

THE PEOPLE AND THE NATION: POPULISM AND ETHNO-TERRITORIAL POLITICS IN EUROPE, EDITED BY REINHARD HEINISCH, EMANUELE MASSETTI, AND OSCAR MAZZOLENI. LONDON AND NEW YORK: ROUTLEDGE, 2019. xii, 312 pp. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351265560>.

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At the present stage of European integration, a comparative analysis of the various dimensions of peoples and nations, populism and ethno-territorial politics in Europe is of great importance. The future of European integration, scenarios and models of its development has always been in the focus of attention not only of politicians, but also of political scientists, sociologists and other scientists. The topic of populism has received fairly wide coverage in international and European political science in recent years, it is even appropriate to talk about the explosive nature of interest in this topic in connection with the events of the 2010s in the political party field of European countries and the United States. However, it is obvious that it is necessary to consider populism and right-wing populism in a complex perspective, both at the general theoretical level and at the more specific level of certain incidents. This is explained by the very uniqueness of the European project, which has no equal among regional integration associations in terms of the degree of integration of its member countries. At the same time, today the EU is faced with many problems that, according to some experts, are of an existential nature. The most striking evidence of this is the outcome of the referendum in the UK on leaving the EU. The growth of Euroscepticism and nationalist sentiments is expressed today in the EU countries in a truly triumphant procession of populist parties of the right and left (Heinisch and Mazzoleni 2016, 1-18; Heinisch and Mazzoleni 2017, 105-122). This phenomenon in modern Europe is due to several interconnected phenomena both in essence and in time.

Firstly, it is explained by the defects of the migration policy of the EU, aimed at the integration of migrants into European societies. In particular, the failure of the multicultural project in Germany, France and Great Britain, openly recognized by the leaders of these countries. Moreover, recently, having discarded political correctness, both politicians and journalists are increasingly talking not about the general danger posed by migrants, but about the danger from Muslim migrants. The concept of multiculturalism assumed the separate peaceful coexistence of different cultures, primarily Christian and Muslim, which was impossible by definition, since these cultures

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are at different stages of development. If secularization became the universal principle of organizing political life in Europe by the 20th century, then in the Muslim world Islam is the driving force of social and political life. But, paradoxically, the multicultural project, which was based on the principle of tolerance for another culture, showed the world the almost complete incompatibility of traditional Muslim and modern European values. The Voltaireian tolerance of Europeans ends where the values of individual freedom, rational consciousness and human rights are rejected. Obviously, tolerance based on non-interference in the affairs of those who reject Western values has not justified itself. It is necessary to move to the so-called 'muscular liberalism', in which national identity is formed through democracy, equal rights, the rule of law and freedom of speech. The problem of multiculturalism in Europe is an indicator not only of the non-integrability of densely populated Muslim communities, but also of the extremely labile, unstable social and political state of today's EU.

Secondly, the world economic and financial crisis, which was superimposed on fundamental problems in the development of European integration. Its most obvious manifestation was the debt crisis of the eurozone countries. This, however, is about a deeper systemic crisis of the EU as an integration project and a model for effective regional integration. This is both economic and political differentiation within the EU, due to the ill-conceived parallel implementation of the deepening and expansion of European integration. This is the incompleteness of the currency and fiscal structure when creating the eurozone. This is also a lack of democratic legitimacy, manifested in the distrust of citizens not only in supranational structures and mechanisms, but also in their governments and elites. The threat of a recession, an increase in unemployment and a decline in incomes of the population led to a sharp increase in European dissatisfaction with the policies of the ruling parties (Heinisch et al. 2019a, 1-19; Heinisch et al. 2019b, 280-290).

Thirdly, the crisis of democratic legitimacy in the EU countries, which has a double dimension. The first is the tension between elites and ordinary citizens who today do not trust either centre-left, centre-right or technocratic governments. The second is the distrust of citizens in supranational structures and mechanisms. If citizens don't trust their politicians, how can they trust impassive EU bureaucrats and technocrats? In fact, today's reality is that the economic crisis, whatever its origin, is mingling with a potentially far-reaching crisis in the legitimacy of the European political system (Heinisch et al. 2019a, 1-19; Heinisch et al. 2019b, 280-290). The more the debt crisis undermines the post-war social contract of modern Europe, the less voter confidence remains in a political system that is seen as a deal breaker.

And *fourthly*, the phenomenon of populism is associated with the migration crisis, which culminated in 2015, but which was triggered by the 'Arab Spring'. The EU is currently experiencing the largest migration crisis since the Second World War. In this regard, the EU migration policy was reviewed, which was subsequently supplemented and refined at subsequent specialized summits. Despite the fact that the new EU migration strategy contains many reasonable measures, it is recognized at almost all levels of the EU that it is catastrophically overdue. In other words, the problems of Muslim migrants, the economic difficulties experienced by the population in the EU countries, and the inefficiency of Brussels are tied into one tight knot, creating a coalition

of Eurosceptics, opponents of further deepening of integration. When the population is under constant stress due to economic problems, uncertainty about the future, the terrorist threat, crime, then the demand for populist politicians' increases, sensitively capturing the moods and concerns of ordinary people and promising simple solutions.

Right and left populist parties are not identical, although they are united by Euroscepticism. Their influence on public opinion in the EU countries is not the same either. In some cases, populists, usually right-wingers, openly oppose migrants, in others, left-wing populists oppose the dictates of Brussels or EU financial policies, promising the poor to increase incomes and improve social security. Eurosceptics, for example, talk about the overly paternalistic and, therefore, unproductive European economic and social system, which, through social benefits, has fundamentally reduced the motivation to work, led to a reduction in working hours and working age, and spurred migration.

Speaking about the phenomenon of the migration crisis during the 'Arab Spring', many political analysts in the EU countries noted that new waves of refugees to Europe are evidence of the unwillingness of Arab youth to participate in democratic reforms at home. Today they accuse the EU leadership of failing to respond to this challenge in a timely manner. Today, the ideological differences between the extreme right and left-wing extremist parties in the EU countries are leveled by their general rejection of European integration and, first of all, the European Union as the embodiment of this project. The anti-Europeanism of these parties has different roots, that is, nationalist in the ultra-right and anti-imperialist in the extremist left, but as a result they converge on the main issue, that is, the rejection of the European project as such. At the same time, it is the right-wing populist parties, from the point of view of the EU leadership, that pose the main danger to the future of European integration, since they speak of the need to return to true national values as an alternative to the European idea. In addition, left-wing populists in Western Europe enjoy much more modest success.

Despite common features, populist parties have national specifics. After numerous electoral successes, as well as failures of right-wing populist parties, in this book, the influence of right-wing populism on European politics cannot be underestimated. This is especially evident in the context of the migration crisis, which continues to irritate the right-wing populist electorate, and the wave of terrorist attacks in Western Europe. Therefore, there is an urgent need to improve the theoretical and empirical basis for research on right-wing populism and fill in the existing gaps in the study of this phenomenon, which is so important for understanding the functioning of modern European polities.

Discourse continues in the scientific community about the nature and content of political populism, the reasons for the formation of populist movements and parties, and the consequences of the rapid ascent of populist personalities to the heights of power. The use of populist technologies to manipulate public opinion leads to a change in the alignment of political forces. Competence, professionalism and management skills are often not regarded by voters as undoubted advantages and advantages of a politician. Certain segments of the population place unreasonable hopes for improving living conditions on charismatic, expressive and self-confident figures who demonstrate the ability to transform the routine political process into vivid theatrical performances. Thus, in attracting and retaining public attention, the personality of a politician, his self-

proclaimed talents and bright performances, take on more importance than professionalism and political convictions. Subject to the laws of modern political theater, populist politicians regularly play the role of 'servants of the people', make a promise to restore democracy and put an end to the reign of corruption.

It seems possible to divide the scientific articles of this book, devoted to the problem under consideration, into four substantive blocks. The first one refers to the conceptualization of the phenomenon of populism. The second is related to the study of political populism in historical and social and cultural contexts. The third block consists of works on the basis of which the political and psychological aspects of populism were identified and analyzed. And, finally, the fourth one reflects methodological approaches to the psychological analysis of the personalities of politicians of the populist type.

As part of the study of this book, the authors examined the main theoretical and methodological areas of research on the phenomenon of political populism, political and psychological analysis of the personalities of political figures. The interdisciplinary nature of the ongoing research, the abundance of existing interpretations of the phenomenon of populism and the variety of research approaches to its study create a conceptual uncertainty that causes many difficulties in choosing a methodology. In the studies of the chapters of this book, it seems possible to single out the main concepts of the phenomenon: 1) populism as a political discourse, 2) populism as a political style, 3) populism as a political logic, 4) populism as a political ideology and 5) populism as a political strategy.

The results of this book expand and supplement theoretical ideas in the field of research on the phenomenon of political populism and the study of personal characteristics of populist politicians. From the point of view of practical significance, the results obtained can be used to analyze the behavioral trends of populist politicians. They can also be applied by specialists in the field of election campaigning and political management, as well as to advice politicians. In addition, on the basis of the study, a curriculum of educational courses in the field of political science and political psychology can be drawn up.

Political populism is a specific phenomenon of political activity and political technology using both methods of direct cognitive influence and emotional suggestion, as well as psychological manipulation aimed at attracting a wide range of adherents. Typical leading personal tendencies and determining their belonging to the populist type are manifested in the motives of power and achievement, a low level of normativity, stress resistance, demonstrativeness, expansiveness, dominance, social and political sensitivity, a high level of verbal intelligence, heuristic thinking, and the ability to mobilize.

Political populism contains invariant and variable functional political and psychological aspects. Invariant functional aspects are expressed in the fact that, firstly, populism serves as a means of consolidating, setting goals and mobilizing people who are psychologically predisposed to populist influence; secondly, it acts as an instrument of political identification; thirdly, it forms symbolic political representations aimed at attracting attention from the target audience. Populism is also used to shape and reconstruct the image of a great power through restorative nostalgia. Variable functional aspects are manifested in the fact that populism serves as a trigger for the transformation

of political values, the formation of political myths, as well as a source of psychological protection for certain groups of the population, the performance of representative and protective functions, and the maintenance of resentment.

Populism as a political phenomenon has a number of fundamental differences in the formation, development and manifestation in Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. So, in Hungary, as a result of the activities of populists, individual elements of populist ideas were embodied in the national political culture. Populist concepts did not take root in Great Britain before the entry into office of Prime Minister M. Thatcher, which was due to the ability of the working class to defend their rights in state structures. To date, globalization processes have largely unified the social, political and cultural features of populism.

Europeanism in the Balkans is in many ways similar to the anti-Europeanism of populist parties in the EU and is based on uncertainty about the future, fears of terrorism and an influx of migrants, distrust of Brussels, etc. So, for example, Serbian Euroscepticism perceives the current negotiation process as a dictate of the Europeans and demand to urgently stop negotiations on Serbia's accession to the EU, since they, in their current format, are only an excuse for constant political blackmail and the imposition of a flawed neoliberal economic model. Opposition leaders argue that the years during which Serbia's policy was exclusively aimed at European integration did not bring the country the long-awaited economic and political stability, but, on the contrary, plunged the country into an ongoing state of economic crisis, administrative lawlessness and drug dependence on the international financial oligarchy, foreign loans, and advisors. They criticize not only the EU as a whole, but also Germany.

Thus, the internal and external challenges of European integration that the EU is facing today are the most serious test for the future of this unique project. Looking through the experience of three crises, that is, the consequences of the economic and financial crisis, the migration crisis and the crisis in relations with Russia due to the Ukrainian conflict, the second crisis poses the greatest threat to the EU. Superimposed on economic, financial and social problems, fraught with a reduction in the role and place of the EU in the global economy, it creates a breeding ground for nationalism, populism and Euroscepticism, which not only hinder the development of new integration initiatives, but also reverse those that have already taken place. The current migration crisis is a global phenomenon that requires the efforts of the entire international community. At the same time, it should be recognized that the very fact of the movement of migration flows to the countries of the EU indicates that, despite all the problems, they remain the most attractive destination among all developed countries.

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