

FAR RIGHT IN EUROPE AND BEYOND

EUS 6930 – Special Topics

POS 6933 – Special Topics

Semester: Spring 2026 (version: public)

Days: information on Canvas

Dates: 01/12 – 04/22

Location: information on Canvas

Instructor: Lenka Bustikova

e-mail: information on Canvas

Office Hours: information on Canvas

Office Location: information on Canvas

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Graduate level course in comparative politics. This seminar offers an introduction to the study of the far right in Europe and beyond. The course emphasizes core readings in the field and in depth understanding of seminal works.

Prerequisite:

- There are no official pre-requisites, but students are expected to be familiar with some core readings in comparative politics.
- Students are encouraged to have a working knowledge of Rydgren, Jens, ed. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Requirements:

You are expected to participate actively in the class and to be involved. You have to read carefully the assigned books and papers for each week from the A list. B list readings are recommended and optional. Students are responsible for leading discussions each week. At the end of the semester, you will present a draft of your research paper. The topic of the draft should fit in the scope of the class. If you are not sure if your paper topic fits, please consult the instructor. The research paper should follow a submission to a journal in comparative politics. I am happy to read and comment on earlier versions of your research paper drafts within five business days.

- One long opinion piece + presentation (8-10 pages), include B list readings
- One short opinion piece + presentation (2-3 pages), selectively focus on the A list
- Active class participation
- Research paper (draft) presentation
- Research paper, 20-25 pages including bibliography, double-spaced, font 12. The paper should be 7,000-9,000 words, please include a word count in your paper.

Students will be evaluated based on the following items:

- 1) Student's presentation and discussion of a particular week's readings, which should cover the following: research question(s), motivation/background, theory/hypotheses, methodology, data, results, implications, and future directions. The discussant will circulate a summary / opinion piece and 3 questions by midnight before the class on Canvas and via e-mail.
- 2) Student's general contribution to class throughout the term.
- 3) Final written research paper. More details on these assignments will be given during class.

Please circulate your opinion pieces by **Sunday night** via email to the whole class and submit your opinion piece (either the long one or the short one on Canvas).

Final Paper Deadline: April 30, 2026 (midnight)

Final Grade

- One long opinion piece – 20%
- One short opinion piece / summary – 10%
- Active class participation – 20%
- Research paper presentation – 10%
- Research paper – 40%

Graded Work

Requirements for class attendance and assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found in the [Catalog](#).

Grading Scale

Letter Grade	Number Grade
A	100-92.5
A-	92.4-89.5
B+	89.4-86.5
B	86.4-82.5
B-	82.4-79.5
C+	79.4-76.5
C	76.4-72.5
C-	72.4-69.5
D+	69.4-66.5
D	66.4-62.5
D-	62.4-59.5
E	59.4-0

See the UF Catalog's "[Grades and Grading Policies](#)" for information on how UF assigns grade points.

Recommended books:

Rydgren, Jens, ed. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Note: David Art is visiting and giving a talk on February 20. He will meet graduate students on February 19.

Week 1: Introduction

Week 3: Mapping the (messy) field of the far right

Week 3: Theories of the far right: Supply and demand

Week 5: Ideas and Opportunity Structures

Week 6: Immigration

Week 7: Democracy and Ethnicity

Week 8: Norms and 'New' Rights

Week 9: Conflict and War

Week 11: Democratic Erosion

Week 12: Religion

Month	Week		Topic
January	12	1	Introduction
	19	2	Holiday
	26	3	Mapping the field
February	2	4	Supply and demand
	9	5	Mudde and Kitschelt
	16	6	Dancygier and Meguid
	23	7	Bustikova and Capoccia
March	2	8	Kaltwasser and Valentim
	9	9	Ukraine, Russia, Georgia
	16	10	Spring break
	23	11	Democratic Erosion
	30	12	See Canvas
April	6	13	Far Right and Religion
	13	14	See Canvas
	20	15	Student presentations

Week 1

Introduction

A-list

- Art, David. 2020. "The Myth of Global Populism." *Perspectives on Politics* 20(3): 999–1011. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720003552>.
- Arzheimer, K. 2009. "Contextual factors and the extreme right vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 259-275.
- Ignazi, Pierro. 1992. "The silent counter-revolution. Hypotheses on the emergence of extreme right-wing parties in Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 22(1): 3-34.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. "The Radical Right: A Problem for American Democracy." *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 6, no. 2, [Wiley, London School of Economics and Political Science, London School of Economics], 1955, pp. 176–209, <https://doi.org/10.2307/587483>.
- Hannah Arendt. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Chapter 9 to Chapter 12 (pp. 267-460). <https://www.azioniparallele.it/images/materiali/Totalitarianism.pdf>, Ch 9: The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man, Ch 10: A Classless Society, Ch 11: The Totalitarian Movement, Ch 12: Totalitarian in Power. (selections: read only Ch 9 - from page 267; Chapter 9: The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man)
- Karl Polanyi. 1944. *Satanic Mill*. In: *The Great Transformation*. (selections: part one and the beginning of part two – read Part One, International System, from pages 2-19; Part Two, Rise and Fall of Market Economy, sections from I. Satanic Mill read only pages 19 - 44 <https://economicsociology.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/the-great-transformation-pdf-free.pdf>)
- Orban, V. (2014). Viktor Orbán's speech at the XXV. Bálványos Free Summer University and Youth Camp, 26th July, 2014., Băile Tușnad (Tusnádfürdő). Csaba Tóth. July 29, 2014. The Budapest Beacon (October 13, 2013- April 13, 2018). Source: <https://budapestbeacon.com/full-text-of-viktor-orbans-speech-at-baile-tusnad-tusnadfurdo-of-26-july-2014/> https://hungarianspectrum.wordpress.com/2014/07/31/viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-xxv-balvanyos-free-summer-university-and-youth-camp-july-26-2014-baile-tusnad-tusnadfurdo/comment-page-1/?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Hitler, Adolf. (1939). *Mein Kampf*. Read only Chapter XI, Race and People, pp. 228-276. <https://dn721900.ca.archive.org/0/items/in.ernet.dli.2015.526617/2015.526617.Mein-Kampf1939.pdf>

B-list (optional readings, recommendations are posted on Canvas)

Week 3

Mapping the (Messy) Field of the Far Right

A-list

- Arzheimer, K. (2019). Conceptual Confusion is Not Always a Bad Thing – The Curious Case of European Radical Right Studies. In: Marker, K., Schmitt, A., Sirsch, J. (eds) *Demokratie und Entscheidung*. Springer VS, Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-24529-0_3
also: The Curious Case of European Radical Right Studies <https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/conceptual-confusion-european-radical-right-studies.pdf>
- Roger Eatwell. 2003. Ten Theories of the Extreme Right. *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century*, Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg (eds.), London: Frank Cass, pp. 47-73. (uploaded on SharePoint)
- Matt Golder. 2016. Far right parties in Europe. *American Review of Political Science* 19, 477-97.
- Mudde, Cas. "The populist zeitgeist." *Government and opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 541-563.

Week 4

Theories of Far Right: Supply and Demand

A-list

- Halikiopoulou, Daphne, and Tim Vlandas. "When economic and cultural interests align: the anti-immigration voter coalitions driving far right party success in Europe." *European Political Science Review* 12, no. 4 (2020): 427-448.
- Gest, Justin. *Majority Minority: How Demographic Change Is Remaking Politics Around the World*. Oxford University Press, 2022. (selections)
- Kedar, Orit. (2005). When moderate voters prefer extreme parties: Policy balancing in parliamentary elections. *American Political Science Review*, 99, 185-199.
- Meguid, Bonnie M. "Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (August 2005): 347–359. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055405051763>.

- Rydgren, Jens, ed. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (selections)

Week 5

Ideas and Opportunity Structures

A-list

- Mudde, C. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Anthony J. McGann. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Week 6

Immigration

A-list

- Art, David. *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. (selections)
- Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (selections)
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2008. *Party Competition Between Unequals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (selections)

Week 7

Ethnicity and Democracy

A-list

- Giovanni Capoccia. 2001. Defending democracy: Reactions to Political Extremism in Inter-War Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 39: 431 - 460.
- Bustikova, Lenka. 2020. *Extreme Reactions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Urbinati, Nadia. *Democracy disfigured*. Harvard University Press, 2014. Chapter 3: The Populist Power, pages: 128-171. (selections)

Week 8

Norms and 'New' Rights: Kaltwasser and Valentim

A-list

- Kaltwasser et al. *The Far Right in Latin America*. Cambridge University, forthcoming. (manuscript on SharePoint)
- Valentim Vincente. 2024. *The Normalization of the Radical Right*. Oxford University Press.

Week 9

War and Conflict

A-list

- Uehling, Greta Lynn. *Everyday War: The Conflict over Donbas, Ukraine*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2023.
<https://doi.org/10.7591/cornell/9781501767593.001.0001>. (selections)
- Garner, Ian. 2023. *Z Generation: Into the Heart of Russia's Fascist Youth*. London: Hurst & Co. 9781787389281. <https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/z-generation/> (selections)
- Colborne, Michael. 2022. *From the Fires of War: Ukraine's Azov Movement and the Global Far Right*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
<https://cup.columbia.edu/book/from-the-fires-of-war/978383821508> (manuscript on SharePoint, selections)

B-list (optional readings, recommendations are posted on Canvas)

- Gelashvili, Tamta. "Opportunities matter: The evolution of far-right protest in Georgia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 75.4 (2023): 649-674.

Week 11

Democratic Erosion

A-list

- Haggard, S., & Kaufman, R. (2021). *Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World (Elements in Political Economy)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
doi:10.1017/9781108957809. [Read the whole Element](#). Link:
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/elements/backsliding/CCD2F28FB63A56409FF8911351F2E937>

- Hanson, Stephen E., and Jeffrey S. Kopstein. *The Assault on the State: How the Global Attack on Modern Government Endangers Our Future*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2024. (selections)

Week 13

Far Right and Religion

A-list

- Gorski, Philip S., and Samuel L. Perry. *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. (selections)
- Minkenberg, Michael. "The Radical Right in Europe: Cultural Shifts and Religious Nativism." In *The Routledge Handbook of Religion, Politics and Ideology*, 1st ed., 15–29. London: Routledge, 2021. or Minkenberg, Michael. (2025). Religion and the Radical Right in West European Democracies: Christian and Para-Christian Identities. *The Journal of Illiberalism Studies* 5(1): 59–70.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (8): 1191–1226.
- Kotwas, Marta & Jan Kubik. 2019. "Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Poland." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33(2): 435–471.

Links

- Kai Arzheimer. The Eclectic, Erratic Bibliography on the Extreme Right in Western Europe. Link: <https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/extreme-right-western-europe-bibliography/> @RRResRobot
- C-Rex. <https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/>
- Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy. <https://standinggroups.ecpr.eu/extremismanddemocracy/>
- Team Populism. <https://populism.byu.edu/>
- The PopuList. <https://popu-list.org/>
- Illiberalism. Link: <https://www.illiberalism.org/>

University Policies and Resources

Attendance policy

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at:

<https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>.

Students requiring accommodation

Students who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center by visiting <https://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started/>. It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

UF course evaluation process

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online. Students can complete evaluations in three ways:

1. The email they receive from GatorEvals
2. Their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals
3. The central portal at <https://my-ufl.bluera.com>

Guidance on how to provide constructive feedback is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

University Honesty Policy

University of Florida students are bound by the Honor Pledge. On all work submitted for credit by a student, the following pledge is required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Student Honor Code and Conduct Code (Regulation 4.040) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code, as well as the process for reported allegations and sanctions that may be implemented. All potential violations of the code will be reported to Student Conduct and Conflict Resolution. If a student is found responsible for an Honor Code violation in this course, the instructor will enter a Grade Adjustment sanction which may be up to or including failure of the course. For additional information, see <https://sccr.dso.ufl.edu/policies/student-honor-code-student-conduct-code/>.

In-class recording

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A "class lecture" is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or guest lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To "publish" means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript

of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third-party-note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Procedure for conflict resolution

Any classroom issues, disagreements or grade disputes should be discussed first between the instructor and the student. If the problem cannot be resolved, please contact Dr. Ben Smith (bbsmith@ufl.edu, 352-273-2345). Be prepared to provide documentation of the problem, as well as all graded materials for the semester. Issues that cannot be resolved departmentally will be referred to the University Ombuds Office (<http://www.ombuds.ufl.edu>; 352-392-1308) or the Dean of Students Office (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu>; 352-392-1261).

Resources available to students

Health and Wellness

- U Matter, We Care: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, or visit [U Matter, We Care website](#) to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.
- Counseling and Wellness Center: [Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website](#) or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.
- Student Health Care Center: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or [visit the Student Health Care Center website](#).
- University Police Department: Visit [UF Police Department website](#) or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).
- UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; Visit the [UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website](#).
- GatorWell Health Promotion Services: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the [GatorWell website](#) or call 352-273-4450.

Academic Resources

- E-learning technical support: Contact the [UF Computing Help Desk](#) at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.
- [Career Connections Center](#): Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392-1601. Career assistance and counseling services.
- [Library Support](#): Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources. Call 866-281-6309 or email ask@ufl.libanswers.com for more information.
- [Teaching Center](#): 1317 Turlington Hall, Call 352-392-2010, or to make a private appointment: 352-392-6420. Email contact: teaching-center@ufl.edu. General study skills and tutoring.
- [Writing Studio](#): Daytime (9:30am-3:30pm): 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138 | Evening (5:00pm-7:00pm): 1545 W University Avenue (Library West, Rm. 339). Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.
- Academic Complaints: Office of the Ombuds; [Visit the Complaint Portal webpage for more information](#).
- Enrollment Management Complaints (Registrar, Financial Aid, Admissions): [View the Student Complaint Procedure webpage for more information](#).