Civic Leadership
Program

ECPS
EUROPEAN CENTER for
POPULISM STUDIES

DAY 1

POPULISM: AN INTRODUCTION

13:00-15:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Anthoula Malkopoulou
Moderator: Dr. Nicholas Morieson

Abstract

This lecture introduces the concept of populism by discussing what it is and how it relates to other key political ideologies. It is divided in three parts. First, it presents various definitions, approaches and theories of populism. The second part discusses the connection of populism to nationalism, socialism and liberalism. In the third part, we contemplate on the relation of populism to democracy. We conclude with a Q & A session.

Unit 1

- **Kaltwasser, C. R. (2012).** *The ambivalence of populism: threat and corrective for democracy.* Democratization, 19(2), 184-208.
- **Moffitt, B., & Tormey, S. (2014).** *Rethinking populism: Politics, mediatisation and political style.* Political studies, 62(2), 381-397.
- **Urbinati, N. (2019).** *Political theory of populism. Annual Review of Political Science*, 22, 111-127.

VARIETIES OF POPULISM

18:30-20:30 CET

Speaker: Dr. Steven M. Van Hauwaert
Moderator: Dr. Gabriela Piquet

Abstract

We can observe different kinds of populism across the world. Moreover, it is possible to distinguish between populist actors and populist citizens. In this session, we first look at the typical political actors and how they might intrinsically differ in their populist nature. In other words, what kinds of populism can we observe across different contextual settings? Drawing on Filc's work (2000), we distinguish between them based on their host ideologies. We distinguish left- from right-wing populism and discussing when and how both of these might be considered inclusionary or exclusionary. We then take a step away from political actors and shift our attention to citizens. If political actors can be populist, so can citizens. How are these characterised and what profile do they typically have? This will allow us to discuss to what extent (populist) citizens resemble their (populist) leaders. Throughout these discussions we will pay attention to both the Americas and Europe, often times comparing both with each other, as well as engaging in discussions about the regions more specifically.

Unit 2

- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2013). *Exclusionary vs. inclusionary populism: Comparing contemporary Europe and Latin America.* Government and opposition, 48(2), 147-174.
- Kaltwasser, C. R., & Van Hauwaert, S. M. (2020). *The populist citizen: Empirical evidence from Europe and Latin America.* European Political Science Review, 12(1), 1-18.

DAY 2

POPULISM, DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

15:00-17:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Tsveta Petrova
Moderator: Paulina Lenik

Abstract

Over the past decade, a number of European populist parties have become increasingly competitive in key votes, and in Eastern Europe, these parties have not only come to power but also remained in office in consecutive elections. In this session, we will look at both the supply and the demand side of the rise and resilience of populism in the post-communist world. We will review the relevant literature and link it to the main debates in the broader literature on global populism. We will discuss three main types of accounts
1. at the microlevel, focusing on the so-called authoritarian personality;
2. at the mesolevel, emphasizing the socio-economic profiles of certain groups of voters;
3. at the macro-level, focusing on broad structural economic and cultural changes in these societies.
We will further consider both the political and civic embeddedness of populism in the region. Finally, and time permitting, we will engage in a set of group exercises that will give participants experience with formulating rigorous and viable research designs for understanding the phenomenon of populism in Eastern Europe.

Unit 3

*   Berman, S., & Snegovaya, M. (2019). *Populism and the decline of social democracy.* Journal of Democracy, 30(3), 5-19.
*   Greskovits, B. (2020). *Rebuilding the Hungarian right through conquering civil society: the Civic Circles Movement.* East European Politics, 36(2), 247-266.
*   Krastev, I. (2016). *The specter haunting Europe: The Unraveling of the post-1989 order.* Journal of Democracy, 27(4), 88-98.
*   Orenstein, M. A., & Bugarič, B. (2020). *Work, family, Fatherland: the political economy of populism in central and Eastern Europe.* Journal of European Public Policy, 1-20.

POPULISM, NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY

18:00-20:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Daphne Halikiopoulou
Moderator: Sabine Volk

Abstract

The terms 'Populism' and 'nationalism' are interlinked, often used interchangeably by academics and pundits alike. The 'new nationalism' is often used to describe parties and groups that share a common emphasis on national sovereignty and a pledge to restore it in the name of the people. These groups have enjoyed increasing electoral success in recent years, and have become increasingly entrenched in their domestic political arenas. Examples abound: the Front National (now Rassemblement National), the Alternative for Germany (AfD), the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), the Dutch Freedom Party (PVV) and the Italian Lega all made electoral gains in recent years. Outside the European context, Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro are pertinent examples of 'new nationalists' that had or have access to power. This lecture will address will address the dramatic rise (and in some cases decline) of this phenomenon by posing a twofold argument: (1) in terms of demand, nationalism is only a partial explanation, as voters economic concerns remain pivotal within the context of the transnational cleavage; (2) the explanatory power of nationalism is in the supply, i.e. the ways in which parties use nationalism strategically in an attempt to broaden their electoral appeal.

Unit 4

- Bonikowski, B., Halikiopoulou, D., Kaufmann, E., & Rooduijn, M. (2019). *Populism and nationalism in a comparative perspective: a scholarly exchange.* Nations and Nationalism, 25(1), 58-81.
- Halikiopoulou, D., & Vlandas, T. (2019). *What is new and what is nationalist about Europe's new nationalism? Explaining the rise of the far right in Europe.* Nations and Nationalism, 25(2).

DAY 3

POPULISM AND RELIGIONS

14:00-16:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Jocelyne Cesar
Moderator: Dr. Mustafa Demir

Abstract

Throughout the January 6TH 2021 "Save America" March, also known as the Jericho March, and the ensuing attack on the Capitol, crosses and American flags were brandished side by side and religious slogans were on full display. The attention paid to this "spectacular" religious display by media has highlighted the scarcity of studies on the interactions between religion and populism. This presentation will offer a comprehensive mode of investigating the interactions between populism, religion and nationalism to foster comparison across countries and religions. It will present findings from an ongoing investigation based on three case studies: Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Unit 5

- Haynes, J. (2020). *Right-wing populism and religion in Europe and the USA*. Religions, 11(10), 490.
- Cervi, L. (2020). *Exclusionary Populism and Islamophobia: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Spain*. Religions, 11(10), 516.
- van den Broeke, L., & Kunter, K. (2021). *Religion, Populism and Politics: The Notion of Religion in Election Manifestos of Populist and Nationalist Parties in Germany and The Netherlands*. Religions, 12(3), 178.
- Cremer, T. (2021). *Nations under God: How Church–State Relations Shape Christian Responses to Right-Wing Populism in Germany and the United States*. Religions, 12(4), 254.
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- Palaver, W. (2021). *Collective Identity and Christianity: Europe between Nationalism and an Open Patriotism*. Religions, 12(5), 339.
- Yilmaz, I., Demir, M., & Morieson, N. (2021). *Religion in Creating Populist Appeal: Islamist Populism and Civilizationism in the Friday Sermons of Turkey's Diyanet*. Religions, 12(5), 359.

POPULIST DISCOURSE AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

18:00-20:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Majid Koshravinik
Moderator: Katy Brown

Abstract

The lecture starts out by providing a brief overview of notions in critical discourse studies. It elaborates on how discursive power has commonly been envisaged in/behind media and how digital technologies of participatory web may have changed such power dynamic between media and society. The lecture then explains the view in which social media is primarily defined as a paradigm of communication (rather than a specific set of web services) which may occur across endless and various digitally facilitated platforms, spaces, Apps etc. including but not limited to Social Networking Sites. After setting up the parameters for a social media approach to critical discourse studies, the lecture explores how technological context of digital discourse is related to populism. It elaborates on the business model of (production, distribution, and consumption of) online meaning making content and how the algorithmically regimented values of popularity, attention economy and political expressions can collaborate in re-emergence of populist discourses.

Unit 6

- KhosraviNik, M. (2019, October). *Populist digital media? Social media systems and the global populist right discourse.* In Public Seminar (Vol. 28).
- KhosraviNik, M. (2017). *Social media critical discourse studies (SM-CDS).* Handbook of critical discourse analysis, 583, 596.

DAY 4

GENDER, RACE AND POPULISM

13:00-15:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Haley McEwen
Moderator: Dr. William Whitworth

Abstract

This session will examine the emergence of 'anti-gender', or 'pro-family' ideology and transnational countermovement building against sexuality and gender related rights. The lecture will trace the historical emergence of the so-called 'pro-family' movement, and show how key concepts and ideologies informing this movement are informed by white supremacist and heteropatriarchal geopolitical interests. The lecture will focus specifically on 'anti-gender'/'profamily' activities in African contexts, but will also highlight some of the movements activities at global scales. The lecture will consider the following questions in its interrogation of the intersections of race, gender, sexuality and geo-politics within 'pro-family' discourse and ideology: What geo-political interests are at stake within anti-gender/pro-family discourses of 'gender' and 'family'? What does anti-gender/pro-family discourse and ideology reveal about the intersections of white supremacy and heteropatriarchy? How does the 'pro-family'/'anti-gender' movement relate to other right-wing populist movements?

Unit 7

• **Corredor, E. S. (2019).** *Unpacking "gender ideology" and the global right's anti gender countermovement.* Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 44(3), 613-638.
• **McEwen, H. (2021).** *Inventing Family: Colonial Knowledge Politics of "Family" and the Coloniality of "Pro-family" Activism in Africa.* Africa Today, 67(4), 30-49.

DIGITAL POPULISM: INTERNET AND FAR-RIGHT

18:00-20:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Eviane Leidig
Moderator: Dr. Roya Imani

Abstract

This talk will present an overview of the role of the Internet in relation to far-right recruitment, radicalization, mobilization, and propaganda. It situates historical and contemporary patterns of far-right communication, ranging from mainstream to fringe digital platforms. In particular, this talk will focus on far-right influencers as a case study to position the mainstreaming of far-right narratives achieved through visuals and discourse. This talk simultaneously explores how far-right online users adapt to the affordances of platforms, doing so in ways to benefit from, while also circumventing, regulation and policies on hate speech. It will conclude by discussing interventions in platform governance as a multi-stakeholder industry, including tech companies, governments, and civil society actors in response to far-right user exploitation of these platforms.

Unit 8

- **Conway, M. (n.d.).** *Right-Wing Extremists' Persistent Online Presence: History and Contemporary Trends.* S.l.: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism.
- **Maly, I. (2018).** *Populism as a mediatized communicative relation: The birth of algorithmic populism.*

DAY 5

ENVIRONMENT AND POPULISM

15:00-17:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Kai Bosworth
Moderator: Dr. Mehmet Soyer

Abstract

How are scholars considering the relationship between populist social movements and the politics of climate change? What are the terrains and spaces through which populism is performed? This talk and discussion consider historic and emergent forms of "populist environmentalism" from a performative, social movement perspective (e.g., Marino 2018, Ostiguy, Panizza, and Moffitt 2021). First, I distinguish the populist constructions of "the people" that social movements produce from the popular analyses of political scientists of "populist leaders." Next, I examine case studies of progressive climate and environmental activism which attempts to produce a pluralistic, transnational people. I examine the promise and pitfalls of such movements, and how they sometimes understand themselves as "populist." Finally, I query why we must understand "populist environmentalisms" in relation to other forms of environmental ideology.

Unit 9

- Lizotte, C. (January 01, 2019). *Where are the people? Refocusing political geography on populism*. Political Geography, 71, 139-141.
- Bosworth, K. (November 01, 2020). *The People's Climate March: Environmental populism as political genre*. Political Geography, 83.

RADICALISATION AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM

18:00-20:00 CET

Speaker: Dr. Daniela Pisoiu
Moderator: Dr. Erkan Toguslu

Abstract

The session introduces the definitions of and differentiations between radicalism, radicalization, extremism and fundamentalism, as well as the main approaches to explaining radicalization processes. Pursuant to this we will discuss some recent developments as they relate to populism and including the influence of the pandemic.

Speaker Bios

Anthoula Malkopoulou is a tenured Senior Lecturer in Political Theory at Lund University and Adjunct Professor at both Uppsala and Jyväskylä Universities. She has been a Princeton University Seeger Fellow and an Erik Allard Fellow at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study. Her research interests lie at the intersection of democratic theory, history of political thought and electoral politics. Malkopoulou is a recognizable voice in democratic theory, especially in the fields of 'democratic self-defense' and 'compulsory voting'. She has authored The History of Compulsory Voting in Europe (Routledge, 2015) and co-edited among others Militant Democracy and its Critics (Edinburgh University Press 2019). Her articles have appeared in journals such as International Political Science Review, European Constitutional Law Review and History of European Ideas.

Steven M. Van Hauwaert is currently an Assistant Professor (Lecturer) in Comparative Politics at the University of Surrey. His main research fields are comparative political behaviour and public opinion, particularly in Western Europe but also in Latin America. He is the principal investigator of the Global Public Opinions Project and a team leader for Team Populism. His specific interests include public opinion, responsiveness, congruence, executive approval and macro-politics. He also studies populism and political extremism.

Tsveta Petrova is a Lecturer in the Discipline of Political Science at Columbia University. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Cornell University in 2011 and then held post-doctoral positions at Harvard University and Columbia University. Her research focuses on democracy, democratization, and democracy promotion. Dr. Petrova's book on democracy export by new democracies, From Solidarity to Geopolitics, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2014 and her articles have appeared in Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Democracy, Government and Opposition, Europe-Asia Studies, East European Politics & Societies, Review of International Affairs, and Foreign Policy among others. Her research has been supported by the European Commission, the US Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Council for European Studies, Smith Richardson Foundation, and IREX. She further serves a Series Editor for the Memory Politics and Transitional Justice collection at Palgrave-Mcmillan as well as a Scholar with the Rising Democracies Network at the Carnegie Endowment and an Advisor to the Nations in Transit Program at the Freedom House.

Daphne Halikiopoulou (PhD LSE) is Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Reading. She is interested in party politics and voting behavior with a focus on the far right, populism and nationalism in Europe. She is the author of The Golden Dawn's 'Nationalist Solution': explaining the rise of the far right in Greece (with Sofia Vasilopoulou) and numerous articles on European far right parties. Her research appears in the European Journal of Political Research, West European Politics, Journal of Common Market Studies, European Political Science Review, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Government and Opposition and Nations and Nationalism among others. Her article 'Risks, Costs and Labour Markets: Explaining Cross-National Patterns of Far Right Party Success in European Parliament Elections' (with Tim Vlandas) has been awarded Best Paper from the American Political Science Association (APSA). She is joint Editor-in-Chief of the journal Nations and Nationalism and co-editor of the Springer book series in Electoral Politics.

Majid KhosraviNik is a Senior Lecturer in Digital Media & Discourse Studies at Newcastle University, UK. He is interested in the intersection of social media technologies, discourse, and politics. Working through a Social Media CDS understanding, Majid's work includes the theorisation, characterisation, and adaptation of Critical Discourse Studies on a range of topics, e.g., digital (national/ gender/ ideological) identity, digital populism, immigration/ nationalism, political communication etc. Majid is a founder and convenor of the Newcastle Critical Discourse Group and sits on the board of the Journal of Language and Politics and Critical Discourse Studies, as well as serving as an Expert Reviewer for ERC actions, including Marie Curie IF, Combating Digital Misogyny, Islamophobia and Racism, British ESRC and several other international research funding organisations. His most recent work pertains to the integration of analysis of technology and discourse under the notion of Techno-Discursive Analysis as a model for the critical analysis of digital discourse formation and perception (KhosraviNik, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020).

Jocelyne Cesari holds the Chair of Religion and Politics at the University of Birmingham, United Kingdom; at Georgetown University she is a senior fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs. Since 2018, she has been the T. J. Dermot Dunphy Visiting Professor of Religion, Violence, and Peacebuilding at Harvard Divinity School. President elect of the European Academy of Religion (2018-19), her work on religion and politics has garnered recognition and awards: 2020 Distinguished Scholar of the religion section of the International Studies Association, Distinguished Fellow of the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs and the Royal Society for Arts in the United Kingdom. Her most recent publications are: What is Political Islam? (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2018 book award of the International Studies Association); Islam, Gender and Democracy in a Comparative Perspective (Oxford University Press, 2017), co-authored with Jose Casanova. Her upcoming book, We God's people: Political Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in the World of Nations (Cambridge University Press)

Haley McEwen (PhD, Sociology) is Senior Researcher at the Wits Centre for Diversity Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. She is an expert on the 'pro-family' countermovement against LGBTIQ+ rights, reproductive justice, Gender Studies, and Comprehensive Sexuality Education, specifically in African contexts. Haley has published her research in several peer-reviewed journals including Ethnic and Racial Studies and Development Southern Africa, and has also written popular articles featured by Open Democracy, The Conversation Africa, and Fair Observer, and others. She is a nationally rated researcher in South Africa, and holds a Senior Fellowship at the Center for Analysis of the Radical Right. Haley is also Associate Editor of the International Journal of Critical Diversity Studies.

Eviane Leidig is a Research Fellow at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT) in The Hague, Netherlands, and an affiliate at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo. Her expertise includes the far-right, gender, and online radicalization, recruitment, and propaganda. During her PhD, she was a VOX-Pol sponsored visiting researcher at the Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford, and a visiting scholar in the department of Media, Culture, and Communication at New York University. In addition to academic pursuits, she serves as Head of Policy at the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right, as well as an Associate Fellow at the Global Network on Extremism & Technology. She regularly gives talks and consults for the U.S. State Department, European Commission, national and regional intelligence agencies, and the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism (GIFCT). For more see her website at evianeleidig.com.

Kai Bosworth is assistant professor of International Studies in the School of World Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University. He is the author of the forthcoming book Pipeline Populism: Affective Infrastructures of Grassroots Environmentalism in the 21st Century.

Daniela Pisoiu is Senior Researcher at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs and Lecturer at the University of Vienna. Her work is focused on Islamist and far-right radicalization, terrorism and extremism in Europe, in particular Austria and Germany. She is author of several books and journal articles on these topics and member of the Radicalization Awareness Network Editorial Board.