia gains inspiration from someone else’s work, and that older work should be given credit when it is due. **Unfortunately, I’ve seen more than my fair share of plagiarism.** The link for the short online course is here: <https://plagiarism.iu.edu/index.html> please email me a certificate of completion when you have completed the instruction.

The final exam will be an exam covering the material from the entire course. The exam will be administered via blue book. If you require accommodations for exams, please contact me on the first day of class.

In this course, you will write a 750 to 1000-word research paper, due on the last day of the semester at 11:59 pm EST. Well before the final paper is due, you’ll have to submit a 250-word abstract describing what you plan on writing, as well as answer a few questions about your plans. Those abstracts will be sent out to a random member of your class, who will peer review them, and you in turn will peer review one of your peer’s abstracts.

The pop reading quizzes will be given at random. They will be on Canvas but administered in class. The goal of the pop reading quizzes is to make sure 1. you’ve done the reading and 2. you understood *basic* elements of the reading. If you are absent/tardy on the day that a reading quiz is administered and that your absence/tardiness was *unexcused*, you will not be able to make up reading quizzes. If you are absent/tardy on the day that a reading quiz is administered and that your absence/tardiness was *excused*, I will either administer the reading quiz on the day that you return from whatever caused the excused absence or weigh the next reading quiz double for you. This second option will not be available for people who miss more than one reading quiz in a row (i.e. I won’t triple weigh any quiz). Generally speaking, I’ll try to leave the door open for 5 minutes on quiz days, and if you’re not in class by then, you cannot take that quiz.

The final letter grade will be assigned according to the standard table:

93-100% A 90-92 A- 87-89 B+ 83-86 B 80-82 B- 77-79 C+

73-76 C 70-72 C- 67-69 D+ 63-66 D 60-62 D- 00-59 F

**Miscellaneous Policies:**

This is an upper division university course. Students are expected to come to class having done the assigned reading, and respect the instructor as well as fellow students.

The instructor is a mandatory reporter. Please take this into consideration when disclosing sensitive information.

LATE WORK will not be accepted for credit, unless in line with the university excused absence policy. If a student was absent, but it was excused in line with the university excused absence policy, then the student has **one business week** from the date of their return to class to complete any assignments.

You are responsible for the contents of any files you upload for assignments. Check and make sure you’ve uploaded the correct (and uncorrupted) file. If I go to grade an assignment and it is incomplete or a corrupted file type, you will be given **a zero for corrupted files** and graded on whatever file you’ve sent in for incomplete files.

All excused absences will be *minimally* investigated, for example, I will send an email and/or call verifying the veracity of all doctor’s notes. **Falsifying documentation of an excused absence is a violation of the academic honor policy.**

Any violation of the academic honor policy will lead to a ***minimum*** penalty of a **zero** on any assignments covered by the academic honor violation **AND** a 10% reduction in one’s final grade (e.g. a 93%, or A, would become an 83%, or a B). Two violations of the academic honor policy (even if the first one is not caught until the second one occurs) will lead to a minimum penalty of an **F** in the course.

Schedule for Special Topics: The European Radical Right in a Comparative Perspective

Spring 2025

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Date | Topic | Assigned Readings | Assignments |
| August 26th | Welcome |  |  |
| August 28th | What is the “Radical Right”? | Arzheimer “Conceptual Confusion is not Always a Bad Thing:  The Curious Case of European Radical Right  Studies” ([https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/conceptual-confusion-european-radical-right-studies.pdf](https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/conceptual-confusion-european-radical-right-studies.pdf%20) worry less about the methodological things) | Syllabus Quiz Due: 11:59PM EST |
| September 2nd | What is the “Radical Right”? | Norris and Inglehart: Chapter 1  Norris and Inglehart: Chapter 7 (Skim) |  |
| September 4th | What is the “Radical Right”? | Carter: Chapter 1  Carter: Chapter 2 | Indiana University Plagiarism Certificate Due via Email by 11:59 PM EST |
| September 9th | What is the “Radical Right”? | Mudde: Introduction Chapter: Terminology Section  Mudde: Chapter 2 | Academic Honor Policy Quiz Due 11:59PM |
| September 11th | A Brief Detour: History of the European Radical Right: Fascism, the Holocaust, and the Failure of Democracy 1918-1945 | Required Reading:  Short Primer on the Holocaust (<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/introduction-to-the-holocaust>)  Pew Research on Holocaust Knowledge  (<https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2020/01/22/what-americans-know-about-the-holocaust/>)  One in Five Young Americans Believe the Holocaust Was a Myth:  (<https://thehill.com/homenews/education/4349815-poll-americans-holocaust-myth/>)  Pew: <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/03/05/online-opt-in-polls-can-produce-misleading-results-especially-for-young-people-and-hispanic-adults/>  Take this Holocaust Knowledge Quiz:  <https://itstartedwithwords.org/holocaust-knowledge-and-awareness-quiz/#fca_qc_quiz_456>  Suggested Reading  Germans into Nazis by Peter Fritzsche  Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy by Eric D. Weitz  Hitler and the Holocaust by Robert S. Wistrich |  |
| September 16th | A Brief Detour: History of the European Radical Right: 1945-2002  Baseball Bats, Skinheads | Mudde: Chapter 1  Mudde: Chapter 5  The Baseball Bat Years: Christian Bangel  <https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/2019-11/neo-nazis-youth-east-germany-after-berlin-wall-english/komplettansicht>  Rostock Lichtenhagen:  <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-remembers-the-rostock-anti-immigrant-riot-of-1992/a-62890639>  Suggested Reading:  Thugs or Terrorists? A Typology of Right-Wing Terrorism and Violence in Western Europe by Ravndal (2015)  <https://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/16> |  |
| September 18th | Supply Side Explanations of Radical Right | Carter Chapter 4  Norris and Inglehart Chapter 9 |  |
| September 23rd | Supply Side Explanations of Radical Right | Carter Chapter 5  Suggested Reading  Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties In Europe: Golder 2002 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414003251176> |  |
| September 25th | Supply Side Explanations of Radical Right | Public campaign financing and the rise of radical-right parties  Bichay (2020)  FSU doesn’t subscribe to this journal, so I’ll upload a PDF |  |
| September 30th | Cultural Grievances | Norris and Inglehart Chapter 2  Suggested Reading:  More Refugees, More Offenders, More Crime? Critical Comments with Data from Germany  <https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-72159-0_26> |  |
| October 2nd | Cultural Grievances | Norris and Inglehart Chapter 4 |  |
| October 7th | Cultural Grievances | Mudde Chapter 6 |  |
| October 9th | Cultural Grievances | Wealth of Tongues: Why Peripheral Regions Vote for the Radical Right in Germany, by Ziblatt, Hilbig, and Bischof  (<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055423000862>) |  |
| October 14th | Economic Grievances | The Trade Origins of Economic Nationalism: Import Competition and Voting Behavior in Western Europe by Colantone and Stanig (2018)  <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26598793>  Suggested Reading  We Were the Robots: Automation and Voting Behavior in Western Europe by Anelli, Colantone, and Staing  <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3427624> |  |
| October 16th | Economic Grievances | Welfare state policies and far right party support: moderating ‘insecurity effects' among different social groups by Vlandas and Halikiopoulou (2022)  <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01402382.2021.1886498> |  |
| October 21st | Economic Grievances | Flesh of the Same Flesh: A Study of Voters for the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the 2017 Federal Election by Hansen and Olsen (2019)  <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09644008.2018.1509312> |  |
| October 23rd | Economic Grievances | Norris and Inglehart Chapter 5 |  |
| October 28th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination, Tajfel 1970  <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24927662> | Research Paper Idea Due **Start of Class**: Peer Review Assignments Sent Out |
| October 30th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi by Daniel Posner (2004)  <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4145323> |  |
| November 4th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | Racial Threat in Public Social Spaces  Riaz and Roemer (Just Accepted at JOP)  <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/7tyqm>  or <https://doi.org/10.1086/736112> |  |
| November 6th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | Local Immigration and Support for Anti-Immigration Parties: A Meta-Analysis by Cools et al. 2021  <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ajps.12613> | Peer Review Due: 11:59pm EST |
| November 11th | **Veterans Day** | No Class: Enjoy your Freedom and Thank a Veteran. |  |
| November 13th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | How the Alternative for Germany (AfD) and their  voters veered to the radical right, 2013-2017 by Arzheimer and Berning  <https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/alternative-for-germany-party-voters-transformation.pdf> |  |
| November 18th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | Can Exposure to Celebrities Reduce Prejudice? The Effect of Mohamed Salah on Islamophobic Behaviors and Attitudes  Alrababa’h et al. (2021) <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000423> |  |
| November 20th | Immigration and Intergroup Contact | Norris and Inglehart: Chapter 6 |  |
| November 25th | Gender and the Far Right | Mudde: Chapter 9  Suggested Reading:  Glick, Peter and Susan T. Fiske. 1997. “Hostile and Benevolent Sexism: Measuring Ambivalent Sexist Attitudes Toward Women.” |  |
| November 27th |  | Thanksgiving: No Class |  |
| December 2nd | Gender and the Far Right | When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation by Weeks et al (2023)  <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422000107>  Suggested Reading:  Do Radical-Right Parties Use Descriptive Representation Strategically? A Replication of Weeks et al. (2023)  (Guinaudeau and Jankowski 2024)  <https://ideas.repec.org//p/zbw/i4rdps/149.html>  and  Response to “Do Radical-Right Parties Use Descriptive Representation Strategically? A Replication of Weeks et al. (2023)”  Weeks et al 2024  <https://ideas.repec.org/p/zbw/i4rdps/150.html> |  |
| December 4th | Concluding Thoughts | Golder 2016  <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/full/10.1146/annurev-polisci-042814-012441>  Norris and Inglehart: Chapter 13  Mudde: Chapter 10 |  |
| December 8th | Final Exam | 10:00 AM - Noon | Bring a Bluebook! BE on Time! |
| December 10th | Research Paper |  | Research Paper Due 5PM EST |

**Required Syllabus Language**

**University Attendance Policy:**

Excused absences include documented illness, deaths in the family, and other documented crises, call to active military duty or jury duty, religious holy days, and official University activities. These absences will be accommodated in a way that does not arbitrarily penalize students who have a valid written excuse. Consideration will also be given to students whose dependent children experience serious illness.

**Academic Honor Policy:**

The Florida State University Academic Honor Policy outlines the University’s expectations for the integrity of student’s academic work, the procedures for resolving alleged violations of those expectations, and the rights and responsibilities of students and faculty members throughout the process. Students are responsible for reading the Academic Honor Policy and for living up to their pledge to “. . . be honest and truthful and . . . [to] strive for personal and institutional integrity at Florida State University.” (Florida State University Academic Honor Policy, found at [**http://fda.fsu.edu/academic-resources/academic-integrity-and-grievances/academic-honor-policy**](https://fda.fsu.edu/academic-resources/academic-integrity-and-grievances/academic-honor-policy))

**Americans With Disabilities Act:**

FSU is committed to providing reasonable accommodation for all persons with disabilities in a manner that is consistent with the academic standards of the course while empowering the student to meet the integral requirements of the course. Students with disabilities needing academic accommodation should: (1) register with and provide documentation to the Office of Accessibility Services; and (2) request a letter from the Office of Accessibility Services to be sent to the instructor indicating the need for accommodation and what type; and (3) meet (in person, via phone, email, zoom, etc...) with each instructor to whom a letter of accommodation was sent to review approved accommodations. Please note that instructors are not allowed to provide classroom accommodations to a student until appropriate verification from the Office of Accessibility Services has been provided. This syllabus and other class materials are available in an alternative format upon request. For the latest version of this statement and more information about services available to FSU students with disabilities, contact the:

Office of Accessibility Services  
874 Traditions Way  
108 Student Services Building  
Florida State University  
Tallahassee, FL 32306-4167  
(850) 644-9566 (voice)  
(850) 644-8504 (TDD)  
[**oas@fsu.edu**](mailto:oas@fsu.edu)  
[**https://dsst.fsu.edu/oas**](https://dsst.fsu.edu/oas)

**Academic Success:**

Your academic success is a top priority for Florida State University. University resources to help you succeed include tutoring centers, computer labs, counseling and health services, and services for designated groups, such as veterans and students with disabilities. The following information is not exhaustive, so please check with your advisor or the Department of Student Support and Transitions to learn more.

***Confidential campus resources:***

Various centers and programs are available to assist students with navigating stressors that might impact academic success. These include the following:

*Victim Advocate Program*  
University Center A, Rm. 4100  
(850) 644-7161  
Available 24/7/365  
Office Hours: M-F 8-5  
[**https://dsst.fsu.edu/vap**](https://dsst.fsu.edu/vap)

*Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)*  
Florida State University’s Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) primary mission is to address psychological needs and personal concerns, which may interfere with students’ academic progress, social development, and emotional well-being. The following in-person and virtual (tele-mental health) services are available to all enrolled students residing in the state of Florida:  
1. Individual therapy  
2. Group therapy  
3. Crisis Intervention  
4. Psychoeducational and outreach programming  
5. After hours crisis-hotline  
6. Access to community providers for specialized treatment  
Call 850-644-TALK (8255) for more information on how to initiate services.

Counseling and Psychological Services  
250 Askew Student Life Center  
942 Learning Way  
(850) 644-TALK (8255)  
Walk-in and Appointment Hours:  
M-F 8 am – 4 pm  
[**https://counseling.fsu.edu/**](https://counseling.fsu.edu/)

*Services at UHS are available to all enrolled students residing in Florida:*  
The mission of University Health Services (UHS) is to promote and improve the overall health and well-being of FSU students. UHS provides a coordinated continuum of care through prevention, intervention, and treatment. Services include general medical care, priority care, gynecological services, physicals, allergy injection clinic, immunizations, diagnostic imaging, physical therapy, and a medical response unit. The Center for Health Advocacy and Wellness (CHAW) assists students in their academic success through individual, group, and population-based health and wellness initiatives. Topics include wellness, alcohol and other drugs, hazing prevention, nutrition and body image, sexual health, and power based personal violence prevention. For more information, go to uhs.fsu.edu.

University Health Services  
Health and Wellness Center  
960 Learning Way  
Tallahassee, FL 32306  
Hours: M-F, 8 am – 4 pm  
(850) 644-6230  
[**https://uhs.fsu.edu/**](https://uhs.fsu.edu/)

**Free Tutoring from FSU**

On-campus tutoring and writing assistance is available for many courses at Florida State University. A comprehensive list of on-campus tutoring options is available at **tutoring.fsu.edu.**High-quality tutoring is available by appointment and on a walk-in basis. These services are offered by tutors trained to encourage the highest level of individual academic success while upholding personal academic integrity.

**Syllabus Change Policy**

Except for changes that substantially affect implementation of the evaluation (grading) statement, this syllabus is a guide for the course and is subject to change with advance notice.

**Statement on Public Health Protocols**

During any adverse event or condition that threatens our University community, please look for specific information on the FSU Alerts page ([**https://alerts.fsu.edu/**](https://alerts.fsu.edu/)) to ascertain particulars to the current situation. Please be patient with one another while we navigate any ongoing challenge. Whatever happens, we are committed to helping you learn the material thoroughly and stay on schedule with your degree program.

**Statement for Classes Subject to HB233 Recording**

In this class, consistent with state law and university policy, students are permitted to make recordings of class lectures for personal use only. As noted, sharing, posting, or publishing classroom recordings may subject you to honor code violations and legal penalties associated with theft of intellectual property and violations of other state laws. Moreover, students and educators have expressed concern that recording classroom activities may negatively impact the learning experience for others, especially in classes that involve questions, discussion, or participation. To protect a learning environment in which everyone feels free to experiment with ideas, we ask you to refrain from recording in ways that could make others feel reluctant to ask questions, explore new ideas, or otherwise participate in class. Students must monitor their recordings so that they do not include participation by other students without permission. Students with disabilities will continue to have appropriate accommodations for recordings as established by the Office of Accessibility Services.