

## History 600: European Populism since 1945

University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Department of History  
Spring 2023  
Thursday 11-12:55  
5245 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 society. 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? The readings will introduce you to a range of interpretations and focus on France (the *Front National*), Austria (the *FPÖ*), and Italy (the *Lega Nord* and the *Five Star Movement*) as case studies. Students are welcome to focus on other countries for their research papers 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:** Two one-page papers, 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 10%, final paper 60%.

**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:** Tuesday 11am -1 pm. If that time does not work send me an email and we can arrange to talk at another time.

**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.

**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.

**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](#))

**The University Statement on diversity is available here:** <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>

**Books and articles:** The books listed below are required. The articles will be available in a course packet that you can purchase at the L&S Copy Center, located in the Social Science Building, Room 6120 (open M-F, 7:45 am to 11:45 am and 12:30 pm to 4:00 pm). I'll let you know when the course packet is ready for pick up.

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.

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). Interpreting and Explaining the Populist Radical Right**

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

Catherine Fieschi, "What is it about Populism?," in *Populocracy: The Tyranny of Authenticity and the Rise of Populism*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing, 2019, 7-22.

Jens Rydgren, "The Radical Right: An Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, edited by Jens Rydgren, 251-68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Pierre Rosanvallon, "A Reflection on Populism," *Books & Ideas*, 2011

## Week 4 (Feb 16). The Rise of the Radical Right in France

### 1-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] [also 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.

Nona Mayer, "The Impact of Gender on Votes for the Populist Radical Rights: Marine Le Pen vs. Eric Zemmour," Modern & Contemporary France 30 (2022): 445-60.

## 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.

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

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

Reinhard Heinisch, "The Carinthian model: The Role of Sub-National Claims in the Freedom Party's Dominance in Austria's Southernmost State," in Reinhard Heinisch, Emanuele Massetti and Oscar Mazzoleni, The People and the Nation: Populism and Ethno-Territorial Politics in Europe (London: Routledge, 2020): 136-64.

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**

#### **1-page paper due in class**

Catherine Fieschi, "Populism's Poster Child: Italy," in Populocracy: The Tyranny of Authenticity and the Rise of Populism. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing, 2019, 89-116.

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.

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.

Roger Eatwell, "Charisma and the Radical Right," in The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right, edited by Jens Rydgren, 251-68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Aristotle Kallis, "The Radical Right and Islamophobia," in The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right, edited by Jens Rydgren, 251-68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

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.

**Week 8 Spring Break (March 18)**

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

**1-2 page research proposal due Monday March 20, 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**

**Paper outline due. Monday April 3.**  
Individual meetings in my office

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

Individual meetings in my office

**Week 13 (April 20). Rough Drafts due April 20th by 5 pm**

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 9 at 5 pm**