

# POPULISM AND RADICAL POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE\*

## BA Seminar (Seminar European Politics) Summer 2018

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**From 10.04.2018 – 05.06.2018 (Tuesdays), 14:00–17:30**

**Tuesday 12.06.2018: 14:00 – 15:30**

**WiSo Building (building nr 101), PC-Pool 210.**

9 ECTS

Modul: SM Seminar Politikwissenschaft I

Language of instruction: English

**Instructor:**

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## 1 Course Description

“Populism” is a buzzword in European politics today. Across the continent, parties and politicians labeled as such appear to be making the headlines and into parliaments. At the same time, radical parties (especially the radical right), have been a common phenomenon in European politics for decades, and there is much conceptual

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\*This is a preliminary syllabus subject to minor changes.

muddiness when using these terms. In this course we will discuss populist and radical politics in contemporary Europe. What exactly each of these terms mean, in a social scientific way, and what parties can be classified as such? Next, we look at some theories as to why there is a rise of populists today, as well as what are the observed consequences of this rise. We discuss what are the commonalities and differences between voters of populist and radical parties across European countries, and end by talking about potential measures to counter the rise of such actors. At the end, students will have a good understanding of one of the most pressing challenges to contemporary liberal democracies.

Seminars are organized into seven 3-hour blocks. The first half of each session will be a seminar, where student active participation is expected. In the second half we turn to a lab session to look, analyze, and visualize data related to the content of that day (e.g., public opinion surveys).

## 2 Pre-requisites

Most readings in this course will contain some form of statistical analysis. Plus, we will conduct basic quantitative data analysis and visualization using R. Since this is not an Introduction to Statistics class, students are expected to have a some familiarity and experience with statistical methods (you are fine if you can read a regression table and interpret a p-value). **You don't need to have prior experience with R!**

## 3 Course Requirements

The final grade will be composed of the following requirements:

- 1 **Final Paper (75%)**: Students must write a 3000-words (with a  $\pm 5\%$  tolerance) research paper, to be handed in by **1 July, 2018, at 23:55 CET, through Ilias**. A list of references and appendices do not count towards the page limit. The topic must be related to contents covered in class. It should have an empirical component with some kind of **quantitative data analysis (example, a linear regression)**. Students are strongly encouraged to discuss the topic of their papers before the end of classes with the instructor. Papers should be written with 12 point font, double-spaced, and 2.5 cm margins.
- 2 **Final paper presentation (25%)**: In the last session, students are required to present the design of their final paper. The presentation should include

the topic, research question, theory, data, and method. This means: start thinking about your final paper early. The presentation should be around 10-12 minutes long. It is modeled after a conference panel. Students are also required to provide constructive criticism and feedback to their colleagues.

Points are converted to final grades as follows:

Points	Grade
100–96	1,0
95–91	1,3
90–86	1,7
85–81	2,0
80–76	2,3
75–71	2,7
70–66	3,0
65–61	3,3
60–56	3,7
55–51	4,0
50–0	5,0

Unexcused late submissions of final papers will be subject to grade deductions following the scale below:

Delay	Deduction
0–24 hours after deadline	20% penalty
24–48 hours after deadline	35% penalty
48–72 hours after deadline	50% penalty
> 72 hours after deadline	Not graded

**Bonus points.** It is possible to earn up to 12 bonus points in this course, meaning the maximum final grade can be 112. Bonus points will be assigned in two ways: first, between Weeks 2 and 7, students are asked to submit up to three questions about the weekly readings to the instructor up to two hours before our meeting. I will select up to three questions in total (from those submitted by all students) to discuss in class. If your question is selected in a week, you earn one bonus point that week. The other six possible bonus points come from two extra activities (3 for each). They will be take home assignments given during the course. *Students can*

*only earn bonus points if they fulfill the mandatory course requirements – meaning, deliver a final paper and do a presentation.* Bonus points can increase your grade, but never decrease it.

## 4 Schedule

### Week 1 (April 10): Introduction to the Course

The first session will focus on definitions: what are the differences between populist, radical, and extremist parties, and why does it matter?

#### Mandatory Readings:

Mudde, Cas. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapter 1.

Rooduijn, Matthijs. (2014). The Nucleus of Populism: In Search of the Lowest Common Denominator. *Government and Opposition*, 49(4):573–99.

#### Additional readings:

Canovan, Margaret. (1981). *Populism*. Junction Books, London.

Fieschi, Catherine. and Heywood, Paul. (2004). Trust, cynicism and populist anti-politics. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3):289–309.

Mudde, Cas. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4): 542–563.

Müller, Jan-Werner. (2016). *What Is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Stanley, Ben. (2008). The Thin Ideology of Populism. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13(1):95–110.

### Week 2 (April 17): Issues and Ideologies of European Populist Parties

In this session we discuss the ideological characteristics of contemporary European populist parties, and its connection to extremism on both right and left, as well as how they are related to new ideological cleavages.

#### Mandatory Readings:

Halikiopoulou, Daphne, Nanou, Kyriaki, and Vasilopoulou, Sofia. (2012). The paradox of nationalism: The common denominator of radical right and radical left euroscepticism. *European Journal of Political Research* 51(4): 504–539.

de Lange, Sarah L. (2007). A New Winning Formula? The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right. *Party Politics*, 13(4):411–435.

Rooduijn, Matthijs and Akkerman, Tjitske. (2017). Flank attacks: Populism and left-right radicalism in Western Europe. *Party Politics* 23(3): 193–204.

**Additional readings:**

De Vries Catherine E., and Edwards Erica E. (2009), Taking Europe to its extremes: extremist parties and public Euroscepticism, *Party Politics* 15(1): 5–28.

Hawkins, Kirk A., and Castanho Silva, Bruno. *unpublished*. The Hyped and the Forgotten: Measuring and Defining Right and Left Wing Populism in Europe.

de Koster, Willem, Achterberg, Peter, and van der Waal, Jeroen. (2012). The new right and the welfare state: The electoral relevance of welfare chauvinism and welfare populism in the Netherlands. *International Political Science Review*, 34(1):3–20.

Kioupkiolis, Alexandros. 2016. Podemos: the ambiguous promises of left-wing populism in contemporary Spain. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21(2): 99-120.

Kitschelt, Herbert. and McGann, Anthony. (1995). *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Pirro, Andrea. 2014. Populist radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe: The different context and issues of the prophets of the patria. *Government and Opposition* 49(4): 600-629.

Stavrakakis, Yannis, and Katsambekis, Giorgios. (2014). Left-wing populism in the European periphery: the case of SYRIZA. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 19(2): 119–142.

### **Week 3 (April 24): The Causes of Radicalism and Populism in Europe – Economic and Political Explanations**

Economic explanations are a very popular account for the emergence of populism. However, empirical findings are mixed on how much of the current emergence of populists can be traced back to economic crises. This session discusses economic and political explanations for the success of populism.

**Mandatory Readings:**

Arzheimer, Kai. 2009. Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002. *American Journal of Political Science* 53:259–75.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Grande, Edgar, Lachat, Romain, Dolezal, Martin, Bornschieer, Simon, Timotheos, Frey. (2006). Globalization and the Transformation of the Na-

tional Political Space: Six European Countries Compared. *European Journal of Political Research* 45:921–56.

**Additional readings:**

Agerberg, Mattias. (2017). Failed expectations: Quality of government and support for populist parties in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 56(3): 578–600.

Castanho Silva, Bruno. *Forthcoming*. Populist Success: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis. In: *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Theory, Method & Analysis*, edited by Kirk A. Hawkins, Ryan Carlin, Levente Littvay, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. London: Routledge.

Hanley, Séan, and Sikk, Allan. (2016). Economy, corruption or floating voters? Explaining the breakthroughs of anti-establishment reform parties in Eastern Europe. *Party Politics*, 22(4):522–533.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2014. The Populist Challenge. *West European Politics* 37:361–78.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. and Pappas, Takis S. (2015). Populism in Europe during crisis: an introduction. In Kriesi, Hanspeter. and Pappas, Takis S., editors, *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, pp. 1–22. ECPR Press, Colchester.

Rico Guillem, and Anduiza, Eva. (2017). Economic correlates of populist attitudes: an analysis of nine European countries in the aftermath of the great recession. *Acta Politica* pp 1–27, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-017-0068-7>.

## **Week 4 (May 8): The Causes of Radicalism and Populism in Europe – Cultural Issues**

A second set of explanations for the rise of radical right and populist parties in Europe focuses on long-term social and socio-cultural transformations. In this session we discuss how European integration, globalization, and the emergence of post-industrial societies may explain the rise of such political forces.

**Mandatory readings:**

Bustikova, Lenka. (2014). Revenge of the Radical Right. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(12): 1738–1765.

Spruyt, Bram, Keppens, Gil, and Droogenbroeck, Filip Van. (2016). Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It? *Political Research Quarterly*, 69:195–206.

**Additional readings:**

Bornschier, Simon. (2010). *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald F., and Norris, Pippa. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash. *Faculty Research Working Paper Series, RWP16-026*.

Oesch, Daniel. (2008). Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway and Switzerland. *International Political Science Review* 29:349–373.

## **Week 5 (May 15): The Demand Side – Is there a “Populist Voter”?**

What are the social and attitudinal basis of support for radical and populist parties in Europe? Are there common characteristics defining populist voters, or is this a very diverse group across countries? These are the questions we discuss in this session.

### **Mandatory readings:**

Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth (2007). What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe? Re-Examining Grievance Mobilization Models in Seven Successful Cases. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(1):3–23.

Rooduijn, Matthijs. (2017). What unites the voter bases of populist parties? Comparing the electorates of 15 populist parties. *European Political Science Review*, 1-18. doi:10.1017/S1755773917000145

Van Hauwaert, Steven M., Van Kessel, Stijn. (2018). Beyond protest and discontent: A cross-national analysis of the effect of populist attitudes and issue positions on populist party support. *European Journal of Political Research* 57(1): 68–92

### **Additional readings:**

Bakker, Bert. N., Rooduijn, Matthijs, and Schumacher, Gijs. (2015). The Psychological Roots of Populist Voting: Evidence from the United States, the Netherlands and Germany. *European Journal of Political Research*, 55:302–320.

Norris, Pippa. (2005). *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Schumacher, Gijs and Rooduijn, Matthijs. (2013). Sympathy for the ‘Devil’? Voting for Populists in the 2006 and 2010 Dutch General Elections. *Electoral Studies*, 32: 124–133.

Harteveld, Eelco, Van Der Brug, Wouter, Dahlberg, Stefan, and Kokkonen, Andrej. (2015). The Gender Gap in Populist Radical-Right Voting: Examining the

Demand Side in Western and Eastern Europe. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49:103–134.

## **Week 6 (May 29): The Consequences of the Emergence of Radicals and Populists**

What are the consequences of the emergence of populists? In this session we discuss how electorally strong populist and radical parties influence the political agenda, public opinion, and their impacts when in power.

### **Mandatory readings:**

Huber, Robert A. and Schimpf, Christian H. (2016). A Drunken Guest in Europe? The Influence of Populist Radical Right Parties on Democratic Quality. *Comparative Governance and Politics*, 10:103–129.

Rooduijn, Matthijs, de Lange, Sarah L., and van der Brug, Wouter. (2014). A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, 20(4):563–575.

Schmuck, Desiree, and Matthes, Jörg. (2015). How Anti-immigrant Right-wing Populist Advertisements Affect Young Voters: Symbolic Threats, Economic Threats and the Moderating Role of Education. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41:1577–1599.

### **Additional readings:**

Albertazzi, Daniele, and Mueller, Sean. (2013). Populism and Liberal Democracy: Populists in Government in Austria, Italy, Poland and Switzerland. *Government and Opposition*, 48(03):343–371.

Castanho Silva, Bruno. (2017). Populist Radical Right Parties and Mass Polarization in the Netherlands. *European Political Science Review*, onlineFirst:1–26.

Enyedi, Zsolt. (2016). Populist Polarization and Party System Institutionalization: The Role of Party Politics in De-Democratization. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 63:210–220.

Matthes, Jörg, and Schmuck, Desiree. (2017). The Effects of Anti-Immigrant Right-Wing Populist Ads on Implicit and Explicit Attitudes: A Moderated Mediation Model. *Communication Research*, 44:556–581.

Rooduijn, Matthijs, van der Brug, Wouter, and de Lange, Sarah L. (2016). Expressing or fuelling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent. *Electoral Studies*, 43:32–40.

Röth, Leonce, Spies, Dennis C., and Afonso, Alexandre. (2017). The Impact of Populist Radical Right Parties on Socio-Economic Policies. *European Political Science Review*, onlineFirst.

## **Week 7 (June 05): How to Deal with Populists and Extremists?**

How to deal with populists in power? Are bans and judicial persecution effective in reducing the appeal of extremist parties? These are some of the questions we address in this session.

### **Mandatory Readings:**

Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, and Taggart, Paul. (2015). Dealing with populists in government: a framework for analysis. *Democratization*, p. 1–20.

Van Spanje, Joost, and de Vreese, Claes. (2013). The good, the bad and the voter: The impact of hate speech prosecution of a politician on electoral support for his party. *Party Politics* 21(1): 115–130.

### **Additional readings:**

Van Spanje, Joost, and Weber, Till. 2017. Does ostracism affect party support? Comparative lessons and experimental evidence. *Party Politics*.

Van Spanje, Joost, and Van Der Brug, Wouter. (2009). Being intolerant of the intolerant. The exclusion of Western European anti-immigration parties and its consequences for party choice. *Acta Politica* 44(4): 353–384.

## **Week 8 (June 12): Student Presentations**