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Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy

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The *e-Extreme* is the newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on *Extremism & Democracy*. For any enquiries about the newsletter and book reviews, please contact the managing editors (extremismanddemocracy@gmail.com).

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STANDING GROUP ANNOUNCEMENTS

Dear *e-Extreme* readers,

We hope you are well, wherever you may be.

Read on for the usual mix of announcements, reports, reviews and alerts to keep on top of all the recent developments related to ‘extremism and democracy’.

Please do get in touch with your contributions and ideas for the next issue and don’t forget that the ECPR Standing Group on *Extremism & Democracy* now has an official Twitter account ([@ecpr_ed](https://twitter.com/ecpr_ed)) where you can follow us for the latest news and updates, calls for papers, and must-read publications.

REGISTER AS AN E&D STANDING GROUP MEMBER

You can join the ECPR Standing Group on *Extremism & Democracy* always free of charge and at the click of a button, via the ECPR website (<https://ecpr.eu/Groups>). If you have not already done so, please register as a member so that our 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 you are accepted.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to get in touch!

CALL FOR REVIEWERS

e-Extreme is now offering scholars the opportunity to review articles! If you want to share your review of the latest published articles in the field of populism, extremism and radicalism and have it published in *e-Extreme*, please do not hesitate to get in touch with us via: extremismanddemocracy@gmail.com.

E&D ROUTLEDGE BOOK SERIES

The Routledge Book Series in *Extremism and Democracy*, which publishes work that lies within the Standing Group's academic scope, covers academic studies within the broad fields of 'extremism' and 'democracy', with volumes focusing on adjacent concepts such as populism, radicalism, and ideological/religious fundamentalism. These topics have been considered largely in isolation by scholars interested in the study of political parties, elections, social movements, activism, and radicalisation in democratic settings. Since its establishment in 1999, the series has encompassed both influential contributions to the discipline and informative accounts for public debate. Works will seek to problematise the role of extremism, broadly defined, within an ever-globalising world, and/or the way social and political actors can respond to these challenges without undermining democratic credentials.

The series was originally founded by Roger Eatwell (University of Bath) and Cas Mudde (University of Georgia) in 1999. The editorial team now comprises Caterina Froio (Sciences Po), Andrea L. P. Pirro (Scuola Normale Superiore), and Stijn van Kessel (Queen Mary University of London). The editors strongly encourage ideas or suggestions for new volumes in the book series, both from established academics and early career researchers.

To discuss any ideas or suggestions for new volumes in this book series, please contact the editors at: extremismanddemocracy@gmail.com.

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. We are always keen on receiving reviews from junior and senior scholars alike!

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 and more members in the running of the Standing Group!

UPCOMING EVENTS AND CALLS

MORE CALLS AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

The E&D website is kept up to date with job opportunities and conference calls: <https://standinggroups.ecpr.eu/extremismanddemocracy/category/news/>.

If you have any announcements you would like to share, do send them our way.

ECPR SUMMER SCHOOL ON THEORIES, METHODS & PRACTICE PERSPECTIVE IN PARTY POLITICS

This year's *ECPR Summer School on Theories, Methods and Practice Perspectives in Party Politics* will be hosted by the Department of Social Sciences, the Institute of Political Science and the NRW School of Governance at the University of Duisburg-Essen from **Monday 21 August – Saturday 26 August 2023**. The theme for this year's Summer School is "Investigating Parties and Party Systems in young and established democracies".

Organized by Kristina Weissenbach, Anne Goldmann and Anna Augusto Ezequiel dos Santos, the event will provide young scholars working on various aspects of political parties with theoretical, analytical and practice knowledge with sessions from some of the most renowned experts in the field: Susan Scarrow, Karina Kosiara-Pedersen, Simon Franzmann, Lars Svåsand, Sebnem Yardimci-Geyikci.

The program will consist of a series of lectures as well as in-depth discussions of participants' research projects, a practitioners' roundtable "Political Parties and AI" in cooperation with the NRW School of Governance and the Center of Advanced Internet Studies as well as social activities. The Department of Social Sciences at University Duisburg-Essen will provide a platform for you to connect with party researchers from different world regions, including Sub-Saharan Africa, East-Asia and Europe. Since methods and data have become more diverse in the field of party politics, the program will include sessions on research design, methods, data collection and analysis in party politics research. We will offer an intense schedule on major approaches to research on party politics at the macro, meso and micro level in young and established democracies covering different world regions:

- National and transnational party systems and parties
- Parties and civil society

- Party types and party families
- “Populist” parties and “digital” parties
- Party finance, regulation, party bans, party funding and party assistance
- Party organization, party institutionalization, party change, party reform
- Party competition, party manifestos and coalition-building
- Party candidates, party membership, intra-party democracy

Applications are now **OPEN** and will close on **Tuesday 30 May**.

For more information or if you have any questions about the event, please contact sgconferences@ecpr.eu.

EXTREMISM & DEMOCRACY BEST PAPER PRIZE

The SG will be launching E&D Best Paper Prize at this year's ECPR general conference.

We will ask for submissions shortly after this year's ECPR conference, and submissions are open to E&D members who identify as early career researchers (e.g., roughly defined as PhD candidates, post-docs, and researchers who are up to 5 years post-PhD - with possible extensions).

Stay tuned for more information!

BOOK REVIEWS

SIMONA KUKOVIČ AND PETR JUST (EDS.). THE RISE OF POPULISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

EDWARD ELGAR PUBLISHING, 2022. 224 PP. FROM £25.00. ISBN: 978 1 80220 5527.

Katarzyna Fijał
European University Institute, Italy

Populism has become one of the most thoroughly studied and debated phenomena in the social and political sciences. Researchers have developed a complex analytical and theoretical apparatus that has provided a wealth of information on its causes and effects. On the one hand, this offers a good foundation for further research development. On the other, it raises expectations for new publications. The latest research on populism exceeds the demand and supply perspective, and questions the process of populist(s') mainstreaming and their integration into the party system (e.g. Kara 2018; Mudde 2007; Pytlas 2018). The authors using this approach, look at the conditions of party competition that favour the inclusion of populist parties in the political system, the relationship between populist and mainstream parties, and the tools used by them to transcend their niche and move into the new programmatic territories. These issues are particularly relevant in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, where populists have been achieving high electoral results for over 20 years. *The rise of populism in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Simona Kukovič and Petr Just reflects on populist parties mainstreaming process in CEE, however, the main analytical focus remains on the process of the entry of populist parties into the political scene, their mobilisation instruments and the economic and cultural sources of electoral success. This perspective complements our knowledge about the manifestation of populism in CEE, but leaves the reader with the feeling of insufficiency with regard to the broader changes in the structure of party systems caused by the embeddedness of populist parties and their growing influence on the political processes in the region.

The book is a collection of 15 chapters analysing populist parties, social movements and their leaders operating in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. With a rich selection of case studies, the book provides a more in-depth account of the complexities faced in the region, moving beyond the two extreme cases of Poland and Hungary. Furthermore, the book offers an insightful historical and institutional introduction to the political context on a national level. This is particularly helpful

for the analysis of the countries that are not at the centre of the academic debate on populism such as Lithuania, Slovenia or Slovakia.

The condition that allowed the authors to include such a wide range of topics and perspectives is the doubt, already declared in the book's introduction, about the possibility of creating a single definition of populism. Due to the complexity of the phenomenon and the impact of contextual differences, editors had allowed definitional discretion to the chapter authors. I read this position as an invitation to the needed discussion on the capacity of the term populism, its usefulness in the context of Central and Eastern Europe and the conditions for its distinct manifestations. Some authors engage in this terminological reflection (particularly interesting is Vladislav Cabadas' chapter about pre-communist sources of the populist agenda in CEE) which offers valuable source of information on the continuously growing definition field but many do not take this opportunity to present their own conceptualisation or theoretical implications from the empirical material they presented in *The rise of populism in Central and Eastern Europe*.

Moreover such a broad overview of populism cases, a strong emphasis on the specificities of Central and Eastern European politics and long-term support for populist parties provoke the question of more comprehensive conclusions. Instead, the book pursues a rather conventional "rise of populism" perspective at the expense of adopting a more contemporary lens of "populism mainstreaming". The exceptions are chapters 3 and 11, which provides a wider perspective on how mainstream parties in Austria and Slovakia have claimed ownership of the far-rights issues. Most of the chapters look at the supply and demand side of populism, presenting little surprising diagnosis about the impact of economic grievances, cultural backlash, anti-EU stances or deeply-rooted nationalism on the creation of favourable conditions for populist success.

Overall, *The rise of populism in Central and Eastern Europe* is a valuable source of knowledge on the activities of populist actors in the region. However, the authors refrain from engaging in a discussion about broader processes resulting from their integration into the political systems, providing only fragmentary knowledge of particular populist manifestations. Moreover, the conclusions drawn from the presented research do not become a pretext for theoretical reflection on the term 'populism' and its applicability. This leaves the reader with a sense of a missed opportunity to involve Central and Eastern European researchers and countries in a broader, meta-theoretical discussion on populism's explanatory potential and the new directions in its evolution.

Katarzyna Fijał is a PhD candidate at European University Institute in Florence. Her research interests include party competition in Central and Eastern Europe, far-right

parties, political philosophy, and regime changes. Currently, she is a visiting researcher at the Department of Political Science at Charles University in Prague.

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Pytlas, B. (2018). “Populist Radical Right Mainstreaming and Challenges to Democracy in an Enlarged Europe” In: Herman, L. and J. Muldoon (eds.) *Trumping the Mainstream. The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Abingdon: Routledge, 165-184.

RAUL GOMEZ AND LUIS RAMIRO. RADICAL LEFT VOTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE

ROUTLEDGE, 2022. 258 PP. £120. ISBN 9781032323901

Beatrice Carella

Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy

After a period of electoral decline, Radical Left Parties (RLPs) have recently gained renewed relevance in Western Europe. During the first two decades of the 21st century, the average support for Western European RLPs had never been so high since the peak of parliamentary radical left politics in the 1960s and 1970s. The book “Radical Left Voters in Western Europe” investigates the common traits that characterize radical left voters and the factors that explain the electoral support for contemporary RLPs. Through comprehensive empirical analyses, the research serves a double purpose: a descriptive one, highlighting the distinctive features of the contemporary radical left electorate and explaining to what extent we can detect a homogenous RLP voter profile across countries; and an explanatory one, assessing which individual and aggregate-level factors have contributed to increasing the vote for RLPs over the past two decades.

The detailed empirical data gathered by the authors provide an in-depth comparative assessment covering 27 radical left parties that achieved nationwide parliamentary representation between 2002 and 2018 across 17 countries. The richness of the empirical material analyzed by Raul Gomez and Luis Ramiro represents one of the main strengths of the book and a key contribution to our understanding of the support for a party family that by the end of the 20th

century had been largely considered as doomed to electoral irrelevance. The question appears especially important considering the transition to a post-industrial society in which the lines of political conflict have profoundly changed and the relevance of class cleavages, that used to underpin radical left support, has progressively diminished.

In order to understand the vote for contemporary RLPs, the authors consider a large variety of factors. These include individual-level variables (sociodemographic characteristics, political attitudes, values and civic engagement variables), contextual factors (contingent political and economic variables and institutional elements) as well as the effect of parties' policy positions, issue competition strategies, and internal conflicts. For each of these elements the book draws hypotheses derived from the academic literature, which are then tested using descriptive statistics, as well as multivariate and pooled-sample multivariate logistic regression models. While the pooled regressions consider all selected parties, including the smaller ones, the descriptive analyses are conducted on a party-by-party basis focusing on parties with larger representation to unveil party- and country-level specificities.

The authors' hypotheses are generally confirmed. The majority of RLP voters are found among industrial and service workers living in urban areas. At the same time, within the different groups constituting the middle classes, sociocultural professionals are mainly represented in the RLP electorate. RLP voters hold similar values and political attitudes, and tend to be more engaged in non-electoral forms of political participation, such as union membership, collaboration with organizations or participation in demonstrations. All these elements (except for civic engagement) are also significant predictors of radical left vote. In addition to sociodemographic aspects, political attitudes and values, the overall political and economic context also appears to fuel RLPs' support, when it generates political discontent and situations of economic hardship. The analysis of parties' positions and voters' preferences shows that the increased relevance of sociocultural issues does not create significant trade-offs for RLPs. Empirical data demonstrates that the latter can in fact adopt more libertarian views, which may attract middle-class votes, without losing relevant parts of their working-class electorate.

The book demonstrates the existence of a distinct RLP voter profile across Western European countries and the enduring relevance of both occupational variables and the socioeconomic dimension of political conflict. At the same time, the research by Gomez and Ramiro highlights weaknesses and questions marks about the future persistence of radical left support. Over the past two decades, votes for RLPs were also significantly driven by contingent factors related to economic hardship and the crisis of political representation. Moreover, the authors show how the dilemmas between policy, votes and office

are still very much present for RLPs. In fact, the radical left may benefit from vote-maximizing strategies such as adopting a relatively moderate position on economic issues, but is likely to suffer electoral losses from entering into governmental coalitions. While the book solidly demonstrates the enduring social basis and determinants of radical left support in contemporary Western Europe, the future of this party family remains difficult to predict.

Beatrice Carella is a Political Science and Sociology PhD student at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence, Italy. Her research focuses on the party politics of the welfare state and the role of populist and radical parties on social policy change. Her doctoral dissertation provides a comparative assessment of contemporary populist challengers from the Left in Southern Europe and the social policies they promoted and adopted once they reached power

PUBLICATIONS ALERT

Our publication alert is based on a semi-automated search and can never be complete. Therefore, please tell us about any **recent** publications of interest to Standing Group members so that we may include them in our newsletter.

- Abbas, T. (2022). United Kingdom Islamist Radicalization in a Spatial Context.
- Acinapura, A. 'A framing-sensitive approach to militant groups' tactics: the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine and the radicalisation of violence during the Second Intifada', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*,.
- Akram, S. 'Dear British politics-where is the race and racism?', *British Politics*,.
- Albertazzi, D., and D. Bonansinga 'Beyond anger: the populist radical right on TikTok', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*,.
- Anduiza, E., and G. Rico 'Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash', *American Journal of Political Science*,.
- Axelsen, J. E. 'The cordon sanitaire: a social norm-based model', *Journal of Elections Public Opinion and Parties*,.
- Aylott, N., and N. Bolin 'A new right: the Swedish parliamentary election of September 2022', *West European Politics*,.
- Baele, S., L. Brace, and D. Ging 'A Diachronic Cross-Platforms Analysis of Violent Extremist Language in the Incel Online Ecosystem', *Terrorism and Political Violence*,.
- Bakaki, Z., T. Bohmelt, and V. Bove 'Attitudes Toward Migration and Associational Activity: Evidence From Germany', *Political Studies Review*,.
- Baldini, G., F. Tronconi, and D. Angelucci 'Yet Another Populist Party? Understanding the Rise of Brothers of Italy', *South European Society and Politics*,.
- Beaudonnet, L., and H. H. Prohuber 'Being European, the nationalist way: Europe in the discourse of radical right parties', *Party Politics*,.
- Benevento, A. 'In search of an appropriate channel for voicing political concerns: political participation among radicalised youth in Europe', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*,.
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- Borbath, E. 'Differentiation in Protest Politics: Participation by Political Insiders and Outsiders', *Political Behavior*,.

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- Carlotti, B. 'A divorce of convenience: exploring radical right populist parties' position on Putin's Russia within the context of the Ukrainian war. A social media perspective', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*,.
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- Casado, J. A. R. 'When "the people" of populism is constructed by the relatively privileged: the case of Catalan secessionism', *Comparative European Politics*,.
- Castro, A. T. 'Democratic resilience: citizens' evaluation of democratic performance during the great recession in the European union', *Democratization*,.
- Cavaille, C., and J. Ferwerda 'How Distributional Conflict over In-Kind Benefits Generates Support for Far-Right Parties', *Journal of Politics*,.
- Chan, C. H. et al. 'Challenging the Global Cultural Conflict Narrative: An Automated Content Analysis on How Perpetrator Identity Shapes Worldwide News Coverage of Islamist and Right-Wing Terror Attacks', *International Journal of Press-Politics*,.
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- Dar, O. 'The benefits and limitations of populism for radical-left parties', *Capital and Class*,.
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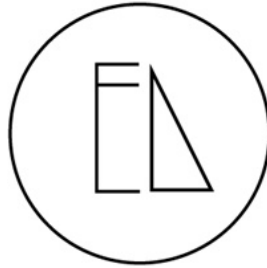
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