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Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy

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STANDING GROUP ANNOUNCEMENTS

REMINDER: REGISTER AS AN E&D STANDING GROUP MEMBER

As we informed you in our previous newsletters, the ECPR now holds all membership lists for its Standing Groups in its central database. In order to join our Standing Group (always free of charge!), or to continue your membership, you can join the Extremism & Democracy Standing Group at the click of a button, via the ECPR website. If you have not already done so, please register as a member so that out list is up to date and complete.

In order to join, you will need a MyECPR account, which we assume many of you will already have. If you do not have one, you can create an account in only a few minutes (and you need not be from an ECPR member institution to do so). If you are from a non-member institution, we will need to accept your application to join, so your membership status (which you can see via your MyECPR account, and on the Standing Group pages when you are logged in to MyECPR) will be 'pending' until we accept you.

Should you have any queries at all about this please do not hesitate to contact us.

SARAH AND MATTHIJS BOW OUT

As of January 2017, Sarah de Lange has stepped down from the convenorship of the Standing Group. Her recent appointment to full professor at the University of Amsterdam, and the increasing commitments associated to the post, made it difficult for her to devote the Standing Group the same attention and care of the three previous years served as joint convenor. In May 2007, Matthijs Rooduijn has also decided to stand down amid growing professional and private commitments, *de facto* making this newsletter his last contribution as convenor of the Standing Group and co-editor of the *e-Extreme*. While saddened by their decision, we have plenty of reasons to rejoice for their career and personal developments. We would like to take this opportunity to thank them for their proactive role in steering of our community – as scholars, teammates, and friends. Never short of guiding words and helpful suggestions, they have contributed to turn the Standing Group into the modern and dynamic network you have come to know. We trust that they will continue to be a crucial part of our group and spare no effort to engage in our activities. *Good luck, guys!*

CATERINA FROIO JOINS AS JOINT CONVENOR, SG MEETING IN OSLO, AND STEERING COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

Following recent changes in our convenorship, we would like to welcome Caterina Froio, currently VOX-Pol Research Fellow at the University of Oxford, as new joint convenor of the SG. Caterina has worked alongside the SG convenors to organise 'E&D-endorsed' sections at the ECPR General Conferences in Prague and Oslo; we are thus very happy to have her on board with us! We will hold a SG meeting at the ECPR General Conference in Oslo, where we will get to discuss future prospects of the network and elections to possibly confirm the *ad interim* configuration of the Standing Group Steering Committee. More information will follow.

ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE OSLO, 6-9 SEPTEMBER 2017

The Standing Group endorses the section *Populism, Political Radicalism and Political Extremism: Normalisation and Contestation in Changing Democracies* (Section 49) at the upcoming ECPR General Conference in Oslo, 6-9 September 2017. The section is organised by Caterina Froio (University of Oxford) and Steven M. van Hauwaert (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas). We published the description of the section in our previous issue, and it can also be found on the ECPR website.

The process of review and approval of panels and papers has been completed. The section consists of no less than 19 panels, which are listed below:

P095   Digital Populism: Internet and Far Right Populist Politics
P097   Disentangling the Support for Left and Right Populism
P123   Expressing Dissatisfaction
P139   Friends with Benefits? Changing Relationships between Radical Right Populist Parties in Europe
P175   Insights from Internal Supply Side Perspectives (Structures, Ideas, Mobilizations)
P196   Left/Right Populism in Times of Crises: Economy, Immigration and Democratic Representation
P217   Measuring Populism and Populist Attitudes
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CALL FOR PAPERS: ANTI-IMMIGRATION PARTIES IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Conference: Italian Political Science Association (SISP) Annual Conference

Panel: Anti-Immigration Parties in a Comparative Perspective: What Kind of Effects on Politics and Policies?

Chairs: Maria Elisabetta Lanzone (University of Genoa) and Angelo Scotto (University of Pavia)

Location and date: Urbino, 14-16 September 2017

Deadline for submissions: 29 May 2017

During the past two decades, migration flows have been able to change our societies generating new potential conflicts between cultures and unprecedented challenges. Europeanization and multiculturalism effort also involve a new kind of centre-periphery conflict (Andersen 2003). These phenomena caused new social cleavages: a transformation of existing parties and the rising of new political organization putting "migration problems" at the core of their political agenda.

In the same context, since the early 1980s the radical right has re-emerged as an electoral force in Western Europe, as well as in other stable democracies (Canada, Australia and New Zealand). Parties such as the French Front National, the Belgian Vlaams Belang, the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) and the Danish People's Party have established themselves in their respective party systems. In general, this political family share a fundamental core of ethno-nationalist xenophobia and anti-political-establishment populism, too (Rydgren 2005; Minkenberg 2001; Mudde 2008). However, although these definitions work well for almost all previous cited parties, as well as for a number of related parties characterized by other peculiarities, too (for example the Northern League in Italy and the Swedish Democrats), it is necessary to better classify different cases in order to compare their attitudes towards migrations policies and their influence (impact) on their national party systems.

According to Rydgren (2008) there are no a priori reasons to expect that all

parties with an anti-immigration political agenda are also xenophobes or racists and it proposes to differentiate "anti-immigration parties" between immigration scepticism, xenophobic attitudes and racism. This approach offers an important starting point to analyse in a comparative perspective the connection between migration problems and political parties.

Besides differences between different cases and the reasons of electoral success (causes) the consequences of their victories on policies-making process have remained largely unexplored (Ivarsflaten 2008; Van der Brug et al. 2005; Van Spanje 2010). Do pressures from "anti-immigration parties" have a sort of contagion impact on other party positions on migration policies? Moreover, anti-immigration parties are able to influence policy output in their political systems also without entering government or their electoral success does not automatically translate into policy influence? When these parties succeed in achieving policy roles, do they act consistently with their previous stances?

The panel aims to promote the analysis and discussion on the above-mentioned questions, and on any other issue related to the role of anti-immigration parties in migration policymaking, both at national and local level. We welcome papers that:

1. Propose empirical analyses and case studies (both singles and comparative) of anti-immigration parties;
2. Focus on the parties' ideological approaches towards immigration, on the ways they are able to influence the immigration policymaking (or the reasons why they are not able), on the differences between discourses and actual practices;
3. Deal with specific policy areas (e.g. border control, welfare, security, etc.) or focus on specific categories of migrants (refugees and asylum seekers, foreign workers, irregular migrants, etc.);
4. Offer innovative methodological approaches and theoretical reflections on the concept of anti-immigration party, the politics–policy nexus and the migration policymaking processes.

The deadline for submitting paper proposals is Monday 29th May 2017. In order to submit a proposal, you have to register on the website of the SISP – Italian Political Science Association (www.sisp.it/register) and then follow these steps:

- go to the page of the 2017 Conference (www.sisp.it/convegno2017);
- enter the title of your proposal and the names of all the co-authors;
- click on 'Submit a paper/abstract', choose your language and then select the section 3 ('Politica comparata') and the panel 4 ('Anti-immigration parties ...');
- enter the abstract of your paper proposal: the limit is 2500 characters.

The authors of accepted papers can register to the Conference from 15 June to 14 September 2017. The fees for participating to the Conference is €80 for authors registering before 31 July 2017, €100 after this date.

CALL FOR PAPERS: NOVELTIES WITHIN RADICAL RIGHT WING POLITICS

Workshop: Novelties within Radical Right Wing Politics
Organising committee: Fabian Virchow (Hochschule Düsseldorf), Rafał Pankowski (Collegium Civitas / Nigdy Więcej), Grzegorz Piotrowski (ECS), Daniel Płatek (IFiS PAN)
Location and date: European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk, 9-10 October 2017
Deadline for submissions: 2 June 2017

With the radical right wing politics on the rise in Europe and beyond, one can observe ongoing changes in organizational models and repertoires of action of nationalist, racist and xenophobic groups. These novelties include also new discourses used to adapt to the changing geopolitical situation or creation of new discourses and 'enemies'. Radical right wing politics are no longer party-based or limited to violent skinhead groups. With the rise of alt-right in the US, PEGIDA mobilizations in Germany, through experiments such as autonomous nationalists and 'national anarchism' to right wing squatted social centers – Casa Pounds in Italy, radical right wing political scene seems to be thriving with energy and new ideas. Is it an illusion or is it really the case? The idea behind this workshop-conference is to gather papers discussing such changes and challenges. In particular we are interested in (but not limited to) submissions regarding:

- Novel protest repertoires
- New models of organization and their consequences for radical right wing activism
- Creation of new discourses on the radical right and adaptation to the changes in the
  modern world
- How the different innovations on the right are assessed by like-minded activists in other
  countries?
- New ways of studying radical right wing movements and mobilizations.

We are looking forward to papers dealing with one of the topics above, from contemporary or historical perspective. Methodological papers, ethnographic case studies or comparative analyses are welcome, in particular from under-researched areas. Best papers will be submitted either as an edited volume to an academic publisher or proposed as a special issue to an academic journal. The idea of this small-scale workshop is to arrive with developed papers and use the occasion to discuss them and receive feedback used for further development of the articles. The workshop will be held in English.

TIMELINE
- June 2nd 2017 / deadline for submissions
- June 30th 2017 / announcement of the accepted papers and conference program
  Full paper submission is expected by 01.10.2017

CONFERENCE   FEE
There is no conference fee. Meals during conference will be provided. There is a limited fund for accommodation and travel assistance for invited speakers.

ORGANIZERS
European Solidarity Centre, FORENA - Research Unit on Right-Wing Extremism at Hochschule Düsseldorf and 'Never Again' Association

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Prof. Fabian Virchow (Hochschule Düsseldorf), Prof. Rafał Pankowski (Collegium Civitas / Nigdy Więcej), Dr Grzegorz Piotrowski (ECS), Daniel Płatek (IFiS PAN)

SUBMISSIONS In order to submit a proposal, fill in the form (LINK), and send it by June 2nd 2017 together with an abstract of your paper

- by e-mail / please include in the title: RIGHT WING WORKSHOP to: g.piotrowski@ecs.gda.pl
- or by post / with an annotation RIGHT WING WORKSHOP to
  European Solidarity Centre
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KEEP US INFORMED

Please keep us informed of any upcoming conferences or workshops you are organising, and of any publication or funding opportunities that would be of interest to Standing Group members. We will post all details on our website. Similarly, if you would like to write a report on a conference or workshop that you have organised and have this included in our newsletter, please do let us know.

Please also tell us of any recent publications of interest to Standing Group members so that we may include them in the 'publications alert' section of our newsletter, and please get in touch if you would like to see a particular book (including your own) reviewed in *e-Extreme*, or if you would like to review a specific book yourself.

Finally, if you would like to get involved in the production of the newsletter, the development of our website, or any of the other activities of the Standing Group, please do get in touch. We are always very keen to involve more members in the running of the Standing Group! Email us at: info@extremism-and-democracy.com.

CONFERENCE REPORT

EUROPE'S NEW RADICAL LEFT IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece
26-27 November 2016

By Antonis Galanopoulos
PhD Candidate, School of Political Science, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

The School of Political Sciences at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Athens Office) recently organized the international workshop themed 'Europe's New Radical Left in Times of Crisis: Continuities, Innovations, Breakthroughs and Impasses.' The workshop took place at the Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences and included distinguished international and Greek scholars, younger researchers, as well as political activists.

Among the main aims of the workshop was to focus both on theoretical issues and on empirical comparative perspectives regarding the current situation and the future prospects of radical left politics in Europe.

On behalf of the organizers, Yannis Stavrakakis (head of the School of Political Sciences), Electra Alexandropoulou (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Athens Office) and Giorgos Katsambekis (coordinator of the organizing committee) opened the workshop with some introductory remarks, offering background information and stressing the key questions that the Workshop purported to address.

After the introduction, Myrto Tsakatika (University of Glasgow) gave her keynote lecture, presenting the state of the art in the recent literature and exploring new pathways for research regarding radical left parties in Europe and beyond. She argued that after a period of neglect of the study of this party family, the economic crisis generated a renewed interest in radical left parties. During her lecture, she identified new research challenges in several topics, among which: the left as a major government partner, left-wing populism, leadership and party organization, the European question and comparative analysis of radical left parties across Europe.

The first panel focused on the electoral strategies and results of European radical left parties. Vivian Spyropoulou (Panteion University) focused on the European level, Petar Bankov (University of Glasgow) on the sub-national level

and Giannis Balabanidis (Panteion University) on the national level, analyzing the example of Syriza.

The following two panels focused on particular empirical cases and each speaker analyzed a specific radical left party from a different European country. In the second panel, Marco Lisi (Universidade Nova de Lisboa) spoke about the latest developments in the Portuguese Left, Costas Eleftheriou (University of Athens) described the lessons from the Syriza case while in power, and Alen Toplisek (Queen Mary University of London) presented the case of Slovenia's United Left coalition. In the third panel, Paul Lucardie (University of Groningen) analyzed the transformation of the Dutch Socialist Party from its foundation onwards, Philippe Marlière (UCL) focused on the left-wing populism of Jean-Luc Mélenchon in today's France, and finally Dan Keith (University of York) described the case of Die Linke in Germany.

The second day of the workshop kicked off with a keynote lecture by Paolo Gerbaudo (King's College London), who explored the ideological landscape of the post-2011 Left through the lens of populism and citizenism. He described populism as the ideology of popular sovereignty and citizenism as a peculiar kind of populist ideology, a hybrid of populism and neo-anarchism. Finally, Gerbaudo turned his focus on the notion of sovereignty, which he regards as the new master signifier of our age. As he noted, within this the new battlefield for hegemony left-wing populism promotes the idea of popular sovereignty, while right-wing populism stresses the idea of national sovereignty.

The fourth panel of the workshop included both theoretical and empirical contributions. Giorgos Charalambous (University of Cyprus), starting from a critical review of the literature, tried to clarify some definitional and conceptual problems regarding the association of European radical left parties with populism. Giorgos Katsambekis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), focusing on the experience of Syriza in Greece, reflected on the transition of left-wing populism from opposition to power. And finally, Alexandros Kioupkiolis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) analyzed the phenomenon of 'reflexive populism,' drawing on the experience and strategy of Podemos.

The workshop concluded with two round tables, one consisting of activists and the other of experts, bringing in this way together the experiences and reflections stemming from direct action with those rooted in scientific insight and scrutiny.

In the activists' round table, Marina Prentoulis (Syriza London, Labour, Another Europe is Possible) focused on the situation in UK after the British referendum and outlined the prospects for a left-wing response in the current conjuncture. Isidro López (Podemos) gave a historical background of Podemos, analyzed the current situation of the party after the last national election and referred to the

major debates in which the party members are now engaged. Igor Stokfiszewski (Diem25, *Political Critique* network) highlighted the importance of the transnational dimension in the discussion around today's Left, stressing the need for trans-national campaigns and referring to the example of Blockupy movement. Finally, Andreas Karitzis (HUB for social economy, empowerment and innovation) focused on the failure of the traditional ways of doing (progressive) politics and stressed the need for a renewal of the political and theoretical arsenal of the Left.

In the concluding experts' round table, Michalis Spourdalakis (University of Athens) argued that the new radical left has to come up with a new concept of political power and to activate the transformative capacity of the state. Yannis Stavrakakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) talked about the symbolic and the imaginary obstacles for forms of alternative collective action today and the importance of an alternative organization of desire in our societies. Philippe Marlière (UCL) tried to shed light on the office-seeking strategy of the radical Left in Europe, while Paul Lucardie (University of Groningen) stressed that today's radical Left, which is moving toward a new form of Social Democracy, needs to articulate a new idea about radical democracy.

Overall, the papers presented in the workshop, as well as the contributions to the round tables, triggered a lively debate around a variety of issues, such as left-wing populism, new possible forms of politics and collective action, democracy and the future of the European project.

BOOK REVIEW

UNDERSTANDING THE POPULIST SHIFT: OTHERING IN A EUROPE IN CRISIS

Gaberiella Lazaridiz and Giovanna Campani, eds. (London: Routledge, 2017), 203 pp., ISBN: 9781138101654, £68.00 (hbk).

Reviewed by Anders Ravik Jupskås
Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo

In recent years, populism has become one of the hottest topics not only in social sciences, but also in the public debate. After Brexit, the election of Donald J. Trump and Marine Le Pen's advancement to the second round of the French Presidential elections, there is no reason to believe that the concept, the parties it refers to and its impact on liberal democracy will be less frequently debated. Although populism is only one of several conceptual lenses through which we should interpret and explain contemporary politics in Europe and the US, and considering that even so-called populist parties are primarily concerned with more 'thick' ideologies such as nativism and authoritarianism, we certainly need more research on populism.

Based upon findings from the EU-funded project entitled "Hate Speech and Populist Othering in Europe through the Racism, Age and Gender Looking Glass", this edited volume by Lazaridiz (University of Leicester) and Campani (University of Florence) provides some fresh approaches to the study of populism, or right-wing populism to be more precise. (Unfortunately, there are no attempts to compare right-wing and left-wing populism in this volume, except in the historical overview). While existing research has largely focused on voting behavior, politics of (anti-) immigration and countries in Western Europe, this volume includes chapters focusing on novel issues (e.g. islamophobia, gender, movement networks and youths) partly on the basis of in-depth analyses with far right activists and informants across both Western and Eastern Europe.

It is not an easy task to summarize the key findings or arguments in an edited volume characterized by conceptual ambiguity and the lack of common framework of analysis. However, the authors are profoundly skeptical of both the current (neoliberal) policies of contemporary liberal democracies and the (nativist and authoritarian) alternatives advocated by the right-wing populist parties. The following argument runs through the volume as a red thread: (1) the (neoliberal) establishment not only incorrectly stigmatizes all Eurosceptic and anti-austerity parties as being 'populist', (2) their economic policies – reflected in the alleged 'hegemonic triumph of neoliberalism' (p. 27) – are the key (if not

the main) reasons for why contemporary populism is so successful. Furthermore, (3) right-wing populist parties are more dangerous than most scholars believe given that (a) there are blurry boundaries between populism and extremism, (b) cultural racism is inseparable from biological racism, (c) and the liberal arguments in favor of gender equality or gay rights are merely part of an opportunistic strategy adopted right-wing populist parties in order to become *salonfähig*. Some of these arguments are certainly more substantiated (e.g. the selective adherence to liberal values) than others (e.g. the role of neoliberal policies), but generally speaking most of the chapters would have benefitted from considering other plausible and widely accepted explanations (e.g. that economic resentment matters very little and that cultural anxiety matters very much).

Two of the perhaps most interesting chapters include one on female leaders in three male-dominated right-wing populist parties and another on the construction of gender and sexuality among right-wing populist parties across Europe. The chapter on female leaders deals, more specifically, with how leaders like Siv Jensen in the Norwegian Progress Party, Pia Kjærsgaard in Danish People's Party and Marine Le Pen in Front National are portrayed by the media and how they present themselves. In short, these female leaders 'only engage actively in gender politics … to address gender equality opportunistically' and 'their media strategy is often characterized by counterbalancing the image of strong authoritarian female leadership' with images of 'caring house-wife' (Kjærsgaard), 'self-made woman' (Jensen) and young entrepreneur (Le Pen) (p. 144).

The chapter on gender and sexuality is also more systematic in terms of methods and analytical approach than some of the other chapters. It demonstrates how right-wing populist parties combine 'gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity and religion to create a 'We', as well as the 'Other' that needs to be excluded' (p. 118). Interestingly, the analysis identifies three distinct 'discursive strategies' adopted by the right-wing populist parties. First, these parties use 'bio-political argumentation' in which certain gender and sexual roles are seen as the basis of the existence of the nation (p. 110). Second, some right-wing populists talk less about 'natural gender roles' but more pragmatically about 'good morals and liberal value' – referred to as the strategy of 'normation and division of public and private' (p. 112). Third, they also find right-wing populist parties, which explicitly support gender equality and gay rights – conceptualized as 'homonationalist and femonationalist argumentation' (p. 114). The extent to which right-wing populist parties use all three arguments, seem to be context-dependent (e.g. the third strategy is more common in 'progressive countries' such as Scandinavian).

Another chapter which could have been valuable is the one on the so-called 'counter-jihad movement' (why do scholars use their own label?). This chapter focuses on the largely neglected yet highly relevant topic: namely the shape and strength of networks within this movement and content of its discourse. Unfortunately, however, it is very difficult to understand exactly how the networks have been identified. It seems as if the authors are assuming relationships between different actors based on 'assigned category of every network participant' (p. 82) rather than uncovering actual social (e.g. participation at the same meeting) or intellectual (e.g. references to each other's publications) relationships. Moreover, the discourse analysis is rather descriptive and would have benefitted strongly from a more analytical perspective; for instance, by building upon, for example, Goodwin's identification of key vocabularies among (British) extreme right activists (e.g. urgency, survivalism, resistance and moral obligation).

Finally, it should be noted that the book also suffers from poor editing (e.g. presentation of key activists and even quotes are repeated in subsequent pages), several misspellings (e.g. it should have been Anders rather than Andreas Breivik and Le Pen is written with two words rather than one as in Le Pen) and some misunderstandings (e.g. links between Breivik and the Norwegian Progress Party). Moreover, the chapter on youth and the far right – also a neglected topic among scholars – hardly presents any new data, but seems to rely almost exclusively on (old and perhaps outdated) findings presented in the reader Youth and the Extreme Right (International Debate Education Association, 2014) edited by Cas Mudde some years ago. However, for those working on specific topics such as gender, Islamophobia, far right networks, there are chapters to be inspired by, build upon and perhaps criticize in future research.

PUBLICATIONS ALERT

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Aytac, S. E., Schiumerini, L. & Stokes, S. (2017) Protests and Repression in New Democracies. *Perspectives on Politics,* 15, 62-82.

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Beaudonnet, L. & Gomez, R. (2017) Red Europe versus no Europe? The impact of attitudes towards the EU and the economic crisis on radical-left voting. *West European Politics,* 40, 316-335.

Belot, C. & Guinaudeau, I. (2017) Instrumental political support: bringing policy preferences back into explanations of EU support. *West European Politics,* 40, 763-790.

Berkebile, R. E. (2017) What Is Domestic Terrorism? A Method for Classifying Events from the Global Terrorism Database. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 29, 1-26.

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Dekker, R. & Scholten, P. (2017) Framing the Immigration Policy Agenda: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Media Effects on Dutch Immigration Policies. *International Journal of Press-Politics,* 22, 202-222.

Di Gregorio, M. & Merolli, J. L. (2016) Introduction: affective citizenship and the politics of identity, control, resistance. *Citizenship Studies,* 20, 933-942.

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Erisen, C. & Kentmen-Cin, C. (2017) Tolerance and perceived threat toward Muslim immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands. *European Union Politics,* 18, 73-97.

Erzeel, S. & Rashkova, E. R. (2017) Still men's parties? Gender and the radical right in comparative perspective. *West European Politics,* 40, 812-820.

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Frantz, E. & Kendall-Taylor, A. (2017) Pathways to democratization in personalist dictatorships. *Democratization,* 24, 20-40.

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Garand, J. C., Xu, P. & Davis, B. C. (2017) Immigration Attitudes and Support for the Welfare State in the American Mass Public. *American Journal of Political Science,* 61, 146-162.

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Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., Biggers, D. R. & Hendry, D. J. (2017) Self-Interest, Beliefs, and Policy Opinions: Understanding How Economic Beliefs Affect Immigration Policy Preferences. *Political Research Quarterly,* 70, 155-171.

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