Dutch Directness

A comparative case study on populism in the Dutch and British print media

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Introduction

The academic literature on populism is inconsistent and overwhelming in its quantity. For the use of the term in the media, "*thrown around with abandon*" is perhaps the most fitting title of an article (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011). Besides the concept being defined differently by several scholars, media are known to misuse the concept on a regular basis. A study on UK newspapers by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart found that even football coaches can be defined as populists when they opt for a football player favorited by the public (2011, 118). The term was furthermore used for both left- and right-wing politicians, used for political actors from several countries, is almost never the central subject in an article and is often used pejoratively (2011, 127). This research will replicate the analysis from that article by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart to analyze the use of the term populism and populist in Dutch broadsheet newspapers (2011). The results allow a comparison of the British and the Dutch case. The research question is as follows:

> *What are the differences between the use of the terms populism and populist in*
> *the Dutch and British 'broadsheet' newspapers?*

By comparing the Dutch and British quality newspapers I concluded that the Dutch newspapers refer to right-wing populism more often than the British newspapers. Left-wing populism is not left out completely, but the focus is on right-wing populism. Especially politicians and political parties labelled populist in several articles are almost all considered to be right-wing. As far as political issues are concerned, several are socio-economic left-wing political issues. However, compared to the British newspapers, the focus does seem to have moved from both left-wing and right-wing issues to mostly right-wing issues. Furthermore, this shift towards the right has also led to an increase of the pejorative use of the term. Right-wing populism, and the associated policies of among others xenophobia and Euroscepticism, thereby seem to provoke an even more negative connotation to populism.

The article will first look into some of the background of populism and follow through with the theoretical framework. Afterwards, it will briefly discuss the methodology used for the analysis. The analysis itself is divided into six different sections, all comparing the results from the British newspapers to the Dutch newspapers. The first one deals with the general – not necessarily political – findings. The following four sections focus on who, what and where: the political actors deemed populist, the political issues deemed populist, the newspapers and their political affiliations and a final section on the implications of those results. The last section of the analysis focuses on the how-question: the connotation when populism was mentioned. The final part is the conclusion on both the similarities and differences found by comparing the Dutch and British newspapers.

The aim of this article is to help with an understanding of how the media perceives the term populism in different countries and/or time-periods. As found by the literature review, most articles dealing with populism and the media discuss whether or not the media is populist or the power of the media to help or break the rise of populist parties. How the media perceive populism is underexposed. Following the one-case study by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart this paper tries to expand our knowledge on popular use of the term populism. Furthermore, it distinguishes whether the perception on populism is different for different countries or time periods and thereby expands our knowledge on the vernacular use of populism.

Background of populism

To grasp the concept of populism itself, it is essential to mention three types – or waves – of populism as defined in different time periods. First of all, the American People's Party and Russian Narodniki in the 19th century. The American People's Party tried to mobilize the people of a nation when American farmers wanted to stop the deterioration of their position in the US. Their rebellion was aimed at the – in their opinion – unfair distinction between the hardworking farmers and the exploiting elite (Jagers 2006, 24-25). The Russian 'Narodniki' is sometimes directly translated to English as populism. Narodniki was founded by elitists and essentially a movement against capitalism. Even though there are big differences between both movements, they are united in their rebellion against the elite. This type of populism is defined as agrarian populism (Canovan 1981).

The second wave of populism is found in Latin-America and particularly manifested itself in the leadership of Juan Perón in Argentina after the second World War. The regimes in which populism presented itself were mostly authoritarian and the ones associated with populism were the leaders themselves. In Perónism, as this wave of populism is called, the direct connection between a (charismatic) leader and its people is most prominent. This wave of populism is characterized by the link with nationalism and the mobilization of the recently urbanized working class (Hennessy 1969; Jagers 2006, 29). Contrary to the first wave of populism, Perónism is considered to be left-wing populism and imperialists and oligarchical agents are seen to be 'enemies of the people' (Beasley-Murray 1998, 195).

The third and for this research most relevant wave of populism is known as new populism. This term, first mentioned by Taggart, first appeared around the turn of the century and has been adopted by many other academics (Jagers 2006, 31). It is characterized by the rise of the extreme-right in several (Western-)European countries and focuses on both the elite and 'dangerous others' as the anti-people. This distinction is very important, since hatred towards immigrants or other 'outsiders' is seen to be a critical aspect of right-wing populism, but not a necessity for populism on

its own (Rooduijn, de Lange and van der Brug 2014, 565). It is this association with xenophobia (or Islamophobia) that has caused the pejorative stance towards populism in the recent academic debate (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 115). The two countries this paper will focus on - The Netherlands and the United Kingdom – are both considered to be countries influenced by the arrival of said new populism (Aalberg, Esser, Reinemann, Strömback and de Vreese 2016).

However, a side note has to be made about the distinction between left-wing and right-wing populism. Even though right-wing populism has been more prominent in the academic literature, left-wing populism was and is present in several European countries as well. Examples are the German party Die Linke and – according to some – the Dutch Socialist Party (Otjes and Louwerse 2015, 61). The difference is their focus on socio-economic issues rather than nationalism and exclusion of outsiders. Otjes and Louwerse explain left-wing populism as follows: "*Left-wing populists often claim that the political elite only look after the interests of the business elite and neglect the interests of the common working man*" (2015, 61-62). Even though the current wave of new populism focuses on right-wing populism, left-wing populism will not be overlooked in the remainder of this paper. What is perhaps the most striking finding from readings on all three waves of populism is how vastly different they are and that other forms of populism can so easily be defined within the same time periods and groups of countries. The literature on the term is overwhelming and inconsistent and it will be interesting to see if and how the media deals with this multitude of definitions.

Theoretical framework

Dutch politics have seen the rise of new populist parties ever since the depillarization of the country in the 1960s (van Kessel 2015, 107). Examples are the Centrum Party (CP/CP'86), Centrum Democrats (CD) and the Farmers Party (Boerenpartij), However, up until the start of the 21st century, Dutch populist parties only had modest electoral success and were not part of a trend (or wave) of populism in European countries (van Kessel 2015, 99). Compared to the third wave of new populism, the populism from the 60's was relatively mild, even though it was also right-wing and focused on dangerous others. It was the List Pim Fortuyn at the beginning of the century, led by Pim Fortuyn himself, that gained prominence as a right-wing populist party. The Freedom party (PVV), established three years after the murder of Pim Fortuyn, became even more successful and signed a *gedoogakkoord* (basically a support agreement) alongside coalition-parties VVD and CDA in 2010.[1]

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[1] This *gedoogakkoord* was not the regular coalition agreement, which was only signed by VVD and CDA, but another document in which, among others, the issues were defined that the Freedom Party would support in the House of Representatives.

As far as left-wing populism is concerned, the only left-wing populist party in recent years – the Socialistische Partij (SP) – has made a turn toward the mainstream parties and is nowadays more often considered to be a left alternative to the mainstream Labour party (PvdA). According to many, its reputation as a populist party has vanished over the years (van Kessel 2015, 100-101). Possibly the best example of this is the change in the election-slogan from *Stem tegen, stem SP* (Vote against, vote SP) to *Stem voor, stem SP* (Vote for, vote SP) (Rooduijn 2014). However, not all academics agree that the *Socialist Party* is no longer populist. For example, a recent article by Hameleers, Bos and de Vreese argued that the Socialist Party could still be considered populist due to its anti-establishment rhetoric (2016, 141).

The United Kingdom does not have a tradition of populist parties. In the past, radical parties mainly decided to focus on fascism or the extreme-right (van Kessel 2015, 145). The term was therefore more often used to describe individual politicians rather than political parties. In recent years, some political parties that can be defined as populist emerged in national politics: the British National Party (BNP) and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). The BNP is a small extreme-right political party formed by Tyndall in 1982. The party has been fairly unsuccessful in general elections, but has had some local successes. It presents itself as a party that focuses on bringing back democracy to the UK (van Kessel 2015, 149-150). The other populist party, UKIP, has been on the rise in recent years. In 2015 the party had one winning candidate in a voting constituency, providing UKIP with one seat in the House of Commons. However, they received more than 3 million votes – a 12 percent share of the total number of votes – and nowadays definitely pose a threat to the mainstream right-wing Conservative party.

Due to Dutch electoral success of right-wing populist parties in the 21st century (List Pim Fortuyn and the Freedom Party), the longer tradition of right-wing populist parties in the Dutch House of Representatives and the early rise of new populism (right at the turn of the century), this article assumes that the Dutch have a more profound understanding of populism in their own country than the Brits. Considering many articles in newspapers are letters from readers or express the personal opinion of one of the editors (op-ed articles), I expect this to have an impact on who is perceived as populist and how they are perceived. Even more so, in a recent book by van Kessel he concludes that several political parties in the UK *not* defined as populist use populist rhetoric as well, making the distinction between populist and non-populist even more difficult to find (2015). I therefore assume that since the picture of what is considered populist in the UK is more blurry than in the Dutch case, the media usage of the term will likewise be more blurry than in the Dutch case.

Second of all, the Dutch and British literature on populism provide similar conclusions on the use of the term. A recent article compares the definition of populism within the national literature of European countries. The Dutch literature overall agrees on the core characteristics of populism in the

Netherlands: populism "is defined as a "thin"-centered ideology, of which the core consists of the following three characteristics: [a] focus on the people, the homogenous in-group; [the] belief that the homogenous in-group is threatened by the homogenous out-group [and a] view of society as divided into two antagonistic groups: the pure and blameless Dutch people versus the culprit out-group" (Hameleers, Bos and de Vreese 2016, 138). Although they disagree on the role of the media and on whether the Socialist Party is still a populist party, they overall agree on the characteristics of (Dutch) populism.

The British literature defining populism is characterized by a lot more disagreement than the Dutch literature and focuses on somewhat different issues. First off, the academics disagree on whether the "extreme right, radical right, Euroskepticism" and other verbalizations of such terms should be seen as subtypes of populism or used interchangeably for the same phenomena (Stanyer, Archetti and Sorensen 2016, 165). Within this argument, many scholars tend to write on a combination of one of these topics rather than populism on its own. Secondly, the degree to which populism opposes representative democracy or focuses on the rejection of aspects within liberal democracy is disagreed upon. Examples of such are the rejection of respect for minorities or separation of power. Charismatic leadership is, more so than in the Dutch literature, considered an important aspect of populism. Some consider this to be crucial, whereas others see it to be dominant but not essential (Stanyer, Archetti and Sorensen 2016, 168). The UK literature thus underlines the assumption I made on the basis of the political system where the British definition of populism seems more cloudy than the Dutch understanding of this phenomenon.

All in all the Dutch usage of populism is more congruent than the British usage. Based on the disagreement in the literature, lack of populism in the past and the use of populist rhetoric by several (non-populist)parties in the UK it seems plausible that the British media cannot make sense of it either and resort to using the term for basically anything. The expectations for the Dutch print media are therefore that the term *populist* will be more solely reserved for political actors on the far-right and that the terms *populisme* and *populistisch(e)* are more solely reserved for right-wing issues and political parties than was the case in the UK print media. The hypothesis related to this is as follows:

H1. Dutch print media are more inclined to use the terms *populism and populist to describe right-wing populism than British print media.*

My second hypothesis follows the reasoning of the first hypothesis. Due to the presence and success of several right-wing populist parties in the Netherlands, I expect the use of the terms populism and populist to be reserved more exclusively for actors on the far-right and issues associated with those particular parties. The second hypothesis elaborates on this reasoning by making the link between

extreme right-wing parties and a pejorative connotation in the media. A study by Ellinas found evidence of this in the media in several countries (2010). He concluded that even if the media is likely to provide extreme-right parties with a stage, they will make sure to show their aversion to said party. An example from Austrian newsmagazine *Profil*: "*by painting a Hitler-like moustache on his face [...], Profil went out of their way to show their dislike for Haider and his politics*" (Ellinas 2010, 206). Similar negativism towards the extreme-right was found in the Netherlands by Mudde and van Holsteyn (2000, 148). The academic literature on populism complies with these findings. Bale, van Kessel and Taggart found that "*populism in Europe has frequently been associated with politics that are xenophobic and therefore, in a sense, distasteful. This has, again, reinforced the tendency for populism, as a term, to be used pejoratively in the academic literature*" (2011, 115). I therefore expect the presence of new populism to cause increasing pejorative usage.

Second of all, I expect the pejorative use of populism to rise due to the Zeitgeist. The article from Bale, van Kessel and Taggart focuses on the British print media in 2007 and 2008. This is before the rise of UKIP in the national political arena, before the Dutch 'no' in the referendum on Ukraine, the British decision for a Brexit and before the rise of, among others, Marine Le Pen in France and Donald Trump in the US. In other words, it is before some major populist successes in Western-Europe and the US (Rooduijn, de Lange and van der Brug 2014; Oliver and Rahn 2016). With populist parties being more prominent in their respective countries, I expect the resentment towards them to rise as well (due to among others their xenophobic stance and radical statements).

The presence of populist success in Europe aligns with the European debt crisis that surfaced at the end of 2008 and the European refugee crisis from the past years. Recent study has shown that populist success is hugely dependent on the impression of crisis within a particular country. This is due to the fact that arguing that the values of the in-group (heartland) are being contested by an out-group finds more supporters in the face of crisis (Hamelaars, Bos and de Vreese 2016, 141). The aim of the populist actor in said situation is to convince people that they will be the one to fix those problems associated with the crisis, when the establishment does not deliver viable solutions.

The third argument is related to the different media systems of the UK and the Netherlands. Hallin and Mancini wrote about the influence of a country's history on its media system and vice versa. On the basis of three models they conclude there is a difference between countries in Northern and Central Europe (among others Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Switzerland), Mediterranean countries (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) and North Atlantic countries (Britain, Ireland and former colonies Canada and the United States). The three ideal-type models they use are the (Mediterranean) Polarized Pluralist Model, the (North/Central European) Democratic Corporatist Model and the (North Atlantic) Liberal Model (2004, 11). By comparing the three models in their media system and political set-up and discussing countries that fall within these

models they conclude that there is a relation between the emergence of media systems and political systems, even if it is not always a direct relationship (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 296).

The biggest differences between Democratic Corporatism and the Liberal model that emerge are the level of commercialization (more so in the Liberal model), dominance of the market (rather than state-regulation as is the case in Democratic Corporatism) and institutionalization of the press (not the case in the Liberal model). As for the political system the differences are in the presence of a consensus or majoritarian government, the role of the welfare state (stronger in Democratic Corporatism) and difference in the type of pluralism– individual (Liberalism) or organized. Similarities of the media include the early rise of mass-circulation press, press freedom and self-regulation of a professionalized media. The models also both knew early democratization, have moderate pluralism and a "strong development of rational-legal authority" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 68).

Britain, even though it does not fit the theory spot-on, is considered to be one of the countries in the liberal model. The Netherlands on the other hand, is considered to be democratic corporatist and is closer to the ideal-type Democratic Corporatism than the UK is to the Liberal model. Figure 1 is an adapted figure from the book by Hallin and Mancini and shows the position of both the United Kingdom and the Netherlands as compared to the three ideal-types (2004, 70). This figure shows that the Netherlands is fairly close to the ideal-type Democratic Corporatism, while Britain is a lot farther from the Liberalist model and could even be considered a mixed-case between Liberalism and Democratic Corporatism (2004, 10). Differences between Britain and the Liberalist model include the (highly) partisan British press, the slightly less objective press and the existence of political instrumentalization alongside a commercial press (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 75).

As for the individual cases and the press media, there is a particular big difference between the role of the tabloids. The British press is the best example of a "sensationalist mass press" coexisting with quite elitist quality papers. In the Democratic Corporatist countries, the Netherlands among them, tabloids are not as sensationalist or so central to the market (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 195). Furthermore, the Dutch public is not as segmented as the British public. Tabloids are not merely reserved for the down-market or mass market, just as quality newspapers are not merely for the middle to upper-class. Both tabloids and broadsheets therefore have a different and more heterogenic audience in the Democratic Corporatist-countries. Combined with the commercialization of the British press, I assume the different role of broadsheet newspapers to have an impact on the content of news stories.

Figure 1. Relation of the UK and Netherlands to the three models
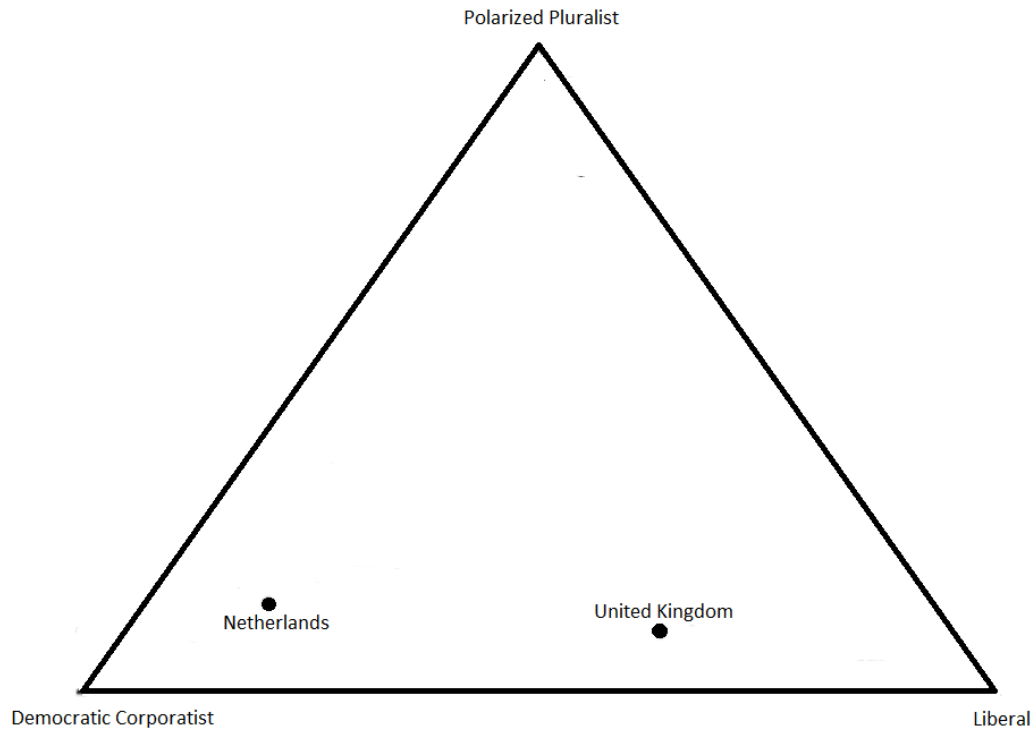
Source: Hallin & Mancini 2004, 70)

Since the UK broadsheets are less central to the market and target a specific elite public, the stories in those newspapers are expected to be more intellectual and less sensationalist than the stories in their Dutch counterparts, since the Dutch broadsheet media targets a bigger (less elitist) audience. This could thus boost the pejorative use of the term populism.[2] All in all, I reason more pejorative use of the term populism due to the negative associations with the far-right, the Zeitgeist and the position of Dutch broadsheet newspapers as compared to the British broadsheet newspapers. The hypothesis related to these findings is as follows:

> *H2. The pejorative use of the terms populism and populist is more frequent in the Dutch case than in the British case.*

In relation to the article by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart this means I expect different outcomes for four of their six conclusions. As far as similarities to their conclusions, I expect that populism in the Dutch media is almost never central to the content of media articles and that the concept 'travels' to other continents and their policies (2011). My two hypotheses focus on the differences I expect with

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[2] An important distinction that I will emphasize in the methodology-section is that the analysis only looks at explicit pejorative use of the term populism, rather than the implicit use, to avoid coder bias. I expect here that the more sensationalist a newspaper is, the more it will use the terms in an explicit pejorative way.

the other four conclusions they provide. H1 focuses on three conclusions provided by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart. They found that populism is used for a wide range of individuals and political parties, that there is a tendency to label something from the opposing side of the political spectrum as populist and that both left-wing and right-wing causes are labelled populist (2011).

H1 assumes that, contrary to the British case, the Dutch usage of the term will be more consistent and more solely reserved for right-wing actors and issues (new populism). Therefore, I expect that the range of individuals and parties deemed populist to be smaller, a tendency to label right-wing politicians populists rather than actors from the opposing side of the political spectrum and a focus on right-wing causes/actors rather than left-wing causes/actors. The second hypothesis focuses on the last of their conclusions: populism is mostly used in a pejorative way (2011). I expect this to be true, but assume in H2 that the pejorative use of populism will be even more frequent in the Dutch case than in the British case.

Methodology

This paper replicates the design of a research conducted by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart in the UK (2011). In that article, the writers analyzed the use of the words 'populism' and 'populist' in the UK print media. They did so by analyzing all articles in four national broadsheet newspapers that mentioned either word in two 3-month periods (October to December 2007 and July to September 2008) by using LexisNexis database. This research paper will focus on the Dutch print media as well as the British print media, using data from my own analysis of the Dutch newspapers as well as the analysis by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart for the British newspapers. If the results turn out to be similar, the conclusions will appear to be generalizable to several countries in Western-Europe. However, as shown in the previous section, I expect some differences in the outcome of the Dutch analysis.

For the Dutch case, the national broadsheet newspapers selected are *De Volkskrant (The People's Paper), TROUW* (Fidelity*), Het Financieele Dagblad,* also known as *FD,* and *NRC Handelsblad*. The original article also took the respective Sunday papers into account, but since there are no Sunday papers in the Netherlands, the focus will be on the daily (Monday to Sunday) newspapers only. Since most of the results are presented as percentages or modes (which values appear most often) I do not expect this will undermine the results. The period chosen to research is October to December 2015 and July to September 2016. In "*Thrown Around with Abandon"* the periods were chosen randomly, but I tried to find an equivalent, yet more recent, period for the Dutch analysis.

Therefore, there is no general election in the Netherlands during the time frames chosen and the months chosen are identical (making the time period in between the two periods chosen

identical as well). Furthermore, the second time period (July to September 2016) is as close to the American presidential elections as the second period was in their analysis in 2008. In their research, this resulted in more use of the term populism or populist. By using a time frame close to another American presidential election this analysis will provide data on whether that was a coincidence for that election or a possible trend. Searching for the Dutch words *populisme* (populism), *populist, populistisch and populistische* (populist) in the Lexis Nexis database added up to a total of 501 news articles.

Coding will be done by analyzing content the same way Bale, van Kessel and Taggart did. Content analysis is "*the systematic counting, assessing and interpreting of the form and substance of communication*" (Manheim et. al 2012, 201). The coding on this article will be a mix of substantive and structural content analysis: focusing on both *what* is said, as well as *how* it is said (Manheim et. al 2012, 206-209) I received the original database from the authors and proceed by coding in that same manner. First off, the source (Telegraaf, Volkskrant, FD or NRC), the number of times each of the terms is mentioned, the adjacent word, the name of the actor – or issue – that is considered to be populist and the country that actor (or the issue discussed) is from is noted. By including which newspaper featured which article, a comparison between the four different newspapers can be made. Moreover, it will provide some insight into the effects of the political affiliations each of the newspapers have.

The adjacent word is noted if it is relevant to the term. Examples are "populist measures" or "dumb populism". The overview of actors, issues and respective countries discussed in the article allow insight into how the concept 'travels' (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 127). Furthermore, the section (news, opinion-editorial, letters from readers or reviews) and genre/category (politics, sports, arts, media or other) are noted. This allows some general information on the topic discussed when populism is mentioned.

For the political articles it is taken into account whether the article referred to substance (tax cuts for example), some particular aspect of style, such as having a populist touch or appeal, or if it was undefinable. To determine whether the term was central to the article, it is listed whether the term was present in the headline or not. Last of all, the user (journalist, politician or other) and the connotation will be noted. The connotation is used to decide whether the term was used pejoratively. Implicit connotations will not be taken into account to prevent any bias in coding. This follows the example by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart and even though it allows for more intercoder-reliability, it will mean understating the actual pejorative use of the term (2011, 123).

The Use of 'Populism' in the Dutch case compared to the British case

The total number of articles reviewed for this analysis is 495.[3] The first time period, in 2015, yielded 194 articles. The second time period, in 2016, ended up with a total of 301 articles.[4] Compared to the British case, this amount is fairly low. The four British broadsheet newspapers in the 2007-2008 period covered the terms in a total of 676 articles. Two reasons for this difference are the existence of Sunday papers in the UK and the relatively few articles on populism by the Dutch Financial Newspaper (FD). Presumably due to its economic background and lack of a political affiliation, the paper did not make much use of the term populism (only 66 out of 495).

As discussed in the methodology-section, the analysis took place in a time period similar to the time period in the British analysis. One of the expectations here was that the number of articles would increase if an (American) election was coming up. In both the British results from 2007-2008 as well as the Dutch results from 2015-2016 this was confirmed. However, when looking at the original time-period of October to December 2007 and July to September 2008 in the Netherlands a Lexis-Nexis search ends up with 231 articles in 2007 and only 154 in 2008. The elections thus do not seem to be responsible for the amount of articles on populism.

When comparing the initial results of both cases, the outcomes are fairly similar. The first conclusion by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart was that populism is almost never central to the article. As for the Netherlands, I expected this to be the same. The reasoning behind this is that I expected that the term would, as was the case in the UK, mostly refer to the background of some political actor rather than serving as the main subject. This expectation was valid: the term is mostly mentioned within the article, and not in the headline of the article. In the British case the term only appeared in 2.5% of the headlines, in the Netherlands the articles added up to a total of 4.4% (22 out of 495 articles). Bale, van Kessel and Taggart's first conclusion that populism is rarely central to the news-article therefore seems to be similar in both cases.

As for the section in which the articles appear, the news section is most popular, but closely followed by the opinion-editorial (op-ed) section (45.9% versus 40.6%). The only big difference with the British case is the lack of reviews in which the terms are mentioned. In the British case, 20% of the articles were reviews, in the Netherlands, this was less than half with only 8.9%. The topics discussed show a similar pattern: in the UK 67% of the articles discussed politics, 17% arts, 10% media and a remaining 3.5% discussed sports. In the Netherlands, the focus on politics was stronger, with over 90% of the articles on populism being related to politics. Arts, media and sports are only discussed in respectively 3.2%, 2.0%, and 0.6% of the articles. Related to the findings on which

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[3] I decided not to take the crossword-puzzles into account since they do not provide information on the vernacular use

[4] Some articles appeared to discuss populism beforehand, but turned out to be crossword puzzles: these were left out of the final analysis.

section the articles appear in, the lack of review-articles explain this to the upmost extent: most reviews are related to arts or discuss certain television-shows. Since only 8.9% of the Dutch articles were reviews, the lack of articles discussing non-political issues is similarly low.

A related difference is the use of the terms within the country itself. In the UK only about half the UK-related articles were also related to politics. In the Netherlands, the picture is pretty similar to the overall picture: 86.6% of the newspaper articles on the Netherlands were politically oriented: the term therefore seems to be used much more exclusively for political ends. Interesting fact on the non-political articles is that they were pejorative in nearly two-thirds of the total. To exemplify the strange issues associated with populism there, one article mentioned "populist nonsense such as karaoke or Dolly Parton". Positive and neutral use of the term in non-political articles was – compared to the British case – very limited. The connotation of the term will be further elaborated in the section on pejorative usage. The analysis on actors, issues and the newspapers will focus on the political articles only, since the hypothesis related to these sections focuses on an expected relation of populism and right-wing politics.

Political Actors deemed populist

This section will focus on the political actors that are considered populist. This focuses on two of the conclusions by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart: populism is used for a wide range of political parties and individuals and the concept 'travels' easily to other continents and their policies. For the first conclusion I expect to find a difference. The assumption here is that the Dutch newspapers will use populism more solely for right-wing political actors (H1). Therefore, I expect that Dutch newspapers use populism to refer to a smaller range of parties and individuals than the British media. The second conclusion that is related to political actors is that the concept of populism is used for a variety of countries –even countries on different continents – and politics of those countries. As far as this conclusion is concerned, the expectation is that the Dutch newspapers will also use populism to refer to many countries since the concept is not considered to be a Dutch phenomenon.

Table 1 and 2 show which actors are considered populist (at least three times) in the Dutch 2015-2016 time period and the UK 2007-2008 time period. As is apparent from both tables, the Dutch list is somewhat shorter, but this can be explained by the smaller amount of articles in the Dutch analysis. Furthermore, due to specific events in the world the people and political parties on the list vary greatly in the different time periods. However, the political affiliations of said actors and the countries in which they operate can help provide useful insights on the media's use of populism.

First off, the term populism is clearly used for politicians all over the world in both cases. The conclusion that the concept travels to different countries and continents therefore remains intact in

the analysis of Dutch newspapers. However, in both the Dutch and British analysis the majority of political actors is based in either Europe or the United States. In the UK, ten actors in this list (table 2) are from countries outside of Europe and the US (Zuma, Chavez, Bhutto, Shinawatra, Nestor and Cristina Kirchner, Ahmadinejad, John Howard, Evo Morales and Rafael Correa). In the Dutch case this is even more limited with only two actors (Cristina Kirchner and the South-African EFF). This is in line with the expectations of new populism. Due to a new wave of (right-wing)populism in Europe and the US the presence of populism in these countries was to be expected. However, another reasoning is that countries closer to one's own country are mentioned in the media more often. Therefore, the likelihood of them appearing in these tables is higher than for countries far away. In this reasoning, the presence of the US could be explained by how powerful the state is in the world and due to the alliance between both the US and the UK and the US and the Netherlands.

Table 1. Political actors deemed 'populist 'at least three times in the Dutch broadsheet newspapers

October – December 2015			July – September 2016		
Actor	*Country*	*#*	*Actor*	*Country*	*#*
Geert Wilders	The Netherlands	14	Donald Trump	United States	28
FN	France	11	Geert Wilders	The Netherlands	23
Donald Trump	United States	7	AfD	Germany	21
PiS	Poland	6	FN	France	10
Cristina Kirchner	Argentina	6	M5S	Italy	7
AfD	Germany	5	Marine Le Pen	France	6
PVV	The Netherlands	4	Norbert Höfer	Austria	6
Kukiz'15	Poland	4	Nigel Farage	United Kingdom	6
SVP	Switzerland	3	Recep Erdogan	Turkey	5
DF	Denmark	3	Viktor Orbán	Hungary	5
Marine Le Pen	France	3	PVV	The Netherlands	4
			Pim Fortuyn	The Netherlands	4
			EFF	South Africa	4
			Thierry Baudet	The Netherlands	4
			Boris Johnson	United Kingdom	4
			Bernie Sanders	United States	3
			Steve Bannon	United States	3
			FPÖ	Austria	3

Table 2. Political actors deemed 'populist 'at least three times in the UK broadsheet newspapers

October – December 2007			July – September 2008		
Actor	*Country*	*#*	*Actor*	*Country*	*#*
Jacob Zuma	South Africa	23	John McCain	United States	26
Gordon Brown	United Kingdom	20	Barack Obama	United States	14
Conservative Party	United Kingdom	16	Labour Government	United Kingdom	11
Hugo Chavez	Venezuela	12	Labour Party	United Kingdom	10
Christoph Blocher	Switzerland	9	Jacob Zuma	South Africa	9
Scottish Nat. Party	United Kingdom	8	Conservative Party	United Kingdom	8
Zufikar Ali Bhutto	Pakistan	8	Sarah Palin	United States	8
Mike Huckabee	United States	7	Liberal Democrats	United Kingdom	6
John Edwards	United States	8	Gordon Brown	United Kingdom	5
Thaksin Shinawatra	Thailand	6	Alex Salmond	United Kingdom	5
Nestor Kirchner	Argentina	6	Scottish Nat. Party	United Kingdom	5
Labour Party	United Kingdom	6	Jörg Haider	Austria	4
Alistair Darling	United Kingdom	5	FPÖ	Austria	4
David Cameron	United Kingdom	4	David Cameron	United Kingdom	3
M. Ahmadinejad	Iran	4	AK Party	Turkey	3
John Howard	Australia	4	Nicolas Sarkozy	France	3
Labour Government	United Kingdom	4	SNP Government	United Kingdom	3
Cristina Kirchner	Argentina	4	Alan Johnson	United Kingdom	3
Evo Morales	Bolivia	3	Thaksin Shinawatra	Thailand	3
Rafael Correa	Ecuador	3			
Self-Defence Party	Poland	3			
Silvio Berlusconi	Italy	3			

Source: Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 119

The biggest difference between the British and Dutch media is the political ideology of the actors. In the UK "the populist label [does not] seem to be reserved for parties or politicians subscribing to a particular political ideology" (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 119). Table 1 shows the different picture painted in the Dutch case. First off, populism in the country itself is reserved for only one political party: the PVV. Geert Wilders, leader of the PVV, is a constant factor in both time periods. He is mentioned nearly 40 times in total and is one of the only two operative Dutch politicians in the table. The other two politicians: Thierry Baudet – one of the promoters of the Dutch Ukraine-referendum – and Pim Fortuyn can both be considered euro-skeptical right-wing politicians. In fact, when taking all countries into account, only Cristina Kirchner, the South-African EFF, Recep Erdogan and Bernie Sanders do not fit the image of right-wing politicians in Western countries. Alongside the presence of many European and American actors this fits the concept of new populism. The list therefore seems to be a lot less random than the British list (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 121).

This difference is underlined by the presence of American Presidential candidates on both lists. Whereas both Republican candidate John McCain and Democratic candidate Barack Obama were often considered populists in the period of July to September 2008, the emphasis on Republican candidate Donald Trump in July to September 2016 is striking. In no less than 28 articles

Republican candidate Donald Trump is considered to be a 'populist'. Bernie Sanders, one of the Democratic presidential candidates, was only mentioned as populist three times. Even more so, Hillary Clinton – the final Democratic presidential candidate – was mentioned only once in both time periods. In line with the expectations, the populist-'card' therefore seems to be reserved for (US and European) right-wing political parties and their politicians.

A final comment on political actors is on the presence of Cristina Kirchner and Argentina. Interestingly enough, almost every article that mentioned her, her husband or their regime, also mentioned Perónism and left-populism. Even though literature on the second wave of populism suggests this is something of the past, the Dutch media clearly considers it something very much still present today. Amplifying the search with other Latin-America shows the same consistent result of Perónist left-populism on the continent. If this is truly the case, the third wave of populism would exist alongside the very different type of populism that manifested in the second wave.

Political Issues deemed populist

More than half of all political articles on populism in the Dutch newspapers– 57.3% to be precise – deal with policy issues of some sort. Of the remaining articles, 29% of the articles discuss populism without defining it. For instance, several articles spoke of "the right-populist Front National". In the final 13.3% of the articles, the term was used to describe style. In this category, several articles mentioned Donald Trump's populist haircut. These percentages are, as expected, extremely similar to the British case. This section will focus on the political articles in which policy issues are discussed. The conclusion on this part by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart was that both left- and right-wing issues are seen as populist by the media. For the comparison between the Dutch and British case this section is related to the hypothesis (H1) that the Dutch media use the term populism more solely to describe right-wing populism. As for political issues, this leads to the expectation that the focus will be on right-wing political issues.

Table 3 and 4 show the results of the analysis of both the Dutch and UK broadsheet newspapers regarding left- and right-wing political issues. It shows both left-wing and right-wing issues linked to populism. In the Dutch case, there are less left-wing issues labelled populist, but still a considerable number of contradictory issues. For instance, the label 'populist' is given to both the left-wing issue of social justice and economic protectionism as to the conflicting right-wing issues of being pro-market and pro-tax cuts. The overall picture that emerges is that the political issues related to populism are spread over a wide range of left- and right-wing positions and that even though there are less left-wing issues mentioned in the 2015-2016 Dutch newspapers, the concept is certainly not used for right-wing populism only.

Table 3. Issues associated with populism in the Dutch case (October – December 2015, July – September 2016

'Left-wing' issues	'Right-wing' issues
Pro-poor	Pro-market
Anti-tax cuts	For tax-cuts
Pro-environment	Higher speed limits
For social justice	For individual materialism
Economic protectionism	Against taxing the very rich
Better (cheaper) education	Anti-drugs
For cheaper healthcare	Pro military service
	Tough on crime/terrorism
	Xenophobia
	Islamophobia
	Strong state with free individuals
	Euroscepticism
	Anti-soft policy
	Controlling or stopping immigration
	Restricting immigration
	Holding terrorist suspects longer

Table 4. Issues associated with populism in the British case (October – December 2007, July – September 2008

'Left-wing' issues	'Right-wing' issues
Advocate public spending	For individual materialism
For capital gains xax	For tax cuts
For taxing the very rich	For flat tax
Anti-Wall street	Against inheritance tax
Anti-Iraq war	Controlling or stopping immigration
For cheap health care	Building prisons
For social justice	Cutting crime
Free medical prescriptions	Anti-public sector targets
Free education	Euroscepticism
Anti-supermarket	Strong state and free individuals
For nationalizing industries	Islamophobia
Economic protectionism	Holding terrorist suspects longer
Pro-poor	Pro-market
For public funding of parties	Against public funding of parties
For Windfall tax	Cutting fuel tax
Opposition to nuclear power	Tough on crime
Supporting domestic car industry	Restricting immigration
Saving hospitals	Reducing road tolls

Source: Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 122

However – in agreement with the British case – a side note can be made by focusing on a subset of political issues. A more logical pattern appears if we exclude socio-economic issues (such as social justice and cheap healthcare) and focus on 'post-materialist' issues, such as immigration and crime, instead (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 123). The right-wing issues, with the controversial new populist position of xenophobia among others, form the bulk of that more specific analysis. All in all, the Dutch media define political issues less consistent than they define political actors and, contrary

to the expectation, somewhat similar to the British media. Although the bulk of issues are considered right-wing and focusing on post-materialist issues points towards a focus on right-wing and, the conclusion from this aspect of the analysis is that populism is still for both left- and right-wing political issues. For the hypothesis (H1) and conclusion on this part, this means that there are articles discussing right-wing political issues in the Netherlands, but that they do not solely focus on right-wing populism.

The Use of Populism per Newspaper

We have thus far established what actors and issues are considered populist. The third distinction focuses on where to find populism and looks into the use per newspaper. The conclusion by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart was that newspapers tend to label something from the opposite side of the political spectrum as populist. For example, the right-wing newspaper the Telegraph mentions that the left-wing Scottish National Party (SNP) is populist, whereas the left-wing newspaper the Independent does not mention the SNP, but does mention the right-wing Conservative Party. This part will focus on the third part of the hypothesis (H1) that Dutch media will focus more solely on right-wing populism. The expectation is therefore that Dutch newspapers do not label issues or actors from the opposite side as populist, but all tend to label right-wing political actors and issues as populist.

Table 5 and 6 show the number of political articles per newspaper, the number of articles with pejorative usage of the term, the actors labelled as populist and the issues deemed populist (most often) per newspaper for both the Netherlands and the UK. It turns out the Dutch broadsheet newspapers are less clear in their political affiliation than their British colleagues. The Volkskrant is considered left-wing, but is closer to the centre than the Independent. The Guardian could be compared to Trouw, since they are both positioned on the centre-left. FD promotes with not having a political affiliation[5], and is therefore placed dead-centre. Last of all, NRC is quite similar to the Times and is placed centre-right. The Dutch thus lack broadsheet newspapers positioned on the outskirts of the left-right scale. Looking at the number of articles on its own, both the Volkskrant, Trouw and NRC use the term in a similar amount of articles. The FD, with its economic-financial background and lack of political affiliation falls behind with only 61 articles.

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[5] I found no articles disagreeing with this premise

Table 5. The Use of populism per Dutch newspaper

	Volkskrant Left-wing/centre-left	Trouw Centre-left	FD Centre	NRC Centre-right
Politics -Pejorative	143 77 (40,3%)	104 40 (20,9%)	61 19 (10,0%)	142 55 (28,8%)
Who (in the Netherlands)?	Geert Wilders PVV Pim Fortuyn Ahmed Aboutaleb Halbe Zijstra	Geert Wilders PVV Pim Fortuyn	Geert Wilders	Geert Wilders PVV VVD Jet Bussemaker
What?	Anti-immigration Euroscepticism Anti-establishment Xenophobia Nationalism	Anti-immigration Euroscepticism Anti-establishment Pro- direct democracy	Euroscepticism Anti-immigration Anti-establishment Nationalism	Anti-establishment Euroscepticism Anti-immigration Islamophobia

Table 6. The Use of populism per British newspaper

	Independent Left-wing	Guardian Centre-left	Times Centre-right	Telegraph Right-wing
Politics -Pejorative	91 40 (44,0%)	148 40 (27,0%)	150 54 (36,0%)	63 17 (27,0%)
Who (in the UK)?	Conservatives Labour	Labour Conservatives	SNP Labour Conservatives	Labour SNP Conservatives
What?	Anti-immigration Anti-minority Tax-cutting Euroscepticism	Tax-cutting Tough on crime Anti-immigration Anti-minority	Public Spending Anti-immigration Nationalism Protectionism Euroscepticism Tax-cutting or raising	Health spending Redistribution State intervention Tax-cutting or raising Following public opinion Regulating

Source: Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 125

Compared to the British case, in which "the two newspapers located toward the political centre, [...] use populism more often than the two less centrist newspapers" (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 125) – 150 and 148 versus 91 and 63 – the Dutch case does not clearly show a relationship between political affiliation and the use of the term populism. The only relation one can see is that the FD, without any political affiliation, uses the term significantly less often than the other three newspapers (61 articles versus 143, 104 and 142 articles).

The pejorative use of the term populism is fairly frequent in both the Dutch and the British case. Noticeable about the percentages is the pejorative use of populism in political articles by the

left-wing Independent and left-wing/centre-left *Volkskrant*: 44.0% and 40.3%. Compared to the centre- and right-wing newspapers, this is considerably more often. However, the second place in this respect is in both cases the centre-right newspaper (The Times and the NRC) where one might expect the (other) centre-left newspaper to claim that position. The logic behind the pejorative use of populism for newspapers is therefore missing. Even though the newspapers on the left-end of our scales are a clear winners, the other newspapers do not justify the logic that left-wing newspapers are more negative on populism than right-wing newspapers.

With respect to the actors labelled populist, the Dutch and British results are far from similar. Bale, van Kessel and Taggart found that UK newspapers are more likely to label a political actor with a different political affiliation populist, suggesting that they use the term "to express disapproval" (2011, 126). With one actor claiming the top-spot for all four Dutch newspapers – Geert Wilders – this is clearly not the case in the Netherlands. Apart from the FD – which only mentions a populist Adolf Hitler and Donald Trump once apart from Wilders – all newspapers consider the PVV, Wilders' party, to be populist as well. The Volkskrant furthermore often discusses Aboutaleb (left), Pim Fortuyn and Halbe Zijlstra (right), whereas NRC mentions the VVD (right) and Jet Bussemaker (left). Trouw only discusses right-wing politicians with Pim Fortuyn and Thierry Baudet.

The political affiliation of the Dutch newspapers therefore seems to have less impact on the actors labeled populist than the affiliation of the British newspapers. Apart from Aboutaleb and Bussemaker, every one of these actors is considered to be a right-wing politician/political party. The political issues mentioned are very similar for all four newspapers, but once again show a distorted image of both left-wing and right-wing political issues. All four newspapers use both left-wing anti-establishment rhetoric and mention the right-wing Eurosceptic and anti-immigration standpoint. However, anti-establishment rhetoric is the only left-wing issue often mentioned by the same newspapers, so the focus is more aimed at right-wing populism than at left-wing populism.

All in all, political affiliations seem to have less influence on the content of Dutch newspapers than on the content of British newspapers. There is a stronger focus on right-wing populism (particularly on Geert Wilders and the PVV) for both the left- and right-wing newspapers. For the hypothesis (H1) on right-wing populism this means that, as expected, the political affiliations matter less in the Netherlands than in the UK and do not label issues or actors from the opposite side as populist, but all tend to label right-wing political actors and issues as populist.

Right-wing populism in the Dutch and British media

With both the actors, issues and newspapers discussed it is now time to review three of the conclusions from the original article that build up to the answer of the first hypothesis. As a reminder, this hypothesis (H1) expected that Dutch print media are more inclined to use the terms populism and populist to describe right-wing populism than British print media. This is due to the longer tradition of populism, coherence in the academic use of the term and the early persistent rise of new populism in the country. Whether this was truly the case was decided by a threefold analysis: I expected the range of individuals/parties considered populist to be smaller, the term to be more solely reserved for right-wing actors and issues and a tendency to label right-wing political actors and issues as populist rather than actors on the other side of the political spectrum.

First off, the political actors. The section on political actors concluded that populism in the Dutch newspapers almost always refers to Western-European or American actors and that their position in the political spectrum is nearly always right-wing. Only four actors do not fit this image of Western-European or American right wing politics. Second of all, the political issues. Contrary to the previous section on political actors, there are still several (socio-economic) left-wing issues associated with populism. It has to be noted there are fewer left-wing issues in the Dutch case than in the British analysis, but as far as the hypothesis is concerned, this part of the analysis does not comply to those expectations completely. Third of all, the political affiliations. The section on newspapers confirmed the expectation that Dutch newspapers, contrary to the British newspapers, almost completely focus on right-wing populism rather than labelling actors from the other side of the political spectrum as populist. Furthermore, only one of the issues mentioned most often in each newspaper is left-wing (anti-establishment). All other issues are right-wing. The focus has thus definitely shifted towards right-wing new populism. All in all this means that Dutch print media are more inclined to use the terms populism and populist to describe right-wing populism than British print media. Not all actors or issues are right-wing, but right-wing populism does form the bulk of all political articles associated with populism. In the British case, right-wing populism is certainly not overlooked, but a lot less prominent in the analysis.

The Pejorative Use of Populism

The next step is to analyze whether the articles mentioned populism in a pejorative way. This links directly to the second hypothesis (H2) that the pejorative usage of populism will be more frequent in the Dutch case than in the British case. This is due to the role of broadsheet newspapers in both countries (more elitist in the UK), the Zeitgeist and the negative association of (right-wing) populism with controversial issues such as xenophobia. To analyze the connotation, three coding-options were used: negative, neutral and positive. Negative was only used if it was explicit that the connotation

was in fact negative. Table 7 and 8 show the results for respectively the Dutch and British case. To specify the results, the analysis looked into the political articles and compared the pejorative use of articles regarding the homeland and other countries both separately and together. Furthermore, a distinction was made between political news and opinion-editorial articles. The tables also present the limited positive use of the term and the amount of neutral articles.

Table 7. Connotation of 'populism' per category in the Dutch newspapers

	Neutral		Negative		Positive		Total
All	264	(53,5%)	220	(44,4%)	11	(2,2%)	495
Politics	250	(55,6%)	191	(42,4%)	9	(2,0%)	450
-Netherlands	100	(45,7%)	114	(52,1%)	5	(2,3%)	219
-Other	150	(64,9%)	77	(33,3%)	4	(1,7%)	231
Political news	142	(64,6%)	74	(33,6%)	4	(1,8%)	220
Political Op-Ed	87	(46,8%)	96	(51,6%)	3	(1,6%)	186

Table 8. Connotation of 'populism' per category in the British newspapers

	Neutral		Negative		Positive		Total
All	451	(66,7%)	196	(29,0%)	29	(4,3%)	676
Politics	286	(63,3%)	151	(33,4%)	15	(3,3%)	452
-UK	104	(51,5%)	88	(43,6%)	10	(5,0%)	202
-Other	182	(72,8%)	63	(25,2%)	5	(2,0%)	250
Political news	64	(61,9%)	34	(32,4%)	6	(5,7%)	105
Political Op-Ed	46	(49,5%)	40	(43,0%)	7	(7,5%)	93

Source: Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 123.[6]

Overall, the terms populist and populism are more often used pejoratively in the Dutch case (44.4% versus 29.0%). However, this includes articles on arts, media and sports and is thus not completely representative. When considering political articles only, the difference is still extensive, but not quite as extensive as the pejorative use of all articles. In the Dutch newspapers, the use of the term populism is negative in 42.4% of all political articles. In the UK, that percentage is 33.4%. For political news, the difference is quite small (33.6% versus 32.4%), but that is compensated by the opinion-editorial articles in which over half of the articles is negative on populism in the Netherlands (51.6%), while this percentage is 43.0 for the UK. The positive use of the term populism in op-ed articles is a lot more frequent in the British case (7.5% versus 1.6%). However, the number of positive articles (7

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[6] I made some adjustments to the numbers in this table, since I found that the original numbers did not add up to the percentages. The percentages turned out to be valid, so the numbers are adjusted to be valid and equal those percentages
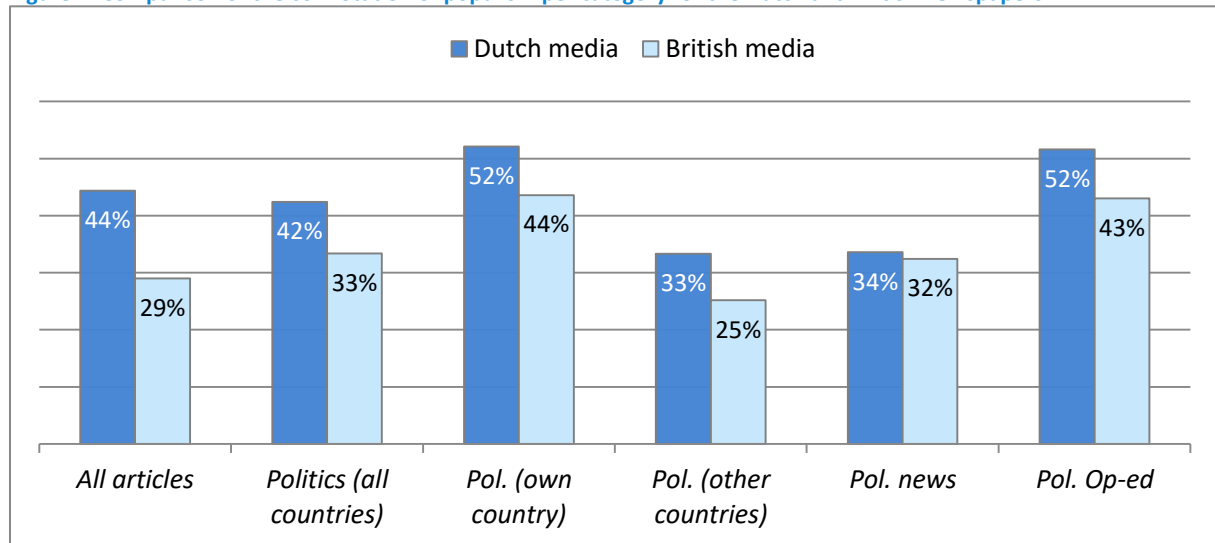
and 3) is perhaps too low to let those numbers provide a conclusion on the positive usage within op-ed articles.

As for the distinction on countries, it is interesting to compare notes with the original article. In that article, Bale, van Kessel and Taggart expect "that populism is more likely to be used pejoratively within the domestic setting given the stronger sense of engagement, and therefore stronger levels of feeling" (2011, 124). They combine that expectation with the large amount of op-ed articles on the UK itself: these articles are in general more negative (on the concept of populism) than news-articles (Bale, van Kessel and Taggart 2011, 124). The Dutch case has similar findings with regards to articles on the Netherlands itself (43.6% in the UK, 52.1% in the Netherlands).

Looking at the section of all countries but the UK/ the Netherlands, the pejorative use adds up to 25.2% in the UK and 33.3% in the Netherlands, the amount of op-ed articles drops to less than one-third of the articles. Another factor that could help is so-called recent rise of 'Trumpism'. Since Donald Trump was labelled as populist 35 times, this would back up that assumption. Overall, the pejorative use of populism is more frequent in every country and section in the Dutch case than in the British case. Fittingly, the explicit positive use of the term is less frequent in every section.'

Figure 2 presents the extensive amount of numbers and percentages of table 7 and 8 in a more plain and simple way. It disregards the positive and neutral use of the term and focuses solely on the pejorative usage. As you can see very clearly in this figure, the pejorative use of populism is more extensive in the Netherlands than in the UK in all divided categories. As mentioned, the only category in which the pejorative use of the term populism is quite similar is in political news. Explanations for this is that news-articles are often less opinionated than letters from readers or (as the name says) opinion-editorial articles. Since that does not differ for both countries, it makes sense for those percentages to be close to another. As for the conclusion and the hypothesis on the connotation, it is very straightforward that the pejorative use of the terms populism and populist is indeed more frequent in the Dutch case than in the British case, thereby confirming the second hypothesis.

Figure 2. Comparison of the connotation of populism per category for the Dutch and British newspapers

■ Dutch media   □ British media

Category	Dutch media	British media
All articles	44%	29%
Politics (all countries)	42%	33%
Pol. (own country)	52%	44%
Pol. (other countries)	33%	25%
Pol. news	34%	32%
Pol. Op-ed	52%	43%

Conclusion

What can we conclude from the comparison of the Dutch and British case? As far as the six conclusions in the original article, some turned out to be similar whereas some turned out to be different in the Dutch case. With regards to those conclusions, I found two similarities. First of all, in both the British and the Dutch case the concept of populism is almost never central to the article. Populism is mostly mentioned to acknowledge the ideological background of some political actor, but is rarely the subject of an entire article. Second of all, the concept of populism in the Dutch and British broadsheets is used when discussing both national and foreign politics. It does not shy away from borders or other continents. One possible explanation for this is that the several definitions of populism make it possible to easily 'translate' or stretch the concept to other countries and their policies.

The other four conclusions by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart are not directly applicable to the Dutch case. The first three of these findings are related. Firstly, the Dutch broadsheets use the term for a smaller range of political actors than the British case. Secondly, the focus of the term populism in the Dutch case is more on right-wing political issues than on left-wing political issues. In the British case, they concluded that both left- and right-wing issues are considered populist. Even though not all issues related to populism refer to right-wing political issues, there is a shift towards right-wing populism. Third of all, the Dutch newspapers barely use their political affiliation when claiming someone or something is populist. Instead, the focus of all four newspapers is (as it was with both the actors and issues) on right-wing politics. In the British newspapers, the political affiliation was much more important, since right-wing papers discussed left-wing political actors and issues not mentioned in the left-wing papers and vice versa. These three findings together add up to a change in the vernacular usage of the term populism. It appears that the Dutch broadsheet newspapers in

2015-2016 are much more focused on right-wing populism than the British broadsheet newspapers of 2007-2008.

The last conclusion by Bale, van Kessel and Taggart is that populism is often used pejoratively. This conclusion is applicable to the Dutch case, but I found that the pejorative use is even more frequent here. This is most likely related to the switch from both left- and right-wing politics to mainly right-wing populism. As this type of populism (new populism) is associated with xenophobia and other controversial statements and positions, the connotation of the term has not improved. Comparing the overall results from both cases thus show a different picture.

All in all, the differences between both cases are that populism in the Dutch case is used less broadly, but more pejoratively. If this shift towards right-wing populism is positive remains to be seen. It is probably beneficial to both the understanding of the public and the academic literature if the vernacular use of the term is more consistent. However, as this article has shown, the shift towards new populism is accompanied by a shift towards an even more negative connotation to the term. The likelihood of the term being used as a "hollow term of abuse" is therefore still very much present. As for further research on the topic, it would be interesting to compare these cases to countries outside of Europe. Since populism is still a very fluent phenomenon, comparisons on the vernacular use in different continents could be beneficial to our understanding of the term and highlight possible differences.

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