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Standing Group Announcements**Announcement**

Nigel Copsey is to stand down as managing editor of *e-Extreme* with effect from December 2010. If any member of the Standing Group is interested in replacing Nigel and taking on the role of editor please contact Elisabeth Carter (e.carter@pol.keele.ac.uk).

Announcement

The Standing Group a database which enables members to browse and search for other members by research interests, as well as by name. Please update your personal details by completing the update form, and then emailing it to: info@extremism-and-democracy.com

Announcement

Please make sure to visit our website <http://www.extremism-and-democracy.com/> for details of forthcoming conferences.

Book Reviews**The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism**

By Doron Zimmermann and William Rosenau (eds.), (Zurich: ETH Zurich, 2009), 116 p., ISBN 978-390569624X.

Reviewed by Bidisha Biswas
Western Washington University

A great deal of media and policy attention has been focused on the question of whether, and to what extent, diasporas residing in Western countries are turning towards radicalization and active or passive support to terrorist groups. In several countries, contentious public debates have taken place on if, and how, to monitor diaspora activities. In a timely publication, the contributors to this edited volume survey the radicalization of diasporas, as it pertains to terrorism. The chapters look at the radicalization of diasporas in the United Kingdom, Canada and the US. One author examines diasporas from, and in, Africa. All of the articles provide us with some interesting insights into the world of diaspora politics, examining processes that lead both to radicalization and de-radicalization.

The editors introduce the volume by pointing out some of the differences between the US and Canada on the one hand, and Europe on the other. For example, the former have made some notable efforts towards counter-radicalization and integration while many European countries display a "contradiction between...the demands for assimilation by the practice of marginalization by host societies." (p. 11). This is a thought-provoking point and one which serves as a good foundation for the rest of the chapters. One should note, however, that there are significant differences in the policies of the US and Canada.

In his section on the United Kingdom, Michael Whine examines some of the issues that have contributed to radicalization among some Muslims. His account provides us with an interesting overview of historical process of radicalization, as well as a survey of counterterrorism processes in the UK. He concludes with some very valuable critiques of the UK government's policies. For example, he points out that the state's engagement with the community has primarily restricted extremists, thereby isolating moderates.

Stewart Bell provides us with an analysis of diaspora support for terrorism in Canada; and points out that much of the terrorism in Canada is the result of a spillover effect, where immigrants import radical ideologies from their country of origin. He discusses a wide range of terrorist groups that receive some measure of diaspora support, including Babbar Khalsa, Hezbollah and the Liberation of Tamil Tigers Eelam. Bell discusses some of the difficulties that Canadian authorities have had in countering radicalization and argues that "some Canadian Muslim groups downplay extremism as a problem." (p. 57). While Bell's chapter is interesting, he himself downplays the extent to which Muslim and other groups have attempted to counter radicalization in their own communities – surely the most important element of any strong counterterrorism strategy.

Jocelyne Cesair describes the position in which Muslim communities in the United States find themselves in the post-9/11 security environment. She provides us with a brief summary of the demography of Muslims in the US before discussing the changes to immigration policies that have occurred as a direct result of 9/11. She also points out that American Muslims are largely absent from the global jihad due to social and economic factors. Cesair discusses some of the differences between European and US Muslims and concludes her chapter with a suggestion of some policy changes, such as creating opportunities for multilateral dialogue about all religions and encouraging critical Islamic studies. This, she argues, can counter growing feelings of marginalization within the Muslim

community. Her conclusions provide fertile ground for more comparative studies between the US, Canada and Europe.

Finally, Kent Menkhaus provides us with a very interesting discussion of sub-Saharan exceptionalism, in its relative absence of support for Islamist terrorism. While global jihadists tend to respond to events in the Middle East, such as Palestine and US troop presence in the Saudi Arabia, many of these issues are not of central importance to African Muslims. He does make note of the radicalization of some Somali Americans, but argues that many of these youth are responding not to a global agenda, but rather a nationalist cause.

In sum, this edited volume provides us with some useful insights into radicalization processes with diaspora communities in Western democracies. It should serve as a foundation for future studies. In particular, a comprehensive study of counter-radicalization policies would serve as a very valuable complement to this study.

Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe.

By Simon Bornschier (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 260 p., ISBN 978-1439901929.

Reviewed by Susi Meret
Aalborg University

As already explicitly mentioned in the title, the book of Simon Bornschier discusses the rise of the populist right in Western Europe and analyzes it using the new social and political cleavage approach. It considers the emergence of a new value dimension, referred to in the book as the cultural dimension, and assesses its impact on electoral behaviour, party politics, and thus the configuration of the political space and the structure of party competition at large. The book thus challenges the importance of the traditional left-right dimension, which mainly refers to distributional issues and class voting.

This kind of approach to the study of the populist right is far from new. Ignazi was among the first scholars to interpret the recent growth and transformation of the populist right in terms of a 'silent counter-revolution' and see it as a reaction against the spread of post-materialist values. In recent years other scholars have emphasised that the successful mobilisation of the populist right runs almost exclusively along lines defined by culture, identity or values (see e.g. Betz 2002; Ivarsflaten 2005; Mudde 2008; Rydgren 2005). However, much less attention has been devoted to the study of the different party system dynamics and political opportunities that have led to the rise of the populist right and the way in which these factors can explain variations in the electoral success of these parties between countries. Bornschier fills this gap and his analyses focus on specific demographic and socio-economic characteristics, as well as attitudes, of voters, which are related to specific aspects of the discourse of the populist right. Together these factors can explain the reasons for the electoral support for the populist right.

Perhaps the last authoritative contribution in which this approach was adopted is the 1995 study of Kitschelt and McGann. In this study populist right parties in several Western European countries are considered within the broader context of the party system and thus also in relation to the positions and strategies of established parties. Meanwhile, the populist right in Western Europe has developed electorally and politically, clearly asking for new research and updated knowledge on this topic. It has taken about ten years to get a publication that in many respects is a worthy successor to Kitschelt and McGann. The book of Bornschier has a strong theoretical and methodological basis and the empirical analyses are well-founded. It provides an in-depth understanding of the growing influence of the cultural or value dimension and considers the party family that has gained most from this development, namely the populist right.

The study is based on a broad range of quantitative material from six different Western European countries (Austria, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland), including both data from the media coverage of the parties' electoral campaigns (covering a wave in 1970s and three waves in the 1990s and 2000), as well as data from the national election surveys. The data enable Bornschier to relate the 'supply side' to the 'demand side' by focusing on three factors, namely 1) the importance and stability of cleavages and, 2) the positions parties take on the dominant line(s) of conflict, changes in these positions, and the degree of polarisation and 3) the match between parties' positions and the attitudes and preferences of the electorate.

The first part of the book (chapters 1-2) traces the historical development of West European cleavage structures and links this to the rise, and in some cases also the consolidation, of the populist right. It is worth noting that the author characterizes the

cultural cleavage as rooted in a conflict between libertarian-universalistic values versus traditionalist-communitarian values, thus avoiding earlier scholarly dichotomies between postmaterialists and materialists, or left-libertarians vs. right-authoritarians. Albeit the value of the traditionalist-communitarian label can be debated, it allows Bornschier to place the populist right within a broader value and cultural 'conflict scenario' that is not necessarily reduced to authoritarian 'views of the world'.

The second part of the book (chapters 3-4) offers what I consider the author's original approach and additional interpretation to the study of how cleavages can evolve and dynamically transform. He starts with a critical assessment of the meaning and implications of the so much quoted, but often too literally understood, 'freezing' hypothesis. Cleavages are far from immutable and can be more or less stable and redefined according to different conditions that influence the structures of opposition and which combine three main elements (*cf.* pp. 65-70): 1) the polarisation of the parties' position along the line of opposition and indicating the salience of the divide; 2) the match between the position of the parties and their voters along this line of opposition; 3) the degree of closure a division entails, indicating the stability of the social relationship represented by the cleavage and the party political alignment. It is also along these lines that the empirical analyses are conducted in the three last chapters of this study.

In part three (chapters 5-7) of the book three cases are studied in detail: France, Germany and Switzerland. The three cases represent alternative patterns of the manifestation of the traditionalist-communitarian potential. In the French and Swiss cases the party opposition along the cultural and value divide has through the years become more segmented than the economic one. But while in France this opportunity triggered the rise of the Front National, in Switzerland this opening was used by an already established right-wing party, which transformed into a populist right party, the SVP. At the end of this process the parties closely represent the positions of the electorate, showing that populist right parties have become an integral part of a segmented pattern of opposition and can today count on an electorate of their own in ideological terms, which unlikely will abandon them in the near future. This is highly related to the salience of cultural and values issues, which is much higher than that of economic issues in these countries. In the German case, the different patterns of competition in the party system have enabled the containment of the success of the populist right, indicating that structural conditions and strong collective identities are not the only mobilising factors. Important is also the way parties react to, or exploit the new mobilisation frame. Furthermore, according to the analysis of the author, in Germany a still highly polarised opposition on the economic dimension seems to have contributed to the containment of the mobilisation of new (value and cultural) conflicts.

The in-depth analysis of the party positions, electoral preferences and cleavage development in the three countries is very convincing and the approach of the author shows clear potentialities in explaining why the populist right has been more successful in some countries than in others. However, it would also have been interesting to see the model applied to countries which depart from most similar socio-political contexts, such as the Scandinavian countries. In these countries the populist right has fared differently, which would have given the author something interesting to explain.

For its theoretical insights and empirical applicability, this book is strongly recommended to scholars and students studying the rise and decline of the populist right in Western Europe. The relevance of the book extends beyond this field, however, for example to the field of electoral studies, issue voting or party politics.

Publications Alert

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