A populist Zeitgeist? The impact of populism on parties, media and the public in Western Europe

Rooduijn, M.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
# Table of contents

List of tables iv  
List of figures v  
List of abbreviations vi  
Acknowledgments ix  

### CHAPTER 1. Introduction: A Populist Zeitgeist in Western Europe? 1  
Introduction 2  
Defining populism 5  
A populist Zeitgeist? 8  
Case selection and data 16  
  *Case selection* 16  
  *Data* 20  
Outline of the dissertation 23  

### CHAPTER 2. The Nucleus of Populism: In Search of the Lowest Common Denominator 27  
Introduction 28  
Characteristics of populism mentioned in the literature 30  
*Characteristics relating to ideas* 31  
*Characteristics relating to style* 33  
*Characteristics relating to organization* 34  
Case selection 34  
Results 37  
*Watson’s People’s Party* 37  
*Perot’s Reform Party* 38  
*Perón’s Justicialist Party* 40  
*Chávez’s MVR / PSUV* 41  
*Le Pen’s Front National* 43  
*Berlusconi’s Forza Italia / PdL* 45  
Conclusion and discussion 46
CHAPTER 3. Measuring Populism in Comparative Research:
  Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis 53
    Introduction 54
    Populism as a thin ideology consisting of two components 55
    Research strategy 56
      *The classical content analysis* 58
      *The computer-based content analysis* 59
    Results 61
      *Validity* 61
      *Reliability* 68
    Conclusion 69

CHAPTER 4. Populist ‘Contagion’? Allegedly Populist Parties and Mainstream Parties in Western Europe 73
  Introduction 74
  Defining populism 75
  Is populism contagious? 77
  Design and method 81
  Results 88
  Conclusion 94

  Introduction 100
  Defining populism 101
  Populism in public debates in the media 103
  Research design and method 108
    *Case selection* 108
    *Content analysis and the dependent variable* 112
    *Independent variables* 114
    *Method* 115
  Results 116
  Conclusion and discussion 122
CHAPTER 6. I Can't Get No Satisfaction: The Impact of Populism on Political Satisfaction

Introduction .......................... 128
Populism and political dissatisfaction .......................... 131
The impact of populism on political satisfaction .......................... 134
Data and methods
  Data ........................................... 137
  Methods ........................................... 142
Results ........................................... 143
Conclusion ........................................... 152

CHAPTER 7. Conclusion: The Specter of Populism

Introduction ........................................... 156
Main findings ........................................... 157
A populist Zeitgeist? ........................................... 159
Contributions to the literature ........................................... 162
Future research ........................................... 167
The impact of populism in the near future ........................................... 169

APPENDICES

Appendix A ........................................... 172
Appendix B ........................................... 173
Appendix C ........................................... 175
Appendix D ........................................... 176
Appendix E ........................................... 179
Appendix F ........................................... 181
Appendix G ........................................... 182
Appendix H ........................................... 182

REFERENCES ........................................... 183

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING ........................................... 201