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## 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*

Sara Schmitt (University of Stuttgart): *Does social media make everyone a populist? Policy contagion of right-wing parties on Members of the European Parliament's Twitter discourse, 2014-2019*

## **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*

## **5.2 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*

## **1145 – 1315 Keynote 2**

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

## **1400 – 1530 Panels 6**

### **6.1 Media and morality**

Joonas Koivukoski & Salla-Maaria 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 Palonen (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 Inero (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 Biscarie (York University): *The democratic limits of "Anti-Populism": Perspectives from France and Italy*

## **1800 – 1930 Panels 8**

### **8.1 Far-right and 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 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 Kislenco (HSE University & Ghent University): *Emotions of “Dignity” and “Humiliation” in southern theory: An analysis of narratives*

### **10.2 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*

Furkan Cay & Murat Deregözü (University of Szeged): *Early Turkish populism*

## 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)

Virpi Salojärvi (University of Helsinki)

## 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 (Babeş-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 Maymount 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, Balázs Böcskei & Andrea Szabó (Central European University, Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence): *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*

Sara Schmitt (University of Stuttgart): *Does social media make everyone a populist? Policy contagion of right-wing parties on Members of the European Parliament's Twitter discourse 2014-2019*

## 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 (Seinäjäki 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 Ortíz (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*

Tuğçe Erçetin & Emre Erdogan (Istanbul Bilgi University): *Reproduction of fear in populist discourse: Analysis of electoral speeches (2015-2018) by the AKP*

Gerly Elbrecht (Tallinn University): *The concept of democracy as a tool for populist visionaries: Populist legitimization 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 & Pinar Uyan Semerci (Istanbul Bilgi University): *Emotions: The hidden link between populism and polarisation*

**Closing words:** Juha Herkman and Emilia Palonen

**Conference ends**