Panel 5.15 Transnational Far-Right Mobilizations: Historical Legacies, Contemporary Dynamics, and Emerging Trajectories

This panel welcomes empirical and theoretical research on the dynamics of far-right politics, with a particular interest in its transnational dimension, which extends beyond national politics. The transnationalization of the far right is a significant and evolving phenomenon, characterized by intricate networks of actors and forms that traverse diverse pathways and mechanisms. Anti-immigrant and anti-gender actors, as well as actors mobilizing in relation to various crises, convene at events internationally, supporting the diffusion of frames and strategies and contributing to international learning. However, the extent of our understanding of far right transnationalization remains unclear. While the transnationalization of the far right is a rising trend, it has significant historical roots, as can be seen by examining Fascist and Nazi experiences and post-war neo-fascist networks in France and Spain. Despite these recent and historical patterns, the extent to which we understand the transnationalization of the far right is still unclear. How do these organizations develop transnational frames and collective identities, build international coordination networks, and organize cross-national mobilizations? What are the various paths and mechanisms through which far right forces (parties, movements, cultural groups) extend their political activism beyond national borders? Are there differences in the degree and forms of transnationalization among different sub-sectors? Based on a novel conceptualization of transnationalism in far-right politics, combining insights from social movement studies and party politics, this panel challenges the dominant misrepresentation of far-right nationalistic forces as inherently opposed to transnationalization. Instead, it offers an analysis of this phenomenon as an increasing and open-ended process. Despite opposing supranational systems, far right organizations find it necessary to engage transnationally in action, framing, and linkages, following diverse trajectories. Thus, this panel invites researchers to explore the changing dynamics of far-right politics by investigating a broad range of social and political actors and their activities. The far-right cannot be fully understood without this transnational dimension, which involves cross-fertilization, shared objectives, idea exchange, networks, cooperation, and joint demonstrations. Examining historical and contemporary examples reveals that transnational mobilization is not new and is facilitated by various factors, including personal ties and new technologies. This panel is open to contributions on all forms of far-right transnationalization—circulation of ideas, web usage, political violence, global collaboration—across all geographical contexts and time periods. This integrated approach allows for the examination of diverse actors and mechanisms, fostering a rich and interdisciplinary dialogue.

Chairs:

Carlo De Nuzzo (carlo.denuzzo@sciencespo.fr), Batuhan Eren (batuhan.eren@sns.it)