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Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group
on Extremism & Democracy

Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy

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STANDING GROUP ANNOUNCEMENTS

REGISTER AS AN E&D STANDING GROUP MEMBER

In order to join our Standing Group (always free of charge!), 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 questions, please do not hesitate to get in touch!

NEW WEBSITE URL AND CONTACT ADDRESS

Following changes to the ECPR framework for Standing Groups, we have recently migrated our website to the ECPR platform. The E&D domain will be shortly deactivated. You can now reach us at:
http://standinggroups.ecpr.eu/extremismanddemocracy/.

For general information, membership enquiries, announcements, publication alerts, and reviews, contact us at: extremismanddemocracy@gmail.com.

Please, update your bookmarks accordingly!

ENDORSEMENT FOR SECTION AND WORKSHOP AT NEXT ECPR EVENTS

We would like to draw attention to a number of upcoming deadlines. The ECPR has set 19 November 2018 as a deadline for the submission of Section proposals for the 2019 General Conference in Wrocław, and 4 February 2019 for the submission of Workshop proposals for the 2020 Joint Sessions in Toulouse.

Proposals endorsed by Standing Groups have significantly higher chances of getting approved by the ECPR and we thus encourage members to avail themselves of this opportunity. We would like to invite all interested members to draft proposals and submit them to us for consideration. In order to receive endorsement of the Standing Group, we have drafted criteria and timelines for your reference.

Criteria for endorsement

1. Overall respect of the general ECPR proposal guidelines
2. Overall quality of the proposal
3. Fit of the proposal with the core topics of the Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy
4. Inclusiveness of the proposal in terms of theoretical and methodological perspectives (i.e. potential to attract a broad range of members)
5. Accommodation of diversity (gender, geographical spread, levels of experience in the discipline)
6. Rotation (in terms of teams behind the proposals and of complementarity with workshops/sections from prior years)

Timeline for upcoming events

We request proposals to be sent to the Standing Group convenors 3 weeks ahead of the ECPR deadline (at the latest!), as processing the applications within the Standing Group takes time and because we would like to give you some time to have a chance to consider our feedback.

EVENT	DEADLINE FOR SENDING PROPOSALS TO SG	FEEDBACK FROM SG TO APPLICANTS	DEADLINE FOR SENDING PROPOSAL TO ECPR
Section *@ General Conference* *Wrocław, September 2019*	29 October 2018	9 November 2018	19 November 2018
Workshop *@ Joint Sessions* *Toulouse, April 2020*	14 January 2019	25 January 2019	4 February 2019

We look forward to receiving your proposals!

UPCOMING EVENTS

CALL FOR PAPERS: POPULISM(S) IN OPPOSITION/POPULISM(S) IN POWER

Conference: 69th Political Studies Association, Annual International Conference
Organizers: The Populism Specialist Group of the PSA
Location and date: Nottingham, 15-17 April 2019
Deadline for submissions: 7 October 2018

Populism(s) in Opposition/Populism(s) in Power

'Populism in power' seems to be a rather counterintuitive notion to the extent that public wisdom as well as most academic research are premised on the idea that populism can only be effective in opposition. Indeed, populism is often understood as a political strategy or rhetorical style that may be potentially rewarding while in opposition, while certainly challenging, if not harmful, when in government. In addition, few populist parties have formed governments, especially within the European context. Yet, the cases of many Latin American governments, of the current SYRIZA coalition government in Greece, of the situation in Poland and Hungary, as well as of the new Italian government, to mention just a few indicative examples, invite one to urgently reconsider this rather misleading idea. We invite paper proposals dealing with any aspect of the populist record in power (including economic and social policy, rule of law and polarization, foreign policy, ideology and discourse, etc.) from different political, geographical and cultural contexts. Comparative and historical perspectives as well as case studies will be particularly welcome.

E-mail your paper proposal (paper title, 200-word abstract, institutional affiliation and full contact details) to Yannis Stavrakakis: yanstavr@yahoo.co.uk

Internal Deadline for Paper Proposals: 7 October 2018

Applicants will be notified whether they have been included in the PSG's panel proposals ahead of the final (non-negotiable) PSA deadline (22 October 2018).

CALL FOR PAPERS: THE EUROPEAN RADICAL LEFT AND POPULIST RHETORIC. COMMUNICATION, STRATEGY AND IDEOLOGY

Conference: 69th Political Studies Association, Annual International Conference
Organizers: The Populism and Communism Specialist Groups of the PSA
Location and date: Nottingham, 15-17 April 2019
Deadline for submissions: 7 October 2018

The Populism and Communism Specialist Groups of the PSA invite paper proposals on the following theme:

The European radical left and populist rhetoric: Communication, Strategy and Ideology

For almost two decades now but especially since the onset of the global financial crisis, a conviction emerged in the literature on left radicalism in Europe, that there exists a populist radical left, which manifests itself both in terms of social movements as well as parties. Its key features are said to be chiefly those of evoking the sovereign people as an organic unity in contradistinction to the self-interested and alienated elites. This panel aims at interrogating three aspects of the relationship between the contemporary European radical left and populism as a political discourse: a) to what extent has a populist discourse emerged within Europe's radical left? Is it a new phenomenon and how is it communicated in relation to other political orientations? b) In which ways does populism's articulation with a socialist strategy unify or divide the European radical left, either producing broader popular alliances or instigating conflict among activists and partisans? c) How does the ideology of left radicalism absorb populist rhetorical schemas and in turn what influence do the latter have on the articulation of programmatic positions and principles? In its attempt to integrate scholarly research on the left and on populism, this panel welcomes papers, which deal with one or more of the above three issues of communication, strategy and ideology as part of a theoretical, empirical or historical investigation.

E-mail your paper or panel proposal (paper title(s), 200-word abstract(s), institutional affiliation(s) and full contact details) to Giorgos Charalambous: giorgos.charalambous@gmail.com

Internal Deadline for Paper Proposals: 7 October 2018

Applicants will be notified whether they have been included in the PSG's panel proposals ahead of the final (non-negotiable) PSA deadline (22 October 2018).

SEMINAR: SOCIAL MEDIA AND HATE CRIME

Seminar: Fanning the Flames of Hate: Social Media and Hate Crime
Organizers: Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford
Location and date: Oxford, 24 October 2018

The Oxford Internet Institute is excited to welcome Carlo Schwarz from the University of Warwick for the talk 'Fanning the Flames of Hate: Social Media and Hate Crime'.

Abstract
The presentation will focus on my joint research with Karsten Müller that investigates the link between social media and hate crime using Facebook data.

We study the case of Germany, where the recently emerged right-wing party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) has developed a major social media presence. We show that right-wing anti-refugee sentiment on Facebook predicts violent crimes against refugees in municipalities with higher social media usage. To establish causality, we exploit exogenous variation in major internet and Facebook outages, which fully undo the correlation between social media and hate crime.

In another study, we find suggestive evidence that a similar mechanism might be at work in the US during the presidential campaign of Donald Trump. We show that the rise in anti-Muslim hate crimes since Donald Trump's presidential campaign has been concentrated in counties with high Twitter usage. In the time series, Trump's Tweets on Islam-related topics are highly correlated with anti-Muslim hate crime after, but not before his presidential campaign, and are uncorrelated with other hate crimes.

CALL FOR PAPERS: SPECIAL ISSUE RESPONSES TO ONLINE EXTREMISM

Special issue title: Government, Industry, Civil Society Responses to Online Extremism
Editors: Jonathan Bright & Bharath Ganesh (Oxford Internet Institute)
Deadline for submissions: 30 October 2018

Special Issue Outline

Governments, the private sector, and civil society are beginning to work together to challenge extremist exploitation of digital communications. Both Islamic and right-wing extremists use websites, blogs, social media, encrypted messaging, and filesharing websites to spread narratives and propaganda, influence mainstream public spheres, recruit members, and advise audiences on undertaking attacks.

Across the world, public-private partnerships have emerged to counter this problem. For example, the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism (GIFCT) organized by the UN Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate has organized a "shared hash database" that provides "digital fingerprints" of ISIS visual content to help platforms quickly take down content. In another case, the UK government funded ASI Data Science to build a tool to accurately detect jihadist content. Elsewhere, Jigsaw (a Google-owned company) has developed techniques to use content recommendations on YouTube to "redirect" viewers of extremist content to content that might challenge their views.

While these are important and admirable efforts, their impacts and effectiveness are unclear. The purpose of this special issue is to map and evaluate emerging public-private partnerships, technologies, and responses to online extremism. There are three main areas of concern that the issue will address:

   (1) the changing role of content moderation, including taking down content and user accounts, as well as the use of AI techniques to assist;

(2) the increasing focus on "counter-narrative" campaigns and strategic communication; and

(3) the inclusion of global civil society in this agenda.

This mapping will contribute to understanding how power is distributed across these actors, the ways in which technology is expected to address the problem, and the design of the measures currently being undertaken.

Topics of Interest
Papers exploring one or more of the following areas are invited for consideration:

- Content moderation
- Efficacy of user and content takedown (and effects it has on extremist audiences);
- Navigating the politics of freedom of speech in light of the proliferation of hateful and extreme speech online;
- Development of content and community guidelines on social media platforms;
- Effect of government policy, recent inquiries, and civil society on content moderation practices by the private sector (e.g. recent laws in Germany, Parliamentary inquiries in the UK);
- Role and efficacy of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and machine learning in countering extremism.
- Counter-narrative Campaigns and Strategic Communication
- Effectiveness of counter-narrative campaigns in dissuading potential extremists;
- Formal and informal approaches to counter narratives;
- Emerging governmental or parastatal bodies to produce and disseminate counter-narratives;
- Involvement of media and third sector in counter-narrative programming;
- Research on counter-narrative practitioners;
- Use of technology in supporting counter-narrative production and dissemination.
- Inclusion of Global Civil Society
- Concentration of decision-making power between government, private sector, and civil society actors;
- Diversity of global civil society actors involved in informing content moderation and counter-narrative campaigns;
- Extent to which inclusion of diverse civil society/third sector actors improves content moderation and counter-narrative campaigns;
- Challenges and opportunities faced by global civil society in informing agendas to respond to online extremism.

Submitting your Paper
We encourage interested scholars to submit 6,000 to 8,000-word papers that address one or more of the issues raised in the call. Submissions should be made through Policy & Internet's manuscript submission system. Interested authors are encouraged to contact Jonathan Bright (jonathan.bright@oii.ox.ac.uk) and Bharath Ganesh (bharath.ganesh@oii.ox.ac.uk) to check the suitability of their paper.

Special Issue Schedule

The special issue will proceed according to the following timeline:
Paper submission: 30 October 2018
First round of reviews: January 2019
Revisions received: March 2019
Final review and decision: May 2019
Publication (estimated): December 2019

The special issue as a whole will be published at some time in late 2019, though individual papers will be published online in EarlyView as soon as they are accepted.

CALL FOR PAPERS: FASCISM AND VIOLENCE

Conference: Fascism and Violence
Organizers: COMFAS Convention
Location and date: Uppsala University, 25-27 November 2019
Deadline for submissions: 30 November 2018

Violence has always played a central role in fascist ideology and political practices, either as a means by which to overthrow governments, or to achieve national rebirth and cleansing through the physical removal or annihilation of political enemies and "alien" ethnic or racial communities. Yet there were huge differences concerning the dynamics and magnitude of violence as a function of the political context in which fascists came to power and ruled. By and large, the relationship between fascism and violence has been explored in two separate streams of academic literature. On the one hand, experts on fascism have primarily focused on analyses of ideology, political culture and social activities, with violence playing a secondary role in those analyses. On the other hand, scholars from the field of Holocaust and genocide studies have usually focused on ideological modes of exclusion and the implementation of genocidal violence without necessarily dealing with fascist ideology per se, or with its appeal and ability to achieve mass mobilisation.

The Second Convention of the International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies (COMFAS) aims at bringing the two fields together in order to help foster synergies and cross-fertilisation. This will be achieved by focusing on the following three themes of relevance for scholars from all subject fields:

 The role of violence in fascist ideology Political practice and violent interactions Social memory about fascism and violence. We invite comparative or case-study contributions exploring topics such as:

- violence in the fascist ideology and propaganda
- modes and mechanisms of exclusion of political, ethno-religious and social groups

- gender, violence and fascist ideology
- the role of nationalism, social Darwinism and antisemitism in fascist ideology
- death and sacrifice as symbolic themes in fascist public discourse and propaganda
- the role of violence in fascist warfare
- manifestations of mass political violence in different social and cultural contexts
- East-West dichotomies in ideology and violent repression in fascist Europe
- fascism and violence in contemporary academic knowledge-production and media
- fascism and violence in educational practice
- violent interactions between fascists and anti-fascists
- fascist/extreme right violence in the post-1945 period

Scholars interested in attending or contributing to the conference should send a mail with an abstract, short bio and contact information to comfasconvention2019@comfas.org no later than 30 November 2018. We welcome individual papers as well as panel proposals.

Conference participation is free for COMFAS members (see our Membership Policy and application form). For non-members, a participation fee of € 75 applies. Conference participants will be invited to submit revised versions of their papers for publication in an edited volume.

The event is hosted by the Hugo Valentin Centre, Uppsala University, and co-organised with COMFAS at the Central European University. Convenors are Tomislav Dulić (HVC) and Constantin Iordachi (CEU). Contact details: comfas@comfas.org.

The International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies is a nonprofit and nonpolitical scholarly organization dedicated to the comparative and transnational study of fascism (www.comfas.org). The Association is open to graduate students, researchers, and professors at whatever stage of their career. Its aim is to promote new multi-disciplinary research approaches to this field, in a joint effort of scholars from various disciplines and historiographical traditions. COMFAS is based at Pasts, Inc. Center for Historical Studies, at the Central European University, Budapest. The Association's main publication outlet is the open-access peer-reviewed journal Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies (Brill).

Previous Conventions:

The First COMFAS Convention, entitled "Comparative Fascist Studies and the Transnational Turn," took place at the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, on 27-29 April 2018. See the Program COMFAS Convention April 27-29.

CALL FOR PAPERS: POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AND POPULISM

Conference: Popular Sovereignty and Populism
Organisers: George Washington Forum on American Ideas, Politics and Institutions at Ohio University
Location and date: Ohio University in Athens (US), 15-16 March 2019
Deadline for submissions: 1 November 2019

JMC's partner program, the George Washington Forum on American Ideas, Politics and Institutions at Ohio University, invites paper proposals for a conference and subsequent edited volume on Popular Sovereignty and Populism. The conference will be held at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio (15–16 March 2019). Previous George Washington Forum conferences have resulted in edited books from the university presses at Cambridge, Oxford, and Virginia.

In his Considerations on Representative Government, political theorist John Stuart Mill argues that "the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community." Currently, we live in a moment where some exercises of the people's power result in what is often called democratic illiberalism. This conference and volume intend to illuminate the concept of popular sovereignty and its related expression, populism. We are especially interested in the crucial continuities and discontinuities in popular sovereignty that emerge when we study critical moments in political history. These include (but are not limited to) the theory and practice of popular sovereignty in the Italian Renaissance; seventeenth-century England; revolutionary and federal America; and revolutionary France. Proposals shedding light on the development of modern popular sovereignty, both within and outside the European and Anglo-American traditions, including papers with a primary focus on ancient and medieval politics, will be given full consideration.

Keith Baker (Stanford), Mark Blitz (Claremont McKenna), Michael Braddick (Sheffield), and Catherine Zuckert (Notre Dame) will deliver plenary lectures. The submission deadline for abstracts is 1 November 2018.

The conference organizers welcome proposals from advanced doctoral students and both early career and established scholars in the fields of history, intellectual history, political theory, law, literature, and related disciplines.

Proposals should include a 500-word abstract, a brief (1-2 page) curriculum vitae, and current contact information. Please send proposals to both conference organizers by 1 November 2018.

Dr Chris Barker, Department of Political Science, The American University in Cairo (chris.barker@aucegypt.edu) and Dr Robert G. Ingram, Department of History, Ohio University (ingramr@ohio.edu).

Notifications will be sent by 21 November 2018. Limited financial support is available on a competitive basis for junior faculty members, postdoctoral fellows, and graduate students who cannot secure institutional funding. More information

is available here: https://www.jackmillercenter.org/call-for-papers-popular-sovereignty-and-populism/.

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!

REPORTS

1ST SUMMER SCHOOL OF THE ECPR STANDING GROUP ON EXTREMISM & DEMOCRACY 'CONCEPTS AND METHODS FOR RESEARCH ON FAR-RIGHT POLITICS' A REVIEW

Fred Paxton, *European University Institute*
Greta Jasser, *Leuphana University Lüneburg*
Jordan McSwiney, *University of Sydney*
Léonie de Jonge, *University of Cambridge*
Ofra Klein, *European University Institute*

From 25-29 June 2018, the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy organised its first Summer School on 'Concepts and Methods for Research on Far-Right Politics'. Seventeen graduate students and early career researchers who had been selected from a pool of over one hundred applicants were given the opportunity to meet at the *Scuola Normale Superiore* in Florence, Italy. Participants hailed from a host of different institutions located on three different continents, including Europe, America and Australia. The cohort was very interdisciplinary; apart from political scientists, the school was attended by sociologists, communication scholars, historians and psychologists. In the light of the overall gender imbalance in the field, it is worth mentioning that ten of the seventeen participants were female. Over the course of five consecutive days, students discussed different conceptual approaches and methods for researching far-right politics.

The week was framed by keynote lectures by two very prominent scholars in the field. The opening keynote entitled 'The Study of the European Far-Right: Towards a Fourth Wave?' was held by Cas Mudde (University of Georgia). In his lecture, Mudde provided an overview of the current state of the field and suggested avenues for future research. Specifically, he encouraged students to acknowledge the diversity within far-right movements and study the far-right beyond the party arena – for instance by focusing on youth movements or religious groupings. The lecture also addressed the need to strive towards more conceptual clarity, since there is a tendency to (ab)use the term 'populism' while the real focus may be on a different topic. In line with this observation, Mudde provocatively wondered to what extent we really need 'populism' in the study of the far-right.

The second keynote was held by Kathleen Blee (University of Pittsburgh), who spoke on 'Gender and the Far-Right'. She explained that gender and sexuality are still important factors for studying the far-right, but that many of the core assumptions (e.g. that far-right politics mainly appeal to men) no longer hold true. Specifically, Blee highlighted the fact that far-right movements and parties are no

longer aligning themselves with existing social cleavages; instead, they are actively crafting new ones that are much more fluid and opportunistic. In other words, 'opportunism has begun to trump ideology'. As a result, gender can no longer be naturally bundled with other social equalities. Indeed, the far-right has found ways to appeal to segments of society who might normally support gender equality, but who *also* advocate other social inequalities. These segments vote for far-right candidates to secure those inequalities - even if they go against their overall interest in gender equality. In the light of these developments, Blee urged scholars to take an active and vocal stance, notably by being more explicit about unveiling the relationship between cause and effect that we find in our research – not doing so risks creating 'scholarly guardrails that can be politically debilitating, [thereby] draining away the political impact of our work'. A speaker that so sensitively and carefully explores the risks, benefits, and ethical quandaries of the study of the far-right provided a fittingly thought-provoking conclusion to the week.

Over the course of five days, leading scholars in the field introduced students to a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches. Theory classes dealt with conceptualising electoral support for the far-right. They also highlighted some of the more understudied aspects of the field, such as the far-right as a social movement, far-right violence and far-right communication online. Methods classes introduced participants to archival research, expert surveys, life history interviewing, ethnography, protest event analysis and social network analysis. The broader aim was to inspire students to look beyond the traditional methods and approaches used in most research on the far-right.

Whereas the mornings were dedicated to theory and methods classes, the afternoons of the Summer School were reserved for student presentations. These provided an important opportunity for aspiring scholars to hone their presentation skills. The topics discussed reflected the diversity of the cohort and demonstrated their capacity to 'think outside the box' in producing new and original research in such a saturated field. The presentations also enabled students to assume the role of discussants to facilitate dialogue among attendees and provide practical feedback for their peers.

In sum, the Summer School provided an excellent opportunity for young scholars to meet and exchange ideas in a supportive and constructive setting. In an academic world that can sometimes resemble a lion's den, the school served as an important reminder of the benefits gained from working together in this field. It also introduced students to the enthusiastic and dedicated network of scholars that is the Standing Group on Democracy and Extremism. This summer school highlighted the benefits of fostering collegial, interdisciplinary research and provided opportunities for young scholars, to exchange ideas, have fruitful discussions, foster collaborations and improve their own work.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the scholars who made their way to Florence to discuss their (and our) research. We are also thankful to the *Scuola Normale Superiore* (SNS) for hosting us, and we gratefully acknowledge the support of the ECPR Extremism & Democracy Standing Group, the Center for Research on Extremism at the University of Oslo (C-Rex), and the Centre on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS) at the SNS. A special 'thank you' goes to Pietro

Castelli Gattinara and Andrea Pirro for putting together such an interesting programme; their outstanding organisational skills, their genuine interest in our research as well as their excellent sense of humour were greatly appreciated. We really hope the E&D Summer School will continue to inspire and bring together young scholars for years to come.

BOOK REVIEWS

HANS VORLÄNDER, MAIK HEROLD, STEVEN SCHÄLLER. PEGIDA AND NEW RIGHT-WING POPULISM IN GERMANY.
BASINGSTOKE: PALGRAVE, 2018. 230 PP., £70.32 HARDBACK. ISBN: 9783319674940

Lazaros Karavasilis
Loughborough University

PEGIDA and new right-wing populism in Germany, manages to be the first conclusive account of how PEGIDA developed its agenda, its organization and the participants that were involved. The book offers important insight on the various aspects of the movement, the significant relationship between PEGIDA and Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and how the former influenced the creation of the latter.

The book is divided into seven chapters that explore PEGIDA within the context of right-wing populism in Germany and its emergence. That said each chapter focuses on providing a clear picture of the movement in its whole, by examining the rise of PEGIDA as the rise of a right-wing populist movement in a country where any force on the right of mainstream CDU/CSU is considered as extremist.

After a brief introduction, the first chapter focuses on establishing a concise history of the movement and its nature. Specifically, the authors present how PEGIDA was originally conceived and established, the positions they developed, as well as the initial successes that the movement had the first years. In addition, the role of social media is emphasized, since it has become a major tool in PEGIDA's demonstrations, helping with the organization and protest gathering.

Following on, the subsequent chapter explores how German political forces and the German civil society are dealing with the PEGIDA movement. Most importantly, the reader is introduced to how mainstream politicians initially characterized the movement as well as their attempts to create a possible dialogue with the leadership of PEGIDA. The authors also provide an account of how civil society in its whole created counter-protests as a way of dealing with the movement, and how, ultimately, it led to a polarization of the political discourse.

The third chapter takes a broader approach to PEGIDA and subsumes the movement in the discussion on the rise of right-wing populism in Germany. In doing so, it examines the connection of PEGIDA with right-wing populist parties

of Germany and most importantly, its relationship with AfD, and provides analysis of the movements' connections with other European right-wing populists.

Moving towards a more analytical direction the chapter regarding the participants of PEGIDA, delves deeper into examining the profile of those who take part in the movement and its protests. This part focuses mostly on the socio-demographic characteristics of the demonstrators, while shedding light on their motives and their political orientations, thus presenting the profile of the people who are part of PEGIDA.

In a similar manner, the fifth chapter centres exclusively on the right-wing populist attitudes of the participants of the movements including the examination of Islamophobia, right-wing extremism, xenophobia, ethnocentrism and populism. The aim of the chapter is to present this aspect of PEGIDA's movement base in order to draw conclusions about right-wing populist movements in general. The use of studies on the political culture of Germany such as the Leipzig Mitte Studies and the Saxony Monitor among others, also adds important value into establishing the right-wing populist profile of PEGIDA.

The sixth part of the book examines how PEGIDA acts as the predominant expression of right-wing populism in Germany while analysing the pre-conditions that led to the emergence of right-wing populism. Finally, the last chapter focuses on providing a sufficient conclusion to the whole book by summarizing its main arguments and presenting the position of PEGIDA and its right-wing populism in Germany and Europe.

Overall, the book manages to provide important insight on the PEGIDA movement, since the available literature is primarily in German. The book therefore provides a thorough research on the German movement accessible to a broader academic audience. The specificities regarding the movement's nature, organization and agenda also contribute in establishing a clear picture on what PEGIDA is and how it initiated a rise of right-wing populism in Germany. The most important element though, remains the sociology of the movement's participants. Through this analysis the study provides important information about the people that take part in the movement and can also provide lessons on the participants in similar movements around Europe.

However, the book also has some weak points. For example, a chapter that will provide a coherent theoretical framework on that phenomenon while taking into account contemporary developments on right-wing populism, is absent from the book. This is an important point of criticism since the book is about PEGIDA and the rise of right-wing populism in Germany. There are a few elements that attempt to provide a basic theorization of right-wing populism, but the authors

mostly refrain from engaging in the recent academic debate about the nature of right-wing populism. Another downside is the structure of the book. The order of the chapters can be confusing since the analysis goes from focusing on PEGIDA and its characteristics into examining the broader context of right-wing populism in Germany, only to focus again on PEGIDA in the next chapter. The current layout obstructs for the reader to follow the author's argument more clearly. As such alternating the structure of the chapters would revoke this issue.

Despite the fact that there are some negative aspects, the book remains a valuable addition to the study of PEGIDA and right-wing populism in Germany. The analysis on the movement is the product of thorough and original research and is also an important example of the research that is conducted in the country on right-wing populism. Not only that, but the book manages to provide substantial information about PEGIDA's connection with other major right-wing populist party of Germany at the moment, mainly the AfD, thus creating thought-provoking questions about their state in the country.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER. WHAT IS POPULISM?
PHILADELPHIA: UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS, 2016. 136 PP., $19.95 PAPERBACK. ISBN 9780812248982.

Grigoris Markou
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

The beginning of the 21st century has been characterized by the eruption of many and multi-level crises, which have directly affected the political and economic developments worldwide. One significant change in the European and American political landscape is the radical re-emergence of populism, a phenomenon that exceeds the left-right ideological continuum and presents notably characteristics in each case. The rise of populism has long attracted the attention of numerous of scholars and, as a result, gave a great impetus to the study of the phenomenon with plenty of new books, articles, seminars, and conferences.

In this context, a new publication about populism was released by Jan-Werner Müller, which tries to explore the features of populism. Even from the beginning of the book, it becomes evident that this work has a clearly polemic character, as one of its main goals is the immediate confrontation of the *populist danger*. In the first chapter, Müller, without the conduction of any particular literature review of populism, begins with the conceptualization of the phenomenon. According to him, "populists are always *anti-pluralists*", "claim that they, and they alone, represent the people", while populism tends to pose a real danger to democracy

(Müller, 2016: 3). Aside from that, Müller suggests that populism is surely a moralistic notion, for the reason that a populist leader proclaims the moral supremacy of its people. As he argues: "populism […] is a particular *moralistic imagination of politics*" (Muller, 2016: 19). An important aspect of Müller's research attempt is that his approach rejects the equation between populism, nationalism or ethnic chauvinism (Müller, 2016: 24–5), following (in a sense) the theoretical paths of Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013) who divide populism between two distinct manifestations, *inclusionary* and *exclusionary* populism.

In the second chapter of the book, Müller examines populism in power. The examination of *governmental populism* is an important contribution to the study of populism, as there are numerous researchers who see it as an opposition phenomenon. According to the author, populists "can govern as populists" (Müller, 2016: 4), but they do not have as much to offer to politics and society. In addition to that, populists create more problems on politics, because they "continue to behave like victims", "moralize political conflict" and polarize and prepare the people for nothing else than what is conjured up as a kind of apocalyptic confrontation" (Müller, 2016: 41). Furthermore, Müller connects populism with other phenomena and issues, such as clientelism. As he argues, populists tend to "colonize or occupy the state", "engage in mass clientelism" and follow a form of "discriminatory legalism" ("for my friends, everything; for my enemies, the law") (Müller, 2016: 44-47). Beyond that, the author believes that populists intimidate their political opponents, do not care about the constitution (they revision it according to their aspirations) and threaten the democratic political procedures.

Finally, in the third chapter of his work, Müller reveals again his strong anti-populist attitude, focusing on how to deal with the populist danger. However, this kind of perspective is not that surprising. In recent years, a large number of (mainly liberal) scholars, mainstream forums and conferences have dealt with the populist threat in Europe and America. The book concludes with seven positions on populism, underlying the main ideas of Müller's approach.

What are the main points of the book that should be criticized? As have been mentioned previously, Müller's point of view has a distinctly polemic character, which is developed through a strong anti-populist argumentation that follows the paths of earlier liberal studies on populism. First of all, the author begins his analysis by arguing that "we simply do not have anything like a theory of populism" (Müller, 2016: 2). But, how can someone support an opinion like this, especially since there are plenty of alternative theories and approaches around populism? What about the theory and methodology of Laclau, Mouffe, Canovan, Taggart, Mudde and Kaltwasser? Moreover, Müller defines populism as an anti-pluralist phenomenon. Anti-pluralism is, for him, an essential part of every populist instance. However, it has been proven in many cases that populists in

power continue to follow "liberal paths", accepting representative democracy, political pluralism and liberal institutions (e.g. SYRIZA in Greece, Kirchner in Argentina). Furthermore, the author considers that populists imagine and constructs a homogeneous people. This theoretical position seems to ignore the different social groups and social demands that are raised through a populist movement. In fact, left-wing populist parties (most of the times) call upon different social classes and groups (workers, farmers, unemployed people, low-paid employees, youth, migrants, gay and lesbians), thus constructing a heterogeneous popular subject.

Besides the above, Müller provides populism with an anti-democratic character, equating it with authoritarianism, clientelism, the control of the state and the promotion of specific interests. Nonetheless, as it has been argued by many scholars, the exclusive equation between populism, clientelism or authoritarianism has no substantial effect on research, since they are phenomena that can be found both in populist, non-populist or anti-populist parties or leaders (for clientelism, see: Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017: 8). For example, in Europe, there are some cases of anti-populist liberal or social democratic parties that have been occupied the state, created clientelist networks and guaranteed better "treatment" for members and voters (e.g. Greece). In addition, there are non-authoritarian populists, such as Nestor Kirchner (Argentina) and Evo Morales (Bolivia) who promoted democratic ideas and values.

Müller's anti-populist logic seems to accept uncritically that populism is the only democratic ideology, an argument that has been challenged by a number of studies that question the association of liberalism and democracy (MacPherson, 1977; Mouffe, 2000). It is not difficult to understand the difficulties of coexistence between liberalism and democracy, especially in our post-democratic age, in which liberal democracy has completely failed in its mission, leading societies to an oligarchic type of technocratic government.

Finally, the author, such as other well-known scholars of populism (see: Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2012), recognizes a *moralization* in populist discourse, which divides the pure people and a corrupt elite. However, the questions that arise here are: Can we not find this kind of moralized perspective in every political or social confrontation? Why is it bad or dangerous to adopt a moralized perspective of politics? (Stavrakakis and Jäger, 2017).

Müller's book could be more easily described as a polemic effort against populism, rather than an essential research effort which aims at clarifying the misty landscape around this concept. However, despite the shortcomings in Müller's argument, this book is important to be read by anyone who studies populism, political discourse and political ideologies, in order to examine the "mainstream" anti-populist ideas on populism and analyze their consequences on democratic politics and society.

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