

**ECPR General Conference  
University of Oslo, Norway  
6-9 September 2017**



# **Populism, Political Radicalism and Political Extremism: Normalisation and Contestation in Changing Democracies**

**General Conference Section  
(S49 - 15 panels)**

## **SECTION CONVENORS**

**Caterina Froio, University of Oxford  
Steven Van Hauwaert, University of Mainz & Centro de  
Investigación y Docencia Económicas**



## SECTION DESCRIPTION

For several decades now, populism, political radicalism and extremism have been prominent political phenomena and have attracted wide scholarly attention. Initially, political research was mainly concerned with understanding the emergence and the potential challenges of populism, radicalism and extremism. Throughout the recent research efforts, scholars have gradually but systematically shifted their attention to the persistence, resilience and consolidation of what initially could be construed as marginal phenomena. The necessity to cope with the aftermaths of the Great Recession, with repeated refugees' crises, and with the resurgence of political extremism and religious terrorism are accompanied by increasing distrust towards existing representative institutions. Together, these offer an enhanced possibility for the revival of populism, political radicalism and extremism throughout different aspects of politics and in different contexts. This brings forward two separate, yet intertwined societal evolutions that the section will address. On one hand, we can observe a 'normalisation' of certain aspects of populism, radicalism and extremism. Beyond the classic interpretations of populism, radicalism and political extremism conceived as protest challenges to the political establishment, these phenomena may also be interpreted as new ways of linking increasingly depoliticised electorates and weak party governments. Inherently, this suggests research efforts should perhaps include these phenomena in their more 'traditional' frameworks, rather than examining them as fringe occurrences or challenger dynamics. On the other hand, certain aspects of populism, radicalism and extremism are much less integrated in traditional or mainstream politics. If a growing number of populist and radical actors access power and extremist actors mobilise in the street, they often remain an exception rather than a rule. Even if their penetration of politics may be multifaceted and on the rise, they continue to serve as contestation mechanisms that challenge politics. The overall question then remains, to what extent are populism, political radicalism and political extremism normalised or contesting phenomena?

Populism, radicalism and extremism are extremely multifaceted. Whereas this provides a particular challenge to the study of the normalisation vs. contestation question, it also allows us examine our puzzle through a variety of sub-questions. First, we ask which aspects of populism, radicalism and extremism have become normalised or remain contested? Populism and radicalism range from political input (parties, individuals) to political output (policies, rhetoric). Political extremism can range from political violence (terrorism, hooliganism) to democratic protest (parties, mobilisation) and online activism (dark web). Which of these aspects have penetrated politics to such an extent they are no longer considered atypical? How do democratic polities react to these challenges? Second, under which circumstances can we observe the normalisation and contestation of populism, political radicalism and political extremism? In other words, what factors come into play for a phenomenon to become normalised or remain contested? We wonder what the role can be of the breeding ground, political opportunities, institutions, the political system and certainly also of the political actors themselves? Third, we can also observe a geographical dispersion of (i) how populism, radicalism and extremism are expressed, and subsequently also (ii) the extent to which certain dynamics become either normalised or remain contested. So, how does context come into play here? The combination of these questions invites further research, nourished by distinct paths and approaches, to broaden the overall understanding of these dynamics of normalisation and contestation.

## Research topics covered by the Section

- Demand and supply sides explanations of populism, political radicalism and extremism
- Continuities and changes in populism, political radicalism and political extremism: ideas, politics and policies
- Populist, radical and extremist parties and social movements: organization and strategies of mobilization
- Populist, radical and extremist political communication
- Populist, radical and extremist online activism and propaganda
- Populist, radical and extremist interpretations of diversity and (in)equality: ethnicity, economy and beyond?

This Section combines different conceptual, theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches in order to examine the multifaceted and persistent impact populism and political extremism have on the different layers of democracies across both Europe and the Americas. This includes – but is not restricted to – research on (i) conceptual, historical and measurement debates surrounding populism and political extremism, (ii) the internal and external (supply-side) components of populist parties and partisan actors and extremist organizations and activists, (iii) individual and contextual determinants of support for populism and political extremism, (iv) populist and extremist strategies of political communication (v) on- and off-line discourses by populist and politically extremist actors, (vi) direct or indirect paths towards political (policy) influence, and (vii) old and new patterns of mobilisation.

The Section will bring together several substantive and methodological research traditions from various disciplines, with a particular interest in those who seek to bridge some of these thematic areas. At the same time, this section seeks to harmonise and unify different analytical focuses. More specifically, we provide a comprehensive analysis by including (i) comparative contributions including both European and American countries, (ii) supply- and demand-side dynamics, (iii) national and supranational levels of analysis, and (iv) dynamics within and beyond the electoral arenas.

The section does not favour any specific methodological approach over any other, but this Section particularly promotes mixed-method, comparative and innovative discussions.



## **SECTION OVERVIEW**

### **Thursday 7 September**

- 09:00-10:40      **Measuring Populism and Populist Attitudes**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 11:00-12:40      **Insights from Internal Supply Side Perspectives (Structures, Ideas, Mobilizations)**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 15:50-17:30      **The Normalisation of Left/Right Populism?**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36

### **Friday 8 September**

- 09:00-10:40      **The Populist Politics of Euroscepticism in Times of Crisis**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36
- 09:00-10:40      **Friends with Benefits? Changing Relationships between Radical Right Populist Parties in Europe**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 11:00-12:40      **Disentangling the Support for Left and Right Populism**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 11:00-12:40      **The Rise of Populist Political Communication: Political Parties, Media, and Citizens in Times of Crisis**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 12:45-14:00      **General Meeting Standing Group “Extremism & Democracy”**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 14:00-15:40      **Populist Attitudes and Voting Behavior**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

- 14:00-15:40      **Theory: Populism, Democracy and Autocracy**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36
- 16:00 -17:30      **Reception by the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX)**  
For panelists only.
- 17:40-19:00      **Digital Populism: Internet and Far Right Populist Politics**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 17:40-19:00      **Voting for the Populist Radical Right**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36
- 20:00-              **Section's dinner at the *Arte Pazza Filetto* Restaurant**  
Ullevålsveien 61, 0171 Oslo  
(NB: each person paying their own expenses)  
For further information, please **contact Marcel Lewandowsky**  
[lewandowsky@hsu-hh.de](mailto:lewandowsky@hsu-hh.de)

### **Saturday 9 September**

- 11:00-12:40      **Left/Right Party Populism in Europe: Same same but Different?**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 14:00-15:40      **Support for Left/Right Populists: Insights from Case Studies**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35
- 16:00-17:40      **The effects of populism**  
Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35



## PROGRAMME WITH PANELS AND PAPERS

### DAY 1: THURSDAY 7 SEPTEMBER

Thursday 7 September, 09:00-10:40

#### Measuring Populism and Populist Attitudes

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

##### Abstract

Populism is currently one of the most debated phenomena yet, due to its elusive nature, many scholars are still struggling not only to define populism but also to measure it. Recent elections have proven the need to analyse voter's attitudes and motivations, party behaviour and activities beyond traditional media or printed party manifestos. Following and researching social media – and their rapidly growing influence on the formulation of political attitudes and choices – is also now a key consideration. In this panel, we analyse how to measure populism and populist attitudes in Europe. Papers presented during the session will analyse populist rhetoric using data collected from social media (Facebook) and online surveys as well as party manifestos, party webpages and an “item-count” experiment.

**Chair: Natasza Styczynska** (Jagiellonian University)

**Discussant: Steven Van Hauwaert** (University of Mainz & Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas)

- It is popular to be a populist. The Social Desirability of Populist Attitudes  
**Christopher Wratil** (University of Cologne) &  
**Fabian Neuner** (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)
- Measuring and Explaining Populism in Scandinavian and German-Language Parties between 1960-2017  
**Julia C. Leschke** (University of Oxford)
- Measuring Populism in Social Media Data: A Supervised Machine Learning Approach using Party Communication  
**Tobias Schwarzbözl** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) & **Matthias Fatke** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
- Populist Discourse, Attitudes and Vote in Contemporary Spanish Politics  
**Hugo Marcos-Marne** (Universität St Gallen), **Margarita Gomez-Reino** (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia), Iván Llamazares (Universidad de Salamanca), Carolina Plaza Colodro (Universidad de Salamanca)
- The Role of Populist Attitudes in Explaining Climate Scepticism and Stances on Environmental Protection  
**Robert Huber** (ETH Zürich)

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Thursday 7 September, 11:00-12:40

## Insights from Internal Supply Side Perspectives (Structures, Ideas, Mobilizations)

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

### Abstract

The literature on extremism, radicalism and populism provides important insights on grand processes but still too little about the internal functioning of these organizations. While “internal supply” factors are often mentioned when explaining their electoral success, too little is known about their leadership, cadres, organization, and about the socialization of their activists and voters. To address this gap, the panel offers a set of papers addressing the inner life of extreme, radical and populist organizations focusing on the cases of Podemos, the Five Star Movement, and the Front national.

**Chair: Caterina Froio** (University of Oxford)

**Discussants: Pietro Castelli Gattinara** (Scuola Normale Superiore), **Andrea Pirro** (Scuola Normale Superiore), **Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary University)

- Articulating Radical-left Populism and Social Movements: The Podemos Case  
**Laura Chazel** (Sciences Po Grenoble) & **Guillermo Fernández Vázquez** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
- Five Star Movement: Grassroot Movement or an Institutionalized Party?  
**Martin Mejstřík** (Charles University in Prague)
- The Front National and Welfare Politics: A Radical Transformation  
**Elie Michel** (European University Institute)

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**Thursday 7 September, 15:50-17:30**

## **The Normalisation of Left/Right Populism?**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36

### **Abstract**

Electoral successes of populist right- and left-wing parties have increasingly challenged mainstream parties throughout Europe in terms of both political competition and forms of (potential) political cooperation. Diverse populist parties have already participated in coalition governments or even governed alone. Contiguous to relevant parties, populist movements have concentrated frustration, protest and criticism and directed such attitudes and feelings against mainstream national and European political elites. Moreover, populist rhetoric, style and content have become socially more acceptable and even reached the political mainstream. Borders and differences between populist and non-populist parties, movements and politicians tend to blur. Not least, those developments also affect electoral behavior. Notwithstanding populism has meanwhile appeared in diverse forms and types, and grave differences between left and right populism are obvious, the panel focuses on processes of “normalization” of both political phenomena. The contributions either take selected European countries such as Germany, Italy and Sweden as examples, or assume a cross-European perspective. The papers also present a variety of quantitative and qualitative social science methods and approaches to the analysis of the issues put up for discussion.

**Chair: Karin Liebhart** (University of Vienna)

**Discussant: Attila Bartha** (Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

- Considering the Unthinkable: Towards a Normalization of Relationships between Social-Democrats and Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe?  
**Eric Miklin** (Universität Salzburg)
- Electoral Contaminations and Spill-Overs during the Great Recession  
**Marco Giuliani** (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- How Responsive are Populist Governing Parties in Europe?  
**Vasiliki Tsagkroni** (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
- Liaisons Dangereuses? Ideological Affinities and Divergences between Populist and Neo-Fascist Parties in Germany and Italy and their Different Social Acceptance  
**Gianluca Piccolino** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna) & **Tim Henrichsen** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

- The 'Refugee Crisis' and Right-wing Populism in Germany: Narratives of Vulnerability and Deviance in the Party Communication of the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)  
**Josefin Graef** (University of Birmingham)

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## **DAY 2: FRIDAY 8 SEPTEMBER**

**Friday 8 September, 09:00-10:40**

### **The Populist Politics of Euroscepticism in Times of Crisis**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36

#### **Abstract**

With this panel, we set out to investigate and systematically tackle the intersection of populism and Euroscepticism in the face of the multiple European crises. Populism and Euroscepticism have surged to the level of empty signifiers in public debates; as we argue, the relationship between populism and Euroscepticism is neither necessary, nor consequential. Most importantly, even when these features are found in unison, they are liable to adapt to changing socioeconomic, cultural, and political circumstances. We believe that the crises that have hit the EU over the past decade offer critical instances of change – and it is indeed the crucial element of ‘crisis’ that we intend to factor into the equation. Crises have been long interpreted as macro-level background conditions favouring the surge of populist parties; however, very little attempts have been made to address how populists perform crises. The panel critically connects the unfolding of the Great Recession, the refugee crisis, and Brexit to the Eurosceptic discourse of populist parties across a number of cases. While we are generally agnostic about the possibility that populist actors may have substantively altered the content of their oppositional discourses as a result of these crises, we nevertheless think that parties expressing Euroscepticism might strategically harden their opposition to the EU, and/or frame the issue differently according to changing circumstances. In addition, we are interested to address the question of changing/additional dimensions of contestation. In other words, what competition dynamics unfold following the co-optation of populist radical issues by mainstream political parties? Does competition shift towards other (i.e. EU-related) policy dimensions? And what are the effects released by populist Eurosceptic actors in the political process?

**Chair: Andrea L. P. Pirro** (Scuola Normale Superiore)

**Co-chair: Paul Taggart** (University of Sussex)

**Discussant: Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary University)

- Policy Versus Polity: Changing Euroscepticism at Times of Crisis?  
**Sofia Vasilopoulou** (University of York)
- The Alternative for Germany: The Rise of Right-Wing Populism at the Heart of Europe  
**Charles Lees** (University of Bath)

- The Populist Politics of Euroscepticism in Times of Crisis: Some Comparative Conclusions  
**Andrea L. P. Pirro** (Scuola Normale Superiore), **Paul Taggart** (University of Sussex), Stijn van Kessel (Queen Mary University)

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Friday 8 September, 09:40-10:40

## Friends with Benefits? Changing Relationships between Radical Right Populist Parties in Europe

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

### Abstract

European radical right populist parties have traditionally been considered ‘unlikely bedfellows’, a view best reflected in Minkenberg and Perrineau’s 2007 observation that ‘there is nothing more difficult to establish than an international group of nationalists’. This lack of cooperation at international level was due not only to policy and personality clashes, but also derived from the fear of being tainted by association with other radical right parties. Over the past decade, however, this situation has changed with European radical right populist parties not only collaborating more than ever, but doing so openly and unapologetically. Examples range from the close relationship between the Danish People’s Party and the Finns Party, to the creation of the new European Parliament Europe of Freedom and Nations Group comprising the French Front National, the Dutch Party for Freedom, the Italian Northern League, the Flemish Vlaams Belang and the Austrian Freedom Party. The changing relationships between radical right populist parties in Europe give rise to a series of questions that this panel will examine: What are the logics underpinning greater collaboration between these parties? If rooted in policies, which ones? What are the strategic and practical advantages of collaboration for parties and why do they now outweigh the disadvantages in some cases? How can we explain the divisions that still do persist between some radical right parties?

**Chair: Anders Ravik Jupskås** (Universitetet i Oslo)

**Discussant: Benjamin Moffitt** (Uppsala Universitet)

- Don’t Forget the Supply Side: Dissatisfaction, Volatility, and the Anti-Establishment Vote  
**Remko Voogd** (University of Amsterdam), **Ruth Dassonneville** (Université de Montréal)
- Euroscepticism and the Europe of Nations and Freedom Alliance  
**Annika Werner** (Griffith University) & **Duncan McDonnell** (Griffith University)
- Taming the Beast? European Party Group Pressure and Radical Right Populist Legislators in the 8th European Parliament: Evidence from a Quasi-Experiment  
**Marcel Lewandowsky** (Helmut-Schmidt-University Hamburg)
- The Transnational Dimension of Right-Wing Populism: A Comparative Analysis of the Nordic Countries  
**Anders Ravik Jupskås** (Universitetet i Oslo), **Ann-Cathrine Jungar** (Södertörn University), **Karl Magnus Johansson** (Södertörn University)

- United they Fight the EU: Exploring Radical Right-wing Parties' Opposition to the EU in the EP  
**Benedetta Carlotti** (Scuola Normale Superiore)

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Friday 8 September, 11:00-12:40

## Disentangling the Support for Left and Right Populism

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

### Abstract

Do left and right forms of populism profit from similar or from different opportunity structures? On the supply side, the two variants embrace both diverse ideological characteristics in terms of their socio-cultural positions as well as they display similarity considering their populist and, in some cases, their socio-economic stances. On the demand side, former supporters of socialist and social democratic parties—industrial workers and non-workers—represent the core voters of some major populist right parties. Considering issues and attitudes of their electorate, both left and right populists seem to benefit from consequences of political, economic and cultural modernization processes: apart from ideological disparities, left and right wing populism might appeal to social alienation, fear of descend, and disenchantment with politics and parties in general. However, the extent to which at the demand side, left and right populists might have more in common than one might expect at first glance, requires detailed analyses. The aim of this Panel is thus to dissolve the complex relationship of the support for right and for left populism. Focusing on different regions and cases, the presentations shall address various aspects of the problem, such as the importance of economic attitudes, support for direct democracy, Euroscepticism, and the role of party systems.

**Chair: Marcel Lewandowsky** (Helmut-Schmidt-University, Hamburg)

**Discussant: Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser** (Universidad Diego Portales)

- EU Issue Voting and the 2014 EP Election Campaign: A Dynamic Perspective  
**Andreas Goldberg** (University of Amsterdam)
- Love at First Sight? Populism, Stealth Democracy, and Direct Democracy  
**Robert A. Huber** (University of Zurich), **Steffen Mohrenberg** (ETH Zurich),  
**Tina Freyburg** (Universität St Gallen)
- Party System Responsiveness and Left-Wing Populist Success in Latin America  
**Simon Bornschier** (University of Zurich)
- The Populist Backlash: Challenging the Elites and the Utopia of the Market?  
**Andrej Zaslove** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Gilles Ivaldi** (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), **Agnes Akkerman** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

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Friday 8 September, 11:00-12:40

## **The Rise of Populist Political Communication: Political Parties, Media, and Citizens in Times of Crisis**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

### **Abstract**

Populism has been primarily studied as a political phenomenon, while the communicative dimension of populism has often been rather underexplored so far. The study of populist political communication, actually, has never been more important in light of several issues that cross Europe such as the economic crisis, the refugee crisis, and terrorism. All these factors have created favourable conditions for the emergence and growth of a new wave of populism in Europe. Nevertheless, it remains unclear (i) how the populist actors communicate in a highly mediated environment characterized by the spread of social media; (ii) what is the role of the media in restraining or supporting frames and themes close to populist stance; (iii) how citizens / voters react to populist discourses and appeals.

The aim of this panel is to begin to answer these open questions, by contributing to the scientific debate on the populist political communication. Even though the definition of populism is contentious, generally scholars agree that populist discourse centres on the juxtaposition of a 'good people' with a series of 'bad elites'. Moreover, especially in the case of right-wing populist discourse, the people's values, identities and rights are said to be endangered not only by the actions of the elites, but also by those of a series of 'others' who, it is claimed, are given preferential treatment by the elites (Taggart, 2000; Mudde, 2004, 2007; Jagers and Walgrave 2007; Albertazzi and McDonnell 2015; Kriesi, 2015). Considering these elements as the core of populism, contributions to this panel should address the following broad topic areas: (i) populist political actors communication strategies: which are the key features of populist discourses? What role does a populist leader play with respect to the party? How do populist political actors use social media? How do they engage citizens and mobilize supporters? (ii) the role of the media: which is the role of the media (legacy vs. digital media; mainstream vs. tabloid media; experts) in enabling or restraining salience and visibility of populist issues, actors and frames? What are the features of «media populism» and in what conditions it can grow? (Mazzoleni 2003)? (iii) citizens reactions: who are the supporters of populist parties? Which type of media do they use most? Which are the effects of populist messages on citizens? How do citizens engage with populist political communication? National case studies, as well as comparative perspective research, will be particularly welcomed.

**Chair: Giuliano Bobba** (Università degli Studi di Torino)

**Co-chair: Nicolas Hubé** (Université de Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne)

**Discussant: Oscar Mazzoleni** (Université de Lausanne)

- A Dialogue on Populism? A Study of Intellectual Discourse about Populism in the Brexit Debate in Italy and the UK

**Federico Giulio Sicurella** (Università degli Studi di Milano – Bicocca)

- Communicating Populism Online. Radical Right in 2015 Polish Parliamentary Elections  
**Artur Lipinski** (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland) & **Agnieszka Stępińska** (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland)
- The Rise of Populism on Facebook. A Comparative Analysis of Party Communication in France, Italy, Spain and the UK  
**Giuliano Bobba** (Università degli Studi di Torino), **Cristina Cremonesi** (Università degli Studi di Pavia), **Antonella Seddone** (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- Why is the Populist Radical Right so Popular? The role of media visibility and contextual determinants in explaining the success of the Front National  
**Caterina Froio** (University of Oxford) & **Emiliano Grossman** (Sciences Po Paris)

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Friday 8 September, 14:00-15:40

## Populist Attitudes and Voting Behavior

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

### Abstract

While populism undoubtedly has been making headlines across the globe in the last few years, the rise of Donald Trump in the US and the outcome of the Brexit referendum in the UK have spurred the academic interest in the populist phenomenon. Accordingly, scholars are proposing both theories and methods to better understand why voters support populist forces. One of the most welcome developments in this regard is the appearance of new investigations that seek to measure populist attitudes via surveys in order to examine the extent to which the populist set of ideas can explain voting behavior. This panel aims to bring together cutting-edge research that uses surveys to measure populist attitudes and generate a discussion about how to analyze existing data. We are particularly interested in debating the following topics: can we measure populist attitudes and which are the best items to do this?; do we identify certain sociological and sociopolitical characteristics among those individuals showing high levels of populist attitudes?; to what extent is the support for populist forces driven by populist attitudes themselves?; is there a relationship between populist attitudes and political identities?

**Chair: Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser** (Universidad Diego Portales)

**Discussant: Andrej Zaslove** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

- A Cross-national Comparison of Eight Populist Attitudes Scales  
**Levente Littvay** (Central European University) & **Bruno Castanho e Silva** (Central European University)
- Political Identities: The Missing Link in the Study of Populism  
**Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser** (Universidad Diego Portales) & **Carlos Meléndez** (Universidad Diego Portales)
- Populism from Below: The Ideological and Social Correlates of Populist Attitudes in Greece  
**Ioannis Andreadis** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), **Eftychia Teperoglou** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), **Emmanouil Tsatsanis** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia – CIES-IUL)
- Voting Populist or Just Voting for Populists? A Comparative Analysis of Populist Attitudes and Vote Choice in Central and Eastern Europe  
**Ben Stanley** (University of Social Sciences and Humanities)

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Friday 8 September, 14:00-15:40

## Theory: Populism, Democracy and Autocracy

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36

### Abstract

The concepts of democracy, populism and autocracy remained highly contested throughout the history of social science. These concepts do not develop in space rather they had background of theoretical debate and empirical research. This background of theoretical debates and research constructs a historical path. History influences evolution of most of the concept. While democracy underwent various waves of evolution to reach a multidimensional phenomenon, populism and autocracy also adopted new forms, kinds and nature. This panel comprises of papers related to the discussions relevant to democracy, autocracy and populism and how these concepts are related to each other. One of the paper is premising its argument on theoretical background of Empire and Multitude Populism and argues for the need to reformulate the populist left's foundations as transnational political communities. Second paper while surveying theories of populism argue for crisis government of people-as-plebs to tackle a decades old problem of inequality. The paper ends with comparative analysis of Arendtian interpretation of totalitarianism with populism and authoritarianism. Third paper building its argument of discursive polarization as an outcome of historical politics of RiS conservative party of Poland. Fourth paper is proffering examination of populists' attitudes towards democracy based on surveys from France and Netherland. The last paper while analyzing case study of far-right groups ois making reflections on use of narratives on political values and historical events by self-described extremists patriots in their engagement with the public.

**Chair: Nauman Reayat** (University of York)

**Discussant: Mikiyoung Kim** (Emory University)

- Empire and Multitude Populism  
**Attila Antal** (Eötvös Loránd University)
- Populism Contra Totalitarianism: Towards a Normative Theory of Populism  
**Camila Vergara** (Columbia University)
- Radical 'Historical Politics' and its Impact on the Concept of Patriotism in Poland  
**Dorota Szeligowska** (Central European University)
- Through the Eyes of the Populists: Populism vs. Democracy?  
**Kristof Jacobs** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Andrej Zaslove** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Gilles Ivaldi** (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), **Agnes Akkerman** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), **Bram Geurkink** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)
- 'We Are Patriots': Uses of National History in Legitimizing Extremism  
**Sam Jackson** (Syracuse University)

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Friday 8 September, 17:40-19:00

## Digital Populism: Internet and Far Right Populist Politics

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U35

### Abstract

There has been much debate about the effect of phenomena like online publishing, social networks or web search on political communication. Some scholars have argued that their rise increases citizens' exposure to diverse perspectives. Others, however, expect them to result in the formation of 'echo chambers' and 'filter bubbles'. This panel addresses the effect these new channels of communication have on the behaviour and electoral success of far right populist parties: What are the strategies applied by these parties? Are there differences amongst them with regard to their use of different channels? And to what extent can recent successes of far right populist parties in fact be attributed to these strategies?

**Chair:** Eric Miklin (Universität Salzburg)

**Discussants:** Emmanuel dalle mulle (Universidad Pompeu Fabra)

- #Islamisation: A Brief History of an Imaginary Present  
**Hugo Leal** (University of Cambridge)
- Blood, Religion or Culture? Framing Islam in the Online Network of the French Far Right  
**Caterina Froio** (University of Oxford)
- Building 'Bubbles' or Starting a Right-Wing Cultural Revolution? Far-Right Alternative Online Media in France and Western Switzerland  
**Zoé Kergomard** (University of Fribourg)
- Comparing Online Mobilization of Anti-Islam Movements and Parties in Western Europe  
**Jasper Muis** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), **Ofra Klein** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
- Populism Online: Digital Media and the Rise of Right Wing Politics  
**Ralph Schroeder** (University of Oxford)

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**Friday 8 September, 17:40-19:00**

## **Voting for the Populist Radical Right**

Building BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36

### **Abstract**

Over the past decades various European countries have seen the rise of radical right populist parties. Previous research on the supporters of these parties has shown that several groups of citizens tend to be underrepresented amongst their voters. Typically, specific attitudes and policy preferences also combine populist radical right- and left-wing electorates. The former are usually identified by their shared rejection of immigration, whereas the latter are usually identified by a shared rejection of current economic liberalism and capitalism. In addition, recent scholarship has proposed that, in addition to these kinds of attitudes, populism can serve as a harmonising attitude between them and can help explain the support for populist parties. However, this latter projection has not yet been fully explored and most of the scholarship's focus lies on more traditional identifiers and characteristics of the populist radical right and the populist radical left. This panel brings together five papers that focus on different individual-level predictors of the support for both the radical right and the radical left, and that further explore the causal mechanisms that might underlie their support.

**Chair: Joost Van Spanje** (University of Amsterdam)

**Discussant: Matthijs Rooduijn** (University of Amsterdam)

- **Becoming Part of the Gang? The changing role of external efficacy in explaining support for populist parties**  
**Marcus Spittler** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center), **Werner Krause** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), **Aiko Wagner** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)
- **Causality, Supply and Demand: Explaining the Electoral Performance of Right Wing Populist Parties**  
**Anna Storz** (Universität Bern)
- **On the Origins of Left-Wing Extremism – Analyzing the Determinants of the Extreme Left in Germany**  
**Sebastian Jungkunz** (University of Bamberg)
- **Precarious Work in Times of the Economic Recession and Voting for Populist Radical Right Parties**  
**Take Sipma** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Marcel Lubbers** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Niels Spierings** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

- Risk Exposure and Voting Radical Right: A Mediation Analysis of the Socio-economic Foundations of Radical Right Support  
**Denis Cohen** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
- Supporters of Right- and Left-wing Populist Parties in Europe: A Comparison  
**Marcus Spittler** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center), **Aiko Wagner** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center), **Werner Krause** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

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## **DAY 3: SATURDAY 9 SEPTEMBER**

**Saturday 9 September, 09:00-10:40**

### **Who are the (native) People? Othering in Right-Wing Populist Politics**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE U36

#### **Abstract**

In a time of peruse conceptual debate regarding the in- and outs of populism, the parties that (might) use it and certain discourse that could be classified as such, one factor seemingly connects the different theoretical and empirical schools. Populism appears to diametrically oppose the in-group with some “others” and thereby create a pervasive schism in society. The dual politics that follow from this are not only beneficial, but also crucial for the success of populism. Similar arguments can be made regarding nationalism or even authoritarianism, both crucial components of what we have come to know as far right politics or right-wing political extremism. It thus appears that some components that are typically connected to individuals, parties and discourse on the right share some characteristics. This panel examines some of those characteristics, and specifically looks at how the use of different in-groups and “others” can benefit right-wing politics and its different components. How does populism overlap with other components of right-wing politics, like nationalism or nativism?

**Chair: Steven Van Hauwaert (University of Mainz & Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas)**

**Discussant: Bartek Pytlas (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München – LMU)**

- Contested paces and conflicting identities: The politics of othering and sectarianisation  
**Cathal McManus** (Queen’s University Belfast)
- Party Strategies in the Hungarian Quota Referendum: Blaming the EU, Xenophobia and Populism  
**Edina Szöcsik** (University Bern)
- 'Too Poor and Alien. Too Educated and Internationally Connected'. Antiziganist Populism and Roma Counter-Discourses  
**Jan Selling** (Södertörn University)
- Who are 'The People' in the Populist Rhetoric? The Case of the 'Front National' (FN) and the 'Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs' (FPÖ)  
**François Debras** (University of Liège)
- Lazy Southerners, Malicious Foreigners and Clientelist Parties: The Italian Northern League and the Welfare State  
**Emmanuel Dalle Mulle** (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

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**Saturday 9 September, 11:00-12:40**

## **Left/Right Party Populism in Europe: Same but Different?**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE

### **Abstract**

The existence of populist parties in national electoral arenas in Europe is no longer a novel or surprising phenomenon. In recent years, populist parties have become a rather common element of national party systems with proponents stemming from both the radical-left and the radical-right side of the political spectrum. The multiple crises in Europe, foremost the Euro crisis and Europe's migration crisis, seem to have fostered this 'stabilisation' or 'normalisation' of party populism. This panel investigates the rise and proclaimed normalisation of party populism in European countries in times of crises. The following questions are addressed: To what extent do we see a normalisation of populist party positions and rhetoric in the public debate? How have the crises increased or hampered the support for populist parties? And can we observe specific country or party patterns? What are the differences and similarities between populist radical-left and radical-right parties? The panel contributes to the debate on party dynamics and the polarisation of party systems, the effects of 'hard times' on party populism and the normalisation of party populism in national electoral arenas in Europe.

**Chair: Stefan Wallaschek** (Universität Bremen)

**Discussant: Michelle Hollman** (Universität Bremen)

- Drifting Apart? The Effects of the Radical Right on Social Polarization  
**Matthijs Rooduijn** (University of Amsterdam)
- Normalizing Populism in Times of Crisis? The Politicization of Democratic Systems and their Performance in National Election Campaigns  
**Theresa Gessler** (European University Institute)
- Trajectories of Populism: Populist Parties in Europe and the Consequences of the Refugee Crisis  
**Julian Bernauer** (Universität Bern)
- Two Populisms for two different Crises? The Cases of Podemos and Alternative für Deutschland  
**Juan Roch González** (Freie Universität Berlin)

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**Saturday 9 September, 14:00-15:40**

## **Support for Left/Right Populists: Insights from Case Studies**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Room: HE

### **Abstract**

How do we explain the recent electoral success of populist radical parties? One line within the existing literature suggests that support for populist radical parties may be explained by transformations in the structure of political competition in Europe - namely the electoral salience of cultural conflicts over redistributive ones. This line of explanation posits that populist radical parties appeal to voters' preferences along the cultural dimension which may not be catered to by traditional parties. At the same time however, this structuralist perspective does not seem to fully accommodate how populism - frequently characterised by anti-establishment appeals - impacts the support for these parties. And perhaps more crucially, while the structuralist perspective might be sufficient to explain who supports these parties, it does not appear to be as adequate in explaining when these parties are successful. To put it more simply - why are some of these populist radical parties more successful now than before? This therefore pushes us to ask if the timing of success has much to do with context. If so, are there possible common contextual factors at play to explain the timing of electoral success for these parties - the role of the media, political apathy, bubbling anti-elite sentiments? Through three detailed case-studies, this panel therefore attempts to do two things - (a) to explore other explanations of support for populist radical parties while re-examining the structuralist perspective, and (b) to explain the timing of electoral success for these parties.

**Chair: Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary University)

**Discussant: Martin Mejstřík** (Charles University in Prague)

- From Trivialized Neo-Nazi to the Parliament: Explaining the Electoral Success of the Extreme Right Party ĽSNS in Slovakia  
**Petr Voda** (Masaryk University) & **Alena Kluknavska** (Masaryk University)
- Populism, Political Identities and Voting Behavior: The Case of Spain  
**Nina Wiesehomeier** (Fundación Instituto de Empresa)
- From Radical Right to Neo-Nationalist: An Investigation of the Economic Platform of the Sweden Democrats  
**Maureen Eger** (Umeå Universitet)

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**Saturday 9 September, 16:00-17:40**

## **The effects of populism**

Building: BL20 Helga Engs hus Floor: Basement Room: HE U35

### **Abstract**

Though the concept of populism has become central to research on political parties, populist parties and politicians are still often treated as an anomaly or exception. Populism is typically examined as a consequence of mainstream parties' failure to convince and represent voters. This panel brings together studies that take a different perspective by viewing populism not as a result but as a cause of changes in party systems, political campaigns and the quality of democracy. It inquires into the effects of populism and populist rhetoric on a variety of actors and institutions. To grasp populism and populist rhetoric as phenomena that interact with and affect their environment, the papers employ concepts such as contagion and the mainstreaming of a populist communication style.

**Chair: Theresa Gessler** (European University Institute)

**Discussant: Marcel Lewandowsky** (Helmut-Schmidt-University, Hamburg)

- (Non-)Populism in Austria. An Analysis of the Contagiousness of Populism in the Austrian Presidential Elections 2016  
**Jana Bernhard** (University of Vienna) & **Hajo Boomgaarden** (University of Vienna)
- Anti-Establishment Discourse and Mainstreaming Political Agency. A Comparative Framework of Populist Strategies of Representation  
**Bartek Pytlas** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
- Populism as a Communication Style: Toward a Normalization in Political Communication  
**Antonio Martella** (Università di Pisa) & **Roberta Bracciale** (Università di Pisa)
- The Impact of Populism on the Route of the Democratization Process in an Unconsolidated Democratic Regime: The Case of Turkey since 2003  
**Mustafa Çağatay Aslan** (Istanbul University)

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## **IN CASE YOU NEED ANY CLARIFICATIONS OR HAVE ANY QUERIES, PLEASE DO WRITE TO US**

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