



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات  
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

# ACRPS Winter School Program

## Variations in Populism

4 - 13 January 2022

[Timetable](#) | [Participants](#) | [Lecturers and Discussants](#)





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# Timetable

## Day 1: Tuesday, 4 January 2022

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 11:30 – 12:00 | Registration  |
| 12:00 – 12:15 | <b>Welcoming Remarks</b>  |
| 12:15 – 13:45 | <p><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Mujtaba Ali Isani:</b> Measuring and Explaining Explicit and Implicit Populism in the Middle East</p> <hr/> <p><b>Discussant: Ammar Shamaileh</b></p>          |
| 13:45 – 14:00 | Coffee Break  |
| 14:00 – 15:30 | <p><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Saltanat Kydyralieva:</b> The Central Asian Model of Populism: Political Psychology, Elites and History</p> <hr/> <p><b>Discussant: Abdelkarim Amengay</b></p> |
| 15:30 – 16:15 | Lunch Break   |
| 16:15 – 17:45 | <p><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Amir Muhammad Esmaeili:</b> Populism and Political Islam after the Arab Uprisings</p> <hr/> <p><b>Discussant: Dana El Kurd</b></p>                             |
| 17:45 – 18:00 | Coffee Break  |
| 18:00 – 19:00 | <p><b>Opening Lecture</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Amal Ghazal</b></p> <p><b>Azmi Bishara:</b> Populism and the Permanent Crisis of Democracy</p>   |

## Day 2: Wednesday, 5 January 2022

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 12:30 – 13:30 | <p><b>Lecture</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Aicha Elbasri</b></p> <p><b>Abdelwahab El-Affendi: The War against Windmills: Populism and Conspiracy Narratives</b></p>                              |
| 13:30 – 13:45 | <p>Coffee Break</p>  |
| 13:45 – 15:15 | <p><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Sheheen Kattiparambil: Ghosts of Fascism's Past</b></p> <hr/> <p><b>Discussant: Abdelkarim Amengay</b></p>  |
| 15:15 – 16:15 | <p>Lunch Break</p>   |
| 16:15 – 17:45 | <p><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Mohmad Waseem Malla: Populism, Hindutva Nationalism, and the Muslims as the Political "other"</b></p> <hr/> <p><b>Discussant: Mehran Kamrava</b></p>    |
| 17:45 – 18:00 | <p>Coffee Break</p>  |
| 18:00 – 19:00 | <p><b>Lecture</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Ammar Shamaileh</b></p> <p><b>Daniel Stockemer: Contagious Politics and COVID-19: Does the Infectious Disease Hit Populist Supporters Harder?</b></p> |

## Day 3: Thursday, 6 January 2022

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 12:30 – 13:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Abdelwahab El-Affendi</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Paul Taggart: Foxes in the Chicken Coop? Three Strategies of Populists in Government</b></p>   |
| 13:30 – 13:45 | Coffee Break  |
| 13:45 – 15:15 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Nouzha Baba: The Intersection of Populism and Nationalism in France and the Netherlands: Towards an Exclusionary Rhetoric</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Paul Taggart</b></p>   |
| 15:15 – 16:15 | Lunch Break   |
| 16:15 – 17:45 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Marie-Soleil Normandin: I am Voting for a PRRP, So What? Understanding the Driving Predictors of Gender Trajectories for the Front National/Rassemblement National</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Nonna Mayer</b></p> |
| 17:45 – 18:00 | Coffee Break  |
| 18:00 – 19:00 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Abdelkarim Amengay</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Cristóbal Kaltwasser: Riding the Populist Wave: The Mainstream Right in Crisis</b></p>  |



## Day 4: Saturday, 8 January 2022

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 10:30 – 11:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Mohammed Hemchi</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Abdallah Saaf: On Populism(s) of the Arab World</b></p>  |
| 11:30 – 11:45 | Coffee Break  |
| 11:45 – 13:15 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Francesco Amoruso: Populism and Localism: New Cities and the Rise of Corporate Populism in Palestine</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Tariq Dana</b></p>                      |
| 13:15 – 13:30 | Coffee Break  |
| 13:30 – 15:00 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Seyed Hossein Mirjafari: The Universal Jurisdiction: a Populist Institution or an International Bio-Requirement?</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Angelos Chrysogelos</b></p> |
| 15:00 – 16:00 | Lunch Break   |
| 16:00 – 17:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Kofi Arhin: How do we Explain African American Support for Donald Trump in the United States?</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Ammar Shamaileh</b></p>                        |

## Day 5: Sunday, 9 January 2022

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 12:30 – 13:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Abdelfattah Mady</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Abdelkarim Amengay: Media Content and the Rise of Populism</b></p>                              |
| 13:30 – 13:45 | Coffee Break  |
| 13:45 – 15:15 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Keith Prushankin: Entrepreneurial Populism: Firm-Led Development in Babiš's Czechia</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Angelos Chrysosgelos</b></p>             |
| 15:15 – 16:15 | Lunch Break   |
| 16:15 – 17:45 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Juan Gómez Cruces : Populist Leaders. Populist Social Media? Evidence from Latin America</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser</b></p> |
| 17:45 – 18:00 | Coffee Break  |
| 18:00 – 19:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Shalini Singh: Populism in the Global South: A Study of Popular Politics in India</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Narendra Subramanian</b></p>               |

## Day 6: Monday, 10 January 2022

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 12:30 – 13:30 | <p><b>Lecture</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Ayat Hamdan</b></p> <p><b>Nonna Mayer:</b> From Le Pen to Zemmour: Radical Right Populism in France</p>   |
| 13:30 – 13:45 | Coffee Break   |
| 13:45 – 15:15 | <p><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Paula Andrea Sierra Palencia:</b> Populism in the Colombian Congress</p> <hr/> <p><b>Discussant: Cristobal Kaltwasser</b></p>   |
| 15:15 – 16:15 | Lunch Break  |
| 16:15 – 17:45 | <p><b>Round Table Discussion</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Abdelkarim Amengay</b></p> <p>Forty Years After the Breakthrough of the "Third Wave" of Populism: What we know?<br/>What we do not know? And what is next?</p> |
| 17:45 – 18:00 | Coffee Break   |
| 18:00 – 19:00 | <p><b>Lecture</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Abdelkarim Amengay</b></p> <p><b>Narendra Subramanian:</b> Indian Populisms in a Comparative-Theoretical Perspective</p>  |

## Day 7: Wednesday, 12 January 2022

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 10:30 – 11:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Marwan Kabalan</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Angelos Chrysosgelos: Between People Power and State Power: The Ambivalence of Populism in International Relations</b></p>  |
| 11:30 – 11:45 | <p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>   |
| 11:45 – 13:15 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>George Mihai Constantinescu: Echo-Chambered Populism: Comparing the Facebook Activity of the Romanian Populist Parties</b></p> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Nina Wiesehomeier</b></p> |
| 13:15 – 13:30 | <p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>   |
| 13:30 – 15:00 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Jonathan Luke Melchiorre : 'Politics Unusual': Generational Populism and the Making of People Power in Uganda</b></p> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Abdelkarim Amengay</b></p>         |
| 15:00 – 16:00 | <p style="text-align: center;">Lunch Break</p>  |
| 16:00 – 17:30 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Gizem Kaya: Different Geographies and Different Forms of Populism: Turkey and Argentina</b></p> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Daniel Stockemer</b></p>                                 |

## Day 8: Thursday, 13 January 2022

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 10:30 – 12:00 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Presentation</b></p> <p><b>Berfin Çakin:</b> Exploring Emotions in Erdogan's Discourse: Why is Transnational Populism Appealing to Arab Societies?</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Bassel Salloukh</b></p> |
| 12:00 – 12:15 | Coffee Break   |
| 12:15 – 13:15 | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lecture</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Mohammad Almasri</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Nina Wiesehomeier:</b> Measuring Populism with Expert Surveys</p>  |
| 13:15 – 14:15 | Lunch Break  |
| 14:15 – 15:15 | <b>Closing Remarks</b>   |



# Participants

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# Abstracts



## Amir Muhammad Esmaeili

PhD candidate in International Relations at Shanghai International Studies University, China. He graduated from Imam Sadiq University, Tehran, majoring in Islamic Studies and Political Science. His research interests include Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, foreign policy, and media and international politics. He has authored, edited and contributed to a number of scholarly articles and books, including recent book titled *Understanding International Politics after Covid-19; Challenges, Issues and Perspectives*.

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### Populism and Political Islam after the Arab Uprisings

The failure of the Arab Uprisings along with the nature of Middle Eastern and North African hybrid regimes and the lack of credibility and legitimacy of pan-Arab and pan-Islamic ideologies have resulted in alternative responses to regional socio-political developments. Shifting attention away from ideological debates on the Islamic worldview toward the political conceptions of Muslim majority countries, this research explores the emergence, evolution and consequences of populism in the MENA region after the Arab Uprising. Using various supporting evidence from different countries including Egypt, Turkey, Iran and Tunisia, with a special focus on Egypt, this research seeks to develop a clearer understanding of political Islam and shed light on populist politics outside the Global North. Indeed, with the solidification of neoliberal globalization and the subsequent conservative responses, other possible options such as "Islamic populism" have begun to emerge, incorporating new demands deriving from contemporary political, social and economic conditions. The research methodology uses historical analysis as well as descriptive-analytical methods. This exploration examines whether these recent currents of Islamic populism evolve is reformative in a way that empowers the people, or is a threat that capitalizes on the misinformed masses to charge their support for charismatic leaders. However, the experiences with Islamic populism demonstrate that the long-term implications of such populist politics do not always seem to be so positive, and might create significant obstacles for subsequent democratic consolidation.





**Berfin Çakin**

PhD Candidate at Istanbul Medeniyet University, Department of Political Science, specialized in Political Psychology, and a Visiting Researcher at Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands. She is currently working on her dissertation titled "Ontological (In)securities and Their Gendered Reflections in Malaysia and Turkey". Her research interests lie in political polarisation, populism, and gender equality attitudes in Muslim-majority countries. Her recent publication is a book chapter titled "Collective Bargaining for Gender Equality in the Shadow of Political Polarisation and Ideology in Turkey," published by Palgrave Macmillan.

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### **Exploring Emotions in Erdogan's Discourse: Why is Transnational Populism Appealing to Arab Societies?**

Public opinion surveys often show that the Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, is seen as the MENA's most popular leader by the majority of Arab societies. However, many scholars also argue that Erdoğan is a populist leader. Unlike Western nationalist right-wing populisms and South America's left-wing authoritarian populisms, Erdoğan's emphasis on Islamic civilization and neo-Ottomanism against Western or colonial powers places the ummah (us) vs the imperialist(them) dichotomy in his discourse, which differs from Western populisms. Erdoğan's discourse spills over Turkish borders by using historical narratives on Islamic civilizations and current grievances often suffered by Arab societies and evoking emotional reactions such as anger and enthusiasm by merging current grievances with historical narratives of colonial cruelty in a transnational framework. This study seeks to identify which emotions are the main drivers for the support of Erdoğan in Arab societies. Based on the appraisal theory of emotions, this study conducts both content analysis and discourse analysis on the media statements of Erdogan. The results reveal positive emotions (enthusiasm, pride, hope) are more predominant than negative emotions (anger and anxiety) in Erdoğan's discourse focusing on the MENA region and Arab societies. This study concludes that emotions play an important role in populist support, but discursive themes and ideological frameworks need to be taken into account in societal contexts.



**Francesco Amoruso**

Doctoral Researcher at the University of Exeter, UK, and a member of the European Centre for Palestine Studies. His research lies at the intersection of urban studies, Marxist political economy, and Indigenous/settler colonial studies. His thesis, titled "Rawabi City and the Politics of Recognition in Palestine", investigates the role of the Palestinian private sector in shaping Palestinian urban life and in promoting a politics of recognition within the broader framework of the Palestinian national movement. Francesco teaches Comparative Politics, Political Violence, and the Question of Palestine at the University of Exeter.

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## **Populism and Localism: New Cities and the Rise of Corporate Populist Politics in Palestine**

This paper sketches a conceptual map to be intended as a research guide for scholars interested in investigating the relationship between localism (a concept here used to identify the increasing power and political-economic weight of cities) and populism (a concept widely associated with stable democracies or strong autocracies, in either case, political systems with established centralised powers). While the terms localism and populism appear at odds with each other, this paper argues that our understanding of populism can change when the socio-political dynamics that underpin it are found in contexts that differ significantly from established case studies in scholarship on populism. By focusing on the Palestinian context and considering a settler colonial reality that has reduced Palestinian semi-sovereignty to disconnected urban pockets, this paper analyses the growing role of the private sector in shaping urbanism in the West Bank, and reflects on the broad political repercussions of the emergence of corporate populist discourse from this combination of forces and processes.



## George Mihai Constantinescu

Graduate student at the Central European University, Department of Political Science and a Foreign Policy Advisor at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Diplomatic Institute. Previously, Mihai was a Junior Researcher at Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. His research interests relate to norms' diffusion in the international system, especially the concepts of soft power, normative power and democratization. He has published papers concerning the Europeanisation of Eastern Europe, populism and hybrid regimes, as well as migration dynamics in developing countries.

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### Echo-Chambered Populism: Comparing the Facebook Activity of the Romanian Populist Parties

The 2020 Romanian Parliamentary Elections marked a huge surprise when an unknown far-right populist party, Alliance for United Romania (AUR), passed the electoral threshold. The AUR party obtained over 10% of the vote using xenophobic and Covid-sceptic rhetoric, being able to reach previously unrepresented voting groups. The echo-chamber is a well-established concept in social media research, referring to a group of people with similar views acting on social media exchanging the same rhetoric and excluding external and different trends. This paper aims to create a fresh theoretical framework using the concept of echo-chamber populism, which tackles the contradiction between the traditional school of populism arguing that political parties try to appeal to the general public while the new wave of populist movements, such as the ones in Romania, pay attention mostly to a niche public through social media. By echo-chambering their electorate, populist movements tend to use the same strategy as the traditional parties in creating a critical core of voters necessary to score above the electoral threshold. Therefore, the main argument of the paper is that in an electoral arena that comprises both right- and left-wing populism, the echo-chamber populism favours the less known movements because they are neglected by the mainstream media and have the space to create different rhetoric to increase their electoral support.



**Gizem Kaya**

PhD Candidate in International Relations at Bilkent University, Turkey. Her research interests include environmental peacebuilding, civil war, conflict, social movements, and social data science. She focuses on the role of natural resources in the Colombian peace process through public eyes on Twitter by employing time series, quantitative text, and sentiment analysis methods in her master's thesis. She has presented her studies dealing with the Colombian peace process in cyberspace at the ICCTS-2021 and IPO-2021 Conferences in English and Spanish. She was a participant of the SICSS-2021 Istanbul and an intermediate-level R user.

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## **Different Geographies and Different Forms of Populism: Turkey and Argentina**

Populism remains a compelling concept that still lacks consensus on its definition and features. Several thoughts conceiving populism as an ideology, discourse, and regime also lie at the heart of this discussion. Moreover, populism has variations in different directions, such as right-wing and left-wing populism, and these different approaches require a detailed examination of domestic mechanisms. Comparing the populist practices of underrepresented countries from the Global South, this research takes Turkey and Argentina as its case studies. The central research question is: How have Turkey and Argentina's domestic political milieus been shaped by their leaders' discourses? This study chiefly focuses on the domestic speeches of Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from 2018 and Argentinian president Alberto Ángel Fernández from 2019, with the time period determined according to their presidential elections. Quantitative text analysis will be conducted using the R programming language to reveal the most recurrent words. Texts will be analyzed in leaders' native languages, in Turkish and Spanish. The central aim is to compare distinguished characteristics of populism in these countries and unpack their similar aspects. Identifying common and frequently used words in these leaders' speeches can contribute to the understanding of populist discourses in different geographies. In contrast to the many studies focusing on the Global North, these cases can provide different perspectives for the concept of populism and facilitate novel empirical and methodological analysis in other parts of the world.



## Jonathan Luke Melchiorre

Assistant Professor of Political Science at University of Los Andes, Colombia, and the Book Reviews Editor for the academic journal, *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. He earned his PhD from the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. His dissertation, completed in 2018, is titled "Building Nations, Making Youth: Institutional Choice, Nation-State Building the Politics of Youth Activism in Kenya and Tanzania". His broader research and teaching interests include African politics, the political economy of development, youth politics and a comparative assessment of democracy and its discontents, with a focus on the political phenomenon of populism.

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### 'Politics Unusual': Generational Populism and the Making of People Power in Uganda

This article examines the electoral success of Uganda's National Unity Platform (NUP). Led by the popular musician-turned-parliamentarian, Robert Kyagulanyi (Bobi Wine), the NUP, which emerged out of a social movement called People Power, has taken Ugandan politics by storm over the last three-and-a-half years, becoming the country's official opposition party in 2021. Drawing on the discursive theory of populism, this article argues, first, that Kyagulanyi has deployed an inclusionary populist discourse, which has effectively served to forge a new collective sense of identity among the movements' (mostly youthful) supporters around the nodal point of 'the people' and in antagonistic opposition to the country's political elite. Second, the paper contends that this brand of populism is novel, precisely because of the way in which it seeks to construct 'the people' in generational terms, explicitly using populist discourse to lend credence to his call for a generational transfer of power in Uganda. The research is based on over 60 interviews conducted with the NUP leadership and membership, Ugandan politicians, activists, and journalists over the course of last three years, including field work conducted in Uganda in 2019.



## Juan Gómez Cruces

PhD student at Georgia State University, in the Political Science program. Gómez Cruces was born and raised in Mexico City. In 2013, he moved to Denver, Colorado where he studied an MA in Political Science and a Graduate Certificate in Democracy and Social Movements for the University of Colorado, Denver. His research interests include populist rhetoric, social media communication, and polarization in Latin America. He is currently working on his dissertation "Social Media and Populist Rhetoric as Accelerating Factors for Polarization."

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### **Populist Leaders. Populist Social Media? Evidence from Latin America**

How do populism and social media accelerate societal polarization in Latin America? To answer this question, this paper will analyze this topic from three different perspectives. Using a large collection of tweets by populist and non-populist Latin American leaders, the first chapter adopts a top-down perspective to analyze these actors' rhetoric on social media. Using unsupervised machine learning techniques, the research observes how populist and non-populist leaders use social media by analyzing the prevalent topics in their tweets. Furthermore, the analysis will allow a test of whether tweets with polarizing and/or plebiscitarian rhetoric drive more favorable engagement on social media from a mass perspective, using a text classification analysis based on machine learning.



**Keith Prushankin**

PhD Candidate with the Cluster of Excellence "Contestations of the Liberal Script" (SCRIPTS) at Freie Universität Berlin. He studies populist economic discourses in former socialist countries and how the inequalities of the transition to capitalism affect the continuing stability of the liberal order. Prushankin's dissertation is titled *The Discourse of Economic Alienation in Czech and Polish Populist Movements: Rhetorical Choice or Pragmatic Policy?* His research interests include political economy, inequality, post-communism, and neoliberalism. He earned his MA from Charles University in Prague and previously worked for the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC.

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### **Entrepreneurial Populism: The Discourse of Firm-Led Development in Babiš's Czechia**

This paper asks how the ANO 2011 party presents its economic discourse to Czech voters, and why it resonates with them more than a patriotic discourse of state-led development. This paper theorizes these questions as dialectic between varieties of capitalism theory (specifically, Czechia's status as a dependent market economy) and populist discourse studies because they seek to address the economic conditions that create a particular populist discourse, and how the populist discourse attempts to shape economic conditions. In addressing these questions, this paper delineates entrepreneurial populism as a specific strain of populist economic thought and discourse. To accomplish this, this study follows a qualitative textual analysis of ANO literature as it pertains to economics to identify the specific linguistic mechanisms through which ANO communicates its economic vision to voters. This involves a deep reading of the corpus of ANO's party literature and Andrej Babiš's speeches, articles, and books.



**Kofi Arhin**

PhD Candidate at the University of Ottawa in Canada. His master's studies focused the causes and solutions for youth disengagement in politics. His current research interests include political behaviour, Far-Right Parties, party politics, youth disengagement and US politics. Presently, his research has been increasingly focused on the far-right movement in the United States under Donald Trump and its impact on various aspects of US society.

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## **How do we Explain African American Support for Donald Trump in the United States?**

Research on candidates from the populist radical right such as Donald Trump indicates that generally speaking, typical supporters are white males with low levels of education, and these facts hold true for Trump voters. Visible minorities are less likely than other demographics to vote for populist radical right parties because of the racist and xenophobic tendencies espoused by these parties. Yet, an interesting statistic emerged for support for Donald Trump in the last two United States Presidential Elections; in 2016, 8% of African Americans voted for Donald Trump as President. In 2020, this increased to 12%, including 19% of African American men. Although these are not huge numbers in totality, they are surprising given what is known about African American voters. Because of the party's shift further to the right, we would expect these numbers to decrease rather than increase. Therefore, the results of the 2020 Presidential election provide an interesting puzzle: Why do a sizeable minority of African American voters support Donald Trump? This puzzle will be resolved by engaging in interviews with both African American voters who voted for Trump and African American voters who voted for Clinton or Biden to compare differences. These in-depth interviews will hopefully help figure out why members of a minority group would vote for Trump, when the academic literature suggests that rationally, they should not vote for him.





## Marie-Soleil Normandin

Research Assistant for the Konrad Adenauer Research Chair in Empirical Democracy Studies in Ottawa, Canada, and a PhD Candidate at the University of Ottawa. Her thesis examines the general tendencies of men and women's voting trajectories in France. More precisely, her thesis will look at the 2022 French presidential and legislative elections in a mixed method approach by using an original dataset. She previously worked at the Université Laval, on the evolution of far-right movements in Canada and Quebec. Prior to pursuing her PhD, she received an MA in Political Science from Université Laval, and a BA in International Relations and French from the University of British Columbia.

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### **I am Voting for a PRRP, So What? Understanding the Driving Predictors of Gender Trajectories for the Front National/Rassemblement National**

Traditionally considered as a Männerparteien, PRRP have long underrepresented women's interests and have largely attracted male voters. However, the general tendency that men have a higher likelihood to vote for these parties applies to most European countries, with the exception of few such as France where a narrower gap exists, and where recent findings have seen a reversed trend. Frontist women and men have a similar electoral profile especially linked to their economic and anti-immigrant concerns. Thus, this study focuses on the question: To what extent do men and women far-right voters have (dis)similar voting trajectories? The paper requires examining the electoral base on which these parties have based their recent successes. Such a trajectory is analysed quantitatively—and qualitatively—by looking at RN voters and trying to gather a full picture of their trajectory. By including new and old RN voters, this paper tries to highlight if the trajectory to become an RN voter has changed over time or converged as RN voters' values have.



## Mohmad Waseem Malla

Doctoral Researcher at the Centre for West Asian (Middle Eastern) Studies, School of International Studies (SIS), Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. His PhD thesis, *Media-Foreign Policy Discourse: Analysing Coverage of Saudi Arabia-Iran Rivalry by Al Jazeera English, 2006-2018*, deconstructs convergences and divergences between the media functioning and the state's foreign policy formulation through the interdisciplinary approaches of media studies and international relations paradigms. Beyond this, his research interests transcend the Middle Eastern mediascape, polity, and lived experiences of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent.

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### Populism, Hindutva Nationalism and Muslims as the Political "Other"

Populism has become an overriding political method for many to rise to power across continents. Of all the populist movements across the globe, Hindutva nationalism fed right-wing populism in India remains dominant. It has resulted in significant transformations across India's socio-politico-religious landscape. Coalescing under the ideological umbrella of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak (RSS) and its political face, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Hindutva right-wing has concertedly and potently employed Islamophobic language to cast Muslims as the "other" in its efforts to galvanize and consolidate support amongst the majority Hindu population. After an overwhelming electoral victory in 2014 and with the political executive under Narendra Modi, a lifelong RSS member, Hindutva forces have engaged in sustained violent hate campaigns against Muslims. The intensely pervasive hate and denigration have created conditions where collective security for Muslims becomes a priority at the cost of marginalization in politico-social spheres. The Hindu right-wing ecosystem has potently weaponized any expression of political outreach towards Muslims from any political party by projecting them as anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim parties. This populist onslaught poses huge challenges for India's Muslim community as they struggle to (re)invent the political vocabulary and forge alliances with other marginalized communities and secular forces. This study seeks to understand how the Hindutva right-wing mainstreamed its religious nationalism to propagate Muslims as the political other as it galvanized and rallied support from the majority Hindu population.



## Mujtaba Insani

Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Mannheim Center for European Social Research (MZES) at the University of Mannheim. Formerly a Visiting Professor of Political Science at the University of Muenster and an Assistant Professor at the King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals. His general research interests lie at the intersection of public opinion, populism, immigrant integration, as well as conflict and extremism, with a particular focus on research methodology. He is currently part of a project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) which aims to measure extremism and populism.

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### Measuring and Explaining Explicit and Implicit Populism in the Middle East

Recent developments in the Middle East have shown that inroads toward democracy are under pressure. In various countries populist parties have become relevant political actors that challenge key aspects of democracies. Given the problem of social desirability bias in this field, this paper measures implicit populist attitudes by means of an Implicit Association Test (IAT) in the Middle East. It also compares explanatory factors of populist views and to analyse how different forms of populism can be explained by similar or diverging factors. Finally, the paper studies the relationship between populist groups as well as between populists and non-populists. Originally, the IAT was developed to measure racial stereotypes, as people often try to hide such attitudes or they are not consciously aware of their bias. One can apply the IAT to elicit whether people are unconsciously drawn to populist ideologies merely for their dogmatic perception that reduces cognitive uncertainty.



## Nouzha Baba

PhD Candidate at LUCAS (Leiden University Center for the Arts in Society), within the Department of Literary Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University. Her thesis *Culturalism and Its Discontents: Comparative Studies in Rhetoric, Theory and Literature*, undertakes an interdisciplinary comparative research approach to contemporary European socio-political rhetoric, cultural theory and literature of Moroccan migration. Her research interests include comparative literature (in English, French and Dutch) and cultural analysis, post-9/11 literature, politics and ethics, postcolonialism, postmodernism and globalism, migration, nationalism and multiculturalism, identity, memory and gender studies. During her doctoral studies, Baba has participated in numerous international conferences and summer schools and has published peer-reviewed articles.

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### **The Intersection of Populism and Nationalism in France and the Netherlands: Towards an Exclusionary Rhetoric**

A convergence between populism and exclusionary nationalism can be found among European radical-right parties, which combine attacks on EU elites with Islamophobia, anti-immigration and nativism. Can we assume, then, that populism is synonymous with right-wing nationalism, which is preoccupied with immigration control and nationalist politics, or is it equally suited to far-left politics? In this paper, I examine how ethno-nationalism, empowered by post-9/11 shock and the visible presence of Muslim migrants' cultural mores, influences the public's mindset in France and the Netherlands. In my comparison of French and Dutch populist discourses, I analyse how ethno-nationalist rhetoric has played on the public's mobilization for the support of political agendas. In particular, I delve into the way these ethno-nationalist discourses mobilize the white, native-born voters' fear of a loss at the hands of globalizing forces. I argue, then, that the channelling of such anxieties into deep resentments against ethnic, racial, or religious minorities, particularly Muslim migrants, has proven to be a profitable political strategy. Therefore, this paper will provide insight to cultural, as well as socio-political studies about populism, nationalism and migration in the European context.



**Paula Sierra**

PhD Candidate in Political Science at University of Los Andes, Colombia. She holds a master's degree in Political Communication. In her academic work she has collaborated on various projects related to modifications of the electoral system, political reforms, political parties' internal democracy, and political representation styles. She is interested in analysing the behaviour of members of Congress and the factors that influence their legislative work. For this purpose, she uses quantitative and qualitative methods, in conjunction with data from legislative production and activities. Nowadays, her research interest is focused on populism in the Colombian congress.

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## **Populism in the Colombian Congress**

While populism has enjoyed great scholarly attention, the relationship between populism and legislative behaviour has not yet been studied in full detail. This research analyses how two political parties represented in the Colombian Congress and located in the extremes of the ideological spectrum exhibit populist features in the policy-making dimension of their legislative behaviour. Thus, the research starts from the hypothesis that populist features are evident in the legislative activity carried out by parties of the Colombian left and right wings, even when each one does so under a specific logic of governmental support or political opposition. Although we find differences regarding the topics of greatest interest of each party organization, in both cases populist characteristics are presented — to a greater or lesser extent — evidencing that populism works as a political strategy and style at both ends of the ideological spectrum.



**Saltanat Kydyralieva**

Post-Doctoral Researcher in Political Psychology. After completing of the PhD program in Political History from Istanbul University in Turkey she is currently enrolled to the Clinical Psychology program at the Moscow Institute of Psychoanalysis in Russia. Her research interests include Central Asian and Baltic States, populism, political psychology and studying elites.

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### **The Central Asian Model of Populism: Political Psychology, Elites and History**

This paper will study the phenomenon of populism in the Post-Soviet space in the case of Central Asian states. The political processes in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan will be examined through the filter of populism and analysed by comparing the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. The aim of the study is to investigate the phenomenon of populism in Central Asia with an interdisciplinary approach to examine the subject from historical, political and psychological perspectives. The aim is to consider populism and the populist behaviour of political elites of Central Asia in terms of the fundamental cognitive features and cognitive disorders in psychology, and finally to determine whether the Central Asian Model of populism can exist. This research looks for an answer for these main research questions: Is there a Central Asian Model of populism? If yes, what are the features and differences? What are the reasons for successful populist politics in Central Asia? This research assumes that populism in Central Asia is shaped by psychological factors described in psychology and psychoanalytic theory. Basic evolutionary features of human cognitions and cognitive distortions in psychology will be used to analyse the populist behaviour of political elites in Central Asia from 1991 to 2021.



**Seyed Hossein Mirjafari**

Doctoral Candidate of International Law. His dissertation is titled "Global jurisdiction of Iranian courts in the field of international criminal law". His research interests include in international criminal law, jurisdiction, human rights, contract law, as well as interdisciplinary studies such as international relations, political science, and international politics and he has authored several articles in Iranian academic journals.

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## **The Universal Jurisdiction: a Populist Institution or an International Bio-Requirement?**

In a world in flux, Populism, or demagoguery, in the general sense have an increasing presence in political decisions about social-foreign issues, and despite claims that populists are the real voice of the people, populism neither provides a more credible version of democracy, nor a corrective measure to re-align democracies with public opinion. Populists seek to ensure their stability by removing the four main pillars of democracy, including judicial independence, the political rights of disadvantaged groups, gender equality, and freedom of the press from their positions of power. Since implementing the Principle of Universal Jurisdiction in the legal system of countries is an example of judicial independence and achieving justice in international criminal law (domestic and international) and given the increase of international crime and human rights laws, less need or less willingness on the part of governments to use this trans-regional principle is observed. This demonstrates that populism is seriously undermining justice, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. The main questions of this study are: How has universal jurisdiction been turned into a populist or demagogic institution in international law? and What factors have led to the slow implementation of the principle of universal jurisdiction in countries over the past decades to date? These questions could be answered by analyzing the concepts of universal jurisdiction, its related laws in some countries, as well as evaluating the populist perspective in the political decisions of governments regarding the implementation of the principle of universal jurisdiction.



**Shalini Singh**

Research Scholar in the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, India. She has a keen interest in Indian Politics and Public Administration. Her areas of research include populism and development process with a special reference to Agricultural Issues in India. She completed her MPhil with dissertation titled "Political Populism: Analysing the Farm Loan Waiver Scheme of Uttar Pradesh." She is currently working on a thesis titled "Populism and Policy Formulation: A Study of Agricultural Policies in India in an era of Liberalisation"

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### **Populism in the Global South: A Study of Popular Politics in India**

The discourse on contemporary Populism in India in has been shaped by who is defined as the 'people', which has been reformulated and adapted with changing context. Populism has reverberated the voice of the various sections of the society. It has resurfaced as an undercurrent of democracy. Populism in India is evident at various junctures of political discourse through different forms and action. It has been deployed as a catalyst in winning the electoral sanction of a democracy. The crux of populism in India is in its socio-cultural ethos. The underpinnings that have shaped the practices of populism in India require a multidimensional introspection to conceptualize 'populism' from the Indian perspective.





## Sheheen Kattiparambil

PhD candidate at the University of Leeds at the School of Sociology and Social Policy. He holds an MA in the Modern Middle East from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, where his thesis focused on a decolonial analysis of Persian Gulf piracy in the early nineteenth century. His doctoral thesis demonstrates the possibility of Islamism as a counter-hegemonic movement against forms of racialized governmentality in the context of Muslim political subjectivity in India in relation to Brahminism. His research interests and writings cover topics such as Islamophobia, decoloniality, South Asian studies and speculative fiction.

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### Ghosts of Fascism's Past

This paper demonstrates the implications of the assumed neutrality of political concepts, namely fascism and populism, when they travel by looking at the Indian Muslim experience between populist and anti-populist discourses. Borrowing from Eurocentric lexicon and drawing parallels with European populism, academics and commentators have mobilized various concepts both generically and analytically to make sense of the rise of the Hindutva phenomenon in India manifested by the Sangh Parivar and the BJP. The paper contests the conceptual privileging of a Nazi Germany template in the deployment of these concepts thus singling out the Hindutva phenomenon as a parenthesis of India's secular-liberal democratic trajectory. Using a decolonial approach, the paper analyses the different variations of the fascist deployment in India to show the conceptual inconsistencies in these narratives. These variations primarily include arguments that first prove the historical connections that existed between World War II era European populism and Hindutva ideologues, and second posit fascism and populism as ideologies. The Eurocentric nature of these conceptualizations tends to institutionalize resistance signalling the alterity of the Muslim identity and the subsequent loss of language for Muslims that renders them incapable of speaking politics or to frame resistance in their own language, and neglects the caste supremacy factor of Indian society.

## Lecturers and Discussants

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### Abdallah Saaf

Professor at the Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Science at the Mohammed V University in Rabat. He received his PhD in Law at the Université Paris II and lectured in Moroccan and French universities before being tasked with a ministerial portfolio for education between 1998 and 2000, and then served as Minister for Education until 2002. Saaf chairs the Center for Research in the Social Sciences and is Director of the Moroccan Journal of Social Sciences. Besides advising the World Health Organization and other international bodies, he is the author of 20 published books.



### Abdelkarim Amengay

Assistant professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Qatar. He holds a conjoined PhD in political science from Sciences Po Paris and the University of Ottawa. His research interests include political behaviour, political trust, youth representation, and populism in Western countries and the MENA region. He published peer-reviewed articles in the Journal of Common Market Studies, Political Studies Review, Revue Française de science politique, and Siyasat Arabiya. Abdelkarim collaborates with Team Populism, an international research network that brings together scholars from several universities to study the causes and consequences of populism; the Konrad Adenauer Research Chair in Empirical Democracy Studies and has recently joined the editorial board of La Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée.



### Abdelwahab El-Affendi

Professor of Politics, and the Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, and was previously the coordinator of the Democracy and Islam Program at the University of Westminster (since 1998). He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Reading, UK. In 2015, El-Affendi published a book called *Genocidal Nightmares: Narratives of Insecurity and the Structure of Mass Atrocities*, (Bloomsbury Academic). Previously, he worked as a diplomat in the Sudanese Foreign Ministry (1990-1997).



### Ammar Shamaileh

Assistant Professor of Politics and International Relations at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. His research interests primarily reside at the intersection of comparative political behavior and political economy. The research agenda he is currently pursuing focuses primarily on the effects of autocratic instability on economic policy. He is the author of the book *Trust and Terror: Social Capital and the Use of Terrorism as a Tool of Resistance* (Routledge), and the coauthor (with Sabri Ciftci and F. Michael Wuthrich) of a second book that is forthcoming with Indiana University Press. His academic work has appeared in *Comparative Politics*, *International Interactions*, and *Political Research Quarterly*, as well as other venues. Prior to joining the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, he held positions at the University of Louisville and Franklin & Marshall College.



### Angelos Chrysogelos

Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at the School of Social Sciences, London Metropolitan University. He was fellow at the Global Populism Cluster of the Weatherhead Center, Harvard and Jean Monnet Fellow at the Schuman Centre, EUI. He has published articles in *Foreign Policy Analysis*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Politics* and the *Journal of European Integration*. He co-edited (with VEDI Hadiz) the 2017 special issue of *the International Political Science Review* on "Populism in World Politics" and is author of *Party Systems and Foreign Policy Change in Liberal Democracies* (Routledge, 2021).



### Azmi Bishara

One of the Arab world's most prominent scholars, Bishara has published on political thought, social theory, and philosophy. His Arabic publications include: *Civil Society: A Critical Study*; *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context* (in 3 vols.); *What is Populism?*; and *The Transition to Democracy and its Problematique*. Bishara's publications that have been translated into English include: *Sectarianism without Sects*; and *Understanding Revolutions: Opening Acts in Tunisia* which is part of a trilogy on Arab revolutions in addition to the soon to be published, *Egypt: Revolution, Failed Transition and Counter-Revolution* and *Syria 2011-2013: Revolution and Tyranny before the Mayhem*. A translation of his book *On Salafism*, a French translation of which has already been published, will be published soon. Bishara is a critic of authoritarianism and colonialism, a staunch supporter of democratic transition in the region and was named by *Le Nouveau Magazine Littéraire* as one of the world's most influential thinkers.



### Bassel Salloukh

Associate Professor of Political Science and the Head of the Politics and International Relations Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained both his MA and PhD in Political Science from McGill University, Canada. His main fields of specialization include Comparative Politics (Global South and Middle East), Political Theory, and International Relations. His current research focuses on a critique of power-sharing arrangements in post-colonial and postwar states, and the political economy of Lebanon's postwar collapse. Salloukh has co-authored and co-edited multiple books, including: *The Politics of Sectarianism in Postwar Lebanon*, *Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism and Democratization in the Arab World*.



### Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser

Professor of Political Science at Universidad Diego Portales (UDP) in Santiago de Chile and Associate Researcher at the Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES). He is the co-author, with Cas Mudde, of *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2017), which has been translated into more than ten languages. Together with Tim Bale, he just edited the volume *Riding the Populist Wave: Europe's Mainstream Right in Crisis* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).



### Dana El Kurd

Assistant Professor of Political Science at University of Richmond. She was previously an Assistant Professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and a researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. She holds a PhD in government with concentrations in comparative politics and international relations at the University of Texas at Austin, USA, and has focused her work on authoritarian regimes in the Arab world, state-society relations in these countries, and the impact of international intervention.

She has published in peer-reviewed journals such as *PS Political Science & Politics*, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *Middle East Law and Governance*, *Siyasat Arabiya* (an Arabic peer-reviewed journal), *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, *Parameters*, and more. Her book titled *Polarized and Demobilized: Legacies of Authoritarianism in Palestine* was published in 2020 with Oxford University Press.



### Daniel Stockemer

Konrad Adenauer Research Chair in Empirical Democracy Studies and Full Professor in the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa, Canada. His main research interests are political participation, political representation, and populism. Since becoming a professor in 2010, Stockemer has published 4 individually authored books, 1 edited volume, 1 textbook and more than 130 articles in peer-reviewed journals. Stockemer is editor of the Springer Book Series in Electoral Politics. Since autumn 2019, he is also editor of the *International Political Science Review*.



### Mehran Kamrava

Head of the Iranian Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He is also a Professor of Government at Georgetown University Qatar. He is the author of a number of journal articles and books, including, most recently, *A Concise History of Revolution and Inside the Arab State*.



### Narendra Subramanian

Professor of Political Science at McGill University, Montreal, studies the politics of nationalism, ethnicity, religion, gender, caste, and race comparatively, focusing on India. His published books include *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in South India* and *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India*, while he is currently working on a new project, *From Bondage to Citizenship: The Enfranchisement and Advancement of Dalits and African Americans*. Subramanian earned a BA in Public and International Affairs from Princeton University, and an MA and PhD in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



### Nina Wiesehomeier

Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics at the School of Global and Public Affairs, IE University, Spain. Her research interests cover political parties, political institutions, women representation, ideology and issues of political representation, political preferences, and political behaviour. Her work has appeared in journals such as the *Journal of Politics and Public Opinion Quarterly*. Nina is part of Team Populism, an international network studying the causes and consequences of populism, and the coordinator of the Political Representation, Executives, and Political Parties Survey, an expert survey gathering data across more than 35 countries across three regions.



### Nonna Mayer

CNRS Research Director Emerita at the Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics of Sciences Po (CEE), former Chair of the French Political Science Association (2005-2016) and member of the National Consultative Commission for Human Rights (CNCDH) since 2017. Her recent publications include "Political science approaches to the far right", in Ashe, Busher, Macklin, Winter (eds.), *Researching the Far Right*, Routledge, 2020; "The radical right in France", in Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, OUP, 2018; and "The impact of gender on the Marine Le Pen vote" *Revue française de science politique*, 2017 (with Amengay and Durovic).



### Paul Taggart

Professor of Politics at the University of Sussex. His focus is on comparative politics and his research focuses primarily on populism, Euroscepticism and more broadly on the domestic politics of European integration. He has published six books including *The New Politics and the New Populism* (1996, Palgrave), *Populism* (2000, McGraw Hill) and in *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (2017, OUP) as well as numerous articles in these areas.



### Tariq Dana

Assistant Professor of conflict and humanitarian studies. He was the director of the Center for Development Studies at Birzeit University and a senior research fellow at Ibrahim Abu-Logoud Institute of International Studies, the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva and the School of Oriental and African Studies. He is also a policy advisor for the Palestinian Policy Network (Al-Shabaka).