Book Review/ Compte rendu

Shoshan, Nitzan. *The Management of Hate: Nation, Affect, and the Governance of Right-Wing Extremism in Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. 320 pp. $32.95 USD. Paper (978091171968).

During a time of re-emergence of right-wing extremism (RWE) in the Western World, *The Management of Hate: Nation, Affect, and the Governance of Right-Wing Extremism in Germany* is a timely reminder that ghosts of the past continue to haunt the present. In his rich ethnographic study with young RWEs in East Berlin, Shoshan provides a comprehensive look at how a number of State forces have invested in the (mis)management of hate in Germany. This includes constitutional and penal codes, law enforcement and state surveillance, welfare and social services, expert dialogue, and the media. This Douglass Prize Winner[1] is a significant contribution to the study of governance, presenting a detailed analysis of how Germany's nation-building project, rooted in social, cultural, and political influences, can shape and give rise to the re-emergence of "bad nationalism" (12).

Chapter 1 includes a detailed review of the historical background of Germany in the post- World War II period, followed by a discussion of the fieldwork and methods, as well as theoretical underpinnings of the study, which includes but is not limited to the work of Jürgen Habermas (1991), Loïc Waquant (2001, 2007), and Michel Foucault (2008). This chapter sheds light on the shift in historical narratives and national imaginaries, paired with neo-liberalization, post-Fordism, and German reunification, that has impacted the radical right in Germany. Young RWEs in the study come from disenfranchised backgrounds plagued by poverty, alcoholism, and domestic disrepair. In turn, most rely on welfare-for-work programs for survival.

Chapter 2 investigates how, as Germans in general and eastern Berliners in particular, the young RWEs identify themselves and are identified by others in the post-reunification area. Here, Shoshan pinpoints four major transformations in the German RWE movement resulting from this transition period: (1) a reassertion of National Socialism; (2)

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1. Nitzan Shoshan was awarded the 2017 William A. Douglass Prize in Europeanist Anthropology for this book. For more information, visit http://sae.americananthro.org/2017/10/2017-douglass-prize-winner-nitzan-shoshan/

a demographic makeover, with East Berlin acquiring a younger generation of recruits; (3) an extension in semblance, beyond the traditional skinhead and hooligan imagery, and; (4) an ideological shift that extends beyond socialism to include anti-globalization idioms and the commemoration and moralization of World War II.

In Chapter 3, Shoshan describes how an ethnicization and culturalization of social difference has echoed in Berlin's urban and geographic landscape over time. Shoshan provides a rather unique perspective on how othering can appear and sustain itself in the urban landscape, not only by targeting the individual, but by targeting tangible sites and material things, such as sights, sounds, and smells in particular neighbourhoods and city streets. Within these urban landscapes (train stations, parks, pubs, and soccer stadiums) are where the young informants tend to gather, and it is here that ethnic and cultural stereotypes are intensified and maintained. Shoshan refers to this as an interplay of the multiple layers of othernesss and the spatial ordering of difference.

Chapter 4 is an investigation of Germany's intricate yet paradoxical legal regimes which attempt to protect its national image from its ghosts of the past by actively supressing the demon of National Socialism. Here, the author introduces the concept of "political delinquency" (88), a term that highlights the contradiction between forceful mechanisms and liberal laws – both of which appeal to the affective state and the management of hate – through a "conditional liberty" (170). To illustrate, Shoshan uses prohibited right-wing symbols, music, and films as examples of the tension between democracy and repressive impositions found in the legal code, unpacking the complexities associated with Germany's legal code, juridical interpretations and applications. Chapter 5 springboards from Chapter 4 by shifting from the legal governance of hate to the law enforcement governance of hate, examining how the State has attempted to regulate its political delinquents. Shoshan reviews police officers' surveillance tactics, emphasizing the excessiveness of their power and the pervasiveness associated with how, when, where, and against whom they enforce legal regulation. Within this context, the author describes the heavy hand of the State – ranging from specialized police squads designed to watch over young RWE to violent police raids at RWE bars and concert venues – all in the name of stomping out the ghosts of German's illicit nationalism, only to be replaced by licit nationalism. Shoshan describes this form of management as a performance, of a "(dis)organized mimetic violence" (137), where law enforcement attempts to emulate what they – and the broader public – view as a menacing stain on Germany's history.

Chapter 6 explores how young RWE extremists in East Berlin have experienced the web of governmental mechanisms and neoliberal networks of the State. This chapter presents a somewhat less repressive form of authority – "organized mimesis of neoliberal governance" (143) – where the State has departed from hypermediated representations of violence and instead has imposed a more flexible governance of hate on its population. The intent of this approach, however, is similar to Germany's visibly oppressive forms of governance: to defeat its "radical internal enemies" (160) by mining for knowledge about them. Emphasis is also placed on the role of Berlin's social workers – a group who granted the author access to the informants – and the ethical dilemmas they face. On the one hand, the State has increasingly called upon social workers to prioritize spaces over people as their targets (i.e., targeting socially and economically marginalized parts of Berlin), and within this context the social workers must gain the trust of and cultivate close relationships with their young RWE clients, oftentimes by distancing themselves from the State. On the other hand, social workers are employed by the State and must provide their superiors with knowledge about the RWEs.

In Chapter 7, Germany's reliance on therapeutic strategies to reform political delinquents are understood through the lens of three interventionist techniques: the affective subject, the rational subject, and the corporeal subject. The author compares these procedures to an exorcism of the political delinquent's mind, body, and soul, with *EXIT Deutschland* – a non-governmental agency that aims to assist RWEs who want to leave the movement – as one of Germany's many therapeutic projects aimed at "pin[ning] down the right-wing extremist Thing" (193). In Chapter 8, Shoshan explores Germany's neighbourhood campaigns and civil engagements that have been used to inject messages of tolerance and cultural difference, as well as publicly strengthen fears about the right-wing political delinquent and illicit forms of nationalism by distancing itself from and censoring bad nationalism of the past. These anti-racism and anti-xenophobic campaigns, paired with the heavy-handed approaches described above, have become an integral part of the national-building process and the rebranding of German nationalism. While these campaigns serve as symbolic and ideological components in the management of hate, Shoshan argues that the production of such a tolerant nation is oftentimes imagined, rehearsed, and performed. In the final chapter, the author addresses Germany's "governance of national visibility" (229) and its "national vision" (229), spotlighting how political regimes have actively tried to define how the nation should be presented – in its visual form – and the ways in which the political regimes are contested by radical right-wing nationalists. Here, Shoshan describes how Berlin

has managed its visuals of the past and repackaged itself as an attractive commodity, or as a new Germany – as a democratic, liberal, and friendly nation.

This book is an original contribution to the study of governance. However, the book lacks in pragmatism. Shoshan correctly highlights the contradictions and shortcomings with Germany's management of hate and, to some extent, he touches on alternatives to responding to Germany's ghosts of its past. Yet, this book leaves readers wondering, where we go next. How should Germany and other Western nations respond to right-wing extremism? How can we build resilience against hatred? Future work should place more emphasis on these difficult yet important questions.

Shoshan provides an unprecedented look at how a nation, overwhelmed by its brutal past, has attempted to manage its image in a time in which its ghosts of the past are re-emerging. This book is highly recommended for scholars and graduate students interested in the sociopolitical complexities of governing hatred, as well the benefits of engaging in participatory action research. *The Management of Hate* sets the standard for how ethnographic research should to be conducted.

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