Contents

List of Tables and Figures ........................................................................................................... 9

Acknowledgments ..................................................................................................................... 13

1 Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 17
  1.1 Research questions ................................................................................................... 18
  1.2 Prevailing accounts for variations in populist party success and their limitations ... 19
  1.3 A relatively understudied explanatory factor: the public debate ......................... 21
  1.4 A broader definition of success: public claim making ............................................. 22
  1.5 The role of adaptation to selection processes: party strategies ......................... 22
  1.6 Relevance ................................................................................................................. 24
  1.7 Design and outline of the dissertation ...................................................................... 25

2 Theoretical background .................................................................................................... 27
  2.1 The demand- and supply-side .................................................................................. 27
  2.2 Explaining the successful diffusion of an innovation ................................................. 28
  2.3 Focusing on the role of adaptation and the public debate .................................. 29
  2.4 Demand-side factors: grievances of citizens ......................................................... 30
  2.5 Internal supply-side factors: characteristics of the anti-immigration party .......... 35
    2.5.1 The role of party position and adaptation ............................................... 35
    2.5.2 Organizational arguments ................................................................. 38
    2.5.3 Charisma ....................................................................................... 39
  2.6 The external supply-side: political opportunities ................................................. 40
    2.6.1 Political space ................................................................................. 41
    2.6.2 Discursive opportunities: the role of the public debate ......................... 43

3 The rise of right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands. A discursive opportunity approach ............................................................................................................. 51
  3.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................. 51
  3.2 Theoretical perspectives ......................................................................................... 53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1</td>
<td>Demand-side explanations: socio-economic conditions and grievances</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>Supply-side explanations: political opportunities</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Research design</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1</td>
<td>Data</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2</td>
<td>Dependent variables</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3</td>
<td>Explanatory variables</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Analysis and results</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1</td>
<td>Determinants of public opinion support for Fortuyn</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2</td>
<td>Determinants of Fortuyn’s claim-making success</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Summary and concluding remarks</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The rise and demise of the Dutch extreme right. Discursive opportunities and support for the Centre Democrats in the 1990s</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Explaining radical-right success and failure: why the public debate matters</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Research design</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>Data</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>Dependent and explanatory variables</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Results</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.1</td>
<td>Determinants of public opinion support</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.2</td>
<td>Determinants of public claim making</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Summary and conclusion</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Driven by opinion polls and media success? An adaptive learning approach to the rise of right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Theoretical background</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>The nature of political competition: shifts in the public debate and the ‘new’ cultural dimension</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>Choosing between power and ideals</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3</td>
<td>Causes of party ideology change: adaptive learning</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Data and variables</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.1 Dependent variable: characteristics of political claims ............................ 98
5.3.2 Explanatory variables: the public debate and polls ............................... 100
5.4 Analysis and results ............................................................................................... 102
5.4.1 Direction and saliency during the 2002 election campaign ..................... 102
5.4.2 Predicting the saliency during the 2002 campaign ................................. 104
5.4.3 Predicting the saliency during the preceding period (1994-2001) .......... 107
5.5 Conclusion and discussion ..................................................................................... 112

5.5 Conclusion and discussion ..................................................................................... 112

6 Simulating political stability and change in the Netherlands (1998-2002). An agent-based model of party competition with media effects empirically tested .......................................... 117

6.1 Introduction............................................................................................................ 117
6.1.1 ABM as a theoretical tool for modelling party competition ................. 118
6.1.2 The role of the mass media .............................................................. 120
6.1.3 Empirically testing ABMs ............................................................... 121
6.2 Building the model................................................................................................. 122
6.2.1 The dependent variable: party support ............................................... 122
6.2.2 The independent variables: assumptions about the setting and the agents.. 122
6.3 Outcomes ...................................................................................................................... 130
6.3.1 The elections in 1998. No serious opposition against the incumbent parties? 130
6.3.2 The period from 1998 until 2001. Stable Dutch politics? ................. 133
6.3.3 The birth of Liveable Netherlands: a successful innovation? ................. 135
6.3.4 The 2002 election campaign: the breakthrough of Fortuyn and rebirth of the CDA 136
6.4 Conclusions and discussion................................................................................. 140

6.4 Conclusions and discussion................................................................................. 140

7 Summary, conclusion, and discussion: what have we learned and how to proceed? ..... 145
7.1 Research question and theoretical perspective .................................................... 145
7.2 Overview of the results .......................................................................................... 148
7.3 Discussion and wider relevance of the findings .................................................... 152
7.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research .................................................... 157

Appendix A Reliability test for political claims data ........................................... 165
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Description of the variables used in chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Assumptions about the electorate used in</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chapter 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References ...................................................................................................................................... 183

Nederlandstalige samenvatting (summary in Dutch)......................................................................... 201
List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 2.1 The opinion of the Dutch population on the multicultural society (percentages, 1997-2002) and the degree of satisfaction with the government .......................................................... 34

Table 2.2 The number of asylum seekers and accepted applications in the Netherlands (1993-2002) .......................................................................................................................... 35

Table 3.1 Determinants of public opinion support for Pim Fortuyn, 2001-2002 ................. 62

Table 3.2 Determinants of the rate of publicized claim making by Pim Fortuyn, 2001-2002... 66

Table 4.1 Determinants of public opinion support for the extreme-right CD....................... 85

Table 4.2 Determinants of public claim making of the extreme-right CD ........................... 87

Table 5.1 Sources used for the coding of claim making of Fortuyn ....................................... 99

Table 5.2 The amount, share and direction of immigration and integration claims of Fortuyn per month (August 20th, 2001-May 6th, 2002) ................................................................. 103

Table 5.3 Logistic regression of the probability of a substantive claim of Fortuyn about immigration/integration (August 20th, 2001-May 6th, 2002) .................................................. 105

Table 5.4 Amount of attention for substantive claims of Fortuyn (Jan 1994 - Aug 2001) ..... 110

Table 5.5 Tobit regression of the amount of substantive claims of Fortuyn about immigration/integration, per month (Jan 1994 - Aug 2001) ..................................................... 111

Table 6.1 Scores of Dutch parties in 1998 on the economic and cultural dimension (expert-judgement scores) ........................................................................................................... 124

Table 6.2 Parliamentary election results in the Netherlands in 1998 and 2002 .................... 130

Table 6.3 Simulated and real results for the parliamentary elections in May 1998 (party sizes in percentages, standard deviations in parentheses) ................................................... 132

Table 6.4 Distribution of media attention during the election campaign of 1998 (percentages) ................................................................................................................................. 133
Table 6.5 Fit measures for simulated amounts of party support, May 1998-June 2001 (standard deviations in parentheses)........................................................................................................ 134

Table 6.6 Simulated and real results for party support, ‘end situation’ in May 2001 (party sizes in percentages, standard deviations in parentheses) .......................................................... 134

Table 6.7 Effects of the start position of LN on party support (in percentages, standard deviations in parentheses) and position in Nov 2001 and May 2002 .................................................... 136

Table 6.8 Fit measures for simulated amounts of party support, May 2001 - May 2002 (standard deviations in parentheses) and simulated end positions of LN and LPF................. 137

Table 6.9 Simulated and real results for party support, June 2001 - May 2002 (party sizes in percentages, standard deviations in parentheses) ......................................................... 140

Table A1 Reliability of claims-variables ........................................................................................................ 167

Table A2 Article selection: articles selected by any coder ................................................................. 168

Table A3 Claims identification. Claims identified by any coder from articles selected by all three coders.............................................................................................................................. 171

Table B1 Descriptive statistics and Pairwise Pearson correlations.................................................. 175

Table B2 Dickey Fuller unit-root test for stationarity and ARIMA models of dependent and explanatory variables used in analysis (from August 2001 to May 2002)......................... 175

Table C1 Descriptive statistics and Pairwise Pearson correlations.................................................. 176

Table C2 Dickey Fuller unit-root test for stationarity and ARIMA models of dependent and explanatory variables used in analysis (from January 1992 to May 1998)......................... 177

Table D1 Descriptive statistics and pairwise correlations (August 20th, 2001 - May 6th, 2002) ................................................................................................................................. 178

Table D2 Descriptive statistics and pairwise correlations (January 1994 - August 2001) ..... 178

Table D3 Dickey Fuller unit-root test for stationarity of variables (January 1994 - August 2001)................................................................................................................................. 179
Table E1 The position of the Dutch population on the cultural and economic dimension and the perceived position of five parties (on a 1-7 scale) ........................................................................................................ 182

Figures

Figure 3.1 Percentage of voters intending to vote for Pim Fortuyn per week (August 2001-May 2002) .......................................................................................................................................................... 61

Figure 3.2 Weekly count of the number of claims by Pim Fortuyn (August 2001 – May 2002) .................................................................................................................................................. 64

Figure 3.3 Density distribution of the weekly number of claims made by Pim Fortuyn .......... 64

Figure 4.1 Time series of percentage of voters intending to vote for CD (Jan 1992-May 1998) .................................................................................................................................................. 82

Figure 4.2 Biweekly count of the number of claims by the CD (January 1992-May 1998) ...... 83

Figure 5.1 The amount of Elsevier columns of Fortuyn that contain the immigration and integration issue (per month) ........................................................................................................ 108

Figure 5.2 The amount of substantive attention for Fortuyn (per month) ......................... 109

Figure 5.3 The balance between attention for immigration/integration and other substantive issues (per month) ....................................................................................................................... 109

Figure 6.1 Dutch voters and parties in a two-dimensional policy space (1998) ............... 126

Figure 6.2 Monthly opinion poll time series of party support in the Netherlands (May 1998-May 2002) ................................................................................................................................. 131

Figure E1 Frequency distributions for four items indicating the position of the Dutch population on the cultural and economic dimension ................................................................. 181