

E EXTREME

June 2019

Volume 20

Number 2



Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group
on Extremism & Democracy

Newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy

Convenors and Managing Editors

Caterina Froio, *Sciences Po*

Andrea L. P. Pirro, *Scuola Normale Superiore*

Stijn van Kessel, *Queen Mary University of London*

Book Reviews Editor

Patricia Rodi, *Queen Mary University of London*

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

Copyright © 2019 by the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Standing Group Announcements	4
Upcoming Events and Calls for Contributions	8
Reports	12
Book Reviews	17
Publications Alert	28

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 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 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!

NEW EDITORS OF ROUTLEDGE BOOK SERIES ANNOUNCED

The convenors of the Standing Group – Caterina Froio, Andrea L. P. Pirro, and Stijn van Kessel – have been recently appointed new editors of the [Routledge](#)

[Book Series in Extremism and Democracy.](#)

The new editors pick up from where co-founders Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde, and more recently co-editor Matthew Goodwin, left off and will actively seek greater interpenetration with the Standing Group. The series now has 65 books on these issues, and has become the most distinguished and influential series in this area.

The editors look forward to receiving cutting-edge book proposals for monographs and edited volumes. For further details, please check the [Book Series](#) page of our website.

SECTION ENDORSED AT NEXT ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE

The ECPR Standing Group on *Extremism & Democracy* is proudly endorsing the Section 47 'Political Radicalism and Alternatives to Liberal Democracy' at the next ECPR General Conference in Wrocław, 4-7 September 2019. The Section is chaired by Lenka Bustikova (Arizona State University) and Petra Guasti (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt).

Description

What is the relationship between political radicalism and democracy? Right-wing and left-wing political radicals are vocal about limitations of liberal democracies. Political extremism, radical contestation that mobilizes opponents of liberal democracy, as well as support for radical parties on the left and on the right, is a double edged-sword. On the one hand, radical actors bring neglected topics out of the shadows. Radical elements of the mainstream can highlight new issues, sometimes by using populist appeals to re-invigorate political agendas of mainstream parties. Some even suggest that radical actors engage in the process of creative destruction: as mainstream parties ossify and run out of creative solutions to new challenges, radical agendas force the mainstream to adapt and innovate.

Naturally, there is a dark side to radical politics. In the absence of cordon sanitaire, extreme right and/or extreme left parties taint public discourse, legitimize vitriolic, hateful political rhetoric and propose simplistic economic solutions to complex problems of contemporary globalized societies. Moreover, the process of mainstreaming of radical agendas leads to the overlap of mainstream and niche parties' platforms so that the boundaries become either blurry or parties end up in a spiral of extremist outbidding. For instance, radical extra-parliamentary

groups, pressure groups that hide on social media to advocate hate, radicalized social movements and uncivil society play an important role in the process of destabilizing the vision of Europe as a continent where minority protection is considered to be a cornerstone of political pluralism.

At the same time, movements and parties on the extreme, as well as radicalized mainstream parties, propose alternatives to liberal democracies. Some suggest that liberal democracy advantages minorities at the expense of the majority. Those who (no longer) view liberal democracies as a legitimate form of governance advocate for direct forms of democracy that reconnect politicians with the electorate. Other radical and radicalized movements, parties and politicians seek to enhance majoritarian features of democracies either as a strategic tool to expand executive and legislative power or in order to diminish political pluralism. The rule of experts and technocratic expertise is yet another alternative that combines exclusionary appeals with a rejection of pluralistic liberal democracies. Polarization and identity politics are powerful tools in the hands of radicals who create divided societies unable to reach consensus and gridlocked on policies.

Section overview

#	PANEL
P130	Extremism, Populism and Digital Media
P179	Internalising the Insurgency: Understanding the Interaction of Radical Anti-Establishment and Mainstream Parties
P209	Mobilising Around Europe: Pro and Anti-EU Politics and Activism in an Era of Populism and Nationalism
P293	Populism and Radical Grass Roots Mobilization
P294	Populism, Conspiracy Theories, and Fake News
P312	Radicalisation of the Mainstream
P372	The Construction of Sovereignty and Populism as Challenges for Representative Democracy
P412	The Relationship Between Populism and Political Participation
P446	Uncivil Society Revisited
P451	Varieties of Populism: Left, Right and Technocratic

SG BUSINESS MEETING AT ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE

The ECPR General Conference in Wroclaw will also offer the opportunity to discuss future prospects and plans of the Standing Group. We would like to

extend the invitation to the Standing Group Business Meeting to members and non-members alike. Your input is, as usual, very welcome!

Save the date: Wednesday, 4 September at 17:00

We will notify closer to the date which room we have been allocated. Looking forward to seeing you all there!

UPCOMING EVENTS AND CALLS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

CALL FOR PAPERS: POSTWAR POLITICS: MEMORY, AMNESIA, AND DENIAL IN THE SERVICE OF ELECTORAL VICTORY

Workshop: Postwar Politics: Memory, Amnesia, and Denial in the Service of Electoral Victory

Chair: Michal Mochtak (University of Luxembourg)

Location and date: University of Luxembourg, 20-21 February 2020

Deadline for submission: 1 July 2019

How does war shape postwar politics? To which extent is electoral competition in postwar societies determined by the war past as opposed to the peacetime present and future? Does war become embedded into postwar political norms, practices, narratives, and institutions? Insights into the nature of postwar politics, behavior of political parties and elites, and postwar narratives are crucial for our understanding of democratic consolidation in nations previously torn by conflict. The ERC-funded project Electoral Legacies of War: Political Competition in Postwar Southeast Europe (ELWar) studies how war legacies and war past have affected political competition in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia since mid-1990s. With this workshop, the ELWar project aims to bring together scholars working on similar topics to advance our understanding of how war experiences shape political arenas and political actors in post-conflict settings.

We encourage submission of papers using a wide range of methodological approaches with different regional and temporal concentrations preferably focusing on postwar regions other than Southeast Europe (we are especially interested in scholarship focusing on the post-Soviet space or the Middle East). Applicants can approach the topic from whichever perspective they deem appropriate, but we are particularly open to proposals focusing on postwar political parties – from their creation and mobilization to their internal structures and processes of policy making. We are also open to proposals focusing on the creation and perpetuation of politicized historical narratives. From a methodological standpoint, all approaches are welcome – both quantitative and qualitative. We are, however, especially open to proposals using ethnographic methods to unearth the process of political competition in postwar settings on the local level.

Papers presented at this workshop will be published as an edited volume or as a special issue in a high-ranking journal in the field. Accommodation and travel expenses will be reimbursed for all selected workshop attendees. The workshop is to be held at Maison Robert Schuman, University of Luxembourg.

Please email an abstract of your paper of a maximum of 400 words, as well as a recent CV with a list of publications, to Michal Mochtak (michal.mochtak@uni.lu) by 1 July 2019. You can also use this email address if you have any questions related to the workshop.

CALL FOR PAPERS: THE NATION AND THE RADICAL LEFT

Conference: The Nation and the Radical Left: Practices and Discourses of National Identity in Left-wing Politics

Chairs: Jacopo Custodi and Manuela Caiani (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Location and date: Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, 28 November 2019

Deadline for submission: 25 July 2019

For further details: [Event page](#)

The conference aims to explore and evaluate the intricate relationship between national identity, nationality and nationalism on one side, and left-wing, emancipatory and radical politics on the other side. We welcome both theoretical and empirical papers on the following themes:

- Left-wing populism and nationalism
- The radical left and the nationalist-globalist cleavage
- The radical left and the nationalist revival
- Imagined communities and left-wing projects
- National identity and migrant solidarity activism
- Alter-Europeanism and Euroscepticism
- Radical left and nationality in post-colonial contexts
- Transnational leftist movements beyond the nation
- Patriotism and anti-imperialism
- Internationalism and cosmopolitanism
- Internationalism and popular sovereignty

The conference intends to cover cases from different areas of the world, as a necessary step in order to better grasp the complexity and the polymorphism of national identity within radical left politics. Consequently, we welcome papers assessing European as well as non-European cases.

Keynote speakers: Benjamin De Cleen (Vrije Universiteit Brussel) and Daniel Keith (University of York)

Please send an abstract (400 words max) and a short bio (100 words max) to jacopo.custodi@sns.it. The abstract and the short bio have to be attached to the email as two separate pdf files. Please name the former with the title of your paper, and the latter with your name and surname. If accepted, a full paper (6000 words max) is expected by 15 November 2019. Short bio and full papers will be circulated among the presenters prior to the conference.

There is no registration fee, but accommodation and travel costs are to be covered by participants. Attendance is free and open to anyone.

GENDER AND POPULISM

Seminar: Gender and Populism: British, French and US Perspectives

Chair: Jeremy Jennings (King's College London)

Location and date: King's College London, 18 June 2019

For further details: [Event page](#)

There is a widespread image of right-wing populism being driven by supporters who are disproportionately older, white men. This seminar will examine in detail the gendered aspects of populism, focusing in particular on the cases of Britain, France and the US.

To what extent are women voting, standing and campaigning for left- and right-wing populist parties? What is driving support for populist parties (or lack of it) among women? What are the gendered aspects of populism? These and other key questions will be examined in a series of short talks from a panel of leading academic experts on gender and populism, followed by a Q&A.

This is the inaugural seminar in a series of events on gender and politics, held jointly by the University of Paris and KCL. Professor Clarisse Berthezene, Paris Diderot University and Professor Jeremy Jennings, KCL will provide a short introduction about the collaboration.

Speakers:

- Dr Rosalind Shorrock, University of Manchester
- Professor Azadeh Kian, University of Paris & Head of the Centre for Gender and Feminist Studies
- Professor Rosie Campbell, King's College London
- Professor Romain Huret, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales

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

WORKSHOP ON DISCOURSE THEORY: WAYS FORWARD

Lazaros Karavasilis & Panos Panayotu
Loughborough University

The Palace of the Academies in Brussels hosted a major colloquium on ‘Discourse Theory: Ways Forward’ on 7-8 February 2019. The colloquium was organized by the centre for the study of Democracy, Signification and Resistance (DESIRE) and it brought together participants from all over Europe, including the UK, Germany, Russia, Italy and Greece. It is also worth noting that the conveners paid special attention to the colloquium’s gender balance. Right before the main event, a PhD Masterclass took place on the 6th of February at the Vrije Universiteit in Brussels (VUB), themed ‘Discourse Theoretical Approaches to Politics, Society, Communication and Media’. PhD students from various universities had the opportunity to receive feedback on their research projects from leading experts on Discourse Theory, namely Nico Carpentier (Charles University in Prague), Jason Glynos (University of Essex), David Howarth (University of Essex), Steven Griggs (De Montfort University), Yannis Stavrakakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), and Ruth Wodak (Lancaster University/ University of Vienna).

The aim of the colloquium, as the title itself reveals, was to bring forth the cutting-edge research currently undertaken in the field of Discourse Theory and at the same time to think critically and constructively about the future of it. In the opening session, Benjamin De Cleen emphasized the four main topics that the colloquium aspired to focus on, that is (1) populist discourses and discourses about populism, (2) discursive perspectives on political economy, (3) the relations between the discursive and the material, and (4) discourse theory and visibility. After explaining the structure of the colloquium, both days of which kicked off with plenary panels that were followed by three parallel sessions, De Cleen declared the conference open.

The first plenary panel, entitled ‘Discourse, Materiality, Reality, Fantasy’, started with Aysem Mert (Stockholm University) arguing that Ecotopia might offer some solutions to the dead ends of the politics of utopia, namely the end of antagonism and therefore the end of politics. Nico Carpentier (Charles University in Prague), for his part, focused on the relationship between the discursive and the material, suggesting that we should think of them as being entangled in a ‘knot’, while Yannis Stavrakakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) dealt with a set of

criticisms that have been addressed to Discourse Theory in an attempt to reveal their strengths and weaknesses as one way forward. Last but not least, Johannes Angermüller (University of Warwick) advocated a Strong Programme in Discourse Studies which will uncover that both wrong and true knowledge are socially produced, making our claim more consistent and thus stronger.

The following two rounds of parallel panels addressed different aspects of discourse theory. In an effort to maintain this report brief we are unable to thoroughly examine each panel and thus we will reduce our remarks to a minimum. Having this in mind, the issues that were addressed in the first round included left-wing populism and its contemporary state as well as the connection between discourse, institutions and governance and politicized economies. The second and third round of panels were mostly focused on discussions about discourses on populism, populism in power and austerity politics while also including previous themes too.

The colloquium closed its first day with a roundtable on women in discourse studies and populism research with Ruth Wodak (Lancaster University/University Vienna), Edina Dóci (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and Emilia Palonen (University of Helsinki). At the end there was a strong consensus on the need to take action in order to ensure a gender-balanced academia. 'If you truly believe in equality, you must actively support it', as one Edina Dóci stressed emphatically.

The second day of the colloquium started with the second plenary panel titled 'Theorizing Representation, Hegemony and Populism'. Chaired by Yiannis Stavrakakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), the panel started with Emilia Palonen (University of Helsinki) who expanded on the uses of rhetoric-performative analysis on the study of populism, emphasizing on the affective dimension and how it explores both practices and materiality with speech and writing. Emilia was followed by Lasse Thomassen (Queen Mary University of London) who presented the conceptualization of representation in Laclau's perception of populism and universality, how we perceive political representation today and what does that have to say about our thinking of populism. In his turn Giorgos Katsambekis (Loughborough University) provided a thorough examination of the much-debated subject of populism, 'the people'. His focus was aimed at criticizing how mainstream approaches of populism tend to perceive 'the people' as homogenous, often neglecting the complex nature of the subject. The plenary panel closed with Allan Dreyer Hansen and Marianne Høi Liisberg (Roskilde University), who focused on the intricate articulation of the national 'people' after the terror attacks of January and February 2015 in France and Denmark, respectively.

The two rounds of parallel panels that followed concentrated on three themes: (1) the ambiguous relationship of populism with nationalism, (2) discourse theory and visuality and, (3) theoretical challenges on the study of populism as well as structure and change.

One could not imagine a more suitable way of closing this intense two-day conference than holding a debate between two prominent scholars from the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the study of political ideologies: Ruth Wodak (Lancaster University/ University of Vienna) and Michael Freeden (Oxford University) respectively. Ruth Wodak emphasized the need for Discourse Theory to engage more systematically with other socio/political theories and integrate linguistic concepts. Moreover, she touched the issue of emotions and she encouraged the new generation of Discourse Analysts to pay equal attention to emotions other than 'pleasure' such as anger and fear.

The third point she raised was related to the meaning and the application of specific concepts such as the notorious 'empty signifier', which as she admitted makes little sense to her. Empty signifier and this process of rethinking the concepts of DT concerned Michael Freeden as well. In his intervention he focused on the relationship between DT and conceptual morphology, suggesting that there is a difference between a concept and a signifier. A concept is never empty, he insisted, but it is always filled with a whole set of complex conceptions and the aim of conceptual morphology is to analyse those internal conceptions. Furthermore, he stressed the problematic for him equation of Discourse Theory with the work of one man, Ernesto Laclau, and he encouraged researchers working within this paradigm to move beyond Laclau. Among the other issues he raised was the need for DT to properly engage with ideologies and also to move beyond Europe and Latin America.

To sum up, the colloquium provided a great opportunity for scholars working on discourse theory to come together and discuss their research. The exchange of ideas, feedback and information regarding discourse theory was purposely prompted by the structure and organization of such a colloquium and at a perfect timing for discourse studies. It is for this reason that special thanks should be given to the DESIRE centre and to the organizers Benjamin de Cleen, Jana Goyvaerts and Nico Carpentier as well as to the other members of the committee Jason Glynos, Yannis Stavrakakis and Ilija Tomanic for organizing and coordinating a successful PhD Masterclass and a great and thought-provoking colloquium.

PHD WORKSHOP ON QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON THE FAR RIGHT

Astrid Hauge Rambøl

University of Oslo

Ofra Klein

European University Institute

Fred Paxton

European University Institute

An intensive workshop on qualitative research on the far-right was held between 24-26 April 2019 at the Norwegian University Center in Paris (Centre Universitaire de Norvège a Paris), organized by the Center for Research on Extremism at the University of Oslo (C-REX). In attendance were twelve young scholars (graduate and PhD students) in the field of radical right studies, hailing from six countries and seven university institutions.

Each day, scholars gathered for a morning session led by an expert on a particular aspect of qualitative research on far-right, followed by an afternoon session to discuss each other's work. The expert sessions comprised mixed methods research (Nonna Mayer), discourse analysis (Benjamin de Cleen) and the use of interviews and participatory methods in studying far-right movements (Emanuele Toscano). The afternoon sessions involved brief presentations and discussions on papers and research designs from each of the students. Topics varied from studying transnational far-right movements, its intellectual sphere, memes, the relation of the far-right with Israel, the role of radical right actors in local governments and the application of de-radicalisation policies in the classroom.

The first day started off on a high-point with a presentation by Professor Nonna Mayer on the benefits of methodological eclecticism (mixed methods). Her presentation provided insights into how she has used the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in her own work: from her early studies of shopkeepers to more recent works on the political involvement of the precarious and the motives of far-right supporters. Mayer described the excellent training that scholars can gain from non-directive interviews, how they teach you to be a good listener and extract a lot of information from the subject. In a playful contrast with Bourdieu, who was more directive and interrupting in interview style, she argued the more passive approach of non-directive interviews allows the interviewee to reveal more: "I like Bourdieu, he taught us a lot of things, but he is not a good interviewer!". Such qualitative methods give us insight in deeper meaning, while quantitative methods then allow testing of propositions on a larger scale. Part of the presentation can be found in this article in the article

'Qualitatif ou quantitatif? Plaidoyer pour l'éclectisme méthodologique' found in the [Bulletin of Sociological Methodology](#) (in French, but highly recommended).

On the second day, assistant professor at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel **Benjamin De Cleen** gave a fascinating presentation about discourse theory. He delivered a criticism of how the term “populism” is used, both inside and outside of academia, warning that excessive use risks the term losing all meaning. In research on the far-right, too much attention is given to populism, and not enough to nationalism. De Cleen emphasized that the connection between the two must be studied. In his presentation, he outlined how discourse theory can be used to identify the different building blocks of the far-right, and how the connection between them can be analysed.

On the third day, Professor Emanuele Toscano from Marconi University provided us with a very engaging presentation on how to apply theories from social movement studies, traditionally emerging from studying left-wing movements, to the far-right. His compelling stories about fieldwork on CasaPound portrayed well the dangers of such methods when applied to this field of study. Toscano emphasized the importance of honesty and sincerity in such endeavours in order to create a relationship of mutual trust between the researcher and the subject. Discussion also followed regarding the potentially problematic nature of interactions with radical right subjects. Professor Toscano and Caterina Froio discussed the ways in which CasaPound may have gained visibility thanks to their interactions with journalists, and their media-friendly style of self-presentation, often very different from that traditionally associated with the far-right.

The workshop was a great way to reunite many scholars who had participated in the first summer school organized by the ECPR standing group on Extremism and Democracy, held at the Scuola Normale Superiore (Florence) in June 2018. Half of the participants of the workshop in Paris also attended the last summer school. We hope to further solidify and expand this network with another one in 2020, in what seems to be possibly becoming an annual event. Watch this space!

Many thanks go out to the representatives of the Norwegian University Center in Paris, Director Johs Hjellbrekke and Kirstin Skjelstad, for their warm and generous reception. Each evening they invited us to wonderful French dinners, where we were only treated to excellent food but also enlightening conversation regarding the host city, its history and architecture, and much more besides. All the participants would also like to thank Astrid Hauge Rambøl, from C-REX at the University of Oslo, for her excellent organization of the workshop; as well as Pietro Castelli Gattinara (C-REX) and Caterina Froio (Sciences Po) for their attendance and excellent comments on the papers of participants.

BOOK REVIEWS

LISE ESTHER HERMAN & JAMES MULDOON (EDS). TRUMPING THE MAINSTREAM: THE CONQUEST OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS BY THE POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT

ROUTLEDGE, 2018. 286 PP. £110.00 HARDBACK. ISBN: 9781138502635

Alexander Ryan

Mid Sweden University

It has become something of a cliché to depict new books as particularly timely and valuable for our understanding of current political events. However, this book does fit this description. There is no question that populist radical right parties (PRRP) have influenced mainstream politics in groundbreaking ways in recent years. The book focuses on three of the most important examples of this influence: namely, the Brexit referendum, Donald Trump's presidential victory, and the success of National Rally (formerly the National Front) in the 2017 French presidential election. From the vantage points of these three cases, the authors analyse changes in the PRRP's strategies and ideologies. Moreover, they go beyond the focus of the parties themselves, and explicitly analyse the effect that the populist radical right (PRR) has had on mainstream parties and politics (p. 1). It is this phenomenon that is the main theme of the book and hence its title about how the mainstream has become trumped by the PRR.

The book is a collection of 11 shorter studies edited by Lise Esther Herman and James Muldoon. In total, 18 different authors were involved in the various studies and each of them provide valuable insights into the effects that the PRR has had on mainstream politics. The book is divided into two parts: the first 6 chapters focus on the strategies and ideologies of the PRR, while the last 5 chapters deal with their impact on mainstream politics. The first part brings up various topics such as the media strategies of PRR actors, and their ideological underpinning (pp. 12-14). In doing so, the first 6 chapters give the reader a better factual understanding of the inner workings of these parties, as well as their history and recent developments. It is particularly interesting to read about how the PRRPs have tried to chart out a distinct ideological brand that departs from the traditional left-right divide. The qualitative case studies describe this as a narrative where immigration, globalization and minority groups threaten a historically successful nation. Behind these developments are the elites that have pushed these changes against the interest of the general public (pp. 96-99, 125-126, 140-141).

This is of course classic right-wing populist rhetoric, but it is interesting to get detailed accounts of how the narrative has played out in different places; ranging from SVP, VB (Vlaams Blok), UKIP and the National Front in Europe, to the Tea Party movement and Donald Trump in the US. The rich array of studies provides the reader with a better understanding of the heterogeneity that exists within this party family. A good example of this is the chapter by Zsolt and Mölder. Through cluster analysis, the authors demonstrate that populist parties in Europe can be divided into 4 ideological categories and they map out how the composition of these categories has changed over time.

The last 5 chapters move beyond focusing on PRR actors themselves, and instead focus on their impact on mainstream politics (pp. 14-16). This is in my opinion the major strength with the book. Research on the PRR still lags behind when it comes to empirical studies of their impact on other political parties and party systems. Arguments are regularly made about how parties do this or that in response to the PRR, but there is a need for more empirical analyses that test this. The book therefore makes a major contribution by doing so. Firstly, by using various methodological and theoretical approaches that will help those interested in studying this issue, and, secondly, by providing detailed qualitative and quantitative accounts of how the PRR have influenced mainstream politics. The results show that PRR politics and rhetoric played an important role in the policies and actions of mainstream actors. Examples of this range from the Brexit campaign's populist and anti-immigration rhetoric, to the accommodation strategy of the Republicans in France (pp. 199, 241-242).

It is important to point out that not all of the 11 studies focus on the previously mentioned cases (Brexit, and the US and French elections). For example, Bartek Pytlas analyses the populist politics of Fidesz and PiS in relation to liberal democracy, and Joseph Lacey studies the ideological underpinnings of PRRPs in Switzerland, the UK and Belgium. Moreover, the results and theories travel beyond the countries under scrutiny. Anyone reading the book will surely find similarities and new perspectives on the effect that the PRR has had on mainstream politics in other countries. It is of course impossible for one single book to cover a topic as broad as the PRR and its impact on mainstream politics. It should therefore come as no surprise that some important topics receive less coverage. One example of this is the challenge of capturing the causal effect of PRRPs on mainstream politics, while controlling for relevant confounder variables (Abou-Chadi and Krause 2018, p. 2). This is something that most of the book's chapters do not cover to any great extent and is therefore an important avenue for future research. Two noteworthy exceptions to this are the chapters written by Agnès Alexandre-Collier, and Lise Esther Herman and James Muldoon.

Furthermore, it would have been interesting to learn more about how PRR elite actors themselves view their influence and role within the political mainstream. For example, it would have been interesting to learn how they view their influence on mainstream politics, the strategies they have used to increase their influence, and how this has changed over time according to them. In conclusion, the book provides valuable insights for everyone interested in the PRR and its impact on mainstream politics. A special interest in PRR is, however, not a prerequisite for enjoying the book, as one comes away with a much better understanding of political events such as Brexit, Trump's presidential election victory and the French 2017 presidential election.

References

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Werner Krause (2018). "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." *British Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1-19, accessed 17 March 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000029>.

Alexander Ryan is a PhD candidate in political science at Mid Sweden University. He holds a Master's degree from University of Gothenburg in political science. His main research interest is political polarisation, both comparatively and with a specific focus on Sweden.

ERIC KAUFMANN. WHITESHIFT: POPULISM, IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE OF WHITE MAJORITIES

ALLEN LANE. 2018. 624 PP. £25.00 HARDBACK. ISBN: 9780241317105

Fred Paxton

European University Institute, Florence

What happens when Western countries become 'minority-majority'? In *Whiteshift*, Eric Kaufmann, Professor of Politics at Birkbeck University, explores the demographic and intellectual developments that he argues have led to today's 'populist earthquake'. According to Kaufmann, ethnic identities are an inherent product of basic human psychology whose expression is better accepted than repressed – including for white people. Drawing from a number of his studies already published in journals and think tank reports, along with further surveys completed for the book, Kaufmann makes a bold and profoundly contentious case for a political project he terms 'white ethno-traditional nationalism'.

The opening chapter introduces the two central topics of the work: white ethnic majorities, which are declining in Western countries due to non-white immigration, and the white tradition of national identity, which Kaufmann claims is a powerful, yet repressed, sentiment for many. In response to the political changes provoked by the first phenomenon, he argues the second should be accepted as the basis for newly ethnically mixed Western societies.

The rest of the book is divided into four parts, which describe the principal contemporary white responses to ethnic change. Part one ('Fight') covers the ethnocultural and demographic drivers of right-wing populism in the US, Britain, Europe and Canada. Part two ('Repress') looks at the development of anti-racist norms in Western culture and their prevention of the expression of anti-immigration views. The third part ('Flee') analyses the surprising degree of ethnically based residential and social segregation that exist even in the most liberal and diverse Western societies. The fourth part ('Join') investigates the consequences of the increasing degree of ethnic mixing before Kaufmann concludes with his own political programme for the future.

The book has many strengths. It provides a comprehensive account of the political demography explanation of the contemporary anti-immigration sentiment and radical right vote. Furthermore, the chapters concerning the historical intellectual battles over ethnic change are both rich in detail and punchily written. Methodologically, Kaufmann aims for rigour and generates substantial amounts of original survey data. Stylistically, it is bold, and Kaufmann is frank in sharing his own (often idiosyncratic and provocative) opinions on many contemporary issues of controversy. These range from how best to manage refugee flows to Europe, to a defence of family separation at the US border, to what to do with civil war memorials.

The primary weaknesses of the book concern the author's prescriptions for the future. First and foremost, these are grounded in the concerns of a subject group whose boundaries continually shift. Does it comprise white ethno-nationalists, whites with conservative and authoritarian values, the white non-elite masses, or simply whites in general? As a result of this conceptual slippage, Kaufmann downplays the variations within the white population and overstates the constituency of interest for his project. The book would be clearer with greater theoretical grounding in, and structuring based upon, differences in values (for example: Caprara and Vecchione 2018; Inglehart and Norris 2017). From such works, clearer linkages could be made between the different value sets and responses, along with clarity around their proportions and the preferences of these groups.

Whites with other dominant value sets besides conservatism and authoritarianism are downplayed and misrepresented. The representation of

white anti-racism as a repression of anxiety is the most obvious example. Why label the chapter regarding anti-racist norms ‘Repress’ rather than, for instance, ‘Embrace’ or ‘Protect’? Of course, it would be wrong to downplay the significance of anti-immigration sentiments and the dramatic rise in the radical right vote in Western societies. Yet, we should also remember that these complex, pluralist societies comprise many different value sets and political preferences – within as well as between ethnic groups. Greater grounding in cleavage theory, and the place of anti-immigration within the broader transformations engendered by globalization, would be helpful to perceive the structural basis for these white divides; for instance, the often cited ‘winners and losers’ of globalisation’ (Kriesi et al. 2008, 2012; Hooghe and Marks 2018).

A further critique can be made of Kaufmann’s failure to more critically engage with his own proposed programme of ‘white ethno-traditional nationalism’. According to his project, Western societies should ‘[accept] the legitimate cultural interests of reconstructed, open ethnic majorities’. Kaufmann seeks to distinguish his ‘inclusionary’ project from the ‘exclusionary’ aims of other ethnically minded projects. But how different is his proposed multivocalism from the ethno-pluralism championed by the Nouvelle Droite and Identitarian movement? There are obvious similarities between his project of reduced immigration and a dominant white ethno-tradition and that of the contemporary populist right. Indeed, the author himself elsewhere describes the programme of the latter using the same term of “ethno-traditional nationalism” (Bonikowski et al. 2019: 60). Furthermore, there is a lack of discussion of the consequences for minority interests if national cultures would be explicitly oriented around the identity of a majority ethnic group. Admittedly, the focus of the book is on the white majority. Nevertheless, the lack of any mention of minority experiences of racism when discussing, for example, the concerns of conservative whites in Britain at the time of Enoch Powell’s speech is glaring.

Kaufmann’s prescription of white majority cultural dominance will therefore fail to convince the reader not already in favour of such a programme. His research into the benefits of cohesion and assimilation narratives to allay immigration related fears is convincing (see also: Kaufmann 2016), yet the idea that ‘whiteness’ is the best basis for a new cultural settlement is not. Nevertheless, the psychological-demographic analysis at its best is rigorous and enlightening, and the argument is so boldly stated throughout that many provocative questions are posed with which future research should engage.

References

Bonikowski, Bart, Daphne Halikiopoulou, Eric Kaufmann, and Matthijs Rooduijn. “Populism and Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective: A Scholarly

- Exchange.” *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 1 (2019): 58–81. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12480>.
- Caprara, Gian Vittorio, and Michele Vecchione. “On the Left and Right Ideological Divide: Historical Accounts and Contemporary Perspectives.” *Political Psychology* 39 (February 2018): 49–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12476>.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. “Cleavage Theory Meets Europe’s Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 25, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 109–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310279>.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. “Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse.” *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 02 (June 2017): 443–54. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717000111>.
- Kaufmann, Eric. *Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration and the Future of White Majorities*. Penguin Books, Limited, 2018.
- Kaufmann, Eric. “Assimilation and the Immigration Debate | Fabian Society,” 2016. <https://fabians.org.uk/assimilation-and-the-immigration-debate>.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschie, and Timotheos Frey. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest, eds. *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Fred Paxton (fred.paxton@eui.eu) is a PhD researcher at the European University Institute, Florence. His thesis concerns populist radical right parties in power at the local level of government in Western Europe. He tweets @fredpaxton

DIEGO MURO (ED). WHEN DOES TERRORISM WORK?
 ROUTLEDGE, 2018. 194 PP. £85.00 HARDBACK. ISBN: 9781138123502

Linda Schlegel
Konrad Adenauer Foundation

‘We need to see inside the cave’, said Rogers. ‘We’re seeing shadows on the wall, but we don’t know whether they are made by a giant or a dwarf.’ ‘I know what you want’, said Fares. ‘You want to know who makes the bombs.’ ‘Yes’, said Rogers. ‘But I also want to understand *why* he is doing it.’” (Ignatius in Atran, 2010, p. 168, emphasis mine). The question of why actors turn to terrorist violence to advance their aims has puzzled researchers for decades. One obvious explanation is that groups turn to terrorism ‘because it works’ and some researchers such as

Dershowitz (2002) and Pape (2003) have argued in favor of this claim. Others, including Abrahms (2006, 2012), have argued that terrorism rarely works and Cronin (2009) found only 5% of terrorist campaigns ending due to the group achieving their goals.

Rather than attempting to prove or disprove the claims of either side, the Routledge publication “When does terrorism work”, edited by St. Andrews CSTPV’s Diego Muro, seeks to highlight the limitations of current scholarly literature while bringing forward findings on the more nuanced situational factors determining whether terrorism is to be judged as successful or not. It does not concern itself with the dichotomy of terrorism works vs. terrorism does not work, but rather seeks to understand which external and internal conditions can influence the effectiveness of terrorism. The book presents a balanced account of the current discourse surrounding the title question and includes both theoretical considerations and practical case studies.

In the theoretical accounts Abrahms discusses that rational actor approaches find terrorism to be successful in theory while empirical findings do not. Krause highlights that effectiveness is a relative concept and judgments of success vary depending on goals considered and the scholarly operationalization of outcomes, while Philipps’ analysis zooms in on a single measure of effectiveness, namely group survival. Foley’s contribution then nicely bridges the theoretical and empirical parts of the book with an analysis of counter-terrorism measures of France and the UK, showing how the effectiveness of terrorism partially depends on the actions of other actors.

The case studies begin broadly with McConaghy’s analysis on the general effectiveness of ethnonationalist violence and then move into more narrow case studies, including Muro’s account of reasons why ETA failed and a piece by Tristan and Alvarez examining how groups in Uruguay and El Salvador came to use terrorism as a means to acquire power. Notably, Muro’s edited volume also includes a case of non-violence, namely the work by Leuprecht and Porges on the situation in Western Sahara. Including a case of non-violence aids the holistic understanding of when terrorism is chosen and under which circumstances it is believed to work.

Introduction and conclusion by Muro hold the focus of the book and strengthen the quality of the argument like a frame holding a picture without neglecting the presentation of limitations and issues research on this topic has. His willingness to lay out and thoroughly discuss the limitations of studying the effectiveness of terrorism aids the work’s credibility and guides the reader’s understanding of this field of study as a whole. For instance, Muro attests to the selection bias many studies on this topic display as well as the difficulty in different forms of coding success or failure. The very same terrorist group or action can be deemed a

success or a failure by different scholars depending on how they operationalized and coded effectiveness for their research. Therefore, the current literature is a piecemeal and makes general conclusions difficult due to a lack of comparability.

Overall the book is a valuable contribution to the current discourse and displays variety in approaches and opinions of scholars. It presents a diverse discourse and includes thorough examinations of limitations of studying the effectiveness of terrorism. However, notably absent from the articles included in the edited volume is terrorism in Asia. As Foley points out domestic normative context matters and an Asian case study complementing the existing cases could have strengthened the comprehensiveness of the work. Furthermore, two articles are specifically focused on ethnonationalist terrorism and examples of Islamist terrorism are referenced throughout, yet other ideological justifications for terrorism are rarely mentioned.

The edited volume 'When does terrorism work' is an excellent starting point for further research to be conducted on the topic. More research is needed on the situational factors of effectiveness of terrorism as well as a deeper understanding of the interplay between internal, group-related factors and external factors such as behavior of other actors. Furthermore, a scholarly debate should be facilitated to make studies more comparable. Different coding of success and failure, large data sets which do not take into account historical or political context and a tendency to focus on well known cases are problems of current literature future studies should seek to avoid. In order to gain a more holistic understanding more exploration is needed of the circumstances under which terrorism a) is chosen, b) is successful in strategic terms, c) is successful in tactical terms, d) is successful in achieving other types of goals and lastly e) is made successful by the behavior of outside actors.

References

- Abrahms, M. (2006). Why terrorism does not work. *International Security Vol. 31*, pp. 42-78
- Abrahms, M. (2012). The political effectiveness of terrorism revisited. *Comparative Political Studies Vol. 45* (3), pp. 366-93
- Atran, S. (2010). *Talking to the enemy: Violent Extremism, sacred values, and what it means to be human*. Penguin Books: London
- Cronin, K. (2009). *How Terrorism Ends*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ
- Pape, R. (2003). The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review Vol. 97* (3), pp. 343-361

Linda Schlegel holds an MA in Terrorism, Security and Society from King's College London and is currently the in-house consultant for counter-terrorism at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Her research interests include (online-) radicalization, de-radicalization, extremist identities, and resilience to terrorism. Linda tweets under the twitter handle: @LiSchlegel

LEONARD WEINBERG. FASCISM, POPULISM AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

ROUTLEDGE, 2018. 106 PP. £29.00 PAPERBACK. ISBN: 9781138063754

Michael Scanlan

University of Glasgow

While the broader implications of Donald Trump's economic policies are yet to be fully realised, there is no doubt that his presidency has provided a significant boost to one industry at least: publishing. As academics, commentators, insiders and others attempt to make sense of his election and presidency so far, there has been an outpouring of literature clamouring for attention. One of the latest is *Fascism, Populism and American Democracy* by Leonard Weinberg (2019), a short monograph that attempts to place Trump in the wider context of American populism and the American right. Professor Emeritus of Political Scientist at the University of Nevada and a prolific and accomplished author on the radical and extreme right, Weinberg's book is part history of the radicalisation of the American right, part biography of Trump and part history of American populism. He approaches his subject in an engaging and readable fashion using his dry wit to cut through much of the hyperbole of Trump and those who write on him.

The book begins with an attempt to understand the American political decay which led to circumstances where a politician such as Trump could be elected to the highest office. Seeking to understand how America could go from the liberal optimism of the New Deal to the angry paranoia of the Trump era, Weinberg navigates a familiar route through post-War American politics. Highlighting key moments such as McCarthyism, George Wallace, the Southern Strategy of the Republicans, the Civil Rights Movement, Nixon, the influence of Ayn Rand, the New Right, the Christian Right, Reagan, Bush, the Tea Party and Fox News, the picture painted is one of, as Weinberg claims, political decay within the USA where a Trump style figure emerging, was, if not inevitable, certainly more likely. And it is here that one of the book's shortcomings is evident. Weinberg is able to chart the "how" of this question, and he charts it skilfully and persuasively. What is less successful is the "why". He touches on a number of factors. He considers structural factors, such as the two-party system, the ability of PACs to fund and influence political debate and election primaries where Republican candidates

have to adopt radical right positions in order to galvanise grassroots support. He considers economic factors, most notably the widening economic gaps and the increasing struggles faced by the middle classes of America. And social factors such as religion, race and identity are also considered. Yet despite this, Weinberg seems unable to offer a unified theory as to why we are where we are. In fairness, though, this may be because such a theory simply cannot exist.

The book is at its strongest, though, when placing Trump in the wider context of American populism. While populism is a new phenomenon in much of Europe, in both North and South America it has existed, in one form or another, for decades. And Weinberg explores this heritage closely and carefully. Through discussion of the discourse and praxis of the People's Party, Huey Long, Father Charles Coughlin, George Wallace and Pat Buchanan, all significant figures in the rich history of American populism, Weinberg is able to persuasively define American populism as a movement of unrefined political outsiders using the language and manners of the ordinary American to break into and challenge the American political elite. In these terms it is possible to see Trump as being the final, ultimate triumph, of agitators that began with the People's Party in the 1890s. There are comparisons with *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (Kazin, 1995), a still peerless account and analysis of the populism in the USA. Of course, when this work was published, Trump was still a New York property mogul whose television career had yet to begin, never mind his political career. Yet like Kazin before him, Weinberg considers populism to be both a movement that has been central to the politics of the USA for over a century, even if its leaders would never consider themselves a part of the political mainstream.

The other high point of this work is Weinberg's ability to cut through much of the hyperbole around Trump, most notably claims that he is a fascist or has fascist leanings. Using Griffin's (1991) definition of fascism as palingenetic ultranationalism, he notes both the palingenesis of Trump's rhetoric (Make America Great Again) and the ultranationalism that accompanies it. Taking this along with Trump's frequent broadsides against the structures of American liberal democracy, Weinberg argues that it is understandable that Trump could be seen as having fascist leanings. Yet Trump is still a believer in democracy at both home and abroad and, as Weinberg notes, fascists are not democrats. While he may be sympathetic, to a degree, to those who would seek to define Trump as a fascist, it is neither helpful nor accurate to paint him as such. Trump is a populist in the traditions of the populist demagogues before him. The key difference, though, is that unlike Long and Buchanan, he sits in the Oval Office and while we know how, we are still not much closer to knowing why.

References

Griffin, R. (1991) *The Nature of Facsism*. London: Pinter.

- Kazin, M. (1995) *The Populist Persuasion: an American History*. London: Cornell University Press.
- Weinberg, L. (2019) *Fascism, Populism and American Democracy*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Michael Scanlan is a PhD student at the University of Glasgow researching the discourse and identity of inclusionary populist movements.

PUBLICATIONS ALERT

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

- Abdou, L. H. & Rosenberger, S. (2019) Party activism: the permeability of the asylum protest arena in Austria. *Social Movement Studies*, 18, 391-407.
- Abozaid, A. M. (2019) Correspondence to "An Ethnographic Study on the Indonesian Immigrant Community and its Islamic Radicalization in South Korea". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 314-319.
- Allen, C. The Football Lads Alliance and Democratic Football Lad's Alliance: an insight into the dynamism and diversification of Britain's counter-jihad movement. *Social Movement Studies*.
- Amengay, A. & Stockemer, D. (2019) The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Meta-Analysis of Structural Factors. *Political Studies Review*, 17, 30-40.
- Anduiza, E., Guinjoan, M. & Rico, G. (2019) Populism, participation, and political equality. *European Political Science Review*, 11, 109-124.
- Avdan, N. & Webb, C. (2019) Not in My Back Yard: Public Perceptions and Terrorism. *Political Research Quarterly*, 72, 90-103.
- Bacon, T. & Arsenault, E. G. (2019) Al Qaeda and the Islamic State's Break: Strategic Strife or Lackluster Leadership? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 229-263.
- Baele, S. J., Sterck, O. C., Slingeneyer, T. & Lits, G. P. (2019) What Does the "Terrorist" Label Really Do? Measuring and Explaining the Effects of the "Terrorist" and "Islamist" Categories. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 520-540.
- Banks, A. J. & Hicks, H. M. (2019) The Effectiveness of a Racialized Counterstrategy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 63, 305-322.
- Barna, I. & Koltai, J. (2019) Attitude Changes towards Immigrants in the Turbulent Years of the 'Migrant Crisis' and Anti-Immigrant Campaign in Hungary. *Intersections-East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 5, 48-70.
- Barr, A. & Herfroy-Mischler, A. (2018) ISIL's Execution Videos: Audience Segmentation and Terrorist Communication in the Digital Age. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41, 946-967.
- Bassil, N. R. (2019) A critique of western representations of ISIS: deconstructing contemporary Orientalism. *Global Change Peace & Security*, 31, 81-94.
- Batory, A. & Svensson, S. (2019) The use and abuse of participatory governance by populist governments. *Policy and Politics*, 47, 227-244.
- Benson, M. & Lewis, C. Brexit, British People of Colour in the EU-27 and everyday racism in Britain and Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.
- Bergema, R. & van San, M. (2019) Waves of the Black Banner: An Exploratory Study on the Dutch Jihadist Foreign Fighter Contingent in Syria and Iraq. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 636-661.
- Berube, M. & Dupont, B. (2019) Mujahideen Mobilization: Examining the Evolution of the Global Jihadist Movement's Communicative Action Repertoire. *Studies in*

- Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 5-24.
- Biberman, Y. & Zahid, F. (2019) Why terrorists target children: Outbidding, desperation, and extremism in the Peshawar and Beslan school massacres. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 169-184.
- Birch, S. & Dennison, J. (2019) How protest voters choose. *Party Politics*, 25, 110-125.
- Bobba, G. (2019) Social media populism: features and 'likeability' of Lega Nord communication on Facebook. *European Political Science*, 18, 11-23.
- Böcskei B. & Molnár C. (2019) The radical right in government? – Jobbik's pledges in Hungary's legislation (2010–2014). *East European Politics*, 35, 1-20.
- Boeke, S. & de Valk, G. The Unforeseen 2012 Crisis in Mali: The Diverging Outcomes of Risk and Threat Analyses. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.
- Bohmelt, T., Bove, V. & Gleditsch, K. S. (2019) Blame the victims? Refugees, state capacity, and non-state actor violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 73-87.
- Bonikowski, B., Halikiopoulou, D., Kaufmann, E. & Rooduijn, M. (2019) Populism and nationalism in a comparative perspective: a scholarly exchange. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 58-81.
- Botha, A. & Abdile, M. (2019) Reality Versus Perception: Toward Understanding Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 493-519.
- Boucher, J. C. & Thies, C. G. (2019) "I Am a Tariff Man": The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric under President Trump. *Journal of Politics*, 81, 712-722.
- Braithwaite, A., Chu, T. S., Curtis, J. & Ghosn, F. (2019a) Violence and the perception of risk associated with hosting refugees. *Public Choice*, 178, 473-492.
- Braithwaite, A., Salehyan, I. & Savun, B. (2019b) Refugees, forced migration, and conflict: Introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 5-11.
- Brathwaite, R. & Park, B. (2019) Measurement and Conceptual Approaches to Religious Violence: The Use of Natural Language Processing to Generate Religious Violence Event-Data. *Politics and Religion*, 12, 81-122.
- Bricker, D., Lipsmeyer, C., Whitten, G. & Young, C. (2019) Immigration, Nativism, and Changing Politics: Special Issue Introduction. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100, 409-411.
- Busby, E. C., Gubler, J. R. & Hawkins, K. A. (2019) Framing and Blame Attribution in Populist Rhetoric. *Journal of Politics*, 81, 616-630.
- Bustikova, L. & Guasti, P. (2019) The State as a Firm: Understanding the Autocratic Roots of Technocratic Populism. *East European Politics and Societies*, 33, 302-330.
- Caro, I. (2019) Islamophobia in the First Decades of the Twenty-first Century: Observations from Latin America's Southern Cone. *Latin American Perspectives*, 46, 13-25.
- Carvalho, J. (2019) Mainstream Party Strategies Towards Extreme Right Parties: The French 2007 and 2012 Presidential Elections. *Government and Opposition*, 54, 365-386.
- Cavaille, C. & Marshall, J. (2019) Education and Anti-Immigration Attitudes: Evidence from Compulsory Schooling Reforms across Western Europe. *American Political Science Review*, 113, 254-263.
- Cichocki, P. & Jabkowski, P. (2019) Immigration Attitudes in the Wake of the 2015 Migration Crisis in the Visegrad Group Countries: Comparative insights of ESS7 and ESS8. *Intersections-East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 5, 27-47.
- Clark, M. D. White folks' work: digital allyship praxis in the #BlackLivesMatter movement. *Social Movement Studies*.
- Coffe, H. (2019) Gender, gendered personality traits and radical right populist voting. *Politics*, 39, 170-185.
- Conway, M., Khawaja, M., Lakhani, S., Reffin, J., Robertson, A. & Weir, D. (2019) Disrupting Daesh: Measuring Takedown of Online Terrorist Material and Its

- Impacts. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 141-160.
- Conway, M. & Macdonald, S. (2019) Introduction to the Special Issue: Islamic State's Online Activity and Responses, 2014-2017. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 1-4.
- Cragin, R. K. & Stipanovich, S. (2019) Metastases: Exploring the impact of foreign fighters in conflicts abroad. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 42, 395-424.
- Cram, I. (ed.) (2019) *Extremism, Free Speech and Counter-Terrorism Law and Policy*, Oxon: Routledge.
- D'Alimonte, R. (2019) How the populists won in Italy. *Journal of Democracy*, 30, 114-127.
- Das, R. J. (2019) Contradictions of India's Right-wing Government and Growing Disenchantment. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49, 313-328.
- Davis, N. T., Goidel, K., Lipsmeyer, C. S., Whitten, G. D. & Young, C. (2019a) Economic Vulnerability, Cultural Decline, and Nativism: Contingent and Indirect Effects. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100, 430-446.
- Davis, N. T., Goidel, K., Lipsmeyer, C. S., Whitten, G. D. & Young, C. (2019b) The Political Consequences of Nativism: The Impact of Nativist Sentiment on Party Support. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100, 466-479.
- de Jonge, L. (2019) The Populist Radical Right and the Media in the Benelux: Friend or Foe? *International Journal of Press-Politics*, 24, 189-209.
- Del Villar, E. L. (2019) Women in Modern Terrorism: From Liberation to Global Jihad in the Islamic State. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 410-416.
- Dennison, J. & Geddes, A. (2019) A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western Europe. *Political Quarterly*, 90, 107-116.
- Dufresne, Y., Kilibarda, A., Blais, A. & Bibeau, A. (2019) Religiosity or racism? The bases of opposition to religious accommodation in Quebec. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 673-696.
- Duriesmith, D. & Ismail, N. H. (2019) Militarized masculinities beyond methodological nationalism: charting the multiple masculinities of an Indonesian jihadi. *International Theory*, 11, 139-159.
- Ellermann, A. & Goenaga, A. (2019) Discrimination and Policies of Immigrant Selection in Liberal States. *Politics & Society*, 47, 87-116.
- Ernst, N., Esser, F., Blassnig, S. & Engesser, S. (2019) Favorable Opportunity Structures for Populist Communication: Comparing Different Types of Politicians and Issues in Social Media, Television and the Press. *International Journal of Press-Politics*, 24, 165-188.
- Evans, G. & Mellon, J. (2019) Immigration, Euroscepticism, and the rise and fall of UKIP. *Party Politics*, 25, 76-87.
- Fagerholm, A. (2019) United in diversity: examining the diverging attitudes towards the European Union on the ideological fringes. *Acta Politica*, 54, 177-195.
- Fawzi, N. (2019) Untrustworthy News and the Media as "Enemy of the People?" How a Populist Worldview Shapes Recipients' Attitudes toward the Media. *International Journal of Press-Politics*, 24, 146-164.
- Fealy, G. (2019) Apocalyptic Thought, Conspiracism and Jihad in Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 63-85.
- Fernandez-Garcia, B. & Luengo, O. G. (2019) Electoral scenarios of success for anti-establishment political parties in Western Europe: a fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 27, 77-95.
- Garzia, D. (2019) The Italian election of 2018 and the first populist government of Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 42, 670-680.
- Gattinara, P. C. (2019) Dimensional issue competition on migration: a comparative analysis of public debates in Western Europe. *Acta Politica*, 54, 315-335.

- Ghatak, S., Gold, A. & Prins, B. C. (2019) Domestic Terrorism in Democratic States: Understanding and Addressing Minority Grievances. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63, 439-467.
- Ghosn, F., Braithwaite, A. & Chu, T. S. (2019) Violence, displacement, contact, and attitudes toward hosting refugees. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 118-133.
- Goldman, B., Cooper, D. & Kugler, T. (2019) Crime and punishment: A realistic group conflict approach to racial discrimination in hiring convicted felons. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 30, 2-23.
- Gomez, R. & Ramiro, L. (2019) Beyond the 2008 Great Recession: Economic factors and electoral support for the radical left in Europe. *Party Politics*, 25, 358-368.
- Gorodzeisky, A. (2019) Opposition to immigration in contemporary Russia. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 35, 205-222.
- Green-Pedersen, C. & Otjes, S. (2019) A hot topic? Immigration on the agenda in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, 25, 424-434.
- Hadzic, D. & Tavits, M. (2019) The Gendered Effects of Violence on Political Engagement. *Journal of Politics*, 81, 676-680.
- Hafner-Burton, E. M., Narang, N. & Rathbun, B. C. (2019) Introduction: What Is Populist Nationalism and Why Does It Matter? *Journal of Politics*, 81, 707-711.
- Hahn, L., Tamborini, R., Novotny, E., Grail, C. & Klebig, B. (2019) Applying Moral Foundations Theory to Identify Terrorist Group Motivations. *Political Psychology*, 40, 507-522.
- Halikiopoulou, D. (2019) Introduction to the 2018 ASEN Conference Themed Section. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 405-408.
- Halikiopoulou, D. & Vlandas, T. (2019) What is new and what is nationalist about Europe's new nationalism? Explaining the rise of the far right in Europe. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 409-434.
- Hanif, S., Ali, M. H. & Shaheen, F. Religious Extremism, Religiosity and Sympathy toward the Taliban among Students across Madrassas and Worldly Education Schools in Pakistan. *Terrorism and Political Violence*.
- Hansen, M. A. & Olsen, J. (2019) Flesh of the Same Flesh: A Study of Voters for the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the 2017 Federal Election. *German Politics*, 28, 1-19.
- Haugsgjerd, A. (2019) Moderation or radicalisation? How executive power affects right-wing populists' satisfaction with democracy. *Electoral Studies*, 57, 31-45.
- Havertz, R. (2019) Right-Wing Populism and Neoliberalism in Germany: The AfD's Embrace of Ordoliberalism. *New Political Economy*, 24, 385-403.
- Havlik, V. Technocratic Populism and Political Illiberalism in Central Europe. *Problems of Post-Communism*.
- Helbling, M. & Leblang, D. (2019) Controlling immigration? How regulations affect migration flows. *European Journal of Political Research*, 58, 248-269.
- Herrington, L. (2019) Predicting and preventing radicalisation: an alternative approach to suicide terrorism in Europe. *Intelligence and National Security*, 34, 480-502.
- Hopkin, J. & Blyth, M. (2019) The Global Economics of European Populism: Growth Regimes and Party System Change in Europe (The Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture 2017). *Government and Opposition*, 54, 193-225.
- Hopkins, D. J., Sides, J. & Citrin, J. (2019) The Muted Consequences of Correct Information about Immigration. *Journal of Politics*, 81, 315-320.
- Huey, L., Inch, R. & Peladeau, H. (2019) "@ me if you need shoutout": Exploring Women's Roles in Islamic State Twitter Networks. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 445-463.
- Hunter, L. Y., Robbins, J. W., Ginn, M. H. & Hutton, A. (2019) Meet in the Middle:

- Terrorism and Centrist Party Vote Shares in Legislative Elections. *Global Policy*, 10, 60-74.
- Hwang, J. C. (2019) Dakwah before Jihad: Understanding the Behaviour of Jemaah Islamiyah. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 14-34.
- Im, Z. J., Mayer, N., Palier, B. & Rovny, J. (2019) The "losers of automation": A reservoir of votes for the radical right? *Research & Politics*, 6.
- Jackson, S. (2019) Non-normative political extremism: Reclaiming a concept's analytical utility. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 244-259.
- Jacobs, L., Boukes, M. & Vliegthart, R. (2019) Combined Forces: Thinking and/or Feeling? How News Consumption Affects Anti-Muslim Attitudes through Perceptions and Emotions about the Economy. *Political Studies*, 67, 326-347.
- Jungkunz, S. (2019) Towards a Measurement of Extreme Left-Wing Attitudes. *German Politics*, 28, 101-122.
- Kadercan, B. Territorial logic of the Islamic State: an interdisciplinary approach. *Territory Politics Governance*, 1-17.
- Kaplan, M. (2019) Prohibiting the people: Populism, procedure and the rhetoric of democratic desire. *Constellations-an International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory*, 26, 94-115.
- Kasekamp, A., Madisson, M. L. & Wierenga, L. (2019) Discursive Opportunities for the Estonian Populist Radical Right in a Digital Society. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 47-58.
- Kaufmann, E. (2019a) Can Narratives of White Identity Reduce Opposition to Immigration and Support for Hard Brexit? A Survey Experiment. *Political Studies*, 67, 31-46.
- Kaufmann, E. (2019b) Ethno-traditional nationalism and the challenge of immigration. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 435-448.
- Keatinge, T. & Keen, F. (2019) Social Media and (Counter) Terrorist Finance: A Fund-Raising and Disruption Tool. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 178-205.
- Kerr, S. (2019) Ally or competitor? Militant Basque nationalism's reaction to the new Spanish left. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 587-606.
- Khalil, J. (2019) A Guide to Interviewing Terrorists and Violent Extremists. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 429-443.
- Kioupkiolis, A. & Perez, F. S. (2019) Reflexive technopopulism: Podemos and the search for a new left-wing hegemony. *European Political Science*, 18, 24-36.
- Kirkwood, S. (2019) History in the Service of Politics: Constructing Narratives of History During the European Refugee "Crisis". *Political Psychology*, 40, 297-313.
- Kluknavska, A. & Hruska, M. (2019) We Talk about the "Others" and You Listen Closely the Extreme Right Communication on Social Media. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 59-70.
- Kortmann, M. & Stecker, C. (2019) Party competition and immigration and integration policies: a comparative analysis. *Comparative European Politics*, 17, 72-91.
- Kotwas, M. & Kubik, J. (2019) Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Poland. *East European Politics and Societies*, 33, 435-471.
- Lacatus, C. (2019) Populism and the 2016 American Election: Evidence from Official Press Releases and Twitter. *Ps-Political Science & Politics*, 52, 223-228.
- Lakomy, M. (2019) Let's Play a Video Game: Jihadi Propaganda in the World of Electronic Entertainment. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 383-406.
- Lee, B. J. (2019) Informal Countermessaging: The Potential and Perils of Informal Online Countermessaging. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 161-177.
- Leruth, B. & Taylor-Gooby, P. (2019) Does political discourse matter? Comparing party positions and public attitudes on immigration in England. *Politics*, 39, 154-169.

- Liow, J. C. & Arosoaie, A. (2019) The Sound of Silence: Nuancing Religiopolitical Legitimacy and Conceptualizing the Appeal of ISIS in Malaysia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 86-113.
- Lipinski, A. & Stepinska, A. (2019) Polish Right-Wing Populism in the Era of Social Media the Unexpected Careers of Pawel Kukiz and Janusz Korwin-Mikke. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 71-82.
- Lubbers, M. (2019) What kind of nationalism sets the radical right and its electorate apart from the rest? Pride in the nation's history as part of nationalist nostalgia. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 449-466.
- Lutz, P. (2019) Variation in policy success: radical right populism and migration policy. *West European Politics*, 42, 517-544.
- Mangum, M. & DeHaan, L. (2019) Entitlement and Perceived Racial Discrimination: The Missing Links to White Opinions Toward Affirmative Action and Preferential Hiring and Promotion. *American Politics Research*, 47, 415-442.
- Marcusa, M. (2019) Radicalism on the Periphery: History, Collective Memory, and the Cultural Resonance of Jihadist Ideology in Tunisia. *Comparative Politics*, 51, 177-+.
- Martinsen, D. S. & Werner, B. (2019) No welfare magnets - free movement and cross-border welfare in Germany and Denmark compared. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26, 637-655.
- McCann, C. (2019) *The Prevent Strategy and Right-wing Extremism: A Case Study of the English Defence League*, Oxon: Routledge.
- McDonnell, D. & Cabrera, L. (2019) The right-wing populism of India's Bharatiya Janata Party (and why comparativists should care). *Democratization*, 26, 484-501.
- Michael, G. (2019) Useful Idiots or Fellow Travelers? The Relationship between the American Far Right and Russia. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 64-83.
- Mikucka-Wojtowicz, D. (2019) The Chameleon Nature of Populist Parties. How Recurring Populism is Luring 'the People' of Serbia and Croatia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 71, 450-479.
- Mills, C. E., Freilich, J. D., Chermak, S. M., Holt, T. J. & LaFree, G. Social Learning and Social Control in the Off- and Online Pathways to Hate Crime and Terrorist Violence. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.
- Miro, J. (2019) Beyond populism and institutionalism: Anti-populism and the management of austerity in Spain. *Constellations-an International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory*, 26, 116-131.
- Mitts, T. (2019a) From Isolation to Radicalization: Anti-Muslim Hostility and Support for ISIS in the West. *American Political Science Review*, 113, 173-194.
- Mitts, T. (2019b) Terrorism and the Rise of Right-Wing Content in Israeli Books. *International Organization*, 73, 203-224.
- Mott, G. (2019) A Storm on the Horizon? "Twister" and the Implications of the Blockchain and Peer-to-Peer Social Networks for Online Violent Extremism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 206-227.
- Mulherin, P. E. & Isakhan, B. (2019) The Abbott government and the Islamic State: a securitised and elitist foreign policy discourse. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 54, 82-98.
- Mulloy, D. (2018) *Enemies of the State: The Radical Right in America from FDR to Trump*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mustafa, D., Anwar, N. & Sawas, A. (2019) Gender, global terror, and everyday violence in urban Pakistan. *Political Geography*, 69, 54-64.
- Newman, B. J. & Malhotra, N. (2019) Economic Reasoning with a Racial Hue: Is the Immigration Consensus Purely Race Neutral? *Journal of Politics*, 81, 153-166.
- Norocel, O. C. & Szabo, G. (2019) Special Issue: Mapping the Discursive Opportunities for

- Radical-Right Populist Politics across Eastern Europe. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 1-7.
- Nwangwu, C. & Ezeibe, C. (2019) Femininity is not inferiority: women-led civil society organizations and "countering violent extremism" in Nigeria. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21, 168-193.
- Pajnik, M. (2019) Media Populism on the Example of Right-Wing Political Parties' Communication in Slovenia. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 21-32.
- Pardos-Prado, S. & Xena, C. (2019) Skill Specificity and Attitudes toward Immigration. *American Journal of Political Science*, 63, 286-304.
- Paya, P. R. (2019) Measuring Populism in Spain: content and discourse analysis of Spanish Political Parties. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 27, 28-60.
- Piazza, J. A. (2019) Democratic skepticism and support for terrorism in the Palestinian Territories. *Public Choice*, 178, 417-443.
- Portmann, L. & Stojanovic, N. (2019) Electoral Discrimination Against Immigrant-Origin Candidates. *Political Behavior*, 41, 105-134.
- Portos, M. (2019) Keeping dissent alive under the Great Recession: noradicalisation and protest in Spain after the eventful 15M/indignados campaign. *Acta Politica*, 54, 45-74.
- Pytlas, B. (2019) Contest over meaning: Radical right politics and narrative party competition in Slovakia and Hungary after 2015. *Zeitschrift Fur Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, 13, 5-31.
- Richards, I. (2019) A Dialectical Approach to Online Propaganda: Australia's United Patriots Front, Right-Wing Politics, and Islamic State. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 43-69.
- Robinson, M. D. & Dauber, C. E. (2019) Grading the Quality of ISIS Videos: A Metric for Assessing the Technical Sophistication of Digital Video Propaganda. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 70-87.
- Rooduijn, M. (2019) State of the field: How to study populism and adjacent topics? A plea for both more and less focus. *European Journal of Political Research*, 58, 362-372.
- Ruedin, D. & Morales, L. (2019) Estimating party positions on immigration: Assessing the reliability and validity of different methods. *Party Politics*, 25, 303-314.
- Ruegger, S. (2019) Refugees, ethnic power relations, and civil conflict in the country of asylum. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 42-57.
- Sagarzazu, I. & Thies, C. G. (2019) The Foreign Policy Rhetoric of Populism: Chavez, Oil, and Anti-imperialism. *Political Research Quarterly*, 72, 205-214.
- Saiya, N. (2019) Religion, state, and terrorism: A global analysis. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 204-223.
- Salgado, S. (2019) Where's populism? Online media and the diffusion of populist discourses and styles in Portugal. *European Political Science*, 18, 53-65.
- Salgado, S. & Stavrakakis, Y. (2019) Introduction: populist discourses and political communication in Southern Europe. *European Political Science*, 18, 1-10.
- Savelkoul, M. & Scheepers, P. (2019) Why lower educated people are more likely to cast their vote for radical right parties: Testing alternative explanations in The Netherlands (vol 52, pg 544, 2017). *Acta Politica*, 54, 336-342.
- Savun, B. & Gineste, C. (2019) From protection to persecution: Threat environment and refugee scapegoating. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 88-102.
- Saygili, A. (2019) Concessions or Crackdown: How Regime Stability Shapes Democratic Responses to Hostage taking Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63, 468-501.
- Schulze, K. E. (2019) From Ambon to Poso: Comparative and Evolutionary Aspects of Local Jihad in Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 35-62.
- Schulze, K. E. & Hwang, J. C. (2019) Militant Islam in Southeast Asia: New Insights into

- Jihad in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 1-13.
- Shanaah, S. What Motivates Muslims to Engage in Counterextremism? The Role of Identity, Efficacy, Emotions, and Morality. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.
- Shapiro, L. R. & Maras, M. H. (2019) Women's Radicalization to Religious Terrorism: An Examination of ISIS Cases in the United States. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 88-119.
- Sieckelinck, S., Sikkens, E., van San, M., Kotnis, S. & De Winter, M. (2019) Transitional Journeys into and Out of Extremism. A Biographical Approach. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 662-682.
- Sniderman, P. M., Petersen, M. B., Slothuus, R., Stubager, R. & Petrov, P. (2019) Reactions to Terror Attacks: A Heuristic Model. *Political Psychology*, 40, 245-258.
- Soare, S. & Tufis, C. D. (2019) Phoenix Populism Radical Right Parties' Mobilization in Romania after 2015. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 8-20.
- Sobolewska, M. & Ford, R. (2019) British Culture Wars? Brexit and the Future Politics of Immigration and Ethnic Diversity. *Political Quarterly*, 90, 142-154.
- Stanley, B. (2019) A New Populist Divide? Correspondences of Supply and Demand in the 2015 Polish Parliamentary Elections. *East European Politics and Societies*, 33, 17-43.
- Stavrakakis, Y. & Katsambekis, G. (2019) The populism/anti-populism frontier and its mediation in crisis-ridden Greece: from discursive divide to emerging cleavage? *European Political Science*, 18, 37-52.
- Stoker, G. (2019) Can the governance paradigm survive the rise of populism? *Policy and Politics*, 47, 3-18.
- Szabo, G., Norocel, O. C. & Bene, M. (2019) Media Visibility and Inclusion of Radical Right Populism in Hungary and Romania: A Discursive Opportunity Approach. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 66, 33-46.
- Tankel, S. (2019) Universal soldiers or parochial actors: Understanding jihadists as products of their environments. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 299-322.
- Temby, Q. (2019) Cells, Factions and Suicide Operatives: The Fragmentation of Militant Islamism in the Philippines Post-Marawi. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 114-137.
- Toplisek, A. The Political Economy of Populist Rule in Post-Crisis Europe: Hungary and Poland. *New Political Economy*, 1-16.
- van Bohemen, S., de Koster, W. & van der Waal, J. (2019) Euroscepticism among Dutch Leftist and Rightist Populist Constituencies: How can the U-Curve be Understood? *Jcms-Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57, 371-387.
- Vasilopoulou, S. & Talving, L. (2019) Opportunity or threat? Public attitudes towards EU freedom of movement. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26, 805-823.
- Vergani, M., O'Brien, K. S., Lentini, P. & Barton, G. (2019) Does the Awareness of Mortality Shape People's Openness to Violence and Conflict? An Examination of Terror Management Theory. *Political Psychology*, 40, 111-124.
- Vorsina, M., Manning, M., Sheppard, J. & Fleming, C. M. (2019) Social dominance orientation, fear of terrorism and support for counter-terrorism policies. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 54, 99-113.
- Walter, S. (2019) Better off without You? How the British Media Portrayed EU Citizens in Brexit News. *International Journal of Press-Politics*, 24, 210-232.
- Ward, D. G. (2019) Public Attitudes toward Young Immigrant Men. *American Political Science Review*, 113, 264-269.
- Watkin, A. L. & Looney, S. (2019) "The Lions of Tomorrow": A News Value Analysis of Child Images in Jihadi Magazines. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 120-140.
- Weimann, G. J. (2019) Competition and Innovation in a Hostile Environment: How Jabhat Al-Nusra and Islamic State Moved to Twitter in 2013-2014. *Studies in Conflict &*

- Terrorism*, 42, 25-42.
- Windisch, S., Ligon, G. S. & Simi, P. (2019) Organizational Dis trust: Comparing Disengagement Among Former Left-Wing and Right-Wing Violent Extremists. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 559-580.
- Winkler, C. K., El Damahoury, K., Dicker, A. & Lemieux, A. F. (2019) The medium is terrorism: Transformation of the about to die trope in Dabiq. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31, 224-243.
- Wright, M. (2019) Identity and immigration: what we think we know, and why we might not actually know it. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 467-477.
- Young, C., Ziemer, K. & Jackson, C. (2019) Explaining Trump's Popular Support: Validation of a Nativism Index. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100, 412-418.
- Yun, M. & Kim, E. (2019) An Ethnographic Study on the Indonesian Immigrant Community and its Islamic Radicalization in South Korea. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42, 292-313.
- Zhao, Y. K. (2019) Testing the Measurement Invariance of Nativism. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100, 419-429.
- Zhen, J. I., Mayer, N., Palier, B., Rovny, J. (2019) The “losers of automation”: A reservoir of votes for the radical right? *Research and Politics*, January- March, 1-7.
- Zulianello, M. (2019) *Anti-system parties: from parliamentary breakthrough to government*, Oxon: Routledge.



EXTREMISM & DEMOCRACY

Standing Group · European Consortium for Political Research

CONVENORS

Caterina Froio, *Sciences Po*
caterina.froio@sciencespo.fr

Andrea L. P. Pirro, *Scuola Normale Superiore*
andrea.pirro@sns.it

Stijn van Kessel, *Queen Mary University of London*
s.vankessel@qmul.ac.uk