eEXTREME

Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group
on Extremism & Democracy

Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy

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STANDING GROUP ANNOUNCEMENTS

IMPORTANT CHANGES TO STANDING GROUPS MEMBERSHIP

The ECPR has recently made some improvements to the way its Standing Groups are presented on its website. These are designed primarily to provide more information in more user-friendly format to people who might be interested in joining a Standing Group. These developments also enable people to join a Group at the click of a button, via the ECPR website. This is an important development as it means the ECPR will now hold all membership lists for its Standing Groups in its central database. We, as Standing Group Convenors, will then be able to access the lists as and when we need them in order to keep in touch with our membership.

Data Protections laws mean that it is not possible for us to pass our membership lists on to the ECPR; instead we are asking all members to join the Standing Group directly. 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 an ECPR member institution your membership to the Standing Group is accepted automatically. If you are from a non-member institution we will need to accept your application to join, so you 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.

A second key change, is that membership to all Standing Groups is now annual, running calendar year. You will therefore be asked to renew your membership in January each year. This is the same process as joining, and only takes one click of a button.

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

ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE, MONTREAL

During the 2015 ECPR General Conference in Montreal (26-29 August), the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy will organize a section entitled 'Populist and Radical Politics: Between Polarisation and Blurring'. The section chairs are Andrea Pirro, Stijn van Kessel and Matthijs Rooduijn. The section includes several panels. You can find more information about this section and the panels on the following pages.

SPECIAL ISSUES

In the past months three special issues have been published which are likely to be of interest to some of you:

The first is the special issue 'Gender and Populist Radical Right Politics' in *Patterns of Prejudice*, Volume 49, Issue 1-2. It includes (co-authored) contributions from Niels Spierings, Andrej Zaslove, Liza M. Mügge, Sarah L. de Lange, Cas Mudde, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Tjitske Akkerman, Susi Meret, Eelco Harteveld, Wouter Van Der Brug, Stefan Dahlberg, and Andrej Kokkonen.

Secondly, the special issue 'Publics, Discursive Struggles and Political Agency' appeared in *Javnost - The Public*, Volume 22, Issue 1. It includes (co-authored) contributions from Vaia Doudaki, Bart Cammaerts, Benjamin De Cleen, Tina Askanius, Yiannis Mylonas, Philippe Gonzalez, Fabienne Malbois, and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža.

The third special issue is 'Euroscepticism, from the margins to the mainstream', which appeared in *International Political Science Review*, Volume 36, Issue 3. It includes (co-authored) contributions from Nathalie Brack, Nicholas Startin, Cécile Leconte, Robert Grimm, Susannah Verney, Emmanuelle Reungoat, and Asimina Michailidou.

EXTENDED CALL FOR PAPERS

We would like to draw your attention to the extended deadline for Calls for Papers to the 'Reflections on Revenge' conference at the University of Leicester on Friday 4th September, which we advertised in the previous e-Extreme.

This event will be contributing to the production of a documentary on revenge by Rex Bloomstein and Justin Temple (RexEntertainment) as well as traditional

academic outputs. Please submit a 250 word abstract via email to revenge@le.ac.uk by 29th May.

Please use the following link to access the Revenge website for more details and booking information:
http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/criminology/research/current-projects/revenge

KEEP US INFORMED

Please keep us informed of any upcoming conferences or workshops you are organizing, 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 organized 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 then please do contact us. We are always very keen to involve more members in the running of the Standing Group! Email us at: info@extremism-and-democracy.com.

ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE, MONTREAL

The ECPR General Conference will this year be held in Montreal from 26-29 August. The Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy organizes its own section. Below you can find more information about this section and the various panels within the section.

Section title: Populist and Radical Politics: Between Polarisation and Blurring
Section chairs: Andrea L. P. Pirro, Stijn van Kessel, and Matthijs Rooduijn

The consolidation of populist and radical organisations across Europe can be rightfully considered a fait accompli. By now, many of these parties have sustained their presence in national parliaments as well as in the European Parliament, suggesting that their responses to the political mainstream represent an intrinsic feature of contemporary democracies.

This view is partly confirmed by recent research, which has progressively ceased to interpret these political organisations as a mere 'flash in the pan', but rather a consequence of the unaccountability of established politics. Accordingly, the focus is increasingly less on the reasons behind their emergence, and more on their ideology and voters. In other words, what matters is how well or poorly these parties fare at elections and why – often tackling these questions through the interaction of a demand-side and a supply-side in the electoral market.

The appeal and resilience of these phenomena has however come to raise a number of theoretical and substantive concerns. Whilst populist and radical parties of the left and right have been responsible for the politicisation and/or mainstreaming of a number of issues (e.g. environmentalism, civil rights, immigration, ethnic minorities, Euroscepticism, etc.), the issues at the core of their ideology are no longer exclusive entitlement of these organisations. What we could observe, then, is a concomitant process of polarisation and blurring of national politics.

On the one hand, parties that were once marginal surged to the level of credible agenda-setters; in turn, mainstream parties are now compelled to elaborate on their issues, or even co-opt them. Through their impact, populist and radical parties may have then contributed to polarise national politics. On the other hand, these parties have expanded on their trademark issues and it is not uncommon to find populist and radical parties of either camp sharing views on social, economic, and cultural issues. Therefore, it is possible to claim that also

traditional distinctions between radical left and radical right politics are blurring.

The aim of the section is to bring together conceptual and empirical contributions on parties and party systems, elections and voters, as well as social movements and protests, willing to improve our understanding of the following topics:

a) The radicalisation of the mainstream;
b) The mainstreaming or 'race to the extremes' of populist and radical organisations;
c) Political impact of populist and radical organisations;
d) Polarisation of party systems and political debates;
e) Blurring of ideologies and attitudes.

The section (provisionally) includes the following panels:

1. Cases of Populism in Contemporary Europe. Chairs: Lubomir Kopecek and Peter Spáč.
2. Filling the Empty Quadrant? Chairs: Eelco Harteveld and Erika van Elsas.
3. Framing Processes of Far Right Populist Actors. Chairs: Johan Nordensvard and Thomas Saalfeld.
4. Mixing and Matching, Blurring and Emulating? Theories and Methodologies to Explore Radical Right Politics beyond the Electoral Arena. Chairs: Caterina Froio and Pietro Castelli Gattinara.
5. Polarisation or Blurring Ideologies? The Radical Left during the Great Recession. Chairs: Luis Ramiro and Luke March.
6. Populist Attitudes in Contemporary Democracies. Chairs: Anne Schulz and Marco Steenbergen.
7. Populist Discourses in German Speaking Countries - Emergent Anti-Semitism and Anti-Muslim Racism among Minorities and Majorities? Chairs: Karin Bischof and David Abadi.
8. Populist Parties in Europe: Revisiting Discourse and Electoral Potential. Chair: Andrea L.P. Pirro.
9. Recent Work and Future Research Directions on Populism and the Radical Right in Europe. Chairs: Duncan McDonnell and Anders Ravik Jupskås.
10. The Eurosceptic Turn and its Impact on European Democracy and Governance. Chair: Maurits Meijers.
11. The Impact of Populist Parties on Attitudes and Political Behavior. Chair: Tim Immerzeel.
12. Responses to 'Extremists'. Chair: Joost van Spanje.
13. The Radical Right and its Impact: Party Competition and Policy Effects in Comparative Perspective. Chair: Michael Minkenberg.

CONFERENCE REPORT

SOLVING THE PUZZLES OF POPULISM: TEAM POPULISM MAY CONFERENCE

Brigham Young Universty London Centre, London, United Kingdom,
April 30th – May 2nd, 2015

By Bruno Castanho Silva
Central European University

The Team Populism May Conference was an intensive, two-days immersion into discussing the causes and consequences of populism, and how we should study them. The event brought together more than 30 researchers from Europe and the Americas with various academic backgrounds, on a cross-regional effort aimed at a better understanding of the populist phenomenon in both regions. Panels were divided based on the methods used in papers, which facilitated fruitful dialogue and fostered initiatives for collaboration among participants.

It all started on Thursday afternoon with the keynote address by Kenneth Roberts (Cornell University), who discussed how the Latin American experience with the rise of populist leaders in the past decade – now slowly waning – may be informative to contemporary events in Europe. This set the tone for the rest of the event, where participants put their efforts into building bridges that connected not only specialists in the two continents, but also various research traditions in the study of populism. The conference proceeded the next morning, with two panels on theory chaired by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (Universidad Diego Portales). Most papers presented used single or comparative case studies to make advancements in our theoretical understanding of populism. They investigated how contemporary populist discourse might differ from what it was a few years ago, and discussed the relation between populism and left or right ideologies. There were also inroads into the causes of support for populist parties, with explanations ranging from problems in political representation to political culture. In the afternoon, the conference continued its comparative effort with a poster session, chaired by Kirk A. Hawkins (Brigham Young University) on textual analysis. The posters introduced a number of content analysis techniques, applied to distinct sources such as newspaper interviews, speeches, manifestos, and social media content. A combined effort could be identified on the direction of finding out which techniques are more appropriated for each kind of data, and how to identify populist parties in a comparative perspective. This tread of categorizing parties as populist or not continued on the next day, with a discussion on expert

surveys chaired by Nina Wiesehomeier (University of Swansea). The goal was devising a set of questions to be asked to country experts that, without mentioning populism, will help to identify which parties in that system use a populist discourse.

The last three panels of Saturday focused on experiments and mass- and elite-surveys, and saw a high level of coherence among research projects. The experiments part, chaired by Ryan Carlin (Georgia State University) and Rosario Aguilar (CIDE), had contributions on two fronts: one which observed how populist and radical messages have an impact on individuals' attitudes and perceptions of politics; and the other on tapping, experimentally, internal populist predispositions. These perspectives linked two ends of the populist message: understanding who is more sympathetic to it, and how it affects those who receive it. Following on individual level research, the other two panels were on surveys, at the mass level – chaired by Levente Littvay (Central European University) – and at the elite level, chaired by Saskia Ruth (University of Zurich). In the mass surveys part, the discussion was around a scale for measuring populist attitudes among individuals and how it may be used for, first, predicting support for populist actors, and second, for observing the relation between populist preference and other psychological and socio-economic characteristics. Looking at the supply-side, the discussion was also held on whether such questions might be used to identify populist tendencies among politicians.

After two days of debates, the conference achieved its goal of combining efforts in distinct methodological fronts to better understand both the supply and demand sides of populism, in Europe and Latin America. Theoretical, empirical, and methodological innovations presented in the conference have set the tone for some important debates to take place in future populism research.

BOOK REVIEWS

A THEORY OF MILITANT DEMOCRACY: THE ETHICS OF COMBATTING POLITICAL EXTREMISM

Alexander S. Kirshner (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2014). 224 pp. ISBN: 9780300188240, $35.00 (paperback).

Reviewed by Paul Lucardie
University of Groningen

The author, assistant professor at Duke University, has managed to throw new light on a very old problem. The problem: how to protect democracy against its enemies, without undermining its basic principles, in particular equal rights to participation in public decision-making.

The book consists of six chapters and a short conclusion. In the first chapter Kirshner defines democracy as a continuous variable: equal rights to participation are never fully realised, existing systems may approach the ideal only to some extent. In the terms of the political scientist Robert Dahl, they are polyarchies rather than pure democracies. So militant democrats should not only defend an existing 'real democracy' or polyarchy against anti-democratic enemies, but also try to improve and (further) democratise it. Excluding anti-democrats from political participation may be necessary in certain cases, but only as lesser evil, temporarily. Intervention should be limited. Moreover, democrats should recognize the damage their intervention might cause. At the same time, democrats should not be too soft on their enemies. Political theorists such as Ronald Dworkin often rely on judicial review to protect democracy against undermining actions, but this may be too late or too little in practice, as Kirshner argues convincingly.

In the next chapter Kirshner elaborates the principles of his theory. The partipatory principle entails that anti-democrats have also the right to participate in a democratic or polyarchic polity – but not to undermine it. If they try to do that anyway, democrats should intervene in a limited and pragmatic way, defending the rights of all citizens without attacking intentions or restricting the freedom of speech. The principle of democratic responsibility entails that the costs of any intervention should be taken into account, e.g. the legitimacy of the system might suffer as a result of restrictive measures like banning an anti-democratic party.

The third chapter contains a discussion of historical cases such as the legal action against the British National Party (BNP) which admitted only 'Caucasians' as members of the party; and the Dixiecrats or Southern Democrats who excluded African Americans effectively from political life in the American

South until the federal government intervened in the 1960s. Both interventions were justified, according to Kirshner, but the latter more than the former. After all, the BNP was (and is) a weak party which cannot really be considered a serious danger for democracy in Britain, whereas the Dixiecrats did dominate the American South. Yet in both cases political regulation was needed to restore equal rights.

The fourth chapter provides a critical analysis of arguments for and against exclusion of anti-democrats from a democratic system or polyarchy. Democrats have tried to ban a party that violates the rights of certain groups, or that opposes democracy while participating in the system, or that threatens certain aspects of the system such as its secular or ethnic character or its borders. Kirshner regards all arguments as problematic, but defends measures in the first case, when rights of certain groups need protection. Anti-democrats should not be allowed to intimidate and deprive other citizens of their rights. Yet they should be allowed to participate in political life and advocate their ideas, as long as they follow the rules, even if unwillingly and through the force of circumstance. Here Kirshner disagrees with Karl Loewenstein, the German legal scholar who coined the term 'militant democracy' (streitbare Demokratie) in the 1930s.

Loewenstein pointed at a serious problem, however: the fatal threat posed to democracy by the German National Socialist Party. A preventive party ban or even a military coup might have been the only way to save the democratic system in this case. In the fifth chapter Kirshner defends this type of preventive action, at least under two conditions. In the first place, a party has to pose a comprehensive threat to democracy, i.e. it should have 'the capacity and intent to block democratic challenges in the present and shut down normal avenues of democratic opposition in the future' (p.130). In the second place, the democrats responsible for banning the party should acknowledge that their action is necessary but not legitimate, and try to compensate for the costs – e.g. by re-admitting a more moderate version of the same party. To some extent this happened in Turkey, where the Constitutional Court banned the islamist Welfare Party (Refah) – which had won the election but lost power after a military coup in 1995. The European Court of Human Rights justified the party ban for the wrong reasons, according to Kirshner. Yet the Turkish regime later accepted a more moderate version of the same party, the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) which won the elections in 2002 and is still in power today. Kirshner draws an illuminating parallel with the struggle of democratic rebels against an authoritarian regime. The rebels cannot always comply with democratic principles if they want to win the struggle. The Polish Solidarnosc is his favourite example here. In both situations, a democratic regime threatened by an anti-democratic movement and an

authoritarian regime threatened by a democratic opposition, illegitimate action may be required to save or establish a polyarchy.

Militant democracy has its limits and militant democrats should be aware of them. In the sixth chapter Kirshner discusses in detail the history of Reconstruction, the attempt to establish and protect democracy in the American South after the Civil War. He approves of the self-limiting strategy pursued by the Republican majority in Congress – Democrats would be excluded only if they refused to accept and apply the new amendments to the constitution. Yet the costs proved too high, by 1877 Reconstruction ended and the Southern Democrats regained power at the expense of the African Americans in the South.

Kirshner's conclusions seem quite plausible. He strikes a sensible balance between on the one hand dogmatic democrats who would exclude almost anyone they disagree with from public life, and on the other hand the naive liberals who never exclude anyone and rely only on judicial review and the force of persuasion to combat antidemocrats. It looks like the golden middle between two extremes – always an attractive route to follow. However, it may not be an easy route, as Kirshner will be the first to admit.

The book combines philosophical argument with historical case-studies in a very elegant and credible narrative. I see very few weaknesses. One might be that Kirshner defines democracy quite well, but remains a little vague about its opposites. The term 'extremism' figures in the title, but not in the index; and is hardly discussed at all. Like many scholars, Kirshner suggests that extremism is by definition anti-democratic and ignores the possibility of democratic extremism. On p.40 he defines 'anti-democrats' as 'individuals who prefer a regime that lacks basic prerequisites of polyarchy – such as universal suffrage – to a regime that satisfies those prequisites'. In the case of the Nazi Party and the Dixiecrats this seems clear enough – even if the latter might not be seen as extremists in their own time. In our time, and in particular in Europe and North America, however, only a few rather marginal groups openly reject universal suffrage, freedom of speech and other prerequisites of polyarchy. More controversial and relevant are national populist parties. On the one hand, they are perceived as anti-democrats because they want to restrict citizenship to natives and assimilated immigrants and to exclude or even expel immigrants who refuse to assimilate and cherish different values – such as orthodox or salafist Islam. On the other hand, they often call for reforms such as the introduction or expansion of referendum and popular initiatives or direct elections of public officials which would result in a more democratic system. Kirshner's book does not deal with this type of problem. In my opinion judicial review might offer a just solution here, but Kirshner does not think very highly of this instrument. Nevertheless, his book is highly recommended reading.

EXTREME RIGHT PARTIES IN SCANDINAVIA

Anders Widfeldt (Oxon: Routledge, 2014). 258 pp. ISBN: 9780415265898, £85.00 (hardback).

Reviewed by Anders Ravik Jupskås
University of Oslo

In spite of the persistent success of right-wing populist, radical right or extreme right parties (pick the concept you prefer) in Scandinavia (i.e. Sweden, Norway and Denmark) since the early 1970s, there have not been published many comprehensive books covering this fascinating subject in this particular region. Consequently, the Scandinavian countries are continuously portrayed – almost without any reservations – as still being profoundly consensus-oriented, progressive and tolerant. The knowledge about and implications of recent political developments have yet to be fully comprehended by scholars and commentators alike. Symptomatically, the Progress Party in Norway was referred to as the country's 'dark secret' in the British quality newspaper *The Guardian* about a decade ago. Widfeldt's comparative book on what he prefers to call 'extreme right' parties in Scandinavia is therefore a long-awaited contribution – not only for scholars working specifically on these parties, but also for political scientists with a general interest in Scandinavian politics more broadly - be it welfare policies or government formation.

The book analyses the rise (and sometimes the fall) of extreme right parties such as the progress parties in Norway and Denmark, the Danish People's Party, New Democracy in Sweden and the Sweden Democrats. (Unfortunately, the True Finns are not included.) Some might argue that these parties are too ideologically different to be analyzed *en bloc* and that the 'extreme right' label is misguided. If so, one should keep in mind that Widfeldt conceptualizes the extreme right party family fairly broadly claiming that all such parties share a 'markedly different' position compared with mainstream parties on at least one key ideological cleavage (i.e. the extreme feature) and that they generally oppose policies aiming for increased equality (i.e. the right-wing feature). Within such a framework it is an empirical question whether extreme right parties are concerned with socio-cultural or socio-economic issues and whether they are anti-democratic or not. To a certain extent I sympathize with broad conceptualizations as they are more likely to 'travel' across time and space. However, while I agree that the parties in question could be subsumed under the same conceptual umbrella, one may wonder if not the smaller Christian parties in Scandinavia (and possibly Liberal Alliance in Denmark) fit both of Widfeldt's criteria and if it would be analytically more fruitful to use the 'extreme right' label only in cases of truly anti-democratic political forces. (But let's not turn this into another 'war of words').

The overall aim of the book is to make sense of the different degrees of success between the Scandinavian extreme right parties. And while 'success' for the most part is seen as a question of how these parties have performed in the electoral arena, it is also acknowledged that 'success' could be defined as (increased) legitimacy or impact. As many scholars before him, Widfeldt's point of departure is the observation that the (electoral) success of extreme right parties varies despite the fact that they are trying to mobilize supporters within societies that are fairly similar, as they are all characterized by processes such as globalization, modernization, mediatization, cartelization, de-alignment, and the emergence of an new educational cleavage. And with the notable exceptions of UK and France, the variation of success could neither be explained by institutional factors such as the electoral system. The insufficiency of structural and contextual explanatory factors is also observable in Scandinavia. In fact, some of the political, economic and institutional similarities are perhaps particularly striking in these countries, even if the analysis in this book suggests that Swedes are less skeptical of immigration; that Danes and Norwegians display higher trust in their respective political systems (though this could actually be the consequence rather than the cause of extreme right representation); and that Sweden has a somewhat less permissive electoral system yet a more consistent left-right convergence than the two other countries. Widfeldt also argues that only Sweden has experienced a significant economic crisis in recent decades (in the early 1990s), which allegedly makes the country more susceptible to extreme right appeals. However, one could easily turn the argument around: it is not the presence, but the absence of an economic crisis that creates a fertile breeding ground for extreme right parties. This would be in line with recent literature arguing that these parties profit electorally when the political struggle shifts from socio-economic to socio-cultural issues and it would be consistent with the fact that both Norway and particularly Denmark have witnessed an increasing salience of socio-cultural issues and the subsequent institutionalization of extreme right parties.

Nevertheless, and despite some important differences as regards the structural conditions, the main argument of the book is that one cannot explain the diverging electoral trajectories of extreme right parties in Scandinavia by analyzing the demand-side or external supply-side alone; equally important is the internal supply-side, namely the ideological and organizational aspects of these parties. Widfeldt does not pretend this is a new idea. In fact, the theoretical framework is actually presented as a comprehensive, but not exhaustive, chronological overview of the main theoretical advancements in the field over the last three decades (including the work by Betz, Kitschelt, Carter, Norris, Rydgren, Eatwell, and Mudde) in which recent contributions have already emphasized supply-side factors. However, some of the supply-side factors are still poorly understood theoretically and more empirical research is needed.

According to Widfeldt, both the success and failure of extreme right parties are related to different aspects of the parties themselves. He argues that New Democracy collapsed due to authoritarian and divided leadership, and that the breakthrough and likely consolidation of the Sweden Democrats are related to ideological moderation and re-newel of the personnel; that the stability and impact of the Danish People's Party is partly linked to the replacement of neoliberalism and organizational anarchy of its (unsuccessful) predecessor with a clear-cut welfare-chauvinist agenda and the explicit establishment of an authoritarian internal structure, and partly linked to the strategic qualities of its party founder; and that FrP has been able to move up to the mainstream without losing its anti-establishment identity due to its flexible ideology, centralized organization, and media-savvy leadership. In this sense, Widfeldt contributes convincingly to a growing body of research in which extreme right parties are not perceived to be mere reflections of the political, economic and institutional environment in which they operate, but that they can, at least partly, shape their own destiny. In other words, paraphrasing Widfeldt, "you can make your own luck".

Having outlined the book's main contribution, however, let me end this review by saying a few words about some of the shortcomings. Firstly, strange as it may seem, there is no systematic analysis of the role of the (mainstream) media. Not only are media generally conceptualized as an important part of the external supply-side because of its agenda-setting power and gate-keeping functions, anecdotal evidence in the book also suggests that the media have played an important role in the development of extreme right parties, albeit not always intentionally. To a varying degree and at different stages in the parties' life spans, the Scandinavian mainstream media have provided the extreme right parties with disproportional coverage due to political scandals, a "symbiotic relationship" (p. 108) between populist leaders and what constitute 'good TV' (e.g. simplicity, polarization, concretization, and dramatization), or simply the misguided idea that 'trolls would burst in the sun'. Moreover, some media outlets, particularly in Denmark, have obviously been instrumental in pushing the anti-immigration agenda.

Secondly, another aspect of the external supply-side which is hardly mentioned is the role of (un)civil society. Consequently, think tanks (e.g. Civita in Norway), web site and online forums (e.g. Avpixlat in Sweden and document.no in Norway), nationalist-oriented civil society organizations (e.g. Den Danske Forening in Denmark), conservative Christian milieus (e.g. Kristenfolket in Norway and Tideverv in Denmark), and 'xenophobic-feminist' associations (e.g. Human Rights Service in Norway) are essentially neglected, though some of them are briefly discussed in the Danish case. If they had been scrutinized systematically, I am quite convinced that it would have become clear that they

in different ways have contributed to the ideological and organizational development, policy impact, and processes of normalization of these parties.

Thirdly, even if Widfeldt explicitly states that his main contribution is "a comprehensive, theoretically informed empirical treatment of the Scandinavian region as a whole" (p. 3), the book could have profitably engaged in some of the debates in the current literature. For example, are there any typical patterns of extreme right party organization? While there has been a tendency to view these parties as 'charismatic parties' characterized by weak organizational structures with a strong dependency upon the party leader, Widfeldt's empirical account of the Scandinavian extreme right parties suggests a variety of different organizational models in which a popular or even dominant party leader only tells half the story. New Democracy (unsuccessfully) adopted the 'franchise model' to deal with problems of unskilled candidates; the Danish Progress Party was an 'organizational anarchy' throughout its existence; the Danish People's Party explicitly created an authoritarian structure; the Sweden Democrats has allegedly transformed from a 'devotee party' to a 'strong organization'; and the Norwegian Progress Party has turned into a 'highly centralized party, with an authoritarian leadership'. Unfortunately, in the conclusion, Widfeldt makes no attempt to conceptualize organizational patterns beyond the discussion of a few specific dimensions, most notably 'centralization'. Other aspects, such as 'degree of organization' (i.e. local presence, party magazines, youth wing, senior or women's organizations), 'organizational complexity' and 'grassroots involvement' are not discussed. Admittedly, there are not much data on these aspects, but there are a few studies which could have been included. They may have qualified the picture Widfeldt paints of an 'authoritarian party culture' and they may have provided clues about why membership figures are increasing in contemporary extreme right parties rather than decreasing as in most other parties.

Finally, while everyone knows that it takes a long time before a finalized manuscript is published as a book, I was surprised to see that the book included almost nothing on the new party leader of the Danish People's Party, Kristian Thulesen Dahl (although he was elected in 2012); nothing on how the Norwegian Progress Party has dealt with difficult trade-offs after the party entered government (which they did in 2013); and nothing on last year's national elections in Sweden where the Sweden Democrats more than doubled their vote share and became the third largest party. In other words, we are not exactly dealing with fresh produce. Despite these critical remarks, however, Widfeldt's book is a timely analysis of the increasingly institutionalized extreme right parties in Scandinavia.

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