The Second Helsinki Conference on Emotions, Populism, and Polarisation

Tuesday, 4 May 2021 - Saturday, 8 May 2021

All times are Eastern European Summer Time (EEST) - UTC+03:00

Tuesday, 4 May 2021

1000 – 1130 Opening/keynote 1
Welcome: Juha Herkman (University of Helsinki) HEPP2 Organising Committee Chair
Katja Valaskivi and Johanna Sumiala (University of Helsinki): Covid-19, QAnon and epistemic instability: the circulation of conspiracy theories in the hybrid media environment

1145 – 1315 Panels 1

1.1 IAMCR’s Crisis, Security and Conflict Communication Working Group special panel: Inequality, crisis and technology at a crossroads

Maria Avraamidou (University of Cyprus): Migrant racialisation on Twitter during a border and a pandemic crisis

Irina Milutinovic (Institute of European Studies Belgrade): The role of media in the political polarisation of the public within the unconsolidated democracy regime

Ionut Chiruta (University of Tartu): Covid-19: Performing control through sedimented discursive norms on mainstream media in Romania

Ssu-Han Yu (London School of Economics and Political Science): Mediating polarisation and populism: An inter-generational analysis

1.2 From Yellow Vests to public debate

Gwenaëlle Bauvois (University of Helsinki): Are the Yellow Vests populists? A definitional exploration of the Yellow Vests movement

Ingeborg Misje Bergem (University of Oslo): Covid-19’s effect on the Yellow Vest Movement in France
Salla Tuomola (Tampere University): The emotions in the people’s imagery of the Finnish-language anti-immigrant alternative media

Minna-Kerttu Kekki (University of Oulu): Public debate as increasing or decreasing polarisation: a philosophical analysis of learning by discussion

1400 – 1530 Panels 2

2.1 Emotions and performance

Lone Sorensen (University of Leeds): Populist representation: ideology and performance

Ivan Tranfić & Maja Gergorić (Scuola Normale Superiore): Shiny happy people laughing: The far-right’s mobilisation of emotions through visual repertoires of the march for life

Joshua Roose (Deakin University): The new demagogues: Masculinity, emotion and the populist epoch

Brendan Humphreys (Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki): White House blues: Self-pity, resentment, and empathy as political emotions

2.2 Pop culture and propaganda

Rebecca Carr (Trinity College Dublin): Polarising mythology in the films of Clint Eastwood and Emir Kusturica

Outi Hakola (University of Helsinki): Trumpwave videos: Popular culture, nostalgia and social hierarchies as tools for mobilisation of Trump supporters

Lorenz Klumpp (University of Passau): Populism by or through the media? Visual representations of politicians on magazine covers of “Der Spiegel” and “Compact”

Emilia Barna (Budapest University of Technology and Economics): The system of national cooperation hit factory: The populist aesthetic of Hungarian propaganda songs between 2010-2020

1545 – 1715 Panels 3

3.1 Hegemony and democracy

Francesco Melito (Jagiellonian University): Finding the roots of neo-traditionalist populism in Poland: “Cultural displacement” and European integration

Dario Quattromani & Roberto de Rosa (Tuscia University of Viterbo & Niccolò Cusano University): Individuals, society and culture in the populist age

Niko Hatakka (University of Birmingham): Hegemonic meanings of populism: A comparative analysis of populism as a floating signifier in the prestige newspapers of six countries 2000-2018

Michał Nawrocki (University of Warsaw): Populist Community of Knowledge. From the Discursive to the Cognitive Turn in Populism Studies

3.2 Education through populist aspects

Reja Wyss (University of Oxford): (Populist) politics and science: The case of postdoctoral researchers in Poland
Jitka Wirthová (Charles University): Anti-state populism in Czech educational governance: Relations among state, expertise, and civil society

Abdellatif Atif (Free University of Bolzano): The ideological dimension in the electoral Labour discourse on education

Bezen Coskun (TED University): Syrian refugees in the eyes of the second generation of exchangee (Mubadil) families in Izmir

3.3 Internal and cross-border mobilisations

Cristina Pradillo Caimari (University of Barcelona): Mobilising the (national) people: A psycho-political approach to the Catalan crisis

Ingrid Ríos-Rivera (Universidad Casa Grande/Universidad de Chile): Populism across borders? Exploring the role of populist discourses in Bolivian and Ecuadorian electoral campaigns abroad

Andreea-Roxana Gușă (University of Bucharest): Corruption as a rhetorical strategy of populist parties. Case study: The 2020 electoral campaign for the Romanian Parliament of The Alliance for the Unity of Romanians


1800 – 1930 Panels 4

4.1 Protests and populism

David Ramírez Plascencia (University of Guadalajara): Tropical populism and the pandemic: A comparative study of presidential discourse in Mexico and Brazil

Courtney Blackington (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill): In defence of liberal democracy: Who protests against populists and why?

Emma Connolly (Open University UK): #JeSuisCharlie and #TheyAreUs: Populist politics as affective performance

Anniina Hyttinen (University of Helsinki): Possibilities and limits of humour and satire: A visual study of resistance of the illiberal rule in Hungary

4.2 Mainstreaming Populism and WhiKnow projects roundtable

Chaired by Juha Herkman, with participants from the project teams: Political polarisation in Twitter campaigns of the 2019 EP elections

Wednesday, 5 May 2021

1000 – 1130 Panels 5

5.1 Challenges of Democracy
Dario Mazzola (University of Bergen): *Populism and the radicalisation of democracy: The frontiers of democratisation*

Paulina Lenik (University College London): *Trusting the untrustworthy: An exploration of attitudes towards populist government in Poland using survey data*

Máté Mátyás (Corvinus University of Budapest & University of Tartu): *Media systems, party systems, and populism: The case of Hungary (1990-2020)*

Vitalijus Leibenka (Gen. J. Žemaitis Lithuanian Military Academy): *The State’s response to lies in hybrid media*

1145 – 1315 Keynote 2

Bice Maiguashca (University of Exeter): *Resisting the populist hype: A feminist critique*

1400 – 1530 Panels 6

**6.1 Media and morality**

Joonas Koivukoski & Salla-Maria Laaksonen (University of Helsinki): *Clowning around a polarised issue: Rhetorical strategies and communicative outcomes of a political parody performance by Loldiers of Odin*

Marina Vahter (Tallinn University): *Morality and moral emotions as a predictor of populist success? The case of the Swedish Democrats*

Eoin Devereux, James Carr, Amanda Haynes, and Martin Power, University of Limerick (Ireland): Paper title forthcoming

**6.2 Populism redefined**

Marina Vulovic & Emilia Pälonen (University of Helsinki): *Debating the ontological and ontic dimension of populism*

Ahmad Bostani (Kharazmi University): *A phenomenological approach to populism and imagination*

Ben Jack Nash: *Is populism made from plastic?*

Yonathan Listik (University of Amsterdam): *A case for political stupidity*

**6.3 Contesting Gender**

Tuija Saresma (University of Jyväskylä): *Gendered violence online: Hate speech as an intersection of misogyny and racism*

Katja Kahlina (University of Helsinki): *Anti-gender mobilisation and strategic deployment of populism: The case of Croatia*

Hande Eslen-Ziya (University of Stavanger): *Establishing networked misogyny: An analysis of the online anti-Istanbul Convention presence*

Pavol Hardos & Zuzana Madarova (Comenius University): *The conservative people vs liberal elites: How gender ideology actors pursued a new hegemonic frontier*
1545 – 1715 Panels 7

7.1 Covid-19 and populism

Artur Lipiński (Adam Mickiewicz University): Populism, presidential elections and Covid-19: The case of Poland

Sara García Santamaría (Universitat Jaume I): Politicians at home: Left-wing populism and performances of the intimate self during the Covid-19 pandemic

Ilana Hartikainen (University of Helsinki): The visible virus: Andrej Babiš’ response to Covid-19 reflected in Prague

Inias Laureys (KU Leuven): Loneliness and populism: Why Covid-19 could threaten modern-day democracy

7.2 Sovereignty and polarisation

Emmy Eklundh (Cardiff University): Performing sovereignty: Populism as the European condition

Martina Insero (University of Rome): Affective dimension of political polarisation: The role of empathy

Anam Kuraishi (University of Essex): Insights from South Asia: A case of “post-truth” electoral discourse in Pakistan

Thibault Biscahie (York University): The democratic limits of “Anti-Populism”: Perspectives from France and Italy

1800 – 1930 Panels 8

8.1 Far-right populism

Murat Aktas (Mus Alparslan University): Far-right and the populist coalition in Austria

Emre Metin Bilginer (Kadir Has University): The impact of the evolution of nationalism on the recent rise of the radical right within the European context: The case of Golden Dawn

Sophie Schmalenberger (Aarhus University): Populism as affective dissent: The AfD, memory and the orchestration of far-right affects in Germany

Sabine Volk (Jagiellonian University): Far-right populist PEGIDA during the COVID-19 pandemic

8.2 Hegemony and polarisation

Timothy Appleton (Camilo Jose Cela University): Populism vs. hegemony: Towards a populism of singularities

Julius Schneider (University of Essex): Demanding change: Representation and identities in the Essex School of Discourse Analysis

Luke Collison (Kingston University London): The political “energy” of Georges Sorel
Ybiskay Gonzalez (University of Newcastle): Political polarisation: A revisited concept

Thursday, 6 May 2021

1000 – 1130 Panel 9

9.1 “Performing Control” of the Covid-19 Crisis roundtable

Emilia Palonen, Dolors Palau, Dario Quattromani, Virpi Salojärvi (Topic Editors) and authors from the upcoming Frontiers Research Topic “Performing Control” of the Covid-19 Crisis

1145 – 1315 Panels 10

10.1 Hybrid, pseudo, and social media

Dolors Palau-Sampio (University of València): Conspiracy theories of the pandemic in the Spanish pseudo media

Mette Marie Roslyng (Aalborg University): Climate change as left populist discourse: The circulation of facts and knowledge on social media

Neringa Mataityte (Vilnius University): The role of emotions in the mobilisation of society to fight climate change: Constructing emotional states to inspire mass movement

Andrzej Meler & Radosław Sojak (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń): Compensation or supplementation? The patterns of new and traditional media usage by Polish politicians

10.2 Affects and narratives

Liv Sunnercrantz (University of Stavanger): Mainstreaming the fringe: Populism, affect, and expertise in two Swedish crises

Daniele Valentini (University of Osnabrück): Memetic mind invasion: Alt-right affective practices

Florian Spissinger (Leipzig University): Affects and narratives of the future: The appeal of far-right populism

Ivan Kislenko (HSE University & Ghent University): Emotions of “Dignity” and “Humiliation” in southern theory: An analysis of narratives

10.3 Populism and security

Ugo Gaudino (University of Kent): Securitisation of Islam from the right to the left: ideological translations and populism in Italian politics

Osman Sahin (Glasgow Caledonian University): How populists securitise elections to win them: The 2015 double elections in Turkey

J Matias Kivikangas (University of Helsinki): Emotions and affect in political science: Examples of fear and threat processing in securitisation
1400 – 1530 Panels 11

11.1 Thinking with Chantal Mouffe

Simona Guerra (University of Surrey): *It takes two to tango: The anti-populist narrative that strengthens the Eurosceptic discourse*

Tuukka Brunila (University of Helsinki): *Populism and the limits of politics*

Joshua Makalintal (University of Innsbruck): *Neglecting sentiments of resentment: An assessment of postcolonial liberalism’s blindness to the political*

Lasse Thomassen (University of Copenhagen): *The “populist” constitution of liberal democracy*

11.2 Constructing “Authentic” populism on social media: Visual and discursive approaches

Sara Garcia Santamaria (Universitat Jaume I)

Marianna Iya Zummo (Università degli Studi di Palermo)

Michael Cole (University of Tartu)

1545 – 1715 Keynote 3

Silvio Waisbord (George Washington University): *Pandemic under populism: cultural wars and the collapse of the communication commons*

1800 – 1930 Panels 12

12.1 Polarising discourses

Mihnea Stoica & Ioan Hosu (Babeș-Bolyai University): *Altering political perceptions: A comparative study on Romanian elections before and during the pandemic*

Can Zengin (Temple University): *From shame to populism: The role of pride in political attitude*

Reece Peck (College of Staten Island, CUNY) & Matthew Dewey (Loyola Marymount University, LA): *The Young Turks of left media: The rise of progressive populism online*

Mark Reiff (University of California at Davis): *The unbearable resilience of illiberalism*

12.2 Populism and Gender

Emiliana De Blasio, Donatella Selva & Isabella Borrelli (LUISS University): *Countering populism with positive emotions: An analysis of queer movements’ communication in Italy*

Diana Vallejo-Robalino (Casa Grande University): *Characterising the Ecuadorian pueblo: Towards the construction of a populist discourse by the hands of Afro-Ecuadorian women*
Emanuela Buscemi (University of Monterrey): *Mexican populism and the feminist social movement*

Brian Charles (National University of Singapore): “*The Sham(e) of Democracy*”: *Contemporary Populism and the Politics of Shame*

**Friday, 7 May 2021**

**1000 – 1130 Panel 13**

**13.1 Appealing to the people: The importance of being bana(na)l**

A roundtable with the Banana Populism blog founders

Ilana Hartikainen (University of Helsinki)
Zea Szebeni (University of Helsinki)
Mike Cole (University of Tartu)
Sophie Schmalenberger (Aarhus University)

**1145 – 1315 Panels 14**

**14.1 Johnson and the EU**

Meljana Bregu (University of Tirana): *The impact of Covid-19 and populism on the future of the European Union*

Carola Schoor (Maastricht University): *Populist and non-populist political styles and corona*

Sam Page: *Boris Johnson and Populism*

Alexander Alekseev & Ivan Fomin (Higher School of Economics, Moscow & Russian Academy of Sciences): *Sovereignty in the political discourse of the populist radical right: The right of the people and the right of the peoples*

**14.2 Political communication and crisis**

Ambar Kumar Ghosh (Observer Research Foundation, Kolkata): *Locating populism through political communication in India during Covid-19: A case study of Modi’s political messaging in response to the pandemic*

Maxim Alyukov (University of Tyumen, University of Helsinki, & Centre for Independent Social Research, Saint-Petersburg): *News, heuristics, and media credibility under a nondemocratic regime*

Kristiina Savola (Stockholm University): *Populist communication style in Finnish politicians’ social media texts*

Vladimír Naxera & Ondřej Stulík (University of West Bohemia): *The communication of the Czech Prime Minister Andrej Babiš in the times of Covid-19: Between populism and neo-patrimonialism*

**1400 – 1530 Panels 15**

**15.1 Global spotlight: India**
P Muhammed Afzal (Birla Institute of Technology and Science): Melodrama and the “People’s Hero”: Visual imagery and populist politics in Kerala, South India

Silvia Tieri (King’s College London): Reinforcing discrimination: Media and the Covid-19 crisis in India

Ayan Das (University of Gour Banga) & Debajit Goswami (Netaji Subhas Open University): How to identify a populist political party? Understanding the mode of governance of populist parties: A study of Left Front & Trinamool congress regimes in West Bengal, India

15.2 Pandemic and populism

Eszter Farkas (Central European University): Partisan polarisation in measurement evaluation and science scepticism in Hungary related to the Covid-19 crisis

Daniel Keil (University of Cologne): Covid-19, the crisis of the European Union and the far right in Europe: The importance of the far right’s imagination of Europe before and after the Covid-19 crisis

Filipa Figueira (University College London): The two-sided effect of Covid-19 on populism: A bounded rationality analysis

Hristina Runcheva Tasev (Ss. Cyril and Methodius University): Populism in a pandemic world: An analysis of populist leaders’ responses to Covid-19

15.3 Rhetoric, social media and politicians

Marianna Saartio-Itkonen & Tania Kalliokoski (University of Helsinki): Rhetoric of evil in the social media debate during the immigration crisis

Tobias Widmann (European University Institute): Who played down the pandemic? Strategic emotional rhetoric in political communication and its impact on the mass public

Matteo Mastracci (Koç University): Oy ve Ötesi: The role of a civil society movement ahead of the 2019 Istanbul mayoral election rerun as a genuine populist response


1545 – 1715 Panels 16

16.1 Facebook under study

Laura-Elena Sibinescu (University of Helsinki): Debating the family: Online civic mobilisation in Romania’s 2018 constitutional referendum

Márton Bene (Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence): Populism in context: A cross-country investigation of the Facebook usage of populist appeals during the 2019 EP elections

Elisa Kannasto (Seinäjoki University of Applied Sciences & University of Vaasa): Non-professional political movements on Facebook: Supporting “The Master”
Xénia Farkas (Corvinus University): Visual populism in the 2019 European parliamentary campaign on party Facebook pages: a 28-country comparative analysis

16.2 Emotions and attitudes

Tereza Capelos (University of Birmingham): Hot reaction: Resentment, values, and reactionary orientations in populist times

Koen Abts (Tilburg University): Social resentment and cynical-populist attitudes

Veronika DostálOVá (Masaryk University): Widespread or exclusive to particular sub-groups within society? Measurement equivalence of the CSES populist attitudes scale at the within-country level

Monika Verbalyte (Europa-Universität Flensburg): Populist anger vs. anger about populists: Discourse network analysis of the European election campaign 2019 in Germany

16.3 Misinformation and leadership

Lorenzo Viviani (University of Pisa): “I’m (not) one of you”: Populist personalisation and charismatic leadership

Cynthia Boyer (Université Toulouse Capitole): Government speech, misinformation and social media in the Trump age

Patrick Sawyer (Higher School of Economics): Conspiracism in populist radical right candidates: Rallying the base or mainstreaming the fringe?

Tianhao Yang (Berkshire School): How media misinformation worsens political polarisation

1800 – 1930 Panels 17

17.1 Authoritarianism and the people

Sergio Schargel (São Paulo University): A Brazil of two Brazils: How populism and fascism enlightens integralism and Bolsonarism

Michele Luz & Letícia Baron (Universidade Federal de Pelotas): The role of nostalgia in the populist far-right discourse in Brazil

Svitlana Shcherbak (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine): Anti-nationalist populism in Ukraine

Georgia Dimari (University of Crete): The desecuritisation of migration in Greece: Towards a “Flexicuritization” Approach

17.2 Affective polarisation

Jennifer McCoy, Ozlem Tuncel & Juan Gomez Cruces (Georgia State University): Reducing partisan inter-group conflict through shared common humanity and perspective-taking: Using holistic content analysis to examine null experimental results, compliance, and breakdown of the mechanisms
Arto Kekkonen (University of Helsinki): Affective blocs: Understanding affective polarisation in multiparty systems

Daniel Kawecki (University of Helsinki): Affectively polarised voters, partisanship and ideology: The case of the Finnish multiparty system

Mikko Salmela (University of Helsinki & University of Copenhagen): Resentful affect and conservation values: Understanding the psychological determinants of reactionary orientation

Saturday, 8 May 2021

1000 – 1130 Panel 18

18.1 Trust, polarisation, and identity

Dechun Zhang (Leiden University): Media use, media trust and nationalism in China during the Covid-19 pandemic

Marcela Lins (Federal University of Minas Gerais): For a genealogy of suspension: Biopolitics and health crises in Brazil in three moments

Beata Królicka (Nicolaus Copernicus University): A “Staunch Ally” or a “Useful Tool”? Politicians and collective identity in media discourse regarding the Polish-American relationship

Jorge Hardisson Martín (University of Salamanca): Affection in postmodern identity

1145 – 1315 Panels 19

19.1 Conspiracy, trust, and the pandemic

Alina Mozolevska (Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University): Responses to the Covid-19 crisis of the new Ukrainian populism: Main narratives in Volodymyr Zelensky’s discourse

Lena Masch & Anna Gassner (Heinrich Heine University): Anxiety, distrust and the support of populism during the Covid-19 pandemic

Carolina Plaza Colodro and Nicolás Miranda Olivares (University of Salamanca): Populism and the pandemia: The case of Spain

Eliana Regina Lopes Loureiro (UFABC): Fake news, populism, polarisation and emotions in Covid-19 narratives in Brazil

19.2 Populism and polarisation

Jorge Ramos-González & Pablo Ortiz (University of Salamanca): Radicalism and populism: do they always go hand in hand? A comparative analysis of the ideology of the radical left and the radical right in Spain

Koichi Osamura: Stop sitting on the fence: How social media is inducing political polarisation in the age of denial

Yoav Peled (Tel Aviv University): The ascendance of right-wing populism: Israel in comparative perspective
Carlo Moll (University of Cambridge): Notes on the history of democratic populism in Italy: The case of La Voce, 1909-1914

1400 – 1530 Panels 20

20.1 Ideology and identity

Dominykas Kaminskas (Vilnius University): Populism as an identity-building practice

Samer Alnasir (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia): Forging identity by demonising others: The populist epistemes in the Spanish imaginary

Alberto Stefanelli (KU Leuven): The nature of radical belief systems: Exploring the ontological and ontic components of radical ideologies

Michał Kozłowski (University of Warsaw): Authoritarian populism and the falling rate of patriarchal dividend

20.2 Fake news and the State

Karolina Wiśniowska (Jagiellonian University): Free speech and the spread of fake news: Moral aspects of appeals to scientific and philosophical discussions in the public debate


Gerly Elbrecht (Tallinn University): The concept of democracy as a tool for populist visionaries: Populist legitimation as a tactic for state reform

Attila Kustán Magyari (Tampere University): Defending our authentic way of life: How populist and conspiratorial discourses intertwine

1545 – 1715 Panel 21 and closing words

21.1 Final panel: Approaches to polarisation

Saija Räsänen (University of Milan): Polarising media populism during government crises in Finland and in Italy

Rosemarie Calleja (MCAST Institute for the Creative Arts): Political communication and media in times of crisis and polarisation

Hakan Ovunc Ongur (TOBB University of Economics and Technology): Swinging between cultural populisms: How Turkey’s tradition of populist politics has resulted in extreme social polarisation

Emre Erdogan & Pınar Uyan Semerci (Istanbul Bilgi University): Emotions: The hidden link between populism and polarisation

Closing words: Juha Herkman and Emilia Palonen

Conference ends