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**Europe's
New Radical Left
in Times of Crisis**
Continuities, innovations, breakthroughs and impasses

**INTERNATIONAL
WORKSHOP**

Europe's New Radical Left in Times of Crisis

Continuities, innovations, breakthroughs and impasses

An International Workshop hosted by the **School of Political Sciences** at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and supported by the **Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung** (Athens Office)

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Room 319

Faculty of Economic and Political Sciences

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CONTEXT, AIMS AND KEY QUESTIONS

The severe economic crisis in Europe during the past years has brought renewed intensity to the debate around the crisis of democracy itself and the capacity of existing institutions to empower citizens, upholding the democratic promise for 'popular sovereignty.' A significant part of this debate has revolved around what is described as a challenge to Europe by populist and anti-establishment parties. Indeed, during the years of crisis and austerity, there has been an unprecedented rise of such parties throughout the continent. However, if the discussion on European populist and anti-establishment parties was until yesterday mostly targeted at the Right of the political spectrum - on nationalist, xenophobic or even extremist parties - the picture has now changed due to the impressive performance of challenger parties of the Radical Left. Parties that in sharp contrast to their right-wing counterparts, put forth egalitarian claims for social inclusion and emancipation, as well as demands for radical democratisation against austerity and neoliberal deregulation.

In this context, parties like SYRIZA and Podemos have attracted immense attention in both international press and academic debates. Putting aside 'labels', these parties seem to have opened a new era for the broader family of the European Radical Left. They seem to do politics differently, emphasising a close interaction with grassroots initiatives and social movements, but also the need to move beyond the role of a 'fighting opposition' and to directly claim power. What is more, they do not employ so much class-based discourses, but rather prefer to speak in the name of 'the people', the ordinary citizens, the 'underdog' or the precarious, articulating appeals that are much broader and more inclusive, compared to appeals of the 'traditional' left in the past.

Undoubtedly, understanding the conditions of emergence and the novel characteristics of such parties, their relation to governance

and political power, as well as debating their role in a changing Europe, constitutes a timely priority for political researchers of the Left and for any citizen who is interested in the future of European democracy. Critical reflection and debate on these issues becomes even more urgent after the involvement of some of these parties in exercising power, and especially after the experience of SYRIZA's first term in office and its eventual capitulation to the demands of Greece's lenders, which revealed serious contradictions and impasses in the party's strategy.

Our two-day international Workshop aims at developing a critical dialogue between younger researchers, senior academics, but also political activists, focusing both on the theoretical aspects of this discussion, as well as on its empirical comparative perspectives. Some of the questions that we hope to address are the following:

- Is there a new radical left in Europe? What is (or is not) particularly 'new' about it?
- Is this new radical left 'populist'? And if yes, what does that mean? What are the peculiarities of this populism?
- Why certain such parties have managed to capitalise on the crisis and consolidate their power, while others have not performed well?
- What is the relationship between the new radical left in Europe and the newest social movements that have emerged across the continent?
- What is the role of leadership in today's radical left parties?
- How have vertical and horizontal forms of internal organisation developed in each case and with what consequences?
- What has been the role of coalitions and collaboration between radical left parties, political groups and initiatives on

the national level?

- What are the state and prospects of transnational cooperation and mobilisation among radical left parties and initiatives in Europe today?
- How has the European radical left responded to the surge of new nationalist and isolationist tendencies?

ABSTRACTS

GIANNIS BALAMPANIDIS

(Panteion University)

Radical left strategies in a new era of Europeanisation

The current economic crisis, along with the rise of populist political forces and the emergence of a new wave of Euroscepticism, boosted theoretical discussion on populism. The main narratives of the Greek crisis, polarized around the concepts of populism and anti-populism, lead to a renegotiation of the European identity (populism as a progressive and egalitarian response to European Union's political crisis or populism as simplistic demagoguery that undermines the fundamentals of liberal democracy and the project of modernization-through-Europeanisation). In this presentation, the aim is to (a) present the debate on populism and Euroscepticism as associated with the debate on Europeanisation, (b) to examine under this prism Syriza's strategy of a 'euro-pragmatic populism' in its path from a minor actor of social protest to a major party of government and (c) to revisit this strategy in the light of the initial questions and to formulate some further thoughts on the limits of a strategy of Eurosceptic populism.

PETAR BANKOV

(University of Glasgow)

Red squares everywhere: evaluating the sub-national territorial variation of electoral performance of European radical left parties

Recent literature on European radical left parties (RLPs) has offered valuable contributions mainly on the causes for their electoral performance. In this context specific interests obtained the uneven territorial distribution of electoral success. In contrast to previous studies that focused predominantly on variations across European regions, this paper pays closer attention to the variety of sub-national patterns of electoral support for RLPs. Such analysis is

important in order not only to understand the sources for the electoral strength of RLPs, but also to identify potential directions for electoral evolution. In this respect this paper offers a categorization of sub-national patterns of electoral support for RLPs and discusses three distinctive explanations for their development. This is achieved through a qualitative comparison of the diverse cases of The Left (Germany), Socialist Party (Netherlands), and Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (Czechia).

GIORGOS CHARALAMBOUS

(University of Cyprus)

Populism and the European radical left: A clarification of definitional and conceptual problems

Before the upsurge in publications, intellectual discourse and media rhetoric on left-wing populism in Europe and especially its southern flank can translate into an accumulation of insights into the phenomenon and its various manifestations, a number of definitional and conceptual issues need to be addressed. These arise from the presence of different, often competing definitions, conceptualisations and operationalisations of populism that have come to exist throughout several decades of research. The paper discusses the empirical implications that arise out of clarifying the conceptual and definitional problems associated with the term 'left-wing populism' as applied to political parties. More specifically it takes up each of the dominant approaches to populism - as thin ideology, rhetoric or discourse and organizational style - and investigates the use and misuse of the association between populism and European radical left parties in recent literature. On the basis of this four-step analysis, empirical possibilities and conclusions are addressed about the extent and the ways in which European radical left parties can be approached as populist and as a threat to democracy; the similarities and differences between

radical left and far right parties; and the nexus between left radicalism, populism and (political and economic) crises.

COSTAS ELEFTHERIOU

(University of Athens)

Radical Left Parties in Government during the Crisis: lessons from the SYRIZA case

Syriza's rise to power is an important political development for understanding the challenges that a European radical left party has to deal with when it assumes government in a crisis-stricken socio-political environment - with the limitations of the accession to Eurozone. In the intellectual tradition of the left the issue of power has always been conceived as an inherently normative issue which referred predominantly to the seizure of power and less to the exercise of power. These intellectual traits were present in Syriza's theoretical foundations and have influenced its programmatic positions and its performance when in government. This paper will attempt to analyze the following subjects: a) Syriza's theory on state management and government prior to the January 2015 national elections; b) Syriza's preparation efforts for government; c) the realities of a radical left government. It will be argued that Syriza's moderation was not just a voluntarist ideological/intellectual shift, but it was clearly influenced by external and internal factors directly correlated with government responsibilities. In that sense, this model of 'forced moderation' reveals the necessity of certain 'defense mechanisms' that a radical left party must develop in order to preserve its radical left identity.

PAOLO GERBAUDO

(King's College London)

**Citizenism and Populism: exploring the ideological landscape
of the post-2011 Left**

In the wake of the financial crash of 2008 we have witnessed the rise of populist phenomena on both the Left and the Right of the political spectrum, from Podemos to the 5 Star Movement, from Bernie Sanders to Donald Trump. This presentation will look at two strands of populist politics that are particularly important for an understanding of the European Left. On the one hand the citizenism, or populism of the indignant citizen, of the movements of the squares of 2011; on the other hand the 'purple wave' populism of Podemos and to certain extent of Syriza and other parties and candidates. I will argue that central to these populist phenomena is the question of democracy, and the demand for equality in a society marked by a crisis of traditional forms of left organisation and of popular democracy. In this context, however, these populist streams propose quite different answers to the question of how to make societies more democratic. Citizenism envisions a horizontal democracy in which everyone is equal, and everyone has a veto. Left-wing purple wave populism is instead highly plebiscitary and leader-cantered. My argument will be that some middle-way needs to be found between these opposite visions of democracy.

GIORGOS KATSAMBEKIS

(Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

**Radical left populism from opposition to power: the Syriza
experience**

Syriza's rise in Greece during the years of crisis and austerity did not only trigger a major realignment of the Greek political system, leading the old party establishment to collapse. It also acted as a symbol of defiance for leftist movements around Europe and a proof that the radical left could be regarded as a viable contender of

power. The euphoria of the left's victory in Greece, nevertheless, lasted roughly six months, as Syriza had to retreat, accepting a new 'bailout' programme in July 2015. Still, even after this major retreat, Syriza managed to win another election, in September 2015, staying in power, to implement a very different programme than the one that it initially had brought it to power. Despite the immense attention by global media and international scholars, we are still lacking a comprehensive account of Syriza's trajectory from the margins of the political system to power. Responding to the need for such an assessment, this paper aims at an exploration of Syriza's populist discourse and strategy, covering the period from its emergence as a loose coalition of parties and groups in 2004 up until its first year in power, in 2015.

DAN KEITH

(University of York)

Die Linke: Consolidating left-wing populism in times of crisis?

The German Left Party (Die Linke) came to being in 2007 as a merger of the primarily eastern German Party of Democratic Socialism (which itself emerged from the ruling party of the GDR, the Socialist Unity Party) and a left-wing protest movement, the predominantly western German Electoral Alternative for Labour and Social Justice (WASG). Thereafter, internal divisions made it difficult for Die Linke to consolidate around an ideological core. Instead, Die Linke's politicians utilised populist appeals as they papered over the cracks within the party. Indeed, it was not until 2011 that Die Linke could agree on its first party programme. In this paper we analyse the continued prominence of populist appeals within Die Linke. We structure our analysis of Die Linke's populist response to the economic crisis around four key elements of its appeal: the defence of 'common sense' ideas, a disdain for process that masquerades as a call to reinvigorate the democratic process, the identification of sets of enemies and the need to overcome the

current system ('Systemfrage'). Our analysis shows that despite Die Linke's willingness to participate in coalition governments at the subnational level, populist appeals remain central to its national strategy. We also show how Die Linke interpreted the international economic crisis as a failure of the 'neoliberal' economic system and that while the party sought to theorise the causes of the crisis, its policy proposals have remained vague and difficult to operationalise. Instead, Die Linke's response has largely been expressed through its earlier criticisms of the dominance of 'global ruling elites' and perception that politicians do not serve the interests of the public. This strategy has not done it any harm at the polls, but it has made entering government more unlikely.

ALEXANDROS KIOUPKIOLIS

(Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Reflexive technopopulism: Podemos and the search for a new radical left hegemony

This paper delves into the constitutive features of Podemos, a new, left-leaning populist party-cum-movement which has shaken the political establishment in Spain since its irruption as a decisive political force in the 2014 European elections. Born in the context of the 2010 European sovereign debt crisis, but with distinctive national characteristics, the party presents three defining characteristics: its dualism as a competitive parliamentary force that considers itself a social movement; its reliance on social media and television to mobilise supporters and popularise the figure of its charismatic leader, political science lecturer Pablo Iglesias; and its extraordinary reflexivity, that is, its conscious self-image as a practical implementation of the theories of the Argentinean philosopher Ernesto Laclau, presenting a left-leaning populist movement as the vanguard of a new hegemonic democratic majority. The paper focuses on the first phase of Podemos' politics, but will discuss also its move beyond radical populism in 2016.

MARCO LISI

(Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

From enemies to friends: the beginning of a new era for the Portuguese Left?

The 2015 legislative elections in Portugal led to the formation of a socialist minority government supported by radical left parties. This event marked a major shift in the characteristics of the party system and an important watershed in the political integration of the Left Bloc and the Portuguese Communist Party. To examine this U-turn in Portuguese politics, this paper is articulated into three main parts. First, it considers the trajectory of the radical left in Portugal since the implementation of the bailout and analyses the possible reasons for the parties becoming coalition partners. We review the combination of factors responsible for making radical left parties coalitionable, emphasising the role played by austerity policies and party leadership' interests. Second, we analyse the factors explaining the success of radical left parties (PCP and BE), especially compared with the poor performance of the socialists. Third, this study provides a preliminary analysis of the policies implemented by this new government and sheds more light on government cooperation between leftist parties, thus unveiling mechanisms of coordination and internal functioning. The final section aims to evaluate the Portuguese experience in the context of the achievements and failings of the radical left in European government, discussing the main challenges they may face in the foreseeable future.

PHILIPPE MARLIÈRE

(University College London)

Jean-Luc Mélenchon's elusive left-wing populism

The notion of populism has been used aplenty in French politics and academia. This is largely due to the persisting electoral successes

of the Front National, an extreme-right party, from the mid-1980s onward. Talk about 'populism' - notably 'left wing populism' - culminated in 2005. After a politicised debate nationwide, 55% of French voters rejected the European Constitution. Mainstream parties and media had all called for a 'yes' vote. They were prompt to reprimand an 'irrational' and 'immature' electorate which had followed 'populist' politicians from the far right and, essentially, from the left. Candidate of the Left Front - a coalition of parties on the radical left - at the 2012 presidential election, Jean-Luc Mélenchon has frequently been called 'populist' in the media and by other politicians. He first refused to endorse the label for fear to be seen as a left wing counterpart of his far right wing opponent, but more recently, Mélenchon has come to embrace and even positively refer to the notion of 'populism'. Inspired by Hugo Chávez's experiment in Venezuela and more recently by Podemos in Spain, he announced that he would run again in 2017, but this time as an independent candidate 'above parties.' Mélenchon wants to connect 'with the people' and is committed to 'restore the sovereignty of the French nation': he endeavours to fight the neoliberal 'drift' of the European Union, the 'nefarious effects' of the euro on national economies, and he accuses François Hollande of betraying his own camp. Above all, Mélenchon accepts the populist dichotomy between 'the people' ('the 99%') and the 'oligarchy' ('the 1%') while dismissing the traditional Left/Right dichotomy. He also refers positively to the notions of 'patrie' (homeland) and the 'republic'. This paper will discuss the extent to which Mélenchon's campaign marks the birth of a genuine left-wing populist movement in France. It will assess whether this project is viable in the country which created the notions of left and right in 1789.

VIVIAN SPYROPOULOU

(Panteion University)

**The electoral dynamics of European Radical Left Parties
(1990-2016)**

This paper examines the electoral trends in West European radical left parties since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The aim is to outline the electoral dynamics and fluctuations of radical left parties in thirteen West European countries. Our intention is to identify the electoral gains and losses of each party, in a bid to present a 'panoramic view' of the electoral elasticity and development of the cases under study, during the period 1990-2016. Does the West European radical Left continue to face an electoral crisis since 1990 or not? In which countries is the radical Left on the rise and in which on retreat? Which are the electoral dynamics of radical left parties during the severe economic crisis? These are the key questions of our analysis. Within this context, the Greek radical Left presents a peculiar but interesting case among West European radical left parties. As a conclusion, the paper explains why the study of the rise of Syriza amidst the international financial crisis is critical to understanding and explaining the reshaping and the electoral fluctuations of the radical Left in Europe.

ALEN TOPLIŠEK

(Queen Mary University of London)

**Slovenia's United Left: Between parliamentarism and politics
of the street**

This paper will analyse the conditions for the rise and the operations of the Slovenian United Left party. More specifically, it will explore the tension between the parliamentary logic of its operations and the social movements, which represent the fourth pillar inside the party. The paper will argue that rather than using a

populist discourse and logic as a political strategy, the United Left fits more comfortably with what could be described as a distinctly Marxist orientation. The post-socialist Yugo-nostalgia and a clear democratic socialist ideological orientation will be identified as the key elements for its electoral success in 2014 general election. At the end, the paper will inquire whether a more openly populist discursive strategy would need to be used by the United Left in order to increase its electoral gains.

MYRTO TSAKATIKA

(University of Glasgow)

**Radical Left Parties in Europe and beyond: New research
agendas**

If the end of the Cold War signaled the decline and mutation of Europe's radical left parties (RLPs) and the Global Justice Movement provided a new spark, the economic crisis has created new challenges and opportunities for the party family. Renewed interest in RLPs has generated a rich, innovative and genuinely comparative research agenda over the last decade. A body of knowledge has now developed on the electoral performance, government record and programmatic development as well as on the pan-European networks of co-operation of RLPs. The lecture will survey the state of the art in the recent comparative literature and identify new questions and new pathways for research on radical left parties in Europe and beyond.

GERRIT VOERMAN & PAUL LUCARDIE

(University of Groningen)

**From Maoism to Social Democracy? The incomplete
transformation of the Dutch Socialist Party**

The SP differs from parties like SYRIZA, Podemos and Die Linke because of its age and its origin: it was founded in 1971 by Maoists

and only gradually evolved into a left populist party, shedding first Maoism, then Leninism and finally even Marxism. After 2000 it began to resemble social democracy rather than left socialism in its programmes, but continued to apply a populist strategy. Its electorate grew rapidly during the 1990s and early 2000s - mainly at the expense of the Labour Party (PvdA) - but has stagnated since 2006, possibly because of its ambiguous strategy, mobilising populist protest and trying to prove its governmental competence (Regierungsfähigkeit) at the same time. Such a strategy might work in polarised party systems, but not in the centripetal and still rather consociational Dutch system where left parties have never managed to win a majority in parliament. For centrist or centre-right parties, the SP may still be too radical and too populist. Also, the SP seems to have failed so far to benefit electorally from the electoral implosion of the Labour Party (since 2012) and from the economic recession (not a serious crisis in the Dutch case) - unlike the national-populist Freedom Party (PVV).

NOTES ON PARTICIPANTS

Ioannis Andreadis is Associate Professor of quantitative methods in the social sciences at the School of Political Sciences of the Aristotle University Thessaloniki. He is a member of the steering committee of the project Comparative Candidate Survey. He is a national collaborator for the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems for Modules 3 and 4 and a founding member of the Hellenic National Election Studies. He specializes in web surveys and is the designer of the Voting Advice Application HelpMeVote.eu. He has authored or co-authored several articles published in journals, books and conference proceedings.

Giannis Balampanidis holds a PhD in Political Science, at the Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. He has studied Law at the Law School of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, holds a Master-DEA in 'Théorie du politique et rapports sociaux' at the University Paris 8 and a Master in 'Political Science and History' at the Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University. His main research interests focus on Comparative Politics, Theory of Political Parties, Europeanization, Historical Sociology. He is the author of *Eurocommunism: From communist to radical left in Europe* (Polis, 2015).

Petar Bankov is an ESRC-funded PhD student in Politics at the University of Glasgow. His research interests concern comparative party politics, political geography, and the European Left. Currently, he works on his project that examines the sources for different sub-national patterns of electoral support for radical left parties.

Giorgos Charalambous holds an Msc in European Public Policy from UCL and a BA (Hons) and PhD in Politics from the University of Manchester. He is a Senior Research Consultant at PRIO Cyprus

Centre and Adjunct Lecturer at the Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus. He also serves as President of the Cypriot Association of Political Science. His research and publications centre on political parties and ideologies, political behaviour, the domestic politics of European integration and southern European politics. He has authored the monograph *European Integration and the Communist Dilemma* (Ashgate, 2013) and co-edited (with C. Christophorou) the volume *Party Society Relations in the Republic of Cyprus: Political and Societal Strategies* (Routledge, 2016).

Costas Eleftheriou has finished his PhD thesis at the University of Athens on the Communist Party of Greece. He has produced several publications in Greek, English and Spanish on the Greek party system and Greek radical left. He has co-authored (with C. Tassis) the book *PASOK: The rise and fall of a hegemonic party* (Savvalas, 2013).

Paolo Gerbaudo is a political sociologist and the Director of the Centre for Digital Culture at King's College London. His research focuses on post-2011 social movements and political parties, and the new ideologies and organisational practices.

Andreas Karitzis studied engineering and he has a PhD in Philosophy. He has been a SYRIZA leadership member for 11 years (Central Committee, Political Secretariat). He served as party spokesman, campaign manager in various elections, coordinator of the Programme Committee, the Political Planning Committee and the Digital Policy Dept among other duties. He was also a member of the Managing Board of Poulantzas Institute. He is a founding member of Komvos (Hub) for Social Economy, Empowerment and Innovation. He blogs at <http://karitzis.wordpress.com>.

Giorgos Katsambekis studied political science at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH), where he also received his doctorate in June 2015. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the School of Political Sciences at the same university. He has worked as a researcher in the project 'POPULISMUS: Populist Discourse and Democracy' (2014-2015). His articles and reviews have appeared or are forthcoming in various journals, such as the *Journal of Political Ideologies*, *European Political Science*, *Constellations*, *The Political Quarterly* and *Political Studies Review*. He has co-edited (with A. Kioupkiolis) the volume *Radical Democracy and Collective Movements Today* (Ashgate, 2014).

Daniel Keith lectures in politics at the University of York. His research interests include the Left, internal party organisation and political leadership. He has co-edited (with L. March) the volume *Europe's Radical Left: From Marginality to the Mainstream* (Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016). He recently published the article 'Nonmainstream left parties and women's representation in Western Europe,' in *Party Politics* (with T. Verge). His articles have appeared in journals including *The European Journal of Political Research*, *Capital & Class* and *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*.

Alexandros Kioupkiolis has studied classics in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Athens, and political theory at the University of Essex (MA) and the University of Oxford (DPhil). He has taught political theory at the University of Oxford, the University of Cyprus and the Aristotle University, where he is now Assistant Professor of Contemporary Political Theory, in the School of Political Sciences. His research interests focus on modern philosophies of freedom, contemporary philosophies of justice, theories of democracy, analyses and critiques of power. He has published four books and numerous articles on these topics. Recent publications

include the co-edited volume *Radical Democracy and Collective Movements today* (Ashgate, 2014), and the monographs *Freedom After the Critique of Foundations* (Palgrave, 2012), and *The Commons of Freedom* (Excharchia, 2014).

Marco Lisi is an assistant professor in the department of Political Studies, Nova University of Lisbon and researcher at the Portuguese Institute of International Relations. His research interests focus on political parties, electoral behaviour, democratic theory, political representation and election campaigns. He has published several articles in national and international journals. His latest books are *Party Change, Recent Democracies and Portugal* (Lexington, 2015) and the co-edited volume *Political Representation in Times of Bailout: Evidence from Greece and Portugal* (Routledge, 2016).

Isidro López is an MP with Podemos in the Madrid Regional Parliament.

Paul Lucardie obtained his PhD at Queen's University (Kingston, Canada). In 1979 he joined the Documentation Centre on Dutch Political Parties at the University of Groningen. Since 2011 he has been officially retired but continues to work as a researcher on a voluntary basis. He has published mainly on political ideologies and new parties in the Netherlands, Canada and Germany, in *Party Politics*, the *European Journal of Political Research*, *Acta Politica* and in the *American Review of Canadian Studies*, as well as in edited volumes. In 2011 he published together with Gerrit Voerman *Populisten in de polder* (Boom). He is the author of *All power to the people! Democratic extremism in theory and practice* (Routledge, 2013).

Philippe Marlière is professor of French and European Politics at

University College London (UK). He completed his PhD dissertation on French socialism at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy). He was a Research Fellow at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, France) and was awarded the 2007 Chair of Politics at the Free University of Brussels in recognition of his work on European social democracy. He has published on the French radical Left and is now working on a book about the republican ideology in contemporary France.

Marina Prentoulis is one of the founding members of Syriza London. During the Greek/EU negotiations she appeared on national and international media as an expert on the Greek crisis. As a Labour member she has been a supporter of Jeremy Corbyn. During the referendum campaign she has been one of the spokespersons for Another Europe is Possible. She is on the advisory academic bodies of Jubilee Dept Campaign, Global Justice Now and New Economics Foundation (NEON).

Martin Schirdewan is Director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels-Athens Office.

Vivian Spyropoulou is a PhD Candidate at Panteion University, Athens, in the department of Political science and History. She has been awarded scholarships from the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation and the Greek State Scholarship foundation (IKY). She holds a BA in Political Science and History and an MA in Political Science from Panteion University, as well as an MA in South European Politics and Regimes from the University of Montpellier I. Her PhD thesis focuses on the programmatic and ideological evolution of radical Left parties in Greece, France and Sweden since 1989. Her research interests include Comparative Politics, radical left parties, theory of political parties, opinion polls and electoral behaviour. She has worked as a Research Assistant in the field of

opinion polls and qualitative surveys in the private sector in Athens.

Michalis Spourdalakis is Professor of Political Sociology at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, and Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Politics at the University of Athens. He holds an undergraduate Degree from the University of Athens, a BA from Lakehead University, Canada, an MA from University of Manitoba, Canada, and a PhD from Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. His publications include, among many others: *The Rise of the Greek Socialist Party*, (Routledge, 1988), *On the Theory and the Study of Political Parties* (Exadas, 1989), *Pasok: Party-State-Society* (Patakis, 1998), *Party of European Socialists: Prospects and Challenges* (ISTAME, 2001).

Yannis Stavrakakis is Professor of Political Discourse Analysis and Head of the School of Political Sciences at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, as well as Vice-President of the Hellenic Political Science Association. His research primarily focuses on contemporary political theory and on the analysis of ideology and discourse in late modern societies. His main publications include *Lacan and the Political* (Routledge, 1999), *The Lacanian Left* (SUNY Press, 2007) and the co-authored book *Populism, Anti-Populism and Crisis* (Nefeli, 2012). During the 2014-2015 period he served as Principal Investigator of the Thessaloniki-based POPULISMUS research project, which focused on the relationship between populist discourse and democracy. He is also co-convenor of the Populism Specialist Group of the Political Studies Association (UK).

Igor Stokfiszewski is a researcher, journalist and activist of *Political Critique*, an independent sociopolitical organisation operating within Poland and Ukraine. He is also a member of the DiEM25 Coordinating Collective.

Eftichia Teperoglou is Lecturer at the School of Political Sciences of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Her main research interests are in the fields of political and electoral behaviour with a focus on European elections, comparative politics, quantitative methods and public opinion. She has published her work in international journals and edited volumes. She is the author of the book *The other 'national' elections. Analyzing the European Elections in Greece 1981-2014* (Papazissis, 2016) and co-editor (with H. Schmitt) of the volume *The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe* (Routledge 2015).

Alen Toplišek has just received his PhD in political theory at Queen Mary University of London. He is currently teaching on politics and business modules at Queen Mary, while looking to publish his work on the crisis of liberal democracy, depoliticisation and the rise of the new radical Left.

Myrto Tsakatika is Senior Lecturer in European Politics at the University of Glasgow. She holds a PhD in Government from the University of Essex. Her research interests include radical left parties, the comparative politics of Southern Europe and European Union governance. Her latest publications appear in the *Journal of European Public Policy*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies* and *South European Society and Politics*.

Gerrit Voerman is director of the Documentation Centre Dutch Political Parties at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, where he is professor in Dutch and European party systems. Together with P. Lucardie he published the monograph *Populisme in de polder* (Boom, 2012) and he edited (with D. Strijker and I. Terluin) the volume *Rural protest groups and populist political parties* (Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2015). His most recent publication is the article 'Memberless parties. Beyond the business-firm party model?' (with O. Mazzoleni), in *Party Politics*.

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