
Monday, 19 August 2019

Panel Session 1, 11:00-12:30

1-1 Populism and representation: “elites” vs. “the people”

Papers: Calvin Duggan (University of Amsterdam)

Reconfiguring Representation: A Material-Discursive Analysis of the Cancelled Brexit Vote.

Abstract: Following the work of Nico Carpentier (2017), this paper aims to place the Essex School of Discourse Analysis into conversation with the work of New Materialist and Posthumanist thinkers. However, rather than beginning with the Essex School and working towards New Materialism, as Carpentier does, this approach instead utilises the method of diffraction, as advanced by Karen Barad, reading the two theoretical positions through each other in a non-hierarchical manner. What arises from this analytical conversation is a performative account of the ways in which meaning comes to matter, and matter comes to mean, all the while attempting to privilege neither the material nor the discursive. More concretely, this contribution entails the analysis of populist Brexit discourses within the realm of formal politics, but also how these relate to, rely on and inform—but also differ from—the populisms of the media and the ‘people.’ The material-discursive performative account developed here produces a new mode of understanding the role of representation, a concept which concerns Laclau and Mouffe’s work as much as it does Barad’s. How might this new approach renew our understanding and analyses of the representation of the public will in both the political theatre and the media? This paper posits that Brexit is an exemplary moment in which to interrogate this relationship, doing so through a comparative close analysis of discourses in the House of Commons, the media, and by the ‘people,’ all in relation to the same moment: the failure in December 2018 to have a ‘meaningful vote’ in Parliament on Theresa May’s Brexit deal—that is, a parliamentary vote on the withdrawal agreement and framework for the future relationship between the UK and the EU.

Vesa Heikkinen (University of Helsinki)

Politics as Change or Preservation – A case of Experts against Citizens?

Abstract: During the 2016 discussion on Brexit the British justice minister Michael Gove asserted that ‘the people in this country have had enough of experts’. Appearing on television as part of the Leave campaign, the justice minister refused to name economists who were in favour of leaving the European Union, adding later that he did not ask the people to trust him in the matter, but to trust themselves. While making no attempt to analyse Brexit as such from any perspective, this paper will use as its starting point the basic premise outlined by Leo Strauss: All political action aims at either change or preservation – preservation insofar as one wants to keep that which is good lest it deteriorate; and change insofar as one wants to bring about something better than the current status quo. While neither direction is as such superior

to the other, the distinction between them often marks the line between global elites and the democratic masses.

This paper will attempt to defend the argument that experts as political decision-makers may unduly favour change – or reform – as political action, whereas citizens are still more likely to lean towards *sensus communis*, or the established common sense of a political community. Following the work of Strauss, among others, this argument will pit together two distinct spheres of political knowledge: 1) technocratic view of infinite scientific progress (exemplified by Auguste Comte and his positivism), and 2) a democratic view of civic society founded on existing tradition and norms (exemplified by classic republican thinkers such as Aristotle).

The resulting argument is one which claims that the political decision between change and preservation tends to take a different form depending on the party making it – whether technocratic or democratic – due to the fact that the nature of the knowledge consulted differs among the two. As will be elaborated in the paper, the “measuring stick” is different: for the technocrat it is constantly renewing itself as befits the nature of scientific progress, and for the citizen it is stable, due to its origin in the established common sense.

Sara Garcia Santamaria (University of Pennsylvania)

Ricardo Lessa Filho (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco)

Posing with the People: Food Porn and the Far-Right in a Post-Truth Era.

Abstract: This paper explores the ideological use of food-as-class and food-as-nation in the official Instagram accounts of Brazil’s president, Jair Bolsonaro, and Italy’s prime minister, Matteo Salvini. Far from food porn and trendy foodies, or concerns for healthy eating and local farming, these leaders appear on Instagram surrounded by simple food. We argue that far-right politicians use popular food as means of a bottom-up rebellion against the expert, snobbish and gourmet food culture of the traditional elite. Inserted in the post-truth era of political posing, Salvini and Bolsonaro come to embody the properties of the food they pose with. In doing so, they create an emotional appeal to the food imaginaries of the common people, which they claim to represent.

As social media become a key piece in the unmediated communication between far right leaders and their audience, the importance of understanding their political communication strategies becomes more striking. To which extent has the foodie culture imposed itself as an unalienable part of political communication in the digital era? How does posing with food on Instagram intersect with far-right online communication strategies in a post-truth era? These questions are essential for understanding the way representations of food intersect with concrete performances of national and class identity.

Posing as a gourmand, Salvini uses his Instagram account as means for asserting the symbolic power of food-as-nation, presenting himself as the savior of the ‘made in Italy’. Posing as an abstainer, Bolsonaro approaches food-as-class, using canteen food as a way of sharing the socioeconomic struggles of the masses. Based on content and discourse analysis, the paper explores the way in which far-right leaders share images of food as a political communication tool which emotionally connects them with the common people, shaping people’s identity to their own political advantage.

1-2 The role of emotions in election campaigns

Papers: Sara Tafakori (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The affective and the popular: economic sanctions, Iran's presidential election, and the emergence of the 'compassionate state'.

Abstract: This paper examines the ways in which emotions were discursively mobilized and circulated during and after the Iranian presidential campaign of Hassan Rouhani in 2013 and 2016, focusing particularly on its resonances on social media, especially Facebook and Twitter. I explore how Hassan Rouhani's campaign foregrounded an affective mode of compassion for the national 'pain', as a consequence of economic sanctions on Iran, that ordinary citizens felt was unacknowledged by both local (Iranian) and global (Western) powers. Within this framework, the campaign's focus on 'ending the misery' - referring to the harsh US- and UN-imposed sanctions on Iran (commonly called 'Western sanctions' by Iranians) - deployed particular emotional repertoires around what was felt to be the body of the suffering nation, and hence mobilized a rather unique oppositional politics. I argue that Rouhani's discursive and performative acknowledgement of this 'pain' generated an affective space for new fantasies about the nation, within which there emerged novel modes of understanding of self and other.

I contend that these affective-discursive formations should be understood in a transnational framework, in terms of the differential allocation of empathy (Pedwell, 2014) and of grievability (Butler, 2004, 2009), where some bodies are deemed more grievable and hence more deserving of empathy than others. My approach here departs from previous analyses of Middle Eastern social media case studies, which have frequently adopted a binary framework of people vs. regime, or modernization vs. tradition; it instead investigates forms of intimate complicity between publics and politicians, adapting aspects of the cultural historian Lauren Berlant's framework for analysing populism in the US.

Olga A. Baysha (N. R. U. Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

"The Public Servant": On the Role of Humor in the Populist Anti-Establishment Mobilization in the Ukraine of 2019.

Abstract: Employing Ernesto Laclau's theory of populism, this paper analyzes the discourse of the Ukrainian Maidan - the Ukrainian revolution of 2014 - and the counter-discourse of a post-Maidan populist mobilization during the presidential elections of 2019.

The hegemonic discourse of the Maidan presented its supporters as an impossible totality of the Ukrainian nation and those holding anti-Maidan views as "non-Ukrainians." Despite the fact that the vast majority of Maidan opponents were against the "coup d'etat" but not in favor of joining Russia, post-Maidan officials labeled the anti-Maidan movement in the east of Ukraine "separatist" and anti-Maidan combatants "terrorists." Instead of negotiations, on which the people of Donbass (an eastern region where the anti-Maidan resistance radicalized into an armed insurgency) counted, an "anti-terrorist" military operation (ATO) was launched.

After five years of the Maidan rule, the repressed has returned. This has found its reflection in the defeat of Ukraine's post-Maidan President Poroshenko and the victory of his rival, the comedian Zelensky, a 41-year-old native of Krivbas, an eastern Ukrainian region. Many observers believe that Zelensky's unexpected political success was conditioned by the success of his humoristic television series "The Public Servant," in which he played an ordinary schoolteacher who had been elected president. The series ridiculed the political establishment of Ukraine and showed how corruption could be defeated and the divided country united. Analyzing the construction of the "Ukrainian people" by the Maidan hegemonic discourse (464 blogs and 13

speeches) and by the populist discourse of “The Public Servant” (24 series), this paper discusses the role of emotions and humor in the defeat of the post-Maidan political power and Zelensky’s success.¹

Balázs Kiss (Hungarian Academy of Science)

Dramatic and Postdramatic: Strategies of Emotion Management.

Abstract: In every definition of populism, the appeal by the politicians to the “people” is central. The appeal may take diverse forms. Politicians talk directly to the people and criticise the elite, promise protection against minority groups, e.g., immigrants etc. But they often also apply a specific emotional strategy: in political communication and behaviour, they use the emotional patterns elaborated and spread by popular culture, that is, by the cultural products consumed by the “people” most. Popular culture is permeated with emotions, e.g., blockbusters use specific emotional dynamics to grab the audience and keep it under continuous effect. The consumption of popular culture obviously leads to the emergence and strengthening of popular sensibilities that should be taken into account by politicians striving to win the “people”.

Emotions may be raised in several ways. So far two have become used in popular culture: dramatic and postdramatic. Dramatic is described and prescribed for theatre by Aristotle first. The spectacle should be structured in a way that emotions are building all along and at the peak they are “purged”; electoral campaigns may be a political parallel. The concept of postdramatic theatre was introduced by Hans-Thies Lehmann in the nineties. That is another way of emotion management: it works not through one coherent well-structured story/narrative but exerts a series of emotional impulses upon the audience.

The thesis of the paper I would like to send beforehand and present at the workshop is that populist politicians have learnt to use not only the dramatic but the postdramatic emotion management as well, and the more smoothly they use both, the more successful they have been so far. I will illustrate the thesis by some examples from Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s political behaviour, and also from that of US President Donald Trump.

1-3 Echo-chambers, big data and protest

Papers: Alexandra Cotofana (Butler University)

#REZIST. Romanian Digital Protests and Lessons in Imagined Liberalism.

Abstract: In January and February of 2017, Romania experienced some of the most numerous online and street manifestations since 1989. Close to half a million people in Bucharest and more in other cities across the country occupied the streets, protesting against a bill that the government was attempting to pass. The bill had the potential to decriminalize acts of corruption committed by state administrators. While there is much to be applauded about the Romanian protests that took place at the beginning of 2017, the media did not elaborate on many of the discursive aspects, and failed to explain the historical milieu, otherwise vital to understanding the complexity of the protests. The national press mostly focused on taking sides, while the international press focused on highlighting the stark difference between the corrupt state apparatus on the one hand, and the citizens’ intent on enforcing the rule of law, on the other hand. Yet this black and white portrayal leaves much

¹ At the moment I write this paper, the preliminary results of the elections are only known, but opinion polls predict Zelensky’s victory.

to be desired for the scholarly community at large, and cannot explain the presence of fascist, anti-Semitic, and racist slogans chanted by some of the protesters.

The talk examines the effects of right-wing digital militarism and discriminating data by discussing recent events in Romania and elsewhere. The piece questions the concepts of 'protest' and 'civil society', that are internationally acclaimed as beacons of democracy, together with their digital lives. Despite online spaces, protests, and the civil society all being associated with the imagined singular progress of modernity, I argue that their intersection creates a digital subterfuge for discrimination algorithms and the proliferation of fake news. Furthermore, topically, the critical analysis of discourses and politics of the occult creates alternative data literacies, that can help us understand the ways in which online echo-chambers are proliferated.

Hande Eslen-Ziya (University of Stavanger)

From anger to solidarity: The emotional echo-chamber of Gezi Park Protests.

Abstract: By using Gezi park protests that took place in Turkey in 2013 as a case study the paper explores the significance of echo-chamber of emotions involved in protests. The analyses will be composed of thirty-seven interviews conducted with activists on how they define and understand their preferences and motivations for protesting. The paper will discuss how participants get influenced by beliefs, motives and opinions and will bring forth the changes of emotions during such process. By employing social constructionist approaches to emotions, the paper will discuss three socialization processes: (1) views drawing on the emotional template of Gezi Spirit; (2) belonging – forming intense affective ties within the social movement in action; and (3) reconciliation—staging expressive public rituals of reconciliation between groups that previously had opposite interests and help create an emotional echo-chamber.

Derya Gül Ünlü (Istanbul University)

How Do We Express Our Digital Emotions?: Reviewing Emoji Use Trends from Gender Perspective.

Abstract: With the popularization of digital communication tools, individuals have started to take part in digital media more, which increased their involvement in various visual and written digital communication process. The chance individuals obtain to send visual and written messages to each other in a fast way brought along changes in the ways conventional written language is used. Today, individuals can convey their ideas or mood to the other party by sending various visual messages easily. Emojis are the most prominent tools among these visual messages. Emojis represent an important cultural development that takes place in language towards a more visual communication, and provide an opportunity to convey messages in a more creative way (Şener & Atar, 2017; 199). On the other hand, many researches reveal the fact that there is a gender based differentiation between women and men's manner of speaking according to gender role expectations (Cameron, 1994; Fishman, 1978; Lakoff; 1973; Spender, 1980; West, 1984). Considered in this context, it is important to determine whether there is also a gender based differentiation between the ways women and men use emojis. With this purpose, the research aims to determine whether there is a difference between women and men in the ways they express their digital emotions according to gender expectations by means of a questionnaire based field research. It is considered that the study will be important in terms of addressing individuals' emoji use tendencies from a feminist perspective.

1-4 Media and the “post-truth” era

Papers: Krisztián Szabados (Corvinus University of Budapest)

Populism and Anti-Science Politics: A New Analytical Framework.

Abstract: Recent changes in politics mark the dawn of a new era of the “post-truth” world. This post-truth world is being advanced globally by a new breed of populist leaders. The rise of populism has sparked fierce debate about the role of science, scientific evidence and scientists in society. Societies are embattled by the flood of fake news, and scientific misinformation, the spread of pseudoscience and science denialism further strengthen the ubiquitous sentiment of uncertainty and distrust in the public. Populist politicians encounter a growing demand for such ideas among their voters, further exacerbating the political polarization. The main research question this paper intends to answer is whether anti-science politics is an intrinsic part of the populist toolkit. To do so, it will propose a new, extended definition of anti-science politics as well as suggesting a novel analytical framework that may allow for a more precise examination of the topic. First, this paper will present the comparative empirical analysis of anti-science politics in the U.S., Russia, Turkey and Hungary utilizing the definition and set of criteria put forward by Amend and Barney (2016). Second, this paper will argue why this definition needs to be revised following the recent anti-science developments in emblematic populist regimes such as Russia and Hungary. A novel analytical framework will be presented that reveals the subtle but all the more damaging instruments that populist regimes employ in pursuit of their anti-science politics. The paper will conclude by arguing that populism and anti-science are closely linked, populist regimes utilize anti-science politics to an increasing degree, but variations exist.

Tales Tomaz (Universität Salzburg)

Media monitoring from a post-foundational ontology.

Abstract: This text addresses the question on how to think media monitoring beyond a functionalist, consensual understanding of society. In media studies, and more specifically in media policy studies, the media have been regarded as a pillar of the good (and this means democratic) functioning of society. But for fulfilling this role, they have to be monitored (Trappel, Nieminen, Lord 2011). Such an understanding relies mostly on a consensual understanding of the social according to which society is a more or less functional organism that will work well if all its parts carry out their functions. Although this has been a widespread understanding of social and political order, there are perspectives, like Laclau’s and Mouffe’s post-consensual (or post-foundational) approach, that draw on the increasing awareness of the undecidability underlying social order to negate the possibility of reaching a transcendental ground of the society (Marchart 2007). From this perspective, it cannot be affirmed that the media play a role to social welfare, because any welfare will be a specific order that will generate its own exclusions, rendering impossible a consensual arrange of its several “functions.” Then, media monitoring might seem an impossible and/or useless enterprise. This text argues, however, that it is both possible and useful—in the sense of importance—to monitor the media from a post-foundational perspective. Although a full closure of the social order is impossible, there are always partial closures, i.e. hegemony, and the media, as social instances, contribute to them. But to be true to its premises, a post-consensual perspective cannot accept normative critique (Marttila & Gengnagel 2015). As a critical activity, media monitoring should be seen less as measuring the (in)adequacy of the media regarding a desirable social-political order and more as identifying inconsistencies between developments in the media and their alleged democratic premises.

Joonas Koivukoski (University of Helsinki)

Verbal Humor in Populist Discourse – Jab Lines in Timo Soini’s Journey from Margin to Minister

Abstract: Politicians and parties identified as populists have gained notable success in the recent years in Europe and the Americas. Together with other contextual factors, emotional identification and expressive language by populist leaders are essential to this rising. Some studies have already hinted that humor plays a part in constructing populist antagonisms and appeal towards a populist leader. However, a systematic take on the topic remains to be covered. Beginning to address this gap, I integrate discursive research on populism and humor and argue that in theory “populist humor” is any humor that supports populist people-centrist and anti-elitist framing. Based on a qualitative content analysis of 200 blog posts from different phases between 2007 and 2019 by the most famous populist politician in Finland, Timo Soini, I show how populist framing and verbal humor are often combined in antagonistic forms of colorful ridicule that attack various ‘corrupt elites’. Soini’s style of delivery is described as aphoristic containing short declaratory sentences with comparisons, metaphors, hyperbole, neologisms, wordplay, irony, vernacular language, and allusions in different combinations that support his impression management and political narrative. Overall, my thesis suggests a new characteristic to populist performance – humor – and invites other researcher to scrutinize this dimension in other contexts as well.

Panel Session 2, 13:30-15:00

2-1 Hybrid Media and Political Engagement

Papers: Maxim Alyukov (University of Tyumen/University of Helsinki)

TV and the Internet as Hybrid Media System: Cognitive Ecology and Russian TV Viewers’ Political Information Processing During Russia-Ukraine Conflict.

Abstract: Recently, a number of scholars have proposed the idea that contemporary media should be considered as hybrid systems. Instead of opposing older and newer media, it might more useful to look at how older and newer media logics clash, interact, adapt to each other, and form hybrid media spaces at political, economic, and institutional levels. Based on focus groups with Russian TV viewers, I investigate how citizens process political information about Russia-Ukraine conflict. Instead of analyzing hybrid media system at political, economic, and institutional levels, I look at how older and newer media form a shared cognitive ecology for the consumer. I find that more politically involved focus group participants tend to use the Internet to look for information confirming their views which is consistent with the research on selective exposure, confirmation bias, and polarization. Less politically involved focus group participants tend to use the Internet to complement TV news; they search additional information once the agenda is set by TV news or rely on news aggregators which are a part of Russian media ecology biased in favor of Kremlin’s line. For these participants, the reliance on TV and news aggregators serve a filtering function and create another type of bias: psychological amplification of bias of TV news. Unlike those scholars who emphasize the potential of the Internet in expanding media diets, I show its impact is very uneven: older and newer media form complicated hybrid patterns of information seeking and processing.

Dolors Palau Sampio (University of Valencia)

The emergence of a populist radical right in Spain: Capitalising dissatisfaction and emotion in a polarised hybrid media context.

Abstract: After decades of residual presence of radical right parties in Spain (Montero, 1987; Casals, 2000), the emergence of Vox –the party entered the regional parliament of Andalusia and it is expected to achieve the same in the Spanish Parliament, after having obtained only 0.5 of the votes in 2016– evidences the avoidance of stigma -linked to dictatorship- and the capitalisation of social discontent (Dennison & Mendes, 2019). However, the phenomenon is framed in a particular context that, in contrast to the neocon movement in the past decade (Aguilar, 2007; Carmona, García & Sánchez, 2012) –stirred against the social policies implemented by the government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero–, has found a fertile breeding ground to flourish in a disrupted public sphere (Bennet & Pletsch, 2018).

The main aim of this paper is to analyse which factors have made possible the rise of Vox and their entry on the Spanish party system arena in the current environment. Firstly, an increasingly polarised political system (Stroud, 2010), which has experienced the emergence of a splinter from a mainstream right party –Vox founder Santiago Abascal was until 2014 member of the Popular Party– (Dennison & Mendes, 2019). Secondly, a populist discourse (Laclau, 1985) enabled by an increased salience of immigration, the defence of the unity of Spain and traditional family or the opposition to the gender violence law (El País, 2018). And thistly, a hybrid media context in which Vox has known how to disseminate its message on social networks and right-wing digital media alternative to mainstream. In fact, its strategy is based on avoiding and demonizing the last. Meanwhile, Vox contributes to an emotional and selective exposure (Guess, Nyhan & Reifler, 2018), by means of WhatsApp groups and a skilled management of Instagram, that contributes to reinforce the presence of the leader.

Ilana Hartikainen (University of Helsinki)

Celebrity Populist Success in Hybrid Media Systems: The Czech Case.

Abstract: There's little disagreement over the fact that mastery over the media system can be an important tool in a populist politician's arsenal. As populism has become more and more prevalent in Europe and across the globe in the last decades, however, media systems, rather than remaining constant, have morphed entirely to become the hybrid media systems we exist in now, which combine traditional mass forms of media with online media and Web 2.0, the social media platforms that many populist leaders have used so effectively to communicate directly with their supporters using a personalized approach that completely bypasses the gatekeeping presence of the news media.

Research on the strategies populist leaders utilize within hybrid media systems and how hybrid media systems benefit those populist leaders, however, has lagged behind the development of the hybrid media system itself. A case study of populist growth in the Czech Republic, however, provides a unique opportunity delve into these questions. In 2010, a populist party crossed the parliamentary threshold for only the second time in the country's history; by 2017, two different populist parties controlled half of the seats in the House of Deputies, with one, ANO, more than tripling any other party's representation. The leaders of both of these parties, Andrej Babiš and Tomio Okamura, both entered politics as celebrities, effectively translating celebrity into political capital to lead two very different successful populist parties.

What can the success of these two celebrity populist actors reveal about the opportunities that the hybrid media system opens for the political communication style of this type of politician? How can we use the case

study of the Czech Republic between 2010 and 2017 to expand on our understanding of fandom culture, populist politics, and how these intersect in the hybrid media system?

2-2 Concepts and theory of affect: *ressentiment* and joy

Papers: Matthias Lorenz (University of Vienna)

Spinoza's Theory of Affect in recent debates on Populism and Political Subjectivity.

Abstract: In my paper I discuss recent theoretical debates on Spinoza's theory of affect in postfoundational theories of populism. Post-foundational and deconstructive theories of the political did generally not refer positively to Spinoza as a prominent point of reference – neither Spinoza's ontology of immanence nor his political thoughts were highly regarded. On the contrary postfoundational theory of the political developed many of its key concepts against Spinozist concepts. For example in the deconstructivist critique of Althusser's Spinozist understanding of causality and the relation of over-determination and determination in the last instance, the general critique of rationalism as well as the critique of the 'sociologist' post-operaist concept of multitude as antithesis against the political and hegemonic concept of the 'people'. Apparently though in recent texts a certain appropriation and positive reference towards Spinoza takes place. Mouffe affirmatively discusses Spinoza's theory of affect in regard to psychoanalytical theories of theories of identification where she emphasizes the significance of an articulation of the affective and the discursive for an understanding of the constituting of (collective) political subjectivity, populism in particular, as well as for a theory of political actions and praxis. Marchart proposes to develop a 'political affectology' based on post-Marxist and Spinozist approaches.

Following these recent debates, I discuss the significant potential the Spinozist theory of affect may hold for contemporary theories of populism and political mobilization. Thereby I refer particularly to Spinoza's reflections on (the political implications of the) popularization of divine revelation in the chapters on prophecy and the prophets in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and his defence of human affects against the contempt of certain philosophers in the third part of his *Ethics*. I thereby focus on the activation affects of joy. They are not passive towards the world, but determine rational knowledge of their causal structure as well as a consequence thereof an enhancement of the *potentia agendi*.

In respect to Marchart and Mouffe I want to elaborate on the question of the significance of the Spinozist difference between positive/active and negative/passive affects for a postfoundational theory of the social and a post-Marxist theory of populism. Thereby I take the risk of re-approaching some rationalist Spinozist ideas. I also bring up the question whether and if so how Spinoza's affects of joy can be understood as essential features or qualities of progressive or emancipative types of populist / political mobilization?

Luis Gabriel Rojas (National Autonomous University of Mexico)

Ernesto Laclau's populism: binding popular demands with resentment?

Abstract: Most of the warnings about populism are disproportionate. Yet, there are elements that cross the populist reason which are actually problematic. Take, for example, some affective dispositions and dynamics that are employed to articulate the populist subjectivity, such as the impossibility of fullness and the drive to fullness which tend to be turned into resentment i.e. fear and hatred of difference and disagreement. Poststructuralist thinkers concur that fear and hatred of difference is the source of oppression and social

exclusion in political regimes, such as fascism, liberalism, pluralism and democracy (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Rorty, 1989; Connolly, 1988, 1991, and 1994; Mouffe, 1994). These affective dispositions are remarkably criticized in extreme-right populisms, but remain unquestioned in leftist populism. In this paper, I employ Ernesto Laclau's (1990) analysis of the structure of the myth to critically analyse the structure of the populist reason (Laclau 2005).

This article concludes that the relations between the heterogeneous elements and the underdogs are mediated by hatred to a common enemy and love to the leader, rather than through direct links of solidarity, as Laclau's political project expects. Yet, a populism that binds heterogeneous elements through solidarity is possible. To this end, it is necessary to draw on techniques of cultivation of civic virtues and to rechannel the emotions produced by the experience of impossibility of fullness and the constitutive outside.

Tereza Capelos (University of Birmingham)

Mikko Salmela (University of Helsinki)

Ressentiment – A Complex Emotion or An Emotional Mechanism?

Abstract: Ressentiment is perhaps *the* political emotion of our turbulent times as it has been identified behind support of both right-wing and reactionist populism and extremism as well as Islamic fundamentalism and radicalism (e.g. Salmela & von Scheve 2017; Capelos & Demertzis 2018; Langman & Morris 2003). Ressentiment transforms negative emotions and feelings targeting the vulnerable self towards generic Others. However, there are several open questions about ressentiment. (1) What is ressentiment: a complex emotion, or an emotional mechanism – or both? (2) What emotions constitute or drive ressentiment; and what emotions are its outcomes? (3) What is the role of social sharing of emotions in ressentiment? In this presentation, we seek to make theoretical headway towards an empirically testable social scientific theory of ressentiment that integrates two independent traditions in the research of this phenomenon: the classic philosophical tradition of Nietzsche (1884) and Scheler (1915) with its contemporary proponents that highlight envy as the prime driver of ressentiment, and the sociological approach of Scheff (1994) and Turner (2007) that focuses on the repression and transmutation of shame and its social consequences. We argue that envy and shame, possibly together as entangled emotions that oscillate depending on the framing of the situation as focusing either on one's rival's possession of a coveted good, or on one's own inferiority or weakness in achieving the good, are drivers of ressentiment as an emotional mechanism of repression and transmutation, whereas anger, helpless resentment or indignation (TenHouten 2018), and hatred, reinforced by social sharing, are its outcomes.

2-3 Authoritarianism, populism and conflict

Papers: Aydin Atilgan (Near East University, Cyprus)

Conservative and Authoritarian Populism in Turkey: Populist Dual State of 21st Century.

Abstract: Turkey has recently been one of the habitats of current authoritarian populist turn and democratic backsliding. Apart from the dividedness that characterizes the Turkish society, this regression also has to do with the state formation and the legal culture in Turkey. Contemporary Turkey is marked by two parallel states and legal systems. Borrowing from Ernst Fraenkel who coined the term "Dual State," one is the constitutional (normative) state that is supposed to be western-oriented and democratic, based on the rule of law, and loyal to Turkey's commitments to various transnational organizations, such as the Council of Europe and the European Union. The other one is a "prerogative state" that has eliminated checks and balances and any legal

mechanism to restrain its power, and exercises unlimited arbitrariness to a large extent. Turkish dual state is based on both of these parallel states, and it has arisen as an excellent tool for authoritarian, pragmatic and populist policies of the AKP. This paper will draw attention to the similarities of the recent political and constitutional transformations in Turkey and the German legal and political order of the 1930s as well as distinctive features of dual states of 21st Century, including Russia. It will discuss to what extent the concept of “dual state” can be employed in explaining the present political situation in Turkey. In doing so, it also aims at unveiling the major characteristics of the contemporary authoritarian populism.

Niki Sopanen (University of Helsinki)

Crouching (paper) tiger, hidden (paper) dragon, and the clash of the conspiratorial turn? A post-foundational inquiry into foreign political conspiracy theory discourses in Sino-U.S. relations since the events of Tiananmen.

Abstract: This research paper provides an overview of my doctoral dissertation in progress that deals with foreign political conspiracy theory discourses in Sino-U.S. relations from the events of Tiananmen to the era of Chinese President Xi Jinping and U.S. President Donald Trump. It suggests a hypothesis that there has been a “conspiratorial turn” in Chinese and American foreign policy-related discourses in the current era of the said two great power leaders, who are known for promoting their mutually competitive international policies and strategies abroad and respective populist-nationalist agendas at home. It has followed that the current conspiratorial zeitgeist between US and China has implied some major politico-ideological tensions and reactions. So far, however, conspiratorial dimensions in Sino-U.S. relations have remained an uncharted theme in the field of political science and international relations. On a more general note, as conspiracy theories in western countries have often been framed as “pathologies of post-truth politics”, or as “dislocatory effects of (post)modern alienation, anxieties and disbelief”, their historicity, particularity and politicality have scarcely been touched upon through comparative inquiries. Therefore, against the aforementioned intellectual context, my dissertation wishes to point out that even if the current era of the conspiratorial turn constitutes a clear paradigm change, it also reminds that conspiratorial discourses have always played a role within Sino-U.S. relations, international relations, and politics in general. More specifically, this paper covers the conceptual, contextual and theoretico-methodological framework of the dissertation, in addition to which it sheds light on its case study: i.e. the characteristics of foreign political conspiracy discourse in the speeches and literary works of US and Chinese presidents. Furthermore, the paper presents a self-developed heuristic and Essex school-inspired methodology for recognizing particular and general characteristics in conspiratorial discourses.

Halil Gürhanlı (University of Helsinki)

Anti-Populism in Turkey: Centre-Periphery Model and Its Modernist Roots

Abstract: Şerif Mardin’s centre-periphery model (1973) ‘has dominated the most academic analysis of post-war Turkish politics’ (Hale and Özbudun 2009). Tracing its roots back to Edward Shils (1961; 1975), this paper shows that Mardin also imported a deeply pejorative definition of populism based on modernization theory (Shils 1956; Hofstadter 1955; Lipset 1960; Bell 1963) which—despite being widely discredited (Stavrakakis 2017a)—has hegemonised the term’s meaning in Turkish academia ever since (Sunar 2004; Öniş 2015; Aytaç and Elçi 2019). Trapped in a framework that is fundamentally inept at understanding manifold challenges populism poses for the post-democratic zeitgeist of 21st century (Crouch 2004; Stavrakakis and Jäger 2018), the

mainstream in Turkish politics could only see the governing AKP unidimensionally, either as a harbinger or a destroyer of liberal democracy. Hence the generally accepted wisdom to divide the party's incumbency into an early non-populist (2002-11) and a late populist period (2012-).

Through a critical reading of the AKP's discourse, the paper argues that the party modelled itself initially as "conservative democratic" specifically for the gaze of Mardin's disciples: a harbinger of liberal democracy that would neither impose the centre's will over the periphery as authoritarian Kemalists did nor would it give in to the parochial demands of the periphery like populists, but instead make Turkey a whole by bridging the cleavage in-between. This discursive strategy enable the party to receive widespread support from liberal intelligentsia at home and abroad during that period. But as the authoritarian tenets of AKP's governmentality has come to fore as it pushed harder to achieve that impossible wholeness, so have populism and its derivatives in the scholarly depictions of the party. Erdogan—once-revered 'Nelson Mandela of Turkey's excluded majority'(Yavuz 2003)—is now called the 'sultan' of New Turkey, who got 'intoxicated by his own ascent' and turned 'populist' (Lancaster 2014; Selçuk 2016; Filkins 2013). Contrary to mainstream literature and the party's self-identification, the paper offers an alternative account of the AKP from a Laclauian perspective (Laclau 2005; Stavrakakis 2017b; Marchart 2018). Emphasizing the omnipresence of an antagonistic division between the people and its enemies found at the epicentre of AKP's political discourse throughout its incumbency, the paper concludes that the party has been a consistently populist force from its very foundation.

Panel Session 3, 15:30-17:00

3-1 The importance of media for populist parties and leaders: cases of Romania and Poland

Papers: Ionut-Valentin Chiruta (University of Tartu)

Profiling populism rhetoric in Romania's PSD-ALDE alliance: how populism and 'mogulized' media outlets polarize the society from 2015-2019.

Abstract: From 2015 when the PSD-ALDE alliance won the Parliamentary elections, polarization increased. Since then, attacks on the judiciary and civil society increased sporadically. Spearheaded by two media channels, e.g., Antena 3 and Romania TV that belong to media moguls and convicted criminals, the rhetoric of PSD-ALDE constructed a context of fear and lies both on and off screen among their voters vis-à-vis the judiciary system. Since 2015, several emergency ordinances were proposed to amend the judiciary system, despite critics from the European Institutions and domestic protests. To gain support, PSD-ALDE politicians defend these ordinances that would amend the judiciary in the TV studios. Reinforced by TV-anchors, the rhetoric of PSD-ALDE has been offered salience by TV channels, which is polarizing the Romanian society. How has the populist rhetoric of PSD-ALDE shifted in terms of attacks on the judiciary and civil society groups from 2015 to 2019? What are the driving elements and how are TV-anchors maximizing the fear in the narratives vis-à-vis the judiciary? This paper will present a critical discourse analysis of the favorite shows from Antena 3 and Romania TV in the first week after the disclosure of each emergency ordinances. It will analyze the talking points of the PSD-ALDE politicians and TV-anchors. Secondly, it will analyze the rhetoric employed by the tv-anchors and politicians to determine the populist talking points, i.e., anti-establishment, anti-elite rhetoric, us vs. them. The findings will reveal that PSD-ALDE politicians are using two contexts when attacking

the judiciary. The first speaks of creating consistent patterns in their rhetoric that relate fear vis-à-vis the current judiciary system, and connecting it with the old Securitate institutions. Secondly, they employ a populist anti-establishment rhetoric vis-à-vis the judiciary system, designating the context of a 'parallel state' that is supported by 'foreign powers' like the European institutions.

Beata Królicka (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

Radosław Sojak (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

External pluralism? Political parties' access to radio and television in contemporary Poland (2015-2019).

Abstract: The Polish media consists of a relatively strong public sector which plays an essential role in balancing the overall political system. Since 1989 the public media in Poland has had a wide formal and legal margin of discretion, secure sources of finance and clear mission statements. They have also been, however, subject to governmental influence. Thus after every major political change they become key prize in a political struggle. In 2015 the political scene in Poland saw major changes from what had predominated over the previous eight years. First, Andrzej Duda, a candidate supported by the Law and Justice (PiS), became President, and then PiS won the parliamentary elections. Moreover, for the first time since 1989, one party managed to gain an independent majority, which was followed by worries about media pluralism.

Our analysis aims at answering the question whether Polish public sphere maintained pluralism despite the fact that the public media fell under a strict political guidance. Using daily data on specific party representatives' presences on major TV and radio political broadcasts, spanning over the last 4 years (2015-2019) we measure the relative representation of major political parties. The measurements are interpreted in accordance with the theory of four types of public spheres in modern democracies as formulated by Myra Ferree, William Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. The analysis determines that the general norms of equal access – although violated by individual broadcasters – are preserved on the level of the media system as a whole.

Ruta Kazlauskaitė (University of Helsinki)

Instrumentalization of Shame in Polish Right-Wing Media Coverage of the 2019 European Parliament Elections

Abstract: This paper proposes that shame is key to understanding the appeal of Poland's ruling populist right-wing Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS) party. There are two pillars of shame that underpin the support for the populist right in Poland: (1) the collective shame that originates from the perceived cultural inferiority of Poland in relation to the West/Europe and (2) the individual shame of failing to achieve material prosperity in the context of post-communist transformation of economy. These two types of shame are instrumentalized in the rhetoric of PiS revealing a particular strategy of emotional regulation that, on the one hand, seeks to transform negative self-focused emotions via repressed shame into anger and resentment towards out-groups and, on the other hand, promotes identification with stable ascriptive social identities, based on national culture, religion, and traditional gender roles (Salmela & von Scheve 2017, 2018). On the basis of an analysis of selected articles from a popular Polish right-wing, pro-government media outlet wPolityce.pl, the paper examines how emotions are employed in the mediatized electoral campaign of PiS preceding the 2019 European Parliament (EP) elections.

3-2 Online meaning-making

Papers: Ana Lúcia Migowski (Justus Liebig University)

Memory and Discourse Theory: an analysis of contingent meanings regarding the Brazilian Military Dictatorship on Facebook.

Abstract: This paper presents methodological reflections about the application of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (2001) to the analyses of memory practices regarding the Brazilian Military Dictatorship (1964-85) on Facebook. The transitional justice process in Brazil is fragile, especially considering that little has been done to foster public debate regarding the authoritarian rule until the establishment of a Truth Commission in 2012. In the meantime, different and antagonistic discourses were nurtured without actual public articulation. With the use of social media, especially Facebook, discursive "articulations" (ibid.) became more visible and allowed for the analysis of associations between the "signifier" dictatorship, "elements" (narratives, symbols, images, stories, testimony), and "subjects positions" (how interlocutors present themselves and interact). These articulations of different ways of representing the dictatorship prompted controversies and agonistic struggles (Mouffe 2005) over the stabilization of meaning regarding the event. Such processes are inherent to political conflicts, as well as to the socialization of memory (Zerubavel, 1996), particularly when it comes to the phenomenon called "mnemonic battles" that are "fought between and within mnemonic communities over the social legacy of the past." (ibid.) With Laclau and Mouffe's political discourse theory, I could analyze nodal points temporarily stabilized through practices and statements of those engaged in polarized discursive elaborations regarding the dictatorship. In dialogue with Molden's "Mnemonic hegemonic theory" (2016, 130), I address the role played by affects (nostalgic, traumatic and ideological attachments to the historical event) and material aspects (the platform Facebook and its appropriations) (Carpentier 2017; Dijck 2007) that underlie contemporary discursive conditions of possibility (Laclau and Mouffe 2001, 143), their political and mnemonic outcomes.

Jussi Pakkasvirta (University of Helsinki)

The re-shaping of Finnish Populism, 2010-2019.

Abstract: During the last decades, the Finnish political system had been dominated by the Social Democratic Party, the Centre Party, and the National Coalition party. In the parliamentary election of 2015, this habitual political triangle was shaken by the one and only genuinely populist political party, the Finns Party. The party received 17.7% of the votes, making it the second largest party in the Finnish multiparty system. The Finns Party entered into the government in coalition with the Centre Party and the National Coalition party. This new role induced many changes in the Finns Party tactics. Their participation in the government also created platform for a more radical right-wing inside the party, and finally the party split during the summer 2017. The consequence of the split resulted in a new type of Finns Party, which resembles to right-wing populist parties in Sweden (Sweden Democrats) and in Germany (Alternative for Germany).

Maarit Pedak (University of Helsinki)

Risk communication in a populist era. Anti-vaccine -topic and the threat of measles epidemic in Finland.

Abstract: Measles is a highly contagious illness with incubation period of up to 21 days. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), at least 95 percent of a population must be vaccinated to establish so-called herd immunity against this potentially fatal illness. Although there is broad consensus among majority of parents that childhood vaccination is efficient public health intervention, there is uncertainty how public health officials can effectively communicate with parents against to vaccines.

Medical populism may lay behind the decreasing effectiveness of national vaccination program and the parents' reluctance to vaccinate their children. Anti-vaccine topic and political populism are driven by similar dynamics: a deep mistrust in elites and experts. Risk communication scholars face a whole range of new problems when populist attacks dominate the communication environment and the level of distrust and cynicism is high. While public health risk communication is based on technocratic responses that tries to soothe anxieties of a public, medical populism thrives by politicising, simplifying, and spectacularising complex public health issues.

In Finland a pre-school child contracted the measles virus abroad and an epidemic could break out in small village where only 75 per cent of children have received the measles vaccine. The anti-vaccine topic became a vivid discussion in social media. 108 Tweets #antivaccine (#rokotevastaisuus) were analyzed and four different solutions for public health risk communication was found. The conclusion is that the wicked problem of anti-vaccine should tackle in strategic manner because the measles outbreak was considered as a national and international crisis, not just an individual and local one.

3-3 Exclusion and Inclusion

Papers: Tuomas Tervasmäki (Tampere University)

Inclusive communities through education: reaching beyond exclusive identification.

Abstract: In the current era, contemporary societies face many phenomena that are only partly governed by within the limits of nation-state. The global capitalism has increased the accumulation of wealth for the few and produced intensified divisions and inequality nationally and globally. At the same time growing migration opposes a challenge to nation-states, and we have seen an opposing development with the rise of right-wing conservative-nationalism and xenophobic politics in many Western countries (e.g. Poland, Hungary, Australia, the UK).

Another wicked problem is the ecological crisis that threatens ecosystems and possibilities of living in many parts of the world. Major changes, even systemic, would be needed to restrict the global warming to 1.5 Celsius degrees, as the Paris Agreement demands in the near future. To summarize, the current nation-states are struggling to meet with the demands of its citizens and fight against the polarisation of people. There certainly is a need for learning of how to live together in a more plural world where the resources are limited and alternative modes of production should be found (in terms of energy production, food security etc.). These demands are not only cultural and political, but also matters of education.

Tere Vadén and Antti Salminen (2018) argue that transformation of egocentric "fossil subject" would require modifications in the subjectivity and in our understanding of being in the world and being in relation to others, both human and non-human elements. In this paper, I reach beyond exclusive identity formation (e.g. Ernesto Laclau) and explore more relational and universal comprehension of subjectivity by relying on Mika Ojakangas' (2014; 2011; 2002) reading of apostle Paul's universalism and William Connolly's (1995) ethos of pluralization. I am pondering a synthesis that aims to widen our perception of human being towards certain characteristics that we have in common: we are imperfect, impotential and incomplete in particular ways, but in this universal

weakness of being our unavoidable interdependence on other beings becomes visible. Such a formulation could provide a sketch for ethical education towards inclusive communities, which are, as I argue, necessary in solving the wicked problems of contemporary societies.

Kristina Khutsishvili (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa)

Political Emotions and Identities: Possible Links of Narrative and Imagination.

Abstract: The article attempts to frame the relations between political emotions and identities researching the possible methodological and conceptual links between the two corpuses.

The starting point for the work is a problematic character of both corpuses and their interconnections: while the scientific value of political emotions is often underestimated in political science due to their (possibly) “irrational” nature and practical challenges of dealing with the issue, identity research does not have a unified methodology, with identity itself being questioned as a concept, due to related ambiguities. Both concepts, though, have become widely used during last years in application to the political practice and its current challenges, such as populism, fake news, hate speech, and so on.

The article will take a stand of political/practical philosophy, with references to works of Martha Nussbaum, Charles Taylor, Benedict Anderson, and other philosophers, not hesitating to deal with the corpuses.

Two main conceptual and methodological links – first related to narrative representation (Foucault, Stanley, Wodak, Zahavi), second to the sphere of imaginary and imagination (Anderson, Bottici) – will be analyzed.

Reflecting on the two possible links, we may clarify on the conceptual interrelation of emotions and identities (the impact of emotions on the continuous identitarian process, the possibility of identity politics employing the sphere of emotional, etc.), as well as methodological tools of dealing with emotions and identities in political research.

Lennart Soberon (Ghent University)

Untangling the strings of animosity: left-populism and agonistic politics in the American action film.

Abstract: Conflict and adversity form an essential component of many Hollywood films. Not only are blockbuster films often grafted on a Manichaeist struggle of good versus evil, moreover, film genres themselves tend to be structured along the lines of specific modes of conflict – such as the Western film’s clash between civilization and wilderness (Schatz, 1981). How these wider societal and symbolic struggles get personified in the relationship between protagonist and antagonist, as well as how this adversarial relationship is defined, can nevertheless take many forms. Arguably no genre is defined more by an antagonistic politics of hostile exclusion (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) than the action film. As O’Brien (2012) points out, action films excel at presenting narratives of nationalist heroic triumph over a cultural and moral Other. Moreover, by often integrating contemporary geopolitical tensions in melodramatic narratives, action films attempt to involve the spectator in affective structures of fear, anger and indignation (Eagle, 2017).

Because of their highly formulaic nature and antagonistic discursive framework, action films provide the ideal case study to investigate the ideologies of animosity in contemporary film culture. Accurate as above made statements may be, I argue that action films can also function as a space in which hegemonic notions of enemyhood and antagonistic discourses can be questioned, if not critically renegotiated. Since such antagonistic relationships are commonly aligned with the generic structure of the action film, resistant readings of adversarial relationships can reveal new frames that can aid in the transition towards a more agonistic

understanding of conflict. Using contemporary action films such as *Sicario* (2015) and *You were Never Really Here* (2017), I will demonstrate how incarnations of cinematic agonism can contribute towards redistributing grievability (Butler, 2009) for dehumanized enemies, as well as help pave the way towards a form of left-populism.

Tuesday, 20 August 2019

Panel Session 4, 11:00-13:00

4-1 Gender, politics and representation

Papers: Selcen Ozturkcan (Linnaeus University)

Localizing and Capitalizing on the International Working Women's Day: Evidence from Advertisements in Turkey.

Abstract: International Working Women's Day, which was initiated by the labor movement in North America and across Europe, recently emerged to a day of celebration across the globe. Moreover, it is often localized and transformed into a window of opportunity to raise awareness of the various issues that women face in different national and regional contexts. Lately, it is also capitalized upon as an opportunity for companies to promote and market themselves. This shift that takes place in emerging countries, where women rights are yet to develop provides a compelling case. In this context, this paper aims to provide an exploratory analysis of a sample of video advertisements aired in the year 2019 by national and international companies in Turkey either on TV or social media. Findings are particularly relevant in understanding the factors involved in the use of hybrid media to facilitate cultural meanings surrounding gender.

Vered Porzycki (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Mind the Gap: Themes in Women's Representation in Parties' Discourse in the European Parliament.

Abstract: Recent decades have witnessed an exponential increase in the electoral power of European populist parties. In this research, I focus on how women are perceived in the discourse of European parties, i.e., when parties characterize and construct women in their discourse, what are the meanings they attribute to them? I analyse this by looking at both right-wing populist parties and mainstream right-wing parties. This distinction enables me to comprehend whether different political agendas, i.e., traditional right-wing agenda versus populist agendas, affect the discourse towards women. I examine this by comparing three different populist parties and three mainstream right-wing parties in France, Britain and the Netherlands, during two terms of the European Parliament.

This research is conducted in two stages, which are both based upon a speeches' corpus. First, I use a Wordfish model, which measures parties' positions regarding women by tracking the frequency of certain words. Secondly, I analyse the speeches through content analysis, therefore examining the parties' attitudes regarding various agendas, which concerns women. By examining the various speeches by these two methods, I am able to examine the parties' positions regarding women. The analysis shows that populist parties refer to women almost only when discussing immigrants, since this topic dominates their agenda, thus demonstrating "white feminism". However my preliminary findings also establish that mainstream parties engage in women's right issues or avoid this discussion all together, since they aim to represent women as well, unlike populist parties. Thus, exposing their discourse about women will shed light on the parties' beliefs and meaning about women and women's roles. Currently, comparative research on gender, populism and on right-wing populist and mainstream parties is in its early stages. My research contributes to the current literature on populism and the differences between these party families by conducting an extensive research regarding gender.

Proma Ray Chaudhury (Dublin City University)

Populist Gender Discourse(s) in the Political Parties of Contemporary Bengal: A Study of the All India Trinamool Congress and the Bhartiya Janata Party.

Abstract: In consonance with the ascendance of populist; non-elitist leadership in Indian politics that has been variously characterised as a 'Second Democratic Upsurge' (Yadav, 2000) or as 'Vernacularisation' (Michelutti, Sept. 2007) of democratic politics since the 1990s, there has been a substantial surge in the participation of women in trade-unions, institutional apparatuses such as political parties, civil rights struggles, and militant movements among other spheres. This paper operates in the context of the several different and oft-competing discourses of womanhood that construct and frame the participation of women within two significant political parties in the Indian province of West Bengal; that can be held to represent two distinct ideological modalities of populism- the All-India Trinamool Congress (AITC)- embodying Centrist populism, and the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)- representing Right-wing populism. Bengal's fairly recent experience of a paradigmatic discursive shift from a primarily Left-secular hegemony to Centrist populism and the concomitant escalation of Right-wing politics presents a fecund ground for critical engagement with the manner in which the respective populist discourses represent women in politics.

The paper adopts the methodological approach of feminist institutionalism, and employs critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the political documents produced by the two parties. It also harnesses the conceptual framework on Populism offered by the post-Marxist philosopher Ernesto Laclau. His characterisation of Populism as a political discourse open to appropriation by Left, the Right as well as the Centrist ideologies (Laclau, 2005); informs the paper's engagement with the discursive edifices of the AITC and the BJP. Laclau's theorisations upon the construction of 'equivalential' binary oppositions, the adoption of 'empty' categories for the purpose of bolstering the populist logic, and the critical significance of affective attachment to the leader are the primary conceptual tools that the paper adopts in its analyses of party documents.

The paper identifies political parties as systems of signification and lifeworlds constituted by gendered relations of power, and explores how hegemonic gender regimes concerning women's political engagement are reproduced in the aforementioned parties; even in the face of policy initiatives such as gender quotas.

Pille Ubakivi-Hadachi (Tallinn University)

Gendered meaning-making in populist politics – the case of Conservative People's Party of Estonia.

Abstract: Recent developments in Estonian political landscape somewhat mirror the rise of populist and far-right sentiments in other European countries. However, till now little attention has been paid to the micro-level mechanisms of articulation and meaning-making that become the foundation for those political organisations that are at the discursive forefront of the expansion of this phenomenon. My purpose is to demonstrate how gendered discourse and feelings of belonging intersect, when Estonian conservative party's women's association articulates its identity after their party more than doubled its seats in parliament, following the elections of spring 2019, and has henceforth become a member of the ruling coalition. Here, my aim is to explore the foucauldian "bundle of relationships" that is generated in a situation where *politics* is transformed into *political* to provide temporary substance for the empty signifiers of identity and belonging. A critical approach to discourse analysis is used to understand how emotions combine with speech acts' performative aspects and shape the rhetoric of the party's women representatives, confined by their statute to mainly discussing the "social topics" of their party's programme, as a contrast to the public and heavily mediated discourse shaping the general party image. Insights from this study challenge both the temporal and contextual uniformity of these meaning-making practices and emphasise the importance of a thoroughly intersectional approach to current trends of polarisation.

4-2 Space and polarisation

Papers: Tuula Vaarakallio (University of Jyväskylä)

Political polarisation and the Gilets jaunes movement in France.

Abstract: From the mid-November 2018 the French streets have been taken over by protestors fighting against president Emmanuel Macron and his government's policies. The yellow vest movement, *les Gilets jaunes*, has become to visualise symbolically the political polarisation prevailing in France between the ordinary 'people' in the street and the establishment, 'the elite' that Macron represents and personifies. In a Laclauian sense the *Gilets jaunes* movement acts as an empty signifier meaning that under the movement various demands are expressed in the name of shared opposition to the Macron.

In this paper I will examine more in detail what the political and institutional objectives of street demonstrators are and how the *Gilets jaunes* movement entangles with populism and populist parties on both extremes of the political spectrum. I will discuss the topics that polarise contemporary France and analyse the different levels of social and political cleavages the protestors themselves are voicing and constructing under the symbol of yellow vest. Also various academic and intellectual interpretations will be taken into account as well as the reaction of the political establishment. In this respect one also needs to discuss the role of Macron in intensifying the polarisation between the so-called populists and anti-populists.

Seref Anil Kahvecioglu (Bilkent University, Ankara)

Politics of street polarization: Populist mobilization as political instruments of police and politics.

Abstract: The 2010s represent a political period for Turkey that features several critical events, such as the Gezi Park protests, the 17-25 December graft allegations, the presidential election of 2015, the coup attempt in 2016, and the referendum on presidentialism in 2017. The 2010s is a time period during which street activism takes many different forms and reflects itself powerfully in totally different manners in parallel with the political developments in Turkey, which makes this a very interesting time period. This research analyzes two

key processes in this decade, the Gezi Park protests in 2013 and anti-coup demonstrations in 2016, which represent two polarized camps in contemporary Turkish street politics. Understanding populism as a mobilization practice, this research aims to show two polarized practices of populism within the context of street mobilization processes: (1) the populism that has constituted itself on anti-government mobilization and therefore has been change-oriented as in the case of Gezi Park protests, and (2) the populism that has constituted itself on pro-government mobilization and therefore has been status-quo oriented as in the case of anti-coup demonstrations. On this basis, considering the concepts of Jacques Ranciere, this paper will suggest a case, which argues that social movements can be the mobilization instruments of both police and politics in a populist way in a comparative perspective. Using the data I am collecting by means of Protest Event Analysis (PEA), this study will attempt to investigate the links between populist mobilization and social movements within the context of polarized politics.

Vera da Cunha Pasqualin (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The Street Carnival of São Paulo reflecting the polarised society in Brazil in 2019

Abstract: The intention of this article is to discuss how the street carnival of São Paulo (Brazil) is reflecting the polarization of society motivated by recent politic debate and the fragmentation of the families and friendship circles in consequence of antagonistic discourses. The street carnival is a centenary popular cultural phenomenon that historically combines different cultural expressions to reflect the political momentum of the society. São Paulo is the biggest city of Brazil and 2019 is the first year of the former congressman and army military Jair Bolsonaro occupying the chair of presidency of the country, in a controversy environment. Especially in this year, the 10 day of carnival celebration in the city exposed the differences of public and ideas according to the neighbourhood and carnival block that the reveler choose to enjoy. It is possible to analyse the differences in sex, gender, corporeality, attitudes and political views across the more than 550 carnival blocks that paraded through the streets of São Paulo, reflected in songs, discourses, political claims and corporal expression. In the proposed text it will be reflected the personal observation of the PhD student about 4 carnival blocks, considering the theory of Latin American Cultural Studies about the communicational cities and popular culture proposed by Néstor García Canclini and the thoughts about the differences between left and right discussed by Chantal Mouffe.

Kees Terlouw (Utrecht University)

Legitimising identity discourses and metropolitan networks: urban competitiveness versus territorial protection.

Abstract: This is not a paper on 'populism', but on the different ways in which legitimacy is claimed in relation to different perspectives on what constitutes the identity of a local community. This can flare up in anti-liberal and liberal forms of 'populism' in national politics related to globalisation, but is also linked to less visible regional processes. The growing economic importance of urban networks transforms the political relations in metropolitan regions. New forms of regional cooperation emerge, but many municipalities outside the cities which have become a vital part of metropolitan networks resist this urban led development. This paper analyses why while the importance of areas outside the cities for metropolitan regions has increased, many oppose this and regard this as an unwanted urban incursion threatening the interests and identities of their communities in well-established territories.

This paper analyses the backgrounds of these political conflicts by looking at the different perspectives on identity and legitimacy. It develops a typology of the different legitimising identity discourses used by urban and non-urban administrations to promote or resist cooperation in metropolitan regions. There is a clear and coherent contrast between backward and inward looking 'thicker', and forward and outward looking 'thinner' legitimising identity discourses. These are based on opposing views on nine related aspects which help to better understand the deep roots of the opposition between urban competitiveness and territorial protection. The typology of different legitimising identity discourses is a useful tool to analyse the growing resistance in more peripheral regions to the further strengthen the global competitiveness of metropolitan regions. The examples in this paper of how legitimising identity discourses are used in the Netherlands - where economic policies like in many other countries focus on the strengthen of metropolitan regions - showed not only how these divisions fuel conflicts, but also how these are sometimes bridged through cooperation legitimised by a partially shared identity discourse.

4-3 ABSENT PRESENTERS session: emotions, affects and post-politics, ONLINE

Papers: Olivier Jutel (University of Otago)

Post-Politics and Disavowal: Liberal Journalism's Response to Trump.

Abstract: This paper will present the response of American liberalism and the field of journalism to Donald Trump as the affective investment in post-politics and disavowal of populist ontology (Mouffe, 2005 & Laclau, 2006). The designation of a post-truth political epoch represents an attempt by the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 1998 & 2005) to re-articulate its cultural capital as the technocratic arbiter of Truth. American liberalism has retreated into techno-metaphors of the social which attribute Trump's ability to circumvent the disciplines of journalistic fact-checking or civic norms as a corruption of communicative networks in the form of fake news, hacking and data breaches. The disproportionate concern for Russian subversion of democratic processes perpetuates the technocratic illusion of data-informed mastery over contingent political forces and "truth". In disavowing the field's role in the rise of Trump an embattled "Resistance" habitus akin to Edward R. Murrow has emerged in order to cast the crisis as a battle for decency, civility and a patriotic centre against the subversive outside (Muhlman, 2008). The field restages past battles as a performative invocation of former glories to engender the forms of urgent affective media prosumption (Jutel, 2017) that are at the heart of fake news economies. The cost of "saving" truth and the field of journalism is the subsumption of its autonomy to the field of power as national security entrepreneurs, think tanks and research centres all offer the fantasy of divining foreign subversion within communicative networks. This techno-solutionism (Morozov, 2014) and civility fetish is necessary to avoid an antagonistic political articulation of truth, what Bourdieu terms and 'idée-force' (2005: 39), that would force a traumatic confrontation with the field's own complicity in the rise of Trump.

Pedro Ponte e Sousa (New University of Lisbon)

The use of emotions and the promotion of contentious foreign policy options: continuity and change in the case of Portugal.

Abstract: Despite the analysis on emotions hasn't been explored yet regarding Portuguese foreign policy (FP), this issue seems to provide some interesting elements for research. Since the regime change in 1974, its main features are clear, encompassing Europe (EU, other IOs), the Atlantic (NATO, US), and post-colonial relations

(CPLP), each of these being responsible for more economic and political, defense, or cultural policies. The alleged great continuity since 1974 and the political consensus between most political parties among those priorities ensured that issues such as emotions were swept under the carpet and deemed irrelevant. Nevertheless, we argue that emotions are a substantial part of the public positions regarding FP. Both resorted to by politicians, decision-makers, or the civil society/public opinion, emotions are relevant both when it comes to strategic, long-term decisions as well as specific and concrete international issues. Used either to legitimize some policy options versus different ones, or to involve decision-making actors and the society in a particular way, they play a subtle and yet crucial role in FP.

In this paper, we seek to identify the main moments in Portuguese FP since 1974 where different emotions were particularly central. We aim to detect if those emotions, in the different cases, were either ignited by the political elites (government, political parties, etc.) or by the public opinion or the civil society. We also tried to differentiate between strategic decisions or momentary events and issues. Additionally, we tried at all times to maintain a connection to the specific moral, political, legal and social problems of a given FP issue or priority with the strategies employed and the emotions present in such a setting.

Regarding the methods used, we combined both the instruments and approaches of the Foreign Policy Analysis sub-field, centred in the decision-making actors and dynamics, with a more constructivist theoretical framework, as to allow different strategies to collect and analyse data, and also develop an assessment of how the actors involved perceive and define their very foreign stance. The main sources used shall be the historical research through secondary bibliography and, when needed, documental analysis. The study uses a qualitative and comparative approach, and the focus on different and the most easily identifiable case studies may contribute to some generalizable conclusions regarding the Portuguese case. Despite being a very short introduction on an issue rarely even mentioned in Portuguese FP, our study points out to (1) the use of emotions when an issue is contentious, (2) the changes over time regarding emotions on a given issue, but (3) a somewhat continuity of emotions regarding different yet similar events, as well as clarifying the remaining questions exposed above.

Tuğçe Erçetin (Istanbul Bilgi University)

Under a Fear-Driven Populism Scenario: "Us and Them"

Abstract: In the direction of different reflections of populism, the study aims to contribute through Turkey, focusing on the campaign for the constitutional referendum, occurred in 2017 that examines how populist discourse reproduced fear by the Justice and Development Party (AKP). Campaign of elections/referendums crystallize discourse of candidates, escalating a competitive environment. During the electoral campaigns, political leaders concentrate on their promises, voicing the "will of the people" and "interests of the people" in order to provide an achievement and defining the "culprits" with respect to experiences. Especially, symbolic experiences become more valuable which enhance the definition of actors, relying on the "us and them" distinction. Hence, it is possible to observe populist narratives and themes which are produced by electoral speeches. In this sense, this study discusses the electoral speeches of the former Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım during March-April when he met with the people. 51 speeches of the Prime Minister have been coded in Nvivo and conducted content analysis.

5-1 Populism and masculinities in American media debates

Populism is part of the political sphere, but it is also deeply rooted in everyday and popular culture, including representations and understandings of gender. In the United States, passionate reactions to changing gender roles are one of the driving forces behind the right-wing and conservative populist movements where liberal values have been assumed as a threat to traditional masculinity. Thus, popular debates about what are culturally accepted masculinities have become an integral part of contemporary American politics. In our panel, we discuss how the populist debates on gender address cultural representations circulating in media and popular culture.

Papers: Outi Hakola (University of Helsinki)

Political Parody and Populist Masculinity of Donald Trump in Saturday Night Live.

Abstract: Many right-wing and conservative populist movements rely on populist leaders who stand for conservative gender values and emphasize the role of a strong, and often male, leader. Thus, gendered practices within populist movements are often related to masculinity and these questions have been personified by male leaders, such as Donald Trump. In case of male populist leaders, idealized masculinity is used purposefully to create populist leadership and populist movements. For example, Trump has intentionally created his public image as a strong “alpha” male. His performance of masculinity has inspired political comedy, and in particular, Donald Trump has had a tumultuous relationship with Saturday Night Live (SNL). The comedy show’s impersonations have deconstructed several elements of his masculinity by performing it in an exaggerated and ironical manner. In these sketches, issues and competence are overruled by uncontrolled emotions. By refusing to accept the comic satire, challenging the ridiculing of his populist masculinity as biased and unfair treatment, Trump has desired to place himself outside of the presented interpretation. In this presentation, I will analyze the SNL’s representations of Trump’s masculinity and discuss how they participate in gendered political debates.

Janne Salminen (University of Helsinki)

When Masculinity Becomes Toxic: The Clashing Masculinities of Mad Max: Fury Road.

Abstract: *Mad Max: Fury Road* (2015) is a widely popular example of a film that offers a critique of toxic masculinity. *Mad Max: Fury Road* focuses on a group of women escaping from the clutches of a manic warlord who values them only as breeding machines. This group is led by a tough as nails female character, who forms an uneasy alliance with the titular character, Max. The film’s narrative makes a connection between hypermasculinity and nuclear holocaust. Max might be the hero, but he is not the protagonist of the film, in the film he can be seen representing a type of masculinity which serves as an ally in the struggle for equality. Critics, scholars, fans, and audiences have picked up on how the film draws a line between different types of masculinities and the larger implications they might have. In my paper, I examine the elements of the film have become a type of shorthand for what constitutes a toxic form of masculinity and what a masculine male ally might look like. The utilization of an established action franchise and its titular character does emphasize the

film's subversive impact on gender discourse. I also explore how the film treats masculinity, femininity while also assessing how toxic masculinity could be conceptualized as something that is removed its problematic mythopoetic men's movement origins. In recent years, the concept of toxic masculinity has become a frequently used term in public debates. In liberal contexts, the concept has been used as a criticism towards conservative and populist gender ideals, whereas in populist debates concept has been seen as a way to attack manhood itself. This cultural struggle over masculinities is visible in the way in which these different groups react to popular culture representations of gender.

Juho Turpeinen (University of Helsinki)

Land and Populism: From the Tea Party to Trumpism.

Abstract: How can cultural meanings associated with land help us understand the appeal of a brand of right-wing populism that is rooted in whiteness and masculinity? I approach this question by analyzing and contextualizing online comment sections related to two news stories in the United States. During the 2013 government shutdown, whiteness and land were contingently linked in a chain of equivalences, articulated through national parks and social programs like Medicare, and positioned against a black president. Despite liberal roots, this cultural landscape continues to provide fertile ground for a populism that, spread through news organizations and political pundits, promotes neoliberal ideology and policies. Consequently, Donald Trump's decision in 2017 to reverse an Obama-era conservation effort spoke to a white masculine anxiety. Like expanded access to health care, Bears Ears, a national monument, campaigned for by Native Americans and created by a black president, is sometimes interpreted in a way that implies a white masculinity antagonized by a perceived increased enfranchisement of different cultural identities and a possibility of leveling racial and gender hierarchy. I argue that right-wing populism appeals, in part, to a cultural memory of social hierarchies associated with land not held in common.

5-2 Populist discourses and political polarisation

Papers: Andre Krouwel (Free University in Amsterdam)

Ioan Hosu (Babes-Bolyai University Cluj)

Mihnea Stoica (Babes-Bolyai University Cluj)

Populist discourse on elite failure and blaming immigrants: How cultural, not economic issues drive political polarization in European democracies.

Abstract: For more than a decade now, Europe has been experiencing an economic crisis, primarily caused by neo-liberal deregulation of the financial industry, on top of which a surge in refugee influx in the West gave rise to a dominant populist right-wing discourse. Populists on the right heavily criticize mainstream elites, but at the same time blame immigrants for austerity, economic precarity and scarcity of (public) resources for the vast majority of the population. At the political level, polarization on primarily cultural issues (such as immigration and Islam) have torn apart the fabric of traditional politics, resulting in a substantial weakening of the centre-left political parties. While some of the radical left parties gain support with their version of elite criticisms and call for reduction of inequality, social democratic and other potential left-wing allies (such as unions) have been dramatically weakened.

In this study, we assess the surge of populist parties across Europe, from North to South and from East to West, and the concurrent decline of the centre-left. We assess to what extent this power shift to the anti-immigrant right is driven by polarization on cultural issues across 13 countries that have a significant populist party. We discuss the multiple challenges this creates for the left as the polarized discourse focuses on cultural issues, rather than economic issues, and makes issues 'owned' by the right more salient, facilitating right-wing coalitions to emerge.

Drawing on unique data collected across thirteen European countries before the EU elections of 2019, our comparative study seeks to identify the main issues that propel the electorate in opposing camps, identifying wedge issues in both culture and economics on which views diverge most and assessing how these are related to support for the anti-immigrant right.

Nino Gozalishvili (Central European University – CEU)

The National-Populist Mobilization of “Georgian March”: Facebook as a Platform for Legitimizing Anti-Immigrant Discourses and Polarization around the Notion of Europe.

Abstract: The paper identifies, categorizes and analyzes discourse fields of social movement Georgian March. Scrutinizing social media platform- Facebook- the analysis examines a construction of anti-immigrant discourses along with a discursive integration of “the West” within it. The articulation of “the West” in the movement’s discourses nevertheless carries anti-Western connotation, the notion is mainly deployed through argumentative strategies of *moral evolution*, *rationalization* and *mythopoesis*. Thus, using social media platforms, the movement- yet maintaining anti-Western national-populist profile- mobilizes anti-immigration sentiments and legitimizes them by framing and featuring “Western examples”. In other words, traditional progressive image of the West is deployed albeit construction of the double face of Europe. If one face is negatively understood ‘multicultural’ ‘immoral’ and ‘liberal’; another ‘real’, ‘sane’ and ‘awoken’ Europe is shown as exemplary through the anti-immigration self-legitimizing discourses. Legitimizing purpose comes in compliance with an embedded connotation of “progressive West” in Georgian political course, yet meets conservative appeal of the movement. Georgian March not only associated itself with rise of “nationalism in European states”, but have also adopted and adapted concrete political strategies, discursive fields and even the slogans from some of the national-populist powers in Europe to the domestic context. The active framing of the issues and recontextualization of connotations of the West/Europe are some of the main points of the analysis. This type of observation paves the way for discussing the matter of transnational inspirational links and dynamics of discursive influences among national-populist actors in Europe and the peripheral states like Georgia. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the relevance of discussing “external” consequences of the raise of national-populism in European democracies.

Iro Särkkä (University of Helsinki)

Sense and sensibility – Emotions and Polarised Politics of NATO in the post-Cold War Finnish Foreign and Security Policy Debate.

Abstract: Finland’s relationship and possible future accession to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) has been a persistent and evocative policy issue in the Finnish security and defense policy debate during the post-Cold War period. Whilst the government’s official foreign and security policy line has outlined deepening of the relations with the Alliance since Finland joined the NATO Partnership for Peace Program, not all stakeholders

have agreed on the government policy but voiced their differing views of the policy rhetoric. In fact, over the years the policy rhetoric over NATO has become more and more polarized.

In this paper, I study in detail how the rhetoric of NATO has developed in Finland as an issue of polarized national politics. My empirical data consists of some 900 speeches held by Finnish Members of Parliament addressing the questions of NATO as discussed in the corresponding parliamentary debates of the Government White Papers on foreign and security policy between 1995 – 2017. In particular, I will discuss and examine the role of emotions, and pathos related rhetoric in political speeches, by focusing on the polarized views of the policy issue debated. Furthermore, I analyse the views of eight major political parties represented in the Finnish Parliament over the same time period and consider the extent to which their policy rhetoric can be considered as populist.

My paper is an empirical study case study of political polarization of national policy debate, in which emotions have had a strong role to play. It is based on my PhD - thesis on "Rhetorics of NATO in the Finnish Security and Defence policy debate during the post-Cold-War" period which I will defend at the University of Helsinki later on this year.

5-3 Media and their role in eliciting emotions

Papers: Mengqi Yuan (Tsinghua University, China)

An Experimental Test of Emotion-Eliciting Nature in the Argentine Political Posters.

Abstract: Populism waves have always been an important political phenomenon historically and regionally. With the rise of populism worldwide, populist characteristics seem receding away from Latin America which gives an end to the third populism wave of this region, and more centre-right governments have revitalized. Yet, socioeconomic factors and political institution factors can hardly fully explain the cycle of populism in Latin America. We suggest that emotional processes that affect people's identities provide an additional explanation for the populist cycle. We will take Argentina as a case study, because Argentina is the country that has experienced the left-wing, right-wing and new-left populist governments and each of them had last over decade. The main purpose of this study is to test whether populist appeals do indeed elicit emotions and whether this increases the persuasiveness of the appeals. We will conduct comparing populist and non-populist appeals on political advertising posters during the presidential elections since 1945, because political posters were a common instrument used to convey the messages. By categorizing them into three treatment groups: advocative populist appeal, conflictive populist appeal and pluralist appeal, we assume that the advocative populist messages predominantly elicit pride and hope while conflictive populist messages assumed to anger and fear; and strong populist attitudes demonstrate a stronger identification with the pure people and a stronger aversion toward the elite. Pluralist style of words is more emphasis on compromise, diversity and dialogue between elite and the people. Using the a multmessage design to analyze core relational themes, we will identify the psychological mechanisms behind the rise and fall of populist cycle.

Burcu Sezer (Ankara University)

The Emotions of Islamic Populism in Turkey: An Examination on the magazine "Cins".

Abstract: In the aftermath of the Gezi protests in 2013, there emerged gradually intensifying debates as to who holds the "cultural power" in Turkey. The concept of cultural power and the discussions revolving around it was first initiated by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) officials as well as the Islamist journalists and

intellectuals who asserted and complained that the longstanding hegemony of the secularist and Kemalist circles on the field of culture continue unabated during the AKP period as well. This paper aims to situate those debates pertaining to “cultural power” in Turkey within the ideological and political transformation of Turkish society after the Gezi uprising. In lieu of this framework, the study will assert that the discussion about and policies related to “cultural power” is a manifestation as well as the indication of the fact that the AKP was inclined, after the Gezi protests, to endorse an Islamic populist outlook in order to entrench its hegemony in Turkish politics. The paper will substantiate and illustrate this argument by means of a close content analysis of the Islamic-nationalist magazine called *Cins*, which was initiated after the Gezi by a group of Islamist editors with the pretention of defying the existing cultural power of so-called secularist and leftist circles in the domain of art and literature. In the beginning, I explain how the problem of “cultural power” has been discussed among scholars and journalists in Turkey so far. Then, I investigate how the Gezi uprising induced the AKP government to incorporate an Islamic populist logic into its hegemonic strategy. In the final section, with the help of a close content analysis of the magazine *Cins*, while I try to show the intricate relations between Islamic populism the discourse of cultural power, I match up the emotions such as pain, anger, revenge with the AKP’s populist discourse. This paper leaves the discussion open to the concept of *ressentiment* as a further topic.

Andrzej Meler (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

Beata Królicka (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

Hate speech and mourning in Polish political discourse: The case for automated voice emotion analysis.

Abstract: Any significant unexpected occurrence bares the potential for changing the status quo. In Poland AD 2018 the political status quo was a very intense conflict between the currently ruling social-conservative the Law and Justice (PiS) and a wide range of opposition parties with the leader – centrist the Civic Platform (PO). PO was previously in power for an unprecedented period of eight years (2007-2015). The latest occurrence carrying the potential for such a political change was the murder of the incumbent mayor of Gdańsk, Paweł Adamowicz. The opposition-linked prominent local politician won the Gdańsk mayoral election for the sixth time in a row as an independent candidate only two months before his abrupt death. He was fatally stabbed on the scene during the finale of the largest annual Polish charity event.

This crime launched a fervent debate on the language of political discourse and hate speech in Poland. The opposition claimed the murder had been politically motivated. All major political milieus called for the calm considering that the language of public debate had to be toned down.

The aim of our analysis is to measure, whether this homicide influenced the emotional climate of TV and radio political commentary programs. We conducted the analysis using the computer program for automatic voice emotion analysis – Beyond Verbal. Our research sample consists of a hundred political commentary programs broadcasted on Polish radio and TV both predating and post homicide. The preliminary results show that the mourning lasted for a few days at most.

Panel Session 6, 15:30-17:00

6-1 Contested issues in U.S. public discourse and Latin America

Papers: Marc-Antoine Rancourt (Laval University)

Is the Death Penalty Debate Really Dead? Contrasting Capital Punishment Support in Canada and the United States.

Abstract: For decades, capital punishment has been a highly controversial and divisive topic, not only among scholars, but also among ordinary people. Today, most democratic governments have done away with capital punishment, with few exceptions, including the United States. Drawing from the Canadian Election Study and the American National Election Study and covering the period from 1984 up to 2016, this paper aims to explore the underlying value systems and concomitant attitudes that shape pro-death penalty opinions in Canada, an abolitionist country since 1976, and compare whether these attitudes are driven by the same mechanism as in the United States, where death penalty continues to be one of the most prominent issues in contemporary politics. Results are obtained using logistic regression models. Findings suggest that, in both countries, pro-death penalty attitudes should be better understood as part of a “law and order syndrome”. In the United States, the distribution of attitudes toward death penalty is also the reflect of a partisan divide. Furthermore, results show that some sociodemographic variables, notably being a man or being a protestant, also shape the pro-death penalty opinions, both in Canada and in the United States. Our results finally challenge the widespread hypothesis that government distrust lessens death penalty support.

Inna Sukhenko (University of Helsinki)

Emoting "atom for peace" in US nuclear fiction.

Abstract: Žižek’s Living in the End Times , Nixon’s Slow Violence, Barry’s Horrific Death for All, Worster’s The Age of Vulnerability against climate change and natural/human-made ecological disasters can make us disappointed, scared and doomed. The lack of hope and no way out can paralyze us in our actions with further preventing from critical thinking and unbiased estimation of the situation. What happens when these fears, doomed living, eco-pessimism face “the nuclear” ? The personal reference to the nuclear issues, intergenerational memory’s response to nuclear disasters, the readiness for secrecy of “nuclear” knowledge, the various levels of trust to the governments in the nuclear power policy can result in nuclear phobia, nuclear info trauma, or vice versa – into nuclear “slow hope” and nuclear optimism. Our living in the energy-dependable society requires critical, unbiased and emotionally balanced reconsideration of “nuclear energy” which shapes our values, priorities and behaviours, related to nuclear technology, nuclear energy policy and nuclear safety culture.

My presentation is focused on the range of emotions, related to nuclear energy issues, depicted in the U.S. nuclear fiction of the post-Chernobyl era which helps distinguishing the literary parameters of “nuclear energy” concept in U.S. writing practices (the late Cold War and beyond). The presentation is focused on studying the singularity of “Atom for Peace” initiative in depicting a nuclear power plant’s explosion and further steps of overcoming its aftermath plosion” in North American fiction works such as Frederik Pohl’s Chernobyl (1987), Karen Hesse’s Phoenix Rising (1994), Andrea White’s Radiant Girl (2008), Orest Stelmach’s The Boy from Reactor 4 (2013), James Reich’s Bombshell (2013).

Researching the literary implications of nuclear energy concept in U.S. nuclear fiction not only provides a chance to reveal the narrative tools of multi-levelled emoting “Atom for Peace” Initiative in fiction (ranging

from the “Chernobyl Syndrome” to various forms of nuclearism), but also distinguishes the specificity of nuclear identity formation and triggers developing critical thinking skills on nuclear energy-related issues.

Virpi Salojärvi (University of Helsinki)

The role of media in a “post-populist” dynamic: The case of Venezuela under Maduro’s regime.

Abstract: Populism is not a static state, but a process that evolves and takes on different forms. It may furthermore be seen as political logic (Laclau, 2005), so it is not something that can be discussed as either existing or not existing, but rather how (Palonen, 2018), how much (Gürhanli, 2018), and when (Moffit, 2016). Using Laclau’s (2005) theory, populism may be defined as constructing the very unity of the in-group, the “us” or “the people”. The media is an essential part of this, since the media plays a part in constructing the unity, a collective identity among a part of a population. Populism may also be described as a rhetorical-performative phenomenon (Palonen & Saresma, 2017; Palonen, 2018), which is produced visually, verbally and spatially. To transmit these ideas, media in its many forms is useful.

One of the most extreme examples of current populist polarization and its consequences is Venezuela under the leadership of Maduro. Maduro has aimed at continuing Chávez’s movement. However, this has not been an easy task, since while Chávez was able to transmit an image of a charismatic leader that had a strong vision and connection with the people, Maduro lacks the ability to create the same impression, which is one of the preconditions of a successful populist movement. Little by little, the government of Venezuela has become authoritarian, labeling its political competitors and many alternative actors in society, including the private media and some journalists, as its enemies – to the point where the whole society is divided between “the good” and “the bad”.

The paper approaches the topic from the perspective of Laclaudian theory and on the base of author’s previous research on Venezuela. The author argues that affect is an essential element in populism and in the absence of vital media affect (Palonen & Saresma, 2017) Maduro was not able to carry out populist politics, and had to resort to different measures of control in order to stay in power. Hence, the label of “post-populism” is more accurate than calling it populism because even though his government maintained the antagonist us/them division, some important elements of populism were absent.

6-2 Discourses on anti-immigration and Islamophobia in Europe

Papers: Salim Kerboua (Mohamed Khider University of Biskra, Algeria)

Neo-Orientalism and Ontological Insecurity in European Politics: ‘Eurabia’ and the ‘Great Replacement’ Theses.

Abstract: Pluralist and multicultural societies have always succeeded in accepting linguistic and cultural diversity in their midst. However, since the beginning of the 21st century, the questions of collective identity and ontological insecurity have become critical issues in Western political and societal debates. Western cultural pluralism is being threatened by a specific political discourse that is constructing Arab and/or Muslim otherness as an ontological threat to Western and European security and identity. Relying on the social constructivist approach and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, the paper examines this political and populist discourse, and the dystopian knowledge and reality it produces. In European public spaces, some identity-based and ideologically motivated individual and collective actors are producing a new knowledge designating

Arab-Muslim peoples and their faith as the new enemy. This paper looks into the discourse developed by these actors in their (somehow successful) attempt to promote a new inter-cultural paradigm that relies much on Samuel Huntington's and Bernard Lewis' "Clash of Civilizations" thesis. The paper emphasizes the essentialist and Manichean neologisms of "Eurabia and "the Great Replacement." It argues that these neologisms and the political discourse in which they operate are creating a new constructed reality.

Tereza Capelos (University of Birmingham)

Jessica Small (University of Birmingham)

Mapping Emotion Walls: an analysis of leaders' anti-immigration narratives in the UK European Elections.

Abstract: This paper maps the affective content of political leaders' speeches and public statements on immigration in the context of the UK European Elections. Recent studies highlight the value of resentful political affect in determining reactionary orientations that feed anti-immigration and anti-EU sentiment among voters in Europe (Capelos and Katsanidou, 2018). Political actors running for office adopt anti-immigration narratives, which mobilise threats and negative political affect for electoral gain (Portice and Reicher, 2018). Here we are interested in capturing the affective content of anti-immigration rhetoric in the UK and measure the electoral gain it delivers. We expect that anti-immigration accounts construct emotion walls between 'us' and 'them' which are not only based on threat stimulation and group antagonism, but founded on rich affective narratives that promote resentment -- a complex emotion that signifies indignation, often expressed as anger, fear, envy and shame. We collect speeches, press releases and public statements in the news and social media by MEP candidates from incumbent and swing seats in the UK and code their affective tone on immigration. We use Cognitive Affective Maps (CAMS) to organise the data by explicit emotion mentions and appraisal dimensions of approach vs avoidance, gain vs loss, power vs weakness, self-control vs other-control. We create an index of 'emotion talk' and compare it against the MEPs post-election electoral gains / losses. This research advances knowledge on the political psychological processes that determine the impact of political emotionality in anti-immigration debates and helps us understand developments both within the UK and globally in terms of anti-immigration rhetoric against minority groups.

Johanna Sumiala (University of Helsinki)

Anu A. Harju (University of Helsinki)

Emilia Palonen (University of Helsinki)

#TurkuAttack - A Critical Analysis of Islamophobia as Populism in the Digital Public Space.

Abstract: This paper investigates the interplay between Islamophobia and populism in the digital public space triggered by the Turku terror attack in Finland, 2017. Theoretically, we draw on literature on populism and religion, and compound these ideas with current theorising on digital public space. While populism has an empty core (Freedman 2017; Laclau 2005), we locate Islamophobia as its 'strategic essence' in these social media discussions. We also detect in this hype the generation of a 'populist moment', typical of the 'life cycle' of populism. Methodologically, we apply cartography as a method of collecting and analysing digital Twitter data. In our empirical analysis, we identify three discursive strategies connecting Islamophobia to populist discourse, namely scapegoating, essentialisation, and racialisation that respectively illustrate debates regarding blame for terrorism, the nature of Islam, and racialisation of terrorist violence and the Muslim Other. To conclude, we

reflect on our empirical findings by critically discussing populism and the logic with which populist moments are generated on social media, and how strategic essentialisation provides these ultimately fluid and heterogenous movements with common signifiers, here Islamophobia.

6-3 Populist discourses on democracy

Papers: Maria Balea (University of Bucharest)

Defenders of democracy: Populist discourse and democracy in Italy and the United Kingdom.

Abstract: The present paper is an analysis of the use of “democracy” in the populist discourse, in Italy and the United Kingdom. The main hypothesis is that “democracy” is employed strategically as a container term, in order to offer coherence and prestige to the narratives in the discourse.

I define a “container-term” as a concept that, in a discourse, performs the function of a hollow recipient in which the communicator will introduce various narratives that do not have a conceptual relation with the chosen term. As a result, the meaning of the container-term will be influenced by the narratives it will comprise, and the narratives will borrow from the reputation of the container term. The heterogeneous narratives introduced in the container-term will aggregate in a unified and coherent tale.

The first part tackles the political contexts of Italy and the UK. The next part defines the populist discourse, exemplifies the use of the container-terms and explains their role. Subsequently, we explain why “democracy” can be an effective container-term, and we analyse the use of “democracy” as a container-term in the populist discourse in both countries, using data obtained through monitoring the Facebook and Twitter accounts of a series of parties and political personalities in the two countries.

Used as a container term, democracy becomes, up to a certain point, what it contains. At the same time, the narratives of the populist discourse benefit from the prestige that democracy carries. Hence, democracy can turn into a rhetorical weapon in the populist discourse. Understanding the way these processes take place is essential for learning how and why populists talk about democracy.

François Debras (University of Liege)

Identity democracy, radical democracy: how does right-wing populism use the notion of democracy in its speeches?

Abstract: A significant part of the literature considers that right-wing populist parties are anti-democratic (Backes 2004; Carter 2005). These parties are opposed to democratic institutions (Khosravini & Mral 2013; Shekhovtsov 2013; Passmore 2016) or to the values of democracy (Betz 2004; Kallis 2013; Camus & Lebourg 2015; Gauthier 2015). On the other hand, in the political field, right-wing populist parties consider themselves to be democratic parties. They present themselves as the defenders of the people, the promoters of a true democracy: against the EU, against other political parties, against Islam (Taguieff 2012; Mayer 2016; Bowler 2017).

In this way, we think it is relevant to ask ourselves the question of how does right-wing populism define democracy?

To answer these questions, we propose to study the ideological productions of 3 parties: the "Rassemblement national" (France), the "Freiheitliche Partei Österreich" (Austria) and "Alternative für Deutschland" (Germany).

The RN and the FPÖ have both transformed or modernized their speeches. From an electoral point of view, both parties have important electoral results and sit in many institutions. In addition, the RN and the FPÖ have private and professional relationships (Wodak 2013; Pelinka 2013; Perrineau 2015). AfD is a more recent party. However, it has important electoral results. It also maintains relations with the RN and the FPÖ in the private, political and ideological fields (Morreau 2016).

In relation to our research question, we decide to study ideological productions of the RN, the FPÖ and the AfD (speeches, press conferences, open letters...). The discourse is mobilized here as a tool. In other words, speeches are materials from which we seek to identify representations, values, intentions and even acts of social creation (Le Bart 2010; Maingueneau 2016; Angermüller 2017).

Finally for our data analysis we proceed in three steps: 1) does right-wing populism mobilize the notion of democracy? (content analysis) 2) How does right-wing populism define democracy? (framing analysis) 3) Why does right-wing populism mobilize the notion of democracy? (critical discourse analysis).

In more detail, we believe that the definitions of the term "democracy" in the discourse of right-wing populist parties mainly concern the mobilization of certain tools (referendums and initiatives) as well as a desire to "give power back to the people" ("people" that the right-wing populist parties define in a specific way). Our analysis also highlights links between our results and notions of identity, nationalism, chauvinism and nativism. We will conclude by questioning this "identity democracy" or "national democracy".

Mohsen Abbaszadeh Marzbali (University of Mazandaran, Iran)

Mohammad Radmard Soleymandarabi (University of Mazandaran, Iran)

Democracy, Development, and the Challenge of Populism (With a Focus on Contemporary Iran).

Abstract: Of the most repetitive snapshots of the story of modernity in Iran has been the continual contestation between modernism/ developmentalism and anti-modernism/ development-phobia. Why has been continued such contestation, and through what mechanism one can think of going beyond this defected cycle? The present paper points to a 'lack of appropriateness' in the political- economic theories of development for the contextual conditions of Iran. In a deeper layer, the problem can be traced back to the lack of consensus among Iranian elites on the conceptualization of democracy and development, and, more fundamentally, to the binary nature of Iran's contemporary social formation, i.e. being constituted of contending social strata such as traditional vs. modernist, religious vs. secular, etc. Politically, this lack of 'socially-appropriation' has intensified the polarization tied with the contemporary dilemma of definition of 'people-based governance' in Iran's intellectual- political atmosphere; that is, on the one hand, giving priority to secular definition of democracy while neglecting the traditional strata's identity-religious wills; on the other hand, giving priority to religious-populist definition of democracy while neglecting the modern strata's democratic wills. Economically, the above-mentioned theoretical- practical problem has brought about a 'dualism in function' within a state-run economy; that is, on the one hand, an implicit reproduction of clientelism based on distributive policies (whether allocating reinter privileges to the fellows or populist distribution of resources among the mob, or both); on the other hand, implementing the non-contextual developmental policies like neo-liberal structural adjustment. Consequently, a populist-clientelist atmosphere in governance has been institutionalized that in which, politically, the requirements for political development have yet remained problematic and, economically, shaping a consistent program for development has been deferred. The durability of such a dilemma has made vulnerable any genuine effort for modernity in Iran. Islamic Republic regime's sequential administrations might be exemplified for the hypothesis even though somehow different in agendas.

At the end, given the binary nature of Iranian social formation, the paper will propose that reaching a 'contextual social contract' calls for a 'socially- appropriated conceptualizations' of democracy and economic development in Iran. Built on 'institutionalism' as a theoretical framework, the present paper will also take advantage of the conceptions of 'accessibility' and 'credibility', in 'critical discourse analysis', as conditions for justifying such a 'third way'.

Wednesday, 21 August 2019

Plenary Discussion, 09:00-11:00

Papers: Laura Sibinescu (University of Helsinki)

The Challenges of Measuring Political Polarization with Big Data: An Application on The Use of Twitter in the 2019 European Parliament Elections.

Abstract: Does social media create echo chambers, or does the Internet's openness enable cross-cutting interactions of political views? Do users at opposite ends of the opinion spectrum discuss their disagreements, or simply ignore each other? Polarization is a hot topic in the context of the increasingly tense political climate driving recent electoral cycles across the world. Political science and media research is focusing more and more on ways in which highly polarized opinions on social media translate into electoral results and government decision-making. This paper approaches polarization from a more methodological perspective to discuss several technical issues of dealing with polarization. It focuses on three questions:

- (a) What are the challenges of measuring political polarization in large datasets?
- (b) How can we account for multiple nodes of polarity? How do we treat neutrality and filter out irrelevance?
- (c) To what degree are we able to track how polarizing topics 'travel' across different social media communities, and how polarization evolves over time?

The paper builds on data collected from Twitter related to the European Parliament elections across several EU countries during May 2019 and aims to address some of the issues that may later be encountered in more in-depth qualitative analysis of the data.

Panel Session 7, 13:00-15:00

7-1 Right-wing and Left-wing Populism: Political Polarization and Participation

Papers: Zea Szebeni (University of Helsinki)

The functions and effects of fake news and their association with political polarization

Abstract: A brief period of enthusiasm regarding the possibilities of social media to lead us into the golden age of global democracy has been followed by widespread concern. The media, scholars, civil society, and even politicians themselves, now fear that social media may in fact be undermining democracy. As social media is not inherently good or bad, the growing prevalence of disinformation online has been recognized as a possible drive for political polarization, thus decreasing quality of democracy. (Tucker et al., 2018). Much of the social science research that has attempted to address these concerns has concentrated on recognizing the individual difference variables, such as the cognitive profiles or demographic variables, that characterize people who consume and believe disinformation. To date however, little work has examined the effects that fake news could have on people and on our society and what underlying functions it may have for the individual. Not knowing the way people engage with the different types of misinformation, and what their actual effects are, we may undervalue their impact on our democratic institutions and not properly conceptualize the gravity of the problem.

The current project focuses on the effects of fake news consumption on people's views on politics and society, and the underlying functions that fake news consumption may have for individuals. We have little information on how digital media can contribute to polarization and disinformation in more unstable, hybrid or non-democratic regimes, where people do not trust institutions. In such an environment fake news could have a larger disruptive effect, than in established western democracies.

Sophie Schmalenberger (Aarhus University)

Populism beyond the "Never again!": The AfD as Memory Alternative for Germany

Abstract: Germany is no longer a blank spot on the European map of populism: The success of the AfD as völkisch-populist party is a decisive caesura in a nation where post-Holocaust culture so far constituted a formidable normative hurdle for similar parties, made vulnerable by daunting comparisons with the country's NS-past. However, existing populism scholarship does not offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the emergence and success of the AfD in context of post-Holocaust Germany's 'hostile' historic and politico-cultural environment.

It is here, where my PhD project aims to develop a novel theoretical approach based on the integration of populism research and memory studies, that is apt to analyse how the AfD successfully manoeuvres 'on the edge' between German post-Holocaust culture and ethnocentric positions as well as nationalist Euroscepticism. The central idea brought forward is that the AfD's national populist positions are embedded within the frameworks of an 'alternative German-ness' that builds upon an alternative memory culture: Through public communicative and performative acts that strategically mobilize aspects of German past and memory, AfD actors (re-)articulate how the past matters for the present self-conception of the German nation. Here, new structures of meaning and feeling brought forward via the rhetoric-performative memory work of AfD actors, oppose the liberal democratic politico-cultural fabric of post-Holocaust Germany and offer a re-structuring of what it means and feels like to be German. The articulation of this 'alternative German-ness' is

not radically new but connects to intellectual and emotive elements (of German self-perception) already existing or having existed previously within German society.

My presentation aims to introduce my theoretical framework as work in progress and offer some first analytical examples as basis for further discussion and questions.

Jessica Adams (University of East London)

Participatory art, political participation, and left populism in the UK

Abstract: My research aims to understand if and how a participatory art practice can help us to better understand contemporary left political participation by way of a notion of left populism, and it uses these insights generatively to inform strategies to explore participation's potential for radical social and political change.

Left populism is here understood as the emergent left-wing movements which adopt the discursive constructions of populism - popular sovereignty, the people, and the elite; which develop the commons; and in which prefigurative grassroots political participation sits alongside broader global agonistic and transversal forms of resistance.

Like political actors, artists have for many years sought ways to include 'ordinary people' in their work. In complicating traditional artist/audience boundaries, many artists see artistic participation as an emancipatory project in which individuals and communities can push for change through aesthetically-charged endeavours. Participatory art's emphasis on aesthetics, affect, creativity and pedagogy, and avowed prioritisation of process over product, overlaps in significant and generative ways when thinking through participation in politics.

My research asks if and how creativity can help us realise participation's emancipatory, radical and utopian promise and it is, in effect, an attempt at "the 'mobilisation of passion'" Chantal Mouffe advocates. It responds to the challenge that "[d]emocratization requires theoretical and practical efforts to co-articulate the need for energetic critique and resistance, and the need to cultivate those institutions and spaces of everyday politics that can invent new practices of resistance and everyday imagination."

My paper will discuss my research to date (including the context in the UK) and the strategies I am considering to operationalise post-foundational discourse analysis within my methodology.

Jiun-Chi Lin (KU Leuven/ National Sun Yat-sen University)

Comparing Online Right-wing and Left-wing Populist Communication: Analysing Facebook Contents of AfD's and The Left's Top Candidates in the 2017 Bundestagswahl

Abstract: So far, few studies compared the right- and left-wing populist communication at the theoretical level. With a growing focus on populist communication and social media uses, the current study points out different types of communicative performances of right- and left-wing populist communication. By adopting a communication-centered approach, this study analyses Facebook contents of top candidates of AfD and The Left during the 2017 electoral campaign period. Methodologically, a mixed method combining co-occurrence analysis and social network analysis is adopted. Our study verifies that communicative patterns of all top candidates are characterised by people centrism, an anti-establishment attitude and the exclusion of out-groups. The exclusion of out-groups, however, is more obvious in right-wing populist communication, whereas people centrism is more significant in left-wing populist communications. Furthermore, left-wing populist communication on Facebook incites users' resentments more effectively: it seems that left-wing populist messages mobilised more Facebook users' participation during the election campaign.

8-1 Freedom of Expression, Truth and Ideology in Historical and Contemporary Perspective

Papers: Michael Cole (University of Tartu)

Alternative Truths: The Kerch Strait Incident and Martial Law in Russian Language News Headlines

Abstract: Russian language media's role in promulgating Kremlin-friendly narratives to Russian speakers in Post-Soviet countries is widely acknowledged (Yablokov, 2015:310). As a result, those Russian language media outlets most commonly accused of spreading 'fake news' and 'disinformation' were banned in Ukraine following Euromaidan (Pörzgen, 2016:38). However, sites adhering to Ukrainian state media regulations appear to have greater potential to further Russia's agenda, than those banned sources whose overtly pro-Kremlin narratives have been largely discredited (Feklyunina, 2016:791). This article compares headlines on two Russian language news sites regarding the Kerch Strait Incident and subsequent introduction of Martial Law in Ukraine in November 2018. The first (Kp.ua) is considered to promote pro-Russian discourses, whilst the second (Ukrainska Pravda) is more pro-Western outlet. The analysis demonstrates how, despite these alternative ideological standpoints, news values and linguistic choices in headlines on both sites may assist the promotion of Russian rather than Ukrainian interests.

Jaanika Erne (University of Tartu)

The Concept of Expression in Classical, Modern, and Postmodern Contexts

Abstract: The paper shows possibilities and limits of conceptual history with tracking freedom of expression as an example of a concept. The link between populism and freedom of expression is derived from the idea of forming of the political through media. For example, Althusser distinguishes in the framework of state apparatus between the repressive state apparatuses that represent the public domain, and ideological state apparatuses that are part of the private domain and function by ideology. He has forwarded the idea of the social function of ideology 'as a myth similar to Plato's „beautiful lies“ produced and fabricated and manipulated from the outside by the ruling class and contains repression', an example of which is censorship. For the reason expression at Plato's time was related with truth, the paper tracks how the ideas of truth and censorship, representing the sides of ethics and politics, have politically (re-)conceptualized in Europe within different epistemic contexts from Ancient Greece to legalization and judicialization of the freedom of expression at the post-truth era. The paper tries to make visible how expression has maintained the duality as being codified as a right with limitations, for example in Article 10 ECHR. The paper shows temporal and spatial breaks and fragmentation underlying a concept. The method is conceptual history analysis because the emphasis is on conceptual change. The method has allowed to show continuities and discontinuities as a diachronic development that has led to a concept in use.

The paper is showing not explaining the factual change that it deals with. The main conclusion is that despite the concepts under research have changed fundamentally and had breaks in the contexts surrounding them, the features of totalitarianism are represented at classical, modern and postmodern times in understanding and interpreting expression. The finding of such common theme of totalitarianism cannot in itself mean that the development of the concepts can be not more than a series of contingent transitions. The value of the paper, then, lies in introducing the openness and contingency of societal entities.

Otto Kyyrönen (Tampere University/ University of Jyväskylä)

Retracing Ideology: The Four Marxist Traditions

Abstract: Ideology is an obscure construct inasmuch as it seems to escape our comprehension. Historically, the concept was first used in the beginning of the 19th century by Antoine Destutt de Tracy, a French aristocrat and philosopher, after which it was adopted by Napoleon Bonaparte, assigning the word its pejorative meaning. However, the first writers who understood ideology in the modern sense of the term were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, most notably applying it in their manuscript named *The German Ideology*. From this point onwards, the notion of ideology has served not only as a fruitful source for theorization, but also as an inflammatory tinder for fierce debates.

In my presentation, I retrace some of these debates, distinguishing between four Marxist understandings of the phenomenon of ideology. That is, ideology can be considered either as a neutral phenomenon of consciousness (e.g. Marxism-Leninism), as a critical phenomenon of consciousness (e.g. 'false consciousness'), as something neutral that somehow constitutes consciousness (e.g. Antonio Gramsci), or as something critical that somehow constitutes consciousness (e.g. Projekt Ideologie-Theorie). My argument is that we need to untangle the deadlock of ideology in order to further clarify our understanding of diverse political-social phenomena, such as populism.