



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Public images of right-wing populist leaders: the role of the media

Bos, L.

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Bos, L. (2012). Public images of right-wing populist leaders: the role of the media.

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: <http://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.

References

- Adam, S., & Maier, M. (2010). Personalization of politics: A critical review and agenda for research. In C. Salmon (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 34* (pp. 213–257). London, England: Routledge.
- Akkerman, T. (2011). Friend or foe? Right-wing populism and the popular press in Britain and the Netherlands. *Journalism, 12*, 931–945.
- Albertazzi, D. (2007). Addressing the people: A comparative study of the Lega Nord's and Lega dei Ticinesi's political rhetoric and styles of propaganda. *Modern Italy, 12*, 327–347.
- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2008). *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Allen, M., & Burrell, N. (1992). Evaluating the believability of sequential arguments. *Argumentation and Advocacy, 28*, 135–144.
- Altheide, D. L., & Snow, R. P. (1979). *Media logic*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Arceneaux, K. (2010). The benefits of experimental methods for the study of campaign effects. *Political Communication, 27*, 199–215.
- Art, D. (2007). Reacting to the radical right: Lessons from Germany and Austria. *Party Politics, 13*, 331–349.
- Arzheimer, K., & Carter, E. (2006). Political opportunity structures and right-wing extremist party success. *European Journal of Political Research, 45*, 419–443.
- Bale, T. (2003). Cinderella and her ugly sisters: The mainstream and the extreme right in Europe's bi-polarising party systems. *West European Politics, 26*, 67–90.
- Barabas, J., & Jerit, J. (2009). Estimating the causal effects of media coverage on policy-specific knowledge. *American Journal of Political Science, 53*, 73–89.
- Beck, P. A., Dalton, R. J., Greene, S., & Huckfeldt, R. (2002). The social calculus of voting: Interpersonal, media, and organizational influences on presidential choices. *American Political Science Review, 96*, 57–73.
- Belanger, E., & Aarts, K. (2006). Explaining the rise of the LPF: Issues, discontent, and the 2002 Dutch election. *Acta Politica, 41*, 4–20.
- Benoit, W. L., Hansen, G. J., & Verser, R. M. (2003). A meta-analysis of the effects of viewing U.S. presidential debates. *Communication Monographs, 70*, 335–350.
- Bergh, J. (2004). Protest voting in Austria, Denmark, and Norway. *Scandinavian Political Studies, 27*, 367–389.

- Betz, H. -G. (1994). *Radical right-wing populism in Western Europe*. London, England: Macmillan.
- Betz, H. -G. (1998). Introduction, in H.-G. Betz and S. Immerfall (Eds.) *The new politics of the right; neo-populist movements in established democracies* (pp. 1–10). London, England: Macmillan.
- Betz, H. -G. (2002). Conditions favouring the success and failure of radical right-wing populist parties in contemporary democracies, in Y. Mény and Y. Surel (Eds.) *Democracy and the populist challenge* (pp. 197–213). New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Betz, H. -G. , & Immerfall, S. (1998). The new politics of the right; neo-populist parties and movements in established democracies. London, England: MacMillan.
- Blumler, J. G. (2003). Foreword: broadening and deepening comparative research. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart & B. Horsfield (Eds.), *The media and neo-populism; A contemporary comparative analysis* (pp. xv–xx). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Blumler, J. G., & Kavanagh, D. (1999). The third age of political communication: Influences and features. *Political Communication*, 16, 209–230.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Explaining the rise of anti-immigrant parties: The role of news media content. *Electoral Studies*, 26, 404–417.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegenthart, R. (2009). How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993–2005. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48, 516–542.
- Bos, L., & Van der Brug, W. (2010). Public images of leaders of anti-immigration parties: Perceptions of legitimacy and effectiveness. *Party Politics*, 17, 777–799.
- Bos, L., Van der Brug, W., & De Vreese, C. H. (2010). Media coverage of right-wing populist leaders. *Communications*, 35, 141–163.
- Bos, L., Van der Brug, W., & De Vreese, C. H. (2011). How the media shape perceptions of right-wing populist leaders. *Political Communication*, 28, 182–206.
- Bosman, J., & d'Haenens, L. (2008). News reporting on Pim Fortuyn: Framing in two Dutch newspapers. *Media, Culture & Society*, 30, 735–748.
- Brants, K., & Van Praag, P. (2006). Signs of media logic; Half a century of political communication in the Netherlands. *Javnost – the Public*, 13, 25–40.
- Busby, R. (2009). *Marketing the populist politician; the demotic democrat* (1st ed.). New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy. *Political Studies*, 47, 2–16.
- Carter, E. (2005). *The extreme right in Western Europe: Success or failure?* Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.
- Chong, D. and Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 103–126.
- Coffé, H. (2005). Do individual factors explain the different success of the two Belgian extreme right parties. *Acta Politica*, 40, 74–93.
- Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist communication and publicity: An empirical study of contextual differences in Switzerland. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17, 286–307.
- Dancey, L. (in press). The consequences of political cynicism: How cynicism shapes citizens' reactions to political scandals. *Political Behavior*.
- De Lange, S. L. (2008). From pariah to power: The government participation of radical right-wing populist parties in West European democracies. University of Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium.
- De Vreese, C. H., & Semetko, H. A. (2004). News matters: Influences on the vote in the Danish 2000 euro referendum campaign. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43, 699–722.
- Deutchman, I. E., & Ellison, A. (1999). A star is born: The roller coaster ride of Pauline Hanson in the news. *Media Culture Society*, 21, 33–50.
- Dewan, T., & Myatt, D. P. (2008). The qualities of leadership: Direction, communication, and obfuscation. *American Political Science Review*, 102, 351–367.
- Domke, D., Fan, D. P., Fibison, M., Shah, D. V., Smith, S. S., & Watts, M. D. (1997). News media, candidates and issues, and public opinion in the 1996 presidential campaign. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 718–737.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Druckman, J. N., Green, D. P., Kuklinski, J. H., & Lupia, A. (2006) The growth and development of experimental research in political science. *American Political Science Review*, 100, 627–635.
- Eatwell, R. (2003). Ten theories of the extreme right. In P. Merkl, & L. Weinberg (Eds.), *Right-wing extremism in the twenty-first century* (pp. 45–70). London, England: Frank Cass.
- Ellinas, A. (2010). *The media and the far right in Western Europe: Playing the nationalist card*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

- Fennema, M. (1997). Some conceptual issues and problems in the comparison of anti-immigrant parties in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, 3, 473–492.
- Fennema, M. (2005). Populist parties of the right. In J. Rydgren (Ed.), *Movements of exclusion: Radical right-wing populism* (pp. 1–24). New York, NY: Nova Science Publishers.
- Funk, C. L. (1999). Bringing the candidate into models of candidate evaluation. *Journal of Politics*, 61, 700–720.
- Gaines, B. J., Kuklinski, J. H., & Quirk, P. J. (2007). The logic of the survey experiment reexamined. *Political Analysis*, 15, 1–20.
- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuban and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2, 65–91.
- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case study research; principles and practices*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Ghanem, S. (1997). Filling in the tapestry: The second level of agenda setting. In M. McCombs, D. L. Shaw, & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory* (pp. 3–14). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Golder, M. (2003). Explaining variation in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 36, 432–466.
- Gujarati, D. N. (2003). *Basic econometrics*. New Delhi, India: Tata McGraw-Hill.
- Hainsworth, P. (2000). Introduction: the extreme right. In P. Hainsworth (Ed.) *The politics of the extreme right: from the margins to the mainstream* (pp. 1–17). London, England: Pinter.
- Hawkins, K. A. (2009). Is Chavez populist? Measuring populist discourse in comparative perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42, 1040–1067.
- Honaker, J., Joseph, A., King, G., Scheve, K., & Singh, N. (1998). Amelia II: A program for missing data [Computer software]. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Government.
- Hooghe, M., & Reeskens, T. (2007). Are cross-national surveys the best way to study the extreme-right vote in Europe? *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41, 177–196.
- Hopmann, D. N., Vliegenthart, R., De Vreese, C. H., & Albæk, E. (2009). Anyone watching? : How politicians' media visibility influences party choice. *Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) 67th Annual National Conference*, Chicago.

- Hopmann, D. N., Vliegenthart, R., De Vreese, C. H., & Albaek, E. (2010). Effects of election news coverage: How visibility and tone influence party choice. *Political Communication*, 27, 389–405.
- Hovland, C. I., Janis, I. L., & Kelley, H. H. (1953). *Communication and persuasion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hovland, C. I., & Weiss, W. (1951). The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15(4), 635–650.
- Hsiao, C. (2003). *Analysis of panel data*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Ignazi, P. (2002). The extreme right: Defining the object and assessing the causes. In M. Schain, A. Zolberg & P. Hossay (Eds.), *Shadows over Europe: The development and impact of the extreme right in Western Europe* (pp. 21–37). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ignazi, P. (2003). *Extreme right parties in Western Europe*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2005). The vulnerable populist right parties: no economic realignment fuelling their electoral success. *European Journal of Political Research*, 44, 465–492.
- Iversen, G. (1991). Contextual analysis (Sage university paper series on quantitative applications in the social sciences, series no. 07-081). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, S., Peters, M. D. & Kinder, D. R. (1982). Experimental demonstrations of the 'not-so-minimal' consequences of television news programs. *American Political Science Review*, 74, 848–858.
- Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. F. (2000). New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51, 149–169.
- Jaccard, J., Turrisi, R., & Wan, C. K. (1990). *Interaction effects in multiple regression*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Jackman, R. W., & Volpert, K. (1996). Conditions favouring parties of the extreme right in Western Europe. *British Journal of Political Science*, 26, 501–521.
- Jackson, D. (2011). Strategic media, cynical public? Examining the contingent effects of strategic news frames on political cynicism in the United Kingdom. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16, 75–101.

- Jacoby, W. G. (1991). *Data theory and dimensional analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Jagers, J., & Walgrave, S. (2007). Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research*, *46*(3), 319–345.
- Karvonen, L. (2010). *The personalization of politics. A study of parliamentary democracies*. Wivenhoe Park, England: ECPR Press.
- Kazin, M. (1995). *The populist persuasion: An American history*. New York, NY: Cornell University Press.
- King, A. (2002). Conclusions and implications. In A. King (Ed.), *Leaders' personalities and the outcomes of democratic elections* (pp. 210–221). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- King, G., Honaker, J., Joseph, A., & Scheve, K. (2001). Analyzing incomplete political science data: An alternative algorithm for multiple imputation. *American Political Science Review*, *95*, 49–69.
- Kiousis, S. (2005). Compelling arguments and attitude strength: Exploring the impact of second-level agenda setting on public opinion of presidential candidate images. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *10*, 3–27.
- Kiousis, S., & McCombs, M. (2004). Agenda-setting effects and attitude strength: Political figures during the 1996 presidential election. *Communication Research*, *31*, 36–57.
- Kitschelt, H. D. (2007). Growth and persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: Advances and challenges in comparative research. *West European Politics*, *30*, 1176–1206.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., & Fan, D. P. (1999). Media coverage and the flow of voters in multiparty systems: The 1994 national elections in Holland and Germany. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *11*, 233–356.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., Scholten, O., Van Attenveldt, W., Van Hoof, A., & Krouwel, A. (2007). *Nederland vijfstromenland*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., Van Hoof, A. M. J., Oegema, D., & de Ridder, J. A. (2007). A test of rivaling approaches to explain news effects: News on issue positions of parties, real-world developments, support and criticism, and success and failure. *Journal of Communication*, *57*, 366–384.

- Knigge, P. (1998). The ecological correlates of right-wing extremism in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 34, 249–279.
- Koopmans, R., & Muis, J. (2009). The rise of right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands: A discursive opportunity approach. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48, 642–664.
- Kriesi, H. (in press). Personalization of national election campaigns. *Party Politics*.
- Landau, M. J., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., Pyszczynski, T., Arndt, J., et al. (2004). Deliver us from evil: The effects of mortality salience and reminders of 9/11 on support for President George W. Bush. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 1136–1150.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The people's choice; How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Lecheler, S., de Vreese, C., & Slothuus, R. (2009). Issue importance as a moderator of framing effects. *Communication Research*, 36, 400–425.
- Lippmann, W. (1954). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., & Bracken, C. C. (2002). Content analysis in mass communication: Assessment and reporting of intercoder reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28, 587–604.
- Lubbers, M. (2000). *Expert judgment survey of Western European political parties 2000*. Nijmegen, The Netherlands: NOW, Department of Sociology, University of Nijmegen.
- Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2000). Individual and contextual characteristics of the German extreme right-wing vote in the 1990s. A test of complementary theories. *European Journal of Political Research*, 38, 63–94.
- Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2001). Explaining the trend in extreme right-wing voting: Germany 1989–1998. *European Sociological Review*, 17, 431–449.
- Lupia, A., & McCubbins, M. D. (1998). *The democratic dilemma: Can citizens learn what they need to know?* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Manin, B. (1997). *The principles of representative government*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Mazzoleni, G. (2003). The media and the growth of neo-populism in contemporary democracies. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart & B. Horsfield (Eds.), *The media and neo-populism; A contemporary comparative analysis* (pp. 1–20). Westport, CT: Praeger.

- Mazzoleni, G. (2008). Populism and the media. In D. Albertazzi, & D. McDonnell (Eds.), *Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European Democracy* (pp. 49–64). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Mazzoleni, G., & Schulz, W. (1999). "Mediatization" of politics: A challenge for democracy? *Political Communication*, 16, 247–261.
- Mazzoleni, G., Stewart, J., & Horsfield, B. (2003). *The media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- McAllistar, I. (2007). The personalization of politics. In R. J. Dalton, & H. Klingemann (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political behavior* (pp. 571–588). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, P. (2001). The languages of politics: From *politicese* to the 'discourse of serenity' In Cheles, L. & Sponza, L. (Ed.), *The art of persuasion; political communication in Italy* (pp. 196). Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.
- McCombs, M., Llamas, J. P., Lopez-Escobar, E., & Rey, F. (1997). Candidate images in Spanish elections: Second-level agenda-setting effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 703–717.
- McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176–187.
- McDermott, R. (2002). Experimental methodology in political science. *Political Analysis*, 10, 325–342.
- McNair, B. (1995). *An introduction to political communication*. London, England: Routledge.
- Mendelsohn, M. (1996). The media and interpersonal communications: The priming of issues, leaders, and party identification. *Journal of Politics*, 58, 112–125.
- Mény, Y., & Surel, Y. (2002). *Democracies and the populist challenge*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Mokken, R. J. (1971). *A theory and procedure of scale analysis*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton.
- Molenaar, I. W., Van Schuur, W., Sijtsma, K., & Mokken, R. J. (2002). MSPWIN 5.0 [Computer Software]. Groningen, The Netherlands: ProGAMMA.
- Mongeau, P. A. (1998). Another look at fear-arousing persuasive appeals. In M. Allen & R. W. Preiss (Eds.), *Persuasion, advances through meta-analysis* (pp. 53–68). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton.
- Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39, 542–564.

- Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2010). The populist radical right: A pathological normalcy. *West European Politics*, 33, 1167–1186.
- Mughan, A. (2000). *Media and the presidentialization of parliamentary elections*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Mughan, A., & Paxton, P. (2006). Anti-immigrant sentiment, policy preferences and populist party voting in Australia. *British Journal of Political Science*, 36, 341–58.
- Muis, J. (2009, May). Discursive opportunities and support for the Dutch extreme right in the 1990s. The case of the centre democrats revisited. Paper presented at the Politicologenetmaal, Berg en Dal, the Netherlands.
- Niemi, R. G., Whitten, G. & Franklin, M. (1992). Constituency characteristics, individual characteristics and tactical voting in the 1987 British general election. *British Journal of Political Science*, 22, 229–240.
- Norris, P. (2005). *Radical right: voters and parties in the regulated market*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Oegema, D., & Kleinnijenhuis, J. (2000). Personalization in political television news: A 13-wave survey study to assess effects of text and footage. *Communications*, 25, 43–60.
- O'Keefe, D. J. (1998). Justification explicitness and persuasive effect: A meta-analytic review of the effects of varying support articulation in persuasive messages. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 35, 61–75.
- O'Keefe, D. J. (2002). *Persuasion: Theory and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pappas, T. S. (2008). Political leadership and the emergence of radical mass movements in democracy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41, 1117–1140.
- Plasser, F., & Ulram, P. A. (2003). Striking a responsive chord: Mass media and right-wing populism in Austria. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart & B. Horsfield (Eds.), *The media and neo-populism; A contemporary comparative analysis* (pp. 21–43). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Rabinowitz, G., & Macdonald, S. E. (1989). A directional theory of issue voting. *American Political Science Review*, 83, 93–121.
- Reinard, J. C. (1998). The persuasive effects of testimonial assertion evidence. In M. Allen & R. W. Preiss (Eds.), *Persuasion: Advances through meta-analysis* (pp. 69–86). Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

- Reynolds, R. A., & Reynolds, J. L. (2002). Evidence. In J. P. Dillard & M. Pfau (Eds.), *The persuasion handbook; Developments in theory and practice* (pp. 427–444). London, England: Sage.
- Roggeband, C., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995–2004. *West European Politics*, 30, 524–548.
- Rydgren, J. (2004). The logic of xenophobia. *Rationality and Society*, 16, 123–148.
- Rydgren, J. (2005). Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family. *European Journal of Political Research*, 44, 413–437.
- Schafraad, P. H. J., Scheepers, P. L. H., & Wester, F. (2008). Dealing with the ‘devil of the past’. Attention for the far right in the German press (1987–2004). *Publizistik*, 53.
- Schafraad, P. H. J., Scheepers, P. L. H., & Wester, F. (2010). Coverage of the far right in three Dutch newspapers. Characteristics and trends 1986–2004. In F. Virchow (Ed.), *The media and the far right* (pp. 34–61). Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang.
- Schain, M., Zolberg, A., & Hossay, P. (2002). The development of radical right parties in Western Europe. In M. Schain, A. Zolberg and P. Hossay (Eds.) *Shadows over Europe: The development and impact of the extreme right in Western Europe* (pp. 3–17). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schedler, A. (1996). Anti-political establishment parties. *Party Politics*, 2, 291–312.
- Scheuch, E. K., & Klingemann, H. (1967). Theorie des rechtsradikalismus in westlichen industriegesellschaften. *Hamburger Jahrbuch Fuer Wirtschafts- Und Gesellschaftspolitik*, 12, 3–27.
- Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3, 297–316.
- Schmitt, H. (2001). *Politische repräsentation in Europa*. Frankfurt, Germany: Campus.
- Schulz, W. (2004). Reconstructing mediatization as an analytical concept. *European Journal of Communication*, 19, 87–101.
- Semetko, H. A., & Schoenbach, K. (1994). *Germany’s “unity election”: Voters and the media*. Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

- Sheafer, T. (2001). Charismatic skill and media legitimacy: An actor-centered approach to understanding the political communication competition. *Communication Research*, 28, 711–736.
- Snijders, T. A. B., & Bosker, R. J. (1999). *Multilevel analysis. An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modeling*. London, England: Sage Publications.
- Statham, P. (1996). Berlusconi, the media, and the new right in Italy. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1(1), 87–105.
- Stewart, J., Mazzoleni, G., & Horsfield, B. (2003). Conclusion: Power to the media managers. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Horsfield (Eds.), *The media and neopopulism: A contemporary comparative analysis* (pp. 217–237). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Stimson, J. A. (1985). Regression in space and time: A statistical essay. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29, 914–47.
- Strömbäck, J., & Shehata, A. (2010). Media malaise or a virtuous circle? Exploring the causal relationships between news media exposure, political news attention and political interest. *European Journal of Political Research*, 49, 575–597.
- Swyngedouw, M. (2001). The subjective cognitive and affective map of extreme right voters: using open-ended questions in exit polls. *Electoral Studies*, 20, 217–241.
- Taggart, P. (2000). *Populism*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.
- Tillie, J. (1995) Party utility and voting behaviour. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Het Spinhuis.
- Tillie, J., & Fennema, M. (1998). A rational choice for the extreme right. *Acta Politica*, 33, 223–249.
- Van Aelst, P., & De Swert, K. (2009). Politics in the news: Do campaigns matter? A comparison of political news during election periods and routine periods in Flanders (Belgium). *Communications*, 34, 149–168.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2000). Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote? *European Journal of Political Research*, 37, 77–102.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2003). Protest or mainstream? How the European anti-immigrant parties developed into two separate groups by 1999. *European Journal of Political Research*, 42, 55–76.

- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2005). Why some anti-immigrant parties fail and others succeed: A two-step model of aggregate electoral support. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38, 537–573.
- Van der Brug, W., Franklin, M., & Toka, G. (2008). One electorate or many? Differences in party preference formation between new and established European democracies. *Electoral Studies*, 27, 589–600.
- Van der Brug, W., & Mughan, A. (2007). Charisma, leader effects and support for right-wing populist parties. *Party Politics*, 13, 29–51.
- Van der Brug, W., Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. (2007). Priming in a multi-party context: The impact of European summit news on evaluations of political leaders. *Political Behavior*, 29, 115–41.
- Van der Eijk, C., & Franklin, M. (1996). *Choosing Europe? The European electorate and national politics in the face of union*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Van der Eijk, C., Van der Brug, W., Kroh, M., & Franklin, M. (2006). Rethinking the dependent variable in electoral behaviour – on the measurement and analysis of utilities. *Electoral Studies*, 25, 537–573.
- Van der Pas, D., De Vries, C., & Van der Brug, W. (in press). A leader without a party: Exploring the relationship between Geert Wilders' leadership performance in the media and his electoral success. *Party Politics*.
- Van Schuur, W. (2003). Mokken scale analysis: Between the Guttman scale and parametric item response theory. *Political Analysis*, 11, 139–163.
- Van Spanje, J., & van Der Brug, W. (2007). The party as pariah: The exclusion of anti-immigration parties and its effect on their ideological positions. *West European Politics*, 30, 1022–1040.
- Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Framing immigration and integration; Facts, parliament, media and anti-immigrant party support in the Netherlands. Free University, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Vliegenthart, R., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2008, February). *News coverage and anti-immigrant party support in the Netherlands and Germany*. Paper presented at the Etmaal voor de Communicatiewetenschap, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.
- Vossen, K. (2010). Populism in the Netherlands after Fortuyn: Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders compared. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 11, 22–38.
- Vossen, K. (2011). Classifying Wilders: The ideological development of Geert Wilders and his Party for the Freedom. *Politics*, 31, 179–189.

- Walgrave, S., & De Swert, K. (2004). The making of (issues of the) Vlaams Blok: The media and the success of the Belgian extreme-right party. *Political Communication, 21*, 479–500.
- Walgrave, S., Varone, F., & Dumont, P. (2006). Policy with or without parties? A comparative analysis of policy priorities and policy change in Belgium, 1991 to 2000. *Journal of European Public Policy, 13*, 1021–1038.
- Watt, J. H., Mazza, M., & Snyder, L. (1993). Agenda-setting effects of television news coverage and the effects decay curve. *Communication Research, 20*, 408–435.
- Weyland, K. (2001). Clarifying a contested concept: Populism in the study of Latin American politics. *Comparative Politics, 34*, 1–22.
- Whitten, G. D., & Palmer, H. D. (1996). Heightening comparativists' concern for model choice: Voting behavior in Great Britain and the Netherlands. *American Journal of Political Science, 40*, 231–260.
- Zaslove, A. (2008). Here to stay? Populism as a new party type. *European Review, 16*, 339–336.