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### **NORFACE GOVERNANCE Mid-Term Conference 2022**

### September 22-24, University of Vienna

BIG Lecture Hall, Universitätsring 1, 1010 Vienna

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#### **ABSTRACTS**

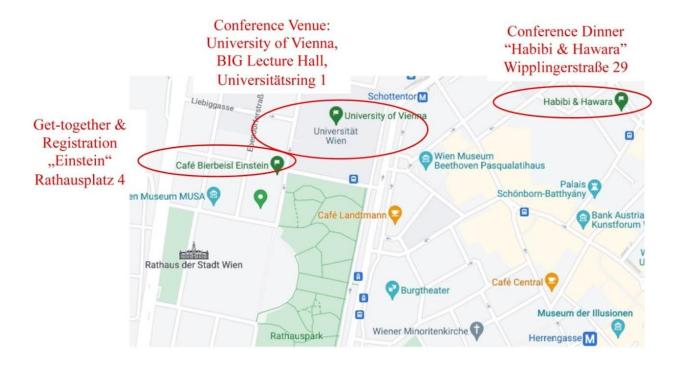
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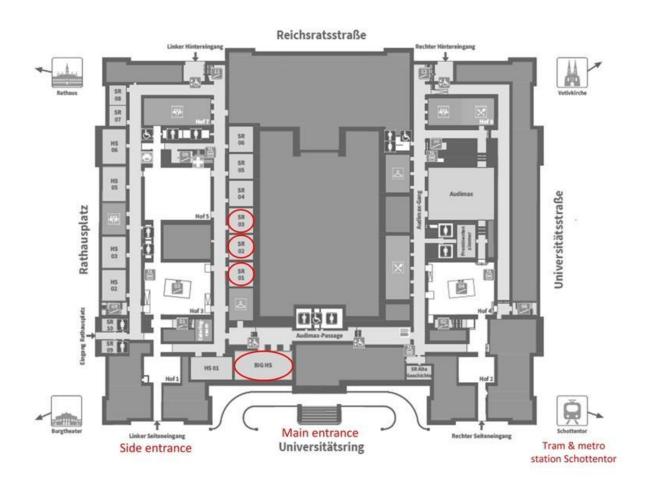
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## **CONFERENCE PROGRAM**

Thursday, September 22	
17.00 - 18.30	Early-Career Skill Session "Theory Development"
19:00	Informal Get-together & Registration
	"Einstein – das genial Lokal" Rathausplatz 4, 1010 Vienna
	Friday, September 23
08.00 - 08.45	Registration and Coffee @ conference area (BIG HS)
08.45 - 09.00 BIG HS	Welcome and Opening Prof. Sophie Lecheler (Governance Programme Coordination) & Prof. Hajo Boomgaarden (Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Vienna)
09.00 - 10.30 BIG HS	Keynote Speeches "What can we learn from autocratization processes globally to strengthen democracy in Europe?" by Prof. Dr. Carolien van Ham (Radboud University Nijmegen)
	"Is there a crisis of democracy in Europe?" by Prof. Dr. Hanspeter Kriesi (European University Institute)
10.45 – 12.00	
SR 1	PANEL 1.1. Changing Rules & Norms in Welfare States
SR 2	PANEL 2.2 Populism and the Far-Right
SR 3	PANEL 3.1 Digital Media and AI as Political Tools
12.00 - 13.00	Lunch Break @ conference area (BIG HS)
13.00 – 14.15 SR 1	Stakeholder Workshop "Translating research into sustainable policy products"
	Provided by Dr. Krisztina Rozgonyi & Jennifer Adams ( <u>Comms Policy Collaborative (CPC)</u> , Department of Communication, University of Vienna)
14.30 – 15.45	
SR 1	PANEL 1.2. Unequal Distribution, Divides and Polarization



BIG HS	PANEL 2.1 Understanding Political Polarisation across Europe
SR 2	PANEL 3.3 Technology vs. Democracy
SR 3	PANEL 5.1 Evolving Democratic Legitimacy
16.00 – 17.15 BIG HS	Roundtable Discussion "Is disinformation threatening electoral integrity and what can be done about it?"
	Prof. Dr. Claes de Vreese (Professor of Artificial Intelligence and Society, University of Amsterdam), Paige Morrow (Senior Legal Officer at ARTICLE 19), Jürgen Heissel (Director of the Office of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, OSCE) Dr. Maximilian Schubert (Public Policy Lead Austria & Switzerland, META)
	Moderator: Katharina Zwins (profil magazine)
17.30 - 18.40 BIG HS	Art Performance "The Conservatory of Populism" Helena Botto (POPBACK)
19.00	Conference Dinner at "Habibi & Hawara" Wipplingerstraße 29, 1010 Vienna
	Saturday, September 24
09.00 - 10.15	
SR 1	PANEL 2.3 A Crisis of Trust and Solidarity
SR 2	PANEL 4.1 New Perspectives on Political and Civic Engagement
SR 3	PANEL 5.2 Understanding Global and EU Institutions
10.30 – 11.45	
SR 1	PANEL 1.3 Challenges to Democratic Governance and European Economies
SR 2	PANEL 3.2 Citizens vs. Online Hate, Misinformation, and Inequality
SR 3	PANEL 4.2 "Common" Values and Democratic Behaviours Across Europe?
from 12.00	Consortium Meetings  @ University of Vienna, Kolingasse 14-16, 1090 Vienna



GO	GOVERNANCE THEME 1 – "INEQUALITY AND REDISTRIBUTION"	
	PANEL 1.1. Changing Rules & Norms in Welfare States Friday, 23.09.2022 10.45 – 12.15 Chair: Christel Koop	
1	Automating Welfare - Algorithmic Infrastructures for Human Flourishing in Europe	
	Doris Allhutter (AUTO-WELF; CHANSE VISITOR)	
2	Re-connecting access to benefits? Administrative burdens and welfare to work	
	Martin Lodge (London School of Economics and Political Science) & Alice Moore (London School of Economics and Political Science) (ReConnect)	
3	Penalization versus participation? Some thoughts on criminalization as mode of democratic governance	
	<b>Beate Binder</b> (Humboldt University of Berlin) & Friederike Faust (Humboldt University of Berlin) (CrimScapes)	
4	Do they feel like they don't matter? The rural-urban divide in external political efficacy	
	Rubén García del Horno (Autonomous University of Barcelona), Guillem Rico (Autonomous University of Barcelona) & Enrique Hernández (Autonomous University of Barcelona) (RUDE)	
	PANEL 1.2. Unequal Distribution, Divides and Polarization Friday, 23.09.2022 14.30 – 15.45 Chair: Christina Eckes	
1	Mapping the Rural-Urban Divide in Europe: The role of socio-political clusters for issue polarization and vote choice	
	Antonia Lang (Goethe University Frankfurt) & Sigrid Roßteutscher (Goethe University Frankfurt) (RUDE)	
2	Political effects of educational conflict and polarization in European countries	
	Jochem van Noord (University of Groningen) (UNDPOLAR)	
3	RAINBOW CAPITALISM VS. AUTHORITARIAN POPULISM The value of work, visibility, and inclusivity of LGBTQIA+ employees of multinational companies under populist governments in Eastern Europe	



	Magdo Chuchracka (Goethe University Frankfurt) (POPBACK)
4	Drug use, pandemic, and state-citizen relations. A case study from Poland
	Justyna Struzik (Jagiellonian University) (CrimScapes)
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	PANEL 1.3 Challenges to Democratic Governance and European Economies Saturday, 24.09.2022 10.30 – 11.45 Chair: Birgit Sauer
1	Translating democracy into finance? Pension funds and the role of member preferences for investment decisions
	Philipp Golka (Leiden University) & Natascha van der Zwan (Leiden University) (DEEPEN)
2	Can Government Policies Moderate Political Backlash to Technological Change?
	Reto Bürgisser (University of Zurich), Silja Häusermann (University of Zurich), Thomas Kurer (University of Konstanz/University of Zurich) & Tobias Zumbühl (University of Zurich) (TECHNO)
3	A friend in need: How crisis affects the CJEU's inter-institutional relations
	Allison Östlund (University of Gothenburg) (SepaRope)
4	More detecting and effecting? The changing ability of consumers to interact and engage with the regulatory state
	Christel Koop (King's College London) & Alena Pivavarava (King's College London) (ReConnect)
5	Who is open for ideas? Comparing and explaining variation in public consultation practices of regulatory agencies in 30 OECD countries
	Moritz Müller (Leiden University), Caelesta Braun (Leiden University) & Bert Fraussen (Leiden University) (ReConnect)



# THEME 2: THE EVOLVING POLITICS OF THREAT PANEL 2.1 Understanding Political Polarisation across Europe Friday, 23.09.2022 14.30 - 15.45Chair: Agata Dziuban 1 Visual Persuasion in a Transforming Europe: the affective and polarizing power of visual content in online political discourse Alexandra Segerberg (PolarVis; CHANSE VISITOR) 2 Building Castles Made of Sand? The Impact of Domestic Issue Polarization on EP Party Unity Christine Sylvester (University of Strathclyde), Zachary Greene (University of Strathclyde), Nikoleta Yordanova (Leiden University), Anastasia Ershova (Leiden *University) & Aleksandra Khokhlova (Leiden University) (EUINACTION)* 3 Beyond the culture wars? Assessing the socio-economic determinants of affective polarization Kamil Bernaerts (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Joke Matthieu (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Nino Junius (Vrije Universiteit Brussel) & Didier Caluwaerts (Vrije Universiteit Brussel) (UNDPOLAR) 4 Public Opinion Polarization Across Rural-Urban Europe Sascha Göbel (Goethe University Frankfurt) & Richard Traunmüller (University of Mannheim) (RUDE) PANEL 2.2 Populism and the Far-Right Friday, 23.09.2022 10.45 - 12.15Chair: Karolina Koc-Michalska 1 Who's afraid of 'the people'? An empirical study into perceived threat by the people and anti-people elitism in four countries Bram Spruyt (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Didier Caluwaerts (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Céline Darnon (University of Clermont Auvergne), Matthew Easterbrook (University of Sussex), L. Kavadias, Rebekka Kesberg (University of Sussex), Toon Kuppens (University of Groningen), Antony Manstead (Cardiff University), Lien Smets (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), & Jochem Van Noord (University of Groningen) (UNDPOLAR) 2 The antecedents of MNC political risk under right-wing populist governments: A research agenda based on evidence from East-Central Europe



Daniel Kinderman (University of Delaware), Andreas Nölke (Goethe Unive Frankfurt), <b>Dorottya Sallai</b> (LSE) & <b>Gerhard Schnyder</b> (Loughborough Un London) (POPBACK)	
Theorising and mapping media ownership networks in authoritarian-populis contexts: a comparative analysis of Austria, Slovenia, Hungary and Turkey	st
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# THEME 3 - DEMOCRATISATION OF INFORMATION AND EXPERTISE PANEL 3.1 Digital Media and AI as Political Tools Friday, 23.09.2022 10.45 - 12.15Chair: Peter Van Aelst 1 Smart Borders are Watching You! Automated Decision-Making and AI at the EU Border Paulina Jo Pesch (Karlsruhe Institute of Technology) & Franziska Boehm (Karlsruhe Institute of Technology) (INDIGO) 2 On or off topic? Understanding the effects of political targeted ads based on issues Xiaotong Chu (University of Amsterdam), Lukas Otto (University of Amsterdam), Rens Vliegenthart (University of Amsterdam), Sophie Lecheler (University of Vienna), Claes de Vreese (University of Amsterdam) & Sanne Kruikemeier (Wageningen University & Research) (DATADRIVEN) 3 Preferences over policies related to workplace digitalization Nicolas Bicchi (Barcelona Institute for International Studies), Aina Gallego (Barcelona Institute for International Studies) & Alexander Kuo (Oxford University) (TECHNO) 4 Data-driven campaigning: a literature review and a model to understand the effects Sanne Kruikemeier (Wageningen University & Research), Xiaotong Chu (University of Amsterdam), Marlis Stubenvoll (University of Vienna), Selina Noetzel (University of Vienna), Lukas P. Otto (University of Amsterdam), Jörg Matthes (University of Vienna) & Sophie Lecheler (University of Vienna) (DATADRIVEN) PANEL 3.2 Citizens vs. Online Hate, Misinformation, and Inequality Saturday, 24.09.2022 10.30 - 11.45Chair: Sascha Göbel 1 Researching Europe, Digitalisation, and Conspiracy Theories Michael Butter (REDACT; CHANSE Visitor) 2 Causes, consequences, and solutions. Findings from a mixed-method study on disinformation perception across generations in five countries **Denis Halagiera** (Adam Mickiewicz University), Patrick van Erkel (University of Antwerp), Luisa Gehle (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Christine E. Meltzer (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz) & Ludovic Terren (Open University of Catalonia) (THREATPIE)



3	The Usage of Social Media in the Fight for Queer Rights in Poland
	Magdo Chuchracka (Goethe University Frankfurt) (POPBACK)
4	Acts of Citizenship in Cleansing the Internet of Online Hate
	Todd Sekuler (Humboldt University of Berlin) (CrimScapes)
5	Good Targeting, Bad Targeting? How Perceptions of Scientific and Subversive Data-Driven Campaigning Influence Negative Affect toward Targeted Political Campaigns
	Marlis Stubenvoll (University of Vienna), Selina Noetzel (University of Vienna), Alice Binder (University of Klagenfurt), Melanie Hirsch (University of Vienna) & Jörg Matthes (University of Vienna) (DATADRIVEN)
	PANEL 3.3 Technology vs. Democracy Friday, 23.09.2022 14.30 – 15.45 Chair: Henning Finseraas
1	"Why am I seeing this regulation?": Exploring underlying issues from the proposed Political Advertising Regulation
	Miikka Hiltunen (University of Helsinki - Erik Castren Institute) & Sam Wrigley (University of Helsinki) (INDIGO)
2	The Bright Side of Data-Driven Campaigning? How Targeting can be Beneficial for Society
	Kate Dommett (University of Sheffield), Rachel Gibson (University of Manchester), Esmeralda Bon (University of Manchester), Sanne Kruikemeier (Wageningen University & Research) & Sophie Lecheler (University of Vienna) (DATADRIVEN)
3	The Regulatory Ecosystem of Data Driven Campaigning
	Andrew Barclay (University of Manchester), Rachel Gibson (University of Manchester) & Kate Dommett (University of Sheffield) (DATADRIVEN)
4	When do fact-checks work best? A cross-national experiment on the influence of the source and degree of politicization of fact-checks on the effectiveness to counter misinformation
	Patrick van Erkel (University of Antwerp), Peter Van Aelst (University of Antwerp), Claes De Vreese (University of Amsterdam) & David Hopmann (University of Southern Denmark) (THREATPIE)
5	A qualitative examination of citizens' (political) media diets across generations in five countries



David Hopmann (University of Southern Denmark), Agnieszka Stępińska (Adam Mickiewicz University), **James Stanyer** (Loughborough University London), Denis Halagiera (Adam Mickiewicz University), Ludovic Terren (Open University of Catalonia), Luisa Gehle (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Christine Meltzer (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Raluca Buturoiu (National University of Political Studies and Public Administration), Nicoleta Corbu (National University of Political Studies and Public Administration), Ana S. Cardenal (Open University of Catalonia) & Christian Schemer (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz) (THREATPIE)

TH	THEME 4 - SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND REPRESENTATION	
	PANEL 4.1 New Perspectives on Political and Civic Engagement Saturday, 24.09.2022 09.00 – 10.15 Chair: Gerhard Schnyder	
1	Your efficacy or mine? Determinants of support for democratic innovations and the willingness to engage in them  Lien Smets (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Didier Caluwaerts (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Bram Spruyt (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Rebekka Kesberg (University of Sussex) & Matthew Easterbrook (University of Sussex) (UNDPOLAR)	
2	Voices of the Vulnerable: Long-run Effects of Routine. Task Intensity on Union and Political Participation  Harald Dale-Olsen (Institute of Labor Economics) & Henning Finseraas (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) (TECHNO)	
3	Voters' understanding and evaluation of data-driven political advertising  Sophie Minihold (University of Vienna/University of Amsterdam), Sophie Lecheler (University of Vienna), Claes de Vreese (University of Amsterdam), Rachel Gibson (University of Manchester) & Sanne Kruikemeier (Wageningen University & Research) (DATADRIVEN)	
	PANEL 4.2 "Common" Values and Democratic Behaviours Across Europe Saturday, 24.09.2022 10.30 – 11.45 Chair: James Stanyer	
1	Belief systems in an international landscape: Exploring the varieties of belief systems across 23 European countries	



	Jochem van Noord (University of Groningen) (UNDPOLAR)
2	How Human Values and the Rural-Urban Divide Interact to Shape Voting Behaviour
	Alina Zumbrunn (University of Bern) & Sonja Zmerli (Sciences Po Grenoble - Université Grenoble Alpes) (RUDE)
3	The Relationship between Political Entertainment Media Use and Political Trust: A Comparative Study in 17 Countries
	Christian Schemer (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Christine Meltzer (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Luisa Gehle (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Peter Van Aelst (University of Antwerp), Yannis Theocharis (Technical University of Munich), Jesper Strömbäck (University of Gothenburg), Václav Štětka (Loughborough University), Agnieszka Stępińska (Adam Mickiewicz University), James Stanyer (Loughborough University London), Sergio Splendore (University of Milan), Tamir Sheafer (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Jörg Matthes (University of Vienna), Karolina Koc-Michlska (Audencia Business School), David Hopmann (University of Southern Denmark), Frank Esser (University of Zurich), Claes de Vreese (University of Amsterdam), Nicoleta Corbu (National University of Political Studies and Public Administration), Laia Castro (University of Zurich), Ana S. Cardenal (Open University of Catalonia), Toril Aalberg (Norwegian University of Science and Technology), Patrick van Erkel (University of Antwerp), Ludovic Terren (Open University of Catalonia) & Denis Halagiera (Adam Mickiewicz University) (THREATPIE)

TH	THEME 5: CHANGING AUTHORITY OF INSTITUTIONS	
	PANEL 5.1 Evolving Democratic Legitimacy Friday, 23.09.2022 14.30 – 15.45 Chair: Allison Östlund	
1	Variation In Democratic Legitimacy Of Occupational Pensions	
	Tobias Wiß (Johannes Kepler University Linz) & <b>Thomas Mayer</b> (Johannes Kepler University Linz) (DEEPEN)	
2	The adoption of digital regulatory practices for consumer empowerment: do country and sector boundaries matter for digital regulatory innovation?	
	Alena Pivavarava (King's College London) & <b>Christel Koop</b> (King's College London) (ReConnect)	
3	The complexities of representation in funded pension schemes in Ireland	
	Karen Anderson (University College Dublin) & <b>Hayley James</b> (University College Dublin) (DEEPEN)	



4 The Norwegian Administrative State: Towards a Crossroads? Nick Sitter (BI Norwegian Business School) & Are Vegard Haug (BI Norwegian Business School) (ReConnect) PANEL 5.2 Understanding Global and EU Institutions Saturday, 24.09.2022 09.00 - 10.15**Chair: Kamil Bernaerts** 1 Transfer Learning for Multilingual Political Text Classification Fabian David Schmidt (University of Mannheim) & Goran Glavaš (University of Mannheim) (EUINACTION) EU Treaty-Making and the Practice of 'Common Accord': Creating Unity within a 2 Composite of Separated Powers Christina Eckes (University of Amsterdam and Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance) & Anne Thies (University of Reading) (SepaRope) 3 A review review Allison Östlund (University of Gothenburg) (SepaRope) 4 Leveraging politicization? National governments' success in defining Council position for legislative negotiations. Anastasia Ershova (Leiden University), Aleksandra Khokhlova (Leiden University), Nikoleta Yordanova (Leiden University), Christine Sylvester (University of Strathclyde) & Zachary Greene (University of Strathclyde) (EUINACTION)



### "The Conservatory of Populism"

### Helena Botto (POPBACK)

In Jacques Rancière's inclusive notion of democracy, 'politics' and new forms of inscription and emancipation occur when the boundaries of the 'proper' are transgressed, that is, when that which assigns/confines a person to a given place and a given function break.

Populist rhetoric seems to be marked by transgressiveness and hybridization (Casullo) and by what I would term a sense of impropriety: e.g., their anti-institutional, anti-elite discourse (Müller, Mudde, Ostiguy). However, contrary to Rancière's notion of the 'improper,' populist impropriety often produces exclusionary effects, endangering the very notion of democracy.

'The Conservatory of Populism' plays out the dual signification of the term improper.

Helena Botto, a Ph.D. candidate, over-identifies with populist leaders and their 'political leadership styles', e.g., their crisis performance, their sense of ineptitude, their strong man/woman performance, their demand to act decisively (Moffitt, Casullo), mixing them with popular genres of performance (e.g., the Western, melodrama, erotic), 'aesthetic categories' (Ngai), and genres of fiction and life (Berlant).

In this school of populism, Botto performs an archive of populist rhetoric and invites the audience to practice a series of performance techniques in order to find their own political style.

Will you dare to join her?