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Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy

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STANDING GROUP ANNOUNCEMENTS

REMINDER: REGISTER AS AN E&D MEMBER

As we informed you in our previous newsletter, the ECPR now holds all membership lists for its Standing Groups in its central database. In order to join our Standing Group or to continue your membership you can join a Group at the click of a button, [via the ECPR website](#). If you haven't 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 we accept you.

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

CALL FOR PAPERS

We would like to draw your attention to two calls for papers for the 24th World Congress of Political Science July 23-28, 2016 Istanbul, Turkey.

The Impact of Far Right Parties on European Democracies

Chair: Steven M. Van Hauwaert (UCLouvain)

Co-chair: Sarah L. de Lange (University of Amsterdam)

In the past three decades, far right parties have emerged throughout Europe. Given their electoral success and government participation, they can be considered the most successful party family to breakthrough in the post-Rokkanian era. Many politicians, policy makers, journalists and commentators see this as a dangerous evolution and often perceive the presence of these parties as a challenge or even threat to European democracies. At the same, political science studies show us that presence does not equal influence. Far right parties may or may not exercise direct and/or indirect influence, for example on the party system, policy making and the quality of democracy, depending on a variety of structural and contextual factors. Therefore, this panel proposes to theorise and empirically analyse to what extent and alongside which

dimensions far right parties influence different aspects of politics. Can we speak of ‘Verrechtsing’ or ‘contagion of the (far) right, and if so, is this directly caused by the emergence of far right parties? To what extent do far right parties influence the issue positions of other parties (e.g. on the economy, the EU, immigration, law and order) and policy outcomes? To what extent do far right parties have an impact on party and political systems? And under which conditions does this impact manifest itself, either directly or indirectly? We especially welcome papers that have a comparative angle, either based on qualitative, quantitative or mixed method research.

Interested participations are invited to contact Steven M. Van Hauwaert (steven.vanhauwaert@uclouvain.be) or Sarah L. de Lange (s.l.delange@uva.nl).

Deadline for paper submissions: October 7th, 2015.

For more information:

<https://www.ipso.org/my-ipso/events/istanbul2016/panel/impact-far-right-parties-european-democracies>

Populism and Globalisation: Bridging the Gap

Chair: Steven M. Van Hauwaert (UCLouvain)

Co-chair: Christian Schimpf (GESIS Institute / University of Mannheim)

The growth of contemporary European populism presents one of the more pertinent contemporary challenges to European (liberal) democracies (cf. Mudde’s work). Whether as a style or an ideology, the dualisms inherent to populism facilitate its emergence throughout Europe – particularly in times of societal, political or economic conflict. Simultaneously, both globalisation and (economic) crisis have marked and continue to mark politics in Europe (cf. Kriesi’s work). Globalisation as a more structural and crisis as a more dynamic factor have impacted public opinion and individual attitudes across Europe. By themselves, both of these phenomena have been objects of extensive study and scholars agree these are some of the more noteworthy developments across Europe in the past decade/s. Conversely, little empirical research examines the direct connection between globalisation (crisis) and populism as such. Often, the literature intuitionally posits a clear-cut connection between economic turmoil and the rise of populism but to fully understand how populism and globalisation can be intertwined, it is important to comparatively analyse the causal link between both phenomena. After all, neither phenomenon brings about universal implications and we can observe a great deal of variation in both phenomena across Europe.

This panel is dedicated to the comparative analysis of European populisms and its connection to globalisation and (economic) crisis dynamics. Within this

context and aiming to explore causal dynamics between two signature phenomena of the last decade/s, we welcome papers from a variety of conceptual, empirical and methodological perspectives, both on the individual and the aggregate level.

Interested participations are invited to submit their abstracts to Steven M. Van Hauwaert (steven.vanhauwaert@uclouvain.be) and Christian Schimpf (christian.schimpf@gesis.org).

Deadline for abstract submissions directly to panel chairs: October 3rd 2015.

For more information:

<https://istanbul2016.ipsa.org/my-ipsa/events/istanbul2016/panel/populism-and-globalisation-bridging-gap>

CALL FOR BOOK PROPOSALS:

A Modern History of Politics and Violence (Bloomsbury)

Series Editor: Paul Jackson, University of Northampton, UK

A Modern History of Politics and Violence is a new book series that scrutinises the variegated histories of political violence in the modern world. It publishes research monographs, edited collections and reference works that explore the movements, cultural settings and wider contexts that have allowed political violence to become seen as, somehow, desirable. As well as considering the protagonists of violence, the series also examines the impact of violence on victims, and its longer term implications for modern societies too.

Current titles in the series explore themes such as European fascism and genocide, but the series is also seeking submissions that explore contexts beyond Europe, examining political violence in Asian, African and the American settings too.

Moreover, it seeks proposals that engage with themes such as gender, politicised faith, and transnationalism in relation to political violence. A Modern History of Politics and Violence encourages submissions from leading and established scholars as well as early career academics.

We are keen to continue the growth of the series and are actively looking for proposals for future volumes. If you have a proposal that you think may fit, please do get in touch with the publisher or series editor, details below. We will be delighted to give you feedback on your idea, and guarantee a swift response to any enquiries:

Series Editor: Paul Jackson, Senior Lecturer in History, School of Social Sciences, University of Northampton, Park Campus, Boughton Green Road, Northampton, NN2 7AL

Email: Paul.Jackson@northampton.ac.uk

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Email: rhodri.mogford@bloomsbury.com

Tel: +44 (0)20 7631 5515

KEEP US INFORMED

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

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

Finally, if you would like to get involved in the production of the newsletter, the development of our website, or any of the other activities of the Standing Group 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.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

REFLECTIONS ON REVENGE: THE CULTURE AND POLITICS OF VENGEANCE

University of Leicester, United Kingdom
September 4th, 2015

By Sarah Hodgkinson
University of Leicester

On September 4, 2015 the Department of Criminology hosted the Reflections on Revenge: The Culture and Politics of Vengeance Conference. This one-day conference, led by Dr Sarah Hodgkinson, and her colleagues Dr Gavin Bailey (formerly Department of Politics, now at MMU) and Dr Heather Brunskell-Evans (Medical Humanities), brought together academics from the UK, Europe and America, from a broad range of disciplines. The concept of revenge is so fundamental to academics working in a range of research areas, but little has been done to bring these diverse areas of expertise together. This interdisciplinary conference explored who seeks revenge and why, how it is done, how it is justified, how it is represented, how it feels to get revenge or be on the receiving end. This included revenge starting with the smallest workplace slights, through family disputes and lynch mobs, to political violence, war and terrorism. It reflected on what motivates revenge, what course it runs, and what is its impact on individuals, societies and global history.

The conference facilitated a more holistic discussion of common points of interest between academics who would not normally meet, in the aim to further develop this emerging strand of research. Renowned international human rights lawyer Philippe Sands delivered the keynote presentation, which explored the role of revenge in international human rights trials, in particular focusing on the Nuremberg Trials (1945-1949). There were 28 speakers, experts at the forefront of research into revenge, from a range of backgrounds and disciplines, including psychology, political studies, anthropology, law, psychiatry, literature and the arts, etc. who presented in three parallel panels throughout the day. The conference culminated in a plenary session, which discussed the barriers and opportunities for further research into the topic of Revenge from an interdisciplinary perspective. This discussion was led by Philippe Sands, and film directors Rex Bloomstein and Justin Temple. Both Rex and Justin are currently seeking funding to produce a feature-length documentary into Revenge, and Dr Sarah Hodgkinson and Dr Gavin Bailey aim to produce an edited collection of papers based on those presented at the conference.

POPULIST AND RADICAL POLITICS: BETWEEN POLARISATION AND BLURRING

Section at the 9th ECPR General Conference

Organisers: Andrea L. P. Pirro, Stijn van Kessel, and Matthijs Rooduijn

Montréal, Canada

26–29 August 2015

By Andrea L. P. Pirro

University of Siena

The section endorsed by the Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy at this year's ECPR General Conference collected a number of contributions on the most recent developments in the field of populist and radical politics. As populist and radical organisations have progressively consolidated their presence in respective democratic systems, it has become increasingly difficult to appraise them as 'flash' phenomena inherently bound to fade away. Precisely for this reason, the section sought to interpret them as actors currently enjoying a fair share of legitimacy and capable of inducing different responses across national political landscapes. For instance, a number of contributions touched upon questions such as interactions between populist and radical actors and their mainstream opponents, hereby including processes of ideological osmosis and/or differentiation. The section notably succeeded in including panels and papers with a focus on political parties, social movements, and voters/supporters, preserving plurality in theoretical and methodological approaches.

The question of (real or perceived) intersection of left and right politics was addressed in the panel 'Filling the Empty Quadrant?' (Chairs: Eelco Harteveld and Erika van Elsas). The panel included papers on the mounting differences between left- and right-wing Eurosceptic voters (van Elsas) on the one hand, and the 'exclusive solidarity' of radical right parties' socioeconomic policies (Michel and Lefkofridi) on the other. The panel 'Populist Attitudes in Contemporary Democracies' (Chair: Anne Schultz) focused more in depth on the topical question of measurement of populism and brought together contributions presenting original data on the demand side and supply side of populism in Chile (Hawkins and Rovira Kaltwasser) as well as populist attitudes in the Netherlands (Akkerman and Zaslove) and Western Europe (Wirth et al.).

The second day of conference started with a panel on the far right 'beyond the electoral arena' (Chair: Caterina Froio). Research presented included papers on the strategies of the Greek Golden Dawn (Fielitz), right-wing terrorism and violent attacks (Ravndal), and the ethnographic work conducted on the French *Identitaires* (Bouron). The panel on the radical left in times of crisis (Chairs: Luis Ramiro and Luke March) collected contributions on the populist discourse of the left and right in the UK (March), the cross-national similarities between left-

wing populist voters (Ramiro and Gomez), and the evolution of the radical left in Ireland amidst the Great Recession (Dunphy). In the afternoon, the panel on the impact of the radical right (Chair: Michael Minkenberg) advanced prospects on questions such as party competition (Pytlas), policy effects (Zobel), and government formation (Kossack), without neglecting novel theoretical frameworks for the study of this party family in the political process (Minkenberg). Amongst other panels, the final day of conference offered the opportunity to present and discuss some recently published monographs on populist politics in Europe and advance avenues for future research (Chair: Duncan McDonnell); the book panel covered works on Italy and Switzerland (Albertazzi and McDonnell), Central and Eastern Europe (Pirro), and Europe as a whole (van Kessel).

The section ultimately highlighted that the study of populist and radical organisations is still thriving, whilst at the same time demonstrating an outstanding ability to respond to a mounting pressure to differentiate research foci and methodological approaches. The quantity and quality of contributions delivered substantiates that the interest in these phenomena has swiftly expanded beyond accounts on Western Europe and the electoral arena alone, progressively resorting to innovative research techniques and original data.

BOOK REVIEWS

POPULISTS IN POWER

Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), xiv + 204pp. ISBN 9780415600972, £85.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by Tjitske Akkerman
University of Amsterdam

Populists in Power is an important book that provides an original in-depth study of populist parties in government. It consists of case -studies of three populist parties: Lega Nord (LN), Popolo della Libertà (PdL) and Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP). The focus is on two periods: the Italian coalition government of LN and PdL from 2008-2011 and the Swiss federal government from 2003-2007. Building on their earlier work, Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell make several important claims about populist parties in government. Dismissing the received wisdom that populist parties have inherent problems with assuming power, they argue that populist parties manage to remain responsive to their voters when they govern. The parties do not suffer incumbency costs more than other parties. Moreover, they do not have specific problems with recruiting qualified personnel. Finally, the authors show that members are fairly realistic about policy gains and that internal tension between fundis and realos did not arise. The authors argue that the idea that populist parties tend to face extraordinary challenges is based on first time experiences of populist parties in government. Newness rather than populism has caused the problems that populist parties like List Pim Fortuyn and Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs faced in national office. The book aims to demonstrate that by now most of the populist parties have grown up and have become quite capable of governing effectively without extraordinary electoral costs or internal conflicts.

Populists in Power provides a rich account of how the three parties fared in national government. Methodologically it is an all-round study, comprising a broad array of data such as manifestos, key texts, policies, but also individual and group interviews of over 100 members and representatives and surveys. It is the first study that examines in-depth how representatives and members of the populist parties assess the experiences of their parties in government. The chapters that address the internal organizations of the parties and the assessments of members and representatives are solid and original. Together with a comparative chapter about electoral results before, during and after incumbency and a chapter that assesses the policy achievements of the three parties in government, the book provides a comprehensive account of the performance of these three populist parties in government.

That populism does not pose inherent challenges for parties in government is a bold claim for a study focusing on only two cabinets and three populist parties. Only the chapter about the electoral costs of incumbency presents a broader comparative analysis. Therefore, one should be careful with generalizing the outcomes. Scholarly studies of populist parties in Italy and Switzerland, including earlier work of Albertazzi and McDonnell, have emphasized that in these cases exceptionally favourable conditions enabled LN and SVP to successfully combine responsibility with responsivity. The Swiss system with its consensus government and direct democracy provides quite exceptional opportunities for a strategy of 'one foot in, one foot out'. In Italy, LN and PdL had already been firm and interdependent allies for a long time with their policy domains well parcelled out. Moreover, their coalition had a comfortable majority. In other words, a populist strategy of 'one foot in , one foot out' may have been successful in these cases, but may still pose an inherent challenge in less beneficial contexts or under less favourable circumstances. Yet, it should be noted that even in these cases success was not unqualified. The PdL payed a price for the bold promises the party had made about delivering an economic miracle in the general election of 2008. When the PdL could not make up to this due to the financial crisis in the second half of Berlusconi's period in government, the party was consequently punished by voters in the post-incumbency election of 2013.

The authors characterize the problems inherent to populism as a tendency to make unrealistic promises to voters and members. The costs of government are therefore relatively high for populist parties, because they have to make more policy concessions in office than mainstream parties. Consequently, voters and members of populist parties tend to be disappointed and dissatisfied. This argument is central to the chapters that assess the electoral costs, the policy achievements and the evaluations of members and representatives of populist parties. The chapter that investigates the policy achievements of the three populist parties makes clear that Lega Nord in particular made unrealistic promises in 2008. The escape route of LN in government was to make up for its unrealistic promises with symbolic policies. The party evidently did so with success, as neither voters nor members were specifically disappointed about its achievements in government between 2008 and 2011. The SVP also made unrealistic promises to restrict freedom of movement of EU citizens in 2003, but that was apparently no reason for voters to punish the party or for members to be dissatisfied. How is it possible that these parties did not have to face the costs of overpromising? With regard to members of the parties, the interviews and surveys show that internal consensus in LN and PdL was mostly based on the great esteem for leaders Bossi and Berlusconi. Moreover, the interviews make clear that members and representatives of these parties show a great deal of realism and can hardly be characterized as 'purifiers' that value ideological purity above small policy gains. Members of the SVP were less in awe of their

leader Blocher than members of LN and PdL were of their leaders, but they praised him nonetheless and they were also fairly realistic. Overall, the chapters investigating (the background of) internal support for the course of the party in office provide new and invaluable insights. The extensive assessment of how members evaluated the policy results of their parties, and the analysis of how well top-down channels of communication functioned, are impressive and original. With regard to voters, it is more difficult to explain the lack of consequences of overpromising. The authors remark in a footnote that making unrealistic promises against EU laws or regulations or national laws is a win-win strategy for populist parties. If they cannot realize these promises they can pose as victims of international elites or national courts. This is an interesting hypothesis that needs to be further investigated.

Albertazzi and McDonnell use a broad definition of populism in this book that they already launched in earlier work. In their view, populism is not just a thin-centred ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites, but that also contrasts the people to 'dangerous others'. The latter part of the definition raises some problems. While it is convincingly demonstrated that the three parties contrast the people to a set of elites, the contrast with 'dangerous others' cannot be applied to PdL, because the party is not anti-immigration. The authors also hold that the SVP does not clearly emphasize 'dangerous others', because the party is ambivalent with regard to immigration. This characterization of the ideological profile of the SVP is questionable, because the chapter that evaluates the policy results of SVP during incumbency makes clear that anti-immigration and anti-free movement legislation were key-issues for the SVP. The asylum policy of SVP was far from ambivalent. Only with regard to the EU and the free movement of citizens there were internal tensions, but the dominant line clearly was restrictive. It could therefore be maintained that LN and SVP meet the full definition of populism, but the PdL is an outlier that only can be characterized as populist in a more narrow sense. That raises the question why the authors have not used a stricter definition of populism and confined it to the contrast between the people and a set of elites. This book will certainly stimulate further comparative research to test the claim that populism does not pose inherent problems when power is assumed. As an in-depth small N-study that provides rich and original research outcomes, *Populists in Power* is a must-read for everyone interested in the political prospects of populist parties.

RETHINKING FASCISM AND DICTATORSHIP IN EUROPE

António Costa Pinto, Aristotle Kallis, ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 320 pp. ISBN 9781137384409, £60.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by Giulia Albanese
Università degli Studi di Padova
(Translated by Sergio Knipe)

How are we to approach the world of southern, central and eastern European dictatorships in the inter-war period without denying their relationship with the Fascist and Nazi world, yet at the same time without dismissing their peculiarities and differences compared to these regimes? This is the aim of the volume edited by Antonio Costa Pinto and Aristotle Kallis, who suggest possible answers to the above question through two types of essays by different authors. The first part of the volume consists in a theoretical section analysing the way in which these regimes have been interpreted and how it might be possible to acquire fresh insight into these topics. The second part of the book seeks to develop new methods of analysis and new perspectives by focusing on Austria under the Dollfuss regime (and beyond) (Gerhard Botz), Salazar's Estado Novo (Goffredo Adinolfi and António Costa Pinto), early Francoism (Miguel Jerez Mir and Javier Luque), the Metaxas regime in Greece (Mogens Pelt), Hungary (Jason Wittenberg) and Romania (Constantin Iordachi). Particularly noteworthy is the choice to shift the focus completely away from the Fascist and Nazi regimes, by discussing them only indirectly. The Italian and German experiences are thus not included among the cases explicitly studied and taken into consideration, so as to affirm the international, rather than merely national, relevance of the authoritarian, 'parafascist' or at any rate anti-parliamentary wave that swept across Europe those years. The picture of Europe we are presented with is a complex and diverse one – despite the nature of the regimes that shaped its destiny – as opposed to one confined to the narrow circle of the better developed countries of central-northern Europe.

In these few lines it is impossible to fully convey the richness of the volume, which lies not so much in its thematic focus as in the explicit attempt to transcend rigid categories in order to take account of the hybrid forms and the various modes of reception and transformation brought about by the undeniable flow of anti-liberal and anti-socialist ideas, as well as explicitly authoritarian ones (in the broader sense of the term), in the political, economic and social sphere. This aim of the book is also emphasised by the editors in the conclusion, through an appeal for scholars to further proceed in the direction they have started to explore, in search of new avenues.

David D. Roberts' and Roger Eatwell's essays offer a solid, updated analysis of the progress made over the years and of the paths that remain open. Setting out

from the Italian case, Roberts examines the overall picture of authoritarian, fascist and parafascist regimes in the inter-war period and their interactions with other regimes, while also reflecting on new ways of making use of the scholarship on totalitarianism. Eatwell, on his part, starts by considering the development of right-wing regimes in the inter-war period, focusing in particular on the issue of complexity and reflexive hybridisation. The latter expression and Eatwell's considerations on the matter are particularly significant, as they draw attention to an element that has largely been ignored so far: the way in which the reception of the political ideologies and practices of 'minor' regimes influenced Fascism and Nazism. Even more interesting is Kallis' essay: within the range of problems I have briefly outlined, it clearly illustrates the dynamic nature of the exchanges and processes of hybridisation which occurred in those years. In particular, Kallis raises a number of important questions that have yet to be investigated, such as what sort of issues the 'Fascist template' successfully addressed, in what way it enabled the radical transformation of societies and regimes, in what way it influenced and transformed other ideologies and socio-political constituencies, and what the relation might be between an emotional adherence to these ideologies and regimes, on the one hand, and, on the other, the acceptance of some of their aspects for strategic and (not always consciously) opportunistic reasons. One important aspect of this dynamic perspective is the assessment of the fact that very different political lessons could be derived from what were perceived as the same key events. Finally, Costa Pinto's essay analyses the transnational significance of the theme of corporatism in the Europe of those years, which has only returned to being at the centre of historians' interests in recent years. Pinto argues that the relation between Fascism and the development of Christianity, and especially of Catholicism, in the period in question – including in terms of its consequences for secular and non-Catholic culture – requires a more sophisticated analysis than the one provided by historians of Fascism so far (not least because of their exclusive focus on Italy and Germany).

Within this theoretical framework, the choice to include a foreword by Roger Griffin partly seems to deviate from the overall goal of the volume. Griffin is no doubt to be counted among those intellectuals who have given a crucial impetus to the study of Fascist regimes since the 1990s. Yet in his foreword, reconstructing the origins and development of the term and category 'parafascist', he tends to present the process of analysis and understanding of these regimes which lies at the centre of all the essays in the volume as a static one – whereas, in the eyes of the present writer, this is actually an extremely promising process for identifying new research venues.

The essays devoted to specific national experiences lend depth to the theoretical discussion, while variously conceptualising and investigating the way in which the theme of hybridisation and mutual exchange between different experiences

is to be approached. Nonetheless, it seems to me that in all cases an attempt is made to illustrate and emphasise the dynamic aspect of these exchanges and of the way in which ideologies and political constructs changed in those years.

To sum up, the analysis of these southern, central and eastern European countries adds complexity to the overall picture of Europe, as well as to the history of individual nation-states (including ones not explicitly discussed in the volume). It shows how the various political, ideological and religious currents that made up the Fascist and Nazi world could proliferate in different ways depending on the social, economic and political background and balance of each country (in addition to the kind of chance occurrences and exceptional circumstances that invariably shape history).

What this volume clearly shows is the need for historians to get back to work in order to provide an accurate and detailed illustration of the way in which these political experiences travelled across Europe (as ideologies as well as forms of organisation); to analyse the personalities and structures that acted as a bridge between different ideological and political experiences; and, finally, to identify the changes these experiences underwent as they travelled. As explicitly noted by Kallis, while studies are available on specific personalities and forms of hybridisation, for the most part this map has yet to be drawn and awaits to be developed in its transnational and international dimension.

POPULISM IN WESTERN EUROPE. COMPARING BELGIUM, GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS

Teun Pauwels (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 220 pp. ISBN 9780415814034, £90.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by Koen Vossen
Radboud University Nijmegen

Only those who have been living under a rock could have missed the fact that populism has become one of the most popular words in the political vocabulary of our times. Various studies have been published on specific populist manifestations and variations in different countries, on the populist constituency, on populist parties and public office and on the impact of populism on the party system and the political culture as a whole. For all scholars who deal with populism, it is a difficult task to find a new angle from which to study this slippery concept. The angle Teun Pauwels has chosen is to compare populism in three bordering Western-European countries: Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany.

His research strategy is twofold. First he attempts to identify the populist parties in these countries by means of a qualitative analysis and a computerized content analysis of party manifestos. In line with various other scholars, Pauwels distinguishes between national-populist parties, neoliberal populist parties and social populist parties. Subsequently, he identifies all these flavours of populism in the Netherlands and Belgium. In Germany however the identification process is more difficult. He identifies the PDS/Die Linke as a social populist party, but fails to notice that this is at least historically a rather odd label for the successor party of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, which was a very elitist marxist-leninist vanguard party. Also, Pauwels does not identify any relevant neo-liberal populist parties in Germany, but this seems mainly the result of his failure to include Alternative für Deutschland and Otto Schill's Partei Rechtstaatlicher Offensive which was represented in the Hamburg government between 2001 and 2005. For Alternative für Deutschland Pauwels has a legitimate excuse, as this party became relevant after Pauwels had finished his research, but the Schill-Partei should at least have been mentioned.

After this useful and thorough classification work, Pauwels turns to what he considers to be his basic research question: what causes people to vote for a populist party? The next chapters therefore deal with the electorate of the neo-liberal populist Lijst Pim Fortuyn and the Lijst DeDecker, the national populist Vlaams Belang and Partij voor de Vrijheid and the social populist Socialistische Partij and the PDS/die Linke. These rather straightforward and well written chapters are clearly the best part of his book. His conclusion is 'that dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy and a desire for more decision making through referendums are important and unique drivers for populist voting in general.' On the other hand, Pauwels argues that 'populist voters do not want to get more involved into politics: they often disdain it.' (7) Thus Pauwels is also confronted with one of the main contradictions in the populist voting behaviour: how could someone who desires for more direct democracy also disdain politics? According to Pauwels, it is 'far from evident that the use of more referendums would be a solution to populism.' (187)

Anyone who is looking for such a solution should also take into account that there is a clear difference between social populist voters on the one hand and the national-populist and neoliberal populist voters on the other hand. Social populist parties profit from egalitarian attitudes, whereas neoliberal and national populist parties profit from anti-immigrant attitudes. In the eyes of the voters neoliberal populist and national populist parties are functional equivalents, concludes Pauwels (188). With regard to the Netherlands and Belgium, Pauwels presents enough evidence to support this claim. With regard to Germany, however, Pauwels analysis is, again, less convincing and too sketchy. Some of the specific problems after the reunification (*Ostalgie* and the loss of status and income for the former DDR-elite) are touched upon but too

superficially. Whereas Pauwels has a clear understanding of Dutch and Belgian politics and society, he seems to lack a '*Fingerspitzengefühl*' for the German political culture. He only briefly mentions that the main problem for populist parties in Germany 'is related to events during World War II, which makes German society allergic to anything that might resemble the country's Nazi past.'³⁶ One does not have to add a whole chapter on German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, but only a few brief sentences is really too little. All in all, the book would have been better if Pauwels had decided to leave the German case out. Sometimes less is more. However, for those who are interested in populism in Belgium and the Netherlands, Pauwels' book is compulsory reading.

PUBLICATIONS ALERT

- Abbas, T. (2015) 'The Muslims Are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror', *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 49(4), 799-801.
- Adamczyk, A. and LaFree, G. (2015) 'Religiosity and reactions to terrorism', *Social Science Research*, 51, 17-29.
- Afonso, A. (2015) 'Choosing whom to betray: populist right-wing parties, welfare state reforms and the trade-off between office and votes', *European Political Science Review*, 7(2), 271-92.
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