

# **Contemporary Radicalism, Populism and Extremism: Mobilization, Formations and Consequences**

**General Conference Section**

**(S17- 16 panels)**

**Chair: Michael Minkenberg (Europa-Universität Viadrina)**

**Co-Chair: Manuela Caiani (Scuola Normale Superiore)**





## SECTION DESCRIPTION

As radicalism, from populist to extremist parties and movements, is gaining visibility in many liberal democracies in Europe and in North America, this Section will try to understand the growing strength and social support of radical, populist and extremist parties and groups by exploring the causes, patterns, interaction and consequences of these phenomena.

To address the key factors contributing to the rise of radicalism, populism and extremism, both on the left and right ends of the political spectrum, the Section pursues a multi-faceted approach. A detailed analysis of the entire field of these actors serves to investigate the various organizational and ideological patterns in which they emerge. A central focus lies on examining how the recent economic, political and immigration crises of the EU have affected the diffusion (i.e. emergence) or consolidation of varieties of radicalism, populism and extremism (right-wing and left-wing) in Europe, and how they compare to such changes in North America. The general hypothesis supporting the Panels dealing with this issue is that long-lasting changes of Western parties and party systems as well as regime change in Eastern Europe has offered specific opportunities for radical organizations, whereas recent crises have provided a specific opportunity for their consolidation. Tied to this point is also the question whether we can still assume a difference between such right- and left-wing actors (from parties to movements) in Western democracies as compared to those in Eastern Europe. These long-lasting and more recent developments have also had the potential to influence the operational patterns of all forms of political actors, from social movements to political parties, leading at times to their transformation from one type of organization to another, or to blurred boundaries between them.

The Section will consider the broader context in which these right and left actors operate: specificities of party systems, phenomena such as party de-alignment, potential legacy effects, demand- and supply-side factors explaining mobilization and formation, and the interaction between radical, populist, and extremist parties on the one hand and respective movements on the other hand, but also mediating elements like civil society organizations, the EU and international actors. In line with this perspective, the Section wants to shed further light on the formation of these actors, i.e. the different articulations of populist/radical/extreme activity across different arenas, incl. their cross-fertilization (diffusion).

The effects of contemporary radicalism, populism and extremism are also central to the section. Panels will address this by looking not only at potential policy changes, but also at interactions with and impact on other actors (mainstream political actors, state institutions, civil society) within the political system. The Section thereby explores the consequences of these developments on the democratic quality of the political system (e.g. radicalization of the political mainstream, convergence of radical, populist and extremist views on the left and right, the polarization of party systems), governance, policy-making and political discourse. More precisely, the Section seeks to offer answers to the question of whether and to what degree these parties and movements contribute to a transformation in the core characteristics of liberal democracies and market economies e.g. through an impact on the status and rights of ethnic and social minorities, gender equality, the rise of political violence etc.



## SECTION OVERVIEW

### **Thursday 23 August**

- 09:00 - 10:40      Left-wing populism in Southern and Western Europe  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 11:00 - 12:40      Far Right ‘Movement Parties’ in Europe  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 15:50 - 17:30      Contemporary radicalism between offline and online mobilization  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*

### **Friday 24 August**

- 09:00 - 10:40      Europe, the European Union, and Opposition from Radical Left and Radical Right “Populists”  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 11:00 - 12:40      Welfare chauvinism and the radical right  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 14:00 - 15:40      Conceptual approaches in the study of radical right and its impact  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 17:40 - 19:20      Built to bent? Populist and radical parties’ influence in the multi-level political arena  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 17:40 - 19:20      Radicalism and immigration: strategies and consequences  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206*

### **Saturday 25 August**

- 09:00 - 10:40      Roundtable: The Ideational Approach to Populism  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206*
- 09:00 - 10:40      Measuring Populism from Political Text: (Thin) Ideology, Rhetoric, Discourse Quality, Civility and Linguistic Style  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 11:00 - 12:40      Social movements and policy outcomes: How right-wing grassroots groups influence foreign policy  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206*

- 11:00 - 12:40 Populism as an individual-level construct amongst people and elites  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 14:00 - 15:40 Explaining the rising mobilization and support for the radical right populism  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206*
- 14:00 - 15:40 Populist attitudes: theoretical considerations and empirical insights  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*
- 16:00 - 17:40 What about the Five Star Movement? Systemic Causes and Effects of the M5s Rise  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206*
- 16:00 - 17:40 Radical right impact in Eastern Europe: agenda-setting and policy effects  
*Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207*

# PROGRAMME WITH PANELS AND PAPERS

## DAY 1: Thursday, 23 August

Thursday 23 August, 09:00 - 10:40

Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207

### P249: LEFT-WING POPULISM IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE

**Panel Chairs:** Michael Minkenberg, Europa-Universität Viadrina; Paloma Caravantes-Gonzalez, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

**Panel Discussant:** Steven Van Hauwaert

- Masters of their own fate? Multi-dimensional political competition and the electoral performance of West European radical left parties  
**Werner Krause** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
- Populist contagion or anti-elitism in opposition? The programmatic reaction of Spanish Socialist Workers' Party to the rise of Podemos  
**Ana Belén Fernández García** (Universidad de Granada)
- The electoral performance of left-wing populism in Spain in comparative perspective  
**Joan Carles Pamies Palazuelo** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid – Instituto de Políticas y Bienes Públicos del CSIC)
- Towards a Definition of 'Left-Wing Populism': A Comparison Between Podemos and France Insoumise  
**Pablo Castaño Tierno** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
- Transcending or radicalizing left-right divides. The electoral support for left-wing populist parties  
**Carolina Plaza Colodro** (Universidad de Salamanca); **Hugo Marcos-Marne** (Universität St Gallen); **Iván Llamazares** (Universidad de Salamanca)

\*\*\*

Thursday 23 August, 11:00 - 12:40

Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207

### P163: FAR RIGHT 'MOVEMENT PARTIES' IN EUROPE

**Panel Chair:** Ondřej Císař, Charles University in Prague

**Panel Co- Chair:** Manuela Caiani

**Panel Discussant:** Katerina Vrablikova

- Collective action and the “refugee crisis” in France: Movement/Countermovement dynamics  
**Pietro Castelli Gattinara** (Universitetet i Oslo), **Lorenzo Zamponi** (Scuola Normale Superiore)
- From indignation to power. The genesis of the Independent Greeks  
**Maik Fielitz** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt)
- The “contagion effect” of populism: the case of Italy  
**Jakob Schwörer** (Leuphana Universität Lüneburg)

\*\*\*

**Thursday 23 August, 15:50 - 17:30**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**  
**P089 CONTEMPORARY RADICALISM BETWEEN OFFLINE AND ONLINE**  
**MOBILIZATION**

**Panel Chair:** Louis Wierenga, University of Tartu

**Panel Discussant:** Louis Wierenga, University of Tartu

- It's not the elites! The Far right and the frames of European integration on Twitter in Western Europe  
**Bharath Ganesh** (University of Oxford), **Caterina Froio** (Université catholique de Lille – ESPOL)
- Narratives of Radicalization and Options for De-Radicalization  
**Sybille Reinke De Buitrago** (Universität Hamburg)
- Populist Sentiment in Japan's 2017 General Election: Evidence from Print and Social Media  
**Robert Fahey** (Waseda University)

\*\*\*

**DAY 2: Friday, 24 August**

**Friday 24 August, 09:00 - 10:40**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**  
**P147: EUROPE, THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND OPPOSITION FROM RADICAL**  
**LEFT AND RADICAL RIGHT “POPULISTS”**

**Panel Chair:** Manès Weisskircher, European University Institute

**Panel Co-Chair:** Julia Rone, European University Institute

**Panel Discussant:** Manès Weisskircher, European University Institute

- A broken promise? Grassroots visions of Europe in Italy in times of crisis  
**Donatella della Porta** (Scuola Normale Superiore), **Lorenzo Zamponi** (Scuola Normale Superiore), **Niccolò Bertuzzi** (Scuola Normale Superiore)
- How many Europes? Radical left and radical right visions of the European Union  
**Manuela Caiani** (Scuola Normale Superiore), **Julia Rone** (European University Institute), **Manès Weisskircher** (European University Institute)
- Not so eager to leave: populist radical right parties' reactions to Brexit  
**Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary, University of London), **Nicola Chelotti** (Loughborough University), **Helen Drake** (Loughborough University), **Juan Roch González** (Freie Universität Berlin), **Patricia Rodi** (Queen Mary, University of London)
- The Lega Nord between Regionalism and National Ambitions. And... Europe?  
**Giovanni de Ghantuz Cubbe** (Institut für Politikwissenschaft, TU Dresden)

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

\*\*\*

**Friday 24 August, 11:00 - 12:40**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**  
**P518 WELFARE CHAUVINISM AND THE RADICAL RIGHT**

**Panel Chair:** Steven Van Hauwaert, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

**Panel Discussant:** Manuela Caiani, Scuola Normale Superiore

- Beyond Nativism and Authoritarianism: the Economic Agenda of the Populist Radical Right  
**Koen Abts** (University of Leuven), **Emmanuel Dalle Mulle** (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), **Caterina Froio** (Université catholique de Lille – ESPOL), **Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary, University of London)

\*\*\*

**Friday 24 August, 14:00 - 15:40**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**  
**P078 CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES IN THE STUDY OF RADICAL RIGHT AND ITS IMPACT**

**Panel Chair:** Michael Minkenberg, Europa- Universität Viadrina

**Panel Discussants:** Zsuzsana Végh, Europa-Universität Viadrina and Piero Ignazi, Università di Bologna

- Conceptualizing extreme right parties' impact on immigration  
**Joao Carvalho** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia – CIES-IUL)
- Populism – A new –ism and a new schism in the study of the far right?  
**Michael Minkenberg** (Europa-Universität Viadrina), **Malisa Zora Zobel** (Europa-Universität Viadrina)
- Populism and Nationalism in Eastern Europe  
**Attila Antal** (Eötvös Loránd University)
- Radicalism, Populism and Extremism? A conceptual analysis of central concepts in the field of research  
**Astrid Bötticher** (Departments of Political Science and Public Administration, Universiteit Leiden)

\*\*\*

**Friday 24 August, 17:40 - 19:20**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**  
**P038 BUILT TO BEND? POPULIST AND RADICAL PARTIES' INFLUENCE IN**  
**THE MULTI-LEVEL POLITICAL ARENA**

**Panel Chair:** Andrea L.P. Pirro, Scuola Normale Superiore

**Panel Discussant:** Andrea L. P. Pirro, Scuola Normale Superiore

- 'In Brussels no one hears you scream.' Mapping the agenda and activities of populist MEPs  
**Sandrino Smeets** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Andrej Zaslove** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)
- Multiple Varieties of Populism in Central and Eastern Europe  
**Bartek Pytlas** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München – LMU), **Sarah Engler** (Universität Bern), **Kevin Deegan-Krause** (Department of Political Science, Comenius University Faculty of Arts)
- Populist radical right parties in government and their impact on immigrant's welfare entitlements  
**Malisa Zora Zobel** (Europa-Universität Viadrina), **Leonce Röth** (University of Cologne)
- Social democratic parties caught between a rock and a hard place  
**Sarah De Lange** (University of Amsterdam), **Eelco Harteveld** (University of Amsterdam)
- The impact of the Front National during President Hollande's term  
**Joao Carvalho** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia – CIES-IUL)

\*\*\*

**Friday 17:40 - 19:20**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206**  
**P370 RADICALISM AND IMMIGRATION: STRATEGIES AND CONSEQUENCES**

**Panel Chair:** Caterina Froio, Université catholique de Lille – ESPOL

- Anti-immigration or Material Deprivation? – Combining Discourse and Materiality in a Qualitative Approach to Anti-Asylum Seeker Centre Protests in the Netherlands  
**Iris Segers** (Universitetet i Oslo)
- Counter/Mobilizing on the migration crisis in the Czech Republic and Slovakia  
**Alena Kluknavska** (Masaryk University); **Jiří Navrátil** (Masaryk University)
- Empathy, solidarity and othering – the connection between 'politics of emotions' and discourses on migration  
**Maria Mayer** (University of Vienna)
- Local dynamics of vigilantism – Anti-immigrant street patrol groups and the Finns Party in local context  
**Tommi Kotonen** (University of Jyväskylä)

\*\*\*



## DAY 3: Saturday, 25 August

Saturday 25 August, 09:00 - 10:40

Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206

### P406 ROUNDTABLE: THE IDEATIONAL APPROACH TO POPULISM

**Panel Chair:** Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Universidad Diego Portales

**Panel Discussant:** Kirk Hawkins, Brigham Young University

- Caterina Froio (Université catholique de Lille – ESPOL)
- Levente Littvay (Central European University)
- Paul Taggart (University of Sussex)
- Reinhard Heinisch (Universität Salzburg)

\*\*\*

Saturday 25 August, 09:00 - 10:40

Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207

### P262 MEASURING POPULISM FROM POLITICAL TEXT: (THIN) IDEOLOGY, RHETORIC, DISCOURSE QUALITY, CIVILITY AND LINGUISTIC STYLE

**Panel Chair:** Julian Bernauer, Universität Mannheim

**Panel Co-Chair:** Denise Traber, University of Lucerne

**Panel Discussant:** Denise Traber, University of Lucerne

- Classification of populist discourse in social media  
**Abel Reiberg** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster), **Norbert Kersting** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster), **Phillip Hocks** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)
- How to measure populism? Empirical evidence for a new dictionary approach  
**Sophia Hunger** (European University Institute)
- Populism as a style of political communication. The challenge of measuring populism through metaphors  
**Ondřej Stulík** (University of West Bohemia)
- Populist political communication going mainstream? Populism in the discursive and communicative strategies of mainstream centre-left political parties in Western Europe  
**Patricia Rodi** (Queen Mary, University of London)
- Tabloidization of the Political Discourse  
**Mariken van der Velden** (University of Zurich), **Barbara Vis** (University of Utrecht)

\*\*\*

Saturday 25 August, 11:00 - 12:40

Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206

### P416 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLICY OUTCOMES: HOW RIGHT-WING GRASSROOTS GROUPS INFLUENCE FOREIGN POLICY

**Panel Chair:** Sofia Tipaldou, University of Manchester

**Panel Co-Chair:** Ioannis Galariotis, European University Institute

**Panel Discussant:** Mihai Varga, Freie Universität Berlin

- Justice and Development Party Rule and the Turkish Foreign Policy Making: The Power of Vigilance and Social Activism  
**Ayhan Kaya** (Istanbul Bilgi University)
- The impact of the Russian far right on foreign policy: Conflict, secession and war in Ukraine  
**Sofia Tipaldou** (University of Manchester)
- The Influence of the Bulgarian Far Right on Foreign Policy: the Debate on the Ratification of the Istanbul Convention  
**Dessie Zagorcheva** (Columbia University)
- Towards a Populist Foreign Policy Theory? Tracing the impact of right-wing grassroots groups  
**Ioannis Galariotis** (European University Institute)

\*\*\*

**Saturday 25 August, 11:00 - 12:40**

**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**

**P351 POPULISM AS AN INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CONSTRUCT AMONGST PEOPLE  
AND ELITES**

**Panel Chair:** Steven Van Hauwaert, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

**Panel Discussant:** Christian Schimpf, GESIS, Leibniz

- How populist are the elites? Empirical findings from Western Europe  
**Marcel Lewandowsky** (Helmut-Schmidt-University/University of the Armed Forces Hamburg)
- Measuring Populists Attitudes: New Wine in an Old Bottle? Or just better wine?  
**Kristof Jacobs** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Roderick Sluiter** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Andrej Zaslove** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen), **Bram Geurkink** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)
- Populism and Support for Climate Policies. Evidence from a Survey Experiment  
**Robert A. Huber** (University of Zurich), **Lukas Paul Fesefeld** (University of Zurich), **Thomas Bernauer**
- The Nature and Structure of Populist Attitudes  
**Levente Littvay** (Central European University)
- Who are the populists? An analysis of individual-level populism across continents  
**Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser** (Universidad Diego Portales), **Steven Van Hauwaert** (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

\*\*\*

**Saturday 25 August, 14:00 - 15:40**

**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206**

## **P158 EXPLAINING THE RISING MOBILIZATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE RADICAL RIGHT AND POPULISM**

**Panel Chair:** Simon Franzmann, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

**Panel Discussant:** Matthias Dilling, University of Oxford

- Dissecting support for populist right-wing parties. A comparison between mature and post-communist European democracies  
**Jasper Muis** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), **Teodora Gaidytė** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
- Do they even care? – The importance of democracy and anti-elitism for the support of populist parties among young adults  
**Marcus Spittler** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)
- Explaining support for Right-wing Populist Parties in Central and Eastern Europe  
**Andres Santana** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid – Instituto de Políticas y Bienes Públicos del CSIC)  
**Piotr Zagórski** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid – Instituto de Políticas y Bienes Públicos del CSIC)
- Is it the economy, stupid? Explaining voting for populist parties in the aftermath of the Great Recession  
**Daniilo Serani** (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

\*\*\*

**Saturday 25 August, 14:00 - 15:40**

**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**

## **P352 POPULIST ATTITUDES: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND EMPIRICAL INSIGHTS**

**Panel Chair:** Marcel Lewandowsky, Helmut-Schmidt-University/University of the Armed Forces Hamburg

**Panel Co-Chair:** Nicole Marlen Loew, Freie Universität Berlin

**Panel Discussant:** Steven Van Hauwaert, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz

- Disengaged and uninformed? Political knowledge and interest among voters with strong populist attitudes  
**Stijn van Kessel** (Queen Mary, University of London), **Javier Sajuria** (Queen Mary, University of London), **Steven Van Hauwaert** (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)
- How many different types of populists are there in Germany? A multi-method approach with a quasi-representative sample  
**M. Murat Ardag** (Carl Von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg), **Philipp Thomeczek** (University of Duisburg-Essen)
- Populist Attitudes, Spatial Considerations, and Electoral Availability  
**Aiko Wagner** (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)
- The Effects of Populist Political Communication on Populist Attitudes across National Contexts in Europe  
**Linda Bos** (University of Amsterdam), **Michael Hameleers** (University of Amsterdam), **Desiree Schmuck** (University of Vienna)

\*\*\*

**Saturday 25 August, 16:00 - 17:40**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 206**  
**P520 WHAT ABOUT THE FIVE STAR MOVEMENT? SYSTEMIC CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE M5S RISE**

**Panel Chair:** Lisa Zanotti, Universidad Diego Portales

**Panel Co-Chair:** Enrico Padoan, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile

**Panel Discussant:** Carlos Melendez, Universidad Diego Portales

- A LatinAmericanization of Southern Europe? Anti-Neoliberal Populisms in Comparative Perspective  
**Enrico Padoan** (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile)
- Beyond the Left-Right divide: The Five Star Movement and the populism-antipopulism cleavage in Italy  
**Lisa Zanotti** (Universidad Diego Portales)
- Talking about Europe and migration: a multilevel analysis of parliamentary debates  
**Stella Gianfreda** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna), **Benedetta Carlotti** (Scuola Normale Superiore)

\*\*\*

**Saturday 25 August, 16:00 - 17:40**  
**Building: VMP 8 Floor: 2 Room: 207**  
**P369 RADICAL RIGHT IMPACT IN EASTERN EUROPE: AGENDA-SETTING AND POLICY EFFECTS**

**Panel Chairs:** Anca Florian, Europa-Universität Viadrina; Malisa Zobel, Europa-Universität Viadrina

**Panel Discussant:** Bartek Pytlas, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München – LMU

- Anti-immigrant discourse a resource in party competition. The case of Polish right wing populism  
**Artur Lipinski** (Adam Mickiewicz University)
- Beyond Radical Right Politics: LGBT+ Rights in Hungary and Romania  
**Radu Cinpoes** (Kingston University)
- Eastern Europe – going right? A comparative account of the radical right's policy impact concerning ethnic minorities and asylum seekers  
**Michael Minkenberg** (Europa-Universität Viadrina), **Anca Florian** (Europa-Universität Viadrina), **Zsuzsanna Végh** (Europa-Universität Viadrina), **Malisa Zora Zobel** (Europa-Universität Viadrina)
- Radicalization of new alternatives in a changing political environment  
**Olga Gyarfasova** (Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University)