

# Welcome to Prague

Charles University in Prague, the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the entire conference staff welcome you to the 5th Prague Populism Conference, entitled "Current Populism in Europe: Culture, History, Identity". With this guide, we have tried to provide the most important, useful and current information you might need about the conference. Further details are also available on the conference web page (<http://populism.fsv.cuni.cz/>) and Facebook event (<https://www.facebook.com/Prague-Populism-Conference-1113357325354477/>).

We are ready to answer any of your questions and offer you our help in any situation that may arise. We sincerely hope you will be able to make the most of your time in Prague and enjoy both the academic program and our beautiful city at the same time. Please allow us to welcome you all to Prague for the 5th year of this event and to wish you all a most fruitful and intense two days of discussion.

*Martin Mejstřík, Vladimír Handl*  
*Conference Organisers*

## Organisational Board

**Monika Loderová** (Goethe-Institut Prague)  
**Vladimír Handl** (Charles University, Prague)  
**Martin Mejstřík** (Charles University, Prague)  
**Tomáš Bouška** (Heinrich Böll Foundation, Prague office)  
**Klaus Linsenmeier** (Heinrich Böll Foundation, Prague office)

## Conference Staff

Eliška Černovská  
Mackenzie Baldinger  
Alex Kurki  
Vladimír Špína  
Julia Werthmann

## Venue

The conference will take place in the historical building of the Goethe-Institut in the centre of Prague – **Masarykovo nábřeží 32**. The Goethe-Institut resides in an Art Nouveau building built in 1905, which is situated on the Vltava embankment near the Czech National Theatre.



Foto: Goethe-Institut/Pavlna Jáchimová

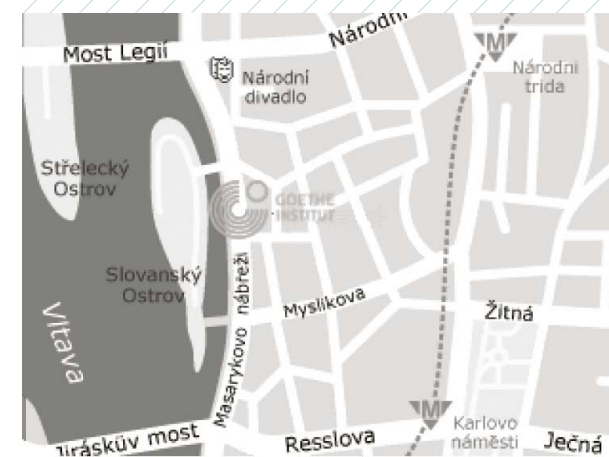
## How to get there

### **Metro:**

Line B (Yellow) to the station Karlovo náměstí – 10 minutes on foot  
Line B (Yellow) to the station Národní třída – 10 minutes on foot

### **Tram:**

Line 6, 9, 17, 18 or 22 to the stop Národní divadlo – 5 minutes on foot



**5th Prague Populism Conference**

# **Current Populism in Europe: What's Next?**

**CONFERENCE PROGRAMME**

## Monday, 27 May

9:00 – 9:45	<u>Registration</u>
9:45 – 10:00	<u>Opening of the Conference</u>  <b>Luisa Rath</b> (Programme Director, Goethe-Institut Czech Republic) <b>Klaus Linsenmeier</b> (Head of the Prague Office, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung) <b>Martin Mejstřík</b> (Charles University)
10:00 – 11:45	<b><u>MAIN ACADEMIC SESSION:</u></b>  Chair + discussant: <b>Reinhard Heinisch</b> (University of Salzburg)  <b>Marco Tarchi</b> (University of Florence) <i>Populism and Extreme Right: Affinities and Differences</i> <b>Stijn van Kessel</b> (Queen Mary University, London) <i>Mobilising for Europe: pro-European activism in an era of populism and nationalism</i> <b>Caterina Froio</b> (Sciences Po, Paris) <i>Going Transnational? Networks</i>
11:45 – 12:45	<u>Lunch</u>
12:45 – 13:30	<u>Keynote Paper</u>  <b>Reinhard Heinisch</b> (University of Salzburg) <i>Adaptation and Persistence – How the Freedom Party exemplifies the revolution of RR Populism and thereby changed our understanding of it</i>
13:30 – 15:15	<b><u>AFTERNOON SESSION I: Populist Voting Behaviour</u></b>  Chair + discussant: <b>Stijn van Kessel</b> (Queen Mary University, London)  <b>Steven Saxonberg</b> and <b>Tomáš Sirovátka</b> (Masaryk University, Brno) <i>Welfare Attitudes and Voting for Populist Parties</i> <b>Lukáš Linek</b> and <b>Ondřej Císař</b> (Charles University, Prague) <i>Political Conflict Rearticulated? How to stabilize the electoral support of a populist party in government</i> <b>Elie Michel</b> and <b>Diego Garzia</b> (University of Lucerne) <i>The dark side of the electorate? The effect of negativity on the populist radical right vote</i> <b>Léonie de Jonge</b> (University of Cambridge) <i>At Last a Right-Wing Populist Party in Luxembourg? The role of the ADR in the 2018 general elections</i>

## **AFTERNOON SESSION II: Conceptualization: Is This Still a Thing?**

Chair + discussant: **Stephen Alomes** (RMIT Melbourne)

**Gianfranco Baldini** and **Matteo Giglioli** (University of Bologna)  
*Bread or Circus? Long-term anti-political sentiment and the future of European populism*  
**Roberto De Rosa** (University Niccolò Cusano, Rome) and **Dario Quattromani** (Roma Tre University)  
*Culture and Society in the Populist Age*  
**Constantin Iordachi** (Central European University, Budapest)  
*Paths to Radicalization: National-Populism, Radical Right and Fascism*  
**Andrej Školkaý** (School of Communication and Media, Bratislava)  
*A Democratic Illiberalism, or a Formal Political Logic without a Predetermined Ideological Content?*

15:15 – 15:50 Coffee Break

## **Public event**

15:50 – 16:00	<u>Opening of the public event</u>  <b>Jiří Drahoš</b> (Chair of the Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Human Rights and Petitions of the Senate of the Czech Republic) <b>Ellen Ueberschär</b> (President, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Berlin) <b>Tomáš Nigrin</b> (Director, Institute of International Studies, Charles University)
16:00 – 17:00	<u>Keynote Paper</u>  <b>Cas Mudde</b> (University of Georgia) <i>The Populist Zeitgeist: 15 Years Later</i>
17:00 – 17:15	<u>Coffee Break</u>
17:15 – 19:00	<b><u>EVENING DISCUSSION:</u></b>  Chair: <b>Klaus Linsenmeier</b> (Head of the Prague Office, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung)  <b>Ellen Ueberschär</b> (President, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Berlin) <b>Piotr Buras</b> (European Council on Foreign Relations, Warsaw) <b>TBC</b>
19:00	<u>Glass of Wine</u>

9:00 – 9:30 Registration

9:30 – 10:15 Keynote Paper  
**Andrea Pető** (Central European University, Budapest)  
*Comparisons that matter: are we re-living the 1930s*

10:15 – 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 – 12:15 **MORNING SESSION I: How to Measure Populism?**

Chair + discussant: **Vlastimil Havlík** (Masaryk University, Brno)

**Andrej Zaslove** and **Maurits Meijers** (Radboud University)  
*The Ins and Outs of Measuring Populism with Expert Surveys*  
**Bartek Pytlas** (Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich)  
*Anti-Establishment Politics and Counter-Representation: A framework for analysis*  
**Marcel Lewandowsky** (Helmuth Schmidt University, Hamburg)  
*Exploring the Heterogeneity of Populism with Manifesto Data: The Comparative Party-Based Populism Dataset (CPPD)*  
**Giuliano Bobba, Antonella Seddone, Cristina Cremonesi** (University of Turin) and **Evangelia Kartsounidou** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
*Measuring Media Populism in Italy and Greece: Results from an expert survey pilot study*

**MORNING SESSION II: Populism and the EU Dimension**

Chair + discussant: **Caterina Froio** (Sciences Po, Paris)

**Lazaros Karavasilis** (Loughborough University) and **Patricia Rodi** (Queen Mary University, London)  
*How Populist is the Populist Radical Right? Examine right-wing populist & nationalist discourse in the European Parliament Elections*  
**Marta Lorimer** (London School of Economics)  
*Building Legitimacy through European Discourses: The Case of the Front National /Rassemblement National*  
**Georg Plattner** (University of Vienna)  
*'Wrecking it from Within'? Populist radical right parties and their ideas for EU policy reform*  
**Jakub Wondreys** (University of Georgia)  
*The Impact of European Parliamentary Election Timing on Electoral Support for Government and Protest Parties*

12:15 – 13:15 Lunch

Chair + discussant: **Emilia Zankina** (American University Bulgaria)

**Steven van Hauwaert (University of Mainz)**  
*Uniformity or Diversity? The socio-demographic, political and democratic profiles of populist citizens across Europe and Latin America*  
**Vlastimil Havlík** and **Veronika Dostálová** (Masaryk University, Brno)  
*The Big 5 and Populist Attitudes in the Czech Republic*  
**Caterina Paolucci** and **Chelsea Jones** (James Madison University in Florence)  
*Mainstreaming of Populism: Is populism as a political style becoming the new norm?*  
**Corrado Fumagalli** (LUISS Rome)  
*Anti-immigration Appeals and the Rigid Supply-and-Demand Logic of Populism*

**AFTERNOON SESSION II: Role of Gender and Culture in Populism**

Chair + discussant: **Cas Mudde** (University of Georgia)

**Zora Hesová** (Charles University, Prague)  
*The Populist Toolkit in the Central European Culture Wars*  
**Zuzana Fellegi** (Anglo-American University, Prague)  
*Istanbul Convention as a Tool of the Gender Ideology Strategy. The case of the Czech Republic.*  
**Caner Tekin** (Ruhr University, Bochum)  
*Interplays between Gender and other Identities? Revisiting the anti-migrant discourses of the FPÖ and Lega Nord from an intersectionality perspective*  
**Feyda Sayan** (Manisa Celal Bayar University)  
*Gender and the Populist Radical Right Political Parties of Europe: A social semiotic approach to FN's and AfD's election materials*

**AFTERNOON SESSION III: Populism in the Government**

Chair + discussant: **Věra Stojarová** (Masaryk University, Brno)

**Emilia Zankina** (American University Bulgaria) and **Luigi Ceccarini** (Carlo Bo University, Urbino)  
*European Populists in Government East and West: Bulgaria and Italy in comparative perspective*  
**David Wineroither** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)  
*The Populist-Personalist Turn of 'Party Machine' Austrian People's Party*  
**Haris Dajč** (University of Belgrade)  
*Re-emerging Populism in Southeast Europe: Populist political parties in post-Yugoslav states*  
**Dimitar Nikolovski** (Polish Academy of Sciences)  
*The Macedonians versus the North Macedonians: On the production of cleavages by the resolution of the Macedonian name dispute*

15:00 – 15:15

Coffee Break

15:15 – 17:00

### **EVENING SESSION I: The “New” Wave of Populism in Italy**

Chair + discussant: **Luigi Ceccarini** (Carlo Bo University, Urbino)

**Marco Brunazzo** (University of Trento)  
and **Mark Gilbert** (Johns Hopkins University-SAIS, Bologna)  
*Anti-EU Populism in Italy: Two cases of glibness in politics*

**George Newth** (University of Bath)  
*A Third Wave of Populist Activism: The long-term roots  
of Matteo Salvini’s Lega.*

**Marzia Maccaferri** (Goldsmiths, University of London)  
*Digital Populism and Euroscepticism in the Multimodal Political  
Communication of Lega and Movimento 5 Stelle*

**Giovanni Barbieri** and **Sofia Verza** (University of Perugia)  
*Who is More Populist? Applying holistic grading to the interviews  
of Italian political leaders during the 2018 electoral campaign*

### **EVENING SESSION II: Turkey**

Chair + discussant: **Caner Tekin** (Ruhr University, Bochum)

**Aylin Özman** and **Gülşen Seven** (TED University, Ankara)  
*Politics in the Grip of Populist Rhetoric: The case of Turkey in the 2000s*

**Selim Erdem Aytac** (Koc University)  
*Satisfied and Populist? The role of elite rhetoric and partisanship in mass  
support for populism in power*

**Tugce Ercetin** (Istanbul Bilgi University)  
*Understanding the We-ness in Populism*

**Pelin Ayan, Isabella Iagrosso** (Anglo-American University in Prague)  
and **Marek Hudík** (University of Economics, Prague)  
*What Matters More for the Electoral Rise of Populist Parties?  
Ideology or competent-looking leaders? A comparison of Italy and Turkey*

17:00 – 18:45

### **FINAL SESSION: Hungary and Poland: Populism or Authoritarianism?**

Chair + discussant: **Michal Kubát** (Charles University, Prague)

**István Hegedűs** (Hungarian Europe Society, Budapest)  
*Hungarian Exceptionalism or the Orbanisation of Europe?*

**Robert Sata** (Central European University, Budapest)  
*Caesarean Politics and Populism in Hungary and Poland*

**Bartosz Rydliński** (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw)  
*A Case Study of Polish and Hungarian Illiberal Christianity*

**Daniel Hegedűs** (German Marshall Fund)  
*Rethinking the Incumbency Effect. Radicalization of governing populist  
parties in East Central Europe. A case study of Hungary*

18:45 – 19:00

Concluding Remarks

## 5th Prague Populism Conference

# Current Populism in Europe: What’s Next?

## PARTICIPANTS’ BIOS

## Keynote Speakers



**Cas Mudde** (University of Georgia)

Cas Mudde is the Stanley Wade Shelton UGAF Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) at the University of Georgia (USA) and Professor II at the Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo (Norway). His research agenda is centred on the question: How can liberal democracies defend themselves against political challenges without undermining their core values? His book *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) won the Stein Rokkan Award for Comparative Social Science Research in 2008. His most recent publications include *The Far Right in America* (Routledge, 2018). His newest book *The Far Right Today* will be published by Polity in September 2019. He is a columnist for *GuardianUS* and tweets at @casmudde.



**Reinhard Heinisch** (University of Salzburg)

Reinhard Heinisch is Professor of Comparative Austrian Politics and also chairs the Department of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Salzburg. His main research interests are comparative populism, Euroscepticism, and democracy. He is the author or co-author of numerous publications including most recently *Understanding Populist Organization: The West European Radical Right* (Palgrave 2016). He is currently co-editor of a special issue of *Comparative European Politics* on "Populism and Territory". Heinisch has served as a consultant for government institutions, lectures regularly on European and American politics at Renmin University in Beijing, is past president of the Austrian Political Science Association, and is Director of the National Working Group on Democracy of the Austrian Research Association (ÖFG).



**Andrea Pető** (Central European University)

Andrea Pető is Professor in the Department of Gender Studies at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary and a Doctor of Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Author of five monographs, editor of 31 volumes, as well as author of 259 articles and chapters in books published in 17 languages. Her articles have appeared in leading journals including *East European Politics and Society*, *Feminist Theory*, *NORA*, *Journal of Women's History*, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *Clio*. She also serves as an associate editor for *The European Journal of Women's Studies*. She has an extensive list of publications in internationally renowned e-journals such as *OpenDemocracy*, *Queries*, *Social Europe*, *The Huffington Post*, *Der Standard* and on popular blogs in Hungarian such as *Galamus*, *Dinamo*, *Kettős Mércse*, *Mandiner* contributing to the discussion on progressive politics.

## Keynote Papers

Monday, 12:45 – 13:30

**Reinhard Heinisch**

*Adaptation and Persistence – How the Freedom Party exemplifies the revolution of Radical Right Populism and thereby changed our understanding of it*

The Freedom Party is a long-established populist party. Its trajectory is indicative not only of the evolution of party-based populism in Europe over the past 30 years, but also the changes in our understanding of this phenomenon. Initially, populist radical right formations were perceived not as new parties contesting the second dimension, but as old ones representing both a shopworn ideology and "the people of yesterday" (*ewig gestrigen*). Then they were thought of as movements that were largely devoid of organization and led by charismatic figures ("the Haider phenomenon"), gifted anti-politicians bedazzling jaded electorates in selected partitocracies and post-democracies. They appeared to be protest phenomena, short-lived and seemingly hopeless at governing. All of this has turned out to be different than such assumptions would predict. Thus, assessing an "old" populist party is a humbling experience and an exercise in debunking myths and theoretical assumptions. This presentation does not intend to resuscitate the old trope of populism as a "contested concept" but means to caution us against any certainty we may have now when trying to understand the political challenge democracies face. This is not only because we still have inadequate measures and poor data, but also because radical populist parties are chameleonic by nature, continuing to adapt, change, and persist.

Monday, 16:00 – 17:00

**Cas Mudde**

*The Populist Zeitgeist: 15 Years Later*

In 2004 I published an article in *Government and Opposition* that argued that Western Europe was experiencing a populist Zeitgeist in which elements of populism dominated the political debate. Fifteen years later, it is clear the populist Zeitgeist has increased in both intensity and scope, with populist leaders in power in three of the five biggest democracies (Brazil, India, and US) as well as several EU member states in the East and West (e.g., Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland). Looking back at "The Populist Zeitgeist", what lessons are to be learnt for the causes of, and responses to, populism and what might the future bring?

Tuesday, 9:30 – 10:15

**Andrea Pető**

*Comparisons that matter: Are we re-living the 1930s?*

The flourishing research on populism thrives on a changing global political landscape and often on using historical comparison as a heuristic tool. In my talk I want to discuss the blind spots of current research arising from such analogical thinking. I will look at the concepts both of anti-modernist emancipation and of "gender as symbolic glue" in two historical contexts when populism seemed to be temporarily successful. Based on testimonies of far-right women activists in the People's Courts after 1945 and on interviews I conducted with far-right women activists about their political motivations today, I am arguing that women activists from both historical periods have aimed to create a viable, liveable and desirable alternative to existing values, institutions and symbolic systems as a way to critique gender regimes, including their own. The talk ends by mapping a new research agenda for understanding the gendered *modus operandi* of populism.

## Main academic session

Monday, 10:00 – 11:45, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Reinhard Heinisch** (University of Salzburg)

### Marco Tarchi (University of Florence)

Marco Tarchi is Professor of Political Science, Political Communication and Political Theory at the University of Florence. He has authored many monographs and articles and has carried out studies on party change in Italy, Fascism, extreme-right parties and movements, and populism. From 2002 to 2010 he has been director of a national research program on the transformation of Italian political parties co-financed by the Italian Ministry of University and Scientific Research. A member of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) standing group on “Extremism and Democracy”, he has given conferences and speeches in many universities and PhD courses (Istanbul, Cluj, Bucarest, Cardiff, Barcelona, Miskolc, Budapest, Paris, Istanbul, Louvain, Lisbon, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá, etc.) and has presented several papers at international Congresses and Workshops.

### Stijn van Kessel (Queen Mary University, London)

Stijn van Kessel is Lecturer in European Politics at Queen Mary University of London. His main research interests are populism, Euroscepticism and pro-EU activism, and the discourse, voters, and electoral performance of populist parties in Europe. He is joint convenor of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy, joint editor of its associated Routledge book series, as well as a joint editor of the journal *Politics*. He is also the author of the monograph *Populist Parties in Europe: Agents of Discontent* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), and has published articles in journals including *European Journal of Political Research*, *Government and Opposition*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Politics*, and *Journal of Political Ideologies*.

### Caterina Froio (Sciences Po, Paris)

Caterina Froio is Assistant Professor in Political Science at Sciences Po (Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics) and Research Associate at the Centre for Research on Extremism C-REX (University of Oslo, Norway). Her research and teaching interests are in political parties and their transformations as agents of representative government and as organizations, the relations between extremism and democracy, and e-politics. Since 2016, she is joint convenor of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy, and since 2019 she is a joint editor of the Routledge Series of the same name. Her research has appeared in peer-review journals in various languages including *Party Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics* and the *Revue Française de Science Politique*, as well as in several edited volumes, policy reports and the work of media outlets.

## Abstracts

### Marco Tarchi (University of Florence)

#### *Populism and Extreme Right: Affinities and Differences*

The success of Eurocritical party-formations in the European Parliament elections held on 25 May 2014, which was also confirmed by a string of national elections over the subsequent four years (in the Netherlands, France, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy and Sweden) has heightened the debate about a new populist wave, the fourth since the end of World War II. Such results reanimated the controversial issue of a new party family different from the ‘traditional’ ones, – as identified by Stein Rokkan – which some scholars associate with populism, while others associate it with renewed manifestations of the extreme right. The concept evoked by the label ‘extreme right’ is, indeed, very vague. Both its connotation and its denotation are of an extremely variable geometry. Furthermore, it cannot pass unnoticed that some of the features of populism clearly distinguish it from neo-fascism and its surrogates as identified by the scholarly literature on the extreme right. Even if, on some topics, the discourse of right-wing extremists and populists is rather similar and in some cases even coincides, the two groups remain clearly distinct from each other. These considerations thus suggest a clearer separation between the two groups of actors, although many analysts are still reluctant to take this step and adopt formulas implying the persistence of a strict link between them, almost an umbilical cord. In this paper we aim to clarify the nature of the relationship between populism and the extreme right, not only with regard to their affinities, but also their significant divergences, by proposing a synthetic map of crucial concepts distinguishing populism from the extreme right.

### Stijn van Kessel (Queen Mary University, London)

#### *Mobilising for Europe: pro-European activism in an era of populism and nationalism*

In its current state, the European Union provokes much negative political reaction among its citizens, with populist parties and activism challenging more powerfully than ever before its policies and integration process. At the same time, interest in, and attention to, European issues have increased during the crises, and have even moved to the centre of some national election campaigns. In the course of these events, not only anti- but also pro-European social movements have emerged. These movements are expressing their concern about a potential EU disintegration and the dominance of nationalist forces. Drawing on initial fieldwork in the UK and Germany, this presentation discusses the activities and strategies of pro-EU actors. It seeks to address questions about when citizens mobilise against or in defence of the EU - what do they argue, what strategies and language do they employ, and how effective is their activism? To what extent can their mobilisation be considered an expression of anti-populism?



## Afternoon Session I: Populist Voting Behaviour

Monday, 13:30 – 15:15, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary University, London)

**Caterina Froio** (Sciences Po, Paris)

*Going Transnational? Networks and issues of (trans)national cooperation in Western Europe on Twitter.*

While an increasing number of contributions address transnationalism in far-right politics, few investigations of the actors and discourses favoured in transnational exchanges exist on social media, considered a perfect habitat for radicalisation. Building on the literature about the far right, social movements, transnationalism and the Internet, we address this gap by studying the initiators and the issues that are favoured in online exchanges between audiences of far-right political parties and movements across France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. We use a new dataset on the activities of far-right Twitter users that is analysed through a novel, mixed-methods approach. We use social network analysis to detect transnational links between organisations across countries, based on retweets from audiences of far right Twitter users. The retweets are qualitatively coded for content and compared to the content retweeted within national communities. Finally, using a logistic regression, we quantify the level to which specific issues and initiators enjoy high levels of attention across borders. Subsequently we use discourse analysis to qualitatively reconstruct the interpretative frames accompanying these patterns. We find little evidence of a “dark international” on social media across Western Europe. Only a few issues (anti-immigration and nativist interpretations of the economy) garner transnational audiences on Twitter. Additionally, we demonstrate that more than movements, political parties play a prominent role in the construction of a transnational far right discourse.

**Steven Saxonberg** and **Tomáš Sirovátka** (Masaryk University, Brno)

*Welfare Attitudes and Voting for Populist Parties*

Steven Saxonberg is Professor at the Institute of European Studies and International Relations at Comenius University in Bratislava and the Institute of Public Policy and Social Work at Masaryk University in Brno. He has published dozens of articles in international journals as well as monographs with such publishers as Cambridge University Press, Palgrave and Routledge. He currently is involved in research projects on the connection between welfare attitudes and support for populism and on the role of emotions in support for populism.

**Lukáš Linek** and **Ondřej Císař** (Charles University, Prague)

*Political Conflict Rearticulated? How to stabilise the electoral support of a populist party in government*

Lukáš Linek is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences. His research focuses on electoral behaviour, political attitudes and party politics. He is an author of several monographs on electoral behaviour and political attitudes. His research was published in journals such as *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics* or *Parliamentary Affairs*.

Ondřej Císař is Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, and is also affiliated with the Institute of Sociology at the Czech Academy of Sciences. He is editor-in-chief of the Czech-language edition of *Czech Sociological Review*. His research focus is on political mobilisation, social movements and political sociology.

**Elie Michel** (University of Lucerne)

*The dark side of the electorate? The effect of negativity on the populist radical right vote*

Elie Michel is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Lucerne. He obtained a PhD from the European University Institute. His research interests include comparative political behaviour, elections, and the specific study of the radical right movement. Particularly, he has looked at how welfare politics influences the electoral success of radical right movements in Western Europe. Currently, he is working on a project about transnational political dynamics in Europe.

**Léonie de Jonge** (University of Cambridge)

*At Last a Right-Wing Populist Party in Luxembourg? The role of the ADR in the 2018 general elections*

Léonie de Jonge is a PhD Candidate in Politics & International Studies at the University of Cambridge. She holds a BA in International Relations from Cornell College (Iowa, USA) as well as an MPhil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge. Her doctoral research focuses on the variation in the electoral performances of right-wing populist parties in Western Europe. She is particularly interested in the question as to why these parties are more successful in the Netherlands and Flanders (i.e. the northern, Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) than in Luxembourg and Wallonia (i.e. the southern, French-speaking part of Belgium).

## Afternoon Session II: Conceptualization: Is this still a thing?

Monday, 13:30 – 15:15, Room 9 (downstairs)  
Chair + discussant: **Stephen Alomes** (RMIT Melbourne)

**Gianfranco Baldini** and **Matteo Giglioli** (University of Bologna)

*Bread or Circus? Long-term anti-political sentiment and the future of European populism*

Gianfranco Baldini is Associate Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the University of Bologna (Italy). He has held research and teaching positions at the Universities of Pennsylvania, Frankfurt, Sheffield and Lyon. His research focuses mainly on the comparative dynamics of populism, Euroscepticism (Brexit), party politics and representation.

Matteo F.N. Giglioli is a Research Fellow in the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the University of Bologna (Italy). He received his doctorate in Politics from Princeton University, and has subsequently held several research and teaching positions at universities in the United States, France, and Italy. He has written on legitimacy, violence, populism, and wealth in politics. His current research project focuses on oligarchic participation in democratic politics.

**Roberto De Rosa** (University Niccolò Cusano, Rome) and **Dario Quattromani**

(Roma Tre University)

*Culture and Society in the Populist Age*

Roberto De Rosa (Ph.D. in Communication Science and Complex Organisations, LUMSA University - Rome) is Senior Research Fellow/Assistant Professor in Political Science at the Faculty of Political Science, Niccolò Cusano University in Rome, Italy. He is also Adjunct Professor in Political Science and Political Sociology at that same institution. He has published several scientific works including monographs and articles, and he is involved in research projects in the area of Political Science.

Dario Quattromani (PhD in Political Science – Government and Institutions) is a Teaching Fellow in Political Science at Roma Tre University, a Teaching Assistant in Political Sociology and International Relations at the University D'Annunzio of Chieti-Pescara, a Political Communication Officer for the Metropolitan City of Rome, and was previously an Adjunct Professor in Political Science at the Tuscia University in Viterbo. He is currently involved in research projects in the area of Political Science.

**Constantin Iordachi** (Central European University, Budapest)

*Paths to Radicalisation: National-Populism, Radical Right and Fascism*

Constantin Iordachi is Professor at the Department of History, Central European University, Budapest; co-editor of the journal *East Central Europe* (Brill); and the International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies' president. He is the author of *Karizma, politika, erőszak: A fasiszta Vasgárda Romániában, 1927–1941* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2018); *Charisma, Politics and Violence: The Legion of "Archangel Michael" in Inter-War Romania* (2004); and *Liberalism, Constitutional Nationalism and Minorities: The Making of Romanian Citizenship, c. 1750–1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). He is an editor or co-editor of more than 15 books, including *The Biopolitics of the Danube Delta* (2014); *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Communist Eastern Europe* (2014); and *Hungary and Romania Beyond National Narratives* (2013).

**Andrej Šolkay** (School of Communication and Media, Bratislava)

*A Democratic Illiberalism, or a Formal Political Logic without a Predetermined Ideological Content?*

Andrej Šolkay, PhD, is the lead scholar for the research team at the School of Communication and Media, n.o., Slovakia, and has published widely on various aspects of the media and politics. He is the author of *Media and Globalisation* (SCM, Bratislava, 2009) and *Media Law in Slovakia* (Kluwer Law International, The Netherlands, 2016). He obtained his PhD in 2000 from Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia.

## Evening Discussion

Monday, 17:15 – 19:00, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Klaus Linsenmeier** (*Head of the Prague Office, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung*)

### Ellen Ueberschär (President, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Berlin)

Ellen Ueberschär has been a President of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since July 2017. Between 2006 and 2017 she was General Secretary of the German Protestant Church Assembly as well as the Ecumenical Church Assembly, and until early 2006 she was Dean of Studies for theology, ethics and law at the Evangelische Akademie Loccum. Between 1990 and 1992 she worked for the "Kuratorium für einen demokratisch verfassten Bund deutscher Länder" (Board of Trustees for a Democratically- Constituted Federation of German States). She was a member of the "Synode der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland" (Synod of the Protestant Church in Germany), and she is an advisory member of the Point-Alpha-Stiftung. She is also a member of the Brandenburg Cathedral Chapter. In 2003 her first book was published, titled *Junge Gemeinde im Konflikt. Evangelische Jugendarbeit in SBZ und DDR 1945–1961* (Young Christian Communities in Conflict. Protestant Youth Work in the Soviet Occupation Zone and East Germany, 1945–1961). Her second book, titled *Fürchtet euch nicht! Frauen machen Kirche* (Be Not Afraid! Women in Charge of the Church), was published in 2012 and, in March 2017, her most recent book was published, titled *religiös und ruhelos* (religious and restless).

### Piotr Buras (European Council on Foreign Relations, Warsaw)

Piotr Buras is the head of the Warsaw office of the European Council on Foreign Relations. His topics of focus include Germany's EU and foreign policy, Poland in the EU, and EU politics. He is a journalist, author and expert on German and European politics. Between 2008 and 2012 he worked as a columnist and Berlin correspondent for *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the biggest Polish daily newspaper. He started his professional career in the late 1990s at the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw, one of the first Polish think-tanks. He then continued his career at the Institute for German Studies at the University of Birmingham and at the University of Wrocław (Poland). He was also a visiting fellow at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin. His recent book *Moslems and the Other Germans. The Reinvention of the Berlin Republic* was published in Polish in 2011.

### TBC

## Morning Session I: How to measure populism?

Tuesday, 10:30 – 12:15, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Vlastimil Havlík** (Masaryk University, Brno)

### Andrej Zaslove (Radboud University) and Maurits Meijers (Radboud University) *The Ins and Outs of Measuring Populism with Expert Surveys*

Andrej Zaslove is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Radboud University in the Faculty for Management Research, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. His research focuses on populism with a specific focus on measuring populism (supply and demand); vote choice and populism; and populism and democracy.

Maurits Meijers is an Assistant Professor for Comparative Politics at the Department of Political Science at Radboud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. His research focuses broadly on political representation and the competition between political parties. Specifically, he is interested in representation and party competition in European Union politics and in questions concerning democracy, representation and their quality. His work has been published in the *Journal of Politics*, *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Party Politics* and *Politics & Governance*.

### Bartek Pytlas (Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich) *Anti-Establishment Politics and Counter-Representation: A framework for analysis*

Bartek Pytlas is Post-Doctoral Researcher at the Geschwister Scholl Institute of Political Science, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich. He is the author of the award-winning monograph *Radical Right Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: Mainstream Party Competition and Electoral Fortune* (Routledge). His other work has been (or is about to be) published in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, *Patterns of Prejudice*, *Sociology Compass* and *West European Politics*.

### Marcel Lewandowsky (Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg) *Exploring the Heterogeneity of Populism with Manifesto Data: The Comparative Party-Based Populism Dataset (CPPD)*

Marcel Lewandowsky is Lecturer in Political Science at the Department of Economics and Social Sciences at the Helmut Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed Forces, Hamburg. His research focuses on populist parties in European comparison, parties and party systems, and administrative reforms. His work has been published in several journals, including *German Politics*, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* and numerous edited volumes.

### Giuliano Bobba (University of Turin), Antonella Seddone (University of Turin), Cristina Cremonesi (University of Turin) and Evangelia Kartounidou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) *Measuring Media Populism in Italy and Greece: Results from an expert survey pilot study*

Giuliano Bobba is Assistant Professor at the Culture, Politics and Society Department, University of Turin, and a Carlo Alberto Affiliate at the Collegio Carlo Alberto, University of Turin. Antonella Seddone is Assistant Professor at the Culture, Politics and Society Department, University of Turin. Cristina Cremonesi is a Post-Doc Fellow at the Culture, Politics and Society Department, University of Turin. Evangelia Kartounidou is a PhD candidate at the School of Political Science at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

## Morning Session II: Populism and the EU Dimension

Tuesday, 10:30 – 12:15, Room 2 (downstairs)  
Chair + discussant: **Caterina Froio** (Sciences Po, Paris)

**Lazaros Karavasilis** (Loughborough University) and **Patricia Rodi** (Queen Mary University of London)  
*How Populist is the Populist Radical Right? Examine right-wing populist & nationalist discourse in the European Parliament Elections*

Lazaros Karavasilis is a PhD student in the Department of Politics and International Studies at Loughborough University and his research project is on comparing right- and left-wing populism in Greece and Germany. Among his main academic interests are theoretical and empirical populism, political parties, the radical left and the radical right, and the connection between parties and movements.

Patricia Rodi is a Doctoral Researcher in Politics at Queen Mary University of London. Her research mainly concerns populism and nationalism in the rhetoric and discursive strategies of populist and mainstream parties in Europe. Patricia is the book review editor of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy publication e-Extreme. She has worked as part of the COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology) Network on Populist Communication (Cost Action IS1308) and co-authored a chapter on media reporting on populism in its second action anthology (Routledge).

**Marta Lorimer** (London School of Economics)  
*Building Legitimacy through European Discourses: The Case of the Front National / Rassemblement National*

Marta Lorimer is a final year PhD candidate at the European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science. Her thesis focuses on Europe's place in the ideology of the French Front National and the Italian *Movimento Sociale Italiano/Alleanza Nazionale*. She is an Early Career Research Fellow at the Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR) and a regular contributor to the LSE Europp blog. Prior to her PhD, she completed a dual degree programme in European Studies between Sciences Po Paris and the London School of Economics. She tweets @ \_mlorimer.

**Georg Plattner** (University of Vienna)  
*'Wrecking it from Within?' Populist radical right parties and their ideas for EU policy reform*

Georg Plattner is a PhD candidate and Research Assistant at the Centre for European Integration Research (EIF) at the University of Vienna, Austria. Before his current position, he was a Visiting Researcher on a scholarship granted by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Tel Aviv University. His research interests include populist radical right parties in Europe, European Integration, and EU Security, Defence and Foreign Policies.

**Jakub Wondreys** (University of Georgia)  
*The Impact of European Parliamentary Election Timing on Electoral Support for Government and Protest Parties*

Jakub Wondreys, originally from Prague (Czech Republic), holds a B.A. in International Relations and Political Science from Università Degli Studi Roma Tre (Rome, Italy) and an M.A. in Political Science from Southern Illinois University (Carbondale, IL, USA). He is currently a third-year Ph.D. student at the Public and International Affairs School at the University of Georgia (Athens, GA, USA). His research concentrates on political parties (mainly the far-right) and elections in Europe.

## Afternoon Session I: Populist Attitudes

Tuesday, 13:15 – 15:00, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Emilia Zankina** (American University Bulgaria)

**Steven Van Hauwaert** (University of Mainz)

*Uniformity or Diversity? The socio-demographic, political and democratic profiles of populist citizens across Europe and Latin America*

Steven M. Van Hauwaert is an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at the University of Mainz and the Principal Investigator of the Global Public Opinions Project (GPOP). His primary research interests are in the fields of comparative political behaviour and public opinion, as well as populism and political extremism. His most recent academic contributions have appeared in *Acta Politica*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *the European Journal of Political Research*, *European Societies* and the *Journal of European Integration*. He is also an associate editor of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) journal *Political Research Exchange* (PRX).

**Vlastimil Havlík** and **Veronika Dostálová** (Masaryk University, Brno)

*The Big Five and Populist Attitudes in the Czech Republic*

Vlastimil Havlík works as Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and as a Research Fellow at the International Institute of Political Science, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University (MUNI). He was a Fulbright – Masaryk Visiting Scholar at Northwestern University in Illinois, United States (2017-2018). His research and teaching activities include populism and politics in Central and Eastern Europe. He is also a member of Team Populism. He regularly publishes texts dealing with these issues (e.g. in *East European Politics and Societies*, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* or *Problems of Post-Communism*). He has also written or edited several books focusing mostly on Czech politics and populism. He is also the Editor-in-Chief of the *Czech Journal of Political Science*.

Veronika Dostálová is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University. She earned her Master's in Political Science at the same faculty. Her thesis focused on personality traits as a plausible determinant of populist attitudes among Czech voters. Currently, her main research interests are activation of populist attitudes, their determinants, and their impact on electoral behaviour.

**Caterina Paolucci** and **Chelsea Jones** (James Madison University in Florence)

Caterina Paolucci has studied Political Science and Social Science at the Catholic University of Milan and at the European University Institute in Florence. She has taught at the Political Science School at the Catholic University of Milan, at the Political Science School at the University of Pisa, and at several US university programs in Florence. Since 2007 she has served as Academic Coordinator of James Madison University's M.A. in Political Science. Since 2017 she has been the on-site Director of James Madison University's Florence Programs. Her main research interests lie in comparative politics, the history and theory of party systems, inter-party competition models, party organisational changes, and electoral behaviour. She is also interested in political theory, with a special focus on theories of democracy and political representation. More recently, however, she has expanded her field of study to the politics and economics of the European Union, and lately she has been teaching international relations and EU topics courses. She has published on Italian politics in English, French and Italian scholarly journals and has contributed a number of essays to edited books.

Chelsea Jones is currently a Master's student at James Madison University in Florence, Italy, in European Policy Studies. She currently serves as the Research Assistant to the onsite Director, Dr Caterina Paolucci. She currently conducts research on the topic of populism under Dr. Caterina Paolucci. Her academic focus revolves around Foreign Policy and Internal Security with an emphasis on International Law and Human Rights.

**Corrado Fumagalli** (LUISS Rome)

*Anti-immigration Appeals and the Rigid Supply-and-Demand Logic of Populism*

Corrado Fumagalli is a postdoctoral researcher in political philosophy at LUISS-Guido Carli, where he works on hate speech, disagreement, comparative political philosophy, and democratic theory. Among his recent publications are 'Democratic Representation and Democratic Sanctions' (*Representation*); 'When Do They Speak? Deliberation and Democratic Decision-Making in the European Union', (*Political Studies*); 'Propositional Attitudes, Harm and Public Hate Speech Situations: Towards a maieutic approach', (*European Journal of Political Theory*).

## Afternoon Session II: Role of gender and culture in populism

Tuesday, 13:15 – 15:00, Room 2 (downstairs)  
Chair + discussant: **Cas Mudde** (University of Georgia)

**Zora Hesová** (Charles University, Prague)  
*The Populist Toolkit in the Central European Culture Wars*

Zora Hesová is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Charles University. She has worked on Islamic intellectual history; on Islam's encounter with modernity, especially in the Balkans; and on religion in contemporary politics. Currently she is participating in a research project on "culture wars" in populist discourses in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Zuzana Fellegi** (Anglo-American University, Prague)  
*The Istanbul Convention as a Tool of the "Gender Ideology Strategy".  
The case of the Czech Republic*

Zuzana Fellegi is an attorney and a lecturer at the AAU School of Law and International Relations and Diplomacy. She has studied at Muhlenberg College (USA); Humboldt University (Berlin); and Sciences-Po and I'ENA (Paris). She has previously worked for the European Commission and the Slovak Government in the field of Justice and Human Rights and has cooperated with numerous organisations including the UN, the OECD and the OSCE. She specializes in human rights, gender issues, and European law and politics, and is a member of the Czech Gender Expert Chamber, the International Sociological Association, and the European Consortium for Political Research.

**Caner Tekin** (Ruhr University, Bochum)  
*Interplays between Gender and other Identities? Revisiting the anti-migrant discourses of the FPÖ and Lega Nord from an intersectionality perspective*

Caner Tekin is a Teaching Fellow in History at Ruhr University, Bochum, where he has recently received his doctorate. He worked previously at the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Brunswick as a postdoctoral fellow. His recent publications include the monograph *Debating Turkey in Europe: Identities and Concepts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019) and a volume co-edited with Stefan Berger entitled *History and Belonging: Representations of the Past in Contemporary European Politics* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018).

**Feyda Sayan** (Manisa Celal Bayar University)  
*Gender and the Populist Radical Right Political Parties of Europe: A social semiotic approach to FN's and AfD's election materials*

Feyda Sayan-Cengiz is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Manisa Celal Bayar University, Turkey. She received her PhD in Political Science from Bilkent University in 2014. She was a Visiting Researcher at Columbia University's Anthropology Department from 2009 to 2010. Her book *Beyond Headscarf Culture in Turkey's Retail Sector* was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2016. She has published in edited collections as well as journals such as *New Perspectives on Turkey*, *Women's Studies International Forum* and *Turkish Studies*. Her research interests include politics of gender, populist discourses, identity politics and social movements.

## Afternoon Session III: Populism in the government

Tuesday, 13:15 – 15:00, Room 8 (Downstairs)  
Chair + discussant: **Věra Stojarová** (Masaryk University, Brno)

**Emilia Zankina** (American University Bulgaria) and **Luigi Ceccarini** (Carlo Bo University, Urbino)  
*European Populists in Government East and West: Bulgaria and Italy in comparative perspective*

Emilia Zankina is an Associate Professor in Political Science and Provost of the American University in Bulgaria. She holds a Ph.D. in International Affairs and a Certificate in Advanced East European Studies from the University of Pittsburgh. Her research examines democratisation and elite transformation in Eastern Europe, populism, civil service reform, and gender political representation. She has published in reputable journals and presses such as *West European Politics, Politics and Gender, East European Politics, Problems of Post-communism, Representation, ECPR Press, Indiana Press* and more. In the past, Zankina has served as Associate Director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, as well as *East European Politics and Societies'* Managing Editor, and as Editor-in-Chief of the *Bulgarian Studies Association Newsletter*. She has received a number of U.S. grants from IREX, ACLS, American Councils, Wilson Center, and more.

Luigi Ceccarini, Associate Professor, is a researcher for the Laboratory of Political and Social Studies (LaPolis) at the University of Urbino "Carlo Bo", Italy, where he teaches on society and politics. He is a co-editor of *Comunicazione Politica* and authored *La cittadinanza online* (2015) and *Tra politica e società* (with I. Diamanti, 2018), as well as *The Italian General Election of 2018. Italy in Uncharted Territory* (with J. Newell, 2019).

**David Wineroither** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)  
*From Portfolio Diversification to Hybrid Power: The Evolution of Right-wing Populist Winning Formulas in Austria from Haider to Kurz*

David M. Wineroither obtained his PhD from the University of Innsbruck where he was Assistant Professor for Comparative Politics. He is a former Visiting Professor at the University of Alberta. Currently he works as a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Social Sciences in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Senior Research Advisor at National University for Public Service, Budapest. Specialized in party competition and political leadership, his latest journal article on patterns of accountability in Western and Eastern Europe appeared in *East European Politics and Societies*. Among his books is „Die österreichische Demokratie im Vergleich“, co-edited with Ludger Helms (second edition with Nomos: Baden-Baden, 2017).

## Evening Session I: The ‘New’ Wave of Populism in Italy

Tuesday, 15:15 – 17:00, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Luigi Ceccarini** (Carlo Bo University, Urbino)

**Haris Dajč** (University of Belgrade)

*Re-emerging Populism in Southeast Europe: Populist political parties in post-Yugoslav states*

Haris Dajč (1983), is an Assistant Professor at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, and Director of its Centre for Cooperation with University College London and the EU. He is involved in the FATIGUE Horizon 2020 European Commission project (2018-2021) as scholar in charge for the University of Belgrade and in the POPREBEL Horizon 2020 European Commission project (2019-2021) as scholar in charge for the Faculty of Philosophy. He has been working at the Department of History there since 2010. He has been a member of Belgrade’s council on the memorial to the “Staro Sajmište” concentration camp since 2014. In March 2018 he was appointed by the Government of the Republic of Serbia to be its representative and Chairman of the Supervisory Board for the Jewish Restitution Law.

**Dimitar Nikolovski** (Polish Academy of Sciences)

*The Macedonians versus the North Macedonians: On the production of cleavages through the resolution of the Macedonian name dispute*

Dimitar Nikolovski is a PhD candidate at the Graduate School for Social Research, Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, where he researches the relations between populist parties and civil society in Southeast Europe. He has a background in Political Science and has studied at the Law Faculty in Skopje (BA), the Central European University in Budapest (MA), and the Universities of Sarajevo/Bologna (MA). Dimitar has worked for several think-tanks in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, and is currently a Permanent Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Koszeg, Hungary.

**Marco Brunazzo** (University of Trento) and **Mark Gilbert** (Johns Hopkins University – School for Advanced International Studies, Bologna)

*Anti-EU Populism in Italy: Two cases of glibness in politics*

Marco Brunazzo is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Trento (Italy). His main areas of interest are EU Politics, differentiated integration theory and process, and relations between Italy and the EU.

Mark Gilbert was born in Chesterfield (UK) in September 1961. He is Resident Professor of History and International Studies at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies in Bologna, Italy. His books include *The World Since 1945* (Bloomsbury, 2016, co-authored with P.M.H. Bell) and *Cold War Europe: The Politics of a Contested Continent* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014). He is the author of two books and numerous articles, essays and reviews on contemporary Italian politics. He was chair of the international jury for the 2018 Cundill History Prize and is also Associate Editor of the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*.

**George Newth** (University of Bath)

*A Third Wave of Populist Activism: The long-term roots of Matteo Salvini’s Lega*

George Newth is a final year PhD Candidate at University of Bath and holds an MA in Contemporary Italian Culture and History from University College London. His doctoral research reconceptualises the roots of the Lega Nord in the light of the 1950s’ regionalist movements in Lombardy and Piedmont. He has previously published ‘The roots of the Lega Nord’s populist regionalism’ (*Patterns of Prejudice*, 2019); ‘The **Movimento Autonomista Bergamasco** and the Lega Nord’; (*Modern Italy*, 2018) and *A Brief Comparative History of Economic Regionalism in the North Italian Macro-Region and Catalonia* (Rivista Progressus: Università di Siena, 2014). He also collaborates with The Conversation and Novara Media.

**Marzia Maccaferri** (Goldsmiths, University of London)

*Digital Populism and Euroscepticism in the Multimodal Political Communication of Lega and Movimento 5 Stelle*

Marzia Maccaferri works at the Department of Politics and International Relations, Goldsmiths, University of London, and at the School of Politics and International Relations, Queen Mary University of London. She received her PhD in History from the University of Bologna and has taught at LUISS-G. Carli Rome; the University of Cambridge; the Institute of Historical Research, London; and the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia. Her interests range across interdisciplinary and transnational European history, in particular the theory and history of intellectuals. She is currently working on a project on the re-reading of Gramsci in 1980s British post-Marxism and Eurocommunism. Her recent publications: ‘Splendid isolation again? Brexit and the role of the press and online media in re-narrating the European discourse’ *Critical Discourse Studies* (2019) and a special issue edited with Lucia Bonfreschi ‘New issues, old political cultures: politicising environment in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s’, *European History Quarterly* (2019).

## Evening Session II: Turkey

Tuesday, 15:15 – 17:00, Room 9 (downstairs)

Chair + discussant: **Caner Tekin** (Ruhr University, Bochum)

**Giovanni Barbieri** and **Sofia Verza** (University of Perugia)

*Who is More Populist? Applying holistic grading to the interviews of Italian political leaders during the 2018 electoral campaign*

Giovanni Barbieri is Assistant Professor in Political Sociology at the Department of Political Science at the University of Perugia (Italy). He teaches Political Sociology and Methodology of Social and Political Research. His main research interests deal with populism, Euroscepticism, political parties and democracy. His recent publications include: 'How the EU Member States' Press Represented the Euro Crisis' (with D. Campus and M. Mazzone), in *Journalism*, 20(2), 2019, pp. 235–255; 'Populism, Cleavages, and Democracy', in *Partecipazione e conflitto*, 11(1), 2018, pp. 202–224; and 'He's Worse Than Me: The Eurosceptic Parties at the Turning Point', in *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 8(1), 2015, pp. 97–117.

Sofia Verza is a PhD candidate at the Political Science Department at the University of Perugia (Italy). Her research explores the relationship between the media coverage of terrorism and counter-terrorism policies in Italy and Turkey. She holds a BA and MA degree in Law from the University of Trento (Italy) and studied in Istanbul at Bilgi University and Yeditepe University, majoring in the field of criminal and information law. She writes for the Global Freedom of Expression Initiative at Columbia University, where she was a Visiting Scholar, analysing Italian and Turkish case law. She collaborates with *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso Transeuropa* (OBCT) and the European Centre for Press and Media Freedom (ECPMF).

**Aylin Özman** and **Gülşen Seven** (TED University, Ankara)

*Politics in the Grip of Populist Rhetoric: The case of Turkey in the 2000s*

Aylin Özman received her BSc (Hons.) from Middle East Technical University (METU), Department of Political Science and Public Administration in 1988, her MA there in 1990, and her Ph.D in 1995 from Bilkent University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration. She served as a Research Assistant at Bilkent University in the Department of International Relations between 1990–1993 and in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration between 1993–1995. She joined Hacettepe University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration in 1997 and became a full Professor in 2010. She has lectured at METU and Başkent University. She was a Visiting Research Fellow at London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, and at Erfurt University. She teaches courses on political science, state theories, political theory, ideologies, Turkish politics and gender. Her research interests include Turkish politics and political thought, political theory, and gender studies. She has published nationally and internationally and given conference presentations and seminars on these topics.

Gülşen Seven is a recent PhD graduate. She has a Bachelor's in Political Science and Public Administration from Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey and a double major degree in Sociology from the same university. She obtained her Master's in Media and Cultural Studies in 2008 at Middle East Technical University and completed her doctoral studies, part of which she undertook at Cambridge University (UK), in Political Science and Public Administration in 2017 and at Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey. Dr. Seven has been a regular reviewer of books on political theory for *Political Studies Review*. She is also very keen on disseminating research through workshops and conferences and has been invited to several international events. Her research interests fall broadly within political theory, especially contemporary political theory and include democracy, constitutionalism, judicial activism, realism and moralism in political theory, the relationship between ethics and politics and between political theory and political practice, the notion of political judgement, and the phenomenon and nature of political leadership.

**Selim Erdem Aytac** (Koc University)

*Satisfied and Populist? The role of elite rhetoric and partisanship in mass support for populism in power*

Selim Erdem Aytac is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the Department of International Relations at Koç University in Istanbul, Turkey. He received his Ph.D. from Yale in December 2014. He is the recipient of the Young Scientist Award (2016) from the Academy of Sciences of Turkey and of the Sakıp Sabancı International Research Award (2018). Dr. Aytac's research interests lie in political behaviour with a focus on democratic accountability and political participation. He is also involved in a number of research projects on Turkish political behaviour and public opinion.



## Final Session: Hungary and Poland: Populism or Authoritarianism?

Tuesday, 17:00 – 18:45, Conference Hall

Chair + discussant: **Michal Kubát** (Charles University, Prague)

**Tugce Erçetin** (Istanbul Bilgi University)

*Understanding the We-ness in Populism*

Tuççe Erçetin is a PhD candidate at Istanbul Bilgi University, writing her dissertation, which is entitled *Understanding the Formulation and Articulation of Populism Over We-ness, Scrutinizing Both the Supply-Side Approach and the Recipients*. She earned a Master's in Political Science from the University of Essex with a thesis examining the perceptions of Armenian minorities in Turkey. She completed her second Master's in International Relations, focusing on ordinary people and their nationalist poems during the Cold War period. She completed her undergraduate studies in the same department at Kadir Has University with high honours. She was also a Research Assistant for different projects on Othering, Populism, and Syrian Refugees at Istanbul Bilgi University. Currently she is maintaining her Research Fellow and Project Coordinator position at the İstanbul Political Research Institute.

**Pelin Ayan, Isabella Iagrosso** (Anglo-American University in Prague) and **Marek Hudík**

(University of Economics, Prague)

*What Matters More for the Electoral Rise of Populist Parties, Ideology or Competent-Looking Leaders? A comparison of Italy and Turkey*

Pelin Ayan Musil is a Senior Lecturer in politics at Anglo-American University in Prague. Her fields of specialization are political parties, movements, regime change, democratisation and the contemporary Middle East with a focus on Turkey. Her co-authored and solely-authored articles have appeared in *International Political Science Review*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Turkish Studies*, *Teaching in Higher Education*, *Acta Politologica* and *New Perspectives*. She is also the author of *Authoritarian Party Structures and Democratic Political Setting in Turkey* (Palgrave, 2011) and the co-editor of *Party Politics in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective* (Routledge, 2018). Currently she manages two research projects supported by the Czech Science Foundation. One deals with the transformation of Islamist and pro-Kurdish parties in Turkey, and the other focuses on analysing democratic recessions in the post-communist and Muslim world from a comparative perspective.

Isabella Iagrosso is a Master's student in International Relations and Diplomacy at the Anglo-American University in Prague. After earning a BA in Political Science at Luiss Guido Carli University in Rome, Isabella moved to Prague to pursue her studies. She has experience working in European projects and is currently employed at SAP Services as a Human Resource Associate. Her major research topics are Italian politics, populism, the radical right and nonviolent conflicts.

Marek Hudík is a researcher at the Business Administration Faculty, University of Economics in Prague. His primary research interests include institutional and organisational economics, political economy, game theory, and the philosophy and history of economics. He has published papers in journals such as *Journal of Institutional Economics*, *Journal of Economic Methodology*, *International Journal of Game Theory*, and *History of Political Economy*.

**István Hegedűs** (Hungarian Europe Society, Budapest)

*Hungarian Exceptionalism or the Orbanisation of Europe?*

István Hegedűs (born 1957) is the chair of the Hungarian Europe Society (HES), a Budapest-based NGO. Since the turn of the century, HES has organized numerous conferences and workshops on current international affairs, focusing especially on European Union issues. Hegedűs became politically active at the very beginning of the Hungarian regime change. In 1989 he participated in national roundtable negotiations on the transition to democracy as a delegate of opposition groups. He was a permanent member of the Media Committee during those talks. He received his Ph. D. in sociology at Corvinus University of Budapest in 2004. Since 2011 Hegedűs lives partly in Brussels and partly in Budapest as a freelancer.

**Robert Sata** (Central European University, Budapest)

*Caesarean Politics and Populism in Hungary and Poland*

Robert Sata is Associate Research Fellow at the Political Science Department, Central European University. He has taught classes on research methods and techniques, comparative politics, political institutions, ethnicity, nationalism and minority rights at CEU; the McDaniel College Budapest Campus; Corvinus University, Budapest; and Babes Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, Romania. His research interest focuses on accommodating minority rights; politics of identity; value politics; populism and the challenge of diversity; gender; and discrimination. His latest publications include 'Hijacking Religion for the Sake of the Nation – Illiberal Democracy in Hungary', in: Anja Hennig and Mirjam Weiberg-Salzmann (eds.) *Illiberal Politics and Religion: Actors, Ideologies, and Identity Narratives in Europe*; and 'Families and the transmission of attitudes, values and resources of the young in Hungary', in Jale Tosun: *Cultural Pathways to Economic Self-Sufficiency and Entrepreneurship*.

**Bartosz Rydliński** (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw)

*A Case Study of Polish and Hungarian Illiberal Christianity*

Bartosz M. Rydliński holds a doctorate in Political Science from Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University (CSWU) in Warsaw (2013). He teaches at the Institute of Political Science at CSWU and works as a project manager and expert with the Amicus Europae Foundation of former Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. He is a member of the Younger Generation Leaders Network (YGLN) on Euro-Atlantic Security and a former EASI-Hurford Next Generation Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was a visiting scholar at Georgetown University's Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies (CERES) during 2014.

**Daniel Hegedűs** (German Marshall Fund)

*Rethinking the Incumbency Effect. Radicalization of governing populist parties in East Central Europe. A case study of Hungary*

Daniel Hegedűs is a Rethink.CEE Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. His areas of research include populism, democratic backsliding, and European and foreign affairs of the Visegrad countries. He has studied political science, history, and European law at Eötvös Loránd University Budapest and Humboldt University in Berlin. In the past he has worked in different research, lecturer and project management positions at Freedom House, the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), the Institute for Eastern-European Studies at the Free University Berlin, Humboldt University (Berlin), and Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest).

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