



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

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

Rooduijn, M.

Publication date
2013

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Rooduijn, M. (2013). *A populist Zeitgeist? The impact of populism on parties, media and the public in Western Europe*.

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
<i>Case selection</i>	16
<i>Data</i>	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
<i>Characteristics relating to ideas</i>	31
<i>Characteristics relating to style</i>	33
<i>Characteristics relating to organization</i>	34
Case selection	34
Results	37
<i>Watson's People's Party</i>	37
<i>Perot's Reform Party</i>	38
<i>Perón's Justicialist Party</i>	40
<i>Chávez's MVR / PSUV</i>	41
<i>Le Pen's Front National</i>	43
<i>Berlusconi's Forza Italia / PdL</i>	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
<i>The classical content analysis</i>	58
<i>The computer-based content analysis</i>	59
Results	61
<i>Validity</i>	61
<i>Reliability</i>	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
CHAPTER 5. The Mesmerizing Message: Populism in Public	
Debates in Western European Media	99
Introduction	100
Defining populism	101
Populism in public debates in the media	103
Research design and method	108
<i>Case selection</i>	108
<i>Content analysis and the dependent variable</i>	112
<i>Independent variables</i>	114
<i>Method</i>	115
Results	116
Conclusion and discussion	122

CHAPTER 6. I Can't Get No Satisfaction: The Impact of Populism on	
Political Satisfaction	127
Introduction	128
Populism and political dissatisfaction	131
The impact of populism on political satisfaction	134
Data and methods	137
<i>Data</i>	137
<i>Methods</i>	142
Results	143
Conclusion	152
CHAPTER 7. Conclusion: The Specter of Populism	155
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	171
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