Ideology is a central concept in modern political history, yet also a notoriously complex notion. Ideology is more than a set of ideas, as it is used to mobilize political movements, forges political identities, and informs the formation and evaluation of policies. In this summer school, we will discuss how to study the history of ideologies: how are they formulated by philosophers, intellectuals, politicians, or scientific experts? How are they disseminated through a variety of communication media, shared by a public opinion within a public sphere, embraced by larger groups of people, and used to forge and justify social and political practices?

After a more general exploration of political ideology, we focus on its most recent manifestation, the ideology of neoliberalism. Recently, many politicians, policy makers and commentators have announced the death of neoliberalism. This is remarkable, because until recently, many people doubted whether neoliberalism actually existed, or if it was only a swearword used to decry all that progressives were opposed to. This summer school starts from the assumption that neoliberalism actually exists, and that it has a much longer history than assumed in the more familiar accounts that relate it to the rise of Thatcherism and Reagonomics in the early 1980s. It differs from other ideologies, because it has not manifested itself in the familiar form of political movements and parties like socialism, liberalism or conservatism and Christian democracy. This raises the question, central in this summer school, how neoliberal ideology impacted on policies at the local, national and international level, contributing not only to reform policies of the IMF, World Bank and the EU, but also to the austerity policies and the reform of the national welfare state, and on the street level bureaucracies geared towards the production of an ‘entrepreneurial self’.

As such, the question how to write the history of neoliberalism creates a series of intellectual challenges that will be addressed in this summer school:

- How to study the history of political ideology?
- How to account for the relation between political ideologies, political and policy networks, policy changes and institutional reform?
- What are methods, techniques, and sources for the study of ideological development, the history of political movements, and political reform and policy change?
- How to conceptualize neoliberalism?
- How to account for the variety of neoliberalism(s) in various temporal and spatial contexts?
- How does the history of its manifestations impact our understanding of political ideologies and movements?
Organization
These questions will be discussed in an interactive form, with keynote lectures, seminars, tutorials, independent study, and presentations. The summer school will take place in a hybrid form: the opening meeting and final presentations will be live (Amsterdam or Utrecht); keynote lectures and seminars will be online; the special event of a witness seminar will be held in a hybrid setting. In case the condition of the pandemic have improved insufficiently, the whole event will be held online.

Teachers in the summer school are members of the research project *Market makers. The history of neoliberalism in the Netherlands 1945-2008* ([www.neoliberalisme.nl](http://www.neoliberalisme.nl)):
- Prof.dr. Ido de Haan (Utrecht University)
- Prof.dr. Ewald Engelen (University of Amsterdam)
- Dr. Bram Mellink (Utrecht University/University of Amsterdam)
- Dr. Merijn Oudenampsen (University of Amsterdam)
- Drs. Naomi Woltring (Utrecht University)

Other speakers (to be confirmed) are:
- Quinn Slobodian
- Jenny Andersson
- Vivien Schmidt
- Arjo Klamer
- Participants in the witness seminar

Requirements and ECTS
- In the week before the start of the summer school, participants have to submit a preliminary position paper of 2500 words, reflecting the readings, deadline 1 July 2021, to be available before the start of the summer school. (3 EC)
- During the summer school, participants prepare an oral presentation of 5 minutes of the outline of their research note and offer peer review to the presentation of other participants. The final day of the summer school will be devoted to presentations. (1 EC)
- After the summer school, participants can submit a research note of 1000-2000 words, based on the preliminary and additional readings (indication: 750-1000 pages in total), as well as a limited set of primary sources. (1-2 EC)

Participation, registration and information
The maximum number of participants is 25. The summer school of the Research School Political History is required for Research Master students who have registered for the RMA-program of the RSHP; when registering, they have priority access. By fulfilling all requirements, they receive 5 ects. Participation is also open to other Research Master students and PhDs. Participation is free of charge for RMA students and PhD students affiliated to the RSPH. PhDs who are not affiliated to the RSPH have to pay a fee of €50. Participants receive a certificate testifying they have earned 3 EC if they submit a preliminary position paper; 1 EC if they present a research outline, and 1 or 2 EC if they submit a research note.

Participants can register at bureau@onderzoekschoolpolitiekegeschiedenis.nl before 1 April 2021.
For more information, contact prof. dr. Ido de Haan ([i.dehaan@uu.nl](mailto:i.dehaan@uu.nl))
Program

Monday 5 July Writing the history of ideology (live meeting in Amsterdam or Utrecht)
10.00 Welcome
10.15 Introduction: how to write the history of political ideology?
   Ido de Haan (UU) will introduce the notion of political ideology and discuss the general themes of the summer school.
11.00 Coffee break
11.30 Seminar on theories and concepts for the history of ideologies
   Ido de Haan (UU) chairs the discussion about the following readings: TBA
13.00 Lunch break
14.00 Seminar on methods, techniques and sources for the study of ideology
   Ewald Engelen (UvA) will give instructions for the study of ideology, reflecting on the following readings: TBA
16.00 Tea break
16.30 Research tutorial
   The supervisors of the summerschool chair small-scale tutorials to discuss position papers and prepare research presentations.
18.00 Dinner

Tuesday 6 July The history of neoliberalism (online)
10.00 Online seminar on neoliberalism as a set of ideas
   Bram Mellink (UvA/UU) discusses the following readings: TBA
12.00 Lunch break
13.00 Online seminar on neoliberalism as discourse and practice
   Merijn Oudenampsen (UvA) discusses the following readings: TBA
15.00 Tea break
15.30 Online keynote lecture by Quinn Slobodian (tbc): How to write the history of neoliberalism?
17.00 Individual preparation of research/individual supervision

Wednesday 7 July Trajectories of neoliberalization (online)
10.00 Online seminar on the comparative study of trajectories of neoliberalization
   Ido de Haan (UU) discusses the following readings: TBA
12.00 Lunch break
13.00 Online seminar on neoliberalism in the Netherlands
   Naomi Woltring (UU) discusses the following readings: TBA
15.00 Tea break
15.30 Online keynote lecture by Jenny Andersson: Varieties of neoliberalization
17.00 Individual preparation of research/individual supervision

Thursday 8 July From ideology to policy: how to explain policy changes? (online/hybrid)
10.00 Online seminar on the relation between ideology to policy: theories of policy formation and change
   Ewald Engelen (UvA) discusses the following readings: TBA
12.00 Lunch break
13.30 Online keynote lecture Vivien Schmidt: From ideology to policy: how to explain policy changes?
15.00 Individual preparation of research presentation

20.00 Hybrid Public witness seminar on neoliberalism in the Netherlands (Amsterdam or Utrecht/online)

A witness seminar is an innovative method of historical analysis, aimed to reconstruct the cause, course and impact of recent historical events through shared recollections by key players. In this witness seminar, we bring together main players of the neoliberal reforms of the Dutch welfare state since the 1990s. The seminar will be chaired by Arjo Klamer (EUR). The event will take place live for participants in the summer school, and will be streamed for a wider audience.

Friday 9 July Presentations (live)
10.00-16.00 Student presentations

Participants in the course present an outline for a research note on one of the themes addressed in the summer school. A research note contains a reflection on the literature, a research question, and an exploratory analysis of a limited set of sources, and a provisional conclusion with suggestions for further study. Each presentation is followed by a short comment by one of your fellow students and a plenary discussion (15 minutes per presentation, including comments and discussion).

16.00 Drinks