

History 600: European Populism since 1945

University of Wisconsin-Madison
Department of History
Spring 2022
Monday-Wednesday 11-12:55
5255 Humanities

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This seminar focuses on the history of populism, especially right wing populism, in Europe from the end of the Second World War to the present. The revival of a powerful radical right has been a crucial turning point in late twentieth century European politics. Over the course of the semester, we will place the movement in historical perspective and analyze its revival. What are the social and political roots of the contemporary extreme right and why has it met with success in some of the European Union's most prosperous and stable countries? How did the extreme right reconstruct itself in the wake of fascism's defeat in 1945? Is it best characterized as a type of neofascism or as a new form of populism? Our readings, which will introduce you to a range of interpretations, focus on France (the *Front National*); Belgium (the *Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang*); Austria (the *FPÖ*); and Italy (the *Lega Nord* and the *Five Star Movement*). For their research papers, students are welcome to focus on other countries and can also work on the development of left wing forms of populism over the past two decades (the five star movement in Italy, for example).

During the second half of the semester students will research and write a 20-25 page research paper based on primary and secondary sources.

Format: Reading and discussion. We will meet to discuss common readings for the first half of the semester. Students are expected to come prepared to seminar. By 8 p.m. on the day preceding seminar, students are required to post **two** discussion questions about the readings on Canvas along with a one paragraph response to the readings.

Objectives. In this class, you will learn to:

- Craft an original research topic
- Conduct in-depth historical research
- Select and interpret primary sources
- Write a lengthy research paper that demonstrates your ability to evaluate sources critically and provide a convincing historical interpretation your chosen topic

Requirements: A one-page paper and a three-page paper due early in the semester, a 1-2 page research proposal, a detailed bibliography, and a paper outline. The central requirement of the course is a 20-page research paper on the history of European populism. You should begin thinking about a possible research project as soon as possible -- it will take time for you to refine your ideas. Pick a topic you are interested in (if you are bored with it, you will write a poor paper), and one on which there are sufficient sources in the UW Libraries (online or in hard copies). You will also be required to discuss and critique each other's first drafts and to make a formal oral presentation to the seminar during the last week of classes.

Attendance is required. Please warn me in advance if you will be unable to attend a particular class session. Class participation will be a component of your final grade.

Grading: Class participation 30%, short papers 20%, final paper 50%.

Credits: This is a 3-credit class. The credit standard for this course is met by an expectation of a total of 135 hours of student engagement with the course's learning activities (at least 45 hours per credit or 9 hours per week), which include regularly scheduled meeting times (group seminar meetings of 115 minutes per week), dedicated online time, reading, writing, field trips, individual consultations with the instructor, and other student work as described in the syllabus.

The History Lab: The History Lab is a resource center staffed by History PhD students who can provide you with one on one consultations during the writing process. For instructions on how to make an appointment and a short explanatory video, see [The History Lab – Department of History – UW–Madison](#)

Research Guide: Julianne Haahr, a library specialist at Memorial Library, has put together a research guide for this class. You'll find lots of useful tips for finding sources on European populism.

<https://researchguides.library.wisc.edu/c.php?g=1124197&p=8199893>

Office Hours: I will hold office hours either in person or on Zoom, Mondays from 1:30 to 3:30 pm. If that time does not work send me an email and we can arrange to talk at another time.

Course Evaluations: Students will be provided with an opportunity to evaluate this course and your learning experience. Student participation is an integral component of this course, and your feedback is important to me. I strongly encourage you to participate in the course evaluation.

COVID-19: For up-to-date University guidelines, please consult covidresponse.wisc.edu. Face masks: you are expected to wear a facemask when you are inside any university building and, of course, when you are in class. Masks must be [worn correctly](#) (i.e., covering both your mouth and nose). **Please stay home if you feel**

any COVID symptoms and stay home if you test positive. I will work with you to make sure you can stay up to date with the class.

Accommodations: The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy ([UW-855](#)) require the university to provide reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities to access and participate in its academic programs and educational services. Faculty and students share responsibility in the accommodation process. Students are expected to inform me of their need for instructional accommodations during the beginning of the semester, or as soon as possible after being approved for accommodations. I will work either directly with you or in coordination with the McBurney Center to provide reasonable instructional and course-related accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA. (See: [McBurney Disability Resource Center](#))

University Statement on Diversity: Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals. The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff serve Wisconsin and the world. <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>

Books and articles: The books listed below are required. All other articles and chapters will be posted on the Canvas site, or are available electronically through the library.

The following books are required:

Françoise Gaspard, *A Small City in France: A Socialist Mayor Confronts Neofascism* (Harvard University Press, 1995)

Michel Eltchaninoff, *Inside the Mind of Marine Le Pen*, translated by James Ferguson. London: Hurst & Co, 2017. ISBN: 9781849049344

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2017)

Week 1 (Jan 26) Introduction

Week 2 (Feb 2). Historical and Social Origins

Françoise Gaspard, *A Small City in France*, 1-177.

Week 3 (Feb 9). The Rise of the Radical Right in France

One page paper due in class

Michel Eltchaninoff, Inside the Mind of Marine Le Pen, translated by James Ferguson. London: Hurst & Co, 2017. 1-23, 35-59, 109-68 [introduction, chapters 1, 3, 7, 8, 9] [**available through the UW Library website as a ProQuest Ebook**]

Olivier Roy, "The French National Front: From Christian Identity to Laïcité," in Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion, edited by Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell, and Olivier Roy, 79-93. London: Hurst, 2016

Arthur Goldhammer, "Explaining the Rise of the Front National. Political Rhetoric or Cultural Insecurity?," French Politics, Culture & Society 33, No. 2 (2015), 134-42.

Week 4 (Feb 16). Interpreting and Explaining the Populist Radical Right

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Kaltwasser, Populism: A Very Short Introduction, entire book

Pierre Rosanvallon, The Populist Century: History, Theory, Critique, translated by Catherine Porter. London: Polity Press, 2021. pp 1-11; 45-56.

Pierre Rosanvallon, "A Reflection on Populism," Books & Ideas, 2011 (PDF)

Week 5 (Feb 23). Austria, Germany, and Brexit

Walter Manoschek, "FPÖ, ÖVP, and Austria's Nazi Past;" in Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka eds., The Haider Phenomenon in Austria (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002): 3-15.

Duncan Morrow "Jörg Haider and the new FPO: beyond the Democratic Pale?," in The Politics of the Extreme Right: From the Margins to the Mainstream, edited by Paul Hainsworth, 33-63. London: Bloomsbury, 2000.

Leila Hadj-Abdou, "The 'Religious Conversion' of the Austrian Freedom Party," in Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion, edited by Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell, and Olivier Roy, 29-45. London: Hurst, 2016

Jan-Werner Müller, "Austria: the Lessons of the Far Right" New York Review of Books, 25 July 2016.

David Art, "The AfD and the End of Containment in Germany," German Politics and Society 127 Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 2018): 76–86

John Agnew and Michael Sinn, "Should we Stay or Should We Go? European Immigration, Globalization, and Brexit," in Agnew and Sinn, Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People, 47-66. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020.

Week 6 (March 2). Italian Populism of the Left and Right

3 page paper due in class

Duncan McDonnell, "The Lega Nord: the New Savior of Northern Italy," in Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion, edited by Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell, and Olivier Roy, 13-28. London: Hurst, 2016

Marco Brunazzo and Mark Gilbert, "Insurgents against Brussels: Euroscepticism and the right-wing populist turn of the Lega Nord since 2013," Journal of Modern Italian Studies 22, no. 5 (2017): 624-41.

Daniele Albertazzi and Davide Vampa, Populism in Europe: Lessons from Umberto Bossi's Northern League. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021, 1-12, 17-35.

Marco Di Maggio and Manuela Perrone, "The Political Culture of the Movimento Cinque Stelle, from Foundation to the Reins of Government," Journal of Modern Italian Studies 24, no 3 (2019): 468-82.

John Agnew and Michael Sinn, "When in Rome... Populism and the Five Star Movement in Italy," in Agnew and Sinn, Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People, 113-136. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020.

Week 7 (March 9). Is Northern and Western European Populism Different?

Rogers Brubaker, "Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: the European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective," Ethnic and Racial Studies 40 (2017), 1191-1226.

Oscar Mazzoleni, "Populism and Islam in Switzerland: the Role of the Swiss People's Party," in Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion,

edited by Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell, and Olivier Roy, 47-60.
London: Hurst, 2016

Hans-Goerg Betz, "Mosques, Minarets, Burqas and Other Essential Threats: The Populist Right's Campaign against Islam in Western Europe," in Right Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse, edited by Ruth Wodak, Majid KhosraviNik and Brigitte Mral, 71-87. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Claus Mudde, "One against All, All against One: A Portrait of the Vlaams Blok," Patterns of Prejudice 29 (1995): 5-28.

Josep Kesic and Jan Willem Duyvendak, "The Nation under Threat: Secularist, Racial and Populist Nativism in the Netherlands," Patterns of Prejudice 52, no. 5 (2019): 441-63.

Week 8 Spring Break

Week 9 (March 23). Meeting with Instructor to discuss Research Project

1-2 page research proposal due Monday March 21, 5 pm.

We'll schedule times for you to meet with me during seminar

Week 10 (March 30). The Research Process

1-2 page bibliography due March 30

Discussion of sample research papers

2 minute outline of your research project

Week 11 (April 6). No Class. Work on your research project

Individual meetings on Zoom or in my office

Paper outline due. Monday April 4.

Week 12 (April 13). No Class. Work on your research project

Individual meetings on Zoom or in my office

Week 13 (April 20). Rough Drafts due April 20th in class

Rough drafts should be as complete as possible (including footnotes, a bibliography, an introduction and a conclusion). The more you present, the more you will profit from the comments of your fellow students. **Send an electronic version to the other members of your peer review group.**

Week 14 (April 27). Peer review Groups

Discussion of rough drafts in groups of 3 or 4. Some of the peer review groups will meet outside of class time.

Week 15 (May 4). Oral presentations

Final paper due Tuesday May 10 at 5 pm