

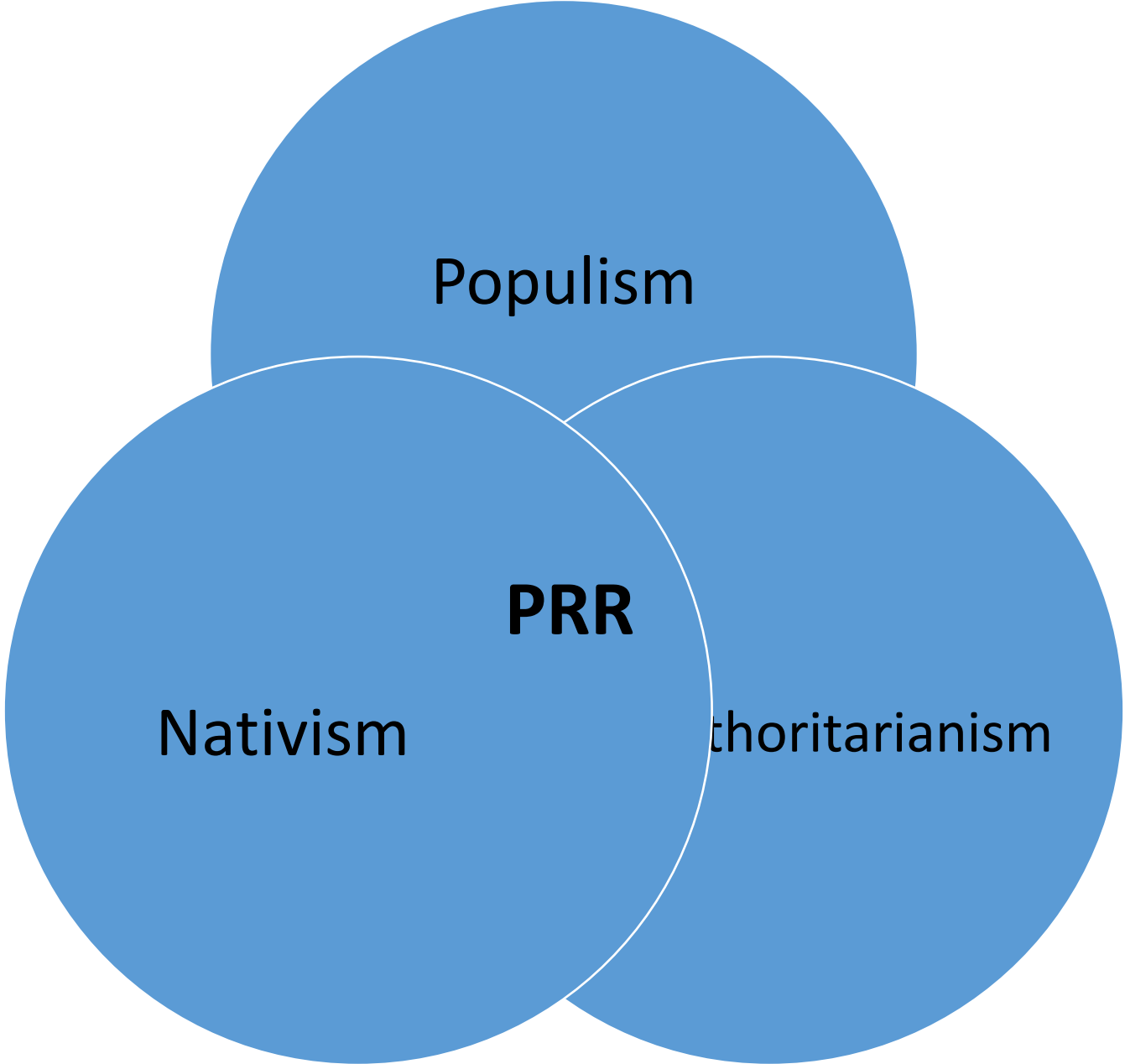
Types of populism

Populism + a host ideology

Q: What does form the right-wing radicalism of PRR (left-wing of PRL, neoliberalism of NLP, centrism of CPP)?

Q: How does populism of PRR (PRL, NLP, CPP) look like?

Q: How do different types of populisms approach other issues (economy)?



Nativism

- The key concept is nationalism
- A political doctrine that is based on the congruence on the cultural and the political unit, i.e. on the nation and the state
- Internal homogenization + external exclusiveness as tools
- How to distinguish between moderate and *radical* nationalism?
- Nativism = „*An ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (“the nation”) and that nonnative elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state.*“ (Mudde 2007: 19)
 - = combination of nationalism and xenophobia
 - Different constructs of native(ness) – racist, cultural, religious...

Authoritarianism

- Social psychology – the authoritarian personality
- “a general disposition to glorify, to be subservient to and remain uncritical toward authoritative figures of the ingroup and to take an attitude of punishing outgroup figures in the name of some moral authority” (Adorno 1969 in Mudde 2007)
- F – scale: authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression and conventionalism
- the belief in a strictly ordered society, in which infringements of authority are to be punished severely
- Law and order

Populism

“populism as a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde, 2007)

- Who are the *people*?
- Who is the enemy?
- The corrupt elite also seen as *national traitors*, discriminating natives in favour of minorities, often leftist elites, cultural elites, media
- Non-native minorities – immigrants (often Muslims), Roma people, ethnic/national minorities – security, economic and cultural arguments
- Sometimes homophobia (a threat to the survival of the nation)

What is radical about populist *radical* right?

What is „rightist“ about populist radical *right*?

What is the difference between PRR and extremist right?

Economy

- Not of the primary importance for populist radical right
- Winning formula – free market economic policies combined with xenophobia and social-cultural conservatism (Kitschelt and McGann)
- The empirical evidence provides a more mixed picture
- Protectionism determined by nativism (critical approach to international market)
- Welfare chauvinism – social benefits guaranteed only for natives



PRR - conclusion

- PRR as combination of populism, authoritarian values and nativism (the core principle)
- Context dependent variation of nativist approaches
- Nativism determining populism (exclusionism) and approaches to other issues such as economy
- Empirical variety of PRR but sharing the three core features

Populism and radical left

- „chameleonic“ nature of populism open to appeal from different parts of the ideological spectrum
- Combination of left-ideologies with populism relatively new – European populism almost exclusively tied to radical right politics (X the 19th century populism in USA, Latin American experience)
- 1990s – atmosphere critical to the prevailing economic (neo)liberalism + the fall of communism in CEE (losers of transition)
- The ideological background of radical left populism = populism + democratic socialism

Democratic socialism as a host ideology

- „A democratic ideology between revolution and reform“ (Pauwels 2014)
- Reformism of social democratic parties criticized – abandonment of the working class (centrism, a power-seeking strategy)
- Revolutionary ideas of communism (overthrowing of democracy and capitalism) rejected
- On the left from social democracy but seeking to transform the system
- The crucial importance of issues related to the *economic dimension of political competition* (X RRP) – welfare-state, redistribution, public ownership, (socioeconomic) equality
- The new left issues (feminism, environmentalism)
- Conflict of pop. and demsoc. – minority status of the working class and „common sense“ (*vox populi*) vs educative activities of the „vanguard of the proletariat“

Populism of radical left

“populism as a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (Mudde, 2007)

- Who are the *people*?
 - The working class (ordinary people)
- Who is the enemy?
 - The (neoliberal) political and economic elites, a bourgeois class
 - Social democratic parties – traitors of the interest of the working class, i.e. RLP presenting themselves as „purifiers“
 - External enemies – imperialists (USA, EU)
- Exploitation of the working class by the elites – a Manichean view (intensity of the conflict)

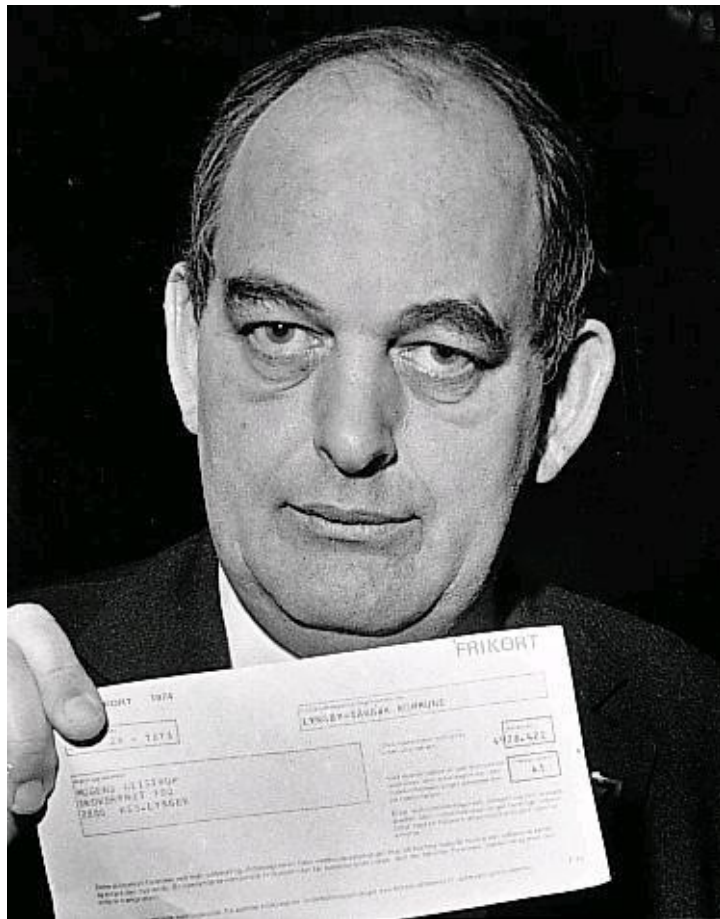


What is the difference between PRL and communism?

Neoliberal populism

- The underlying ideology refers to revival of classical liberalism
- the crucial values is (*negative*) freedom
- Society an atomistic collection of individuals
- Distrust towards the state interventionism X emphasis on the free market
- Market (morally) superior to central planning, government and control
- Populism: individual freedom under threat from the paternalistic and bureaucratic establishment
- The people – hardworking taxpayers and entrepreneurs, rational individuals
- The state is wasteful and corrupt

Neoliberal populists in Scandinavia



New/centrist populism

- Emergence in CEE in the late 1990s
- Arisen from the dissatisfaction to political elites and anti-political/anti-party sentiments
- The lack of a coherent host ideology
- The key issue is corruption, otherwise modest profile (AERPs – Hanley, Sikk) lacking radicalism of PRR or PRL
- Politics presented by a grubby business performed by incompetent and selfish politicians
- Offer of a “third way”, “non-ideological solutions”, “common sense” ...
- The people – citizens, ordinary people
- Very flexible in terms of attitudes to other issues

Conclusion

- Populism usually combined with other ideologies that fill the “emptiness” of populism
- The omnipresent moralistic antagonism between the people and the elites varies in its specific content
- The depth of the constructed division makes it different from the usual ideological political conflict