ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES

Populist Political Communication in Europe

Edited by
Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser,
Carsten Reinemann, Jesper Strömbäck,
and Claes H. de Vreese

cost
EUROPEAN COOPERATION
IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

ROUTLEDGE

Populist Political Communication in Europe

> Populism, in all its varieties, has become a force across Europe. At last, we have a collection that combines a variety of state-level analyses with an unyielding conceptual rigour. For scholars in Europe and beyond, his collection promises to nourish informed discussion of the populist challenge for years to come.
>
> —*Michael Higgins, University of Strathclyde, UK*

In an increasing number of countries around the world, populist leaders, political parties, and movements have gained prominence and influence, either by electoral successes on their own or by influencing other political parties and the national political discourse. While it is widely acknowledged that the media, and the role of communication more broadly, are key to understanding the rise and success of populist leaders, parties and movements, there is however very little research on populist political communication, at least in the English-speaking research literature.

Originating from a research project funded by the European Cooperation in Scientific and Technology (COST), this book seeks to advance this research. It includes examinations of 24 European countries and focuses on three areas within the context of populism and populist political communication: populist actors as communicators, the media and populism, and citizens and populism.

Toril Aalberg is Professor at the Department of Sociology and Political Science at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim, Norway.

Frank Esser is Professor of International and Comparative Media Research at the University of Zurich, Switzerland.

Carsten Reinemann is Professor of Political Communication at Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich, Germany.

Jesper Strömbäck is Professor of Journalism at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Claes H. de Vreese is Professor and Chair of Political Communication in the Amsterdam School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Routledge Research in Communication Studies

1 **Populist Political Communication in Europe**
Edited by Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser, Carsten Reinemann, Jesper Strömbäck, and Claes H. de Vreese

Populist Political Communication in Europe

Edited by Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser, Carsten Reinemann, Jesper Strömbäck, and Claes H. de Vreese

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2017
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 Taylor & Francis

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Aalberg, Toril, editor.
Title: Populist political communication in Europe / edited by Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser, Carsten Reinemann, Jesper Strömbäck, and Claes H. de Vreese.
Description: New York, NY: Routledge, 2016. | Series: Routledge research in communication studies; 1 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016011080
Subjects: LCSH: Populism—Europe. | Political communication—Europe. | Mass media—Political aspects—Europe. | Europe—Politics and government—21st century.
Classification: LCC JN40 .P68 2016 | DDC 320.56/62014—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016011080

ISBN: 978-1-138-65479-2 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-62301-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by codeMantra

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

PART I
Introduction and Conceptual Challenges

1 Introduction: Comprehending Populist Political Communication 3
TORIL AALBERG AND CLAES H. DE VREESE

2 Populist Political Communication: Toward a Model of Its Causes, Forms, and Effects 12
CARSTEN REINEMANN, TORIL AALBERG, FRANK ESSER, JESPER STRÖMBÄCK, AND CLAES H. DE VREESE

PART II
Populist Political Communication in Northern Europe

3 Denmark: The Rise of the Danish People's Party 29
CHRISTIAN MARTIN BÄCHLER AND DAVID NICOLAS HOPMANN

4 Finland: From Agrarian to Right-Wing Populism 42
OV CRISTIAN NOROCEL

5 Norway: Populism From Anti-Tax Movement to Government Party 54
ANDERS R. JUPSKÅS, ELISABETH IVARSFLATEN, BENTE KALSNES, AND TORIL AALBERG

6 Sweden: No Longer a European Exception 68
JESPER STRÖMBÄCK, ANN-CATHRINE JUNGAR, AND STEFAN DAHLBERG

PART III
Populist Political Communication in Western Europe

7 Austria: Candidate-Centered and Anti-Immigrant Right-Wing Populism 85
DESIRÉE SCHMUCK, JÖRG MATTHES, AND HAJO BOOMGAARDEN

8 Belgium: The Rise and Fall of Populism Research 99
BENJAMIN DE CLEEN AND PETER VAN AELST

9 Germany: Is the Populism Laggard Catching Up? 111
NAYLA FAWZI, MAGDALENA OBERMAIER, AND CARSTEN REINEMANN

10 Ireland: The Rise of Populism on the Left and Among Independents 127
JANE SUITER

11 The Netherlands: A Heartland Full of Insights Into Populist Communication 138
MICHAEL HAMELEERS, LINDA BOS, AND CLAES H. DE VREESE

12 Switzerland: Favorable Conditions for Growing Populism 151
NICOLE ERNST, SVEN ENGESSER, AND FRANK ESSER

13 The United Kingdom: Hybrid Populisms, Mixed Fortunes, and Unstable Support 165
JAMES STANYER, CRISTINA ARCHETTI, AND LONE SORENSEN

PART IV
Populist Political Communication in Southern Europe

14 France: The Reluctance to Use the Word *Populism* as a Concept 181
NICOLAS HUBÉ AND NAOMI TRUAN

15 Greece: Populism Between Left and Right 195
STYLIANOS PAPATHANASSOPOULOS, ILIANA GIANNOULI, AND IOANNIS ANDREADIS

16 Israel: Right-Wing Populism and Beyond 207
NAAMA WEISS YANIV AND KEREN TENENBOIM-WEINBLATT

17 Italy: A Breeding Ground for Populist Political Communication 221
GIULIANO BOBBA AND GUIDO LEGNANTE

18 **Portugal: Discreet Populisms Amid Unfavorable Contexts and Stigmatization** 235
SUSANA SALGADO AND JOSÉ PEDRO ZÚQUETE

19 **Spain: Populism From the Far Right to the Emergence of Podemos** 249
KAREN B. SANDERS, ROSA BERGANZA, AND ROBERTO DE MIGUEL

PART V
Populist Political Communication in Eastern Europe

20 **Bosnia and Herzegovina: Populism in Transition** 263
NEDŽMA DŽANANOVIĆ AND MIA KARAMEHIĆ

21 **Croatia: The Rise of Populism on the Path From Communism to European Integration** 274
MARKO MUSTAPIĆ AND IVAN HRSTIĆ

22 **Czech Republic: The Rise of Populism From the Fringes to the Mainstream** 285
ONDŘEJ CÍSAŘ AND VÁCLAV ŠTĚTKA

23 **Hungary: Home of Empty Populism** 299
PÉTER CSIGÓ AND NORBERT MERKOVITY

24 **Poland: A Fourth Wave of Populism?** 311
AGNIESZKA STĘPIŃSKA, ARTUR LIPIŃSKI, AGNIESZKA HESS, AND DOROTA PIONTEK

25 **Romania: Populist Ideology Without Teeth** 326
NICOLETA CORBU, DELIA BALABAN-BĂLAȘ, AND ELENA NEGREA-BUSUIOC

26 **Slovenia: Populism as Political Marketing** 339
JERNEJ AMON PRODNIK AND BORIS MANCE

PART VI
Conclusions

27 **Populist Actors as Communicators or Political Actors as Populist Communicators: Cross-National Findings and Perspectives** 353
JAMES STANYER, SUSANA SALGADO, AND JESPER STRÖMBÄCK

28 Populism and the Media: Cross-National Findings and Perspectives **365**
FRANK ESSER, AGNIESZKA STĘPIŃSKA, AND DAVID NICOLAS HOPMANN

29 Citizens and Populist Political Communication: Cross-National Findings and Perspectives **381**
CARSTEN REINEMANN, JÖRG MATTHES, AND TAMIR SHEAFER

List of Contributors 395
Index 399

Acknowledgments

This publication is supported by COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology). COST is a pan-European intergovernmental framework. Its mission is to enable break-through scientific and technological developments leading to new concepts and products and thereby contribute to strengthening Europe's research and innovation capacities. It allows researchers, engineers, and scholars to jointly develop their own ideas and take new initiatives across all fields of science and technology, while promoting multi- and interdisciplinary approaches. COST aims at fostering a better integration of less-research-intensive countries with the knowledge hubs of the European Research Area. The COST Association, an International not-for-profit Association under Belgian Law, integrates all management, governance, and administrative functions necessary for the operation of the framework. The COST Association has currently 36 Member Countries. For further information, see www.cost.eu.

The book is based on work from COST Action IS1308 (www.populist-communication.eu). We would like to thank Alicja Kozlowska and Karin Ekberg for their thoughtful assistance with the thorough editing of the final manuscript.

This page intentionally left blank

Part I

Introduction and Conceptual Challenges

This page intentionally left blank

1 Introduction

Comprehending Populist Political Communication

Toril Aalberg and Claes H. de Vreese

Introduction

Although populist politics is a well-known phenomenon in many European democracies, its communicative aspects have been underexplored or often ignored. Yet—in light of the current large-scale social, political, and economic turmoil of recent populist backlashes against governments, and of the changing media environment—the study of populist political communication has never been more important. The purpose of this book is to provide information and knowledge about the conditions that give rise to the presence (or absence) of populist political communication and about its impact in different European democracies.

Over the years, as populist parties have gained electoral success, an increasing number of researchers have started to study populist parties and their supporters. To understand populism as an increasingly pervasive phenomenon in European politics, it is crucial to understand the characteristics and organization of populist parties as well as their electoral foundation. However, as we will show throughout this book, *communication*—a key element of this phenomenon—has mostly been overlooked. Systematic knowledge is sparse on questions related to populist actors as communicators, to the role of the media, and to the impact of populist communication strategies on citizens. This sparsity is surprising since the populist zeitgeist, as signaled by Mudde (2004) more than a decade ago, was in part seen to be caused by the media's preference for, and receptivity toward, populist actors.

We believe that it is more important now than ever to map, dissect, and explicate the phenomenon of populist political communication. As populism increases over time and space, we need to understand how communication may be related to populism's growth. Given that previously marginalized populist actors have become a significant and powerful part of the political scene in many European countries, an important question is whether their position is related to the way populists communicate and interact with the media.

Although specific, systematic, comparative research is lacking, several arguments have been put forward suggesting that communication plays a significant role in the rise of populism. Populist parties are said to be more dependent on the media for communication because they have weaker party organization compared to the old, traditional parties. Another argument is that the news media tend to welcome the dramatic headlines that are created

by populist actors; some scholars therefore claim that the more commercial media—such as tabloid newspapers and private broadcasters—give increasing attention to populist actors, because the accompanying headlines attract larger audiences (Mazzoleni, Stewart, & Horsfield, 2003). If this association is true, populism will increase as media systems across Europe become more commercialized. Thus, we have a striking paradox: Although it is widely acknowledged that the media and, more broadly, the role of communication are key to understanding the rise and success of populist leaders, parties, and movements, research on populist political communication is scant. The few exceptions that exist are typically scattered across various country-specific case studies in a variety of languages. We therefore have yet to fully understand this phenomenon and the challenges that it poses.

This book offers the first systematic, large-scale, comparative review of extant research on populist political communication in Europe. The review covers research published not only in English but also in the native language of each participating country. Native-language research is a resource of particular value, since most of what we know about populism and communication is based either on the international literature or on only one or two specific cases. In this first chapter, we will provide an introduction to the central debates related to the phenomenon of populist political communication and offer an outline of the book's organization and the method behind the country reviews.

Central Debates

The few studies that have empirically explored populist political communication highlight the role that communication and the media play in populist politics. These studies have broken important ground and point to potentially important problems. But they also have significant shortcomings: they tend to be single-country studies, to offer very small comparisons, and to focus on single elections, organizations, or individuals. They do not capture many of the latest developments or look at populism in an integrated way. Most research also treats populism as a danger to democracy. Yet a more neutral and comprehensive understanding that takes populism seriously as an expression of democratic malaise may be more productive. It might open our eyes to the conditions that are responsible for making this political communicative style currently so popular.

In the study of political communication, the focus typically centers around three key actors: (a) the political parties, candidates, or movements, (b) the media, and (c) citizens as voters and audience. One central insight is the importance of the mass media in widening the appeal of populist political actors. Many scholars maintain that populist actors need the "oxygen of publicity", which is often supplied by the mass media. For instance, in his examination of European far-right parties, Ellinas (2010) found that the media control the gateway to the electoral marketplace and that they enable smaller, newer groups to reach larger audiences than their resources would ordinarily allow

(see also Bos, van der Brug, & de Vreese, 2010; Mazzoleni et al., 2003). No guarantee is given, however, that all publicity is good publicity. For example, some researchers observe that the media can act as a foe in relation to the appeal of populist actors. As Bos, van der Brug, and de Vreese (2011) found in the Netherlands, how populist actors are portrayed is important. Populist actors often receive critical coverage in the "elite" media and favorable coverage in the popular press (Mazzoleni et al., 2003). That said, other studies suggest that the picture may be more complex with no simple binary divide between elite and tabloid newspapers (Akkerman, 2011).

Some scholars have argued that context is important. For instance, Mazzoleni et al. (2003) note that the media might be more likely to give coverage to populist actors when certain salient issues dominate the news. Similarly, Walgrave and De Swert (2004) found that by focusing on certain issues, such as crime and immigration, the media aided the rise of the populist Vlaams Blok in Belgium (see also Ellinas, 2010). Other studies suggest that populist actors can help their cause through the adoption of particular communication strategies and the use of the Internet, thereby bypassing several obstacles posed by more traditional media (see Atton, 2006; Bartlett, Birdwell, & Littler, 2011; Mazzoleni et al., 2003). Context also seems to influence how populist parties are perceived and how they communicate; for example, successful populist parties seem to lose their protest appeal or even tone down their populism entirely (Schumacher & Rooduijn, 2013; Rooduijn, de Lange, & van der Brug, 2014).

It is important to stress, however, that the study of populist political communication must not be confined to the analysis of populist actors only. Indeed, Jagers and Walgrave (2007) note that populism can also be seen as a political communication *style*, one that contains a central binary between an "us" and a "them" (see Chapter 2 in this volume for a further discussion). In this respect, populist communication is not a question of either/or, but rather one of strength, degree, and type. Others have identified what they call common populist frames (see Caiani & della Porta, 2011; Rydgren, 2005). Studies of populism in the popular media have found that some tabloid media outlets in the United Kingdom readily appropriate populist binaries in relation to immigration and the European Union (Stanyer, 2007). Other studies demonstrate that mainstream political parties and their leaders are not averse to using populist political rhetoric (Cranmer, 2011).

A handful of studies have examined the media's impact on support for populist actors. These studies have generally found a link (in some countries) between the prominence of anti-immigration issues in the news and the share of support for anti-immigration parties, even when controlling for other factors (see Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2006, 2009; Gerstlé, 2003). Other studies have found that watching commercial television correlates with opposition to immigration, whereas the opposite is true for public service news (Karlsen & Aalberg, 2015; Strabac, Thorbjørnsrud, & Jenssen, 2012). There is no consensus on the effect of different

communication channels, and it might be, for instance, that the Web reinforces the views of those who already identify with extreme political ideas (see Bartlett et al., 2011).

The studies mentioned above have broken important ground and started a timely debate, but in many regards, they have failed to look at populism in an integrated way, since none of them has explored the relationship between populist actors, the media, and citizens cohesively. Without a concerted and co-ordinated effort, we believe that the impact of populist political communication on democratic life cannot be fully understood.

Many of the key shortcomings in the previous literature can be grouped according to three main challenges. The first challenge is to define populist political actors and communication and to determine communication success. While studies have tended to focus on right-wing (neo-populist) political actors and their antagonism toward conventional political elites, the potential diversity of populist communicators must be recognized. The existing understanding of what constitutes populism and populist actors must be rethought, taking account of the diversity of actors and discourses that permeate the mediated public spheres of European democracies. Many, but by no means all, of these actors could be described as right-wing neo-populists. Moreover, a range of left-wing groups have been actively involved in protests (e.g., SYRIZA in Greece, the Socialist Party in the Netherlands, The Left in Germany, and the Left Front and the Communist Party in France). In addition, transient-issue entrepreneurs fighting for single causes are on the rise, including the Pirate Party in Sweden and Germany and the 5 Star Movement in Italy. These examples of populist actors cannot be classified neatly as right-wing neo-populists, although they may share similar populist communication strategies.

The extent to which the use of public relations strategies empowers populist political communicators must be understood. Research in political science and communication science shows that the use of such strategies can enable advocacy groups to set the media agenda, but is this success replicated elsewhere? Similarly, at a micro level, the personal communicative qualities of individual actors require more exploration. To what extent do rhetorical skills, for example, enhance or retard actors' ability to get their message across? Moreover, the spread of the Web and the proliferation of social media have provided new spaces for political actors to exercise their voices and to interact with a new generation of citizens. Is the Web enhancing the communicative potential of populist actors? And if so, in what way? To what extent is the Web being used by populist political actors to engage citizens and mobilize supporters? Of course, it is also important to build on existing piecemeal insights into the populist political communication styles and frames that have been adopted by mainstream political parties in order to further investigate the extent to which this process has taken place. Finally, comprehensive assessments of populist political actors and their communicative activities outside election campaign periods must be made. Understanding the extent to which populist discourse enters the mainstream requires a more inclusive and longer term perspective than mere election campaigns.

The second challenge is to establish the media's role in the promotion of populist politics. We believe that the current view of the media's role in enabling or retarding the growth of populist politics is likely too simplistic. Conclusions on this topic become even more pressing given the widely documented commercialization and growing competition in the media environment and the rise of the Web. In some countries, the competitive online networked environment may provide populist actors with news opportunities that allow them to "crash" the established media gates. With online news being increasingly driven by readers, potential exists for grassroots campaigns to shape news agendas. Drawing on research from the United States, it is possible to imagine situations where extreme views shape the editorial policies of certain media. As the power of traditional, established media outlets wanes in many polities, we need to move away from traditional gatekeeper models and recognize the increasing complexity of the environments in which media organizations now operate. It may well be that commercialization, growing competition, and the Web weaken the traditional publicizing function of established media outlets, but these forces may also encourage some ratings-driven outlets to pander to populist reactionary political agendas and to adopt populist frames on a range of prescient political issues.

The third challenge is to understand the effects that populist messages have on citizens and how citizens engage with populist political communication. Current approaches have focused almost exclusively on election campaigns and the media's impact on support for populist actors. In this context, well-documented trends in national electorates—such as party-voter de-alignment and exposure via different media—might make citizens more susceptible to populist appeals. Those who rely mainly on the tabloid media for news may, for example, be more likely to support populist political parties. There is little exploration, however, of the different possible effects of the media, such as agenda setting, priming, and framing—key areas in media effects research. One recent study based on priming theory showed how a combination of party cues, immigrant cues, and anti-politics cues underlie support for right-wing populism, anti-immigrant attitudes, and political cynicism (Sheets, Bos, & Boomgaarden, 2015).

Such exceptions notwithstanding, the way citizens interact with populist messages and actors in everyday life is generally underexplored. This situation is a paradox, given that citizen engagement with populist political actors and discourses is a crucial part of understanding populism. Another reason why these key factors require exploration is the increased opportunities for citizens to exercise their voice in blogs and via social networking on a range of issues. New possible patterns of political engagement are emerging. But to what extent is the Web used to mobilize support for populism? U.S. research points to extreme views possibly increasingly populating a growing political fringe due to, in part, selective exposure of like-minded actors. But we still need a thorough exploration of public attitudes toward populist messages, the consequences of these messages, and the people most likely to engage with populist messages and in populist political activity.

Comprehending Populist Political Communication

This book is set in the midst of what can be labeled as "populist times," where ongoing political and societal transformations like globalization and responses to a long recession dominate the agenda. It is highly relevant to map extant and ongoing scholarship on populist political communication to collectively arrive at conclusions that transcend specific electoral moments, specific candidates or parties, or specific media platforms. Consequently, this book aims to be comprehensive and inclusive.

We organize the shortcomings in the previous literature according to the classical distinction between a focus on political actors, a focus on media, and a focus on citizens. While many important questions and challenges lie within each of these pillars—such as the definition of populist actors and communication styles—many interesting questions are likewise to be found where the three pillars intersect. For instance, to fully understand populist political communication, it is important to explore the relationship between political actors and the media in addition to the relationship between media and citizens. In this book, we will search for answers to the questions that are related specifically to these groups as well as to questions that arise at each intersection (see Figure 1.1).

While the purpose of this first chapter is to outline some of the key discussions and shortcomings in existing research on populism and populist political communication, Chapter 2 will outline some of the main theoretical lines of thought and move toward a working definition of populism and populist actors, seeking to explore their activities, communication, and effects in a large-scale comparative context.

This book provides insight into populism and populist political communication from current research and public debates in 24 European countries. We have chosen to present the knowledge from the various countries in groups drawn from four main European geographical areas. Although there are many differences between countries, within these areas are also many similarities. In Northern Europe, for instance, the focus has largely been on typical right-wing, neo-populist parties, whereas in the southern parts of Europe, populism more often also includes left-wing populism and a strong focus on individual populist leaders. In Western Europe, one of the key denominators has been populist parties' influence on long-established, mainstream parties. Typical for many of the central and eastern European countries is the absence of a populism that is based on immigrant out-groups; rather, a stronger focus centers on other ethnic or religious minorities and anti-elitism.

The individual country chapters (found in Parts II–IV) follow a systematic logic and structure. They begin by providing an overview of country-specific definitions of populism and populist actors and the extent of existing research. All chapters offer a review of country-specific, authoritative, scientific literature published since 1995 that deals with the themes of the three pillars identified earlier: (a) populist actors as communicators and populist communication by political actors, (b) the media and populism, and (c) citizens and the effects of populist messages. The authors have

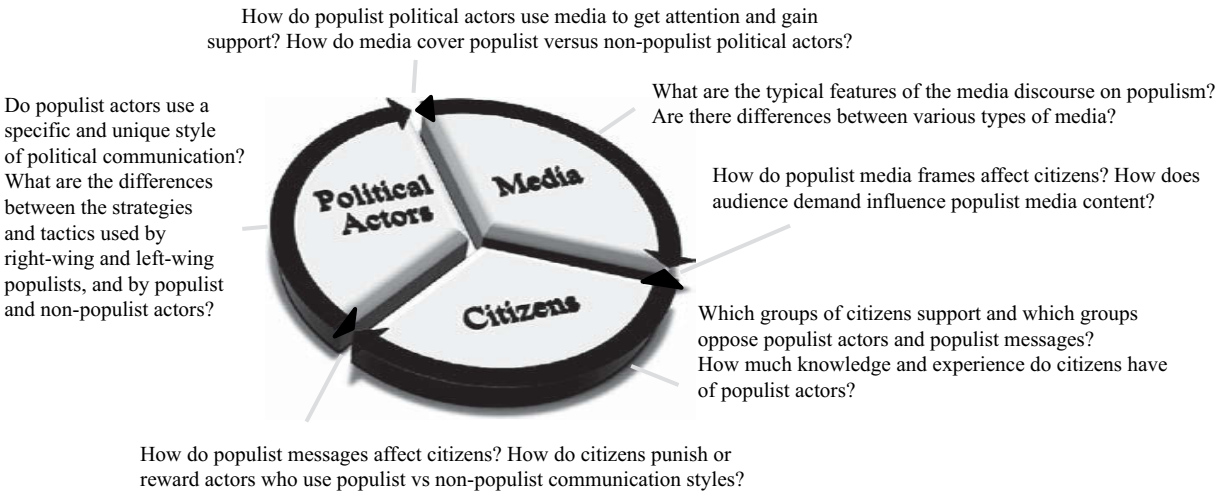

Figure 1.1 The three pillars of populist political communication.

investigated both native language publications and international publications referring to each country. In addition, each chapter summarizes and describes recent developments that have not been reflected in systematic scholarly research.

To avoid a priori inclusion or exclusion of actors and communication patterns, the chapters predominantly include research in which either actors or communication has been labeled populist by academic scholars, or alternatively—if no research exists—in the public debate. Since the term *populism* is uncommon in some countries, in a few instances actors or political communication have been identified as falling under the populism category even if they are not called as such by current research.

To begin with, as a working definition of populism, all authors were asked to refer to the basic indicators of the different types of populism described by Jagers and Walgrave (2007; see also Chapter 2 in this volume). *Complete populism* includes reference and appeals to the people, as well as anti-elitism and exclusion of out-groups. *Excluding populism* includes only reference and appeals to the people and exclusion of out-groups, whereas *anti-elitist populism* includes reference and appeals to the people and anti-elitism. Finally, *empty populism* includes only reference and appeals to the people.

The book concludes with three chapters organized according to the above three pillars. These chapters offer cross-cutting reviews of key findings and identify current gaps in the research literature. Looking at actors, we conclude that many studies emphasize that populist rhetoric is often emotional and includes blame attribution and scapegoats. In many countries in recent years, populist actors have moved closer to political power and government. At the same time, these general observations hold only to some extent, since there is tremendous variation in the type and nature of populist actors.

Regarding the media, we conclude that rising polls often result in media attention to populist actors, that populist actors per se do not seem to suffer from negative news coverage, and that some media are critical of populist actors out of concern for democracy. Again, dissecting these media roles comes with caution, given cross-national variation. Looking at effects, we conclude that—except for a few countries—we have very little knowledge about the typical populist voter or the effects of populist communication on citizens' attitudes.

In addition to summarizing the cross-national findings, the three concluding chapters also provide an overview of conditionalities and factors affecting populist political communication and offer avenues for future systematic and cross-nationally comparable research on this topic.

References

Akkerman, T. (2011) Friend or foe? Right-wing populism and the popular press in Britain and the Netherlands. *Journalism*, *12*(8), 931–945.

Atton, C. (2006) Far-right media on the Internet: Culture, discourse and power. *New Media and Society*, *8*(4), 573–587.

Bartlett, J., Birdwell, J., & Littler, M. (2011 *The new face of digital populism*. London, UK: Demos.

Boomgaarden H. J., & Vliegenthart, R. (2006) Exploring the rise of anti-immigrant parties: The role of news media content. *Election Studies*, *26*(2), 404–417.

Boomgaarden H. J., & Vliegenthart, R. (2009) How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993–2005. *European Journal of Political Research*, *48*(4), 516–542.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2010). Media coverage of right wing populist leaders. *Communications*, *35*(2), 141–163.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2011) How the media shape perceptions of right-wing populist leaders. *Political Communication*, *28*(2), 182–206.

Caiani, M. & della Porta, D. (2011). The elitist populism of the extreme right: A frame analysis of extreme right-wing discourses in Italy and Germany. *Acta Politica*, *46*(2), 180–202.

Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist communication and publicity: An empirical of contextual differences in Switzerland. *Swiss Political Science Review*, *17*(3), 286–307.

Ellinas, A. A. (2010). *The media and the far right in Western Europe: Playing the nationalist card*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gerstlé J. (2003). Une fenêtre d'opportunité électorale. In Perrineau, P. (Ed.) *Le vote de tous les refus* (pp. 27–52). Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

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.

Karlsen, R. & Aalberg T. (2015). Selektiv eksponering av medievalgkapen. In Aardal, B. & Bergh J. (Eds). *Valg og Velgere. Stortingsvalget 2013* (pp. 119–134). Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Mazzoleni, G., Stewart, J., & Horsfield, B. (Eds.). (2003). *The media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Mudde, C. (2004) The populist zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, *39*(4), 541–563.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, *20*(4), 563–575.

Rydgren, J. (2005). Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family. *European Journal of Political Research*, *44*(3), 413–437.

Schumacher, G. & Rooduijn, M. (2013). Sympathy for the "devil"? Voting for populists in the 2006 and 2010 Dutch general elections. *Electoral Studies*, *32*(1), 124–133.

Sheets, P., Bos, L., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2015). Media cues and citizen support for right-wing populist parties. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research 27*.

Stanyer, J. (2007). *Modern political communication*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Strabac, Z., Thorbjørnsrud, K., & Jenssen, A. T. (2012). News consumption and public opposition to immigration across countries. In Aalberg, T. & Curran J. (Eds), *How media inform democracy. A comparative approach* (pp. 176–188). New York, NY: Routledge.

Walgrave, S., & De Swert, K. (2004). The making of the (issues of the) Vlaams Blok. *Political Communication*, *21*(4), 479–500.

References

1 Introduction: Comprehending Populist Political Communication

Akkerman, T. (2011) Friend or foe? Right-wing populism and the popular press in Britain and the Netherlands. Journalism, 12(8), 931–945.

Atton, C. (2006) Far-right media on the Internet: Culture, discourse and power. New Media and Society, 8(4), 573–587.

Bartlett, J., Birdwell, J., & Littler, M. (2011 The new face of digital populism. London, UK: Demos.

Boomgaarden H. J., & Vliegenthart, R. (2006) Exploring the rise of anti-immigrant parties: The role of news media content. Election Studies, 26(2), 404–417.

Boomgaarden H. J., & Vliegenthart, R. (2009) How news content in uences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993–2005. European Journal of Political Research, 48(4), 516–542.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2010). Media coverage of right wing populist leaders. Communications, 35(2), 141–163.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2011) How the media shape perceptions of right-wing populist leaders. Political Communication, 28(2), 182–206.

Caiani, M. & della Porta, D. (2011). The elitist populism of the extreme right: A frame analysis of extreme right-wing discourses in Italy and Germany. Acta Politica, 46(2), 180–202.

Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist communication and publicity: An empirical of contextual differences in Switzerland. Swiss Political Science Review, 17(3), 286–307.

Ellinas, A. A. (2010). The media and the far right in Western Europe: Playing the nationalist card. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gerstlé J. (2003). Une fenêtre d'opportunité électorale. In Perrineau, P. (Ed.) Le vote de tous les refus (pp. 27–52). Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

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.

Karlsen, R. & Aalberg T. (2015). Selektiv eksponering av medievalgkapen. In Aardal, B. & Bergh J. (Eds). Valg og Velgere. Stortingsvalget 2013 (pp. 119-134). Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Mazzoleni, G., Stewart, J., & Hors□eld, B. (Eds.). (2003). The media and neopopulism: A contempor ary comparative analysis. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Mudde, C. (2004) The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(4), 541-563.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in W estern Europe. Party Politics, 20(4), 563-575.

Rydgren, J. (2005). Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family. European Journal of Political Research, 44(3), 413-437.

Schumacher, G. & Rooduijn, M. (2013). Sympathy for the "devil"? Voting for populists in the 2006 and 2010 Dutch general elections. Electoral Studies, 32(1), 124-133.

Sheets, P., Bos, L., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2015). Media cues and citizen support for right-wing populist parties. International Journal of Public Opinion Research 27.

Stanyer, J. (2007). Modern political communication. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Strabac, Z., Thorbjørnsrud, K., & Jenssen, A. T. (2012). News consumption and public opposition to immigration across countries. In Aalberg, T. & Curran J. (Eds), How media inform democracy. A comparative approach (pp. 176-188). New York, NY: Routledge.

Walgrave, S., & De Swert, K. (2004). The making of the (issues of the) Vlaams Blok. Political Communication, 21(4), 479-500.

2 Populist Political Communication: Toward a Model of Its Causes, Forms, and Effects

Abelson, R. P., Dasgupta, N., Park, J., & Banaji, M. R. (1998). Perceptions of the collective other. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 2(4), 243–250.

Abts, K., & Rummens, S. (2007). Populism versus democracy. Political Studies, 55(2), 405–424.

Akkerman, A., Mudde, C., & Zaslove, A. (2014). How populist are the people? Measuring populist attitudes in voters. Comparative Political Studies, 47(9), 1324–1353.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. Psychological Bulletin, 117(3), 497–529.

Bos, L., & Brants, K. (2014). Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands. European Journal of Communication, 29(6), 703–719.

Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy. Political Studies, 47(1), 2–16.

Canovan, M. (2005). The People. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist communication and publicity: An empirical study of contextual differences in Switzerland. Swiss Political Science Review, 17(3), 287–307.

De Cleen, B. (2012, October). Populism as a strategy to deal with criticism from non party-political actors: The Vlaams Belang and the delegitimization of critical artists. Paper presented at the Fourth European Communication Conference. Istanbul, Turkey.

Elchardus, M., & Spruyt, B. (2015). Populism, persistent republicanism and declinism. An empirical analysis of populism as a thin ideology. Government and Opposition, 48, 1–23.

Freeden, M. (1996). Ideologies and political theory: A conceptual approach. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Hawkins, K., Riding, S., & Mudde, S. (2012). Measuring

populist attitudes. Committee on Concepts and Methods W orking Paper N. 55.

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.

Kriesi, H. (2014). The populist challenge. West European Politics, 37(2), 361-378.

Laclau, E. (2005). On populist reason. London, UK: Verso.

Leary, M. R., & Cox, C. (2007). Belongingness motivation: A mainspring of social action. In J. Shah & W. Gardner (Eds.), Handbook of motivation science (pp. 27-40). New York, NY: Guilford.

Lefort, C. (1988). Democracy and political theory. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Mair, P. (2002). Populist democracy vs. party democracy. In. Y. Mény & Y. Surel (Eds.), Democracies and the populist challenge (pp. 81-98). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Meirowitz, A. (2005). Informational party primaries and strategic ambiguity. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 17(1), 107-136.

Mény, Y., & Surel, Y. (2002). The constitutive ambiguity of populism. In Y. Mény & Y. Surel (Eds.), Democracies and the populist challenge (pp. 1-21). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Mof□tt, B., & Tormey, S. (2014). Rethinking populism: Politics, mediatisation and political style. Political Studies, 62(2), 381-397.

Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(4), 541-563.

Mudde, C., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2013). Populism. In M. Freeden, L. T. Sargent, & M. Stears (Eds.), Oxford handbook of political ideologies (pp. 493-512). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Pappas, T. (2014). Populist democracies: Post-authoritarian Greece and post communist Hungary. Government and Opposition, 49(1), 1-23.

Rooduijn, M. (2014). Vox populismus: a populist radical right attitude among the public. Nations and Nationalism, 20(1), 80–92.

Sartori, G. (1984). Social science concepts: A systematic analysis. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Schmitt, C. (1988). The crisis of parliamentary democracy. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Shepsle, K. A. (1972). The strategy of ambiguity: Uncertainty and electoral competition. American Political Science Review, 66(2), 555–568.

Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europa. Journal of Political Ideologies, 9(3), 269–288.

Turner, J. C., Brown, R. J., & Tajfel, H. (1979). Social comparison and group interest in ingroup favouritism. European Journal of Social Psychology, 9(2), 187–204. This page intentionally left blank

3 Denmark: The Rise of the Danish People's Party

Andersen, J. [Johannes] (2000). Dansk Folkeparti, demokratiet og de fremmede. (Arbejdspapirer). Denmark: Institut for Økonomi, Politik og Forvaltning (Ålborg Universitet). 6.

Andersen, J. [John], Elm Larsen, J. E., & Møller, I. H. (2009). The exclusion and marginalisation of immigrants in the Danish welfare society: Dilemmas and challenges. International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 29(5/6), 274-286.

Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Luther, K.R., & Sitter, N. (2009). If you can't beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe: Social Democrats and the radical right. Political Studies, 58(3), 410-426.

Bjørklund, T. (2007). Unemployment and the radical right in Scandinavia: Bene□cial or non-bene□cial for electoral support? Comparative European Politics, 5, 245-263.

Boreus, K. (2010). Including or excluding immigrants? The impact of rightwing populism in Denmark and Sweden. In B. Bengtsson, P. Strömblad, & A.-H. Bay (Eds.), Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia (pp. 127-157). Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.

Dyrberg, T. B. (2000). Racisme som en nationalistisk og populistisk reaktion på elitedemokrati. In T. B. Dyrberg, A. Dreyer Hansen, & J. Tor□ng. (Eds.), Diskursteorien på arbejde (pp. 221-245). Roskilde, Denmark: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Dyrberg, T. B. (2001). Racist, nationalist and populist trends in recent Danish politics. (Department of Social Sciences Research Paper No. 19/01). Roskilde, Denmark: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Gaasholt, Ø ., & Togeby, L. (1995). I syv sind: Danskernes holdninger til flygtninge og indvandrere. Aarhus, Denmark: Politica.

Goul Andersen, J[ørgen]. (2007). Nationalism, new right, and new cleavages in Danish politics: Foreign and security policy of the Danish People's Party. In C. S. Liang (Ed.), Europe for Europeans: The foreign and security

policy of the populist radical right (pp. 103–123). Aldershot, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate.

Green-Pedersen, C., & Odmalm, P. (2008). Going different ways? Right-wing parties and the immigrant issue in Denmark and Sweden. Journal of European Public Policy, 15(3), 367–381.

Hadj-Abdou, L., Rosenberger, S., Saharso, S., & Siim, B. (2012). The limits of popu lism: Accommodative headscarf policies in Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands. In Politics, religion and gender: Framing and regulating the veil (pp. 132–149). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hellström, A., & Hervik, P. (2013). Feeding the beast: Nourishing nativist appeals in Sweden and in Denmark. International Migration & Integration, 15, 449–467.

Hjarvard, S. (1999). Tv-nyheder i konkurrence. København, Denmark: Samfunds litteratur.

Hussain, M. (2000). Islam, media and minorities in Denmark. Current Sociology, 48(4), 95–116.

Ivars[illegible]aten, E. (2005). The vulnerable populist right parties: No economic realignment fuelling their electoral success. European Journal of Political Research, 44(3), 465–492.

Jacobsen, B. A. (2013). Denmark. In R. Hokovský & J. Kopal (Eds.), Politics and poli cies of integration in Austria, Hungary, Czechia, Denmark and at the EU Level (pp. 103–131). Prague, Czech Republic: League of Human Rights; European Values Think-Tank.

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.

Jønch-Clausen, H. (2010). Fra "slag i bolledejen" til kontraktjournalistik. Journalistica Tidsskrift for forskning i journalistik, 4(2), 101–121.

Jupskås, A. R. (2012). In the name of the people! Contemporary populism(s) in Scandinavia. In S. Ghergina, S. Miscoiu, & S. Soare (Eds.), Contemporary popu lism. A controversial concept and its diverse forms (pp. 258–293). Newcastle, England, UK: Cambridge Scholars.

Jupskås, A. R. (2013). The electoral rise of populism in the Nordic countries. Retrieved from Policy Network website: http://www.policy-network.net/.

Jupskås, A. R. (2015). Institutionalized right-wing populism in times of economic crisis: A comparative study of the Norwegian Progress Party and the Danish People's Party. In H. Kriesi & T. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the Great Recession. Colchester, England, UK: ECPR Press.

Karpantschof, R. (2002). Populism and right wing extremism in Denmark 1980-2001. Copenhagen, Denmark: Sociologisk Institut.

Klages, E. P. (2003). Populisme eller hvad Fremskridtspartiet og Dansk Folkeparti som reaktioner på politics as usual. Politica: Tidsskrift for Politisk Videnskab, 35(4), 402-412.

Kosiara-Pedersen, K. (2014a). Partiernes politiske dagsorden i valgkampen. In K. M. Hansen & K. Kosiara-Pedersen (Eds.), Folketingsvalgkampen 2011 i perspektiv (pp. 269-282). Copenhagen, Denmark: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Kosiara-Pedersen, K. (2014b). Partimedlemmer i valgkamp. In K. M. Hansen & K. Kosiara-Pedersen (Eds.), Folketingsvalgkampen 2011 i perspektiv (pp. 89-102). Copenhagen, Denmark: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Kosiara-Pedersen, K., & Hansen, K. M. (2013). Danske partimedlemmer 2012. (Dokumentationsrapport fra projektet Moderne Partimedlemskab). Copenhagen, Denmark: Københavns Universitet, Institut for Statskundskab.

Liljeqvist, N., & Voss, K. (2014). Denmark and Finland: (Not always) a success for the far-right. In L. De Sio, V. Emanuele, & N. Maggini (Eds.), The European Parliament elections of 2014 (pp. 173-180). Rome, Italy: CISE.

Lund, H. S. (2003). Udfordringen fra de højreintellektuelle demokrati og populisme efter Murens fald. In C. Bryld & S. H. Rasmussen (Eds.), Demokrati mellem fortid og fremtid en antologi (pp. 217-233). Copenhagen, Denmark: Tiderne skifter.

Meret, S., & Siim, B. (2013). Gender, populism and politics of belonging: Discourses of right-wing populist parties in Denmark, Norway and Austria. In B. Siim & M. Mokre

(Eds.), Negotiating gender and diversity in an emergent European public sphere (pp. 78-96). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Müller-Rommel, F. (1998). The new challengers: Greens and right-wing populist parties in Western Europe. European Review, 6(2), 191-102.

Netjes, C. E., & Edwards, E. (2005). Taking Europe to its extremes: Examining cueing effects of right-wing populist parties on public opinion regarding European integration. (No. SP IV 2005-202). Berlin, Germany: Social Science Research Center (WZB).

Pedersen, R. T. (2014). Avisernes fokus og framing under valgkampen. In K. M Hansen & K. Kosiara-Pedersen (Eds.), Folketingsvalgkampen 2011 i perspektiv (pp. 283-294). Copenhagen, Denmark: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Phillips, L., & Schrøder, K. 2004. Sådan taler medier og borgere om politik: en diskursanalytisk undersøgelse af politik i det medialiserede samfund. Aarthus, Denmark: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Ringsmose, J., & Pedersen, K. (2006). Fra protest til ind□ydelse. Tidsskriftet Politik, 8(3), 68-78.

Rydgren, J. (2004). Explaining the emergence of radical right-wing populist parties: The case of Denmark. West European Politics, 27(3), 474-502.

Rydgren, J. (2010). Radical right-wing populism in Denmark and Sweden: Explaining party system change and stability. SAIS Review of International Affairs, 30(1), 57-71.

Southwell, P., & Lindgren, E. (2013). The rise of neo-populist parties in Scandinavia: A Danish case study. Review of European Studies, 5. Retrieved from http://www.

Vigsø, O. (2012). Moralpolitik og marketing; Dansk Folkepartis brug af pressemeddelelser. Mediekultur 28(52), 153-172.

Widfeldt, A. (2000). Scandinavia: Mixed success for the populist right. Parliamentary Aff airs, 53(3), 486-500.

Yilmaz, F. (2012). Right-wing hegemony and immigration: How the populist farright achieved hegemony through the immigration debate in Europe. Current Sociology, 60(3), 368-381.

4 Finland: From Agrarian to Right-Wing Populism

Arter, D. (2010). The breakthrough of another West European populist radical right party? The case of the True Finns, Government & Opposition, 45(4), 484–504.

Askola, H. (2015) Taking the bait? Lessons from a hate speech prosecution, Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 30(1), 51–71.

Borg, S. (Ed.). (2012a). Muutosvaalit 2011. Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Borg, S. (2012b). Perussuomalaiset. In S. Borg (Ed.), Muutosvaalit 2011 (pp. 191–210). Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Borg, S. (2012c). Tärkeimmät asiakysymykset ja vakavimmat ongelmat. In S. Borg (Ed.), Muutosvaalit 2011 (pp. 240–252). Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Elmgren, A. (2015). The Nordic ideal: Openness and populism according to the Finns Party. In N. Götz & C. Marklund (Eds.), The Paradox of openness transparency and participation in Nordic cultures of consensus (pp. 91–119). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill International.

Grönlund, K., & Westinen, J. (2012). Puoluevalinta. In S. Borg (Ed.), Muutosvaalit 2011 (pp. 156–188). Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Harjuniemi, T., Herkman, J., & Ojala, M. (2015). Eurokriisin politisoituminen suomalaisissa sanomalehdissä. Media & viestintä, 38(1), 1–22.

Heino, L. (2006). Iltapäivälehdistön uusi ja vanha eduskuntakritiikki. In V. Pernaa & V. Pitkänen (Eds.), Poliitikot taistelivat, media kertoo (pp. 55–87). Helsinki, Finland: Ajatus Kirjat.

Heino, L. (2007). Iltapäivälehdet kansan puolella – politiikkaa vastaan. In V. Pernaa, M. K. Niemi, & V. Pitkänen (Eds.), Mielikuvavaalit. Kevään 2007 eduskuntavaalien mediailmiöt (pp. 127–149). Turku, Finland: Turun yliopisto/Kirja-Aurora.

Helander, V. (Ed.) (1971). Vennamolaisuus populistisena joukkoliikkeenä. Hämeenlinna, Finland: Karisto.

Herkman, J. (2014). Perussuomalaiset ja eurokriisi mediassa. Politiikka, 56(4), 287–299.

Herkman, J. (2015). Pelkkää retoriikkaa? Populismin kehykset Helsingin Sanomissa ja Ilta-Sanomissa vuoden 2011 eduskuntavaalien yhteydessä. Media & viestintä, 38(2), 74–89.

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.

Jungar, A. K., & Jupskås A. R. (2014). Populist radical right parties in the Nordic region: A new and distinct party family? Scandinavian Political Studies, 37(3), 215–238.

Kantola, A., Vesa, J., & Hakala, S. (2011). Notkean myrskyn silmässä: vaalirahaskandaali. In A. Kantola (Ed.), Hetken hallitsijat: julkinen elämä notkeassa yhteiskunnassa (pp. 65–88). Helsinki, Finland: Gaudeamus.

Keskinen, S. (2009). Pelkkiä ongelmia? Maahanmuutto poliittisen keskustelun kohteena. In S. Keskinen, A. Rastas, & S. Tuori (Eds.), En ole rasisti, mutta … Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä (pp. 33–45). Tampere, Finland: Vastapaino.

Keskinen, S. (2011). Borders of the Finnish nation: Media, politics and rape by "foreign" perpetrators. In E. Eide & K. Nikunen (Eds.), Media in motion: Cultural complexity and migration in the Nordic region (pp. 107–124). Farnham, England, UK: Ashgate.

Keskinen, S. (2012). Limits to speech? The racialised politics of gendered violence in Denmark and Finland, Journal of Intercultural Studies, 33(3), 261–274.

Keskinen, S. (2013). Antifeminism and white identity politics: Political antagonisms in radical right-wing populist and anti-immigration rhetoric in Finland. Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 3(4), 225–232.

Keskinen, S., Rastas, A., & Tuori, S. (Eds.). (2009). En ole rasisti, mutta … Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä. Tampere, Finland: Vastapaino.

Lähdesmäki, T. (2014). The ambiguity of Europe and European

identity in Finnish populist political discourse, Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 22(1), 71–87.

Loch, D., & Norocel, O. C. (2015). The populist radical right in Europe: A xenophobic voice in the global economic crisis. In H.-J. Trenz, C. Ruzza, & V. Guiraudon (Eds.), Europe' s prolonged crisis: The making or the unmaking of a political union (pp. 251–269). Basingstoke, England, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mattila, M., & Sundberg, J. (2012). Vaalirahoitus ja vaalirahakohu. In S. Borg (Ed.), Muutosvaalit 2011 (pp. 227–239). Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Martikainen, T., & Wass, H. (2002). Äänettömät yhtiömiehet: Tutkimus osallistumisesta vuosien 1987 ja 1999 eduskuntavaaleihin. Vaalit 2002:1. Helsinki, Finland: Tilastokeskus.

Mickelsson, R. (2011). Suomalaisten nationalistipopulistien ideologiat. In M. Wiberg (Ed.), Populismi. Kriitinen arvio (pp. 147–173). Helsinki, Finland: Edita.

Niemi, M. K. (2012a). Messenger and defender—Timo Soini's populist leadership and media strategies in winning the elections of 2011, Research on Finnish Society, 5, 7–17.

Niemi, M. K. (2012b). Timo Soini perussuomalaisen identiteetin isäntänä. In V. Pernaa & E. Railo (Eds.), Jytky. Eduskuntavaalien 2011 mediajulkisuus (pp. 324–344). Turku, Finland: Turun yliopisto/Kirja-Aurora.

Niemi, M. K. (2013). The True Finns' identity politics and populist leadership on the threshold of the party's electoral triumph. Javnost – The Public, 20(3), 77–92.

Norocel, O. C. (2009). Globalisation and its male contenders? The question of conservative masculinities within the radical right populist discourses across the EU. In J. Kultalahti, I. Karppi, O. Kultalahti, & E. Todisco (Eds.), Globalisation— Challenges to research and governance (pp. 237–250). Helsinki, Finland: EastWest Books.

Paloheimo, H. (2012). Populismi puoluejärjestelmän vedenjakajana. In S. Borg (Ed.), Muutosvaalit 2011 (pp. 324–346). Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä

ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Pekonen, K. (Ed.) (1999). The new radical right in Finland. Helsinki, Finland: Finnish Political Science Association.

Pekonen, K., Hynynen, P., & Kalliala, M. (1999). The new radical right taking shape in Finland. In K. Pekkonen (Ed.), The new radical right in Finland (pp. 34–60). Helsinki, Finland: Finnish Political Science Association.

Pernaa, V. (2012). Vaalikamppailu mediassa. In S. Borg (Ed.), Muutosvaalit 2011 (pp. 29–42). Helsinki, Finland: Oikeusministeriön selvityksiä ja ohjeita 16/2012.

Pernaa, V., & Railo, E. (Eds.) (2012). Jytky. Eduskuntavaalien 2011 mediajulkisuus. Turku, Finland: Turun yliopisto/Kirja-Aurora.

Pyrhönen, N. J. (2013). This welfare of ours: Justifying public advocacy for antiimmigration politics in Finland during the late 2000's. In H. Vad Jønsson, E. Onasch, S. Pellander, & M. Wickström (Eds.), Migrations and welfare states: Policies, discourses and institutions (pp. 90–137). Helsinki, Finland: Nordwel Studies in Historical Welfare State Research; no. 3.

Pyrhönen, N. J. (2014). Näin luet satiirista maahanmuuttokritiikkiä. In L. Haikkola, N. Pyrhönen, M. Pentikäinen, & T. Pauha (Eds.), Ulos kammioista! Muuttoliikkeiden ja etnisyyden tutkimus yhteiskunnallisena v aikuttamisena (pp. 45–54). Helsinki, Finland: Etnisten suhteiden ja kansainvälisen muuttoliikkeen tutkimuksen seura Etmu.

Rahkonen, J. (2010). Satumaan tango soi taas. Mikä selittää perussuomalaisten rakettimaista nousua? Yhteiskuntapolitiikka, 75(5), 547–553.

Rahkonen, J. (2011). Perussuomalaisten ruumiinavaus. Onko työväen protestipuolueen kannatus saavuttanut vielä ylärajaansa? Yhteiskuntapolitiikka, 76(4), 425–435.

Railo, E. (2012). Euroopan unionin talouskriisin julkisuus – kritiikistä konsensukseen. In V. Pernaa & E. Railo (Eds.), Jytky. Eduskuntavaalien 2011 mediajulkisuus (pp. 231–263). Turku, Finland: Turun yliopisto/Kirja-Aurora.

Raittila, P. (2009). Journalismin maahanmuuttokeskustelu: hymistelyä, kriittisyyttä vai rasismin tukemista? In S.

Keskinen, A. Rastas, & S. Tuori (Eds.), En ole rasisti, mutta … Maahanmuutosta, monikulttuurisuudesta ja kritiikistä (pp. 67–76). Tampere, Finland: Vastapaino.

Raunio, T. (2011). Missä EU, siellä ongelma: populistinen Eurooppa-vastaisuus Suomessa. In M. Wiberg (Ed.), Populismi. Kriitinen arvio (pp. 197–220). Helsinki, Finland: Edita.

Ruostetsaari, I. (2011). Populistiset Piirteet Vennamolais-Soinilaisen Puolueen Ohjelmissa. In M. Wiberg (Ed.), Populismi. Kriitinen arvio (pp. 94–146). Helsinki, Finland: Edita.

Sänkiaho, R. (1971). Populismin syntymalli. In Helander, Voitto (ed.), Vennamolaisuus populistisena joukk oliikkeenä (pp. 22–44). Hämeenlinna, Finland: A. A. Karisto Osakeyhtiön.

Saresma, T. (2014). Sukupuolipopulismi ja maskulinistinen standpoint-empirismi. Sukupuolentutkimus-Genusforskning, 27(2), 46–51.

Soini, T. (2008). Maisterisjätkä. Helsinki, Finland: Tammi.

Soini, T. (2014). Peruspomo. Helsinki, Finland: WSOY.

Suhonen, P. (2011). Mistä perussuomalaiset tulevat? In M. Wiberg (Ed.), Populismi. Kriitinen arvio (pp. 61–81). Helsinki, Finland: Edita.

Wiberg, M. (Ed.) (2011). Populismi. Kriitinen arvio. Helsinki, Finland: Edita.

Widfeldt, A. (2000). Scandinavia: Mixed success for the Populist Right. Parliamentary Affairs, 53(3), 486–500.

Ylä-Anttila, M. T. & Ylä-Anttila, T. S. S. (2015). Exploiting the discursive opportunity of the Euro crisis: The rise of the Finns Party. In H. Kriesi & T. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the Great Recession (pp. 57–71). Colchester, England, UK: ECPR Press.

Ylä-Anttila, T. (2014). Perussuomalaisten sisäiset poliittiset suuntaukset. Julkisen oikeuttamisen analyysi. Politiikka, 56(3), 191–209.

5 Norway: Populism From Anti-Tax Movement to Government Party

Aalberg, T., & Saur, T. (2007). Politisk reklame – visuelt stemme�ske? In A. T. Jenssen & T. Aalberg (Eds.), Den medialiserte politikken (pp. 53–80). Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Aarsaether, N., Oltedal, A., & Heen, K. (2009). Venstrepopulisme. Utfordringer for rød-grønn politikk. Oslo, Norway: Kolofon forlag.

Allern, E. H. (2013). The contemporary relationship of “new left” and “new right” parties with interest groups: Exceptional or mainstream? The case of Norway’s Socialist Left and Progress Party. Scandinavian Political Studies 36(1), 67–90.

Allern, E. H. & Saglie, J. (2012). Inside the black box: Parties as multi-level organisations in a unitary state. West European Politics 35(5), 947–970.

Allern, S. (2011). Fjernsynsvalgkampen. Program, deltakere og maktkamp 1961–2009. Oslo, Norway: Pax.

Art, D. (2011). Inside the radical right: The development of anti-immigrant parties in Western Europe. Cambridge, England, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Luther, K. R., & Sitter, N. (2010). If you can’t beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe. Political Studies, 58(3), 410–426.

Bergh, J. (2004). Protest voting in Austria, Denmark, and Norway. Scandinavian Political Studies, 27(4), 367–389.

Bergh, J., & Bjørklund, T. (2013). Lokalvalget i skyggen av 22. Juli. In J. Bergh & D. A. Christensen (Eds.), Et robust lokaldemokrati - lokalvalget i skyggen av 22. juli (pp. 21–43). Oslo, Norway: Abstrakt forlag.

Berntzen, L. E., & Sandberg, S. (2014). The collective nature of lone wolf terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the anti-Islamic social movement. Terrorism and Political Violence 26(5), 759–779.

Bilstad, K. A. (1994). Kon�iktstruktur og partiavstand. In K. Heidar & L. Svåsand. Partiene i brytningstid (pp.

13–45). Bergen, Norway: Alma Mater.

Bjørklund, T. (2003). Fremskrittspartiet gjennom 30 år. Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, 20(2), 129–144.

Bjørklund, T. (2004). Norsk populisme fra Ottar Brox til Carl I. Hagen. Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, 21(3–4), 410–419.

Bjørklund, T. (2007). Unemployment and the radical right in Scandinavia: Bene cial or non-bene cial for electoral support? Comparative European Politics, 5(3), 245–263.

Brox, O. (1972). Politikk: Bidrag til populistisk argumentasjon. Oslo, Norway: Pax.

Downs, W. M. (2001). Pariahs in their midst: Belgian and Norwegian parties react to extremist threats. West European Politics, 24(3), 23–42.

Eide, M. (1995) Blod, sverte og gledestårer: Verdens Gang 1945–95. Oslo, Norway: Schibsted.

Eide, M. (2001). Til dagsorden! Journalistikk, makt og demokrati. Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal.

Enjolras, B., Karlsen, R., Steen-Johnsen, K., & Wollebæk, D. (2013). Liker - liker ikke: Sosiale medier, samfunnsengasjement og offentlighet. Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Flote, E. A. (2008). Framstegsrørsla: For fagorganiserte est? Framstegspartiet sitt syn på LO og arbeidslivspolitikk 1973–2007. Master's thesis, University of Bergen, Department of Archeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, Bergen, Norway.

Goul Andersen, J., & Bjørklund, T. (2000). Radical right-wing populism in Scandinavia: From tax revolt to neo-liberalism and xenophobia. In P. Hainsworth (Ed.), The politics of the extreme right: From the margins to the mainstream (pp. 193–223). London, England, UK: Pinter.

Grindheim, J. E. (2007). Populisme. In Ø. Østerud (Ed.), Statsvitenskapelig leksikon (pp. 223–224). Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Gulbrandsen, T., Engelstad, F., Klausen, T. B., Skjeie, H., Teigen, M., & Østerud, Ø. (2002). Norske makteliter. Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Hagelund, A. (2003). A matter of decency? The Progress Party in Norwegian immigration politics. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 29(1), 47–65.

Hagelund, A. (2005). The Progress Party and the problem of culture immigration politics and right wing populism in Norway. In J. Rydgren (Ed.), Movements of exclusion: Radical right-wing populism in the West (pp. 147–164). New York, NY: Nova.

Hansen, B., & Saglie, J. (2005). Who should govern political parties? Organizational values in Norwegian and Danish political parties. Scandinavian Political Studies, 28(1), 1–23.

Harmel, R., & Svåsand, L. (1997). The in□uence of new parties on old parties' platforms. The cases of the progress parties and conservative parties of Denmark and Norway. Party Politics, 3(3), 315–340.

Haugen, H. M. (2014). Hvorfor har Den norske kirkes ledere advart mot å stemme Fremskrittspartiet?. Teologisk Tidsskrift, 3(1), 4–18.

Heidar, K., & Saglie, J. (2002). Hva skjer med partiene? Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Holje, C. (2008). Hvilket arbeiderparti velger du?: en analyse av det retoriske spillet mellom Ap og FrP gjennom 25 år. Master's thesis, University of Oslo, Department of Linguistic and Scandinavian Studies, Oslo, Norway.

Ivars□aten, E. (2006). Immigration policy and party organization: Explaining the rise of the populist right in Western Europe. Doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

Ivars□aten, E. (2008). What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. Comparative Political Studies, 41(1), 3–23.

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.

Jenssen, A. T., & Aalberg, T. (2006). Party-leader effects in Norway: A multi methods approach. Electoral Studies 25(2), 248–269.

Johansen, A. (2001). Enkeltpersoner og kollektivpersoner. Journalistikk som bidrag til politisk kultur. In M. Eide (Ed.), Til dagsorden! Journalistikk, makt og demokrati (pp. 167–196). Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Jungar, A.-C., & Jupskås, A. R. (2014). Populist radical right parties in the Nordic region: A new and distinct party family? Scandinavian Political Studies, 37(3), 215–238.

Jupskås, A. R. (2013a). The Progress Party: A fairly integrated part of the Norwegian party system? In K. Grabow & F. Hartleb (Eds.). Exposing the demagogues: Rightwing and national populist parties (pp. 205–236). Brussels, Belgium: Centre for European Studies (CES).

Jupskås, A. R. (2013b). Mangfoldig mobilisering og velsmurt valgkampmaskineri: Fremskrittspartiet runder 40 år. Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift, 01/2013, 5–16.

Jupskås, A. R. (2013c). In the name of the people! Contemporary populism(s) in Scandinavia. In S. Gherghina, S. Mişcoiu, & S. Soare (Eds.), Contemporary popu lism: A controv ersial concept and its diverse forms (pp. 258–293). Newcastleupon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Jupskås, A. R. (2015). Persistence of populism: The Norwegian Progress Party 1973–2009. Doctoral dissertation, University of Oslo, Department of Political Science, Oslo, Norway.

Jupskås, A. R., & Gyárfášová, O. (2012). The appeal of populism. In H. Baldersheim and J. Bátora (Eds.), The governance of small states in turbulent times: The exemplary cases of Norway and Slovakia (pp. 157–185). Opladen, Germany: Barbara Budrich Verlag.

Kalnes, Ø. (2009). Norwegian parties and Web 2.0. Journal of Information Technology & Politics, 6(3–4), 251–266.

Karlsen, R. (2010). Fear of the political consultant: Campaign professionals and new technology in Norwegian electoral politics. Party Politics, 16(2), 193–214.

Karlsen, R. (2011). A platform for individualized campaigning? Social media and parliamentary candidates in the 2009 Norwegian election campaign. Policy & Internet, 3(4), 1–25.

Karlsen, R., & Aalberg, T. (2015). Selektiv eksponering av medievalgkampen. In B. Aardal & J. Bergh (Eds.), Valg og velgere. En studie av stortingsvalget 2013. (pp. 119–134). Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Karlsen, R., & Narud, H. M. (2004). Organisering av valgkamp – "moderne" eller "tradisjonell"?. In B. Aardal, A. Krogstad, & H. M. Narud (Eds.), I valgkampens hete (pp. 112–140). Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Karlsen, R., & Skogerbø, E. (2015). Candidate campaigning in parliamentary systems: Individualized vs. localized campaigning. Party Politics 21(3), 428–439.

Kestilä, E., & Söderlund, P. (2007). Local determinants of radical right-wing voting: The case of the Norwegian Progress party. West European Politics 30(3), 549–572.

Krogstad, A. (2004). Fjernsynsvalgkamp. Noen retoriske øvelser i skyld og ære. In B. Aardal, A. Krogstad, & H. M. Narud (Eds.), I valgkampens hete (pp. 85–111) Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Larsson, A. O. (2014). Online, all the time? A quantitative assessment of the permanent campaign on Facebook. New Media & Society. Advance online publication. Retrieved from http://nms.sagepub.com/.

Larsson, A. O., & Kalsnes, B. (2014). 'Of course we are on Facebook': Use and nonuse of social media among Swedish and Norwegian politicians. European Journal of Communication, 29(6), 653–667.

Listhaug, O. (2007). Oil wealth dissatisfaction and political trust in Norway: A resource curse? In Ø. Østerud (Ed.), Norway in transition. Transforming a stable democracy (pp. 130–147). London, England, UK: Routledge.

Lode, V. (2013). Jeg er stolt av å lede et populistisk parti. Dagbladet, September 13. Retrieved from

Lundh, E. B. (2014). Populistisk kommunikasjonsstil blant norske stortingspartier. Master's thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Sociology and Political Science, Trondheim, Norway.

Mjelde, H. (2013). Fremskrittspartiets organisatoriske utvikling fra 1973 til 2013: fra anti-parti til masseparti? Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift 29(2), 120–130.

Mjelde, I. (2007). Sakseierskap, dagsorden og medierammer. Master's thesis, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon, Oslo, Norway.

Oesch, D. (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(3), 349–373.

Raja, A. (2004). Kjære Valebrokk. Verdens Gang, November 19. p. 57.

Saglie, J. (2007). Massepartier i cyberspace? Om bruk av IKT i norske partier. Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift, 23(2), 123–147.

Sigurdsen, J. O. (2014). Retorisk brobygging. En argumentasjonsanalyse av Siv Jensens ytringer i den siste partilederdebatten til NRK i stortingsvalget 2013. Master's thesis, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for lingvistiske og nordiske studier, Oslo, Norway.

Simonnes, K. (2013). I stjålne klær? En analyse av endringer i Høyres, Arbeiderpartiets og Fremskrittspartiets innvandrings- og integreringspolitikk. Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift, 29(2), 144–158.

Strabac, Z., Thorbjørnsrud, K., & A. T. Jenssen (2012). News consumption and public opposition to immigration across countries. In T. Aalberg & J. Curran (Eds.), How media inform democracy: A comparative approach (pp. 176–188). New York: Routledge.

Strand, E. (2003). Populisme – hva er nå det? Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning, 44(4), 569–589.

Svåsand, L. (1998) Scandinavian right-wing radicalism. In H. G. Betz & S. Immerfall (Eds.), The new politics of the right. Neo-populist parties and movements in established democracies (pp. 77–93). New York, NY: St. Martin Press.

Svåsand, L., & Wörlund, I. (2005). Partifremvekst og partioverlevelse: Fremskrittspartiet og Ny Demokrati. In M. Demker & L. Svåsand (Eds.), Partiernas århundrade (pp. 253–279). Stockholm, Sweden: Santérus Förlag.

Waldahl, R., Andersen, M. B., & Rønning, H. (1993). TV-nyhetene i Nyhetsbildet. (Rapport No. 13). Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo, Department of Media and

Communication.

Waldahl, R., Andersen, M. B., & Rønning, H. (2009)
TV-nyhetenes verden. Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Andersson, C. (2010). Populism och journalistik – stadigt sällskap eller tillfällig bekantskap? Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, 112(3), 271–287.

Art, D. (2011). Inside the radical right. The development of anti-immigration parties in Western Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Asp, K. (2006). Rättvisa nyhetsmedier. Partiskheten under 2006 års medievalrörelse. Gothenburg, Sweden: JMG/Göteborgs universitet.

Asp, K. (2011). Mediernas prestationer och betydelse. Valet 2010. Gothenburg, Sweden: JMG/Göteborgs universitet.

Bågenholm, A. (2010). Att anklaga eller inte anklaga: Korruption som valfråga. In J. Ekman & J. Linde (Eds.), Politik, protest, populism: deltagande på nya villkor (pp. 182–201). Malmö, Sweden: Liber.

Berg, L., & Oscarsson, H. (2014). The Swedish general election 2014. Electoral Studies, 38, 82–136.

Bevelander, P., & Hellström, A. (2011). Trespassing the threshold of relevance: Media exposure and opinion polls of the Sweden democrats, 2006–2010. IZA Discussion Paper no. 6011. Leibniz, Germany: Le ibniz Information Centre for Economics.

Bolin, N., Lidén, G., & Nyhlén, J. (2014). Do anti-immigration parties matter? The case of the Sweden Democrats and local refugee policy. Scandinavian Political Studies, 37(3), 323–343.

Boréus, K. (2010). Including or excluding immigrants: The impact of right-wing populism in Denmark and Sweden. In B. Bengtsson, P. Strömblad, & Ann-Helén Bay (Eds.), Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia (pp. 127–158). Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.

Boréus, K. (2013). Nationalism and discursive discrimination against immigrants in Austria, Denmark and Sweden. In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik, & B. Mral (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe (pp. 293–308). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Carter, E. (2005). The extreme right in Western Europe. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Dahlström, C., & Esaiasson, P. (2013a). Invandringsfrågan och möjligheter för invandringsfientliga partier att lyckas i Sverige. Arkiv. Tidskrift för samhällsanalys, 2, 15-43.

Dahlström, C., & Esaiasson, P. (2013b). The immigration issue and anti-immigrant party success in Sweden 1970-2006: A deviant case analysis. Party Politics, 19(2), 343-364.

Demker M. (2012). Scandinavian right-wing parties. Diversity more than convergence. In A. Mammone, E. Godin, & B. Jenkins (Eds.), Mapping the extreme right in contemporary Europe from local to transnational (pp. 239-253). London, UK: Routledge.

Demker, M. (2015). Mobilisering kring migration förändrar det svenska partisystemet. In A. Bergström, B. Johansson, H. Oscarsson, & M. Oskarson (Eds.), Fragment (pp. 261-271). Gothenburg, Sweden: SOM-Institutet.

Erlingsson, G., Loxbo, K., & Öhrvall R. (2013). Anti-immigrant parties. Local presence and electoral success. Local Government Studies, 38(6), 817-830.

Esser, F., & Strömbäck, J. (Eds.) (2014). Mediatization of politics. Understanding the transformation of Western democracies. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hellström, A. (2010). Vi är de goda. Den offentliga debatten om Sverigedemokraterna och deras politik. Hägersten, Sweden: Tankekraft förlag.

Hellström, A. (2013). Help! The populists are coming. Appeals to the people in contemporary Swedish politics. Malmö, Sweden: Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare.

Hellström, A., & Hervik, P. (2014). Feeding the beast: Nourishing nativist appeals in Sweden and in Denmark. Migration and Integration, 15(3), 449-467.

Hellström, A., & Nilsson, T. (2010). “We are the good guys.” Ideological positioning of the nationalist party Sverigedemokraterna in contemporary Swedish politics. Ethnicities, 10(1), 55-76.

Hellström, A., Nilsson, T., & Stoltz, P. (2012). Nationalism vs. nationalism. The challenge of the Sweden Democrats in the Swedish public debate. Government and

Opposition, 47(2), 186–205.

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.

Jensen, C., & Frølund Thomsen, J. P. (2013). Can party competition amplify mass ideological polarization over public policy? The case of ethnic exclusionism in Denmark and Sweden. Party Politics, 19(5), 821–840.

Jungar, A.-C. (2010). Populismens återkomst: hot eller löfte? In J. Ekman & J. Linde (Eds.), Politik, protest, populism – deltagande på nya villkor (pp. 202–224). Malmö, Sweden: Liber.

Jungar, A.-C. (2012). Populister i närheten av regeringen. In J. Björkman & B. Fjaestad (Eds.), Tungan på vågen. Vågmästare och balanspartier (pp. 165–182). Gothenburg, Sweden: Makadam förlag.

Jungar, A.-C. (2015a). Högerpopulistiska partier och EU-politikens inriktning. In U. Bernitz, L. Oxelheim, & T. Persson (Eds.), Välfärdsgapet – EUs sociala utmaning. Europaperspektiv 2015 (pp. 51–88). Stockholm, Sweden: Santerus Förlag.

Jungar, A.-C. (2015b). Business as usual: Ideology and populist appeals of the Sweden Democrats. In T. Pappas & H.-P. Kriesi (Eds.), Populism in the shadow of the Great Recession (41–56). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Jungar, A.-C., & Jupskås, A. (2014). Populist radical right parties in the Nordic region: A new and distinct party family? Scandinavian Political Studies, 37(3), 215–238.

Kiiskinen, J., & Saveljeff, S. (2010). Att dansa i otakt. Socialdemokraternas och moderaternas strategiska bemötande av Sverigedemokraterna. Malmö, Sweden: Malmö högskola.

Kitschelt, H., & McGann, A. (1997). The radical right in Western Europe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lindström, M. (2003). Skånes Väl. De skånska regionalisternas möte med de svenska nationalisterna. Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, 106(1), 32–54.

Loxbo, K. (2008). Sverigedemokraterna i fullmäktige: Påverkas koalitioner och politik i kommunerna? Kommunal

ekonomi och politik, 12(4), 7–32.

Loxbo, K. (2010). The impact of the radical right: Lessons from the local level in Sweden, 2002–2006. Scandinavian Political Studies, 33(3), 295–315.

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, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mazzoleni, G. (2014). Mediatization and political populism. In F. Esser & J. Strömbäck (Eds.), Mediatization of politics. Understanding the transformation of Western democracies (pp. 42–56). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mudde, C. (2007). Populist radical right parties in Europe. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Norocel, O. C. (2013). Konstruktionen av högerradikala maskuliniteter i Sverige. En feministisk analys. Arkiv. Tidskrift för samhällsanalys, 2, 45–67.

Oja, S., & Mral, B. (2013). The Sweden Democrats came in from the cold: How the debate about allowing the SD into media arenas shifted between 2002 and 2010. In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik, & B. Mral (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe (pp. 277–292). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Oleskog Tryggvason, P. (2014). Vikten av vikter: Sammanställning av viktade resultat från SVTs vallokalsundersökning 2014. Gothenburg, Sweden: Göteborgs universitet, Statsvetenskapliga institutionen.

Oleskog Tryggvason, P., & Oscarsson, H. (2014). Utvecklingen av partisympatier 2001–2013: Sverigedemokraterna. Gothenburg, Sweden: Göteborgs universitet, Statsvetenskapliga institutionen.

Oskarson, M., & Demker, M. (2012). Another kind of class voting: The working-class sympathy for Sweden Democrats. In J . Rydgren (Eds.), Class politics and the radical right (pp. 173–190). London, England, UK: Routledge.

Oskarson, M., & Demker, M. (2015). Room for realignment: The working-class sympathy for Sweden Democrats. Government and Opposition, 50(4), 629–651.

Oscarsson, H., & Holmberg, S. (2011). Åttapartivalet 2010.

Allmänna Valen. Valunders ökningen . Stockholm, Sweden: Statistiska Centralbyr ån.

Plasser, F., & Ulram, P. A. (2003). Striking a responsive chord: Mass media and rightwing populism in Austria. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Hors eld (Eds.), The media and neo-populism. A contemporary comparative analysis (pp. 21–44). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Rydgren, J. (2002a). Varför inte i Sverige? Om den radikala högerpopulismens relativa misslyckande. Arkiv för studier i arbetarrörelsens historia, 86/87, 1–34.

Rydgren, J. (2002b). Radical right populism in Sweden: Still a failure, but for how long? Scandinavian Political Studies, 25(1), 27–56.

Rydgren, J. (2005). Från skattemissnöje till etnisk nationalism. Högerpopulism och parlamentarisk högerextremism i Sverige. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.

Rydgren, J. (2006). From tax populism to ethnic populism. Radical right-wing popu lism in Sweden. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Rydgren, J. (2010). Radical right-wing populism in Denmark and Sweden: Explaining party system change and stability. SAIS Review of International Affairs, 30(1), 57–71.

Rydgren, J., & Ruth, P. (2013). Contextual explanations of radical right-wing support in Sweden: Socioeconomic marginalization, group threat, and the halo effect. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36(4), 711–728.

Sannerstedt, A. (2008). De ok ända väljarna. En analys av de sk ånska väljare som röstade på icke riksdagspartier 2006. In L. Nilsson & R. Antoni (Eds.), Medborgarna, regionen och flernivådemokratin. Skåne 2006 (pp. 49–70). Gothenburg, Sweden: SOM-institutet.

Sannerstedt, A. (2010). Sverigedemokraterna i sk åne. In S. Johansson (Ed.), Regional demokrati. Om politik och medier i Sk åne (pp. 97–105). Gothenburg, Sweden: SOM-institutet.

Sikk, A. (2009) Parties and populism. London, England: UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies.

Strömbäck, J. (2013). Den medialiserade valrörelsejournalistiken. In J. Strömbäck & L. Nord

(Eds.), Kampen om opinionen. Politisk kommunikation under svenska valrörelser (pp. 119–149). Stockholm, Sweden: SNS Förlag.

Svåsand, L., & Wörlund, I. (2005). Partiframvekst og partioverlevelse. Fremskrittspartiet og Ny Demokrati. In M. Demker & L. Svåsand (Eds.), Partiernas århundrade: fempartimodellens uppgång och fall i Norge och Sverige (pp. 253–279). Stockholm, Sweden: Santérus.

Swedish Media Council (2013). Pro-violence and anti-democratic messages on the Internet. Stockholm, Sweden: Swedish Media Council.

Taggart, P. (1996). The new populism and new politics. New protest parties in Sweden in a comparative perspective: London, UK: Macmillan Press.

Taggart, P. (2000). Populism. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Westlind, D. (1996). The politics of popular identity: Understanding recent populist movements in Sw eden and the United States. Doctoral dissertation, Lund University.

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

Widfeldt, A. (2010). Högerpopulismen: ett växande politiskt fenomen. In J. Ekman & J. Linde (Eds.), Politik, protest, populism – deltagande på nya villkor (pp. 158–181). Malmö, Sweden: Liber.

Widfeldt, A. (2014). Extreme right parties in Scandinavia. London, UK: Routledge. This page intentionally left blank

7 Austria: Candidate-Centered and Anti-Immigrant Right-Wing Populism

Aichholzer, J., Kritzinger, S., Wagner, M., & Zeglovits, E. (2014). How has radical right support transformed established political con icts? The case of Austria. West European Politics, 37(1), 113–137.

Albertazzi, D., & Mueller, S. (2013). Populism and liberal democracy: Populists in government in Austria, Italy, Poland and Switzerland. Government and Opposition, 48(3), 343–371.

Appel, M. (2012). Anti-immigrant propaganda by radical right parties and the intellectual performance of adolescents. Political Psychology, 33(4), 483–493.

Arendt, F., Marquart, F., & Matthes, J. (2015). The effects of right-wing populist ads on implicit and explicit stereotypes. Communication Research, 27(4), 178–189.

Art, D. (2007). Reacting to the radical right lessons from Germany and Austria. Party Politics, 13(3), 331–349.

Bale, T. (2003). Cinderella and her ugly sisters: The mainstream and extreme right in Europe's bipolarising party systems. West European Politics, 26(3), 67–90.

Betz, H. G. (2001). Exclusionary populism in Austria, Italy, and Switzerland. International Journal, 56(3), 393–420.

Brantner, C., & Lobinger, K. (2014). Campaign comics: The use of comic books for strategic political communication. International Journal of Communication, 8, 248–274.

BZÖ: Programmatisch und doch populistisch. (2008). Die Presse. July 11. Retrieved from

de Nève, D. (2013). Islamophobie in Deutschland und Europa. In G. Pickel & O. Hidalgo (Eds.), Religion und Politik im vereinigten Deutschland (pp. 195–220). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien.

Dolezal, M., Helbling, M., & Hutter, S. (2010). Debating Islam in Austria, Germany and Switzerland: Ethnic citizenship, church-state relations and right-wing populism. West European Politics, 33(2), 171–190.

Dolezal, M., & Zeglovits, E. (2014). Almost an earthquake:

The Austrian parliamentary election of 2013. West European Politics, 37(3), 644–652.

Duncan, F. (2010). Immigration and integration policy and the Austrian radical right in of▯ce: The FPÖ/BZÖ, 2000–2006. Contemporary Politics, 16(4), 337–354.

Forchtner, B., Krzyzyanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2013). Mediatization, right-wing populism and political campaigning: The case of the Austrian Freedom Party. In A. Tolson & M. Ekström (Eds.), Media talk and political elections in Europe and America (pp. 205–228). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gruber, O. (2011). Zwischen Ideologie und Strategie. Migration und Integration im Wandel elektoraler Politisierung. In J. Dahlvik (Ed.), Migration und Integration: Wissenschaftliche Perspektiven aus Österreic h (pp. 127–142). Vienna, Austria: Vienna University Press.

Hafez, F. (2010). Islamophober Populismus. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Hartleb, F. (2011). Extremismus in den EU-Staaten. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Hayek, L. (2012). Plakatwahlkampf: Personalisierung in österreichischen Nationalratswahlkämpfen. In F. Plasser (Ed.), Erfolgreich wahlkämpfen: Massenmedien und Wahlkampagnen in Österreich (pp. 209–224). Vienna, Austria: Facultas.

Heinisch, R. (2002). Populism, Proporz, pariah: Austria turns right. New York, NY: Nowa Science.

Heinisch, R. (2003). Success in opposition—failure in government: Explaining the performance of right-wing populist parties in public of▯ce. West European Politics, 26(3), 91–130.

Heinisch, R. (2004). Die FPÖ—Ein Phänomen im internationalen Vergleich. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 33(3), 247–262.

Helms, L. (1997). Right-wing populist parties in Austria and Switzerland: A comparative analysis of electoral support and conditions of success. West European Politics, 20(2), 37–52.

Hofer, T., & Tóth, B. (Eds.). (2013). Wahl 2013. Macht –

Medien – Milliardäre. Analysen zur Nationalratswahl (Vol. 14). Münster, Germany: LIT Verlag.

Howard, M. M. (2001). Can populism be suppressed in a democracy? Austria, Germany, and the European Union. East European Politics and Societies, 15(1), 18–32.

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.

Johann, D., Glantschnigg, C., Glinitzer, K., Kritzinger, S., & Wagner, M. (2014). Das Wahlverhalten bei der Nationalratswahl 2013. In S. Kritzinger, W. C. Müller, & K. Schönbach. (Eds.), Die Nationalratswahl 2013: Wie Parteien, Medien und Wählerschaft zusammenwirken (pp. 191–214). Vienna, Austria: Böhlau Verlag.

Kritzinger, S., Müller, W. C., Schönbach, K. (Eds.). (2014). Die Nationalratswahl 2013: Wie Parteien, Medien und Wählerschaft zusammenwirken. Vienna, Austria: Böhlau Verlag.

Kritzinger, S., Zeglovits, E., Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Nadeau, R. (2013). The Austrian voter. Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Krzyzanowski, M. (2013). From anti-immigration and nationalist revisionism to Islamophobia: Continuities and shifts in recent discourses and patterns of political communication of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ). In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik, & B. Mral (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse (pp. 3–23). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Krzyzanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2011). The politics of exclusion: Debating migration in Austria. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Lederer, A. (2006). "It's advertising, stupid!" Strategien und Praktiken politischer Werbung im Nationalratswahlkampf. In P. A. Ulram & F. Plasser (Eds.), Wechselwahlen: Analysen zur Nationalratswahl 2006 (pp. 39–79). Vienna, Austria: Facultas.

Lederer, A., Plasser, F., & Scheucher, C. (2005). The rise and fall of populism in Austria: A political marketing perspective. In D. G. Lilleker & J. Lees-Marshment (Eds.), Political marketing: A comparative perspective (pp.

132–147). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Lengauer, G., & Hayek, L. (2012). Machen Inserate den Ton? Einfluss der Parteianzeigen auf die redaktionelle Berichterstattung. In F. Plasser (Ed.), Erfolgreich wahlkämpfen: Massenmedien und Wahlkampagnen in Österreich (pp. 163–187). Vienna, Austria: Facultas.

Lengauer, G., & Winder, G. (2013). (De)personalization of campaign communication: Individualization and hierarchization in party press releases and media coverage in the 2008 Austrian parliamentary election campaign. Communications—The European Journal of Communication Research, 38(1), 13–39.

Luther, K. R. (2007). Wahlstrategien und Wahlergebnisse des österreichischen Rechtspopulismus, 1986–2006. In F. Plasser & P. A. Ulram (Ed.), Wechselwahlen: Analysen zur Nationalratswahl 2006 (pp. 231–254). Vienna, Austria: Facultas.

Marquart, F. (2013). Rechtspopulismus im Wandel. Wahlplakate der FPÖ von 1978- 2008. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 42(4), 353–371.

Matthes, J., & Schmuck, D. (2015). The effects of anti-immigrant right-wing populist ads on implicit and explicit attitudes: A moderated mediation model. Communication Research. Advance online publication. Retrieved from http://crx.sagepub.

Mudde, C. (2014). Rechtsaußen, die Große Rezession und die Europawahlen 2014. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 64(12), 16–24.

Oesch, D. (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(3), 349–373.

Pelinka, A. (2002). Die FPÖ in der vergleichenden Parteienforschung. Zur typologischen Einordnung der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 31(3), 281–290.

Pelinka, A. (2013). Right-wing populism: Concept and typology. In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik, & B. Mral (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse, (pp. 3–23). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Plasser, F., & Ulram, P. A. (2003). Striking a responsive chord: Mass media and rightwing populism in Austria. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Horsfield (Eds.), The media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis (pp. 21–44). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Reisigl, M. (2002). "Dem Volk aufs Maul schauen, nach dem Mund reden und Angst und Bange machen." Von populistischen Anrufungen, Anbiederungen und Agitationsweisen in der Sprache österreichischer PolitikerInnen. In W. Eismann (Ed.), Rechtspopulismus. Österreichische Krankheit oder Europäische Normalität? (pp. 149–198). Vienna, Austria: Czernin Verlag.

Schmuck, D., & Matthes, J. (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(10), 1577–1599.

Schulz, W., & Weiss, H. (2005). Ausländerfeindlichkeit und Neoliberalismus als Elemente populistischer Politik?. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 34(4), 395–412.

Seethaler, J., & Melischek, G. (2013). Kommt es in Österreich zu neuen Allianzen zwischen Medien und Parteien? Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien.

Smith, D. G. (2008,). Spiegel Online interview with expert on right-wing populism: "Anti-mosque initiatives tap into a fear of Islam." Spiegel Online International. January 29. Retrieved from

Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. Journal of Political Ideologies, 9(3), 269–288.

Turner-Graham, E. (2008). "Austria First": H. C. Strache, Austrian identity and the current politics of Austria's Freedom Party. Studies in Language & Capitalism, 3(4), 181–198.

Winder, G. (2012). Populistische Kommunikation – nur die üblichen Verdächtigen? In F. Plasser (Ed.), Erfolgreich wahlkämpfen. Massenmedien und Wahlkampagnen in Österreich (pp. 225–249). Vienna, Austria: Facultas.

Wodak, R. (2011). Suppression of the Nazi past, coded languages, and discourses of silence: Applying the

discourse-historical approach to post-war anti Semitism in Austria. In W. Steinmetz (Ed.), Political languages in the age of extremes (pp. 351–379). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Wodak, R. (2013). “Anything Goes!”—The Haiderization of Europe. In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik, & B. Mral (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe. Politics and discourse (pp. 71–87). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Wodak, R., & Forchtner, B. (2014). Embattled Vienna 1683/2010: Right-wing populism, collective memory and the ctionalisation of politics. Visual Communication, 13(2), 231–255.

Wodak, R., & Köhler, K. (2010). Wer oder was ist “fremd”? Diskurshistorische Analyse fremdenfeindlicher Rhetorik in Österreich. Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien, 1, 33–55.

Wohnout, H. (1993). Rechtsextremismus, Rechtspopulismus und ihre Rückwirkungen auf das österreichische politische System. In A. Khol, G. Ofner, & A. Stirnemann (Eds.), Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Politik 1993 (pp. 381–411). Vienna, Austria: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik.

8 Belgium: The Rise and Fall of Populism Research

Abts, K. (2004). Het populistisch appel. Voorbij de populaire communicatiestijl en de ordinaire democratiekritiek. Tijdschrift voor Sociologie, 25(4), 451–476.

Abts, K., & Rummens, S. (2007). Populism versus democracy. Political Studies, 55(2), 405–424.

Art, D. (2008). The organizational origins of the contemporary radical right: The case of Belgium. Comparative Politics, 40(4), 421–440.

Billiet, J., Coffé, H., & Maddens, B. (2007). Een Vlaams-nationale identiteit en de houding tegenover allochtonen in een longitudinaal perspectief. In M. Swyngedouw, J. Billiet, & B. Goeminne (Eds.), De kiezer onderzocht. De verkiezingen van 2003 en 2004 in Vlaanderen (pp. 95–120). Leuven, Belgium: Universitaire Pers Leuven.

Billiet, J., & De Witte, H. (1995). Attitudinal dispositions to vote for a “new” extreme right-wing party: The case of the “Vlaams Blok.” European Journal of Political Research, 27(2), 181–202.

Billiet, J., & De Witte, H. (2008). Everyday racism as a predictor of political racism in Flemish Belgium. Journal of Social Issues, 64(2), 253–267.

Billiet, J., & Swyngedouw, M. (1995). De keuze tussen groen en extreem-rechts. Sporen van een nieuwe breuklijn. Res Publica, 35(2), 247–262.

Blaise, P. (2004). L’extrême droite francophone. Dissensions internes, faiblesse structurelle et instabilité électorale. In P. Blaise & P. Moreau (Eds.), Extrême droite et national-populisme en Europe de l’Ouest. Analyse par pays et approches transversales (pp. 149–178). Brussels, Belgium: CRISP.

Blommaert, J. (2001). Ik stel vast. Politiek taalgebruik, politieke vernieuwing en verrechtsing. Berchem, Belgium: EPO.

Blommaert, J. (2004). Populisme als spreekregime. In J. Blommaert & E. Corijn (Eds.), Populisme (pp. 123–150). Berchem, Belgium: EPO.

Blommaert, J. (2007). De crisis van de democratie. Commentaren op actuele politiek. Berchem, Belgium: EPO.

Blommaert, J., Corijn, E., Holthof, M., & Lesage, D. (2004). Populisme. Berchem, Belgium: EPO.

Cammaerts, B. (2007). Blogs, online forums, public spaces and the extreme right in North Belgium. In N. Carpentier, P. Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, K. Nordenstreng, M. Hartmann, P. Vihalemm, B. Cammaerts, … T. Olsson (Eds.), Media technologies and democracy in an enlarged Europe. The intellectual work of the 2007 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School (pp. 107–119). Tartu, Estonia: Tartu University Press.

Cammaerts, B. (2008). Critiques on the participatory potentials of Web 2.0. Communication, Culture & Critique, 1(4), 358–377.

Cammaerts, B. (2009). Radical pluralism and free speech in online public spaces: The case of North Belgian extreme right discourses. International Journal of Cultural Studies, 12(6), 555–575.

Coffé, Hilde (2002). De invloed van de levensbeschouwelijke en maatschappelijke betrokkenheid op een positieve beoordeling van het Vlaams Blok. Tijdschrift voor Sociologie, 23(2), 161–192.

Coffé, H. (2005). Extreem-rechts in Vlaanderen en Wallonië. Het verschil. Roeselare, Belgium: Roularta.

De Cleen, B. (2009). Popular music against extreme right populism. International Journal of Cultural Studies, 12(6), 577–595.

De Cleen, B. (2012). The rhetoric of the Flemish populist radical right party Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang in a context of discursive struggle: A discourse theoretical analysis . (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Brussels, Belgium: Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

De Cleen, B. (2013). The Vlaams Blok/Belang versus the Flemish city theatres. An analysis of populist radical right rhetoric about culture. In M. KhosraviNik, B. Mral, & R. Wodak (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse (pp. 209–222). London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.

De Cleen, B. (2015). “Flemish Friends, Let us Separate!”:

The discursive struggle for Flemish nationalist civil society in the media. Javnost The Public, 22(1), 37–54.

De Cleen, B. (2016). The party of the people versus the cultural elite. Populism and nationalism in Flemish radical right rhetoric about artists. JOMEC journal 9, ‘Expressive Culture and Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe’, eds. Benjamin De Cleen and Torgeir Uberg Nærland. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/ 10.18573/j.2016.10043.

De Cleen, B., & Carpentier, N. (2010). Contesting the populist claim on “the people” through popular culture: The 0110 concerts versus the Vlaams Belang. Social Semiotics, 20(2), 175–196.

Delwit, P. (1998). Qui vote pour le Front National en Belgique? In P. Delwit, J.-M. De Waele, & A. Rea (Eds.), L’extr ême droite en France et en Belgique (pp. 167–180). Brussels, Belgium: Éditions Complexe.

Delwit, P. (2007). The Belgian National Front and the question of power. In P. Delwit & P. Poirier (Eds.), Extrême droite et pouvoir en Europe (pp. 141–166). Brussels, Belgium: Éditions de l’université de Bruxelles.

Delwit, P. (2011). Le Front national. In P. Delwit & J.-M. De Waele (Eds.), Les partis politiques en Belgique (pp. 187–213). Brussels, Belgium: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles.

Delwit, P. (2012) L’exception belge. In M.-C. Esposito, A. Laquièze, & C. Manigand (Eds.), Populismes. L’envers de la démocratie (pp. 121–131). Paris, France: Vendémiaire.

De Meyer, G. (2003). Manifest van een cultuurpopulist: over de media, het middenveld en de cultuur van het volk. Leuven, Belgium: Acco.

De Meyer, G., & Schamp, W. (2002). Politiek niet correct. Antwerp, Belgium: Cover Books.

Deschouwer, K., Delwit, P., Hooghe, M., Rihoux, B., & Walgrave, S. (2014). Attitudes et comportements des électeurs lors du scrutin du 25 mai 2014. Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP, No. 2225. Brussels, Belgium: CRISP.

Deschouwer K., Delwit P., Hooghe M., & Walgrave S. (Eds.). (2010). Les voix du peuple. Une analyse du comportement électoral du 7 juin 2009. Brussels, Belgium: Éditions de l’ULB.

De Swert, K. (2001). Tussen vergeetput en schandpaal: strategieën tegen extreem rechts in drie Vlaamse kranten. (Working paper). Antwerp, Belgium: Departement Politieke en Sociale Wetenschappen, Universiteit Antwerpen.

De Swert, K. (2002, March). The cordon sanitaire around the extreme right in the Flemish media. Paper prepared for the European Consortium for Political Research Joint Session, Turin, Italy.

De Vos, P. (2002). The sacralisation of consensus and the rise of right-wing populism. Studies in Social and Political Thought, 7, 3–29.

De Vos, P. (2005). Het uur van de rattenvangers: de populistische verleiding en hoe ze te weerstaan. Oikos, 35, 37–45.

De Witte, H. (1992). Racisten of apatici? Een empirische analyse van de politieke en maatschappelijke opvattingen van kiezers van het Vlaams Blok in 1989 en van de motivering van hun stemgedrag. In E. Deslé & A. Martens (Eds.), Gezichten van hedendaags racisme (pp. 189–218). Brussels, Belgium: VUBPress.

De Witte, H., Billiet, J., & Scheepers, P. (1994). Hoe zwart is Vlaanderen? Een exploratief onderzoek naar uiterst- rechtse denkbeelden in Vlaanderen in 1991. Res Publica, 36(1), 85–102.

Durand, P., & Lits, M. (2005). Introduction: peuple, populaire, populisme. Hermès, 42, 11–18.

Elchardus, M. (2002). De dramademocratie. Leuven, Belgium: Lannoo.

Elchardus M., & Smits, W. (2002). Anatomie en oorzaken van het wantrouwen. Brussels, Belgium: VUBPress.

Elchardus, M., & Spruyt, B. (2012). Populisme en de zorg over de samenleving. In J. Uitermark, M. Oudenampsen, B. van Heerikhuizen, & R. van Reekum (Eds.), Power to the people! Een anatomie van het populisme (pp. 119–138). Den Haag, Netherlands: Boom/Lemma.

Elchardus, M., & Spruyt, B. (2014). Populism, persistent republicanism and declinism. An empirical analysis of populism as a thin ideology. Government and Opposition. Retrieved from http://journals.cambridge.org/.

Erk, J. (2005). From Vlaams Blok to Vlaams Belang: The Belgian far-right renames itself. West European Politics, 28(3), 493–502.

Jagers, J. (2006). De stem van het volk. Een onderzoek naar populisme bij Vlaamse politieke partijen. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Antwerp: Belgium: Universiteit Antwerpen.

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.

Jamin, J. (2006). Extrême droite et immigration en Belgique francophone. In M. Martiniello, A. Rea, & F. Dassetto (Eds.), Immigration et intégration en Belgique francophone. État des savoirs (pp. 377–397). Louvain-La-Neuve, Belgium: Academia Bruylant.

Jamin, J . (2012a). Extreme-right discourse in Belgium: A comparative regional approach. In A. Mammone, E. Godin, & B. Jenkins (Eds.), Mapping the extreme right in contemporary Europe. From local to transnational (pp. 62–77). Milton Park, Routledge.

Jamin, J. (2012b). Radicalismes et extrémismes de droite. In F. Bouhon & M. Reuchamps (Eds.), Les systèmes électoraux de la Belgique (pp. 225–242). Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Bruylant.

McGuigan, J. (1992). Cultural populism. London, UK: Routledge.

McGuigan, J. (1997). Cultural populism revisited. In M. Ferguson & P. Golding (Eds.), Cultural studies in question (pp. 138–154). London, UK: Sage.

Mudde, C. (2010). The populist radical right: A pathological normalcy. West European Politics, 33(6), 1167–1186.

Oesch, D. (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(3), 349–373.

Pauwels, T. (2010a). The populist voter. Explaining electoral support for populist parties in the Netherlands,

Belgium and Germany. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Brussels, Belgium: Université Libre de Bruxelles.

Pauwels, T. (2010b). Explaining the success of neo-liberal populist parties: The case of Lijst Dedecker in Belgium. Political Studies, 58(5), 1009–1029.

Pauwels, T. (2011a). Measuring populism: A quantitative text analysis of party literature in Belgium. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, 21(1), 97–119.

Pauwels, T. (2011b). Explaining the strange decline of the populist radical right Vlaams Belang in Belgium: The impact of permanent opposition. Acta Politica, 46(1), 60–82.

Pauwels, T. (2013). Belgium: Decline of national populism? In K. Grabow & F. Hartlieb (Eds.), Exposing the Demagogues: Right-wing and National Populist Parties in Europe (pp. 81–104). Berlin, Germany: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Pauwels, T. (2014). Populism in Western Europe. Comparing Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands. Milton Park, UK: Routledge.

Pelleriaux, K. (2001). Demotie en burgerschap: de culturele constructie van ongelijkheid in de kennismaatschappij. Brussels, Belgium: VUB Press.

Rea, A. (1996). Le Front National. Faiblesse institutionnelle et force électorale. In P. Delwit & J.-M. De Waele (Eds.), Les partis politique en Belgique (pp. 193–204). Brussels, Belgium: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles.

Rink, N., Phalet, K., & Swyngedouw, M. (2009). The effects of immigrant population size, unemployment, and individual characteristics on voting the Vlaams Blok in Flanders 1991–1999. European Sociological Review, 25(4), 411–424.

Rooduijn, M., & Pauwels, T. (2011). Measuring populism. Comparing two methods of content analysis. West European Politics, 34(6), 1272–1283.

Rummens, S., & Abts, K. (2010). Defending democracy: The concentric containment of political extremism. Political studies, 58, 649–665.

Schafraad, P. (2009). Controversial outsiders. A

cross-national study of media attention to the far-right. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Nijmegan, Netherlands: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen.

Schafraad, P ., d'Haenens, L., Scheepers, P., & Wester, F. (2012). The evolution of a media image: Newspaper attention to the Flemish far right 1987–2004. Acta Politica, 47(4), 356–377.

Spruyt, B. (2014). An asymmetric group relation? An investigation into public perceptions of education-based groups and the support for populism. Acta Politica, 49(2), 123–143.

Swyngedouw, M. (1994). De opkomst en doorbraak van Agalev en Vlaams Blok in de jaren tachtig en negentig. Acta Politica, 29(4), 453–476.

Swyngedouw, M., Billiet, J., & Goeminne, B. (Eds.). (2007). De kiezer onderzocht. De verkiezingen van 2003 en 2004 in Vlaanderen (pp. 95–120). Belgium: Universitaire Pers Leuven.

Swyngedouw, M., & Depickere, A. (2007). Expliquer les succès électoraux de l'extrême droite: la "formule gagnante" de Kitschelt au banc d'essai des élections amandes de 1999. Revue française de science politique, 57(2), 187–208.

Van Aelst, P. (2007). Toeschouwer, speler of scheidsrechter? Een studie naar de rol van de media in de verkiezingscampagne van 2003. Brugge, Belgium: Vanden Broele.

Van Aelst, P., Maddens, B., Noppe, J., & Fiers, S. (2008). Politicians in the news: media or party logic? Media attention and electoral success in the Belgian election campaign of 2003. European Journal of Communication, 23(2), 193–210.

Van Reybrouck, D. (2011). Pleidooi voor populisme. Antwerp, Belgium: De Bezige Bij.

Voorhoof, D. (1996). Integratiebeleid, racismebestrijding en de media: juridisch kader. In L. d'Haenens & F. Saeys (Eds.), Media & multiculturalisme in Vlaanderen (pp. 17–38). Ghent, Belgium: Academia Press.

Voorhoof, D. (2008). Vlaamse media dienen niet het Vlaams Belang. In N. Van Eijk & B. Hugenholtz (Eds.),

Dommering-bundel. Opstellen over informatierecht (pp. 389-401). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Otto Cramwinckel.

Walgrave, S., & De Swert, K. (2002). Doet het ertoe welk nieuws er gebracht wordt? Over de invloed van de nieuwsmedia op het verkiezingssucces van het Vlaams Blok. Ethische perspectieven, 12(2), 122-151.

Walgrave, S., & De Swert, K. (2004). The making of the (issues of the) Vlaams Blok. The media and the success of the Belgian extreme-right party. Political Communication, 21(4), 479-500.

Walgrave, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2002). Wij zeggen wat u denkt. Over de politieke communicatie van het Vlaams Blok. In B. Van den Broeck & M.-C. Foblets (Eds.), Het failliet van de integratie? Het multiculturalismedebat in Vlaanderen (pp. 221-227). Leuven, Belgium: Acco.

9 Germany: Is the Populism Laggard Catching Up?

ARD-DeutschlandTREND: (2014). infratest dimap. Oktober. Retrieved from http://

ARD-DeutschlandTREND (2015). infratest dimap. Januar. Retrieved from http://

Arzheimer, K. (2015). The AfD: Finally a successful right-wing populist eurosceptic party for Germany? West European Politics, 38(3), 535–556.

Arzheimer, K., & Falter, J. W. (2013). Versöhnen statt spalten? Das Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl 2009 und die Rolle der PDS/Linkspartei in Ost-West- Perspektive. In B. Weßels, H. Schoen, & O. W. Gabriel (Eds.), Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2009 (pp. 118–150). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Arzheimer, K., & Klein, M. (1997). Die Wähler der REP und der PDS in West- und Ostdeutschland. In U. Backes & J. Eckhard (Eds.), Jahrbuch Extremismus und Demokratie (pp. 39–63). Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos.

Bartlett, J., Birdwell, J., & Littler, M. (2011). The new face of digital populism. London, UK: Demos.

Bergsdorf, H. (2005). Wie funktioniert rechtsextremer Populismus? Die neue Ordnung, 59(4), 294–299.

Berking, H. (1997). Populismus: Inklusion und Exklusion als politischer Stil. Gewer kschaftliche Monatshefte, 48, 25–33.

Beyme, K. v. (2010). Populismus und Rechtsextremismus in postmodernen Parteiensystemen. In D. Gehne & T. Spier (Eds.), Krise oder Wandel der Parteiendemokratie? (pp. 177–189) Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Birsl, U., & Lösche, P. (2001). (Neo-)Populismus in der deutschen Parteienlandschaft. Oder: Erosion der politischen Mitte. In D. Loch & W. Heitmeyer (Eds.), Schattenseiten der Globalisierung. Rechtsradikalismus, Rechtspopulismus und separatistisc her Regionalismus in westlichen Demokratien (pp. 346–378). Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Suhrkamp.

Bornschier, S. (2012). Why a right-wing populist party emerged in France but not in Germany: Cleavages and actors

in the formation of a new cultural divide. European Political Science Review, 4(1), 121–145.

Caiani, M., & della Porta, D. (2010). Extreme right and populism. A frame analysis of extreme right-wing discourses in Italy and Germany. Vienna, Austria: Institut für Höhere Studien.

Decker, F. (2003a). Insel der Seligen? Warum deutsche Rechtspopulisten oft scheitern. Internationale P olitik, (4), 13–22.

Decker, F. (2003b). Rechtspopulismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Die Schill-Partei. In N. Werz (Ed.), Populismus. Populisten in Übersee und Europa (pp. 223–242). Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich.

Decker, F. (2004). Der neue Rechtspopulismus. Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich.

Decker, F. (2006). Die populistische Herausforderung. Theoretische und ländervergleichende Perspektiven. In F. Decker (Ed.), Populismus. Gefahr für die Demokratie oder nützliches Korrektiv? (pp. 9–32) Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Decker, F. (2008). Germany: Right-wing populist failures and left-wing successes. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.), Twenty-first century populism. The spectre of W estern European democracy (pp. 119–134). New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Decker, F. (2013). Wenn die Populisten kommen. Beiträge zum Zustand der Demokratie und des Parteiensystems. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Decker, F. (2014). Follow-up to the grand coalition. The German party system before and after the 2013 federal election. German Politics and Society, 32(2), 19–40.

Decker, F., & Hartleb, F. (2005). Das Scheitern der Schill-Partei als regionaler Machtfaktor: Typisch für Rechtspopulismus in Deutschland? In S. Frölich-Steffen & L. Rensmann (Eds.), Populisten an der Macht. Populistische Regierungsparteien in West- und Osteuropa (pp. 105–20). Vienna, Austria: Braumüller.

Decker, F., & Hartleb, F. (2007). Populism on dif□cult terrain: The right- and leftwing challenger parties in the Federal Republic of Germany. German Politics, 16(4),

434–454.

Deutliche Mehrheit befürwortet US-Luftangriffe in Syrien AfD im Plus aber zu wenig Abgrenzung gegen rechts. (2014) Politobarometer 2014: Forschungsgruppe Wahlen e.V. September II. Retrieved from http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Archiv/.

Diehl, P. (2011). Die Komplexität des Populismus. Ein Plädoyer für ein mehrdimensionales und graduelles Konzept. Totalitarianism and Democracy. An International Journal for the Study of Dictatorship and Liberty, 8(2), 273–293.

Doerschler, P., & Banaszak, L. A. (2007). Voter support for the German PDS over time: Dissatisfaction, ideology, losers and East identity. Electoral Studies, 26(2), 359–370.

Dörre, K. (2003). Rechte Orientierungen in der Arbeitswelt: Marktsteuerung als Ursache des neuen Rechtspopulismus? Journal für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung, 5(2), 103–120.

Eilders, C. (2000). Bilder der Parteien in den Medien: Die Darstellung der PDS in überregionalen Pressekommentaren. In R. L. Stiftung (Ed.), Die PDS im Parteiensystem (pp. 154–166). Berlin, Germany: Dietz.

Eubel, C., & Meisner, M. (2011). Wir müssen uns der grünen Herausforderung stellen. Der Tagesspiegel. April 18. Retrieved from http://www.tagesspiegel.de/ politik/.

Faas, T., & Wüst, A. M. (2002). The Schill factor in the Hamburg state election 2001. German Politics, 11(2), 1–20.

Frölich-Steffen, S., & Rensmann, L. (2005). Populistische Regierungsparteien in Ost- und Westeuropa: Vergleichende Perspektiven der Politikwissenschaftlichen Forschung. In S. Frölich-Steffen & L. Rensmann (Eds.), Populisten an der Macht. Populistische Regierungsparteien in West- und Osteuropa (pp. 3–34). Vienna, Austria: Braumüller.

Gebhardt, R. (2013). Eine “Partei neuen Typs”? Die “Alternative für Deutschland” (AfD) vor den Bundestagswahlen. Forschungsjournal soziale Bewegungen, 26, 86–91.

Hansen, M., Schmid, H., & Scherer, H. (2010). Erstens: ignorieren, zweitens: diffamieren, drittens: umarmen? Eine inhaltsanalytische Untersuchung der Kommentierung der Linkspartei von 2005 bis 2009. Publizistik, 55(4), 365–381.

Hartleb, F. (2004). Rechts- und Linkspopulismus. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Hartleb, F. (2005). Populismus. Ein Hindernis für politische Sozialisation? Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 55, 32-38.

Häusler, A. (2008). Rechtspopulismus als Stilmittel zur Modernisierung der extremen Rechten. In A. Häusler (Ed.), Rechtspopulismus als "Bürgerbewegung." Kampagnen gegen Islam und Moscheenbau und kommunale Gegenstrategien (pp. 37-51). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Häusler, A. (2013). Die "Alternative für Deutschland": Eine neue rechtspopulistische Partei? Heinrich Böll Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen. Retrieved from http://www.

Häusler, A., & Schedler, J. (2008). Antiislamischer Populismus—ein rechter Erfolgsschlager? Neue soziale Bewegungen, 21, 108-115.

Heitmeyer, W. (2001). Autoritärer Kapitalismus. Demokratieentleerung und Rechtspopulismus. Eine Analyse von Entwicklungstendenzen. In D. Loch & W. Heitmeyer (Eds.), Schattenseiten der Globalisierung. Rechtsradikalismus, Rechtspopulismus und separatistischer Regionalismus in westlichen Demokratien (pp. 497-534). Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Suhrkamp.

Hentges, G., Meyer, M. H., Flecker, J., Kirschenhofer, S., Thoft, E., Grinderslev, E., & Balazs, G. (2003). The abandoned worker: Socio-economic change and the attraction of right-wing populism: European Synthesis Report on Qualitative Findings. Cologne, Germany, and Vienna, Austria: SIREN. Retrieved from http://www.

Holtmann, E., Krappidel, A., & Rehse, S. (Eds.). (2006). Die Droge Populismus. Zur Kritik des politischen Vorurteils. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Hough, D., & Koß, M. (2009). Populism personi□ed or reinvigorated reformers? The German Left Party in 2009 and beyond. German Politics and Society, 27(2), 77-91.

Howard, M. M. (2000). Can populism be suppressed in a democracy? Austria, Germany and the European Union. East European Politics and Societies, 15(1), 18-32.

"Islam gehört zu Deutschland" National gespalten Drei

viertel lehnen Pegida ab. (2015). Politbarometer. Januar I. Forschungsgruppe Wahlen e.V. Retrieved from

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.

Jandura, O. (2007). Kleinparteien in der Mediendemokratie. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Jandura, O. (2011). Publizistische Chancengleichheit in der Wahlkampfberichterstattung. Eine Untersuchung zur medialen Repräsentation der im Bundestag vertretenen Parteien. Publizistik, 56(2), 181–197.

Jaschke, H.-G. (2013). Right-wing extremism and populism in contemporary Germany and Western Europe. In S. von Mering & T. W. McCart (Eds.), Rightwing radicalism today: Perspectives from Europe and the US (pp. 22–36). New York, NY: Routledge.

Jungwirth, M. (2002). Haider, Le Pen & Co. Europas Rechtspopulisten. Graz, Austria: Styria.

Kienpointner, M. (2005). Racist manipulation within Austrian, German, Dutch, French and Italian right-wing populism. In L. de Saussure & P. Schulz (Eds.), Manipulation and ideologies in the twentieth century (pp. 213–235). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Korte, K.-R. (2003). Populismus als Regierungsstil. In N. Werz (Ed.), Populismus. Populisten in Übersee und Europa (pp. 209–222). Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich.

Lochocki, T. (2012). Immigrationsfragen: Sprungbrett rechtspopulistischer Parteien. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 62(5/6), 31–36.

Meyer, T. (2006). Populismus und Medien. In F. Decker (Ed.), Populismus: Gefahr für die Demokratie oder nützliches Korrektiv? (pp. 81–96). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(4), 541–563.

Münkler, H. (2011). Populismus, Eliten und Demokratie. Eine ideengeschichtlichpolitiktheoretische Erkundigung. Totalitarianism and Democracy. An International Journal for

the Study of Dictatorship and Liberty, 8(2), 195-221.

Neu, V. (2003). Die PDS: Eine populistische Partei? In N. Werz (Ed.), Populismus. Populisten in Übersee und Europa (pp. 263-277). Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich.

Niedermayer, O. (2013). Eine neue Konkurrentin im Parteiensystem? Die Alternative für Deutschland. In O. Niedermeyer (Ed.), Die Parteien nach der Bundestagswahl 2013 (pp. 175-207). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Oberreuter, H. (2011). Zwischen Programm und Populismus die offene Zukunft der CSU. Journal for Comparative Government and European Policy, 9(2), 224-244.

Pauwels, T. (2014). Populism in Western Europe. Comparing Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. New York, NY: Routledge.

Perger, W. A., & Hamann, G. (2004). Die Angst-Macher. Die Zeit. 19 February. Retrieved from http://www.zeit.de/2004/09/03_Populismus.

Petersen, J., Hardmeier, S., & Wüest, B. (2008). Polls as public-political linkage: A comparative analysis of poll use and roles of MPs in Parliamentary debates. The Journal of Legislative Studies, 14(2), 315-338.

Priester, K. (2011). De nitionen und Typologien des Populismus. Soziale Welt, 62(2), 185-198.

Priester, K. (2012a). Populismus und Faschismus in Europa—Wahlverwandtschaft oder Mesalliance? Totalitarianism and Democracy. An International Journal for the Study of Dictatorship and Liberty, 9(2), 213-235.

Priester, K. (2012b). Rechter und linker Populismus. Annäherung an ein Chamäleon. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Campus.

Priester, K. (2012c). Wesensmerkmale des Populismus. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschic hte, 62(5/6), 3-8.

Puhle, H.-J. (2003). Zwischen Protest und Politikstil: Populismus, Neo- Populismus und Demokratie. In N. Werz (Ed.), Populismus. Populisten in Übersee und Europa (pp. 15-43). Opladen, Germany: Leske und Budrich.

Reinemann, C., Maurer, M., Zerback, T., & Jandura, O. (2013). Die Spätentscheider Medieneinflüsse auf

kurzfristige Wahlentscheidungen. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Reisigl, M. (2005). Oppositioneller und regierender Rechtspopulismus: Rhetorische Strategien und diskursive Dynamiken in der Demokratie. In S. Frölich-Steffen & L. Rensmann (Eds.), Populisten an der Macht. Populistische Regierungsparteien in West- und Osteuropa (pp. 51–68). Vienna, Austria: Braumüller.

Rensmann, L. P. (2004). Rechtspopulismus und Rechtsextremismus. Politische Strategien und Parteien im europäischen Vergleich. In C. Cipitelli & A. Schwanebeck (Eds.), Die Neuen Verführer? Rechtspopulismus und Rechtsextremismus in den Medien. Dokumentation der 22. Tutzinger Medientage 2003 (pp. 25–56). Munich, Germany: Fischer.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe. Party Politics, 20(4), 563–575.

Rooduijn, M., & Pauwels, T. (2011). Measuring populism: Comparing two methods of content analysis. West European Politics, 34(6), 1272–1283.

Rosenberger, S. K. (2005). Rechtspopulismus: Kurzfristige Mobilisierung der vox populi oder anhaltende Herausforderung der repräsentativen Demokratie. In S. Frölich-Steffen & L. Rensmann (Eds.), Populisten an der Macht. Populistische Regierungsparteien in West- und Osteuropa (pp. 35–50). Vienna, Austria: Braumüller.

Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2011). Skizze einer vergleichenden Forschungsagenda zum Populismus. Totalitarianism and Democracy. An International Journal for the Study of Dictatorship and Liberty, 8(2), 251–273.

Scharsach, H.-H. (2002). Rückwärts nach rechts. Europas Populisten. Vienna, Austria: Ueberreuter.

Schicha, C. (2003). “Kämpfen, Jürgen, kämpfen … Die Inszenierungsstrategien des Jürgen W. Möllemann zwischen Popularität, Provokation und Populismus. Zeitschrift für Kommunikationsökologie, 5(1), 57–60.

Schmitt-Beck, R. (2014). Euro-Kritik, Wirtschaftspessimismus und Einwanderungsskepsis: Hintergründe des Beinah-Wahlerfolgs der Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) bei der Bundestagswahl 2013. Zeitschrift

für Parlamentsfragen, 45(1), 94–112.

Steinert, H. (1999). Kulturindustrielle Politik mit dem Großen & Ganzen: Populismus, Politik-Darsteller, ihr Publikum und seine Mobilisierung. Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, 1(4), 402–413.

Swank, D., & Betz, H. (2003). Globalization, the welfare state and right-wing populism in Western Europe. Socio-Economic Review, 1(2), 215–245.

Teney, C. (2012). Space matters. The group threat hypothesis revisited with geographically weighted regression. The case of the NPD 2009 electoral success. Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 41(3), 207–226.

Vorländer, H. (2011). The good, the bad, and the ugly. Über das Verhältnis von Populismus und Demokratie Eine Skizze. Totalitarianism and Democracy. An International Journal for the Study of Dictatorship and Liberty, 8(2) 187–195.

Werz, N. (2013). Erscheinungsformen und Debatten um den “Populismus” in Deutschland. In A. Gallus, T. Schubert, & T. Thieme (Eds.), Deutsche Kontroversen. Festschrift für Eckhard Jesse (pp. 421–433). Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos.

Zaslove, A. (2008). Here to stay? Populism as a new party style. European Review, 16(3), 319–336.

Zettl, C. (2014). Die Wähler der Linkspartei.PDS von 1994 bis 2009. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

10 Ireland: The Rise of Populism on the left and Among Independents

Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (2008). Introduction: The sceptre and the spectre. In D . Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.) Twenty-first century populism. The spectre of Western European democracy (pp. 1–11). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Bolleyer, N., & Weeks, L (2009). The puzzle of non-party actors in party democracy: Independents in Ireland. Comparative European Politics, 7(3), 299–324.

Brandenburg, H. (2005). Political bias in the Irish media: A quantitative study of campaign coverage during the 2002 general election. Irish Political Studies, 20(3), 297–322.

Campbell, L. (2008). Criminal justice and penal populism in Ireland. Legal Studies, 28(4), 559–573.

Canovan, M. (1981). Populism. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Curran, K. (1994). The media and populism in Ireland. (Unpublished doctoral disseration). Dublin City University, Dublin, Ireland.

Dowling, M. (1997). The Ireland that I would have. De Valera and the creation of an Irish national image. History Ireland, 5(2), 37–42.

Fanning, B. (2002). Racism and social change in the Republic of Ireland. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Fanning, B., & Mutwarasibo, F. (2007). Nationals/non-nationals: Immigration, citizenship and politics in the Republic of Ireland. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30(3), 439–460.

FitzGibbon, J., & Guerra, S. (2010). Not just Europeanization, not necessarily populism: Potential factors underlying the mobilization of populism in Ireland and Poland. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 11(3), 273–291.

Garner, S. (2007). Ireland and immigration: Explaining the absence of the far right. Patterns of Prejudice, 41(2), 109–130.

Garry, J. D., Hardiman, N., & Payne, D. (2006). Irish social and political attitudes. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press.

Garvin, T. (1977). Nationalist elites, Irish voters and Irish political development: A comparative perspective, Economic and Social Review, 8(3), 161-186.

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.

Kitching, D. (2013). Hostage takers and gatekeepers: Populism and its potential in the Republic of Ireland. In S. Rizzo & D. Kitching (Eds.), The changing faces of populism: Systemic challenges in Europe and the US. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press.

Kitschelt, H. (2007). Growth and persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: Advances and challenges in comparative research. West European Politics, 30(5), 1176-1206.

Kitschelt, H., & and McGann, A., (1995). The radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Laver, M. (2005) Voting Behaviour. In J. Coakley and M. Gallagher (Eds.), Politics in the Republic of Ireland, 4 th Edition. Abington, UK: Routledge, pp. 183-210.

Maillot, A. (2005). New Sinn Fein: Irish republicanism in the twenty-first century. London, UK: Routledge.

Mair, P. (1979) The autonomy of the political: The development of the Irish party system. Comparative Politics, 11(4), 445-65.

Mair, P. (1987). The changing Irish party system. London, UK: Pinter.

Mair, P. (2013). Ruling the void: The hollowing of Western democracy. London, UK: Verso.

Mair, P., & Marsh, M. (2004). Nine political parties in electoral markets in postwar Ireland. In P. Mair, W. C. Muller, & F. Plasser (Eds.), Political parties and electoral change: Party responses to electoral markets. London, UK: Sage.

McDonnell, D. (2008). The Republic of Ireland: The dog that hasn't barked in the night. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.). Twenty-first century populism. The spectre of Western European democracy (pp. 198-210). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

McGuickian, P. (2014). The risks of growing populism and the European elections: An examination of the "far right" and populist politics in Ireland. (Working paper). Brussels, Belgium: Institute of European Democrats. Retrieved from

McMenamin, I., Flynn, R., O'Malley, E., & Rafter, K. (2013). Commercialism and election framing: A content analysis of twelve newspapers in the 2011 Irish general election. The International Journal of Press/Politics, 18(2), 167-187.

Mudde, C. (2010). The populist radical right: A pathological normalcy. West European Politics, 33(6), 1167-1186.

Murphy. G. (2003). The background to the election. In M. Y. Galligan, M. Gallagher, P. Mitchell, & M. Marsh (Eds.), How Ireland voted (pp. 1-20). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ó Brion, E. (2014). In defence of populism. Retrieved from

O'Connell, M. (2003). Right-wing Ireland? The rise of populism in Ireland and Europe. Dublin, Ireland: Liffey Press.

O'Mahony, J. (2009). Ireland's EU referendum experience: Populism and elite withdrawal. Irish Political Studies, 24(4), 429-446.

O'Malley, E. (2008). Why is there no radical right party in Ireland? West European Politics, 31(5), 960-977.

O'Malley, E. (2014). Ireland's rootless politics. www.policynetwork.net. 12 December. Retrieved from

O'Malley, E., & FitzGibbon, J. (2015). Everywhere and nowhere: Populism and the puzzling non-reaction to Ireland's crises. In H. Kriesi & T. S. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the great recession (pp. 287-302). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Rafter, K. (2005). Sinn Féin 1905–2005: In the shadow of gunmen. Dublin, Ireland: Gill & Macmillan.

Sartori, G. (1976). Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis (Vol. 1). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Swank, D., & H.-G. Betz. (2003). Globalization, the welfare state and right-wing populism in Western Europe. Socio-Economic Review, 1(2), 215–245.

Taggart, P. (2000). Populism. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Varley, T. (2009). Populism and the politics of community survival in rural Ireland. In J. McDonagh, S. Shorthall, & T. Varley (Eds.), A living countryside: Politics of sustainable development in rural Ireland (pp. 341–360). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Varley, T., & Curtin, C. (2002). Communitarian populism and the politics of rearguard resistance in rural Ireland. Community Development Journal, 37(1), 20–32.

Varley, T., & Curtin, C. (2006). The politics of empowerment: Power, populism and partnership in rural Ireland. Economic and Social Review, 37(3), 423.

Whelan, N. (2012). Fianna Fáil: A biography of the party. Dublin, Ireland: Gill & MacMillan.

11 The Netherlands: A Heartland Full of Insights Into Populist Communication

Aalbers, C. (2012). Achter de PVV: waarom burgers op Geert Wilders stemmen. Delft, Netherlands: Eburon.

Akkerman, T. (2005). Anti-immigration parties and the defense of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn. Journal of Political Ideologies, 10(3), 337–354.

Akkerman, T. (2011). Friend or foe? Right-wing populism and the popular press in Britain and the Netherlands. Journalism, 12(8), 931–945.

Akkerman, A., Mudde, C., & Zaslove, A. (2014). How populist are the people? Measuring populist attitudes in voters. Comparative Political Studies, 47(9), 1324–1353.

Belanger, E., & Aarts, K. (2006). Explaining the rise of the LPF: Issues, discontent, and the 2002 Dutch election. Acta Politica, 41(1), 4–20.

Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Explaining the rise of anti immigrant parties: The role of news media content. Electoral Studies, 26(2), 404–417.

Bos, L., & Brants, K. (2014a). Hoofdstuk 10: Wilders en de golfslag van het populisme. In P. van Praag & K. Brants (Eds.), Media, Macht & Politiek (pp. 187–206). Diemen, Netherlands: AMB.

Bos, L., & Brants, K. (2014b). Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands. European Journal of Communication, 29(6), 703–719.

Bos, L., & van der Brug, W. (2010). Public images of leaders of anti-immigration parties: Perceptions of legitimacy and effectiveness. Party Politics, 16(6), 777–799.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2010). Media coverage of right-wing populist leaders. Communications, 35(2), 141–163.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2011). How the media shape perceptions of right-wing populist leaders. Political Communication, 28(2), 182–206.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2013). An experimental test of the impact of style and rhetoric on the perception of right-wing populist and mainstream party leaders. Acta Politica, 48(2), 192–208.

Bosman, J., & d'Haenens, L. (2008). News reporting on Pim Fortuyn: Framing in two Dutch newspapers. Media, Culture & Society, 30(5), 735–748.

d'Anjou, L. (2005). Narcisme, populisme en politiek. Sociologie, 1(3), 271–291.

de Koster, W., Achterberg, P., van der Waal, J. (2013). 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.

de Lange, S. L. (2011). De complexe relatie tussen diplomademocratie en populisme. Beleid en Maatschappij, 38(1), 93–97.

de Lange, S. L., & Art, D. (2011). Fortuyn versus Wilders: An agency-based approach to radical right party building. West European Politics, 34(6), 1229–1249.

de Lange, S. L., & Rooduijn, M. (2011). Een populistische tijdgeest in Nederland? Een inhoudsanalyse van de verkiezingsprogramma's van politieke partijen. In R. Andeweg & J. Thomassen (eds.), Democratie Doorgelicht: Het Functioneren van de Nederlandse Democratie (pp. 319–334). Leiden, Netherlands: Leiden U niversity Press.

Dorussen, H. (2004). Pim Fortuyn and the ‘‘new’’ far right in the Netherlands. Representation, 40 (2), 131–145.

Ellemers, J. E. (2002). Pim Fortuyn: een zuiver geval van charismatisch gezag. Facta, 10(7) 2–5.

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.

Fennema, M. (2010). Geert Wilders: De Tovenaarsleerling. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Bert Bakker.

Heijne, B. (2011). The Netherlands: Prosperity and populism. World Policy Journal, 28(2), 30–33.

Houtman, D., & Achterberg, P. (2010a). Populisme in de polder: Stemmen en mopperen in een post-confessionele politieke cultuur. In B. van der Steen (ed.), Kritiek 2010: Jaarboek voor socialistische discussie en analyse. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Aksant.

Houtman, D., & Achterberg, P. (2010b). De Haagse kaasstolp en de mensen in de samenleving: Populisme en personalisering in de Nederlandse politiek. Sociologie, 6(1), 102–111.

Houwen, T. (2012). Populisme en het einde van de verzuilde verhoudingen. Beleid en Maatschappij, 39(2), 238–239.

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.

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, 34, 249–279.

Krämer, B. (2014). Media populism: A conceptual clari□cation and some theses on its effects. Communication Theory, 24(1), 42–60.

Lucardie, A. P. M. (2007). Rechts-extremisme, populisme of democratisch patriotisme? Opmerkingen over de politieke plaatsbepaling van de Partij voor de Vrijheid en Trots op Nederland. (pp. 176–190) Retrieved from http://dnpp.eldoc.ub.rug.nl/FILES/root/jb-dnpp/jb07/JB07LucardieDEF1.pdf.

Mazzoleni, G. (2003) The media and the growth of neo-populism in contemporary democracies. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Hors□eld (Eds.), The Media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis (pp. 1–20). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Mepschen, P. (2011). The "common people." Populism and the discourse of displacement in Amsterdam Nieuw West. Sociologie, 7–8(4–1), 66–83.

Mudde, C. (1996). The paradox of the anti-party: Insights from the extreme right. Party Politics, 2(2), 265–276.

Muis, J., & Scholte, M. (2013). How to □nd the 'winning formula'? Conducting simulation experiments to grasp the

tactical moves and fortunes of populist radical right parties. Acta Politica, 48(1), 22–46.

Pels, D. (2011). Het volk bestaat niet. Leiderschap en populisme in de mediademocratie. Amsterdam, Netherlands: De Bezige Bij.

Rooduijn, M. (2014a). The mesmerising message: The diffusion of populism in public debates in Western European media. Political Studies, 62(4), 726–744.

Rooduijn, M. (2014b). Vox populismus: a populist radical right attitude among the public? Nations and Nationalism, 20(1), 80–92.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2012). Een populistische tijdgeest? Discursieve reacties op het succes van populistische partijen in W est-Europa. Sociologie, 8(1), 152–172.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe. Party Politics, 20(4), 563–575.

Rooduijn, M., & Pauwels, T. (2011). Measuring populism: Comparing two methods of content analysis. West European Politics, 34(6), 1272–1283.

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.

Schumacher, G., & Rooduijn, M. (2013). Sympathy for the “devil”? Voting for populists in the 2006 and 2010 Dutch general elections. Electoral Studies, 32(1), 124–133.

Uitermark, J., Oudenampsen, M., van Heerikhuizen, B., & van Reekum, R. (2012). Populisme en de sociologische verbeelding. Sociologie, 8(1), 3–12.

van der Brug, W. (2003). How the LPF fuelled discontent: Empirical tests of explanations of LPF support. Acta Politica, 38(1), 89–106.

van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2000). Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote? European Journal of Political Research, 37(1), 77–102.

van der Brug, W., & Mughan, A. (2007). Charisma, leader effects and support for right-wing populist parties. Party Politics, 13(1), 29–51.

van Kessel, S. (2011). Explaining the electoral performance of populist parties: The Netherlands as a case study. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 12(1), 68–88.

van Reybrouck, D. (2011). Pleidooi voor populisme. Amsterdam, Netherlands: De Bezige Bij.

Vossen, K. (2010). Populism in the Netherlands after Fortuyn: Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders compared. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 11(1), 22–38.

Vossen, K. (2012). Van marginaal naar mainstream? Populisme in de Nederlandse geschiedenis. Low Countries Historical Review, 127(2), 28–54.

12 Switzerland: Favorable Conditions for Growing Populism

Albertazzi, D. (2006). The Lega dei Ticinesi: The embodiment of populism. Politics, 26(2), 133–139.

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(3), 327–347.

Albertazzi, D. (2008). Switzerland: Yet another populist paradise. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.), Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European democracy (pp. 100–118). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Albertazzi, D. (2009). Reconciling “voice” and “exit”: Swiss and Italian populists in power. Politics, 29(1), 1–10.

Bernhard, L., Kriesi, H., & Weber, E. (2015). The populist discourse of the Swiss People’s Party. In. H. Kriesi & T. S. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the great recession (pp. 123–137). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Betz, H.-G. (2005). Mobilising resentment in the Alps: The Swiss SVP, the Italian Lega Nord, and the Austrian FPÖ. In D. Caramani & Y. Mény (Eds.), Challenges to consensual politics: Democracy, identity and populist protest in the Alpine region (pp. 209–227). Brussels, Belgium: Lang.

Bornschier, S. (2010). Cleavage politics and the populist right: The new cultural conflict in Western Europe. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Caramani, D., & Wagemann, C. (2005). A transnational political culture? The Alpine region and its relationship to European integration. German Politics, 14(1), 74–94.

Coffé, H., & Voorpostel, M. (2010). Young people, parents and radical right voting: The case of the Swiss People’s Party. Electoral Studies, 29(3), 435–443.

Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist communication and publicity: An empirical study of contextual differences in Switzerland. Swiss Political Science Review, 17(3), 286–307.

Dolezal, M., Helbling, M., & Hutter, S. (2010). Debating

Islam in Austria, Germany and Switzerland: Ethnic citizenship, church-state relations and right-wing populism. West European Politics, 33(2), 171–190.

Ettinger, P. (2010). Qualität der Berichterstattung zur Minarettinitiative. In Forschungsbereich Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft (Ed.), Jahrbuch 2010 Qualität der Medien: Schweiz Suisse Svizzera. (pp. 267–274). Basel, Switzerland: Schwabe.

Ettinger, P. (2013). Qualität der Berichterstattung über Roma in Leitmedien der Schweiz. Retrieved from the Federal Commission Against Racism website: http://www.ekr.admin.ch/pdf/EKR_20131205_2_d.pdf.

Fitzgerald, F., & Lawrence, D. (2011). Local cohesion and radical right support: The case of the Swiss People's Party. Electoral Studies, 30(4), 834–847.

Fontana, M.-C., Sidler, A., & Hardmeier, S. (2006). The 'New Right' vote: An analysis of the gender gap in the vote choice for the SVP. Swiss Political Science Review, 12(4), 243–271.

Frölich-Steffen, S. (2006). Rechtspopulistische Herausforderer in Konkordanzdemokratien: Erfahrungen aus Österreich, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden. In F. Decker (Ed.), Populismus: Gefahr für die Demokratie oder nützliches korrekti v? (pp. 144–164). Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag.

Geden, O. (2006). Diskursstrategien im Rechtspopulismus: Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs und Schweizerische Volkspartei zwischen Opposition und Regierungsbeteiligung. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag.

Hennecke, H.-J. (2003). Das Salz in den Wunden der Konkordanz: Christoph Blocher und die Schweizer Politik. In N. Werz (Ed.), Populismus: Populisten in Übersee und Europa (pp. 145–162). Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag.

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.

Kriesi, H., Lachat, R., Selb, P., Bornschier, S., & Helbling, M. (2005). Der Aufstieg der SVP: Acht Kantone im Vergleich. Zürich, Switerland: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung.

Mazzoleni, O. (1995). Identità e modernizzazione: Una Lega nella Svizzera italiana. In A. Bonomi & P. Poggio (Eds.), Ethnos e demos: Dal leghismo al neopopulismo (pp. 255–274). Milan, Italy: Mimesis.

Mazzoleni, O. (1999). La Lega dei Ticinesi: Vers l'intégration]. Swiss Political Science Review, 5(3), 79–95.

Mazzoleni, O. (2003a). Unité et diversité des "national-populismes'" suisses: L'union démocratique du centre et la Lega dei Ticinesi. In O. Ihl et al. (Eds.), La tentation populiste au cœur de l'Europe (pp. 184–197). Paris, France: La Découverte.

Mazzoleni, O. (2003b). Nationalisme et populisme en Suisse: La radicalisation de la 'nouvelle' UDC. Lausanne, Switzerland: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes.

Mazzoleni, O. (2005). Multi-level populism and centre-periphery cleavage in Switzerland: The case of the Lega dei Ticinesi. In D. Caramani & Y. Mény (Eds.), Challenges to consensual politics: Democracy, identity and populist protest in the alpine region (pp. 209–227). Brussels, Belgium: Lang.

Mazzoleni, O. (2008). Moral integrity and the reputation of politicians as perceived by supporters of 'populist' parties: A comparison of Switzerland and Italy. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 9(1), 53–72.

McGann, A. J., Kitschelt, H. (2005). The radical right in the Alps: Evolution of support for the Swiss SVP and Austrian FPÖ. Party Politics, 11(2), 147–171.

Oesch, D. (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(3), 349–373.

Oesch, D., & Rennwald, L. (2010). The class basis of Switzerland's cleavage between the new left and the populist right. Swiss Political Science Review, 16(3), 343–371.

Skenderovic, D. (2007). Immigration and the radical right in Switzerland: Ideology, discourse and opportunities. Patterns of Prejudice, 41(2), 155–176.

Stockemer, D. (2012). The Swiss radical right: Who are the (new) voters of Swiss Peoples' Party? Representation, 48(2), 197–208.

Udris, L, Imhof, K., & Ettinger, P. (2011). Problematisierung des Fremden in der direkten Demokratie. In Forschungsbereich Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft (Ed.), Jahrbuch 2011 Qualität der Medien: Schweiz Suisse Svizzera (pp. 377–407). Basel, Switzerland: Schwabe.

Udris, L. (2012). Is the populist radical right (still) shaping the news? Media attention, issue ownership and party strategies in Switzerland (Working Paper No. 53). Switzerland: University of Zurich, NCCR Democracy.

13 The United Kingdom: Hybrid Populisms, Mixed Fortunes, and Unstable Support

Akkerman, T. (2011). Friend or foe? Right-wing populism and the popular press in Britain and the Netherlands. Journalism, 12(8), 1–15.

Albertazzi, D., & Mueller, D. (2013). Populism and liberal democracy: Populists in government in Austria, Italy, Poland and Switzerland. Government and Opposition, 48(3), 343–371.

Ansari, H. (2012). Islamophobia and the British National Party: A commentary. In H. Ansari & F. Hafez (Eds.), From the far right to the mainstream: Islamophobia in party politics and the media (pp. 154–184). Birkach, Germany: CPI.

Atkins, J., & Finlayson, A. (2013). "… A 40-year-old black man made the point to me": Everyday knowledge and the performance of leadership in contemporary British politics. Political Studies, 61(1), 161–177.

Atton, C. (2006). Far-right media on the Internet: Culture, discourse and power. New Media and Society, 8(4), 573–587.

Baggini, J. (2013). A very British populism. In C. Fieschi, M. Morris, & L. Cabarello (Eds.), Populist fantasies: European revolts in context (pp. 27–32). London, UK: Counterpoint.

Bale, T. (2013). More and more restrictive—but not always populist: Explaining variation in the British conservative party's stance on immigration and asylum. Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 21(1), 25–37.

Bale, T., van Kessel, S., & Taggart, P. (2011). Thrown around with abandon? Popular understandings of populism as conveyed by the print media. Acta Politica, 46(2), 111–131.

Bartlett, J. (2014). Populism, social media and democratic strain. In G. Lodge & G. Gottfried (Eds.), Democracy in Britain: Essays in honour of James Cornford (pp. 91–96). London, UK: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Bartlett, J., & Littler, M. (2011). Inside the EDL: Populist politics in a digital age. London, UK: Demos.

Bates, D. (2012). Workers of the world disunite the media:

‘Race’ and the politics of national identity. Fifth Estate Online: The International Journal of Radical Mass Media Criticism. Retrieved from http://independent.academia.edu/DavidBates.

Borisyuk, G., Rallings, C., Thrasher, M., & van der Kolk, H. (2007). Voter support for minor parties: Assessing the social and political context of voting at the 2004 European elections in Greater London. Party Politics, 13(6), 669-693.

Blumler, J. G., & Kavanagh, D. (1999). The third age of political communication: In uences and features. Political Communication, 16(3), 209-230.

Cardo, V. (2014). Celebrity politics and political representation: The case of George Galloway MP on Celebrity Big Brother. British Politics, 9(2), 146-160.

Clark, A., Bottom, K., & Copus, C. (2008). More similar than they’d like to admit? Ideology, policy and populism in the trajectories of the British National Party and Respect. British Politics, 3, 511-534.

Copsey, N., & Macklin, G. (2011). ‘THE MEDIA=LIES, LIES, LIES!’ The BNP and the media in contemporary Britain. In N. Copsey & G. Macklin (Eds.), British National Party: Contemporary perspectives (pp. 81-102). Abington, UK: Routledge.

Crines, A. S. (2013). An analysis of George Galloway’s oratorical and rhetorical impact. Politics, 33(2), 81-90.

Eatwell, R. (2004). The extreme right in Britain: The long road to modernisation. In R. Eatwell & C. Mudde (Eds.), Western democracies and the new extreme right challenge. London, UK: Routledge.

Edwards, G. O. (2012). A comparative discourse analysis of the construction of “in-groups” in the 2005 and 2010 manifestos of the British National Party. Discourse and Society , 23(3), 245-258.

Fella, S. (2008). Britain: Imperial legacies, institutional constraints and new politi cal opportunities. In D . Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.), Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European democracy (pp. 181-197). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fieschi, C., & Heywood, P. (2004). Trust, cynicism and

populist anti-politics. Journal of Political Ideologies, 9(3), 289–309.

Ford, R., (2010). Who might vote for the BNP? Survey evidence of the electoral potential of the extreme right in Britain. In R. Eatwell & M. J. Goodwin (Eds.), The new extremism in 21 st century Britain (pp. 145–168). London, UK: Routledge.

Ford, R., & Goodwin, M. J. (2010). Angry white men: Individual and contextual predictors of support for the British National Party. Political Studies, 58(1), 1–25.

Ford, R. & Goodwin, M. J. (2014). Revolt on the right: Explaining support for the radical right in Britain. London, UK: Routledge.

Ford, R., Goodwin M. J., & Cutts, D. (2012). Strategic Eurosceptics and polite xenophobes: Support for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the 2009 European Parliament elections. European Journal of Political Research, 51(2), 204–234.

Gifford, C. (2006). The rise of post-imperial populism: The case of right-wing Euroscepticism in Britain. European Journal of Political Research, 45(5), 851–869.

Goodwin, M. J. (2011). New British fascism: The rise of the British National Party. London, UK: Routledge.

Goodwin, M. J. (2014). Forever a false dawn? Explaining the electoral collapse of the British National Party. Parliamentary Affairs, 67(4), 887–906.

Goodwin, M. J., Cutts, D., & Janta-Lipinski, L. (2014). Economic losers, protestors, islamophobes or xenophobes? Predicting public support for a counter-Jihad movement. Political Studies. 19 August. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wiley. com/.

Goodwin, M. J., Ford, R., Duffy, B., & Robey, B. (2010). Who votes extreme right in 21 st century Britain? The social basis of support for the National Front and British National Party. In R. Eatwell & M. J. Goodwin (Eds.), The new extremism in 21 st century Britain (pp. 191–210). London, UK: Routledge.

Goodwin, M. J. & Harris, G. (2013). Rallying intolerance in the valleys: Explaining support for the extreme right in Wales. British Politics, 8, 433–456.

Hayton, R. (2010). Towards the mainstream? UKIP and the 2009 elections to the European Parliament. Politics, 30(1), 26–35.

Hoggett, P., Wilkinson, H., & Beedell, P. (2013). Fairness and the politics of resentment. Journal of Social Policy, 42(3), 567–585.

John, P., & Margetts, H. (2009). Latent support for the extreme right in British politics. West European Politics, 32(3), 496–513.

Jackson, P. (2011). The English Defense League's "new far right" rhetoric and the new media. In P. Jackson & M. Feldman (Eds.), The EDL: Britain's "new far right" social movement (pp. 30–43). Northhampton, UK: The University of Northampton.

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.

Kellner, P. (2009). Britain's oddest election? The Political Quarterly, 80(4), 469–478.

Kim, G., Rademakers, J., Sanchez, M., & Van Vucht, W. (2013). Online activity of the English Defense League. Retrieved from Digital Methods Initiative website:

Mammone, A. (2009). The eternal return? Faux populism and contemporarization of neo-fascism across Britain, France and Italy. Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 17(2), 171–192.

Mof□tt, B., & Tormey, S. (2014). Rethinking populism: Politics, mediatisation and political style. Political Studies, 62(2), 381–397.

Oaten, A. (2014). The cult of the victim: An analysis of the collective identity of the English Defence League. Patterns of Prejudice, 48(4), 331–349.

O'Callaghan, D., Greene, D., Conway, M., Carthy, J., & Cunningham, P. (2013). An analysis of interactions within and between extreme right communities in social media. Ubiquitous Social Media Analysis, 8329, 88–107.

Painter, A. (2013). Democratic stress, the populist signal

and extremist threat. London, UK: Policy Network.

Pupcenoks, J., & McCabe, R. (2013). The Rise of the fringe: Right wing populists, Islamists and politics in the UK. Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 33(2), 171-84.

Rhodes, J. (2009). The political breakthrough of the BNP: The case of Burnley. British Politics, 4(1), 22-46.

Rhodes, J. (2011). “It’s not just them, it’s Whites as well”: Whiteness, class and BNP support. Sociology, 45(1), 102-117.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S., & van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in W estern Europe. Party Politics, 20(4), 563-575.

Rooduijn, M., & Pauwels, T. (2011). Measuring populism: Comparing two methods of content analysis. West European Politics, 34(6), 1272-1283.

Stanyer, J. (2007). Modern political communication: Mediated politics in uncertain times. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Startin, N. (2014). Contrasting fortunes, differing futures? The rise (and fall) of the Front National and the British National Party. Modern & Contemporary France, 22(3), 277-299.

Taggart, P. (2000). Populism. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Wayne, M., & Murray, C. (2009). UK television news: Monopoly politics and cynical populism. Television and New Media, 10(5), 416-433.

Webb, P., & Bale, T. (2014). Why do Tories defect to UKIP? Conservative party members and the temptations of the populist radical right. Political Studies, 62(4), 961-970.

Whitaker, R., & Lynch, P. (2011). Explaining support for the UK Independence Party at the 2009 European Parliament elections. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, 21(3), 359-379.

Widfeldt, A., & Brandenburg, H. (2013, September). The Populist beauty and the fascist beast?: Comparing the support bases of UKIP and the BNP. Paper presented at the

Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Conference, Lancaster, UK: Lancaster University.

Wodak, R., & KhosraviNik, M. (2013). Dynamics of discourse and politics in right-wing populism in Europe and beyond: An introduction. In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik, & B. Mral (Eds.), Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse. (pp. xix–xxvii). London, UK: Bloomsbury. This page intentionally left blank

14 France: The Reluctance to use the Word Populism as a Concept

Agamaliyev, E., Boya, C., & Malizard, J. (2008). The popularity's determiners of right-wing populism and left-wing communism in France. Brussels Economic Review, 4(51), 481–503.

Agulhon, M., Badie, B., Bergounioux, A., Besançon, A., Rudelle, O., Stengers, J., … Touraine, A. (1997). Le populisme? Neuf réponses. Vingtième Siècle, 56(1), 224–242.

Becker, J.-J. (1997). L'opinion publique: Un populisme? Vingtième Siècle, 56(1), 92–98.

Béja, A., & Padis, M.-O. (2014). L'installation du Front national dans la vie politique française: Comment réagir, comment agir? Esprit, août/septembre, 8, 6–13.

Betz, H.-G. (2004). La droite populiste en Europe: Extrême et démocrate? [G. Brzustowski, Trans.]. Paris, France: Autrement.

Birenbaum, G., & Villa, M. (2003). The media and neo-populism in France. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Hors□eld (Eds.), The Media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis (pp. 45–71). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Bouclier, T. (2006). Les années Poujade: une histoire du poujadisme, 1953–1958. Paris, France: R. Perrin.

Bouillaud, C. (2001). [Review of Par le peuple, pour le peuple. Le populisme et les démocraties by Y. Mény & Y. Surel]. Revue française de science politique, 51(1), 298–301.

Bouillaud, C. (2003). La Lega Nord, ou comment ne pas réussir à être populiste (1989–2002). In O. Ihl, J. Chêne, E. Vial, & G. Waterlot (Eds.), La tentation populiste au cœur de l'Europe (pp. 130–145). Paris, France: La Découverte.

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Public Opinion Does Not Exist. In A. Mattelart & S. Siegelaub (Eds.), Communication and Class Struggle. Volume 1 (pp. 124–130). New York: International General.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Political representation: Elements for

a theory of the political field. In Language and symbolic power (pp. 171–202). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bouvet, L. (2011). Le sens du peuple. Le Débat, 164(2), 136–143.

Bouvet, L. (2012). Le sens du peuple: La gauche, la démocratie, le populisme. Paris, France: Gallimard.

Charaudeau, P. (2011). Réflexions pour l'analyse du discours populiste. Mots. Les langages du politique, (97), 101–116.

Cohen, P. (2014). Pensée unique, fracture sociale, populisme. Le Débat, 178(1), 41–51.

Collovald, A. (2003, September). Le populisme: la catégorie de toutes les illusions mal fondées, Contre Temps, 8.

Collovald, A. (2004). Le Populisme du FN, un dangereux contresens. Bellecombe enBauges, France: Éditions du Croquant.

Copsey, N. (1997). A comparison between the extreme right in contemporary France and Britain. Contemporary European History, 6(1), pp. 101–116.

Dezé, A. (2004). Lectures critiques: Le populisme ou l'introuvable Cendrillon. Autour de quelques ouvrages récents. Revue française de science politique, 54(1), 179–199.

Dezé, A. (2011). Un parti "virtuel"? Le Front national au prisme de son site Internet. In F. Greffet (Ed.), Continuerlalutte.com. Les partis politiques à l'ère du Web (pp. 139–152). Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

Dezé, A. (2012). Le Front national: À la conquête du pouvoir? Paris, France: Armand Colin.

Dorna, A. (2005). Avant-propos: Le populisme, une notion peuplée d'histoires particulières en quête d'un paradigme fédérateur. Amnis. Revue de civilisation contemporaine Europes/Amériques. Retrieved from https://amnis.revues.org/967.

Ellinas, A. A. (2010). The media and the far right in Western Europe: Playing the nationalistic card. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Fieschi, C. (2004). Fascism, populism, and the French Fifth Republic: In the shadow of democracy. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Fonvieille-Alquier, F. (1984). Une France poujadiste?: De Poujade à Le Pen et à quelques autres. Paris, France: Éditions universitaires.

Garrigues, J. (1992). Le boulangisme. Paris, France: Presses universitaires de France.

Gerstlé, J., & Piar, C. (2008). Les campagnes dans l'information télévisée. In Le vote de rupture (pp. 21–50). Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

Gombin, J. (2013, July) "Nouveau" FN, vieille carte électorale? Paper presented at the Congrès de l'Association française de Science Politique, Paris, France.

Gougou, F., & Labouret, S. (2013). La fin de la tripartition? Revue française de science politique, 63(2), 279–302.

Haegel, F. (2012). Les droites en fusion transformations de l'UMP. Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

Hermet, G. (1997). Populisme et nationalisme. Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire, 56(1), 34–47.

Hermet, G. (2001). Les populismes dans le monde: une histoire sociologique, XIXe–XXe siècle. Paris, France: Fayard.

Hermet, G. (2003). Populisme des anciens, populisme des modernes, populisme libéral-médiatique. In O. Ihl, J. Chêne, & E. Vial (Eds.), La tentation populiste au cœur de l'Europe (pp. 25–39). Paris, France: La Découverte.

Hubé, N. (2014). France. In N. Conti (Ed.), Party attitudes towards the EU in the member states: Parties for Europe, parties against Europe (pp. 19–42). London, UK: Routledge.

Hubé, N., & Rambour, M. (2010). French political parties in campaign (1989–2004): A configurational analysis of political discourses on Europe. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 11(2), 146–166.

Ihl, O., Chêne, J., & Vial, E. (2003). La tentation populiste au cœur de l'Europe. Paris, France: La

Découverte.

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.

Julliard, J. (2010). Populisme. Un concept anticorps. Points et contrepoints. Le Débat, 160(3), 212–269.

Lambert, A. (2013). La gauche et le périurbain. Politix, 101(1), 105–131.

Lavau, G. E. (1969). Le parti communiste dans le système politique français. Cahiers de la FNSP, 175, 18.

Lavau, G. E. (1981). À quoi sert le Parti communiste français? Paris, France: Fayard.

Le Bohec, J. (2004a). L'implication des journalistes dans le phénomène Le Pen (Vol. 1). Paris, France: Harmattan.

Le Bohec, J. (2004b). Les interactions entre les journalistes et Jean-Marie Le Pen (Vol. 2). Paris, France: Harmattan.

Le Bohec, J. (2005). Sociologie du phénomène Le Pen. Paris, France: La Découverte.

Lecœur, E. (2003). Un néo-populisme à la française: Trente ans de Front national. Paris, France: La Découverte.

Lecœur, E. (2013). Montée des mécontentements, vague populiste. Esprit, décembre (12), 115–118.

Mammone, A. (2009). The eternal return? Faux populism and contemporarization of neo-fascism across Britain, France and Italy. Journal of Contemporary European Studies , 17(2), 171–192.

Mayaffre, D. (2013). Sarkozysme et populisme. Approche logométrique du discours de Nicolas Sarkozy (2007–2012). Mots. Les langages du politique, (103), 73–87.

Mayer, N. (2002). Ces Français qui votent Le Pen. Paris, France: Flammarion.

Mayer, N., Michelat, G., Tiberj, V., & Tommaso, V. (2014). Un refus croissant de "l'autre." In La lutte contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie. Année 2013 (pp.

155–206). Retrieved from https://hal-sciencespo.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01054025/document.

Mayer, N., & Perrineau, P. (Eds). (1996). Le Front national à découvert. Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

Mayer, N., & Tiberj, V. (2014). Anciennes et nouvelles formes de racisme: 1990–2013. In L'État de l'opinion 2014. TNS SOFRES (pp. 151–172). Paris, France: TNS Sofres – Seuil.

Mény, Y., & Surel, Y. (2000). Par le peuple, pour le peuple: Le populisme et les démocraties. Paris, France: Fayard.

Michelat, G., & Simon, M. (1977). Classe, religion et comportement politique. Paris, France: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques.

Michelat, G., & Simon, M. (2004). Appartenance ouvrière, attitudes politicoidéologiques et vote. In Les ouvriers et la politique. Permanence, ruptures, réalignements. Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

Mondon, A. (2013). The mainstreaming of the extreme right in France and Australia: A populist hegemony? Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Nicolas, F. (2005). Les "Partis populistes" face à l'évolution des systèmes partisan et politique: pour une sociologie politique comparative de l'histoire du populisme en France (1880–2002). Amnis. Revue de civilisation contemporaine Europes/ Amériques. Retrieved from https://amnis.revues.org/1004.

Paveau, M.-A. (1998). Le "roman populiste": enjeux d'une étiquette littéraire. Mots, 55(1), 45–59.

Peiser, G. (2003). Un face-à-face avec les institutions. In O. Ihl, J. Chêne, E. Vial, & G. Waterlot (Eds.), La tentation populiste au cœur de l'Europe (pp. 40–50). Paris, France: La Découverte.

Périès, G. & Taguieff, P.-A. (Eds.). (1998). Discours populistes [Special issue]. Mots, 55.

Piar, C. (2012). Comment se jouent les élections: Télévision et persuasion en campagne électorale. Bry-sur-Marne, France: INA.

Piar, C. (2013). Des campagnes sous l’emprise de la conjoncture. In P. Perrineau (Ed.), Le vote normal. Les élections présidentielle et législatives d’avril-juin 2012. Paris, France: Presses de Sciences Po.

Rémond, R. (2005). Les droites aujourd’hui. Paris, France: Louis Audibert.

Reungoat, E. (2010). Anti-EU parties and the people: An analysis of populism in French euromanifestos. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 11(3), 292–312.

Rioux, J.-P., & Ayçoberry, P. (2007). Les populismes. Paris, France: Perrin.

Riutort, P. (2007). Importer Berlusconi. Politix, 77, 153–171.

Rydgren, J. (2003). Meso-level reasons for racism and xenophobia: Some converging and diverging effects of radical right populism in France and Sweden. European Journal of Social Theory, 6(1), 45–68.

Sourp-Taillardas, M.-L. (2010a). Une question de personnalité. L’accès à l’information d’un “rubricard” de libération. In C. Lemieux (Ed.), La subjectivité journalistique. Onze leçons sur le rôle de l’individualité dans la production de l’information (pp. 85–104). Paris, France: Éditions de l’EHESS.

Sourp-Taillardas, M.-L. (2010b). Un travail de conversion au journalisme. Désengagement militant des journalistes politiques de presse écrite généraliste: Le cas des rubricards Front national. In S. Levêque & D. Ruellan (Eds.), Journalistes engagés (pp. 73–90). Rennes, France: Presses universitaires de Rennes.

Surel, Y. (2003) Berlusconi, leader populiste? In O. Ihl, J. Chêne, E. Vial, & G. Waterlot (Eds.), La tentation populiste au cœur de l’Europe (pp. 111–129). Paris, France: La Découverte.

Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. Journal of Political Ideologies, 9(3), 269–288.

Taggart, P., & Szczerbiak, A. (2008). Opposing Europe? The comparative party politics of euroscepticism (Vol. 2).

Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Taguieff, P.-A. (1984). La rhétorique du national-populisme. Cahiers Bernard Lazare, 109.

Taguieff, P.-A. (1997). Le populisme et la science politique du mirage conceptuel aux vrais problèmes. Vingtième Siècle, 56(1), 4–33.

Taguieff, P.-A. (2002). L’illusion populiste. De l’archaïque au médiatique. Paris, France: Éditions Berg International.

Taguieff, P.-A. (2004). Le retour du populisme: Un défi pour les démocraties européennes. Paris, France: Encyclopaedia universalis.

Taguieff, P.-A. (2007). L’illusion populiste: Essai sur les démagogies de l’âge démocratique. Paris, France: Flammarion.

Winock, M. (Ed.). (1997). Populismes français. Vingtième Siècle, 56(4), 77–91.

15 Greece: Populism Between Left and Right

Andreadis, I. (2013, September). Voting Advice Applications: A successful nexus between informatics and political science. In Proceedings of the 6th Balkan Conference in Informatics, Thessaloniki, 251–258. Retrieved from http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2490257&picked=prox.

Andreadis, I. (2015). The Greek voter 2015. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Andreadis, I., Stavrakakis, Y., & Katsambekis, G. (2015, April–May). Using surveys to measure the populist attitudes of political elites and voters: A Greek pilot study of supply and demand. Paper presented at the Team Populism Conference, London. Retrieved from https://populism.byu.edu/SiteAssets/Andreadisatal.pdf.

Chadjipadelis, T., & Andreadis, I. (2004). Electoral analysis. The case of Popular Orthodox Rally. Pro□le of its voters. In C. Vernardakis et al., Thirty years of democracy (pp. 176–195). Athens, Greece: Kritiki. (In Greek).

Demertzis, N. (2006). Emotions and populism. In S. Clarke, P. Hoggett, & S. Thompson (Eds.), Emotion, politics and society (pp. 103–122). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Diamandouros, N. (1994). Cultural dualism and political change in post- authoritarian Greece. (Estudio/W orking 1994/50). Madrid, Spain: Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones.

Doxiadis, A., & Matsaganis, M. (2012). National populism and xenophobia in Greece. Counterpoint (no location). Retrieved from http://counterpoint.uk.com/

Ellinas, A. A. (2012). LAOS and the Greek Extreme Right Since 1974. In A. Mammone, E. Godin, & B. Jenkins (Eds.), Mapping the extreme right in contemporary Europe: From local to transnational (pp. 124–139). London, UK: Routledge.

Ellinas, A. A. (2013). The rise of Golden Dawn: The new face of the far right in Greece. South European Society and Politics, 18(4), 543–565.

Georgiadou, V. (2013). Right-wing populism and extremism: The rapid rise of “Golden Dawn” in crisis-ridden Greece. In R. Melzer & S. Serafin (Eds.), Rightwing extremism in Europe: Country analyses, counter-strategies and labor-market oriented exit strategies (pp. 75–102). Berlin, Germany: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Kalpadakis, G., & Sotiropoulos, A. D. (2007). Europeanism and national populism: The Europeanization of Greek civil society and foreign policy. Hellenic Studies, 154(1), 43–66.

Katsambekis, G. (2014a). The place of the people in post-democracy. Researching “antipopulism” and post-democracy in crisis-ridden Greece. 2 October. Revista POSTData; Revista de Reflexión y Análisis Politico, 19(2), 555–582. Retrieved from http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=52233952009.

Katsambekis, G. (2014b). The multitudinous moment(s) of the people: Democratic agency disrupting established binarisms. In A. Kioupkiolis & G. Katsambekis (Eds.), Radical democracy and collective movements today: The biopolitics of the multitude versus the hegemony of the people, (pp. 169–190). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Katsikas, D. (2012). The Greek crisis and the search for political leadership. The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs, 47(4), 49–56.

Lyrintzis, C. (1987). The power of populism: The Greek case. European Journal of Political Research, 15(6), 667–686.

Lyrintzis, C. (2005). The changing party system: Stable democracy, contested “modernization”. West European Politics, 28(2), 242–259.

Mavrogordatos, G. T. (1997). From traditional clientelism to machine politics: The impact of PASOK populism in Greece. South European Society and Politics, 2(3), 1–26.

Mylonas, H. (2011). Is Greece a failing developed state? In K. E. Botsiou & A. Klapsis, (Eds.) The K onstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy Yearbook 2011: The global economic crisis and the case of Greece (pp. 77–88). Athens, Greece: The Konstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy.

Panizza, F. (2000). Neopopulism and its limits in Collor’s

Brazil. Bulletin of Latin American Research, 19(2), 177-192.

Pantazopoulos, A. (2007). Le national-populisme grec, 1974-2004. Les Temps Modernes, No 645-646, 237-267.

Pantazopoulos, A. (2011). Populism and modernization. Athens, Greece: Estia. (In Greek).

Pantazopoulos, A. (2013). Left national populism. Thessaloniki, Greece: Epikentro. (In Greek).

Papathanassopoulos, S. (2004). Media and politics: The case of Southern Europe. Athens, Greece: Kastaniotis Editions. (In Greek).

Pappas, S. T. (2013). Why Greece failed. Journal of Democracy, 24(2), 31-44.

Pappas, S. T., & Aslanidis, P. (2015). Greek populism: A political drama in ve acts. In H. Kriesi & T. S. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the Great Recession (pp. 181-196). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Rooduijn, M. (2013). The mesmerising message: The diffusion of populism in public debates in Western European media. Political Studies, 62(4), 726-744.

Sevastakis, N. (2012). Modern anti-populism: From political pathology to political evil. In N. Sevastakis & Y. Stavrakakis, Populism, anti-populism and crisis (pp. 9-41), Athens, Greece: Nefeli. (In Greek).

Spourdalakis, M., & Tassis, C. (2006). Party change in Greece and the vanguard role of PASOK. South European Society and Politics, 11(3-4), 497-512.

Stavrakakis, Y. (2002). Religious populism and political culture: The Greek case. South European Society and Politics, 7(3), 29-52.

Stavrakakis, Y. (2014). The return of “the people”: Populism and anti-populism in the shadow of the European crisis. Constellations, 21(4), 505-517.

Stavrakakis, Y., & Katsambekis, G. (2014). Left-wing populism in the European periphery: The case of SYRIZA. Journal of Political Ideologies, 19(2), 119-142.

Tsatsanis, E. (2011). Hellenism under siege: The

national-populist logic of antiglobalization rhetoric in Greece. Journal of Political Ideologies, 16(1), 11–31.

Tsiras, S. (2012). Nation and LAOS. New extreme right and populism. Thessaloniki, Greece: Epikentro. (In Greek).

Vasilopoulou, S., Halikiopoulou, D., & Exadaktylos, T. (2014). Greece in crisis: Austerity, populism and the politics of blame. Journal of Common Market studies, 52 (2), 388–402.

Alonso, S., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2014). Spain: No country for the populist radical right? South European Society and Politics, 20(1), 21–45.

Canovan, M. (1981). Populism. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy. Political Studies, 47(1), 2–16.

Filc, D. (1996). Post-populism in Israel: The South-American model of Netanyahu 96'. Theory and Critique, 9(2), 217–232. (In Hebrew).

Filc, D. (2006). Populism and hegemony in Israel. Tel Aviv, Israel: Resling. (In Hebrew).

Filc, D. (2010). The political right in Israel: Different faces of Jewish populism. New York, NY: Routledge.

Filc, D. (2011). Post-populism: Explaining neo-liberal populism through the habitus. Journal of Political Ideologies, 16(2), 221–238.

Filc, D., & Lebel, U. (2005). The post-Oslo Israeli populist radical right in comparative perspective: Leadership, voter characteristics and political discourse. Mediterranean Politics, 10(1), 85–97.

Freedman, M., Kaner, O., & Kaplan, I. (2014). Voting for extreme right parties in Israel: Evidence from the 2009 elections. Electoral Studies, 34, 68–77.

Gabay, S. (2012). Dancing with the bigwigs. Haoketz. 17 January. Retrieved from http://www.haokets.org. (in Hebrew).

Hatishbi, E. (2012). Yair Lapid—The balloon that will blow out. News 1. 10 January. Retrieved from http://www.news1.co.il (In Hebrew).

Hendler, S. (2012). Yair Lapid presented the bomb gure of Netanyahu: "This is what politics has done to the middle-class." Calcalist. 25 December. Retrieved from http://www.calcalist.co.il (In Hebrew).

Hirsch-Hoe er, S., Canneti, D., & Pedhazur, A. (2010). Two of a kind? Voting motivations for populist radical right

and religious fundamentalist parties. Electoral Studies, 29(4), 678–690.

Hofstein, A. (2013). There is a future. The Seventh Eye. 23 July. Retrieved from http://www.the7eye.org.il (In Hebrew).

Horvitz, A. (2013). What Dan Shilon really thinks of Miri Shilon. Mako. 14 March. Retrieved from http://www.mako.co.il (In Hebrew).

Jagers, I., & 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.

Kahana, A. (2015). Netanyahu at the rally: "The left has V15—we have the people." NRG. 15 March. Retrieved from http://www.nrg.co.il (In Hebrew).

Keren, M. (1995). Professionals against populism: The Peres government and democracy. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Khanin, V. (2010). The Israel Beiteinu ("Israel Our Home") Party between the mainstream and "Russian" community politics. Israel Affairs, 16(1), 105–123.

Lapid, Y. (2012). Lapid's speech at a conference of party activists [Facebook post]. 10 May. Retrieved from https://he-il.facebook.com/YairLapid (In Hebrew).

Leshem, B., & Limor, Y. (2013). Yair Lapid and the Facebook: New politics and new media. Retrieved from ISPRA website: http://www.ispra.org.il/ (In Hebrew).

Levi, G. (2012). Where is the content? Haaretz. 10 February. Retrieved from http:// www.haaretz.co.il (In Hebrew).

Maiberg, R. (2013). Ron Maiberg harshly attacks Yair Lapid. Maariv. 29 May. Retrieved from http://www.maariv.co.il (In Hebrew).

Misgav, U. (2013). Yair Lapid—the end. Haaretz. 10 May. Retrieved from http:// blogs.haaretz.co.il (In Hebrew).

Netanyahu, B. (2015). The time has come to put this out on the table: The main element behind the wave of smear attacks against my wife and myself is [Arnon] Mozes,

publisher of the newspaper Yedioth Ahronoth and of the Ynet website [Facebook post]. 8 February. Retrieved from https://he-il.facebook.com/ Netanyahu (In Hebrew).

Neubach, K. (2013). Have Yair Lapid yet to realize that he is the minister of ﬁnance of the entire public and not of only those who liked his Facebook page? [Tweet]. 27 March. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/kereneubach/status/316960540570288128 (In Hebrew).

Pedahzur, A. (2000). Supporting conditions for the survival of extreme right-wing parties in Israel. Mediterranean Politics, 5(3), 1–30.

Pedahzur, A. (2001). The transformation of Israel's extreme right. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 24(1), 25–42.

Pedahzur, A. (2006). The new Israeli right: From territorial nationalism to national ethnocentrism. In M. Al-Haj & U. Ben-Eliezer (Eds.), In the name of security: The sociology of peace and war in Israel in changing times (pp. 535–556). Haifa, Israel: University of Haifa Press. (In Hebrew).

Pedahzur, A. (2012). The triumph of Israel's radical right. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Peri, Y. (2004). Telepopulism: Media and politics in Israel. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Peri, Y. (2012). The impact of national security on the development of media systems: The case of Israel. In D. C. Hallin and P. Mancini (Eds.), Comparing media systems beyond the Western world (pp. 11–25). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Persico, O. (2013). A big white elephant. The Seventh Eye. 12 May. Retrieved from http://www .the7eye.org.il (In Hebrew).

Peters, J. (2013). Israel's new government. Mediterranean Politics, 18(2), 318–324.

Pop-Eleches, G. (2010). Throwing out the bums: Protest voting and unorthodox parties after communism. World Politics, 62(2), 221–260.

Rahat, G., & Hazan, R. Y. (2013). Increased personalisation in an unstable party system: The 2013 elections in Israel. Representation, 49(3), 375–389.

Shamir, M. (2013). The 2013 Israel national elections data [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.ines.tau.ac.il/2013.html.

Shapiro, Y. (1984). An elite without successors: Generations of political leaders in Israel. Tel Aviv, Israel: Sifriat Poalim. (In Hebrew).

Shapiro, Y. (1996). Politicians as an hegemonic class: The case of Israel. Tel Aviv, Israel: Sifriat Poalim. (In Hebrew).

Shefer, H. (2013). Lapid will be manipulated if he doesn't get familiar with the numbers. Calcalist. 10 March. Retrieved from http://www.calcalist.co.il (In Hebrew).

Shor, E. (2013). Minister of likes: Why does Yair Lapid address his supporters only via Facebook? NRG. 23 March. Retrieved from http://www.nrg.co.il (In Hebrew).

Sprinzak, E. (1989). The emergence of the Israeli radical right. Comparative Politics, 21(2), 171–192.

Stavrakakis, Y., & Katsambekis, G. (2014). Left-wing populism in the European periphery: The case of SYRIZA. Journal of Political Ideologies, 19(2), 119–142.

Taggart, P. (1996). The new populism and the new politics: New protest parties in Sweden in a comparative perspective. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tausig, S. (2012). The integrity of the host newspaper. The seventh eye. 11 January. Retrieved from http://www.the7eye.org.il (in Hebrew).

Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2014). Producing protest news: An inquiry into journalists' narratives. International Journal of Press/Politics, 19(4), 410–429.

The Marker Online (2012). Lapid—first political speech [Video file]. 16 February. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tw86L1ABocI (in Hebrew).

Tsfati, Y., Sheafer, T., & Weimann, G. (2011). War on the agenda: The Gaza conflict and communication in 2009 election. In A. Arian and M. Shamir (Eds.), Elections in Israel 2009 (pp. 301–332). Jerusalem, Israel: The Israel Democracy Institute. (In Hebrew).

Učeň, P. (2007). Parties, populism, and anti-establishment politics in East Central Europe. SAIS Review, 27(1), 49–62.

van Kessel, S. (2014). The populist cat-dog: Applying the concept of populism to contemporary European party systems. Journal of Political Ideologies, 19(1), 99–118.

Yadgar, Y. (2003). SHAS as a struggle to create a new field: A Bourdieuan perspective of an Israeli phenomenon. Sociology of Religion, 64(2), 223–246.

Yair Lapid's initiation. (2013). Calcalist. 10 March. Retrieved from http://www. calcalist.co.il (In Hebrew).

Y esh Atid. (2015). Lapid: "Enough corruption; give us back our country" [V ideo file]. 4 January. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ejWchHn9qq0&feature=youtu.be (In Hebrew).

Zonszein, M. (2015). Binyamin Netanyahu: 'Arab voters are heading to the polling stations in droves.' The Guardian. 17 March. Retrieved from http://www. theguardian.com.

17 Italy: A Breeding Ground for Populist Political Communication

Agnew, J. (1995). The rhetoric of regionalism: The Northern League in Italian politics, 1983–94. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 20(2), 156–172.

Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (2005). The Lega Nord in the second Berlusconi government: In a league of its own. West European Politics, 28(5), 952–972.

Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (Eds.). (2008). Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European democracy. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (2010). The Lega Nord back in government. West European Politics, 33(6), 1318–1340.

Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (2015). Populists in power. London, UK: Routledge.

Antipolitica (Anti-politics). (2000). [Special issue] Meridiana, 38–39.

Bardi, L. (1996). Anti-party sentiment and party system change in Italy. European Journal of Political Research, 29(3), 345–363.

Bentivegna, S. (2014). Far ◆nta di essere social: la campagna elettorale dei leader nel 2013. In S. Bentivegna (Ed.), La politica in 140 caratteri. Twitter e spazio pubblico (pp. 105–124). Milan, Italy: FrancoAngeli.

Bertinetti, R. (2004). Il populismo post-politico e antieuropeista della Gran Bretagna. il Mulino, 4, 701–711.

Betz, H. G. (2001). Exclusionary populism in Austria, Italy and Switzerland. International Journal, 56(3), 393–419.

Biancalana, C. (2014). Il populismo nell’era di internet. Retorica e uso del web nel Movimento 5 Stelle. il Mulino, 1, 53–62.

Biorcio, R. (1997). La Padania promessa. Milan, Italy: Il Saggiatore.

Biorcio, R. (2003a, September). Italian populism: From protest to governing party. Paper presented at the General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Marburg (Germany).

Biorcio, R. (2003b). The Lega Nord and the Italian media system. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Hors eld (Eds.) The Media and neo-Populism: A contemporary comparative analysis (pp. 71–94). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Biorcio, R. (2007). Democrazia e populismo nella Seconda repubblica. In M. Maraf (Ed.), Gli italiani e la politica (pp. 187–208). Bologna, Italy: Il Mulino.

Biorcio, R. (2012). I populismi in Italia. La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali, 1, 35–57. Retrieved from http://www.ediesseonline.it/riviste/rps/populismi-europa.

Biorcio, R. (2013). Le tre ragioni del successo del MoVimento 5 Stelle. Comunicazione politica, 1, 43–62.

Biorcio, R., & Natale, P. (2013) Politica a cinque stelle. Milan, Italy: Feltrinelli.

Bobba, G., Legnante, G., Roncarolo, F., & Seddone, A. (2013). Candidates in a negative light. The 2013 Italian election campaign in the Media. Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, 43(3), 353–380.

Bobba, G., & McDonnell, D. (2015). A strong and enduring market for populism. In H. Kriesi & T. S. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the Great Recession (pp. 163–179). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Bobba, G., & Seddone, A. (2014). L'antipolitica in agenda. Temi e leader sui media mainstream nella campagna elettorale 2013. Comunicazione politica, 15(1), 115–132.

Bobba, G., & Seddone, A. (2015). Issues without owners, candidates without ownership. An analysis of 2013 Italian general election campaign. Quaderni di scienza politica, 22(1), 37–60.

Bordignon, F., & Ceccarini, L. (2013). Five Stars and a cricket. Beppe Grillo shakes Italian politics. South European Society and Politics, 18(4), 427–449.

Caiani, M. (2014). Le grandi contraddizioni della destra populista. il Mulino, 3, 450–458.

Calise, M. (2000), Il partito personale. Laterza, Italy: Roma-Bari.

Calise, M. (2005). Presidentialization, Italian style. In

T. Poguntke & P. D. Webb (Eds.), The presidentialization of politics: A comparative study of modern democracies (pp. 88–106). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Campus, D. (2006). L’antipolitica al governo. De Gaulle, Reagan, Berlusconi. Bologna, Italy: Il Mulino.

Cartocci, R. (1996). L’Italia unita dal populismo. Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia, 37(2), 287–295.

Cedroni L. (2010). Il linguaggio politico della transizione: tra populismo e anticultura.: Rome, Italy: Armando.

Cento Bull, A. (1996). Ethnicity, racism and the Northern League. In C. Lévy (Ed.), Italian regionalism: History, identity and politics (pp. 171–187). Oxford, UK: Berg.

Cento Bull, A., & Gilbert, M. (2001). The Lega Nord and the northern question in Italian politics. London, UK: Palgrave.

Corbetta, R. (2013) Un web populismo dal destino incerto. In P. Corbetta & E. Gualmini (Eds.) Il partito di Grillo (pp. 197–214), Bologna, Italy: Il Mulino.

Corbetta, R., & Gualmini, E. (Eds.). (2013). Il partito di Grillo. Bologna, Italy: Il Mulino.

Diani, M. (1996). Linking mobilization frames and political opportunities: Insights from regional populism in Italy. American Sociological Review, 61(6), 1053–1069.

Edwards, P. (2005). The Berlusconi anomaly: Populism and patrimony in Italy’s long transition. South European Society and Politics, 10(2), 225–243.

Fella, S., & Ruzza, C. (2013). Populism and the fall of the centre-right in Italy: The end of the Berlusconi model or a new beginning? Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 21(1), 38–52.

Fruncillo, D. (2010). Gli Italiani populisti. Democrazia e diritto, 3–4, 235–295.

Galli, G. (2001). Populismo. il Mulino, 1, 57–62.

Huysseune, M. (2006). Modernity and secession. The social sciences and the political discourse of the Lega Nord in Italy. Oxford, UK: Berghan.

Ignazi P. (2002). L’intramontabile fascino del populismo. il Mulino, 1, 59-66.

Ignazi P. (2014). Una nuova insorgenza populista. il Mulino, 4, 593-602.

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.

Maggini, N. (2014). Il bacino elettorale del M5S: caratteristiche socio-politiche e atteggiamenti tra continuità e mutamento. Retrieved from http://cise.luiss.it/

Mancini, P. (2009, September). Ancora berlusconate. E se non si trattasse di populismo? Paper presented at the annual congress of the Italian Society of Political Science, Rome.

Mancini, P. (2011). Between commodification and lifestyle politics. Does Silvio Berlusconi provide a new model of politics for the twenty-fir st century? Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Mastropaolo, A. (2000). Antipolitica: all’origine della crisi italiana. Naples, Italy: Ancora del Mediterraneo.

Mastropaolo, A. (2005). La mucca pazza della democrazia: nuove destre, populismo, antipolitica. Turin, Italy: Bollati Boringhieri.

Mastropaolo, A. (2011). La democrazia è una causa persa? Paradossi di un’invenzione imperfetta. Turin, Italy: Bollati Boringhieri.

Mastropaolo, A. (2012). Is democracy a lost cause? Paradoxes of an imperfect invention. Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Mazzoleni, G. (2003). The Media and the Growth of Neo-Populism in Contemporary Democracies. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart & B. Hors[illegible]eld (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, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mazzoleni, G. (2014). Mediatization and political populism. In F. Esser and J. Strömbäck (Eds.), Mediatization of politics. Understanding the transformation of Western democracies (pp. 42–56). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mazzoleni, G., Stewart J., & Hors eld B. (Eds.). (2003). The Media and neopopulism: A contempor ary comparative analysis. Westport, CT: Praeger.

McDonnell, D. (2006). A weekend in Padania: Regionalist populism and the Lega Nord, Politics, 26(2), 126–132.

McDonnell, D. (2013). Silvio Berlusconi's personal parties: From Forza Italia to the Popolo Della Libertà. Political Studies, 61(1), 217–233.

McDonnell, D. (2015). Populist leaders and coterie charisma. Political Studies. Advance online publication.

Mény, Y. (2005). Populismo e democrazia in Europa. il Mulino, 1, 5–14.

Miani, M. (2007). L'uso politico dei nuovi media e il rischio del populismo. il Mulino, 5, 882–892.

Ortega, F. (2009). Il populismo dell'opinione pubblica mediatica. Comunicazione politica, 3, 363–381.

Porro, N. (1994–5). L'innovazione conservatrice. Fininvest, Milan club e Forza Italia. Quaderni di Sociologia, 38–39(9), 6–18.

Raniolo, F. (2006). Forza Italia: A leader with a party. South European Society and Politics, 11(3–4), 439–455.

Reynié, D. (2014). La crisi populista dell'idea europea. il Mulino, 3, 417–423.

Ruzza, C., & Balbo, L. (2013). Italian populism and the trajectory of two leaders: Silvio Berlusconi and Umberto Bossi. In R. Wodak & M. Khosravinik (Eds.), Right wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse (pp. 163–176). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Ruzza, C., & Fella, S. (2009). Reinventing the Italian right: Territorial politics, populism and 'post-Fascism'.

London, UK: Routledge.

Ruzza, C., & Fella, S. (2011). Populism and the Italian right. Acta Politica, 46, 158–179.

Tarchi, M. (1998). Estrema destra e neopopulismo in Europa. Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, 28(2), 379–389.

Tarchi, M. (2003). L'Italia populista: dal qualunquismo ai girotondi. Bologna, Italy: il Mulino.

Tarchi, M. (2008). Italy: A country of many populisms. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.), Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European democrac y (pp. 84–99). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Woods, D. (1995). The Crisis of center-periphery integration in Italy and the rise of regional populism: The Lombard League. Comparative Politics, 27(2), 187–203.

Zanatta, L. (2002). Tra crisi di legittimità e populismo. il Mulino, 4, 738–746.

Zaslove, A. (2008). Here to stay? Populism as a new party type. European Review, 16(3), 319–336.

Zaslove. A. (2011). The Re-invention of the European radical right: Populism, regionalism, and the Italian Lega Nord. Montreal, Quebec, Canada: McGillQueen's University Press.

18 Portugal: Discreet Populisms Amid Unfavorable Contexts and Stigmatization

Cavaco Silva, A. (2015). Mensagem de Ano Novo do Presidente da República [Video]. January 1. Retrieved from http://www.presidencia.pt/?idc=10&idi=89083.

Collovald, A. (2004). Le “Populisme du FN”: Un dangereux contresens. SaintLaurent-d’Agny, France: Éditions du Croquant.

Collovald, A. (2005). Populisme: La cause perdue du peuple. In F. Matonti (Ed.) La Démobilisation politique (203–228). Paris, France: Éditions La Dispute.

Correia de Campos, A. (2014). Opiniao: Populismo. Público, September 22. Retrieved from https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/populismo-1670375.

Costa, C. A. (2008). O CDS-PP no contexto da Nova Direita Europeia. Uma nova via para o poder. (Master’s thesis). Lisbon, Portugal: University Institute of Lisbon.

Costa, J. M. (2011). O Partido Nacional Renovador: a nova extrema-direita na democracia Portuguesa. Análise Social, XLVI (201), 765–787.

Costa Pinto, A. (1995). The radical right in contemporary Portugal. L. Cheles, R. Ferguson, & M. Vaughan (Eds.) The far right in Western & Eastern Europe, 2nd edition. London, UK: Longman.

Dupuy, R. (2002). La Politique du peuple: Racines, permanences et ambiguïtés. Paris, France: Éditions Albin Michel.

Estanque, E., Costa, H., Soeiro, J. (2013). The new global cycle of protest and the Portuguese case. Journal of Social Science Education, 1, 1–23.

Eurobarometer (Spring 2014). European Citizenship: Report. Standard Eurobarometer 81. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb81/eb81_citizen_en.pdf.

Freire, A. (2000, April). Realinhamentos eleitorais dos portugueses em eleições legislativas, 1983–1999: uma avaliação diacrónica do impacto da estrutura de clivagens e da conjuntura económica nos alinhamentos eleitorais. Paper presented at the IV Congresso Português de Sociologia,

Coimbra, Portugal. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.mec.pt/.

Gonçalves, F. (2014). O Populismo é Mau?. O Diabo. November 25. p. 19.

Guerreiro, A. (2015). Populismo e demofobia. Ípsilon, p. 36. 30 January. Retrieved from

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.

Jalali, C. (2003). A investigação do comportamento eleitoral em Portugal: história e perspectivas futuras. Análise Social, 38(167), 545–572.

Jalali, C. (2007). Partidos e Democracia em Portugal 1974–2005. Lisboa, Portugal: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Lopes, M. (2014). Marinho e Pinto: das coligações 'até com o diabo' as críticas aos partidos. Público. October 2. Retrieved from http://www.publico.pt/.

Magalhães, P. (2005). Disaffected democrats: Political attitudes and political action in Portugal. West European Politics, 28(5), 973–991.

Magone, J. M (2004). The developing place of Portugal in the European Union. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Marchi, R. (2012). The Portuguese radical right in the democratic period. In A. Mammone, E. Godin, & B. Jenkins (Eds.), Mapping the extreme-right in contemporary Europe: From local to transnational (95–108). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Marchi, R. (2013). The extreme right in 21 st century Portugal: The Partido Nacional Renovador. In R. Melzer & S. Sera□n (Eds.), Right-wing extremism in Europe: Country analyses, counter-strategies and labor-market oriented exit strategies (133–156). Berlin, Germany: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Marques, V. S. (2014). Populismo, ou talvez não. Diário de Notícias. May 26. Retrieved from http://www.dn.pt/opiniao/opiniao-dn/viriato soromenho-marques/interior/ populismo-ou-talvez-nao-3933894.html.

Mendes, J . M. (2004). Uma localidade da Beira em protesto: memória, populismo e democracia. In B. Sousa Santos (Ed.) Reconhecer para libertar: os caminhos do cosmopolitismo multicultural (155-191). Porto, Portugal: Afrontamento.

Mendes, J. M. (2005). Só é vencido quem deixa de lutar: Protesto e Estado Democrático em Portugal. Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais, 72, 161-185.

Mény, Y., & Surel, Y. (Eds.) (2002). Democracies and the Populist Challenge. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave.

Merkl, P. H., & Weinberg, L. (Eds.) (2003). Right-wing extremism in the twenty-first century. London, UK: Frank Cass.

Mudde, C. (2000). The ideology of the extreme right. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Mudde, C. (2007). Populist radical right parties in Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Paulo, I. (2014). Marinho e Pinto apresenta novo partido. Um 25 de Abril "sem chaimites." Expresso. October 5. Retrieved from http://expresso.sapo.pt/.

Rangel, P. (2014). As primeiras vítimas do populismo. Público. October 28. Retrieved from

Revez, I. Marinho e Pinto critica Constitucional, que ainda não autorizou o PDR. (2015). Público. January 24. Retrieved from http://www.publico.pt/.

Rocha, F. P. (2012). Donos do seu próprio caminho: a estrutura política e o sucesso eleitoral da direita radical na Europa, 1990-2010. (Master's thesis). Lisbon, Portugal: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Ruivo, F. (2005). As diferentes candidaturas independentes às autárquicas 2005. Jornal de Notícias. October 11. Retrieved from https://www.ces.uc.pt/ opiniao/fr/ 011en.php.

Santos, N. N. (2008). A Varinha Mágica de Valentim Loureiro: Méritos, truques e habilidades populistas. Lisbon, Portugal: Prime Books.

Valente, V. P. (2007). O que é o populismo. Público. October 6. Retrieved from http://www.publico.pt/.

Vitorino, A., & Fernandes, M. (2000). A representação da crise da política em Portugal. Análise Social, 34(154-155), 259-313.

Zúquete, J. P. (2007a). Portugal: A new look at the extreme right. Representation, 43(3), 179-198.

Zúquete, J. P. (2007b). Missionary politics in contemporary Europe. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Zúquete, J. P. (2013). Missionary politics—Acontribution to the study of populism, Religion Compass, 7(7), 263-271.

19 Spain: Populism From the Far Right to the Emergence of Podemos

Aira, T. (2010). Anàlisi, 40, 15–27.

Aizpirúa, E., & Fernández, E. (2011). Información, ¿antídoto frente al populismo punitivo. Revista Española de Investigación Criminológica, 3(9), 1–29.

Alonso, S., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2014). Spain: No country for the populist right? South European Society and Politics, 20(1), 21–45.

Arruzza, C., & Mometti, F. (2010). Amenazas de derechas: el berlusconismo y la transición autoritaria. Viento sur: Por una izquierda alternativa, 111, 42–51.

Aznar, H. (2005). Democracia y programación televisiva. Telebasura y ética de la comunicación. Telos, 63. Retrieved from http://telos.fundaciontelefonica.com/telos/articuloperspectiva.asp@idarticulo=2&rev=63.htm.

Barriere, M., Durgan, A., & Robson, S. (2015). The challenge of Podemos. International Socialism: A Quarterly Journal of Socialist Theory, 145. Retrieved from http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=1028&issue=145.

Beam, R. A. (2003). Content differences between daily newspapers with strong and weak market orientations. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 80(2), 368–390.

Berganza-Conde, M. R., & de Miguel Pascual, R. (2010, October). Free dailies and quality standards: A comparative-exploratory analysis of journalistic excellence among five Spanish daily newspapers. Paper presented at the 3 rd European Communication Conference, Hamburg, Germany. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/publication/271586461.

Bollero, D. (2014). Podemos se consolida como la primera fuerza política en redes sociales. Público. August 16. Retrieved from http://www.publico.es/.

Carlin, J. (2015). Los caballeros de la Mesa Redonda. El País. January 21. Retrieved from http://politica.elpais.com/.

Casais, M. B. (2013). Alternativa Galega de Esquerdas: un actor diferencial en las elecciones gallegas de 2012. Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas,

12(3), 143–161.

Casals, X. (2009). La renovación de la ultraderecha española: una historia generacional (1966–2008). Historia y Política, 22, 233–258.

Casals, X. (2013). El pueblo contra el Parlamento. El nuevo populismo en España, 1989–2013. Madrid, Spain: Pasado y Presente.

Cebrián, E., & Berrocal, S. (2013). La irrupción del "infoentretenimiento" en la comunicación política española. Una propuesta para la sistematización de sus formatos televisos. In K. Sanders, M. J. Canel, A. Capdevila, & M. Gurrionero, (Eds.), Estudios de Comunicación Política. Libro del Año 2012 (pp. 260–275). Madrid, Spain: Tecnos.

Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas. (2015). Barómetro de enero 2015 (Study No. 3050). Retrieved from http://datos.cis.es/pdf/Es3050mar_A.pdf.

Cué, C. (2015). Podemos desbanca al PSOE como segunda fuerza política. El País. 4 February. Retrieved from http://politica.elpais.com/.

Durgan, A., & Sans, J. (2011). "No one represents us": The 15 May Movement in the Spanish state. International Socialism, 132(Autumn). Retrieved from http://www.isj.org.uk/.

Errejón, I. (2011). Política, conflicto y populismo (I). La construcción discursiva de identidades populares. Viento sur: Por una izquierda alternativa, 114, 75–84.

Errejón, I. (2014). Spain's Podemos: An inside view of a radical left sensation. Revolting Europe [Blog]. 15 July. Retrieved from http://revolting-europe.com/.

Hernández-Carr, A. (2011). ¿La hora del populismo? Elementos para comprender el "éxito" electoral de Plataforma per Catalunya. Revista de Estudios Políticos, 153, 47–74.

Hernández-Carr, A. (2013). El salto a la nueva extrema derecha: una aproximación a los votantes de Plataforma per Catalunya. Politica y Sociedad, 50(2), 601–627.

Iglesias, P. (2014). Disputar la democracia. Barcelona, Spain: Akal.

Institut Balear de Estudios Sociales. (2014). Postelectoral Europeas 2014. 1 June. Retrieved from

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.

Kassam, A. (2015). Ciudadanos, the "Podemos of the right", emerges as political force in Spain. The Guardian. 15 March. Retrieved from http://www. theguardian.com/.

Labio, A. (2008) Periodismo de entretenimiento: la trivialización de la prensa de referencia. Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico. 14, 435-447.

Laclau, E. (2005). On populist reason. London, UK: Verso.

Laguna, A. (2013). La profesionalización comunicativa: partidos políticos o empresas de comunicación. Ámbitos. Revista internacional de comunicación, 22(1), 11-20.

Mansilla, H. C. F. (2011). Aproximaciones teóricas a la comprensión del populismo contemporáneo en América Latina. Revista de Estudios Políticos, 152, 11-47.

Miralles, X. A. (2011). "El pueblo y sus opresores": populismo y nacionalismo en la cultura política del radicalismo democrático, 1844-1848. Historia y Política, 25, 65-91.

Mudde, C. (2007). Populist radical right parties in Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Palao, J. A. (2015). La enunciación compleja: hermeneútica, semiótica y política en el siglo XXI. El caso de Podemos. Castell ó de la Plana. Retrieved from http://www. comunicambio2015.uji.es/language/es/.

Peña, P., & Ortiz, M. A. (2011). El eslogan político español en la campaña de elecciones generales de 2008. Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico, 17(2), 549-568.

Peres, L. (2010). Prensa, política criminal y opinión pública: el populismo punitivo en España. Spain: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Podemos campaign video 2014. (2014, May 18) [Video file]. Retrieved from https://

www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuUvtVhe0gE.

Rico, G. (2014). El populisme: d'estigma a categoria analítica. Àmbits de Política i Societat: Revista del Collegi de Politòlegs i Sociòlegs de Catalunya. 9 December. Retrieved from http://ambitscolpis.com/.

Rivas, J. A., & Araque, J. (2004). Aventuras y desventuras del populismo latinoamericano. Revista de Estudios Políticos, 124, 229-244.

Rodríguez, G. (2014). Cómo han (mal)utilizado Twitter los candidatos. El Huffington P ost. 25 May. Retrieved from http://www.huf□ngtonpost.es/.

Rodríguez-Aguilera de Prat, C. (2015). Semejanzas y diferencias entre el Movimento 5 Stelle. y Podemos. Società Mutamento Politica. 6(11), 51-74.

Romero, C. R. (2014). Populismo durante la era Aznar: el GIL en Ceuta. In Actas del IV Congreso de Historia de Nuestro Tiempo (pp. 315-320). Logroño, Spain: Universidad de La Rioja.

Sanders, K. (2014, October 10). The emergence of Spain's Podemos (We Can) Party: Challenges for political communication practice and study. Keynote presentation at II International Conference on Political Participation and Web 2.0, University of Beira Interior, Covilhã, Portugal.

Sanders, K., Zoragastua, J., & Molina, M. J. (2015, July). Immigration and the framing of the other in populist politics. Why "Spain is different." Paper presented at the International Association for Media and Communication Research conference, Montreal, Canada.

Stobart, L. (2014). Understanding Podemos (1/3): 15-M & counter-politics. Left Flank [Blog]. November 5. Retrieved from http://tinyurl.com/pcfc45t.

Uría, C. (2012). El Foro Asturias, ¿originalidad asturiana o algo más? Página Abierta, p. 220. Retrieved from http://www.pensamientocritico.org/cheuri0612.htm.

Weyland, K. (2001). Clarifying a contested concept: Populism in the study of Latin American politics. Comparative Politics, 34(1), 1-22.

20 Bosnia and Herzegovina: Populism in Transition

Albertazzi, D. (2006). The Lega dei Ticinesi: The embodiment of populism. Politics, 26(2), 133–139.

Bassuener K., & Weber, B. (2010). “Are we there yet?”: International impatience vs. a long-term strategy for a viable Bosnia. Democratization Policy Council. Retrieved from

Bieber, F. (2005). Post-war Bosnia: Ethnicity, inequality and public sector governance. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Bieber, F. (2010). The economic crisis, Greece and the Balkans. Retrieved from

Bieber, F. (2014). Undermining democratic transition: The case of the 1990 founding elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 14(4), 548–555.

Bjelajac, M. (2012, March 2). Bosnian Serb leader opportunistic or committed nationalist? Institute for War and Peace Reporting. Retrieved from: https://iwpr.net/

Ćurak, N., Čekrlija, Đ., Sarajlić, E., & Turčalo, S. (2009). Political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union: The interrelation of values. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences, Institute for Social Research.

Džihić, V. (2011). Limits of democratization and Europeanization: Considerations from the region of the Western Balkans shaped by ethno-nationalism, ethno-politics and protracted democratization processes. Retrieved from http://www.marshallplan.at/images/papers_sais/Report_Dzihic.pdf.

Džihić, V. (2014, October). From national narratives to shared memories: Is a Pan-European memory possible? Paper presented at the Networking European Citizenship Education Conference, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved from http://www.

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.

Laclau, E. (2005). On populist reason. London, UK: Verso.

Lazić, T. (2009). Contemporary populist political culture. Pregled, 50(3), 77–99.

Marko, D., Turčilo, L., Ljubić, T., & Udovičić, R. (2010). Elections 2010 in BiH: How the media covered the election campaign. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Media Plan Institute. Retrieved from http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_21613-1522-1-30.pdf?110113155848" http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_21613-1522-1-30.pdf? 110113155848.

Mirosavljević, M. (2010). Political communication. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Mudde, C., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2013). Populism. In M. Freeden, L. T. Sargent, M. Stears (Eds.), The Oxford handbook of political ideologies (pp. 493–512). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Mujkić, A. (2007). We, the citizens of Ethnopolis (1st ed.). Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Šahinpašić.

Mujkić, A. (2008). We, the citizens of Ethnopolis (2nd complemented ed.). Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: University of Sarajevo, Human Rights Centre.

Mujkić, A. (2010). Justice and ethnonationalism. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: University of Sarajevo, Human Rights Centre.

Osmančević, E. (2009). The democraticity of www communication. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Puhalo, S. (2009). Ethnic distance and (auto)stereotypes of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Puhalo, S., & Perišić, N. (2013). Abstainers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Puhalo, S., Zlokapa, Z., & Cipek, T. (2008). The ideological profile of voters and abstainers. Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina,: Art Print.

Šačić, N. (2007). Outside of politics. Sarajevo, Bosnia and

Herzegovina: Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Sarajevo.

Stanisavljević, D. (2010). The media and public opinion in Republic of Srpska. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Stanley, B. (2008). The thin ideology of populism. Journal of Political Ideologies, 13(1), 95–110.

Taggart, P. (2000). Populism. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. Journal of Political Ideologies, 9(3), 269–288.

Tešanović, N. (Ed.). (2012). Balkan media barometer: Bosnia and Herzegovina 2011. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Vlaisavljević, U. (2006). Ethnopolitics and citizenry. Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Dijalog.

Zuber , L. (2012). Political public relations in Republic of Srpska. Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina: University of East Sarajevo, Faculty of Philosophy; Pale, Comesgra ka Banja Luka.

21 Croatia: The Rise of Populism on the Path From Communism to European Integration

Abts, K., & Rummens, S. (2007). Populism versus democracy. Political Studies, 55(2), 405–424.

Altermatt, U. (1997). Etnonacionalizam u Europi. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Svjetionik.

Balabani ć, I., & Mustapić, M. (2008). Medijska retorika u predizbornom razdoblju 2007. Analiza dnevnoga tiska. Društvena istraživanja, 17(4–5), 647–669. Retrieved from http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=46253.

Balabanić, I., Mustapić, M., & Rihtar, S. (2011). "Amerikanizacija kampanje" u hrvatskom dnevnom tisku: izbori 2007. Društvena istraživanja, 20(2), 359–378.

Benhabib, S. (2002). Transformations of citizenship. The case of contemporary Europe. Government and Opposition, 37(4), 439–465.

Brečić, K., Milanović, L., & Šimunjak, M. (2012). "Amerikanizacija" bez trivijalizacije: Analiza novinskog izvještavanja o predizbornoj kampanji Vesne Pusić 2009. godine. Društvena istraživanja, 21(2), 523–544.

Canovan, M. (1981). Populism. London, England: Junction Books.

Canovan, M. (2002). Taking politics to the people: Populism as the ideology of democracy. In Y. Meny & Y. Surel (Eds.), Democracies and the populist challenge (pp. 25–44). Basingstoke, England, UK: Palgrave.

Cipek, T. (2008). Političke ideologije. In S. Puhalo (Ed.), Ideološki profil glasača i apstinenata u Bosni i Hercegovini (pp. 13–42). Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina: Art Print.

Cipek, T. (2009). "Zakon traži pravdu." Populizam u Poljskoj. Međunarodne studije, 9(4), 39–51.

Freeden, M. (1996). Ideologies and political theory. A conceptual approach. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press.

Grbeša, M. (2010). Privatisation of politics in Croatia: Analysis of the 2003 and 2007 parliamentary elections.

Medijska istraživanja, 16(2), 57–79.

Grbeša, M., & Šalaj, B. (2014). Faces of populism in Croatia. Retrieved from https://populism.byu.edu/SiteAssets/Salaj.Grbesa.pdf.

Hawkins, K. A. (2009). Is Chavez populist? Measuring populist discourse in comparative perspective. Comparative Political Studies, 42(8), 1040–1067.

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.

Kasapović, M. (2010). Odlazak velikog populista i reforma Ustava. Političke analize, 1(1), 15–17.

Laclau, E. (2005). On populist reason. London, England, UK: Verso.

Lalić, D. (2004). Obilježja pakiranja politike u izbornoj kampanji HDZ-a i SDP-a 2003. godine. Politička misao, 46(1), 55–73.

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, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Milardović, A. (2004). Populizam i globalizacija. Zagreb: Centar za politološka istraživanja.

Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(4), 541–563.

Obućina, V. (2012). Right-wing extremism in Croatia. Retrieved from http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id-moe/09346.pdf.

Pasquino, G. (2008). Populism and democracy. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.), Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European democrac y (pp. 15–29). Basingstoke, England, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rensmann, L. (2006). Populismus und Ideologie. In F. Decker (Ed.), Populismus. Gefahr für die Demokratie oder nützliches Korrektiv? (pp. 59–80). Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Šalaj, B. (2012a). Suvremeni populizam. Anali Hrvatskog politološkog društva, 9(1), 21–49.

Šalaj, B. (2012b). Što je populizam? Političke analize, 3(3), 55–61.

Šalaj, B. (2013a). Demokracija i populizam: doktor Jekyll i gospodin Hyde. In A. Milardović & N. Jožanc (Eds.), Demokracija i postdemokracija (pp. 129–152). Zagreb, Croatia: Pan Liber & Institut za europske i globalizacijske studije.

Šalaj, B. (2013b). Jesu li Hrvatski laburisti populisti i je li populizam nužno loš? Političke analize, 4(1), 17–22.

Taggart, P. (2002). Populism and the pathology of representative politics. In Y. Mény & Y. Surel (Eds.), Democracies and the populist challenge (pp. 62–80). Basingstoke, England, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Urbinati, N. (1998). Democracy and populism. Constellations, 5(1), 110–124.

Wieviorka, M. (1993). Nacionalizam i rasizam. Republike, 49(7–8), 118–126.

Zakošek, N. (2010). Zauzdani populizam: fenomen Milana Bandića. Političke analize, 1 (1), 6–10.

22 Czech Republic: The Rise of Populism From the Fringes to the Mainstream

Bican, J. (2013). Populist movements in the Czech Republic. Master's thesis, Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, Institute of Political Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic.

Blailová, A. (2013). The analysis of media representation of the nationalistic scene in the Czech Republic. Master's thesis, Zapadoceska univerzita v Plzni, Pilsen, Czech Republic.

Bukáček, M. (2011). Media representation of political radicalism in selected media: A content analysis. Master's thesis, Masaryk University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Brno, Czech Republic.

Císař, O. (2013). ANO, budeme zklamáni! iHNED.cz. 7 October. Retrieved from http://dialog.ihned.cz/c1-60973740-ano-budeme-zklamani.

Dvořáková, V., Buben, R., & Němec, J. (2012). Que el pueblo mande! Levicové vlády, populismus a změny režimu v Latinské Americe. Prague, Czech Republic: SLON.

Gruber, J. (2013). Politika je vždy populistická: Rozhovor s Radkem Bubnem. A2larm. 22 October. Retrieved from http://a2larm.cz/2013/10/politika-je-vzdy- populisticka/.

Hájek, R., & Štefaniková, S. (2014). Czech Republic: New owners and newsroom changes. 30 September 30. Retrieved from http://en.ejo.ch/media-politics/media-ownership-newsroom-change-czech-republic.

Hanley, S. (2012a). The Czech Republicans 1990–8: A populist outsider in a consolidating democracy. In C. Mudde & R. C. Kaltwasser (Eds.) Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective for democracy? (pp. 68–87). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hanley, S. (2012b). Dynamics of new party formation in the Czech Republic 1996– 2010: looking for the origins of a "political earthquake." East European Politics, 28(2), 119–143.

Hanley, S. (2014). Two cheers for Czech democracy. Politologický časopis—Czech Journal of Political Science, 21(3), 161–176.

Hanley, S., & Sikk, A. (2014). Economy, corruption or oating voters? Explaining the breakthroughs of anti-establishment reform parties in Eastern Europe. Party Politics. Advance online publication. Retrieved from http://ppq.sagepub.com/.

Havlík, V. (2015). The rise of populism in the Czech Republic in the shadow of political and economic crises. In H. Kriesi & T.S. Pappas (Eds.), European populism in the shadow of the great recession (pp. 285–311). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.

Havlík, V., Eibl, O., Gregor, M., Gregor, K., Hrbková, L., Chytilek, R. … Voda, P. (2014). Volby do Poslanecké sněmovny 2013. Brno, Czech Republic: Masarykova univerzita.

Havlík, V., & Hloušek, V. (2014). Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde: The story of the populist Public Affairs party in the Czech Republic. Perspectives on European Politics & Society, 15(4), 552–570.

Havlík, V., Pinková, A., Balcere, I., Cholova, B., Smrčková, M., Späč, P. … Krašovec, A. (2012). Populist parties in East-Central Europe. Brno, Czech Republic: Masarykova univerzita.

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.

Janáková, B. (2014). Populism in political communication of political movement Úsvit přímé demokracie Tomia Okamury. Master's thesis, Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism, Prague, Czech Republic.

Kouba, K., Císař, O., & Navrátil, J. (2015). The Czech political science: A slow march towards relevance? In B. Krauz-Mozer, M. Kułakowska, P. Borowiec, & P. Ścigaj (Eds.), Political science in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century (pp. 63–85). Crakow, Poland: Jagiellonian University Press.

Linek, L. (2010). Zrazení snů? Struktura a dynamika postojů k politickému režimu a jeho institucím a jeho důsledky. Prague, Czech Republic: SLON.

Linek, L. (Ed.). (2012). Voliči a volby 2010. Prague, Czech

Republic: SLON.

March, L., & Mudde, C. (2005). What's left of the radical left? The European radical left after 1989: Decline and mutation. Comparative European Politics 3(1), 23–49.

Mareš, M. (2000). Konstituování krajní pravice v českém stranickopolitickém systému. Vývoj SPR-RSČ od přelomu let 1989/1990 do parlamentních voleb v roce 1992. Politologický časopis—Czech Journal of Political Science, 2000(2), 157–168.

Mareš, M. (2011). Czech extreme right parties an unsuccessful story. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 44(4), 283–298.

Marks, G., Hooghe, L., Nelson, M., & Edwards, E. (2006). Party competition and European integration in the East and West. Different structure, same causality. Comparative Political Studies, 39(2), 155–175.

Mazák, J. (2015, May 26). Voliči populistických stran ve volbách 2013: základní charakteristiky a užívání nových médií. Zpráva z výzkumu. Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism, Political Communication Research Group [website]. Retrieved from

Musilová, M. (2011). The Public Affairs party from the perspective of the populism concept. (Master's thesis). Brno, Czech Republic: Masaryk University, Faculty of Social Sciences.

Perknerová, Kateřina. (2015). Zeman k muslimům: Když se neumíte adaptovat, vraťte se domů. Deník. January 10. Retrieved from http://www.denik.cz/z_domova/

Pitrová, M. (2007). Populism in the first European elections in the Czech Republic. 11(0). European Integration Online Papers. Retrieved from: http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2007-002.pdf.

Poláček, J. (2013). Personalisation in election campaigns in the Czech Republic. European View, 12(1), 11–19.

Rees, M. C. (2010). 2010: Comparing and Contrasting Věci veřejné in the Czech Republic and the Tea Party Movement in the USA. Contemporary European Studies, 2010(2), 17–29.

Roubal, P. (2012). "Směst to všechno do Vltavy." Proměny

revolučního diskurzu Sdružení pro republiku – Republikánské strany Československa. Rozděleni minulostí. In A. Gjuričová, M. Kopeček, P. Roubal, J. Suk, & T. Zahradníček (Eds.), Rozděleni minulostí. Vytváření politických identit v České republice po roce 1989 (pp. 311–342). Prague, Czech Republic: USD AVCR.

Rovny, J., & Edwards E. (2012). Struggle over dimensionality: Party competition in Western and Eastern Europe. East European Politics and Societies, 26(1), 56–74.

Sikk, A. (2010). Newness as a winning formula for new political parties. Party Politics 18(4), 465–486.

Spáč, P. (2013). New political parties in the Czech Republic: Anti-politics or mainstream? In G. Mesežnikov, O. Gyárfášová, & Z. Bútorová (Eds.), Alternative politics? The rise of new political parties in Central Europe (pp. 127–148). Bratislava, Slovakia: Institute for Public Affairs.

Štětka, V., & Vochocová, L. (2014). A dialogue of the deaf, or communities of debate? The use of Facebook in the 2013 Czech parliamentary elections campaign. Teorija in praksa, 51(6), 1361–1380.

Bársony, F., Gyenge, Zs., & Kovács, Á. (2011). Kit érdekelnek a programok? A Jobbik kisebbségképe és annak médiareprezentációja a 2010-es országgyűlési választások kampányidőszakában. Médiakutató, 12(1). Retrieved from http://

Bartha, A., & Tóth, A. (2013). A Magyar nyugdíjrendszer változásai politikatudományi perspektívából. Politikatudományi Szemle, 22(4), 161–183.

Bayer, J. (2002). Jobboldali populizmus és szélsőjobboldal Kelet-Közép-Európában. Eszmélet, 14(55), 69–92.

Bernáth, G. (2014). Harc a jelenlétért és a jelentésért. Médiakutató, 15(3), 101–114.

Boda, Zs., Szabó, G., Bartha, A., Medve, B. G., & Vidra, Zs. (2014). Politikától vezérelve: A büntető populizmus diskurzusai a magyar politikában és a médiában. Politikatudományi Szemle, 23(3), 69–94.

Bozóki, A. (2010). Miről szól a kampány? Figyelő, 54(10), 15.

Csaba, L. (2009). Crisis in economics? Studies in European political economy. Budapest, Hungary: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Debreczeni, J. (2006). Populizmus, fasizmus, nácizmus. Mozgó Világ, 32(12), 17–36.

Gál, Zs. (2011). Duna-völgyi Argentina: Populista gazdaságpolitika mint a fenntartható gazdasági növekedés első számú ellensége. Fórum: Társadalomtudományi Szemle, 13(1), 141–172.

Hamberger, J. (2007). A (baloldali) populizmus diadalmenete Szlovákiában. A Smer története. Politikatudományi Szemle, 16(2), 53–77.

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.

Jeskó, J., Bakó, J., & Tóth, Z. (2012). A radikális jobboldal webes hálózatai. Politikatudományi Szemle, 21(1), 81–101.

Juhász, A., & Szabados, K. (2005). A populizmus éve. Magyarország Politikai Évkönyve, 18(1), 297–308.

Juhász, A., & Szabados, K. (2006). A populisták mindent visznek. Mozgó Világ, 32(1), 76–85.

Juhász, J., & Tálas, P. (2008). A szélsőjobboldal, a jobboldali radikalizmus és a populizmus előretörésének okairól Kelet- és Közép-Európában. Európai Tükör, 13(4), 116–124.

Karácsony, G., & Róna, D. (2010). A Jobbik titka: A szélsőjobb magyarországi megerősödésének lehetséges okairól. Politikatudományi Szemle, 19(1), 94–123.

Kéri, L. (2010). Választási küzdelem – Verseny nélkül: Szempontok a 2010-es választási kampány politikai szociológiai leírásához. Politikatudományi Szemle, 19(4), 25–50.

Körösényi, A. (2003). Politikai képviselet a vezérdemokráciában. Politikatudományi Szemle, 12(4), 5–22.

Krekó, P., Juhász, A., & Molnár, Cs. (2011). A szélsőjobboldal iránti társadalmi kereslet növekedése Magyarországon. Politikatudományi Szemle, 20(2), 53–79.

Mair, P. (2002). Populist democracy vs. party democracy. In Y. Mény & Y. Surel (Eds.), Democracies and the populist challenge (pp. 81–98). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Müller, J-W. (2011). The Hungarian tragedy. Dissent, 58(2), 5–10.

Pakulski, J., & Körösényi, A. (2012). Toward leader democracy. London, UK: Anthem Press.

Pap, A. L. (2014). Személyiségkép és alkotmányos identitás a Nemzeti Együttműködés Rendszerében (I. rész). Közjogi Szemle, 7(4), 1–11.

Ripp, Z. (2006). A populizmus árnyéka. Mozgó Világ, 32(1), 19–27.

Schlett, I. (2006). Populisták vagy reformaták? Kommentár, 1(1), 79–87.

Szabó, M. (2003). A “nép” és az “elit” populista szembeállítása, mint mobilizációs keretértelmezés (frame) Magyarországon 1989 előtt és után. Politikatudományi

Szemle, 12(4), 143–166.

Tóth, A., & Grajczjár, I. (2009). Miért olyan sikeresek a radikális nemzeti-populista pártok nagy társadalmi-gazdasági átalakulások, vagy válságok idején? Politikatudományi Szemle, 18(3), 7–29.

Tóth, A., & Grajczjár, I. (2010). Válság, radikalizálódás és az újjászületés ígérete: a Jobbik útja a parlamentbe. In Zs. Enyedi, A. Szabó, & R. Tardos (Eds.), Új képlet: Választások Magyarországon (pp. 57–92). Budapest, Hungary: Demokrácia Kutatások Magyar Központja Alapítvány .

Bäcker, R. (2007). Rosyjskie myślenie polityczne za czasów prezydenta Putina. Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Bemenista, A. (2006). Specy□ka populistycznego typu przywództwa. In M. Marczewska- Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 45–64). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Bobrowska, E. (2007). Obrazowanie społeczeństwa w mediach. Analiza radiomaryjnego dyskursu. Kraków, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Bobrowska, E. (2014). Struktury znaczeniowe w hasłach na transparentach obrońców Radia Maryja i Telewizji Trwam. Zeszyty Prasoznawcze, 57(3), 456–471.

Bralczyk, J. (2003). O populizmie językowym. In J. Bralczyk (Ed.), O języku propagandy i polityki (pp. 85–92). Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Burda, J. (2012). Prawda i kłamstwo w wypowiedziach populistycznych. Słowo. Studia Językoznawcze, 3, 56–62.

Burda, J. (2013). Kategoria prawdy w populistycznych wypowiedziach sejmowych. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 79(8), 125–134.

Buzalka, J. (2005). Religious populism? Some re□ections on politics in post-socialist South-East Poland. Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs, 1(1), 75–84.

Buzalka, J. (2008). Europeanisation and post-peasant populism in Eastern Europe. Europe Asia Studies, 60(5), 757–771.

Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej. (2002). Psychologiczne profile elektoratów partyjnych. Komunikat z badań. (BS/95/2002). Retrieved from http://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2002/K_095_02.PDF.

Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej. (2011). Populizm Polaków u progu i w środku kampanii wyborczej. Komunikat z badań. (BS/121/2011). Retrieved from http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2011/K_121_11.PDF.

Czechowska-Derkacz, B. (2012). Magia politycznych

wizerunków w mediach: Aleksander Kwa śniewski i Andrzej Lepper: studium przypadków. Gdańsk, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

de Lange, S. L., & Guerra, S. (2009). The League of Polish Families between East and West, past and present. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 42(4), 527–549.

Drelich, S. (2012). Wojny trybuna ludowego: przypadek Andrzeja Leppera. Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

Dudkiewicz, M. (2013). Populiści dobroczynności. Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

Dzwończyk, J. (1995). Populistyczne zagrożenia procesu transformacji w Polsce. Polityczne uwarunkowania transformacji ustrojowej w Polsce. Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie, 424, 77–82.

Dzwończyk, J. (2000a). Mentalność społeczeństwa polskiego jako czynnik propopu listyczny. Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie, 548, 47–60.

Dzwończyk, J. (2000b). Populistyczne tendencje w społeczeństwie postsocjalistycznym. Na przykładzie Polski. Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Dzwończyk, J. (2005). Populizm jako strategia polskich partii politycznych. In J. Kornaś (Ed.), Partie polityczne: permanentne problemy. Studia z zakresu funkcjonowania systemu politycznego (pp. 297–318). Kielce, Poland: Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomii i Administracji im. prof. Edwarda Lipińskiego w Kielcach.

Dzwończyk, J. (2006). Populizm jako czynnik blokujący rozwój społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce. In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp.119–140). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Fitzgibbon, J., & Guerra, S. (2010). Not just Europeanization, not necessarily populism: Potential factors underlying the mobilization of populism in Ireland and Poland. Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 11(3), 273–291.

Franczak, K. (2005). Populizm w społeczeństwie obywatelskim. Przegląd Socjologi czny, 54(2), 87–103.

Goban-Klas, T. (2011). Tabloidyzacja mediów a neopopulizm. In Media Populizm Demokracja. Zapis konferencji z dnia 5 listopada 2011 roku (pp. 13-25). Wrocław, Poland: Ośrodek Myśli Społecznej im. Ferdynarda Lassalle'a.

Grott, O. (2006). Populizm u narodowych socjalistów w III RP. In M. Marczewska- Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 271-282). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Grzelak, P. (2004). Populizm w modelu głosowania ekonomicznego w Polsce 2001. In R. Markowski (Ed.), Populizm a demokracja (pp. 203-238). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Hordecki, B., & Piontek, D. (2010). Tabloidyzacja czy tabloidyzacje telewizyjnych programów informacyjnych (Fakty TVN i Wiadomości TVP). Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne, 2, 19-32.

Jajecznik, K. (2006). Pozycja Ligi Polskich Rodzin w polskim systemie partyjnym w kontekście transformacji systemowej. Studia Politologiczne, 10, 107-134.

Jakubowska, U. (2004). Zainteresowanie polityką i postrzeganie własnej sytuacji życiowej a postawy populistyczne. In R. Markowski (Ed.), Populizm a demokracja (pp. 173-202). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Jasiewicz, K. (2004). Polska u progu Unii Europejskiej: referendum akcesyjne a de cyt demokratyczny. In R. Markowski (Ed.), Populizm a demokracja (pp. 95-120). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Jasiewicz, K. (2008). The new populism in Poland. The usual suspects? Problems of Post-Communism, 55(3), 7-25.

Jeziński, M. (2005). "Głosuj NIE dla UE!": populistyczny dyskurs antyunijny w III RP. Casus referendum europejskiego 7-8.06.2003. In M. Migalski (Ed.), Popu lizm (pp. 39-54). Katowice, Poland: Instytut Regionalny.

Jeziński, M. (2006). Populistyczny dyskurs prounijny. Przypadek referendum europejskiego 2003 roku. In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 196-214). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Kasprowicz, D. (2013). Dwa oblicza populizmu. Instytut Obywatelski. Retrieved from www.instytutobywatelski.pl/14366.

Kłusak, M. (2006). Systemowe uwarunkowania zjawiska populizmu. In M. Marczewska- Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 111-118). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Kostrzębski, K. (2002). Kampanie wyborcze ruchów populistycznych w Polsce i Niemczech-analiza porównawcza, Studia Politologiczne, 6, 283-318.

Kubik, J., & Linch, A. (2006). The original sin of Poland's Third Republic: Discounting "Solidarity" and its consequences for political reconciliation, Polish Sociological Review, 1(1), 9-38.

Kucharczyk, J., & Wysocka, O. (2008). Poland. In G. Mesaznikov, O. Gyarfasova, & D. Smolov (Eds.), Populist politics and liberal democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (pp. 69-88). Bratislava, Slovakia: Institute for Public Affairs.

Kutyło, Ł. (2010). Populizm religijny w Polsce przypadek Radia Maryja: społeczne uwarunkowania zjawiska. Wrocławskie Studia Politologiczne, 11, 204-216.

Lipiński, A. (2008). Mitologizacja czy dyskursywna reprezentacja? Okrągły Stół, Magdalenka i "gruba kreska" jako kategorie dyskursu prawicy. In B. Szklarski (Ed.), Mity, symbole i rytuały we współczesnej polityce (pp. 277-291). Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Scholar.

Lipiński, A. (2009). Między populizmem a technokracją. Konstrukcja obrazu społeczeństwa polskiego a model przywództwa politycznego w dyskursie prawicy. In K. Kasianiuk (Ed.), Lider, manager, oportunista a współczesne koncepcje przywództwa (pp. 191-206). Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Collegium Civitas.

Maj, E. (2006). Wrogowie narodu i państwa polskiego w koncepcjach Ligii Polskich Rodzin. In S. Stępień (Ed.), Ideologie, doktryny i ruchy narodowe. Wybrane problemy (pp. 389-406). Lublin, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej.

Marczewska-Rytko, M. (1995). Populizm. Teoria i praktyka polityczna. Lublin, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii

Curie Skłodowskiej.

Marczewska-Rytko, M. (2006). Zjawisko populizmu na łamach “Gazety Wyborczej” i “Rzeczpospolitej.” In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 367-381). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Markowski, R. (2004). Populizm a demokracja: ujęcia, dylematy, kontrowersje. In R. Markowski (Ed.), Populizm a demokracja (pp. 11-32). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Marks, B. (2003). Trzy wymiary Samoobrony, czyli źródła sukcesu partii Andrzeja Leppera. Studia Polityczne, 14, 9-33.

Mazur, M. (2005). Wizerunek Andrzeja Leppera. Retoryka populistyczna czy populizm? In M. Migalski (Ed.), Populizm (pp. 31-38). Katowice, Poland: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Regionalnego.

Migas, P. (2005). Konglomerat medialny Radia Maryja, Zeszyty Prasoznawcze, 57(3), 33-50.

Moroska, A. (2010). Prawicowy populizm a eurosceptycyzm (na przykładzie Listy Pima Fortuyna w Holandii i Ligi Polskich Rodzin w Polsce). Wrocław, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Nalewajko, E. (2004). Populizm w demokracji. In R. Markowski (Ed.), Populizm a demokracja (pp. 33-68). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Nalewajko, E. (2013). Między populistycznym a liberalnym. Style polityczne w Polsce po roku 1989. Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

Ożóg, K. (2013). O niektórych mechanizmach retorycznych w tekstach populizmu politycznego, Poradnik Językowy, 6, 35-43.

Pacześniak, A. (2010). Populizm w służbie eurosceptyków i euroentuzjastów. In J. Waele & A. Pacześniak (Eds.), Populizm w Europie. Defekt i przejaw demokracji? (pp. 145-158). Warsaw, Poland: O cyna Naukowa.

Pankowski, R. (2010). The populist radical right in Poland. The patriots. London, UK: Routledge.

Piontek, D., Hordecki, B., & Ossowski, S. (2013). Tabloidyzacja dyskursu polity cznego w polskich mediach. Poznań, Poland: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa UAM.

Pokorna-Ignatowicz, K. (2003). Antyunijne imperium ojca Rydzyka. Od Radia Maryja do Telewizji Trwam, Studia Medioznawcze, 15(5), 191-207.

Polkowska, L. (2004). Językowe środki perswazji w przemówieniach sejmowych Romana Giertycha. Poradnik Językowy, 9, 38-58.

Przyłęcki, P. (2004). Populizm w aspekcie ideologiczno-historycznym. Na przykładzie Polski. In D. Walczak-Duraj (Ed.), Tożsamość kulturowa i polityczna Europy wobec wyzwań cywilizacyjnych (pp. 187-215). Łódź, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.

Przyłęcki, P. (2012). Populizm w polskiej polityce. Analiza dyskursu polityki. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.

Riedel, R. (2006). Media w służbie populizmu. Zeszyty Prasoznawcze, 187-188(3-4), 9-16.

Rupnik, J. (2004). From democracy to populist backlash. Journal of Democracy, 18(4), 17-25.

Rychard, A. (2004). Konsumenci, obywatele, populiści: czy rynek może pomóc demokracji? In H. Domański, A. Ostrowska, & A. Rychard (Eds.), Niepokoje polskie (pp. 171-189). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Filozo i i Socjologii PAN.

Sasińska-Klas, T. (2006). Medialny wizerunek Andrzeja Leppera. In M. Marczewska- Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 249-258). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Sepkowski, A. (2006). Źródła populizmu w wyobrażeniach zbiorowych. In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesn ych społeczeństw? (pp. 95-110). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Shields, S. (2007). From socialist Solidarity to neo-populist neoliberalisation? The paradoxes of Poland's post-communist transition. Capital & Class, 31(3), 159-178.

Shields, S. (2012). Opposing neoliberalism? Poland's renewed populism and post-communist transition. Third World Quarterly, 33(2), 359-381.

Sielski, J. (2006). Populizm na przykładzie "Samoobrony" Andrzeja Leppera. In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 259-270). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Stanley, B. (2012). From periphery to power: The trajectory of Polish populism, 1989-2012. In S. Bachrynowski (Ed.), Populism in Central and Eastern Europe— Challenge for the future? (pp. 10-19). Warsaw, Poland: Green European Foundation.

Stępień, S. (2006). Populizm w programach wyborczych do parlamentu 2001 roku. In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesn ych społeczeństw? (pp. 150-176). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Stępińska, A. (2003). Wizerunek medialny Andrzeja Leppera. In D. Piontek (Ed.), W kręgu mediów i polityki (pp. 135-154). Poznań, Poland: Wydawnictwo INPiD.

Stępińska, A. (2004). Marketingowe strategie wyborcze. Wybory prezydenckie w Polsce 1990-2000. Poznań, Poland: Wydawnictwo Instytut Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa.

Szacki, J. (2003). Pytania o populizm, Krytyka Polityczna, 4, 28-34.

Szacki, J. (2006). Populizm a demokracja. In M. Marczewska-Rytko (Ed.), Populizm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Panaceum czy pułapka dla współczesnych społeczeństw? (pp. 13-18). Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

"To młodzi poparli Kukiza." (2015). Newsweek. 11 May. Retrieved from http://

Wysocka, O. (2008). Populizm i Radio Maryja, Znak, 640(9), 61-69.

Wysocka, O. (2009). Populism in Poland: In/visible exclusion. In L. Freeman (Ed.), Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences (Vol. 26, IWM). Vienna, Austria: Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen. Retrieved from http://www.iwm.at/

Wysocka, O. (2010). Europa dla Europejczyków? Populizm w wyborach do Parlamentu Europejskiego. In J. Kucharczyk & A. Łada (Eds.), W stronę europejskiego demos? Polskie wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego w 2009 roku w perspektywie porównawczej (pp. 41-66). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

Żuk, P. (2010). Czy każda krytyka neoliberalizmu jest populizmem. O pułapkach demokracji w Polsce. In J. Waele & A. Pacześniak (Eds.), Populizm w Europie. Defekt i przejaw demokracji? (pp. 123-132). Warsaw, Poland: O cyna Naukowa.

Zwycięstwo Korwina. Kto na niego głosował? (2014). Newsweek. 26 May. Retrieved from

Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy. Political Studies 47(1), 2–16.

Chiru, M. (2010). Doar mâna întinsă care spune o poveste primeşte … votul. O analiză a retoricilor electorale populiste din România 2004–2008. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu, (Eds.). Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 159–190). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Cinpoes, R. (2013). Right-wing extremism in Romania. In R. Melzer & S. Seraﬁn (Eds.), Right-wing extremism in Europe: Country analyses, counter-strategies and labor-market oriented exit strategies (pp. 160–197). Berlin, Germany: FES.

Copilaş, E. (2013). Simbolistica politică românească: între populism şi cinism? Sfera Politicii. 174, 107–120.

Downs, W. M., & Miller, R. V. (2006). The 2004 presidential and parliamentary elections in Romania. Notes on Recent Elections/Electoral Studies, 25(2006), 409–415.

Florian, A., & Climescu, A. (2012). Mesaje populist-naţionaliste în campania electorală pentru alegerile parlamentare din 2012. Bucarest, Romania: Institutul Naţional pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România “Elie Wiesel.” Retrieved from http://www.fes.ro/media/pdf/Studiu_Populism.pdf.

Gherghina, S. (2010). Organizarea partidelor populiste şi succesul lor electoral în România post-comunistă. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu (Eds.), Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 233–268). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Gherghina, S., & Soare, S. (2013). From TV to parliament: Populism and communication in the Romanian 2012 elections. Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/ abstract=2370006.

Hawkins, K. A. (2010). Venezuela’s chavismo and populism in comparative perspective. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ietcu-Fairclough, I. (2007). Populism and the Romanian ‘Orange Revolution’: A discourse analytical perspective on the presidential election of December 2004. Studies in

Language & Capitalism, 2(1), 31–74.

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.

Jiglău, G. (2010). Ştim despre ce vorbim? O perspectivă teoretică asupra populismului. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu (Eds.), Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 55–86). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Koban, J., & Danetiu, M. I. (2013). Populist elites in postcommunist Romania. International Relations and European Studies (RISE), V Suppl., 279–290.

Kopecky, P., & Mudde, C. (2002). The two sides of Euroscepticism. Party positions on European integration in East Central Europe, European Union Politics, 3(3), 297–326.

Krämer, B. (2014). Media populism: A conceptual clari cation and some theses on its effects. Communication Theory, 24(1), 42–60.

Krastev, I. (2007). The strange death of the liberal consensus. Journal of Democracy, 18(4), 56–63.

Marinescu, A. (2010). Prin mit la realitate: discursul populist în România. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu (Eds.), Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 119–158). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Mişcoiu, S. (2010). Introducere. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu (Eds.), Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 11–52). Iaşi, Romania: Editura Institutul European.

Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(3), 541–563.

Mudde, C. (2007). Populist radical right parties in Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2001). The return of populism—The 2000 Romanian elections. Government and Opposition, 36(2), 230–252.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2007). EU accession is no “end of history.” Journal of Democracy. 18(4), 8-16.

Nabăr, L. (2010). Observaţii finale şi perspective ale studiilor populismului românesc. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu (Eds.), Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 311-316). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Pop-Eleches, G. (2001). Romania’s politics of dejection. Journal of Democracy, 12(3), 156-169.

Rooduijn, M. (2014). The nucleus of populism: In search of the lowest common denominator. Government and Opposition, 49(4), 573-599.

Şandru, D. (2012). Componente ideologice ale populismului. In S. Gherghina, S. Mişcoiu, & S. Soare (Eds.), Populismul contemporan: un concept controversat şi formele sale diverse (pp. 73-112). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Şandru, D., & Condur, G. (2001). Democratizare şi demagogie în România postcomunistă. In C. Turliuc & A. Zub, (Eds.), Populism, demagogie, realism politic (pp. 91-108). Iaşi, Romania: Fundaţia academică “A.D. Xenopol.”

Shafir, M. (2008). From historical to “dialectical” populism: The case of post- communist Romania. Canadian Slavonic Papers Revue Canadienne des Slavistes, 50(3/4), 425-470.

Soare, S. (2010). Genul şi speciile populismului românesc. O incursiune pe tărâmul Tinereţii fără bătrâneţe şi al Vieţii fără de moarte. In S. Gherghina & S. Mişcoiu (Eds.), Partide şi personalităţi populiste în România postcomunistă (pp. 87-118). Iaşi, Romania: Institutul European.

Sum, P. E. (2010). The radical right in Romania: Political party evolution and the distancing of Romania from Europe. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 43(1), 19-29.

Taggart, P. (2000). Populism. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

26 Slovenia: Populism as Political Marketing

Beznec, B. (Ed.) (2008). Zgodba nekega izbrisa. (Special issue). Časopis za kritiko znanosti, 228. Retrieved from http://www.mirovni-institut.si/izbrisani/wp-

Bugarič, B. (2008). Populism, liberal democracy, and the rule of law in Central and Eastern Europe. Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 41(2), 191–203.

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.

Klepec, P. (2006). Populizem kot panaceja za zagate (post) demokracije? Filozofski Vestnik, 27(1), 65–80.

Kropivnik, S., & Vrhovac, S. (2012). Pojavi politične patologije v evropskih novih demokracijah. Teorija in Praksa, 4–5(49), 706–732.

Kurić and Others v. Slovenia, European Court of Human Rights Application No. 26828/06 (2012). Retrieved from http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-111634.

Kuzmanić, T. (2003). Tuđmanizem in janšizem (nacije-države in postsocializmi). In C. Oberstar & T. Kuzmanić (Eds.). Nova desnica: zbornik predavanj 3. letnika Delavsko-punkerske univerze pp. 91–129. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Mirovni inštitut, Inštitut za sodobne družbene in politične študije.

Kuzmani ć, T. (2005). An attempt to distinguish nationalist from volkish populist movements: Practices and ideologies—the Yugoslav case. In M. Pajnik & T. Kuzmanić (Eds.). Nation-states and xenophobias: In the ruins of former Yugoslavia (pp. 9–21). Ljubljana, Slovenia: Peace Institute.

Laclau, E. (2005). On populist reason. London, UK: Verso.

Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(4), 542–563.

Oberstar, C., & Kuzmani ć, T. (2003). Nova desnica: Zbornik predavanj 3. letnika Delavsko-punkerske universe. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Mirovni inštitut, In štitut za sodobne dru žbene in politične študije.

Pajnik, M. (2014). Populizem (med demagoško retoriko in etnoekskluzivizmom). In I. Bijuklič & M. Sardoč (Eds.), Osnovni Pojmi in Dileme Državljansk e Vzgoje (117–122). Ljubljana, Slovenia: Civitas/i2.

Pajnik, M., Kuhar, R., Šori, I., & Frelih, M. (2013). Populism in the Slovenian context: Project RAGE, hate speech and populist othering in Europe through the racism, age, gender looking glass, EC, JUST/2012/FRAC/AG/2861, 2013–2015. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Mirovni inštitut.

Pajnik, M., & Kuzmani ć, T. (2005). Nation-states and xenophobias: In the ruins of former Yugoslavia. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Peace Institute.

Pajnik, M., Šori, I., Bajt V., & Frelih M. (2013). National Literature Review— Populism in Slovenia: Project e-EAV, E-engagement against Violence, EC, JUST/2011/DAP/AG/3195, 2013–2015. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Mirovni inštitut.

Rizman, R. (1998). Radikalna desnica na Slovenskem. Teorija in Praksa, 35(2), 249–270.

Rizman, R. (1999). Radical right politics in Slovenia. In S. Ramet (Ed.), The radical right in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989 (pp. 147–170). University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Rupnik, J., & Leskovec, A. (2007). Populizem v vzhodni Srednji Evropi. Nova Revija, 26 (307/309), 180–184.

Schedler, A. (1996). Anti-political-establishment parties. Party Politics, 2(3), 291–312.

Smilov, D., & Krastev, I. (2008). The rise of populism in Eastern Europe: Policy Paper. In G. Mesežnikov, O. Gyárfášová, & Smilov (Eds.), Populist politics and liberal democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (pp. 7–13). Bratislava, Slovakia: Institute for Public Affairs.

To š, N., Kurdija, S., Kova čič, M., Broder, Z., Falle, Z. R., Uhan, S., Kecman, I. (2003). Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research Centre, Social Sciences Data Archive. Politbarometer 04/03, Slovenija, April 2003. Retrieved from http://www.adp.fdv.uni-lj.si/opisi/pbsi0304/.

Vobič, I., Slaček, S. A., Mance, B., & Amon Prodnik, J. (2014). Changing faces of Slovenia: political,

socio-economic and news media aspects of the crisis. Javnost - The Public, 4(21), 77-97.

Zadnikar, D. (2000). Haider na son čni strani Alp. Časopis Za Kritiko Znanosti, 28(2), 95-99. This page intentionally left blank

27 Populist Actors as Communicators or Political Actors as Populist Communicators: Cross-National Findings and Perspectives

Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D. (Eds.). (2008). Twenty-first century populism. The spectre of Western European democracy. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Anderson, B. (1991). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. London, UK: Verso.

Bos, L., & Brants, K. (2014). Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands. European Journal of Communication, 29(6), 703–719.

Eisenberg, E. M. (1984). Ambiguity as strategy in organizational communication. Communication Monographs, 51(3), 227–242.

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.

Johnson, D. W. (Ed.). (2009). Routledge handbook of political management. New York, NY: Routledge.

Lees-Marshment, J. (Ed.). (2012). Routledge handbook of political marketing. London, UK: Routledge.

Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. Government and Opposition, 39(4), 542–563.

Mudde, C. (2007) Populist radical right parties in Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Pauwels, T. (2011). Measuring populism: A quantitative text analysis of party literature in Belgium. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, 21(1), 97–119.

Pfetsch, B., & Esser, F. (2004). Comparing political communication: Reorientation in a changing world. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), Comparing political communication. theories, cases, and challenges (pp. 3–22). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Plasser, F., & Plasser, G. (2002). Global political campaigning. A worldwide analysis of campaign professionals and their practices. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Reif, K., & Schmitt, H. (1980). Nine second-order national elections—A conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results. European Journal of political Research, 8(1), 3–44.

Rooduijn, M. (2014). The mesmerising message: The diffusion of populism in public debates in Western European media. Political Studies, 62(4), 726–744.

Rooduijn, M., de Lange, S. L., & van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe. Party Politics, 20(4), 563–575.

Strömbäck, J., & Kiousis, S. (Eds.). (2011). Political public relations. Principles and applications. New York, NY: Routledge.

28 Populism and the Media: Cross-National Findings and Perspectives

Andersson, C. (2010). Populism och journalistik: stadigt sällskap eller tillfällig bekantskap? Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, 112(3), 271–287.

Becker, J.-J. (1997). L'opinion publique: Un populisme? Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire, 56(4), 92–98.

Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1995). The crisis of public communication. London, UK: Routledge.

Bos, L., & Brants, K. (2014). Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands. European Journal of Communication, 29(6), 703–719.

Canovan, M. (1981). Populism. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Cranmer, M. (2011). Populist communication and publicity: An empirical study of contextual differences in Switzerland. Swiss Political Science Review, 17(3), 286–307.

Gherghina, S., & Soare, S. (2013, 12–14 September). From TV to parliament: Popu lism and communication in the Romanian 2012 elections. Paper presented at XXVII Congress of the Italian Society of Political Science, Florence, Italy.(Social Science Research Network Scholarly Paper No. ID 2370006). Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network.

Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2007). The elements of journalism: What newspeople should know and the public should expect. New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.

Mastropaolo, A. (2011). La democrazia è una causa persa? Paradossi di un'invenzione imperfetta. Torino, Italy: Bollati Boringhieri.

Mazzoleni, G. (2008). Populism and the media. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnel (Eds.), Twenty-first century populism. The spectre of Western European democracy (pp. 49–64). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mazzoleni, G., Stewart, J., & Horsfield, B. (Eds.). (2003). The media and neo- populism: A contempor ary comparative analysis. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Mudde, C. (2007). Populist radical right parties in Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2001). The return of populism—The 2000 Romanian elections. Government and Opposition, 36(2), 230–252.

O'Callaghan, D., Greene, D., Conway, M., Carthy, J., & Cunningham, P. (2012). An analysis of interactions within and between extreme right communities in social media. In M. Atzmueller, A. Chin, D. Helic, & A. Hotho (Eds.), Ubiquitous social media analysis (pp. 88–107). Berlin, Germany: Springer.

Piontek, D., Hordecki, B., & Ossowski, S. (2013). Tabloidyzacja dyskursu politycznego w polskich mediach. Poznań, Poland: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Nauk Polity cznych i Dziennikarstwa.

Plasser, F., & Ulram, P. A. (2003). Striking a responsive chord: Mass media and rightwing populism in Austria. In G. Mazzoleni, J. Stewart, & B. Hors□eld (Eds.), The media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis (pp. 21–44). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Taggart, P. A. (2000). Populism. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Taguieff, P.-A. (2007). L'illusion populiste: Essai sur les démagogies de l'âge démocratique. Paris, France: Flammarion.

Waldahl, R., Andersen, M. B., & Rønning, H. (2003). TV-nyhetene i Nyhetsbildet. Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Wayne, M., & Murray, C. (2009). U.K. television news monopoly politics and cynical populism. Television & New Media, 10(5), 416–433.

29 Citizens and Populist Political Communication: Cross-National Findings and Perspectives

Akkerman, A., Mudde, C., & Zaslove, A. (2014). How populist are the people? Measuring populist attitude in voters. Comparative Political Studies, 47(9), 1324–1353.

Appel, M. (2012). Anti-immigrant propaganda by radical right parties and the intellectual performance of adolescents. Political Psychology, 33(4), 483–493.

Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Explaining the rise of anti- immigrant parties: The role of news content in the Netherlands. Electoral Studies, 26(2), 404–417.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2011). How the media shape perceptions of right-wing populist leaders. Political Communication, 28(2), 182–206.

Bos, L., van der Brug, W., & de Vreese, C. (2013). An experimental test of the impact of style and rhetoric on the perception of right-wing populist and mainstream party leaders. Acta Politica, 48, 192–208.

Colleoni, E., Rozza, A., & Arvidsson, A. (2014). Echo chamber or public sphere? Predicting political orientation and measuring political homophily in Twitter using big data. Journal of Communication, 64(2), 317–332.

Dvir-Gvirsman, S., Tsfati, Y., & Menchen-Trevino, E. (2014). The extent and nature of ideological selective exposure online: Combining survey responses with actual web log data from the 2013 Israeli elections. New Media & Society. Advance online publication. http://nms.sagepub.com/.

Funkhouser, G. R. (1973). The issues of the sixties: An exploratory study in the dynamics of public opinion. Public Opinion Quarterly, 37(1), 62–75.

Gunther, A. C., & Storey, J. D. (2003). The in□uence of presumed in□uence. Journal of Communication, 53(2), 199–215.

Haller, J. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2014). All power to our great leader: Political leadership under uncertainty. In J.-W. von Prooijen & P. A. M. van Lange (Eds.), Power, politics, and paranoia. Why people are suspicious of their leaders

(pp. 130–149). Cambridge, England, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hartmann, T., & Tanis, M. (2013). Examining the hostile media effect as an intergroup phenomenon: The role of ingroup identi□cation and status. Journal of Communication, 63(3), 535–555.

Ivars□aten, E. (2008). What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. Comparative Political Studies, 41, 3–23.

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.

Kellermann, K. (1989). The negativity effect in interaction: It's all in your point of view. Human Communication Research, 16(2), 147–183.

Kepplinger, H. M., Brosius, H.-B., & Staab, J. F. (1991). Opinion formation in mediated con□icts and crises: A theory of cognitive-affective media effects. International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 3(2), 132–156.

Kleinnijenhuis, J. (1991). Newspaper complexity and the knowledge gap. European Journal of Communication, 6(4), 499–522.

Kohring, M., & Matthes, J. (2007). Trust in news media. Development and validation of a multidimensional scale. Communication Research, 34(3), 231–252.

Matthes, J., & Schmuck, D. (2015). The effects of anti-immigrant right-wing populist ads on implicit and explicit attitudes: A moderated mediation model. Communication Research. Advance online publication. http://crx.sagepub.com/

Nabi, R. L. (2002). Discrete emotions and persuasion. In P. Dillard & M. Pfau (Eds.), The persuasion handbook (pp. 289–308). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Oesch, D. (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(3), 349–373.

Pariser, E. (2011). The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you. New York, NY: Penguin.

Pauwels, T. (2014). Populism in Western Europe. Comparing Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands. Milton Park, UK: Routledge.

Reinard, J. C. (1988). The empirical study of the persuasive effects of evidence: The status after fifty years of research. Human Communication Research, 15(1), 3-59.

Reinemann, C., & Maurer, M. (2005). Unifying or polarizing? Short-term effects and post-debate consequences of different rhetorical strategies in televised political debates. Journal of Communication, 55(4), 775-794.

Rooduijn, M. (2014). Vox populismus: A populist radical right attitude among the public. Nations and Nationalism, 20(1), 80-92.

Slater, M. D. (2007). Reinforcing spirals: The mutual influence of media selectivity and media effects and their impact on individual behavior and social identity. Communication Theory, 17(3), 281-303.

Sopory, P., & Dillard, J. P. (2002). The persuasive effects of metaphor: A metaanalysis. Human Communication Research, 28(3), 382-419.

Spier, Tim (2010). Modernisierungsverlierer? Die Wählerschaft rechtspopulistischer Parteien in Europa. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Tsfati, Y. (2007). Hostile media perceptions, presumed media influence and minority alienation: The case of Arabs in Israel. Journal of Communication, 57(4), 632-651.

Tsfati, Y., & Cappella, J. N. (2003). Do people watch what they do not trust? Exploring the association between news media skepticism and exposure. Communication Research, 30(5), 504-529.

Tsfati, Y., & Peri, Y. (2006). Mainstream media skepticism and exposure to sectorial and extranational news media: The case of Israel. Mass Communication & Society, 9(2), 165-187.

Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J. (2013). The differential

susceptibility to media effects model. Journal of Communication, 63(2), 221-243. This page intentionally left blank