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**The Rise of Populism in Europe**  
Office Hours in Turlington Hall, 3326C: tba

**Description**

This course examines populism as a feature of political parties from a theoretical and conceptual as well as from an empirical perspective. The first goal is to consider different conceptual approaches to populism and to elaborate on the intensive debate within research. The second aim of the course is to shed light on the causes of populist parties' electoral success in terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions as well as voters' attitudes. Empirically, third, students shall learn about different ideological variants of populism in Europe with special regard to the comparison of regionally specific types in Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe and the European South. In the fourth and concluding part, the effects of successful populist parties on political competition and democratic governance shall be investigated.

**Requirements**

*Attendance (10% of grade).*

One unexcused absence over the course of the semester is allowed; after that, unexcused absences count against your attendance grade. Excused absences do not count against your grade, but these require prior consultation with the instructor. According to the Office of the University Registrar, "acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused." For further information about the University of Florida's attendance policy, please see the current Undergraduate Catalogue (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html>).

*Active participation (10% of grade)*

Students are expected to attend class and participate actively, share their opinions and questions and take part in discussions. Required texts will be addressed in the discussions and their reading is mandatory. Student participation is a very important component of this course and any form of verbal involvement in class contributes to its grade. Full and active engagement with the readings, lectures, and discussions in the class is expected. In the interests of fairness, there will be no extra credit assignments.

*Tuesday Quizzes (15% of grade)*

Short quizzes are taking place weekly on Tuesdays except for weeks where short essays are conducted (see below), testing student's knowledge about the mandatory readings for each week, which are going to be discussed in the Wednesday sessions. The aim of the quizzes is for students to encourage reading and to self-check on their knowledge. Tuesday Quizzes start in Week 2.

### *Oral presentation (20% of grade)*

The idea of oral presentations is to provide additional thoughts on the topic of each week. Each student shall give an oral presentation on a subject related to the overall topic of the respective week, starting week 2. Presentations will take place on Fridays (or Wednesdays if there is no regular class on Friday) and must take approx. 10-15 minutes per student. Depending on class size, some presentations may likely be done in pairs or groups, which might affect the duration of individual presentations. Presentations will address major questions on the topic that was discussed during the week and shall provide further research, different perspectives, and inspire discussions in class. To stay on track, it is highly recommended to talk about your ideas during the office hours, where also additional texts for the presentation can be provided. The grade of the presentation is composed as follows: (1) content: 35%; (2) appropriate use of research: 35%; (3) structure and conduct of the presentation: 30%.

### *Short essays (15% of grade)*

Students will write five short essays, each of which contributes 3% to the overall grade of the course. The short essays will take place in the respective weeks of part II of this course. The essays are due on Friday, 11:59p in the respective week. Each essay will cover one case/country, depending on the group the student was assigned to. In each essay, students must reflect on three aspects: (1) Core features of the populist party in the country; (2) Reasons for the party's electoral support; (3) Current status of the party (in opposition/in gov't etc.). Reflections must be based on scientific literature, including the text assigned to the group and at least one more source, all of which must be cited appropriately in the paper according to standard of academic citation. Each paper will be max. 1 page long (double-spaced), Times New Roman, size 12, plus a short bibliography. The sources cited will be included at the end of the paper. The length of the bibliography does not contribute to the length of the paper overall.

### *Final exam (30% of grade).*

Format and scope of exam will be discussed in class prior to first exam; terms sections will be demonstrated with hypothetical questions. All exam questions can be answered with the content of the lectures given in class.

### **Requirements for grad students:**

Grad students are expected to attend class (10% of grade), take part in classroom discussions (10% of grade), give an oral presentation (30% of grade) as well as hand in a term paper (50% of grade). The paper is an essay on a specific research question selected by the students in consultation with the teacher.

### **Policy on Assignment Make-Ups**

I will only schedule make-ups for students who contact me by email at least one hour before the assignment is due and who can provide official documentation why they were physically unable

to take the assignment. Tuesday quizzes are principally excluded from assignment make-ups.

### **Grading Scale**

A 93-100	B+ 87-89	C+ 77-79	D+ 67-69	E Below 60
A- 90-92	B 83-86	C 73-76	D 63-66	
	B- 80-82	C- 70-72	D- 60-62	

### **Texts**

The required texts and most other readings will be available on-line through CANVAS. The required texts are to be read at each course week. All further readings are optional. The reading schedule below is subject to change depending on the pace of progress and unforeseen scheduling changes. Please refer to the online syllabus for the latest version.

*\* indicates required readings for each week.*

## **PART I: DEBATES AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO POPULISM**

### **Week 1: Introduction (Aug 23, 25, 27)**

*No mandatory readings*

### **Week 2: What is populism? (Aug 30, Sept 1, 3)**

\* C Mudde (2004), The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition* 39 (4): 541-563.

### **Week 3: Populism and democracy (Sept 8, 10)**

\* D Caramani (2017), Will vs Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Forms of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government. *American Political Science Review* 111 (1): 54-67.

### **Week 4: Left and right populism (Sept 13, 15, 17)**

\* C Mudde and C Rovira Kaltwasser (2013), Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America. *Government and Opposition* 48 (2): 147-174.

### **Week 5: Voters and opportunity structures (Sept 20, 22, 24)**

*Guest lecture: Matthijs Rooduin, Ph.D, University of Amsterdam (tbc)*

\* M Rooduijn (2018) What unites the voter bases of populist parties? Comparing the electorates of 15 populist parties. *European Political Science Review* 10 (3): 351-368.

## **PART II: CASE STUDIES**

*Assignment of each week: one short essay per student. Tuesday Quizzes do not take place in weeks 6–11.*

*Readings are mandatory for students in the respective group and optional for all others students.*

### **Week 6: France, Belgium and the Netherlands (Sept 27)**

[1: **Netherlands**] SL de Lange & D Art (2011), Fortuyn versus Wilders: An Agency-Based Approach to Radical Right Party Building. *West European Politics* 34 (6): 1222-1249.

[2: **France**] J Rydgren (2008), France: The Front National, Ethnonationalism and Populism. In: D. Albertazzi and D. McDonnell (eds.), *Twenty-First Century Populism*. London, pp: 166-180.

[3: **Belgium**] M Swyngedouw and G Ivaldi (2001), The extreme right utopia in Belgium and France: The ideology of the Flemish Vlaams Blok and the French front national. *West European Politics* 24 (3): 1-22.

### **Week 7: Austria, Germany and Switzerland (Oct 4, 6)**

[1: **Austria**] R Heinisch (2008), Austria: The Structure and agency of Austrian Populism. In: D. Albertazzi and D. McDonnell (eds.), *Twenty-First Century Populism*. London, pp: 67-83.

[2: **Germany**] N Berbuir, M Lewandowsky and J Siri (2015), The AfD and its sympathisers: finally a right-wing populist movement in Germany? *German Politics* 24 (2): pp. 154-178.

[3: **Switzerland**] O Mazzoleni and D Skenderovic (2007), The Rise and Impact of the Swiss People's Party: Challenging the Rules of Governance in Switzerland. In: P. Delwit and P Poirier (eds.), *Extrême-droite et pouvoir en Europe*. Brussels, pp. 85-116.

### **Week 8: Scandinavia (Oct 11, 13, 15)**

[1: **Finland**] AC Jungar (2015), Agrarian populism in Finland: continuity and change. In: D Strijker, G Voerman and IJ Terluin (eds.), *Rural protest groups and populist political parties*. Wageningen Academic Publishers: 215-241.

[2: **Norway**] A Jupskås and E Iversflaten (2016), Norway: Populism From Anti-Tax Movement to Government Party. In: T Aalberg, F Esser, C Reinemann, J Stromback and C De Vreese (eds.), *Populist Political Communication in Europe*. Basingstoke/New York: 54-67.

[3: **Sweden**] A Widfeldt (2008), Party change as a necessity – the case of the Sweden Democrats. *Representation* 44 (3): 265-276.

[4: **Denmark**] B Siim and S Meret (2016), Right-wing Populism in Denmark: People, Nation and Welfare in the Construction of the 'Other'. In: G Lazaridis, G Campani and A Benveniste

(eds.), *The Rise of the Far Right in Europe. Populist Shifts and ,Othering‘*. Springer VS: Wiesbaden, pp. 109-136

### **Week 9: Greece, Italy and Spain (Oct 18, 20, 22)**

[1: **Italy**] D Albertazzi and D McDonnell (2010), The Lega Nord Back in Government. *West European Politics* 33 (6): 1318-1340.

[2: **Greece**] Y Stavrakakis and Y Katsembekis (2019), The populism/anti-populism frontier and its mediation in crisis-ridden Greece: from discursive divide to emerging cleavage? *European Political Science* 18 (1): 37-52.

[3: **Spain**] D Vampa (2020), Competing forms of populism and territorial politics: the cases of Vox and Podemos in Spain. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 28 (3): 304-321.

### **Week 10: Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland (Oct 25, 27, 29)**

[1: **Hungary**] B Fowler (2004), Concentrated orange: Fidesz and the remaking of the Hungarian centre-right, 1994-2002. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 20 (3): 80-114.

[2: **Poland**] K Jasiewicz (2014), The New Populism in Poland: The Usual Suspects? *Problems of Post-Communism* 55 (3): 7-25.

[3: **Czech Republic**] P Guasti (2020), Populism in Power and Democracy: Democratic Decay and Resilience in the Czech Republic (2013–2020). *Politics and Governance* 8 (4): 473-484.

## **PART III: CONSEQUENCES**

### **Week 11: Populists in parliament (Nov 1, 3, 5)**

*Guest lecture: Dr. Petra Guasti, Charles University of Prague (tbc)*

\* M Lewandowsky, J Schwanholz, C Leonhardt and A Blätte (2022), New parties, populism, and parliamentary polarization. Evidence from plenary debates in the German *Bundestag*. In: M Oswald (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*. Basingstoke/New York (*forthcoming*).

### **Week 12: Populism in government (Nov 8, 10)**

\* T Akkerman and SL de Lange (2012), Radical Right Parties in Office: Incumbency Records and the Electoral Cost of Governing. *Government and Opposition* 47 (4): 574-596.

### **Week 13: Populism and Social Media (Nov 15, 17, 19)**

\* P Gerbaudo (2018), Social media and populism: an elective affinity? *Media, Culture & Society* 40 (5): 745-753.

### **Week 14: Reactions and counter strategies (Nov 22)**

\* AS Heinze (2018), Strategies of mainstream parties towards their right-wing populist challengers: Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland in comparison. *West European Politics* 41 (2): 287-309.

### **Week 15: Final Reflections (Nov 29, Dec 1, 3)**

*No mandatory readings*

## Final Notes

### *Students Requiring Accommodations*

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the [Disability Resource Center](#). It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

### *Course Evaluation*

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. [Click here for guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner](#). Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via [ufl.bluera.com/ufl/](http://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/). [Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students here](#).

### *University Honesty Policy*

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” [The Honor Code](#) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class.

### *Software Use*

All faculty, staff, and students of the University are required and expected to obey the laws and legal agreements governing software use. Failure to do so can lead to monetary damages and/or criminal penalties for the individual violator. Because such violations are also against University policies and rules, disciplinary action will be taken as appropriate. We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to uphold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity.

### *Student Privacy*

There are federal laws protecting your privacy with regards to grades earned in courses and on individual assignments. For more information, please see the [Notification to Students of FERPA Rights](#).

### *Campus Resources:*

#### [Health and Wellness](#)

##### **U Matter, We Care:**

If you or a friend is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu) or 352 392-1575 so that a team member can reach out to the student.

**Counseling and Wellness Center:** [counseling.ufl.edu/cwc](http://counseling.ufl.edu/cwc), and 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

**Sexual Assault Recovery Services (SARS)**

Student Health Care Center, 392-1161.

**University Police Department** at 392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies), or [police.ufl.edu](http://police.ufl.edu).

Academic Resources

**E-learning technical support**, 352-392-4357 (select option 2) or e-mail to Learning-support@ufl.edu.

**Career Resource Center**, Reitz Union, 392-1601. Career assistance and counseling.

**Library Support**, Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

**Teaching Center**, Broward Hall, 392-2010 or 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

**Writing Studio**, 302 Tigert Hall, 846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

**Student Complaints Campus**

**On-Line Students Complaints**