Populism and World Politics
Exploring Inter- and Transnational Dimensions

Edited by
Frank A. Stengel · David B. MacDonald
and Dirk Nabers

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Acknowledgements

The present volume is based on contributions to an Annual Convention Working Group on Global Populism at the International Studies Association's 2017 annual meeting in Baltimore, MD, sponsored by the ISA. It is intended to be the first official collective research output of the working group. The impetus behind the working group, and the edited volume, is the realization that while populism has received significant attention not only by political scientists but across the social sciences, and not only in recent years, populism's international and transnational aspects have received virtually no attention. The reason is not that populism is irrelevant for International Relations (IR), but rather that the topic does not readily fit within existing IR fields. An exception might be foreign policy analysis, where (at least some) so-called "populist" leaders and their modes of conducting policy have been systematically analyzed. But overall, IR scholars have not yet systematically embraced the study of populism, which provides an important window of opportunity.

The book brings together scholars from critical and mainstream perspectives to explore the nexus between populism and world politics, with a focus not just on "the West" but also on Latin American and Asian countries. In terms of thematic areas the book connects to, two broad fields are relevant: (1) IR and (2) interdisciplinary research on populism. It illustrates how core fields of research within IR like foreign policy analysis, the study of regional and world orders, international cooperation and conflict, security communities, international integration, international institutions, global governance, international political economy,

Contents

Notes on Contributors

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Jan Zeemann is a Ph.D. candidate and research fellow at Kiel University where he teaches global political sociology, political theory and IR. In his dissertation project, he analyzes the nexus between populism, democracy and the concept of the nation.

LIST OF FIGURES

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Analyzing the Nexus Between Populism and International Relations

Frank A. Stengel, David B. MacDonald and Dirk Nabers

A populist wave is sweeping across many countries around the world, becoming one of the most important topics in current political and social science debates. Many on the right herald populism as an improved and more direct form of democracy, which seeks to upend decades of social disintegration, promising action against political and economic elites in favor of a long-suffering "silent majority". Those on the left (though not exclusively) often present populism as a threat to democracy and civil society, and the harbinger of authoritarian rule, threatening to overturn the modern human rights movement.[1] One side denounces identity politics, political correctness, and the expansion of the welfare state, while the other side fears a return to European-style fascism of the 1930s.[2]

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1

The proliferation of articles and books on the topic has grown exponentially in the wake of the UK's Brexit vote in 2015 and a string of electoral victories for populist parties across Europe. On both sides of the Atlantic, populist leaders from what we might see as the left and right of the traditional political spectrum have either become the government (through promising major change) or have entered legislatures as a vocal opposition to politics as usual. This includes the administration of Donald Trump, whose populist style and policies may radically alter American politics and International Relations (IR) as it has been studied since the end of the Cold War, but also numerous governments in Europe, Latin America, and Asia.[3]

POPULISM RESEARCH AND IR: THE MISSING LINK

Despite significant attention paid to the phenomenon, populism's inter- and transnational aspects remain underexplored, much to the detriment of both IR and populism research. Populism researchers have mainly focused on theoretical issues, or have examined individual national cases (in isolation or in a comparative fashion), while IR scholars have largely elided the phenomenon. Only recently has IR as a discipline turned to populism, mainly as a result of Trump's rise to the U.S. presidency. This emerging literature on the populism-world-politics nexus suffers from two shortcomings. First, aside from a few exceptions, studies have been primarily concerned with individual leaders' effect on world politics. Thus, a large proportion of the literature is, for instance, concerned with the potential negative effects of a Trump presidency on "the West" and liberal world order more generally.[4] Systematic and more general (beyond individual leaders) reflections on how populism and different aspects of world politics (e.g., foreign policy, international conflict, and cooperation or world order) hang together are still rare.[5] This concerns both the effects of populism on world politics and vice versa.

This aspect is linked to the second problem, namely that many IR studies draw on an underspecified concept of populism that does not differentiate between left and right or moderate and extremist groups[6]— let alone other dimensions used to distinguish between different forms populism, such as inclusionary/exclusionary forms of populism.[7] As a consequence, a vastly heterogeneous group of parties, movements and individuals is listed as examples of populism, ranging from the right-wing extremist French *Front National* to the radical leftist Syriza in Greece,

from moderate social democrat Bernie Sanders to illiberal but democratically elected leaders like Viktor Orbán and Jaroslaw Kaczyński to authoritarian rulers like Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte.

This becomes even more problematic once we turn to an analysis of the potential consequences of populism for established social institutions. Most notably, the question to what extent populism is a danger to democracy, European integration, the transatlantic alliance or the liberal world order has been the subject of significant debate both in the media and increasingly academic scholarship as well.[8] Unfortunately, most contributions do not sufficiently differentiate here between different types of populism but, quite to the contrary, lump vastly heterogeneous actors and ideologies together and make a sweeping statement labeling all of them a danger to democracy, Europe, the West or liberal world order. For instance, Fareed Zakaria lists Trump, Bernie Sanders, Syriza, and the Front National as examples of populism just to proclaim that "the West is in trouble".[9] Similarly, Jeff Colgan and Robert O. Keohane seem to equate right-wing populism with populism as such when they claim that the latter is marked by the "belief that each country has an authentic 'people' who are held back by the collusion of foreign forces and self-serving elites at home".[10] Suggesting that populism as such is a danger, they continue that a populist leader "seeks to weaken or destroy institutions such as legislatures, judiciaries, and the press and to cast off external restraints in defense of national sovereignty".[11] Again, here, right and left, moderate and extreme versions of populism are carelessly lumped together. As opposed to such sweeping generalizations, even a cursory disaggregation of the category "populism" quickly reveals that there is not much the so-called "populists" agree upon, certainly not that democracy and the liberal world order are to be abolished. While Bernie Sanders's campaign called for increased U.S. commitment to international agreements, Trump's declared aim was to re-evaluate all international obligations with respect to whether they actually benefit the United States, leading some observers to warn of an impending "Amerexit".[12]

From the perspective of populism research, this is not at all surprising. For while populism researchers do stress common elements of the phenomenon—most notably a strong criticism of an allegedly unresponsive elite and a corresponding demand for the restoration of sovereignty of the people[13]—they also agree that different populist movements

and their demands can vastly differ from context to context. Whether one conceives of populism as a "thin-centered" ideological skeleton,[14] a political style,[15] a style of communication[16] or a specific form of discourse,[17] what populism researchers agree on is that populism as such is rather anemic in terms of actual content and in practice always has to be combined with other concepts, ideas or discourses. Seen from this perspective, then, it is not populism as such that makes the difference in terms of a particular movement's hostility to, for instance, democracy or the liberal world order but the context-specific ideological flesh that is put on the populist skeleton. In fact, anti-elitism and the demand for a restoration of the people's influence on politics can be an expression of both, justified criticism of an insufficiently democratic system and (illegitimate) anti-democratic demagoguery.[18] Contra those who claim that populism as such is a danger to democracy or the liberal world order, populism research seems to suggest that it depends on the specific ideological makeup of a given populist movement or party.[19] Authoritarian populism certainly is a danger to pluralist democracy, but other forms might not be.[20] Equally, it makes sense to assume that not all populisms are a danger to the liberal world order or European integration, but primarily those that combine populist demands with, say, hyper-nationalism or protectionism.[21]

Nevertheless, in contrast to the bulk of populism research, many IR studies continue to treat populism as a monolith, and this has significant consequences, both analytical and practical. First, the way populism is often understood in the IR literature makes it virtually useless for any differentiated analysis. Treating populism as a catch-all term for any party or movement that criticizes political elites makes it impossible to separate populism from other phenomena, and as a result any analysis unavoidably suffers.[22] It is thus no surprise that systematic studies of the populism-world-politics nexus are largely lacking. For if populism cannot be meaningfully distinguished from non-populism, any attempt to theorize its relationship to international phenomena such as foreign policy or world order is futile. Second, presuming that some of the movements currently labeled "populist" are in fact opposed to liberal democracy, the European Union, the transatlantic alliance or the liberal world order (and there is a good reason to do so),[23] Western democracies do face the challenge of having to deal with them. Here, insufficient concept specification can stand in the way of effective political action, for any political action requires the ability to distinguish dangerous from harmless

phenomena. The ways populism is used in much of the literature, in particular in IR, any analysis of the potential danger of "populism" for democracy, the European Union, the West or world order will unavoidably end up either exaggerating or playing down the dangers posed by them individually. As a consequence, the current discussion of populism is more misleading than helpful.

Populism research, on the other hand, has largely neglected the phenomenon's inter- and transnational aspects. Here, the bulk of research falls within three broad categories:

First, a body of work has endeavored to clarify the concept of populism, and to discuss methodological aspects,[24] while exploring populism's relationship to related phenomena, such as liberal democracy,[25] European integration[26] or leadership.[27]

Second, other researchers have engaged in unit-level examinations of individual (mostly national) parties or movements,[28] specific (regional) types of populism,[29] and potential reasons for their appeal.[30]

Third, comparative approaches draw out similarities and differences between a range of movements or parties according to selected variables.[31]

In sum, in the populism literature, a gap exists in the systematized examination of populism's inter- and transnational aspects. The neglect of populism's global dimension by both IR and populism research is quite problematic. For if populism manifests itself as a particular style of politics or discourse, it seems only reasonable to assume that this extends to international politics. In addition, the borders between foreign and domestic politics are becoming increasing blurred. Populism is likely to have an impact on both foreign policy—"the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually but not exclusively a state) in international relations"[32]—and world politics, the larger totality of different actors' interactions that takes place across national boundaries.[33]

The Case for Increased Dialogue

For most foreign policy and IR theorists, aside from offensive realists[34] or neoclassical realists who stress the importance of systemic pressures,[35] it matters who is in power. A significant body of research highlights the importance of individual leaders and advisors for the making of foreign policy.[36] Whether driven by their core beliefs,[37] leadership styles,[38]

personality traits[39] or their advisors, leadership over military and foreign policymaking does matter a great deal. This is especially so if someone with views radically different from his or her predecessor enters office. In addition, constructivists and "critical" scholars have long promoted ideational factors in foreign policy formulation. In their analyses, they include, for instance, ideologies[40] and gender constructions.[41] Certainly, not all of these perspectives necessarily come into play in the analysis of populism. For instance, personality should be seen as a factor independent of populism (whether understood as an ideology, discourse, or worldview).[42]

If we take research on populism (whether understood as an ideology, discourse or worldview) as a starting point, there are good reasons to assume that once in power, populists may differ from more conventional leaders. However, in contradistinction to the rather simplistic and often alarmist views, widespread in the media, that populism as such is a danger to international cooperation and/or world order,[43] populism research actually suggests that differences between various forms of populism[44] will likely also manifest themselves in different foreign policy positions. Thus, IR scholars can benefit from making this body of research their starting point in any analysis, and any useful assessment and explanation of foreign policy change depends on a thorough analysis of which kind of populists are making policies in a given country.

Despite obvious differences of opinion, many—but, importantly, not all—populists converge on the need to undermine international cooperation and integration, regional and world orders. Donald Trump's "America First" strategy is a good example, according to which the United States has to stop supporting other governments "free of charge".[45] This indicates a critical change in the traditional American view that international cooperation was an end in itself, as was the provision of global public goods to ensure U.S. prestige and hegemony.[46] If Trump indeed signals the advent of fascism in the United States, as some observers fear,[47] this would erode the joint normative basis of "the West" and of liberal world order.[48] Even if one understands populism as a superficial style, analogized as a loud and uninhibited drunken guest at a dinner party,[49] this style may nevertheless have an effect on the tenor and outcome of international negotiations like the 2018 G7 summit meeting in Canada. Earlier, Trump's harsh economic critique of NATO allies, his denigration of long-standing trading arrangements like the North American Free Trade Agreement has led to significant regional and transatlantic discord.[50]

The degree to which many populists question core foreign-policy commitments of mainstream parties justifies a more systematic analysis. In principle, populists in government could influence a plethora of international phenomena, including but not limited to international order and change,[51] international rule (*Herrschaft*), resistance, authority (*Autorität*), and its politicization[52] as well as associated questions like the legitimacy of international organizations, regimes, leadership,[53] and regional and world order(s).[54] Constructivist research suggests that many of these phenomena, including legitimacy,[55] and security communities,[56] are (re-) produced and contested in processes of social construction (or discursive struggles). If so, populist political interventions could have an important impact on these matters.

IR scholars can benefit significantly from the work of populism researchers, who have spent substantial time and effort theorizing the phenomenon, distinguishing it from related issues, and systematizing different forms. In this context, studies on left- and right-wing[57] and inclusive and exclusive[58] populism literature can help counter simplistic assumptions of populism being either universally positive or negative for alliance building, trade, globalization, security communities, or world order. Populism researchers have long ago understood that thick ideologies matter a great deal to the "thin-centered" ideological skeleton that is populism.[59] Criticizing elites and calling for the general will to be realized in and of itself does not tell us anything about a party's position on the United Nations or NATO.

Similarly, populism researchers can profit from increased engagement with IR research, which can contribute to a better understanding of populist successes and failures. As Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser observe, "surprisingly few established theories about the success (and failure) of populist forces exist".[60] IR can contribute to theory-building in that field, as there is a good reason to assume that international developments might contribute to populist successes and failures.[61] Two aspects in particular are relevant here: the denationalization of political rule, combined with the politicization of international authority, and cross-border interaction between populists.

First, researchers point to globalization and global governance, and a perceived decline in domestic political control over these processes, as factors contributing to the rising appeal of populism. Recent studies on the legitimacy of international organizations and other global governance arrangements point to increased politicization of international

authority.[62] The argument goes as follows: the growing involvement of international institutions in virtually all areas of domestic policymaking, in combination with the declining legitimacy of domestic political institutions leads to increased politicization of the electorate. Debates between proponents and opponents of regional and/or international integration have become a central focus of political attention in many Western countries. Read in this context, populism primarily emerges as a reaction to the simultaneous increase in authority and depoliticization of global governance.[63] That is, international developments play an important role in explaining populist parties' current election successes.

Second, the success of populist parties and movements depends on transnational interaction, that is, how various national parties and movements are connected to each other through information sharing, repertoires of contention, discourse, ideology, learning, and norm diffusion. Different parties often draw on similar intellectual resources or adopt ideas introduced in other countries. For example, Greece's Syriza and Spain's Podemos are linked through common intellectual roots, both drawing on the work of the late Argentinian political theorist Ernesto Laclau.[64] Similarly, recent research on party politics has provided evidence that parties learn from their successful counterparts in other countries.[65] Moreover, populist parties are often embedded in transnational networks. For instance, a number of European right-wing parties are supported by the Kremlin,[66] and ongoing debates about Russian interference in the U.S. presidential elections may demonstrate how different populist actors support each other. Finally, of importance are the ways traditional mainstream parties have been obliged to play within a new populist framework. Centre-left parties in Europe have seen their electoral support greatly reduced, while centre-right parties have promoted populist anti-immigrant discourses to regain lost voters.

In order to understand the success of populist movements and parties, we need to pay attention to its international aspects. Here, research in IR and related fields on globalization, global governance and state transformation,[67] norm dynamics,[68] diffusion,[69] learning,[70] transnational advocacy coalitions,[71] and transnational networks more generally,[72] the differential production of identities[73] and the emergence of discursive orders[74] can provide a helpful starting point. However, these aspects require more systematic, theoretically oriented and comparative research to be assessed reliably.

PLAN OF THE BOOK

The chapters of the volume are situated within the larger framework of the populism-world politics nexus. We have divided this into three parts:

Part I introduces theoretical approaches to the study of populism and global politics. In his opening chapter, **Jan Zeemann** explores the potential of a global populist project. While populism is commonly seen to be intertwined with nationalism, he asks whether the concept of the nation is a mandatory part of populist articulations. He posits that a focus on form over content enables us to imagine populism beyond the confines of the nation-state. A global populist movement, he concludes, might be part of the solution to contemporary challenges like climate change or economic crises. From a different theoretical perspective, **María Esperanza Casullo** analyzes the role of populist leadership, and argues that various socially available discursive scripts exist that can mediate between the social and the individual levels. Populist leaders present themselves as *patriotic military* men, *social movement leaders*, or selfless *businessmen*. Her chapter concludes that the global diffusion of these scripts generates different possibilities for popular projects. Finally, **Precious Chatterje-Doody and Rhys Crilley** analyze the nexus between populism and the global media, devising an alternative model for looking at populism as a "transnational communication logic". After developing their model, they apply it to three empirical cases: legacy media, opposition political movements, and international broadcasting.

Part II shifts the focus to populist foreign policies with a range of comparative case studies and theoretical reflections. First, **Dirk Nabers and Frank Stengel** begin with an overview of Donald Trump's foreign policy. The chapter advances the discourse theoretical notion of sedimented practices, using campaign speeches as well as statements related to the foreign policy of America's 45th president as an illustration. They conduct a discourse analysis inspired by poststructuralist discourse theory and theories of populism. In contrast, **Brian Budd** sheds light on how contemporary manifestations of populism in Canada are co-constructed though normative performances of gender. He focuses specifically on the failed leadership campaign of Conservative MP Kellie Leitch, who attempted to deploy anti-immigrant nativist forms of populism to court her party's voters. Theoretically, Budd notes that this form of discourse failed in Canada even though it had considerable success in the United

States, suggesting that the diffusion of populism from one country to the next is contingent on distinct political cultures.

In his chapter, **Grant Burrier** offers a systematized study of populism and Latin-American foreign policies. He focuses on defense and trade policy to ascertain whether there are substantive consequences to populist presidencies, using an innovative longitudinal cohort comparison from contemporary Latin America. Also focusing on Latin-American cases, **Daniel Wajner** investigates possible patterns in the formulation and implementation of foreign policies among populist regimes during the periods known as "classic populism" (1930s–1950s), "neoliberal neopopulism" (1980s–1990s), and "progressive neopopulism" (2000s onwards). Analyzing variance in time and space, Wajner distinguishes a tendency among Latin-American populist regimes to support regionalist and globalist policies by empowering identity-based solidarities.

David MacDonald's chapter offers a critique of the misleading either/or comparisons often made between populism and pluralism. He uses the case of the New Zealand First political party and its leader Winston Peters to demonstrate that electorally successful and relevant parties often approach populism as a style which can be either deployed or downplayed as the situation requires. This chapter focuses on a unique case of populism, promoted by an Indigenous Maori leader and an Indigenous-led caucus. Finally, **Thorsten Wojczewski** draws on a poststructuralist, discourse theoretical framework to analyze how the Indian Hindu nationalist *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) and its leader Narendra Modi used foreign policy as a site for the construction and maintenance of a populist electoral coalition. In contrast to common understandings of ideology as a "distortion of reality", Wojczewski argues that the ideological dimension of populism lies in masking the discursive character of what we view as social reality, and the resulting impossibility of a fully constituted subject such as "the people".

Part III of the volume focuses on the global and international dimensions of the rise of populism. **Robert Patman's** contribution assesses how the liberal order has proven to be more resilient to the pressures of nationalist, populist forces than many observers imagined. Far from ending globalization, Patman maintains, the major impact of post-truth populism may be to intensify liberal efforts to address its downsides, including spiraling civil conflicts, environmental decline, and growing inequality. In a somewhat different approach, **Shane Markowitz** examines the rise of populism as a socio-material phenomenon. He employs

insights from the discourse around genetically modified organisms in the European Union. The chapter explores the ways in which the emergence of populist discourses on the issue has not only been constituted by rhetoric in the context of regional and national elections, but also importantly by an array of material, natural, and technological entities and forces.

Finally, **Amy Skonieczny** looks at the nexus between populism and global trade by scrutinizing the debates on the TransPacific Partnership (TPP) and U.S. trade with China and Mexico. The chapter examines the role of emotions in populist, anti-trade narratives to develop an understanding of how and why populism is emotionally powerful and what drives this particular narrative to combine with anti-trade protectionism. The conclusion by **Stengel, MacDonald, and Nabers** draws together the different arguments found throughout this edited collection, and provides a preliminary agenda for further research on populism and world politics.

Notes

1. Roth (2017), Kagan (2016).
2. Faulkner (2017).
3. Lapham (2016).
4. Stokes (2018), Norrlof (2018), Chacko and Jayasuriya (2017), Patrick (2017), Colgan and Keohane (2017), Boyle (2016), Zakaria (2016).
5. But see Chryssogelos (2017), Verbeek and Zaslove (2017) as exceptions.
6. Hawkins (2009).
7. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013).
8. Owen (2017), Müller (2016a), Roth (2017), Zakaria (2016).
9. Zakaria (2016).
10. Colgan and Keohane (2017, 36).
11. Ibid.
12. Kornblum (2016).
13. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 6).
14. Mudde (2007, 23).
15. Moffitt and Tormey (2014).
16. Block and Negrine (2017).
17. Laclau (2005).
18. Indeed, there is a lively debate in political theory about whether Western democracies are still democratic or at least whether democracy is under threat, so any public critique of the current system does not necessarily have to be without basis (Crouch 2004; Brown 2015).

19. Taggart and Kaltwasser (2016).
20. Brewer (2016), Huber and Schimpf (2017), Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014).
21. Stavrakakis (2015), Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014).
22. Wonka (2007).
23. Boyle (2016), Buzogány (2017).
24. Stavrakakis (2017).
25. Canovan (2002), Grattan (2016), Müller (2016b).
26. Mudde (2016).
27. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2014).
28. Ahluwalia and Miller (2016), Batory (2016), Decker (2016), Fallend and Heinisch (2016), Gifford (2006), Grimm (2015), Kenneth White (2016), Oliver and Rahn (2016), Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014).
29. Kaltwasser (2014), Stavrakakis et al. (2017).
30. Inglehart and Norris (2016).
31. Kaltwasser (2011), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013).
32. Hill (2016, 4).
33. Waltz (1996).
34. Mearsheimer (2001).
35. See, e.g., Wivel (2017), Rathbun (2008), Schweller (2004), Rose (1998).
36. Inter alia, Byman and Pollack (2001), Hermann et al. (2001).
37. George (1969), Schafer and Walker (2006), Walker and Schafer (2010).
38. Greenstein (2005), Kaarbo and Hermann (1998).
39. Coolidge and Segal (2007), Görener and Ucal (2011).
40. Bell (2002), Goldstein and Keohane (1993), Maull (2000), as well as discourse Hansen (2006), Larsen (1997), Nabers (2015).
41. Athanassiou (2012), Managhan (2012), Poloni-Staudinger and Ortbals (2014), Sjoberg and Tickner (2013).
42. However, some studies also highlight that psychological factors have an impact on populist voting (Bakker et al. 2016). Similarly, one could expect also populist leaders to share certain personality traits.
43. Applebaum (2016), Wesslau (2016), Zakaria (2016).
44. March (2017), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013, 2017), Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014).
45. Trump, quoted in *The New York Times* (2016).
46. Brooks et al. (2012), Legro (2000).
47. Augstein (2016), Kagan (2016), Gökarıksel and Smith (2016).
48. Boyle (2016), Nabers and Stengel (2017).
49. Arditi (2007, 78).
50. Although the burden-sharing debate is a constant theme within NATO (Yost 2000) and also played a role in Barack Obama's two terms in office, who also complained about free-riding (Mattelaer 2016), Trump has been much more vocal and blunt about these matters, complaining about

others' expectations for the U.S. to protect them. Thus, Trump made clear that if allies were not willing to pay for U.S. assistance, he would drop them: "Then, yes, I would be absolutely prepared to tell those countries, 'Congratulations, you will be defending yourself'" quoted in De Luce and McLeary (2016).

51. Stetter (2013).
52. Bonacker and Ecker-Ehrhardt (2013), Bonacker et al. (2014), Daase and Deitelhoff (2015), Deitelhoff and Daase (2015), Nonhoff et al. (2009), Seibel (2015), Zürn (2014), Zürn et al.(2012).
53. Geis et al. (2012), Gronau et al. (2009), Nabers (2010), Nullmeier and Nonhoff (2010).
54. Kissinger (2014), Ikenberry et al. (2015).
55. Nullmeier and Nonhoff (2010), order Bially Mattern (2005).
56. Adler and Barnett (1998).
57. Priester (2012), March (2017).
58. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013).
59. Mudde (2007, 2016).
60. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 97).
61. Also Verbeek and Zaslove (2017).
62. Seibel (2015), Zürn (2004, 2014, 2016), Zürn et al. (2012), with respect to populism specifically Chryssogelos (2017).
63. Zürn (2004), Zürn et al. (2012).
64. McKean (2016), see Laclau (2005).
65. Böhmelt et al. (2016).
66. Mudde (2016, 24).
67. Held and McGrew (2007), Leibfried et al. (2015), Rhodes (2007), Rosenau and Czempiel (1992), Sørensen (2004), Zürn (2013).
68. Engelkamp and Glaab (2015), Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), March and Olsen (1998), Panke and Petersohn (2011), Rosert (2012).
69. Gilardi (2013).
70. Levy (1994).
71. Bloodgood (2011), Keck and Sikkink (1998), Pierce and Hicks (2017).
72. Madsen and Christensen (2016), Slaughter (2004).
73. Campbell (1998), Diez (2004), Hansen (2006), Neumann (1999).
74. Diez (2013), Herschinger (2011), Nabers (2015).

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Theoretical Issues in Global Populism Research

Populism Beyond the Nation

Jan Zeemann

Populism: Extremely Popular

Populism is everywhere. In mainstream, vernacular discourse, the term is used to label and describe politicians and movements from the broadest spectrum of the political sphere. To overcome this blurriness and inaccuracy, an in-depth analysis of the academic discourse seems like the logical consequence. However, even the academic field is highly ambiguous when it comes toward a definition of populism. We find various approaches in comparative politics, structuralism, post-structuralism, modernization theory, political economy, democratic theory, discourse analysis or social movement research.[1] This chapter investigates the different approaches and searches for common ground across existing concepts. Specifically, it argues that the bulk of research presupposes as the frame of reference for populism. This in turn brings up the question whether populism research is capable of conceptualizing populism at the global level. Consequentially, Ernesto Laclau's work *On Populist Reason* is discussed as the key to understanding populism as a potentially emancipatory logic of the political, also on a global scale.

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25

The Mainstream (Media) Discourse: When in Doubt, Call It Populist

When on July 4, 2016 Nigel Farage of the UK Independence Party stepped down, the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* headlined "Farage shirks responsibility—With his resignation, Farage shows what to think of populists."[2] Here, all populists are equated with Nigel Farage and depicted as irresponsible. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote "Those who rely on populists are lost."[3] Again, a generalization is made and it is suggested that relying on populists is not recommended. While Farage is depicted as "populist" in these comments, it remains open what exactly the notion of "populism" entails. In this context, Cas Mudde writes in *The Guardian* about "The problem with populism" and warns, despite "mass political movements such as SYRIZA in Greece and PODEMOS in Spain have an obvious appeal," that "in their illiberalism there is an undeniable dark side."[4] When on March 12, 2018 Austria remembered 80 years of annexation by Nazi Germany, Austrian President Alexander Van der Bellen warned that "even democracies are prone to populism and demagogy."[5] Mainstream journalism—at least in Europe—seems to agree about this: populism is omnipresent, and it is bad. While most of the time the term is used to describe any form of non-compliant political actor or movement, even in the cases where the author actively engages with the term, the conclusion is that populism is dangerous and immoral, corrupt and threatening. But maybe that is what to expect, according to Ernesto Laclau:

> Populism has not only been demoted: it has also been denigrated. Its dismissal has been part of the discursive construction of a certain normality, of an ascetic political universe from which its dangerous logics had to be excluded.[6]

A quick glimpse at the academic literature reveals the cogency of this comment. The academic literature on populism is enormous and still growing. The expansion of research on the phenomenon goes hand in hand with an apparent surge of populism in many countries in the world.

The Academic Discourse: A Highly Ambiguous Concept

Populism seems to be soaring almost everywhere: "Trumpism" in the United States, the Tea Party and the Far Right, the rise of Viktor Orbán's Party Fidesz in Hungary, conservative and Catholic politicians like Jarosław Aleksander Kaczyński in Poland, the success of the Front National in France, the Brexit success of the UKIP under Nigel Farage or the AfD (Alternative for Germany) in Germany. This list could be extended further and further, including all continents and almost all countries. Interestingly though, the different movements commonly referred to as "populist" spread across the traditional left-right spectrum. PODEMOS in Spain and SYRIZA in Greece are explicitly endorsing leftist policies, while PEGIDA and the AfD in Germany, as well as movements in Poland, Hungary and France are swaying between conservatism and xenophobic positions. Finally, observers see the United States embroiled between nationalist conservative (Trump) and progressive left-wing (Sanders) positions.

In the political science literature on populism, scholars critically engage with new right-wing parties like Golden Dawn in Greece,[7] extreme right movements in Italy and Germany[8] and Jörg Haider in Austria.[9] Others explore left-wing political movements like SYRIZA in Greece[10] or PODEMOS in Spain.[11]

Regarding the notion of a transnational or even global populism, books with titles like *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*,[12] *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*[13] or *The Global Rise of Populism. Performance, Political Style, and Representation*[14] at first glance appear to have some kind of unified global populist movement as their subject matter. However, a closer look quickly reveals that most of the existing work examines cases in separate nation-states. And although previous work is comprehensive in the sense of including almost every European society, the U.S. Tea Party movement, Peronismo, Chavismo, Bolivia, Ecuador, to name but a few, what is missing is an examination that considers populism as a global phenomenon. That is, what is lacking is an examination of movements that, like the Arab Spring, Occupy or DIEM25, transcend individual national societies.

Yet, it becomes obvious from the wide array of often rivaling and mutually exclusive movements under scrutiny that a common denominator for contemporary populism is difficult to find, and a proper

conceptualization of the term "populism" seems elusive. The literature is plagued by a conceptual blur when it comes to populism. This blur includes the following problems: First, populism is at the same time defined as a strategy, a rhetoric, an ideology and a political style. Second, most definitions offer no analysis as to how populism is fundamentally related to the logic of the political. Third, the important notion of "hegemony" is missing in most contemporary accounts of populism. Hence, by exploring and advancing Laclau's concept, eventually a sharper idea of populism will crystalize.

Scholars are very aware of the circumstance that populism is a vague concept.[15] This may be the reason why many scholars engaging with the topic begin with a comment regarding the very vagueness of the definition.[16] Robert Jansen complains that "such usage may be appropriate for journalistic purposes, but it is inadequate for social scientific analysis."[17] As Wiles put it in 1969, "to each his own definition of populism, according to the academic axe he grinds."[18] Half a century later, scholars still criticize that there is "little agreement as to how properly conceptualize populism."[19] Gidron and Bonikoski summarize the problem like this:

> Indeed, the term populism is both widely used and widely contested. It has been defined based on political, economic, social, and discursive features and analyzed from myriad theoretical perspectives—including structuralism, post-structuralism, modernization theory, social movement theory, party politics, political psychology, political economy, and democratic theory—and a variety of methodological approaches, such as archival research, discourse analysis, and formal modeling.[20]

CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS OF POPULISM AND THEIR NOTION OF THE NATION

Populism refers to several, and often diverse, families of phenomena,

> […] including political movements or parties; ideologies or creeds; specific discursive patterns; political strategies; representation modes; or specific political styles, some of which are particularly related to communication techniques.[21]

In this part of the chapter, the most prominent concepts that are contemporarily available and relevant in the academic literature are

presented. As stated earlier, it has become common courtesy to acknowledge the vagueness and ambiguity of the subject at hand. I will not dive into a full historical analysis of the term, since this has been done well and extensively elsewhere.[22] The first relevant post-war studies on populism began at a conference at the London School of Economics in 1967. A heterogeneous group of multidisciplinary scholars set out on the task to define populism.[23] However, these early pioneers were unable to reach a verdict in unison.

> There can be no doubt about the importance of populism. But no one is quite clear just what it is.[24]

This assessment in the introductory pages did not change throughout the book and there is no unifying concluding chapter. This disunity can be seen as the starting point of the conceptual ambiguity about populism in its empirical and theoretical study up to this day. The different contemporary approaches have common features, for example, the separation of society into two blocks, "the people" and "the elite" but differ on subject matter, methods and the substantial question of what populism actually is. We can differentiate between strategic, discursive, stylistic and ideological approaches.

The first dominant definition established itself during the 1970s and understood populism as a form of political movement or mobilization.

> A political movement which enjoys the support of the mass of the urban working class and/or peasantry but which does not result from the autonomous organizational power of either of these two sectors. It is also supported by non-working-class sectors upholding an anti-status quo ideology.[25]

Torcuato Di Tella defined populism in 1965 as a political movement, which is mainly supported by the working class and peasants. However, it is important to note that the organization of that populist movement is not conducted by the working class or peasants itself. It is organized and controlled by the political leaders. Although not worded like that in the definition, what was meant here was state-based populism. So while at first glimpse we do not have a presupposed nation as the reference frame in this kind of definition, it actually is intrinsic. Later on, scholars widened the conditions on which groups can participate in populist movements and focused more on the anti-elite character of the mobilization:

> A political movement which challenges established elites in the name of a union between a leader and 'the people'. (undifferentiated by group or class)[26]

In general, "the conditions under which the political participation of the lower classes is channeled through a populist movement" attracted their interest.[27] As Dix and Roberts emphasize, a personalistic leader also plays an important role in this kind of political organization:

> [T]he political mobilization of mass constituencies by personalistic leaders who challenge established elites.[28]

According to Pappas, the early scholars of mobilization populism can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, those who followed the modernization theory paradigm, and on the other hand the structural Marxism and dependency theorists. For the proponents of modernization theory, populism was a means to incorporate the newly mobilized urban working and middle classes into politics that emerged after the breakdown of oligarchic politics and the postwar transition of those countries to capitalism and modernity. For the adherents of Marxism and dependency theorists populism was a multiclass political movement corresponding to the stage of import substitution industrialization (ISI).[29] According to this interpretation, "the statist and nationalist policies of ISI allowed populist leaders to build cross-class alliances between urban labor, the middle sectors, and domestic industrialists."[30] Apart from their dissent, both approaches saw populism as specific to historical and political circumstances of development in the world semi-periphery and "agreed on the importance of defining it in social terms, rooted in relations of production and market conditions."[31] After having formulated their main point of interest, which is the political mobilization of the masses in particular circumstances, the authors examined their cases, which were mostly in Latin America, like Juan Perón in Argentina, Getúlio Vargas in Brasil, or Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico. Some decades later, Jansen also defines populism as political mobilization:

> Any sustained, large-scale political project that mobilizes ordinarily marginalized social sectors into publicly visible and contentious political action, while articulating an antielite, nationalist rhetoric that valorizes ordinary people.[32]

His definition is more specific and focuses on the modes of political practice. Jansen wants to shift the focus "from the social content of populism and the ends toward which it is directed to the *means* by which it is done."[33] He wants to investigate the specific set of actions that politicians and their supporters do to mobilize the marginalized masses. While generally promising, Jansen refers to *nationalist* rhetoric in his definition which renders it useless for the purpose of projects transcending national borders. While this approach is mainly focused on authoritarian populist projects in Latin America and thereby limited in respect of its transferability toward modern democracies, this specific literature still managed to point out two important features of populism during its early phase: its mass movement character and the role of agency with its focus on charismatic leadership.

Up next, the strategic approach sees populism "as a political strategy through which a personalistic leader seeks or exercises government power through direct, unmediated, uninstitutionalized support from large numbers of followers."[34] A similar definition is provided by Barr, who also accentuates the role of a leading figure:

> A mass movement led by an outsider or maverick seeking to gain or maintain power by using anti-establishment appeals and plebiscitarian linkages.[35]

Betz agrees and states that "populism is primarily a political strategy, whose political rhetoric is the evocation of latent grievances and the appeal to emotions provoked by them, rather than an ideology."[36]

All these three definitions focus on strategies by the political leader who seeks support by provoking emotions and instrumentalizing anti-establishment rhetoric. While again not explicitly wording it, the concept of the nation is a precondition for this definition to work. It would be the frame in which the leader operates and exercises his so-called government power. Roberts, originating from the Latin-American populist scholars, added another aspect as he stressed the interplay between populism and neoliberalism, in particular "the rise of personalist leaders with broad-based support, who follow neoliberal prescriptions for economic austerity and market-oriented structural adjustments."[37] The heavy concentration on the leader can be problematic, if we think about religious leaders who unify numerous followers but never utilize other central characteristics of populism. By focusing exclusively on the leader, we

neglect "the people," a core element of the populist logic. Nevertheless, the interest in the rhetoric of those leaders led to the emergence of another approach toward populism, which sees populism as discourse. This branch can be split into a more theory-centered one, which I will explore in full detail later, and an empirical one, which understands discourse purely as rhetoric, for which I provide some examples.

> A language whose speakers conceive of ordinary people as a noble assemblage not bounded narrowly by class, view their elite opponents as self-serving and undemocratic, and seek to mobilize the former against the latter.[38]

While Kazin's definition at first glance seems very similar to the strategic definitions above, the focus here lies on the language used by the actors. The contents of this populist language must include a block of ordinary people, who are addressed and mobilized against a self-serving elite. According to Carlos de la Torre, populism "is a rhetoric that constructs politics as a moral and ethical struggle between el pueblo and the oligarchy."[39] So far, we can agree that "the people" versus the elite seems to be one of the most, if not *the* most fundamental feature of populist discourse.

> A Manichaean discourse that identifies Good with a unified will of the people and Evil with a conspiring elite.[40]

Hawkins' discursive definition of populism examines speeches of dozens of different leaders across the world in regard to populist characteristics via a thematic analysis.[41] Criteria for being populist are, in this case: a strong notion of dualism ("Manichaean vision of the world"), regime change or a revolutionary aspect was or is required, and the people played a significant role in the narrative. Further, minor criteria, which his assistants were looking for in the corpus, included cosmic proportions, mentioning of national and religious leaders, notion of the common man as the embodiment of the national ideal and if nondemocratic means were justified to reach the common goal. Hawkins' comprehensive study concluded by grading the different leaders on a scale from not populist to very populist. Another renowned study based on this approach is by Jagers and Walgrave,[42] who perform a human-coded content analysis of television programs by six Belgian parties. Besides

those two famous qualitative analyses, recently quantitative work has been published that also takes the discursive understanding of populism as a basis.[43] All these studies have problems, like coding bias, irregular sampling, and reliability. Nevertheless, the serious issue here is not of methodical nature but that the definition of discourse in these papers is not very well elaborated. Discourse here seems like a placeholder for "texts and speeches," which can be useful but has to be differentiated from the understanding of discourse in post-structuralism. In regard to the notion of the nation-state, these definitions are less focused on it. Although the studies examined on the basis of these definitions are all national cases, the definitions do not imply or dictate the necessity of this.

Over the last decade, the majority of scholars seem to agree that populism is an ideology. The definition by Mudde has been broadly quoted in the literature and is the most popular foundation for many academic encounters with populism[44]:

> I define populism as an 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.[45]

Although not mentioning the nation directly, the *volonté générale* is historically connected to citizenship. This implies the nation-state as the setting. Mudde then continues that populism has two opposites, elitism and pluralism. Although this part is barely quoted along the definition part above, it is of importance to grasp his idea of populism.

> Elitism is populism's mirror-image: it shares its Manichean worldview, but wants politics to be an expression of the views of the moral elite, instead of the amoral people. Pluralism, on the other hand, rejects the homogeneity of both populism and elitism, seeing society as a heterogeneous collection of groups and individuals with often fundamentally different views and wishes.[46]

The focus on homogeneity as a key feature of the populist ideology is problematic and will be challenged later. The main problem with Mudde's idea of populism is the concept of ideology itself. He states that populism is a "thin-centered ideology." As Gerring points out in his remarkable definitional analysis, ideology is a highly vague concept in the

social sciences.[47] How is it that such fundamentally different movements or parties like PODEMOS, SYRIZA, Front National, PEGIDA, The Finns Party or the FPÖ are all considered populist? Although authors admit that there is no ideological coherence, across populist parties, movements, countries or time, instead of rejecting the idea of populism as an ideology, they give the nature of this ideology attributes like "morphological" or "chameleonic."[48] This is a misinterpretation—or a stretch that goes too far—of Freeden's concept of the morphological nature of ideology.[49] As Moffitt points out, if all those movements have nothing in common, if they do not call themselves populist (as other thin ideologies like ecologism or feminism do), and if they have no ideological heritage, populism "is clearly not an ideology on these terms."[50] If Mudde draws his assessment of populism on such a loose foundation,[51] this construction might eventually collapse, as Aslanidis demonstrates convincingly.[52] To sum this part up, it can be noted that all these definitions naturalize the nation and so it is not surprising that the empirical work done with these approaches uses the nation as the reference frame. Or to put it another way, because most populist phenomena happen to occur on the national level, the tools of inquiry invented to research them naturally refer to the nation-state.

A promising approach, which does not make the nation a necessity, is populism as a political style. While a number of other authors have used the term "political style" in the context of populist research,[53] it has remained mainly underdeveloped and being treated synonymously with rhetoric, communicative strategies or discourse. I will concentrate on the recent proposal by Benjamin Moffitt, who advocates for a focus on the performative and relational character of politics in contemporary times. According to Moffitt, we live "in a time when media touches upon all aspects of political life, where a sense of crisis is endemic, and when populism appears in many disparate manifestations and contexts."[54] In this highly mediatized political arena, political style and thereby performance are more important than ever.

> [W]e need to move from seeing populism as a particular 'thing' or entity toward viewing it as a political style that is performed, embodied and enacted across a variety of political and cultural contexts.[55]

If the mediatization of the political is interpreted as an ongoing simplification of political discourse, simple "us against them" arguments are

favored. Populism can flourish in this environment. Political style here is defined as "the repertoires of performance that are used to create political relations."[56] Moffitt argues that currently there are various political styles within the political landscape, including populist, technocratic, authoritarian and post representative styles, all of which have their own specific performative repertoires and tropes that create and affect political relations. Regarding the populist political style, he is "interested in how *the performances* of those involved influence the relationship between the populist leader and 'the people', and vice versa."[57] This approach bypasses the distinction between style (as in organizational forms of political logic) and content (as in so-called populist ideologies) by concentrating on the performance of leaders and followers and the effects on their relationship. Moffitt argues that style creates content and vice versa in times of spectacular mediatized realities. He seeks to acknowledge the fact that the contemporary political landscape is more and more stylized and as such "aesthetic" or "performative" features are increasingly relevant to understanding the political realm. Support in turning toward a more practice orientated approach Moffitt gains from the recent turn toward social action and practice in political sociology in general,[58] a recent focus on the relational elements of representation[59] and theories of performativity.[60] Contemporary forms of political representation rely heavily on "claim making" and the corresponding "audience" to which the claim is addressed, Moffitt says. Such an understanding of representation emphasizes the relational character of it.

> Politicians have become pseudo-celebrities, and political events like protests often gain attention for their novel stylistic features (such as flashmobs, bus tours, truck convoys or occupations) rather than for their traditional 'content'.[61]

Regarding the notion of "the people," Moffitt argues that the political performance can construct political subjects. Populists might not refer to a pre-existing "people." Instead, these leaders are able to create new "people." They produce what they claim to represent by "covering up the aesthetic gap and claiming to have direct, immediate contact with "the people." In doing so, populists attempt to make the *plebs* and the *populous* one and the same."[62] Moffitt quotes Chambers and Carver to stress that performance is not to be understood in a pejorative sense, but instead performance can act to "constitute the natural … through

discursively constrained, but nonetheless signifying, gestures and speech."[63] Moffitt stresses that in contrast to taking all objects as potential parts of discourse, his approach concentrates on the performative elements of politics. His conceptual tools originate from the dramaturgical approach to politics: "performance, performativity, actors, audiences, stages, scripts, mise en scène, and so forth."[64]

> So there is a clear distinction here: while discursive approaches still primarily focus on discursive 'content', and see style as secondary, the stylistic approach apportions primacy to the stylistic realm […].[65]

Moffitt's political style approach is not rooted in an ahistorical ontological framework, but instead is at home in the contemporary political landscape, which is heavily mediatized and stylised. To build the approach, Moffitt followed an inductive method. He reviewed the available literature on populism and then analyzed the uncontroversial cases[66] in regard to "how are these leaders populist" and "how do they become populist?"[67] His aim was to find middle ground between academic debates about populism and the more popular usage of the term, creating a concept to chart the *family resemblances* between disparate cases of contemporary populism. The elements of Moffitt's populist political style are (1) an appeal to "the people," (2) crisis, breakdown and threat, and (3) bad manners. Regarding the notion of "the people," while acknowledging the idea of a dichotomous division of society in "the people" and "the elite," Moffitt vetoes Mudde's idea that the elite has to be portrayed as corrupt. It is only necessary to emphasize the distinctness from the elite. The elite does not have to be the government or other actors in power, but can also be other groups of society, for example asylum seekers or immigrant workers, or even institutions.[68] Populism gains its momentum from the notion of crisis. A crisis or threat creates the demand to act immediately and with exceptional measures. We can observe this in Europe, where the *World Financial Crisis* is followed by the *Eurozone sovereign-debt crisis* and *European migrant crisis*, accompanied by regional crises like the *Crimean Crisis* and the *Syrian Civil War*, ongoing long-lasting *crises of democracy, established parties or capitalism*, you name it. Crises and the perceived emergency enable the political actors to radicalize their language in the political debate, adjusting it toward a more direct language and simpler logic. In a later article, Moffitt suggests that we should move from thinking of crisis as

something purely external to populism, toward thinking about the performance of crisis as an internal core feature of populism.[69] With "bad manners," Moffitt refers to elements of style as "slang, swearing, political incorrectness, and being overly demonstrative and "colorful,""[70] as opposed to rigidness, rationality or technocratic language. Moffitt's concept gets rid of the problem that populism emerges on both ends of the political spectrum. It enables us to compare populists of the left and of the right and compare them with non-populist styles. Also, it enables us to deal with leaders who employ only some elements of populism or use populist elements only for a short period. How representation exactly works in populism can be analyzed in a meaningful way, shedding light on the question whether "the people" are an active entity that shapes democracy and its politics or whether "the people" are shaped by external forces such as history, the constitution or their leaders.[71] And the slippery question where populism stands in relation to democracy can be avoided. Although Moffitt's approach is very promising, of remarkable intrinsic coherence and overcomes most of the shortcomings and pitfalls in which previous attempts failed, it still lacks the potential to explain the underlying logic of populism. I see this potential in Ernesto Laclau's *On Populist Reason*, which will be discussed next.

Populism as the Logic of the Political

But without the nation, how then is it possible to construct "the people"? How is one people distinguished from the other? While all the above-mentioned approaches can tell us if someone or some movement or party is populist or not or to what degree, they cannot explain the political process behind it. There is little theoretical background as to how it is possible for said projects to form in the first place, evolve and eventually gain power and influence. Ernesto Laclau gives us the tools to understand the political process underlying the power struggle, the identification, the construction of "the people" and other aspects of a populist project. Before we explore his idea of populism as a political logic, we have to define some fundamental concepts. Central for this work are the logics of difference and equivalence. One of the basic assumptions of poststructuralist discourse theory is that discourse is "a playful determination of social meanings and identities within a relational system."[72] Discourse here is not only ideas or words but social and political practice, it is the "primary terrain of the constitution of objectivity as

such."[73] Social reality and identities are constructed through differences. Beings, as elements of the discourse, are constructed through the *relation* to other elements. This means that inherent in the logic of the social is a process of inclusion and exclusion. To constitute an identity, it has to be constructed against something else. In relation to populism, we can see this logic in the dichotomic formulation of "the people" and "the elite." Those terms can be filled with various contents. Important is that the construction of "the people" is only possible through an exclusion of something or somebody from the given entity, "something that the totality expels from itself in order to constitute itself."[74] This relational character of discourse and identity is central. There is an inherent lack in every identity and meaning is in constant change. Sedimented discursive meanings are in constant danger of rupture, challenged by other particular meanings. Power equates to having control over hegemonic interpretations of *reality*. These hegemonic achievements are never solid, always challenged and eventually collapsing. The social is in a permanent state of change, sometimes slow and almost unnoticed, sometimes fast and rumbling. Change, if perceived as intense, are readily labeled crises by the majority of people. Crises allow politics to react in a more radical way and justify rapid action. In relation to populism, we can observe this behavior all across Europe. The surge of displaced persons who flee from warzones and search for shelter in safe European countries reactivate nationalistic resentments in many people across the continent. Populist opportunists use the atmosphere of xenophobia for their political gain and manage to win elections. *Truth* is constructed in the discourse, creating identity-spending hooks to overcome and control the chaos. It is important to note that this process of "search for meaning" by actors is always embedded in structures of temporary universal truths and social practices and thereby never totally free or unburdened. It is a constant struggle between contesting discourses. Discourses are "structurally mediated social practices that carry with them the power of temporarily defining the tension between universalism and particularism, thereby constituting political processes of inclusion and exclusion."[75] An empty signifier—like "the people," "the system," "the elite" or "democracy"—is, "strictly speaking, a signifier without a signified. This definition is also, however, the enunciation of a problem."[76] The problem Laclau here refers to is that naturally, empty signifiers are not completely empty since the concept represents an ideal type.[77] The content those terms carry can vary in a wide range, dependent on what the subject connects with it.

> Empty signifiers are characterized by an indistinct or non existent signified, that is, terms that can have different meanings and can thereby serve to unite disparate social movements. They have no fixed content and can embrace an open series of demands.[78]

Many different subjects with different social backgrounds can unify with such signifiers. They might stand for different things for different subjects. Because of its impreciseness, it is harder to challenge. The chances that one interpretation will prevail over another are higher if that interpretation refers to certain elements of a society that are already established.[79] Concerning populism, I might argue that populism works because people are familiar with "the people." Individuals in modern nation states grow up with the term "people." It is omnipresent and it is linked to the idea of the nation. Most people grow up with the idea that being part of a certain nation and "people" is part of their identity. As Laclau puts it, "[…] any political construction takes place against the background of a range of sedimented practices."[80] If a populist movement wants to utilize this part of the subject's identity, the best way to evoke it is by defining an inside and an outside. In this case, we would have the nation and all its citizens as the inside and foreigners, immigrants and refugees as the outside. The outside is necessary for the identity of the insiders to exist.[81] By the exclusion of a threatening *Other* the agents in the discursive framework construct a social antagonism, "which often invoke stereotyped pictures of friends and enemies. […]The struggle over what and who are included and excluded from the hegemonic discourse is a central part of politics."[82] We can observe the logics of equivalence and difference as part of the populist process. Relations of equivalence minimize differences between the internal elements of an identity. For example, after suicide bombing attacks, the first reaction in western media is to ask if the attackers had an Islamist background. If it is actually the case or not is not of any importance. Instead, what is relevant for us is that, by constantly connecting Islamic groups and terror, people in western countries start to see these two terms as inseparable, or in other words equivalent. This is of course highly problematic and what makes it even worse is that through a binary construction of the world, the opposite of one of these terms must also be the opposite of all terms in this chain of equivalence. This results in pairs like "Islamic = terror" and "Christianity = civilized" which can be observed in various discourses.

> Equivalence, in other words, collapses meanings insofar as what a chain of signifiers has in common is simply their similarity to each other against an outside element.[83]

Relations of difference, on the other hand, break down equivalences and emphasize their differentiation. Eventually, "all identity is constructed within this tension between the differential and the equivalential logics."[84]

> Nationalism, xenophobia, gender binaries and global inequality – in principle all political processes of inclusion and exclusion are affected by the interplay between identity and difference, and it is only via this interplay that ontological significance can be achieved.[85]

The construction of identities by emphasizing differences, constructing external objects and excluding them from the *self* is crucial for the understanding of populism as a political logic. Once the hegemonic interpretation is established, it also gains credibility. That in turn makes it harder for other particular interpretations to challenge it. While dominant, it shapes the truth within its framework. In the case of populism, this hegemonic *truth* would be that the notion of "the people" is intrinsically tied to a nation. The last stage of the hegemonic process is practices, generated by this hegemonic view, so-called hegemonic practices, where "reality comes to appear to be natural and non-contingent."[86] This natural, undisturbed reality is what makes up the social. "The social is equivalent to a sedimented order, while the political would involve the moment of reactivation."[87] The political on the other hand, is the moment in which these foundations are contested. If various groups have different particular positions (as in understandings of meaning) which challenge each other, the political moment emerges and unveils the nonessential and thereby vulnerable character of given social meaning or practice.

Populism is an always possible logic of the political.[88] Every political situation can always become populist. Populism is just one logic of the political. The ultimate goal, so to speak, is to uncouple populism from its empirical ballast and to make populism appear as a distinctive and always present possibility of the structuration of political reality. If successful, the question changes from "what is populism?" or "who is populist and who is not" toward how is it that in times like these populism is on the rise and hegemonic, or "of what social reality or situation is populism the expression?"[89] One of the main recurring arguments made against

populism as a political logic is that it is too vague to be properly operationalized or of any use at all.[90] The pejorative proposition "that populism is vague and indeterminate in the audience to which it addresses itself, in its discourse, and in its political postulates" is rejected by Laclau, as he opposes "that vagueness and indeterminacy are not shortcomings of a discourse about social reality, but, in some circumstances, inscribed in social reality as such."[91] The second proposition, populism is mere rhetoric, is rejected because "rhetoric is not epiphenomenal vis-à-vis a self-contained conceptual structure, for no conceptual structure finds its internal cohesion without appealing to rhetorical devices."[92] Following this, Laclau asserts that "populism is the royal road to understanding something about the ontological constitution of the political as such."[93] One weakness of the approaches which understand populism as an ideology or a type of mobilization is that, as the unit of analysis, they use an already constituted group. Instead, for Laclau, "the people" is not some ideological expression but a "real relation between social agents."[94] Laclau suggests seeing populism as one way of "constituting the very unity of the group."[95] What brings subjects together, what mobilizes them to form these very groups? Laclau proposes social demands as the unit of analysis to start with. Demand "can mean a request, but it can also mean a claim (as in "demanding an explanation")."[96] This ambiguity is useful since our interest is the transition from request to claim as one of the defining features of populism. For Laclau, the process of how isolated, single demands emerge and how they eventually merge into one popular demand is of central interest. As a vivid example, Laclau uses the inhabitants of a shantytown near a developing city in a developing nation. These folks have a problem with their housing situation and they address the authorities, hoping that those can fix their request. If this happens, the process is done. Their single, isolated housing demand was solved and the case is closed. In another scenario, the institution is unable to fulfill the request. Other groups near the original group have similar, but different problems, like water and medical supply or access to schools. If the authorities are unable to solve these demands over a longer period, there comes an accumulation of unfulfilled demands into being.

> [...] unfulfilled demands are the expression of systemic dislocation.[97]

Because the administration was not able to solve the problems in a differential way, while they were each individual, isolated demands, slowly

an equivalential relation between them is established. A single demand—satisfied or not—is called a *democratic demand*.[98] Relevant for the populist process are a bunch of demands which enter into a bond of equivalence:

> A plurality of demands which, through their equivalential articulation, constitute a broader social subjectivity we will call popular demands – they start, at a very incipient level, to constitute the 'people' as a potential historical actor. Here we have, in embryo, a populist configuration.[99]

"The people" can emerge if there are several unfulfilled demands which are bound by a chain of equivalence over time—so-called *popular demands.*

> The emergence of the people requires the passage – via equivalences – from isolated, heterogeneous demands to a "global" demand which involves the formation of political frontiers and the discursive construction of power as an antagonistic force demand.[100]

As a paramount example, we have a striking quote from one of the organizers of the *Nuit debout* movement in Paris, François Ruffin. *Nuit debout* started in spring 2016, emerging out of protests against a proposed labor law reform bill. The movement was organized around the broad aim of overthrowing said reforms. The reforms were a reaction to the Great Recession, aimed at liberalizing the French labor market even more, making it more flexible, making it easier to dismiss workers, cut overtime payments etc. *Nuit debout* has been compared to the Occupy movement in the United States and to Spain's anti-austerity 15-M or Indignados movement. The movement has its origin at Paris's *Place de la République*, where protestors have held nightly assemblies. François Ruffin stated:

> […] that the aim of the meeting was to bring together a number of active protest groups, including people protesting against a proposed airport at Notre-Dame-des-Landes, factory workers protesting against the Goodyear tire company, and teachers protesting against education reforms.[101]

Several distinct groups of people had singular demands which were unresolved and *Nuit debout* brought those differential groups and demands together and formulated a new, *popular demand*, which was the prevention of the labor market reforms.

We now have to investigate the emergence of "the people" under these circumstances further. Laclau argues that the difference between an institutionalist and a populist discourse is to be found at the level of the hegemonic signifiers, or nodal points. An institutionalized discourse tries to "make the limits of the discursive formation coincide with the limits of the community."[102] A populist discourse, on the other hand, would divide society into two camps via a frontier of exclusion. "The people" "is something less than the totality of the members of the community."[103] In other words, the signifier "the people" tries to be understood as the only legitimate totality, while actually being only a part of given society. One part of a community claims to be the only true community, meanwhile excluding all others and creating two blocs. In the English language, "the people" can stand for the body of all citizens, the *populus*, or as the *plebs*, which symbolize the underprivileged.

> In order to have the people of populism, we need […] a plebs who claims to be the only legitimate populous – that is, a partiality which wants to function as the totality of the community.[104]

We can now understand what Laclau formulated as the two minimal preconditions for a populist process:

> […] (1) the formation of an internal antagonistic frontier separating the 'people' from power, and (2) an equivalental articulation of demands making the emergence of the 'people' possible.[105]

But what exactly determines which of the particular demands is chosen to become the *carrier*, the hegemonic one, the common denominator, the one which constitutes the popular identity? "Any popular identity needs to be condensed around some signifiers which refer to the equivalential chain as a totality."[106] In other words, the task of representing the universal is more important than the content of that particular claim. Laclau gives the example of a society in chaos that demands *order*. The concrete social answer that will fulfill the request and restore demanded *order* is of secondary importance. The same is true for other demands like *freedom, justice* or *equality*. Laclau argues that it would even be a waste of time trying to fill these terms with specific content. The function of these terms is not to give any definite solution for the demand but instead "to function as the names of a fullness which is constitutively

absent."[107] There will never exist total justice if humans are involved. An argument about if a fascist or a socialist order can bring justice will not be won by a logical deduction of the term *justice* on which both sides can agree on. Instead, decisive is, who is able to attribute the source of given injustice to some object outside of the community, for example the government or foreigners. Thereby the two antagonistic blocs, "the people" and whoever is responsible for the grievance, are constructed. Of prime importance is that "the people" have no pre-given core, are nonessential:

> The people is not a definable entity whose essence can be discovered or whose interests can be represented. It's a discursive construct.[108]

Following Laclau here, "the people" clearly does not have to be a nation's people in any case. It can be made up on any level, local, regional, global. As long as subjects connect via chains of equivalence and claim to be representative for the whole, under a common popular demand, we have the minimal requirements for a populist construction. To resume the question which particular demand becomes the hegemonic one, we can now maintain that it does not matter what content the demand has. It is one of the original, particular demands which will be related in a chain of equivalence with an empty signifier like *justice, freedom*, or *equality*. If this operation resonates successfully, the popular identity revolves around this then hegemonic, popular demand. It is not about finding the one common denominator that is the reason for all social grievances. It is about creating the link between one particular demand and an empty signifier which can carry it to global dimensions. The emptiness is crucial, since only through this emptiness and vagueness it is possible to constitute such chains of equivalence in the first place.

THE POSSIBILITY, THE PERILS AND THE PROMISES OF A GLOBAL POPULIST MOVEMENT

As mentioned in the beginning, there are few endeavors examining the possibility of "non-national" populism in the literature. Two studies, by Benjamin Moffitt[109] and Benjamin De Cleen[110] respectively, deal with the possibility of so-called "transnational" populism.

De Cleen tries to untangle the concepts of populism and nationalism. He argues that most populist articulations take the nation as a reference frame because political representation is empirically de facto mostly organized on a national level.[111] I want to add that this is empirically correct, but historically contingent and that the nation is not an essential part of populism. When populist radical right parties in Europe construct "an antagonism between ordinary people who resist multiculturalism and cherish their national identity, and national and European elites that are undermining national identity," De Cleen argues, "a claim toward the representation of a transnational people-as-underdog is made."[112] While this is certainly a case for the attempt of a construction of a transnational people, it differs in so far from Laclau's logic as that it is formulated by established parties and not a bottom-up project. Also, multiple exclusionary, national populist parties connecting with each other in a chain of equivalence can only go to a certain extent—in the end, they are still said exclusionary, nationalist parties who will never completely merge due to their nationalist ideology. More fitting to my approach covered here are his remarks about a possible left transnational populist project. De Cleen mentions the Communist International, with their "Workers of the World" claim, as a promising example which was held back by their focus on class struggle. Also "despite the internationalist rhetoric, the national focus of the participating parties and movements often stood in the way of a truly transnational politics," De Cleen explains.[113] For political parties, it is hard to construct a transnational people, because they are still mostly engaging in institutions on a national level. If possible at all, it might be achievable for movements, since they do not strive for direct electoral or institutional power but instead examine power through other means as shaping the discourse via actions like demonstrations, protests or petitions which might eventually result in institutional change.

The other article discussing populism above the nation-level was published by Moffitt. While I agree with Moffitt that the difference of national and global populism lies within the level (national, global) of the construction of the people,[114] I might counter his argument that "the elite" does not have to be of global scale. If we follow Laclau closely, of course both sides of the antagonism can be made up of anything. But for a global populist project to work, the antagonism of the transnational people should have a global character. If the Other is an entity of global scale, more individuals are potentially affected and can be mobilized.

I therefore suggest three different populisms. First, in the classical national populism, "the people" and "the elite" both are of national character. Second there is the possibility of a transnational populism in which "the people" has to transcend national borders but the antagonism does not have to be a transnational or global phenomenon, as shown by Moffitt's example of Chavez' South American alliance versus the United States.[115] A third dimension would be global populism, in which "the people" emerge on a global scale out of unanswered demands and "the elite" has to be some global phenomenon like the neoliberal logic, unhindered financial markets or collective delaying of measures to curtail climate change. While of course the global system is, as matters now stand, made entirely of nation-states with real borders, the idea of a borderless movement still has to be discussed. Global challenges might need a global challenger. This might sound teleological. An accusation I might not be able to fully refute, but to explain. Aslanidis warns of the danger of normative bias in populist research.[116] As the majority of publications regarding populism are about some kind of exclusionary right-wing populist leader or party, every work that discusses emancipatory populism and vindicates and promotes Laclau's understanding of populism has every right to exist. He states that there is a fourfold typology of normative bias,[117] but this work falls for none of these categories, since this is a consideration of an ontological, conceptual level and not a case study. The fictive, potential movement that emerges out of this logic would be emancipatory and try to reclaim power to the sovereign, the people, in a post-democratic era.

NOTES

1. The most significant works include "Populism. Its Meanings and National Characteristics", edited by Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner (1969), "Populism" by Margaret Canovan (1981), "Populism" by Paul Taggart (2000), "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics" by Kurt Weyland (2001), "The Populist Zeitgeist" by Cas Mudde (2004), "On Populist Reason" by Ernesto Laclau (2005), and "Populism and the Mirror of Democracy", edited by Francisco Panizza (2005), among others.
2. Denkler (2016).
3. FAZ (2016).
4. Mudde (2015).

5. Van der Bellen (2018); Rede von Bundespräsident Alexander Van der Bellen anlässlich des Gedenkens an den 12. März 1938. http://www.bundespraesident.at/newsdetail/artikel/rede-von-bundespraesident-alexander-van-der-bellen-anlaesslich-des-gedenkens-an-den-12-maerz-1938/ [13.03.2018].
6. *On Populist Reason* (OPR), 19.
7. Ellinas (2013).
8. Caiani and Della Porta (2011).
9. Marchart (2002).
10. Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014).
11. Kioupkiolis (2016), Thomassen (2016).
12. De La Torre (2015).
13. Kriesi and Pappas (2015).
14. Moffitt (2016).
15. Aslanidis (2016), Bale et al. (2011), Deegan-Krause and Haughton (2009), Jansen (2011), Laclau (2005), Stanley (2008), Taggart (2000), Weyland (2001).
16. Canovan (1981), Mudde (2004), Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser (2013), Taggart (1995), Taguieff (1995).
17. Jansen (2011, 76).
18. Wiles in Ionescu and Gellner (1969, 166).
19. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 1).
20. Gidron and Bonikowski (2013, 1).
21. Pappas (2016, 8).
22. Canovan (1981), Pappas (2016), Taggart (2000).
23. A summary of the conference proceedings appeared in 1968 under the title "To Define Populism", *Government and Opposition*, 3(2), 137–179. The conference results were later published in the acquainted edited book *Populism: Its meanings and national characteristics* (1969) by G. Ionescu and E. Gellner.
24. Ionescu and Gellner (1969, 1), emphases in original.
25. Di Tella (1965, 47).
26. Dix (1978, 1).
27. Germani (1978, 95).
28. Roberts (2006, 127).
29. Pappas (2016, 4).
30. Roberts (1995, 85).
31. Jansen (2011, 79).
32. Ibid., 82.
33. Ibid., 82, emphasis in original.
34. Weyland (2001, 14).
35. Barr (2009, 44).

36. Betz (2002, 198).
37. Roberts (1995, 82).
38. Kazin (1998, 1).
39. De La Torre (2010, 4).
40. Hawkins (2009, 1042).
41. Hawkins (2009, 2010).
42. Jagers and Walgrave (2007).
43. E.g., Rooduijn and Pauwels (2011).
44. 1752 quotations according to Google Scholar, as of November 2018.
45. Mudde (2004, 543), emphasis in original.
46. Ibid., 543f.
47. Gerring (1997).
48. Taggart (2000), Rovira Kaltwasser (2012).
49. Freeden (1996).
50. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 383).
51. Mudde (2004).
52. Aslanidis (2016); for a comprehensive discussion of Freeden's concepts of thin and thick ideologies and why populism is neither nor, see Aslanidis (2016, 3ff.).
53. Canovan (1999), De La Torre (2010), Knight (1998), Taguieff (1995).
54. Moffitt (2016, 3).
55. Ibid.
56. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 387).
57. Ibid., emphasis in original.
58. This argument is also made by Robert Jansen (2011, 77), backed up with references to Bourdieu, Joas, Sewell, Swidler, Tilly, among others.
59. He refers to Arditi (2007).
60. Moffitt refers to Butler (1990) and Carver and Chambers (2008).
61. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 388).
62. Ibid., 389, emphasis in original.
63. Carver and Chambers (2008, 36), quoted in Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 389).
64. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 390).
65. Ibid., 390.
66. Alberto Fujimori, Hugo Chávez, Evo Morales and Rafael Correa in Latin America, Jean-Marie Le Pen, Jörg Haider, Umberto Bossi, Viktor Orbán and Pim Fortuyn in Europe, Sarah Palin, Ross Perot, and Preston Manning in North America, and Thaksin Shinawatra, Pauline Hanson, and Winston Peters in the Asia-Pacific region, among others; Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 390).
67. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 390).
68. Ibid., 391.

69. Moffitt (2015).
70. Ibid., 392.
71. Ibid., 393.
72. Howarth and Torfing (2005, 13).
73. Laclau (2005, 68).
74. Ibid., 70.
75. Nabers (2015, 100).
76. Laclau (1996, 36).
77. See Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 114).
78. Nabers (2009, 196).
79. Laclau (1990, 66).
80. Ibid., 36.
81. Howarth and Torfing (2005, 11).
82. Ibid., 16.
83. Solomon (2015, 81).
84. Laclau (2005, 70).
85. Nabers (2015, 96).
86. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, 186).
87. Laclau (2014, 68).
88. Laclau (2005, 13).
89. Ibid., 18.
90. Most recently: Aslanidis (2016), Moffitt and Tormey (2014), Moffitt (2016), Mudde (2004, 2007), Müller (2014, 2016).
91. Laclau (2005, 67), emphasis in original.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., 73.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., 118.
98. Ibid., 74.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., 110.
101. Bastié (2016); Nuit debout: genèse d'un mouvement pas si spontané. http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2016/04/07/01016-20160407ART-FIG00102-nuit-debout-genese-d-un-mouvement-pas-si-spontane.php [14.02.2018].
102. Laclau (2005, 81).
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., 74.
106. Ibid., 96.

107. Ibid.
108. Ibid., 224.
109. Moffitt (2017).
110. De Cleen (2017).
111. Ibid., 342.
112. Ibid., 356.
113. Ibid., 357.
114. Moffitt (2017, 2).
115. Ibid., 4.
116. Aslanidis (2017).
117. Ibid., 281.

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How to Become a Leader: Identifying Global Repertoires for Populist Leadership

María Esperanza Casullo

INTRODUCTION

The presence of a strong personalistic leader has almost always been considered an essential feature of populism.[1] Personalistic leadership is present in the very first descriptions of the topic. (This term can be defined in broad terms as a type of leadership in which the authority of the leader derives from the followers' beliefs in her exceptionality and not from her ability to follow institutional procedures or climb through the party ranks.[2]) The relation between populism and personalistic leadership is also connected to Max Weber's concept of charismatic authority. In fact, the essential connection between charismatic leaders and populist mobilization is a central feature of most contemporary theories of populism. For authors such as Kurt Weyland or Paul Taggart, charismatic leadership is one of the core features of populism. Weyland defines populism as a strategy for accumulating personal power that can be deployed at will by ambitious politicians;[3] Paul Taggart states that populism "requires the most extraordinary individuals to lead the most ordinary of people".[4] Concordantly, in the last few years a remarkable body of literature has

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focused on the role of the personal performance of the leaders, who tend to be larger-than-life, outlandish figures.[5] For this view, it is unclear, however, which are the limits to the individual agency of the leader: is populism a strategy that is always available for everybody? Is personal virtue the only limitation to the decision to *become* a populist leader? The figure of the leader, which is central for these authors, becomes much more secondary in Ernesto Laclau's discursive theory. The discursive theory of populism focuses instead on the process by which political identities are formed. The leader—says Laclau—*becomes* the empty signifier that links together the equivalential chain insofar he expresses *something* already present in the equivalential chain, which to a degree precedes him.[6] By describing this process in impersonal terms, Laclau wants to underscore the ways in which the leader and the followers are truly relational constructions, and the ways in which the leader himself is *transformed* into a political symbol by forces that are largely out of his control. So, if one defines populism as a *personal strategy for power accumulation*, social structures seem to recede into the background. If one defines populism as a *social discourse*, the strategic autonomy and agency of the leader disappear.

The goal of this chapter is not to resolve this tension between structure and agency but to offer, as it were, a remediation, presented in the form of a set of mid-range concepts that revolve around the notion of *repertoires*. Repertoires are defined as socially shared discursive templates that determine legitimate or accepted ways for populist leaders to act, talk, dress and that indicate what life-stories are more suitable for a politician to tell. Repertories are socially generated and circulated but they are not totally fixed: a white, male, middle-class lawyer has the a-priori advantage of conforming to a repertoire that states what a "regular" politician looks like—however, there can be other repertoires available or in competition at a given time. If the context changes (for example in times of crisis) to look like a "regular politician" might become a disadvantage.

The thesis of the piece is that repertoires act as possible paths to leadership, that are resonant with social groups at given times and places and that they can be used by individuals to present themselves as prospective leaders. The ability of the individual to perceive and utilize these repertories is a personal feature; the repertoires themselves are nonetheless social. What is called charisma might also be defined as a gift for reading these repertoires and for weaving the personal with the social. As Benjamin Moffitt states, such leaders are extraordinary

in that they are able to understand what 'the people' think and ulti-mately articulate their needs and desires. Yet the leader's extraordi-nary symbolic function goes beyond mere articulation—in populism, the leader does not simply represent 'the people' but is actually seen as embodying it.[7]

These repertoires travel globally, aided by media and by the imitation effect that successful political careers have on other ambitious politicians. However, nowadays some repertoires seem to be particularly attractive or effective in different parts of the world and some repertoires seem to be associated primarily with different points of the ideological spectrum.

Four types of repertoires will be examined in this chapter: the patri-otic soldier, the social leader, the successful businessman, and the strong woman. The first one was associated with the classic populist regimes of the mid-twentieth century in Latin America; the second one is associated with leftist leaders in semi-peripheral countries (mostly Latin America) at the turn of this century, while the third one seems to be more suited to right-wing leaders in Europe, the USA, and Latin America as well. The strong woman template, lastly, however, seems to be equally used in Latin America, the United States and Europe, and by left and right-wing leaders.

Populist Leadership and the Construction of "Outsider-Ness"

A central feature of populist leaders' discourses is that they always pres-ent themselves as outsiders.[8] A populist leader always constructs herself as someone uncontaminated by the vices of the "partidocracia" or the "establishment". This is true whether or not the leader comes from an excluded group (as Evo Morales from Bolivia) or that he is a member of one of the most traditional families in the country (as was the case with Álvaro Uribe in Colombia). The quality of the narration is what mat-ters, not its factual accuracy. The outsiderness is always a function of the discourse.

The self-presentation of the leader as someone who comes from out-side is inextricable from a strong moral component. In her own narration, the leader makes the jump into politics not because of personal ambi-tion but out of a sense of moral outrage; she is not guided by calcula-tion or convenience but by a burning desire to serve a people who has

been damaged by an amoral élite. She presents herself as the people's redeemer, not their boss. The story of the leader's personal journey from political ignorance to political consciousness must be at the same time personally emotional and politically powerful. The alleged act of self-sacrifice and true love lies at the root of the deep connection between leader and followers—if the discourse on this love is not believed, the representative bond cannot be established. The tale of her political activation emphasizes the exceptional, charismatic and redeeming character of the leader. At the same time, and of equal importance, it underscores the leader's independence. Because she does not come from politics, she does not owe anything to anybody. Her power, as granted by the people, is hers and hers alone.[9]

However, for all the talk about charisma and exceptionality, there seem to be a non-infinite number of paths to becoming a populist leader. In different times and places, some life-narratives seem to give more currency to the speaker's claim to outsiderness, love for the people and exceptionality. These preferred life-narratives are organized and shared as social repertoires. Inductively, four types seem to be specially strong and relevant.

The Patriotic Military Man

As mentioned before, every populist discourse of self-presentation must transform a given set of biographical facts into a narrative that emphasizes a story of sacrifice and redemption. One career path that has proven to be very suited to act as a platform toward populist leadership is being a military officer.

Juan Domingo Perón from Argentina, José Velasco Alvarado from Perú, Gamal Nasser from Egypt, Omar Torrijos from Panamá, Hugo Chávez from Venezuela: all of these populist politicians came to preeminence while they were in the military, or they used their past careers in the armed forces as a prelude to the jump to politics. (Getulio Vargas had a brief stint in the Brazilian army as well.)

So prevalent was the "patriotic soldier" template in the first half of the twentieth century that one might argue that it was the most important path towards becoming a populist leader, at least in Latin America and parts of the third world. Probably nobody embodied this stereotype better than Juan Domingo Perón, who to this day is colloquially referred to as "el General", the General, in Argentine political vernacular. As Silvia

Sigal and Eliseo Verón described, Perón constantly appealed in his discourse to his past as an officer, as somebody who was satisfied with his a-political life "in the barracks" and who, even though he had no ambitions, felt compelled to enter into politics due to a patriotic sense of duty in the face of the moral deterioration of his country.[10] Of course Perón's account is arguably false: he was never without ambitions, and he was never a political. At least one decade before coming to power he was active in the GOU, a semi-formal group of military officers who sought to become politically influential; he had also been a mid-rank official in the Conservative national government during the thirties. He was quite adept at day-to-day politics.

But it is useless to denounce the "falseness" of the patriotic soldier repertoire or to alert of Perón's strategic use of an available template to power. He was able to perceive that the repertoire itself was powerful and resonant in a country like Argentina that had constructed a national mythology around the figure of General San Martín and other heroes of the Independence War. (Perón was aware of and utilized this mythology, frequently celebrating the figure of San Martín and Julio Roca, among others, during his presidency.)

The "patriotic soldier" template, however, fell out of favor in Latin America around the last decades of the twentieth century, probably because the aura of the armed forces was severely tainted by the crimes and human rights violations committed by the military dictatorships of the 1970s. The armed forces in general do not enjoy the privileged symbolic position that they once had in the region. There is one notable exception to this: Hugo Chávez. Chávez was a paratrooper officer when he first attempted to grab power in Venezuela through a military coup in 1992. Even though he was not a service member when he ran for the presidency and won in 1998, he frequently underscored his military past in his public speeches. One plausible hypothesis is that, because Venezuela had not had a successful military coup in over half a century, and it was the country with the longest uninterrupted streak of civilian government in South America, it still had a more rosy vision of the armed forces. (For this and other features, Chávez's discourse was more similar to Perón's classic populism than to Morales's or the Kirchner's.)

There are no similar examples of populist "patriotic soldiers" in present-day Europe and the United States. The reason probably is that the examples of twentieth-century strong men that came to power by appropriating military symbology (like Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, who

were not career officers before ascending to domination but put on elaborate performances of military might nonetheless) continue to be unsavory in the eyes of large parts of the public.

The Social Leader

One populist repertoire that came to preeminence in several regions of the world at the turn of the twenty-first century has been the social leader. "Social leader" here means somebody who becomes an elected politician or tries to do so after being politically active in a social movement, specially if this movement involves protests of any kind.

Social movements gained visibility in Latin America during the seventies and eighties as they became the visible face of the anti-authoritarian struggles against the military Juntas then in power. The allure of social movements was strengthened by the anti-neoliberal reaction of the nineties, when organizations such as the Movimiento Sin Tierra in Brazil, the Cocaleros movement in Bolivia, the Piquetero movement in Argentina or the Mexican Frente Zapatista de Liberación Nacional were at the forefront of the protests against the neoliberal reforms and the rising poverty.

The sudden appeal of social leaders in the political sphere had two components: on the one hand, society became favorably predisposed toward them as the economic and social crises caused by the failure of the neoliberal reforms discredited the centrist, mainstream parties that had advocated for them.[11] The loss of credibility of the centrist "fiscally responsible" parties that had vouched for neoliberal macro adjustments created an opening through which outsiders could barge through. The second element was the embrace of electoral politics by anti-capitalist figures who had been ambivalent about them until not long ago. Socialism through an armed revolution was not seen as a preferable option anymore—against the almost canonic view of the left in Latin America in the sixties and seventies.

At this exceptional juncture, several social leaders who were truly outsiders ran for office in Latin America—and won. Former metalworker and longtime labor union Lula Da Silva was elected president of Brazil in his fourth attempt in 2002. *Cocalero*[12] activist Evo Morales became Bolivia's president in 2005, even though he had been previously imprisoned because of his role in protesting US-backed coca-eradication efforts. Catholic bishop and pro-poor activist Fernando Lugo was elected Paraguay's president in 2008. In Ecuador, and even though he was a

US-educated economist, Rafael Correa was voted president in 2006 after he became known as one of the leaders of the protest movement that ended with the government of Lucio Gutiérrez in the previous years.

The examples of social leaders who entered politics are not as abundant in Europe or the United States but several cases are identifiable nonetheless.[13] Several social leaders became politicized in the context of the financial crisis of 2007 and 2008; much like in Latin America, the onset of an economic crisis, the extreme austerity measures that were taken by the "centrist" or "mainstream" parties as a response to the crisis and the loss of confidence in those parties by vast swaths of the population created an opening for the ascendance of relative outsiders to politics. Because economic crises erode the legitimacy of the governing parties and provided openings for new figures, it is maybe natural that one can find more "outsiders" rising in Latin America.[14] The most important connection between populism and social movements in the West after 2008 is that of the leftist populist party "Podemos" in Spain, whose initial leadership came from the "Movimiento Indignados" that mobilized against the austerity measures that the Spanish government took in response to the financial crisis. Podemos, however, has not been able to break the hold of the centrist parties (PP and PSOE) on the party system and it has had to compete with another political startup, "Ciudadanos". In Italy, the comedian Beppe Grillo started the "Five Stars" movement as a half-satirical, half-protest endeavor that nonetheless has evolved into an important fixture of Italian politics. (There are a number of linkages between far-right social movements and far-right populist parties in Europe as well, although they have been less examined.[15])

The United States presents a fascinating, if paradoxical, case. The banking crisis of 2008 begun at Wall Street; the Occupy Wall Street movement shook the public scene in a powerful way as a reaction to the crisis and, more importantly, to the bank bailouts that were perceived by many as a handout to the very culprits who caused the crisis. Riding a wave of dissatisfaction right after the crisis, in 2008 Barack Obama was elected president. He was a relative outsider: a junior senator who had jumped into politics after years spent as a community organizer and constitutional law professor in the city of Chicago. He was not, however, the transformative and populist president that many had hoped for him to be: he never developed an antagonistic discourse and he did not attempt to achieve radical transformations. He did not seek to mobilize the left of the Democratic party; in fact, he frequently triangulated away from his own left wing. In 2016

a leftist fraction of the Democratic party that echoed many of the themes of Occupy Wall Street rallied around the figure of independent senator Bernie Sanders and against Hillary Clinton, who they deemed as a neoliberal and hawkish sellout. The Sanders movement failed to gain the presidential nomination, however they succeeded in pushing Clinton to the left in many issues. Yet they felt they were cheated out of the nomination by Democratic insiders and they remain uncomfortably in the Democratic party.[16] As Laura Grattan argues, Obama was elected thanks to the appeal of an almost populist promise, yet he governed "with the soul of a technocrat".[17] One might in fact argue that the presidency of Obama fed the populist energy of the Tea Party instead of the Democratic party.[18]

As every social leader that goes into politics can attest, there are costs in the transition from civil society to politics. In many cases the movements ends up splitting because of the "treason" that transitioning into politics-as-usual entails: in Bolivia, Felipe Quispe splintered the indigenous movement because of Evo Morales' acceptance of the Bolivian nation-state framework and his rejection of an exclusive ethnic stance. Similarly, the indigenous movement Pachakutik broke with Rafael Correa and chose an openly opposing stance to his government.[19] In Brazil some organizations within the *Partido Trabalhista* (PT) broke away after denouncing the 'bureaucratization' of the PT.[20] Lastly, the Sanders movement in the U.S. was locked in a difficult and unsatisfying relation with the Democratic party. Breaking with the party is difficult to do given the bipartisan bias of the institutional structures that organize representation in the United States, however the Sanders movement was hostile to the insider dealings that, according to them, defined the Democratic party.

All the examples discussed so far belong to the left populist camp. However, there is at least one case of a right-wing social movement that has shown itself to be enormously influential. That is the U.S. Tea Party. The Tea Party movement sprung mostly as a response to the election of the first African American president, but also involved themes of anti-financial capitalism, anti-immigration and anti-globalization. Even though it was not openly affiliated with the institutional Republican party, The Tea Party was instrumental in ushering in a crop of more radical Republican representatives in the Republican wave election of 2010. However, the Tea Party remained largely as a leaderless movement once its most prominent affiliated politician, Sarah Palin, fizzled out.[21] The Tea Party finally found in Donald Trump somebody who was able to cater to their preferences, and its voters became his most committed

supporters. Thus, in the United States there seem to be examples of right wing and left wing social movements, however, only at the right wing of the spectrum leaders from the movements seem to have been able to successfully transition into positions of power.

The Successful Businessman

This brings us to the third repertoire which is available to aspiring leaders, the successful businessman (emphasis on man) which is closely related to what Heinisch and Saxonberg have called "entrepreneurial populism": "political formations competing for public office that are led by charismatic business leaders, who claim that their ability to run businesses successfully means they will be able to run government well".[22] The patriotic soldier and the social leader templates seem to have power to capture the social imagination primarily in Latin America. The successful businessman template, however, has become a singularly attractive path to power in the USA, Europe, and Latin America as well. One remarkable fact is that this is an almost exclusive right-wing phenomenon. In fact, it is tempting to state that the merging of "traditional" tropes of the right regarding culture and social issues with the celebration of "successful businessmen" is the defining physiognomy of the right wing globally today.

Silvio Berlusconi and Donald Trump are two relatively recent examples of businessmen-turned-politicians that come to mind. But the repertoire has probably been the strongest imaginary formation, for almost thirty years, of what a "good" politician is in the United States. This route to politics had already been attempted by Ross Perot (the oil tycoon who in 1992 managed to be the most successful third-party candidate in over half a century).[23] Also, it must not be forgotten that George W. Bush was hailed as "the first MBA president" and "the delegator in chief" in his first presidency. But this is truly a global phenomenon. In the Czech Republic the populist billionaire Andrej Babis is pushing the country to an Euroskeptic stance. In Australia, Pauline Hanson presented herself as a successful entrepreneur before entering into politics. In Latin America, the rise of the billionaire-president has probably been the most salient feature of the last five or ten years: Sebastián Piñera in Chile, Mauricio Macri in Argentina, Horacio Cartes in Paraguay: all of them were very wealthy businessmen before being elected to the presidency.[24]

The guiding idea in this type of leadership is not a sense of shared duty or a commitment to social justice, but technocratic efficiency without the complications of ideology. At the same time, it is very common to find the use of the 'country as a firm' trope complemented by the trope of the 'country as family', in which it is said that the nation is a household that must learn above all to 'not spend more than it earns'.

It is not by chance, therefore, that the figure of the "successful entrepreneur" implies heavily gendered connotations. Although, as noted, there are some cases of women who appeal to their entrepreneurial past to get into politics, in most cases this repertoire is associated with a certain rhetoric that exploits traditional images of "successful masculinity": these are men who display their heterosexual dominance with wives that are younger, thin and beautiful (such as the wives of Donald Trump, Michel Temer, and Mauricio Macri who were all former models) or who make a public ostentation of his many beautiful and young "conquests" (as Silvio Berlusconi did).

The old-school notion of the country as a "civilian army" wound together by a shared sense of patriotism, which required a leader with training and a military sense of duty to bring it to glory, has been replaced by the equally morally-laden idea of the country as a company that must technocratically and dispassionately be taught to compete within the global market of nations. The leader paves the way toward global competitiveness by pointing to the necessary sacrifices. He must be ruthless sometimes, because only he can translate the know-how accumulated in the capitalistic world into the political arena, unlike the politicians who are "all talk and no walk".[25]

The Strong Woman

This brings us to the final template: the strong woman. Benjamin Moffitt argues that "while female populist leaders like Pauline Hanson and Sarah Palin have stressed their toughness and strength, they have typically combined these allegedly 'masculine' traits with attributes traditionally associated with femininity, including caring, empathy and maternalism—a phenomenon that has also been noted in the female leadership of populist parties in Scandinavia".[26] A slew of new populist leaders are women: Sarah Palin, Pauline Hanson, Marine Le Pen, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner—some would say Dilma Rousseff from Brazil. At first sight, they do not seem to follow one single template that unifies their style

of leadership. However, they all seem to have built their own particular script as a "strong woman". Each of these populist women has had to grapple with their own gender in ways that no male politician has had to. In the way that they talk, dress, and act, their gender is a *thing that has to be managed and a question that has to be answered*. They often try to show that their strength and resilience are based on their feminine qualities, underscoring their role as mothers and sometimes presenting themselves as protectors of the nation, yet they cannot be *too tough* of they will be deemed unappealing.

A particularly important trope is the "tough mother", whom is supposed to be a strong politician because she is predisposed to protect her family and community. Sarah Palin made good use of this trope: she linked the image of Alaska's pioneering women (portraying herself as an avid hunter, fisherwoman and runner) to her and liked to include herself and other conservatives women in a movement made of "Mama Grizzlies".[27] However, she always took pains to underscore her physical attractiveness and caused a splash at her first big public speech by wearing six-inches red patent-leather stiletto shoes. The "tough mom" image was always balanced with images of non-threatening traditional femininity.[28]

There is usually a transgressive element to the flaunting of gender in the public sphere, even for women who do not openly showcase their "feminine" side as wives and mothers. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner from Argentina is another example. While she succeeded her husband, Néstor Kirchner, in the presidency, she always made clear that she was a political powerhouse on her own: she had been a well-known Senator who became famous for her fiery anti-neoliberal rhetoric. But in general she did not attend public events with her children and, for instance, remarked that she never cooked and did not like to. Cristina Fernández presented herself as first and foremost a politician and one of the members of a political partnership, and in doing so she was probably following the most important stylistic template available for female Peronist politicians, Eva Perón. Like Eva Perón, she also projected an aura of glamours femininity: long black hair, fashionable dresses, high heels. However, in the end the way in which she dressed became one of the most powerful critiques against her: newspapers denounced her taste for expensive shoes and clothes. The fashionable side of Cristina Fernández was considered "unacceptable" by the Argentine elite.[29]

But to not opt for the repertoires of traditional feminine attractiveness can be risky too. Marine Le Pen is another prominent populist who, as

every female politician must do, grappled with how to present herself. If previously she did not choose an overly feminized appeal, in his last presidential campaign she famously chose a more overly gendered image. Her campaign called her "Marine" in her videos and posters, dropping her last name; she changed her usual pantsuits for a miniskirt and was portrayed holding one of her three children. She sought to remind the onlookers of the imaginary link between her and the representation of the French republic, who is famously a woman.[30]

To sum up: as the most recent literature on gender and populism has noticed, the relation between the two is likely to contain contradictory ideas.[31] "If populism concerns the politics of personality, then it was always been about gender and specific models of masculinity and femininity".[32] These models, however, are heavily context-dependent and even ambiguous. Populist leaders and followers might advance some gender-friendly images and policies while at the same time supporting traditional images of women as family keepers and unpaid caretakers. It is also proven that women have a harder time getting to leadership roles because voters assume that a leader has to be "tough" while women are maternal and soft.[33] Judging by these examples, the "strong woman" repertoire creates an opportunity for ambitious women, but it also creates a number of pitfalls. If the woman chooses to leverage her image as a mother and wife, she can be deemed as too soft; if she tries to leverage her good looks, she might be considered unserious or frivolous; finally, if she chooses not to use a gendered appeal, she is going to be deemed as cold, unapproachable, and shrill. As Meret and Siim have said: "leaning too much toward dominant masculine representations is perceived as being an excess, but 'inappropriate' for a woman is also to incline toward excessive markers of femininity when appearing publicly".[34] Every female populist must come up with a suitable answer to the question "what do I do with my gender?" which is something that no male politician must do. Gender is a *problem* to be managed more than an asset.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to develop the notion of personal *repertoire* or *template*. The notion might be a useful mid-range concept for bridging the chasm between the analytic level of the strategic personalistic leader and the level of the social and impersonal dynamics. Individuals do not rise to power out of will and ambition alone, nor is "society"

an all-encompassing structure. There are several repertories that tell what a politician can or cannot do and how to look and not to look like. These can be strategically used, discarded, and challenged as well. They are *collective*, rather than purely social or individual.

Some repertories seem to marry themselves better with a left-leaning ideology, as is the case with the social leader one. And it is surprising how the successful businessman template has become a truly formidable tool in the arsenal of right-wing parties and movements. Still, repertoires are also context-dependent. As noted before, sudden economic crises that lower social trust in mainstream parties and their accepted repertoires of leadership often create openings for new ones, bestowing legitimacy to ways of looking, being and talking that do not fit with preconceived notions.[35] Or the rise of a new template, such as the suddenly legitimate example of an African American president, might cause the desire in some to affirm the *old* templates that seem to be crumbling: feelings of social change and cultural insecurity seem to create a demand for the "old" strong-man trope.

There are, in short, no fixed formulas as to what might or might not work for a given critical juncture. Politically ambitious entrepreneurs scan the cultural landscape and seek to marry the established cultural repertoires with the external structures of opportunity. If they succeed, they might become the embodied representation of a new political identity, and even reshape the political system. They might even become the "new old thing": no longer new and exciting, no longer challenging, but simply inhabiting "the way things have always been". Thus, new opportunities for other ambitious outsiders will appear, and the cycle of politics will be renewed.

NOTES

1. For the purposes of this chapter, populism will be defined, following Francisco Panizza, as "an anti-status quo discourse that simplifies the political space by symbolically dividing society between 'the people' (as the 'underdogs') and its 'other'" (Panizza 2005, 3). In the discursive approach, both people and its other are conceptualized as discursively constructed: "Needless to say, the identity of both 'the people' and 'the other' are political constructs, symbolically constituted through the relation of antagonism, rather than sociological categories. Antagonism is thus a mode of identification in which the relation between its form (the

people as signifier) and its content (the people as signified) is given by the very *process of naming* - that is, of establishing who the enemies of the people (and therefore the people itself) are" (Panizza 2005, 3, emphasis added).

2. For classic Greek political thought, the derogatory terms democracy and demagogue were both connected to the *demos*, the people. And the people's uprising was always linked to demagoguery. It was the demagogue who mobilized the people through the manipulation of their fears and resentments so that he could become a tyrant. Machiavelli believed that the people could not give itself rules and institutions, but they can preserve and enhance them them ("…princes show themselves superior in the making of laws, and in the forming of civil institutions and new statutes and ordinances") (Machiavelli 1950, 264) ("…the people are superior in maintaining those institutions, laws, and ordinances, which certainly places them on a par with those who established them".) (Machiavelli 1950, 265). Only through the decisive and strategic action of a leader the true potential for a true Republican people could be achieved.

3. Weyland (2001).

4. Taggart (2000).

5. Moffitt (2015), Mudde and Rovira (2017), Heinisch et al. (2017), Casullo and Freidenberg (2017).

6. Laclau (2005, 129).

7. Moffitt (2015, 84).

8. Sigal and Verón (2003).

9. Populist leaders always present themselves as outsiders with no links to traditional politicians, even though they usually recruit members of the 'partitocracy' once they get to power (Casullo and Freidenberg 2017).

10. Sigal and Verón (2003).

11. The progressive delegitimization of South-American mainstream parties as they were seen as part of the neoliberal consensus was described by Torre (1998), Roberts (2003), Panizza (2009) among others.

12. "Cocalero" means coca-grower. Before entering party politics, Evo Morales was a prominent leader of the peasants of the Chapare region, whose main crop were coca leaves. Evo Morales was the most vocal critic against the "zero-coca" policies and compulsive más fumigation of coca crops that the Bolivian state implemented in coordination with the US government during the nineties. Morales was detained, beaten up and imprisoned by his activism. For references on the Cocalero movement and its impact on the MAS conformation see Grisaffi (2010), Neso (2013). For a comprehensive biography of Morales, see Sivak's *Jefazo* (2009). Also, Archondo (2009).

13. There are some examples of social leaders or well-known public figures who transitioned into electoral politics in the US and Europe (such as Lech Walesa in Poland or Jesse Jackson in the US) but on the whole they did not become powerful presidents like Evo Morales or even Lula Da Silva. The route from civil society to political power as a pure outsider seems to be less open in these countries.

14. Roberts (2012, 139), Barr (2009), Carreras (2012), Casullo and Freidenberg (2017).

15. Ruzza (2017).

16. The US two-party system has strong entrance barriers preventing outsider candidates. In the last few election cycles, however, these barriers seem to have been stronger in the Democratic party. As Vergari mentions, both Trump and Sanders are the result of a representation crisis, but only Trump could take hold of the party. The Democratic establishment stood firmly behind Hillary Clinton's nomination (Vergari 2017: 247, 249).

17. Grattan (2016, 3).

18. Ibid., xi.

19. The relation between Correa and social movements (indigenous as well as environmental) was contentious. Correa has been accused of demobilizing and co opting social movements. See for instance De La Torre (2010).

20. The former presidential candidate Marina Silva, who ran against Dilma Rousseff and the PT in 2014, was enrolled in the PT as environmental activist for many decades until she broke with the party.

21. Skocpol and Williamson (2011).

22. Heinisch and Saxonberg (2017, 209). It needs to be remembered that a populist strategy and discourse with pro-market, business-friendly ideology were thought to be incompatible until the nineties, when Roberts and Weyland coined the term "neoliberal populism". See Roberts (1995), Weyland (1999).

23. Two other significant examples are Michael Bloomberg, the founder of the financial information company that became mayor of New York and flirted with the idea of running for president, and Mitt Romney, the finance mogul who was the Republican candidate for the presidency of the in 2012. None of them however were antagonistic populists, which might explain their lack of success.

24. Two other businessmen-turned-presidents are Michel Temer in Brazil and the recently deposed Pedro Pablo Kuczynski in Perú. The two of them are clearly from the right, but they could not be considered populists.

25. "It seems that all entrepreneurial populists have in common that they are catch-all and eschew a well-defined ideological framework. Instead,

they exhibit clear convictions about who is best fit to rule and how the country should be governed" (Heinisch and Saxonberg 2017, 211).

26. (Moffitt 205, 66).
27. According to a piece by *Newsweek Magazine* on Palin's use of the term, she first used in 2008 in a speech before a pro-life group (Miller 2010). Her political action committee shot a political ad for the 2010 campaign entitled "Mama Grizzly", which can still be viewed in Youtube. After Palin, Sharon Angle, a conservative Republican candidate from Nevada, used the bear reference. While Palin's appeal has somewhat faded, as late as April 2014 she introduced a fellow female Tea Party candidate, Joni Ernst, as "a mama grizzly ready to take a stand against the Russian bear".
28. Sarah Palin is a good example of the process described by Mazzoleni: the interest of the media in a certain kind of outlandish yet media-savvy figure creates an opening for political entrepreneurs. Women can use this "media complicity" to their advantage, especially if they are telegenic (Mazzoleni 2008, 50).
29. Casullo (2018).
30. Scrinzi (2011).
31. Scholars have noted that European right-wing populist parties simultaneously denounce the supposedly 'backwards' treatment of women in the Islamic religion and present gender equality as a mark of Western civilization, while warning of "demographic decline" and denouncing Western women for not having enough children (Meret and Siim 2013).
32. Dingler et al. (2017, 346).
33. Ibid., 354.
34. Meret and Siim (2015, 4).
35. A process called "the exhaustion of the representative abilities of the centrist parties" (Casullo and Freidenberg 2014).

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Populism and Contemporary Global Media: Populist Communication Logics and the Co-construction of Transnational Identities

Precious N. Chatterje-Doody and Rhys Crilley

Introduction

The academic study of populism has been well established since at least the 1960s. However, there remains significant contestation about what populism is, how to approach it, and what it offers either for understanding, and/or transforming contemporary politics. Furthermore, the study of populism has been influenced by its development in response to observable phenomena. First, existing studies usually focus on specific leaders or movements within nation-states in a relatively restricted geographical area. Second, the media is generally treated as a dissemination tool of such populist actors, rather than as a producer of populism in itself. Finally, the study of populism has engaged weakly with web 2.0

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developments (those which facilitate the creation, dissemination and interactivity of content across sites, platforms and networks). It therefore cannot convincingly address the impact of today's inherently interactive global political-media environment on contemporary populism.

In this chapter, we argue that the development and integration of new media technologies is more than just an evolution in how populist messages are disseminated. Rather, even in non-democratic systems, media actors exert some agency. Furthermore, particular circulation logics are inherent within different new media platforms. Consequently, contemporary populist appeals are subject to increasingly transnational processes of devolved co-production and dissemination amongst both core and peripheral audiences. Media actors contribute to a multifaceted and co-constitutive relationship which fundamentally influences how core messages and identities are produced. Our empirical analysis will demonstrate this with reference to three case studies of transnational populist communication logics amongst a range of actors. We show how normatively driven distinctions between "people" and "elite" are transnationally co-produced and circulated via multiple platforms. These incorporate a range of informal and affective techniques, calibrated to emotively involve core audiences, whilst influencing wider transnational discourses.

We begin by introducing the contemporary global media context. Our particular focus is on how technological developments and communicative trends have helped to make global news more personal and to shape the overall news media environment. These trends closely correspond with the needs of populist communication. In the second section of the chapter, we survey the literature on populism to date. We argue that the development of the field in response to the emergence of nationally bounded populist movements and leaders has limited its broader applicability. If empirically observable populism was once nationally focused, this is decreasingly the case. National populist movements are increasingly seeking to forge links with their counterparts in other countries. In addition, we are witnessing more frequent attempts at the construction of genuinely transnational movements. The role of the media is crucial to the evolution of both these processes, and not just to how they are represented to audiences. Yet, theorisation of the media's role in populism is incomplete.

We propose an alternative way of looking at populism—as a *transnational communication logic*—that allows us to integrate the role of the media within our analysis of the development, dissemination and

evolution of populist messages. After introducing this model, we apply it to three empirical cases, which take the discussion beyond those often prioritised within the literature. The aim here is to show how our insights into the interrelationship between populism and contemporary media can be applied to the study of IR—and not just when the media itself is the prime object of study. With this in mind, we offer empirical analysis unburdened by a restricted geographical focus, or by an exclusive definition of "political actors", or by an instrumentalist vision of the media. Instead, we organise our analysis around three different types of actor utilising populist communication logics in a range of communicative settings: a tabloidized online offshoot of the UK's legacy media, the Indy100; the National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces (NSC) on Facebook; and Russia's state-funded international broadcaster and intended soft power instrument, RT (formerly Russia Today). Our breadth of examples is complemented by a depth of analysis, in which audience involvement is integrated within the case study.

Understanding Today's Global Media Ecology

A number of trends in the contemporary global media ecology have recently converged to take the production and dissemination of information in new directions. First, the rapid expansion of low-cost online publishing opportunities since the 1990s has enabled online-only specialised news brands to become influential players in their own right.[1] In a related development, the rise of web 2.0 technologies across social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram), blogging and micro-blogging sites (Wordpress, Twitter), and video sharing platforms (YouTube, Vimeo) has helped to facilitate a growth in online citizen-journalism.[2] It has also democratised access to multimedia platforms for delivering and disseminating news and news commentary in a "hybrid media system".[3] Many of the established media institutions that predominated prior to the rise of digital media ("legacy media") have struggled to adapt to this new environment, with circulation figures and advertising revenues dropping steadily throughout recent decades.[4] On the other hand, the growth of citizen journalism has seen bloggers, vloggers and social media "influencers" increasingly finding ways to monetise their content.[5]

The sum of these evolutions has been a shift to particular media logics, in which specific news values and storytelling techniques become necessary to garner public attention.[6] This influences how news is

produced and consumed, and blurs the distinction between production and consumption. In parallel, boundaries between categories and genres collapse. Just as respected broadsheets have expanded into associated blogs, so major international broadcasters publish written news commentaries online. Legacy providers and new media alike provide interactive audience comments functions, and outlets promote their output across multiple social media platforms as standard. The content and form of news has evolved correspondingly. Various quality broadsheets now offer physically smaller versions of their papers—whether for portability (as in the case of *The Guardian*), or specifically as "edited down" news highlights (as in the *i* paper, created by the *Independent*). Similarly, news and analysis produced specifically for online outlets is written differently to hard-copy texts, to suit the specificities of online reading processes.[7] Online texts are supplemented wherever possible with photographs and embedded videos, whilst dedicated online video content is invariably presented alongside accompanying text. This content is not just available to global audiences, but is often published on platforms that provide inherently transnational spaces for production, dissemination and discussion of the content presented on them, such as YouTube.[8] With the blurring of distinctions between media providers, types and genres, the origin is not necessarily a reliable indicator of quality, and media consumers are obliged to exercise personal judgement about the media that they consume.

These evolutions in the mediation of news have a significant wider impact, because the ways in which we think about and respond to world affairs is related to how we first view them. Here, the circulation of visual images is particularly important. These can rapidly transcend national boundaries, forge mental and emotional associations, and are often taken as evidence for supposedly objective knowledge claims.[9] Yet, the reality is that such images cannot convey a complete or objective reality aside from the representations they make and the interpretations that they generate—all of which are highly contingent upon context. Such factors thus shape audiences' judgements about claims being made, the world that such claims represent and the political possibilities that people envisage as a result.[10] Consequently, news media do not merely represent, but also shape social processes. This is not purely due to audiences' rational responses to media consumed, but rather because of the ways in which specific combinations of words, visual images and gestures convey emotional meaning.[11]

Where news is concerned, audiences' consumption of media essentially acts as a re-experiencing of the events in question in mediated form. The impact of the coverage is closely related to the affective (i.e. pre-emotive) resonance it has,[12] as well as the extent to which audiences feel invested in the identities and discourses represented within those media.[13] These dynamics are crucial for understanding contemporary trends in populism. In a contemporary media environment governed by "fundamentally new interactive dynamics"[14] transnational populist communication logics are being employed to cultivate audiences' affective investments and emotional connections to particular political appeals and normatively driven identities generated within a range of media. It is to a theory of these transnational populist communication logics that we now turn.

Understanding Populism and the Media

A series of recent unexpected political phenomena across North America and Western Europe has stimulated protracted social discussion about populism and its relationship to grassroots mobilisations, nationalist politics and "fake news" within the media.[15] The parameters of this discussion are complicated by a lack of clarity about what populism is—and this is nowhere more evident than when it comes to discussion of populism and the media. The numerous contradictions, limitations and omissions within the contemporary academic literature on populism have led some to pursue a thematic approach, rather than insisting upon a strict definition of the phenomenon.[16] Others have questioned whether the concept of populism can provide any analytical value at all.[17]

Many of the limitations of the existing literature have been debated at length, and it is unnecessary to repeat them in any great detail here. Much of the contestation derives from conceptual disagreements about whether populism should be conceptualised as an adaptable "thin-centred ideology"[18]; a looser set of mental frameworks for understanding the world[19]; a political strategy[20]; or communicatively, as a discursive style of performing (and thereby enacting) political relations.[21] Some scholars have attempted to reconcile these accounts, positing that populism can refer both to an ideology, and to the way in which that is manifested in the communication strategies of particular actors.[22]

Other commentators have taken this a step further, arguing that diverse approaches to populism merely reflect scholars' choices to focus on

different aspects of the same phenomenon: *what* substantive assertion is being made; *who* is making it; *why* they are making it; or *how* they are making it.[23] This holistic approach to populism is convincing for a number of reasons, not least because despite the conceptual contestation, there is significant overlap in the core features identified by proponents of the different approaches.[24] The most fundamental of these is the idea that populism entails an oppositional and antagonistic understanding of the relationship between "the people" (presented positively) and "the elite" (presented negatively), which is generally expressed in terms of a crisis or threat sufficient to keep the antagonism relevant.[25] As a result of this opposition, popular or informal cultural forms are favoured over those associated with "the elite". Alternatively referred to as "bad manners" rather than informality,[26] these may refer equally to choice of language, dress and taste.[27]

Despite this oppositional understanding, "the people" and "the elite" are substantively meaningless. "Empty signifiers" are conjured up so as to evoke coherence within disparate groupings that only really exist within their discursive construction in opposition to one another.[28] Thus, whilst particular political logics recur, the specifics of any "populist" appeal are related to contextual factors including the political leanings, rationale and immediate strategic goals of the actors evoking the opposition. No ideological coherence over time or across cases is necessary, so opposition can equally well be mapped onto left-wing concerns about relative socio-economic power as right-wing concerns over nationality.[29] Similarly, whilst the "elite" generally refers to actors in a country's political leadership, it can just as easily be extended to include economic, cultural and media institutions and actors. These are frequently presented as a networked group,[30] within an either implicitly or explicitly conspiratorial framework.

These important similarities lend weight to the argument that different approaches to populism represent not mutually exclusive ideas, but merely different facets of *populist communication logics*[31]—the "distinct set of formal discursive qualities" that govern populist communication.[32] These logics encompass the substantive assertions made in a given instance; the actors involved in producing them; the reasons for their involvement; and the ways in which the assertions are produced. Such a comprehensive approach is necessary to accurately theorise populism in today's increasingly networked global media ecology. Given that the critiques of existing approaches to populism have been discussed in detail elsewhere, it suffices here to briefly summarise the limitations which

restrict their usefulness for understanding populism and the media. The limitations fall within three major categories: methodological, analytical and normative.

Methodological critiques concern the viability of distinguishing between a populist actor and a non-populist actor attempting to render a policy appealing to their key audience.[33] For this reason, we treat populist communication logics as characteristics displayed by degree, rather than as absolutes.[34] Analytical critiques question the utility and wider applicability of such a contested concept,[35] especially given overwhelming scholarly focus to date on populist movements either in liberal democratic contexts in the USA, UK and Western Europe, or in Latin America.[36] We contend, however, that populism has much to offer for understanding how political actors engage with each other and their audiences in a globalised media ecology. To do so, its empirical base must be broadened beyond partisan actors. Normatively, contestation centres around whether populism constitutes a threat or corrective to democracy, or whether it could function as either of those.[37] In fact, populist communication logics are ideologically void. Commentators' normative pronouncements usually reflect their assessments of the specific ideological assertions packaged within populist communication logics in a given case.[38]

In addition to such well-worn debates, two significant limitations to the contemporary literature on populism have gone largely unremarked until recently. These limitations are related to the frequent tendency within studies of populism—whether in ideology-based, strategic or formal-communicative understandings of populism—to focus on specific political movements, politicians or parties. This focus dramatically restricts how well the concept of populism can be applied within the transnational interactive processes of the global media ecology. First, this is because the discussion is generally restricted to individual national contexts.[39] However, some analyses attempt to draw out features common across populist movements.[40] Few analyses attempt to conceptualise genuinely transnational populist processes. So-called transnational approached are usually international—looking at crossborder collaborations between national movements. As a result, much literature over-emphasises the relationship between nationalism and populism,[41] remains silent on examples that do not fit that framework, and simultaneously ignores the wider patterns of both circulation and co-constitution of populist discourse within today's networked global media ecology.

It is precisely such circulation patterns that provide the conditions of possibility for cross-national collaborations to take place. Moreover, they create conditions in which genuinely transnational identities and movements can be constructed. It may be more complex to forge oppositional identities within a transnational, rather than a national framework. Yet, this process is theoretically possible and has been empirically observed to a certain degree on several occasions.[42] Since co-constructed transnational media discourses are crucial in enabling this process to take place, attempts to theorise populism must take the media and its influence seriously. Indeed, despite relatively widespread recognition of the importance of the media when it comes to understanding populism, it is most often conceptualised as a tool in the hands of the "real" populist actors—even when that relationship is framed as one of mutual interdependence or in terms of direct media responses to audience demand.[43] Only relatively recently have scholars begun to investigate media populism as a distinct phenomenon which can be "independent of any relationship to populist movements".[44]

Thus, whilst the core features of how populism appears in the media strongly resonate with those familiar from previous studies of populism (including hostility to "elites"; emotion and informality; assumptions of generalised non-elite consensus), research has shown such features to be evident in how certain broadcast media represent their chosen topic matter—regardless of whether this framing reflects the position of featured actors.[45] That is to say, populist communication logics can reflect the agency of media actors as distinct from political actors appearing on the media. If these findings hold for the types of broadcast outputs with a strong commercial rationale or *vox populi* element i.e. the genres assumed to be the most likely sites of populist communication,[46] then today's globalised media ecology offers formats for which such trends seem even more likely.

This is particularly the case given the ubiquity of social networks and web 2.0 technologies, which are less subject to journalistic gatekeeping and news production cycles.[47] Online media can also help close the gap between political actors and their audiences,[48] thus helping to normalise personalised leadership[49] and promoting political communication that is inherently "media-centred".[50] Furthermore, given that online media allow specific actors to articulate and spread ideas couched in populist terms[51] or to engage in persistent critical campaigning,[52] they can influence the broader political discourse, helping to cause changes

to the dominant populist media legitimation and political representation strategies.[53] They can also act as a pivotal point in new patterns of circulation between social and other online media.[54] All of this has wider significance beyond the contemporary media itself, not least due to the evidence that those who interact with populist parties on social networks are more likely to get more involved in offline politics as a whole.[55]

Various particularities of the contemporary media ecology (including the integration of media and its logics within processes of daily life; and the ubiquity of social networks and web 2.0 technologies) fundamentally influence "the creation, distribution and promotion" of populist appeals.[56] Such media processes must therefore be situated centrally within the analysis of populism, rather than treated as epiphenomenal. Contemporary media is not a passive vessel for populists, or even a central "stage" on which populist actors operate to blur the lines between news production and consumption.[57] Media actors exert their own agency, and processes of interaction and circulation between them have a substantive influence on the discourses that shape social conditions. In particular, contemporary populist messages are co-created not just by core "populist actors" and their audiences. Media actors contribute to this process, both directly and via the media logics inherent within specific platforms. Actors of varying degrees of populist sentiment interact with one another in ways that influence the development of discourse of all parties. Thus, an effective approach to understanding populism and the media must take seriously the ways in which media environments and their logics shape *transnational* co-production and circulation of core discourses. In the section that follows, we examine these processes as they relate to the operations of three different types of actor utilising populist communication logics in different contexts, for different purposes. These actors comprise a new form of news outlet derived from the legacy media, Indy100; a political opposition movement, the National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces (NSC); and a state-aligned international broadcaster, RT (formerly Russia Today).

Populist Communication Logics—Three Case Studies

Following on from our account of critiques and correctives to existing approaches to populism, we offer here an alternative way of approaching the interrelationship between populism and the media in a variety of scenarios of relevance in IR. Our analysis incorporates the full spectrum

of transnational populist communication logics, but we have a particular interest in tracking the co-production and circulation of key discourses, as well as their potential to impact upon discourses circulating beyond core groups. We therefore consider *what* substantive assertion is being made; *who* is involved in its construction; *why* certain actors are involved in this process; and crucially, *how* populist communication logics are used to discursively construct more substantive assertions and the unity of key groups.[58]

Keeping multi-platform media processes central to our discussion, our analysis of *how* populist communication logics are used to construct specific assertions and identities is focused around four central pillars: the extent to which opposition is discursively constructed between an in-group of the "people", and an "other" derived from an "elite"; the incorporation of non-elite or informal cultural forms; the promotion of affective responses by framing issues in terms of crisis or immediacy; and the use of emotive signifiers to create engagement with, and sympathy for, the claims being made.

Legacy Media Evolution: The Emergence of the Indy100

According to a number of indicators, recent years have seen rising tendencies towards populism across various kinds of media, including the legacy media providers—independent of their relationships with any populist political actors or movements. Although most of the earliest television broadcasters were created with public service remits, the mass market appeal of television explains its consideration as one of the most populist forms of media. This was to some degree necessitated by the expansion of commercial broadcasting, obliging even public service broadcasters to take commercial concerns seriously. As far back as 1998, the UK's public service broadcaster, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) created a more audience-focused culture. More accessible language was used and the proportion of *vox populi* content was increased. This resulted in a

> veritable explosion of populist formats and approaches: talk shows; phone-ins (with both even-handed and aggressively opinionated hosts); solicitation of calls, faxes, and e-mails for response by interviewed politicians; studio panels confronting party representatives; larger studio audiences putting questions to politicians through a moderator; and town meetings of the air, deliberative polling and televised People's Parliaments.[59]

Such shifts have also been apparent in the printed press, with scholars having long ago observed "tabloidization" in news media, producing reporting that is often sensationalist, superficial, and populist in nature.[60] This is exemplified by the online migration of the UK tabloid newspaper the *Daily Mail* in order to target transnational audiences. The *Mail Online*, known for its gossipy informality and salacious "sidebar of shame", is now the most visited English language news website in the world.[61] Legacy media providers have not been exempt from similar trends. Several traditional broadsheet newspapers have begun printing in more accessible tabloid-sized formats, including *The Independent* (since 2003) and *The Guardian* (since January 2018). Furthermore, in 2010, the owners of *The Independent* launched the *i* newspaper as a compact and concise tabloid format paper bringing together edited news highlights.

Trends towards populist communication logics are clearly illustrated by the case of the online news website Indy100. Originally launched as i100, the website was intended as the online counterpart to the *i* newspaper. Populist communication logics are evident across the format, content and style of Indy100. The Indy100 homepage consists of headlines and photographs for articles that are transnational in scope. The headlines also feature mechanisms for audience interaction: buttons to upvote the article or to share it on Twitter or Facebook. These buttons are displayed together with the metrics showing the number of times that this has been done—an overt recognition of the recursive nature of the reporting. On the left-hand side of the homepage is "the list" of the 100 most recent articles, most of which invoke populist communication logics.

Take, for example, the articles featuring US President Donald Trump. Whilst Trump himself has widely been touted as a "populist", it is worth reiterating our conviction that populism is not a binary attribute that an actor possesses or does not possess. Nor is it wedded to political orientation. Rather, populist communication logics may be evident by a degree in the activities of any political or media actor regardless of their setting on an ideological spectrum. Thus, at the time of writing, the left-leaning, liberal Indy100 features six articles on "the list" concerning news about Trump, all of which use populist communication logics to convey a critical stance.[62] President Trump is positioned as an entitled, elitist leader out of touch and at odds with the people. Articles such as "Trump keeps complaining about how much the Russia investigation

is costing. His Mar-a-Lago trips have cost more" draw attention to how Trump has spent millions of taxpayers' dollars on trips to his own estate in Florida. "Veteran group condemns Trump for 'inappropriate' Memorial Day tweet", emphasises the opposition of a widely revered section of the American people to their President. This and several other articles liberally republish social media comments as part of their analysis, thus actively delegating voice to representatives of the transnational people. Together these articles not only help to situate Trump within precisely the wealthy, immoral and unstable transnational "elite" that he claims to oppose, but also discursively construct an explicit antagonism with symbolic representatives of a democratic people. Importantly, given the commercial concerns of this online outlet, this anti-Trump sentiment is intended not just to appeal to the liberal ideological position of the Indy100's UK audiences. "Trump" becomes an empty signifier used to cultivate unity amongst a transnational people that oppose him.

Much of the Indy100's content utilises highly informal representational styles. The outlet has successfully adapted from popular online outlets such as Buzzfeed the "listicle" (list article) format, as in "8 of the biggest conspiracy theories that Trump has shared". This easily readable "listicle" draws attention to numerous instances in which President Trump has misled the people by sharing lies on social media. The informality of the meme is used in a similar way. In "A reality TV star met Kim Kardashian at the White House and it became a meme", Indy100 frames its reporting of President Trump's meeting with Kim Kardashian by republishing transnationally crowdsourced tweets from Twitter users. This technique promotes immediacy and affect by delegating some commentary functions to the transnational social media community; by maximising the visibility of social media interactivity; and by reporting such activity on a par with the news itself. In collating particular types of response to the news story, it also gives the impression of general popular consensus.

Finally, the Indy100 frequently combines informality and humour in order to incite audience emotion. Referring to President Trump as a "reality TV star", for example, and by publishing edited images (including one where Kim Kardashian has been replaced by Kim Jong-Un) Indy100 reporting aims to make the audience laugh and to feel exasperated by the state of US politics. This stands as an example of humour and comedy being used for the purposes of resistance to authority.[63] The Indy100 liberally incorporates transnationally delegated commentary

together with the informality of "listicles", humour, and memes in order to stimulate its audiences' emotive critiques of President Trump and his administration. Ultimately driven by a commercial desire to gain article views, Indy100's packaging of its content demonstrates how transnational populist communication logics can be used even by outlets derived from the legacy press in order to cultivate particular cross-border political sentiments.

Grassroots Campaign Organisations: The Case of the Syrian Opposition

In the early 2010s, a wave of protests, uprisings and revolutions began to spread throughout North Africa and the Middle East. Known as the "Arab Spring", these events brought to global attention the importance of both new and old media and of the dynamic between them.[64] By using social media, individuals were not only able to organise protests but were also able to communicate their opinions, protests, and experiences with global audiences. Simultaneously, legacy media organisations often relied upon such forms of citizen journalism when reporting on the protests across the Middle East.[65] Nowhere has this been more apparent than in Syria, where the majority of what we know about the conflict has come from eyewitnesses and citizen journalists on the ground. This is due to oppressive press restrictions from the Syrian regime alongside the targeting, kidnapping, and killing of journalists.[66]

As the revolution in Syria progressed into a protracted civil war involving regional and international actors, those involved in the conflict have adopted populist communication logics in order to claim legitimacy for their actions. The National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces (NSC) is the governing body that oversees the Free Syrian Army and represents several opposition groups that are committed to a democratic Syria.[67] Despite the NSC being criticised for lacking control of on-the-ground combat forces, it is important to consider how the NSC attempts to communicate through social media in order to claim legitimacy for their revolution and armed resistance to the Assad regime. A detailed analysis of three years' worth of Facebook posts published by the NSC suggests that transnational populist communication logics underpin how the NSC attempts to engage with social media audiences.[68]

The NSC's lobbying, governance and negotiating activities are complemented by a wide variety of press and media activities. These involve a plethora of actions that include the creation of press releases, press briefings, and the use of social media in order to communicate with global audiences. These activities are driven by a desire to gain support for the NSC and their opposition to, revolution against, and now war with, the Assad regime. In 2012, the NSC created an English-language Facebook page which now has over 54,000 followers and is used on a daily basis to publish English language media. The NSC's choice of this form of social media communication and English-language output appears clearly calibrated to communicate key messages directly to international audiences across the globe. These key messages have covered the NSC's perspective on events on the ground, as well as a range of justifications for their activities, invariably presented using populist communication logics.

Between November 2012 and March 2015 the NSC published 1174 posts on their official English language page. These Facebook posts focus on the war and suffering in Syria caused by the Assad regime (47%), and emphasise how the NSC is an authoritative and capable governing actor in Syria (22%). They highlight how the NSC has international support (14%), and make direct calls for the public to support the NSC (10%), or focus on the hope for the revolution and a future democratic Syria (7%).[69] These recurring themes foreground a virtuous Syrian people being oppressed and killed by an elite authoritarian regime. Importantly, this narrative is articulated through the global language of social media images, which emphasise the suffering of the Syrian people (often in graphic ways) and aim to provoke an emotive, sympathetic response in the audience.

An image shared by the NSC on 11 February 2015[70] illustrates such populist communication logics. The image is a photograph of a wounded girl covered in blood being carried by a teenage boy down a street covered in debris with a dust cloud behind him. Imposed on top of the photograph in the top right is the text "'we are defending the people'—Bashar al-Assad" At the bottom right is the text "Photo after Assad regime bombs Douma Feb 2015". The image was captioned "This is how Bashar Assad defends people—by massacring them". This image visually juxtaposes a notion of the "people" with an elite "regime" that bombs and massacres them. The immediacy of this photographic testament to ongoing crisis works to stimulate an affective response amongst

audiences. At the same time, its graphic content functions in an emotive way to convey the horror of what is happening in Syria. In making the suffering of Syrian civilians visible, the NSC seeks to gain the support of global English speaking audiences on Facebook.[71] This theme of suffering recurs throughout the NSC's Facebook posts and other social media content, whereby audiences are invited to sympathise with the Syrian people and to view themselves as part of a transnational community of "ordinary people".

Alongside emphasising the suffering of the Syrian people, the NSC draws attention to its international support. At times focused on politicians, this has also included coverage of grassroots protests and supporters across North America and Europe. At the same time, the NSC has made direct calls for support to members of the public—either by writing to their political representatives or by signing a petition. Such calls also highlight the preference of the NSC for a pluralist form of democracy rather than an elite, authoritarian regime. According to the NSC's narrative, the realisation of a democratic Syrian future is dependent on the support of people from across the globe. This transnational "in-group" of real people is juxtaposed with an elite other, personified in the figure of al-Assad and his regime, but also including the Russian and Iranian governments. This dichotomy underpins the media communications of the NSC, and has been integral to how they claim legitimacy for their actions, even if they have yet to be successful in achieving their goals.[72]

International Broadcasting: The RT Network

The role of international broadcasting in attempting to influence overseas audiences has a long history,[73] but in recent years a host of new alternatives from different countries has emerged.[74] Recently, Russia's RT (formerly Russia Today) has become one of the most controversial broadcasters, increasingly accused of producing propaganda to create a "culture of suspicion"[75] within the "West". Yet, whilst the "propaganda" label succinctly conveys normative judgment, it offers no analytical insight into a broadcaster whose outputs compete for audience share within a global media marketplace; aggressively court, report upon and incorporate traditional and new media interactivity; and which vary dramatically in terms of quality and ideological positioning. We therefore refrain from its use, focusing instead on how and why RT represents its chosen topics. By its

own account, the network seeks to provide a counter-hegemonic alternative to Western-dominated mainstream media.[76] It is, however, by no means clear why an international broadcaster would possess the moral capital necessary to criticise viewers' home countries without alienating prospective audiences. Our in-depth analysis of a selection of RT documentary videos suggests that the network uses transnational populist communication logics in an attempt to navigate this challenge.

Intended to "expose outdated myths and stereotypes", RT's documentaries[77] are both broadcast and freely accessible online. Their detailed narratives of key issues make them useful proxies for the network's overall editorial stance. The majority of RT's documentaries are either explicitly anti-capitalist/anti-corporatist (33%), or otherwise critical of the USA (13%) or Western Europe (9%). Some documentaries concern contemporary Russia (13%) or the Soviet Union (9%). All other countries and topics make up the final 24% of documentary output, of which almost three quarters might be classified as inspirational stories from the developing world.[78] Given the juxtaposition of critical coverage of North America and Western Europe with the need to appeal to audiences in those areas, the following analysis interrogates in detail a selection of RT's in-house documentaries first aired between 2016 and 2017 on topics in North America and Western Europe. The analysis demonstrates how populist communication logics are employed to discursively construct normatively driven transnational categories of "us" and "them".

RT's documentaries perpetuate the narrative that current systems of global economic and political governance are weighted against ordinary people, and serve the interests of elites. The "ordinary people" are sometimes constructed within a specific nation-state with which the audience is invited to feel affinity; sometimes they are explicitly constructed as a transnational group. The "elites" may be located within transnational political or institutional hierarchies, or within networks of individuals with nefarious motives. In *Soft Occupation*, for instance, a narrative of Germany's de facto occupation by the USA since World War II is built up. The United States is claimed to be using military security cooperation and cultural programmes to indoctrinate young professionals to consolidate its influence over German media, politics, and the economy (20:00 onwards). Here, the actions of the United States and its transnational delegates are presented as a threat to European unity, whereas in *The Greek Depression: Hostage to Austerity*, it is the EU (and the German influence within it) that threatens the lives and freedoms of ordinary

Greeks through the imposition of austerity policies and anti-democratic responses to citizen protest. Similar discussions of people's misery and the institutional and elite inadequacies responsible for it are present in *My Homeless Christmas* (2016), which looks at the plight of homeless people in the UK and *Happily Never After* (2017), which examines the difficulties faced by British citizens in obtaining visas for their non-EU spouses—all as a result of decisions "by bureaucrats" (01:30) and politicians (25:25). This opposition between "people" and "elite" often edges into conspiracy, such as during reporting of the recent death of a US-critical journalist in *Soft Occupation*: "Officially he died of a heart attack, but what caused it has yet to be specified" (24:41).

Voice in these documentaries is frequently directly delegated to "the people" via *vox populi* segments, formal interviews and informal home-made video diaries. The documentaries pursue emotional audience engagement by consistently privileging personal narratives over rationalist argumentation. Often, personally involved presenters serve to performatively represent the people. Jurij Kofner, a German citizen, presents *Soft Occupation*; Marina Kosareva of *The Greek Depression* previously interviewed people participating in the first Greek anti-austerity protests; and James Brown, of *Happily Never After* is a British citizen married to a Russian. Introducing his situation in a camera-phone video filmed from an aircraft seat, Brown's professional style of delivery and byline as "Correspondent" jar with the poor-quality video, but foreground his lived experience as a relatable person.

These personalised accounts are interspersed with "expert" commentary that often bypasses established elites. Many (though not all) commentators come from fringe parties or outlets (from both sides of the political spectrum) or have undisclosed links to Russia or to RT itself. In *The Greek Depression*, for instance, a digest of media responses to austerity policies presents the official newspaper of the Greek Communist Party as a mainstream source. Similarly, in *Soft Occupation*, members of Germany's far-right AfD and far-left Die Linke parties are represented innocuously as politicians that object to NATO's dominance over Germany. Meanwhile, the byline for Willy Wimmer, one of the programme's interviewees, references his past positions as "1985-92 German Secretary of State for Defence, Vice-President for the OSCE". There is no acknowledgement of his presence at Putin's top table during a 2015 gala celebrating RT's 10th anniversary.[79] RT's careful curation of "experts" and evidence helps construct peripheral critiques of the

"establishment" and "elites". Importantly, the use of populist communication logics means that these do not emerge as dispassionate critiques voiced by a foreign power, but as personal appeals from a relatable transnational "people" of which the audience is part. RT's ostensible role is that of moral arbiter of the injustices inherent within their relationship.

Conclusions

Populism is not just a matter of political parties or leaders, and media populism is not just a case of how those actors present their cases to different audiences, using the media as a tool. On the contrary, the relationship between populism and the media is co-constitutive and multifaceted, involving complex processes of co-production and circulation of discourse by a variety of actors amongst and beyond core target audiences across a range of transnational multiplatform communities.

We have explored a diverse range of populist communication logics in the contemporary media ecology: these include analyses of a media outlet using populist communication logics for commercial purposes; a political opposition group using populist communication logics to garner political support; and a state-aligned international broadcaster employing populist communication logics to balance its promotion of particular strategic narratives with the need to simultaneously appeal to international audiences. All of these cases exist within an inherently reflexive and interactive media environment which influences the ways in which populist communication logics develop over time, in which audiences have an impact on that process, and in which these interactive logics of news production go on to shape the very conditions of political possibility.

Analyses of populism that self-limit to discussions of how media report "populists" and their movements cannot shed light on how interactive media processes shape these very movements in ways that feed back into the wider landscape of international relations. This includes interactive negotiation of substantive assertions being made; the transnational voices contributing to those claims; the evolving and responsive reasons for their articulation; and the ways in which the discourses of populism change over time, including in response to events far away. The interactive dynamics of the contemporary media environment enable individuals to feel direct affinity with the specific concerns of people across the globe, and to conceive of—and indeed, through media to contribute to discursively constructing—transnational identities in common

with those people. In so doing, these media dynamics fundamentally shape perceptions of the world in which we live, the political challenges it presents, and the ways we interact with them. Now, more than ever, it is necessary to situate the media at the centre of studies of populism in International Relations.

Notes

1. E.g., Drudge Report (established 1995), the Huffington Post (established 2005), and Breitbart (established 2007).
2. Allan (2013).
3. Chadwick (2013).
4. Barthel (2017).
5. Krasniak (2017).
6. Stroembaeck (2008, 233).
7. Nielsen (2006).
8. Makhortykh (2017), Brundidge (2010).
9. Bleiker (2015, 873), Shim (2013, 18).
10. Bleiker (2015, 875), Shim (2013, 23).
11. Hutchison (2014, 4).
12. Papacharissi (2018).
13. Solomon (2014, 729).
14. Bleiker (2015, 876).
15. Hawkins (2009), Baggini (2016).
16. E.g., Taggart (2000, 2).
17. Fuchs (2018, 3).
18. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 5).
19. Pasquino (2008, 20), Kraemer (2014, 44).
20. Weyland (2001).
21. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 387).
22. Jagers and Walgrave (2007), Kriesi (2014, 363–364).
23. Engesser et al. (2017, 1280).
24. Roodhuijn (2014), Gidron and Bonikowski (2013).
25. Moffitt (2016).
26. Moffitt and Tormey (2014, 389).
27. Canovan (2004, 242), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 10), Hunston (2017).
28. Laclau (2005, 73).
29. De Cleen et al. (2018, 4), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 9).
30. Inglehart and Norris (2016, 6), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 11–12).
31. Engesser et al. (2017).

32. De Cleen et al. (2018, 3).
33. Canovan (2004, 242).
34. Cf. De Cleen et al. (2018, 5), Deegan-Krause and Haughton (2009, 852).
35. Comaroff (2011, 102).
36. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), Postill (2018, 2), Weyland (2001).
37. Mouffe (2018), Kaltwasser (2012).
38. De Cleen et al. (2018, 5).
39. E.g., Albertazzi and McDonnel (2008), Bos and Brants (2014), Bos et al. (2011), Cranmer (2011), Jagers and Walgrave (2007).
40. Pasquino (2008), Mastropaolo (2008), Mazzoleni (2008), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013), Roodhuijn (2014).
41. De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017).
42. Tipaldou and Casula (2018), De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017), Moffitt (2017).
43. Cranmer (2011), Blummler and Kavanagh (1999), Mazzoleni (2008), Mazzoleni et al. (2003).
44. Kraemer (2014, 42), see also Bos and Brants (2014, 707).
45. Kraemer (2014, 48–49).
46. Bos and Brants (2014), Bos et al. (2011), Mazzoleni (2003).
47. Moffitt (2016, 73), Williams and Delli Carpini (2011, 61).
48. Bennett and Manheim (2006), Vaccari and Valeriani (2015).
49. Kriesi (2014, 366).
50. Ibid., 366–367.
51. Engesser et al. (2017).
52. Van Kessel and Castelein (2016), Gerbaudo (2018).
53. Groshek and Englebert (2013).
54. Engesser et al. (2017, 1280).
55. Bartlett et al. (2011, 18).
56. Moffitt (2016, 71).
57. Ibid., 70.
58. De Cleen et al. (2018), Engesser et al. (2017, 1280), Laclau (2005, 72).
59. Blummler and Kavanagh (1999, 220).
60. Mazzoleni et al. (2003, 9).
61. Ponsford (2017).
62. Indy100 (2018a, b, c, d, e, f).
63. Brassett (2016).
64. Bebawi and Bossio (2014), Lynch (2014), Matar (2012).
65. Al-Ghazzi (2014), Allan (2013).
66. Lynch et al. (2014), Powers and O'Loughlin (2015).
67. National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces (2015).
68. Crilley (2017).

69. Ibid., 141.
70. The image can be viewed at https://www.facebook.com/syriannational coalition.en/photos/a.437287806357010.1073741828. 436337196452071/805125669573220/.
71. Crilley (2017, 152), Seo and Ebrahim (2016).
72. Yassin-Kassab and Al-Shami (2016, 188).
73. Bray (2002).
74. E.g., Qatar's al-Jazeera (1996), China's CGTN (formerly CCTV) (1992), Russia's RT (2005), Iran's PressTV (2007), *Economist* (2010) and Tryhorn (2013).
75. Galeotti (2017), see also BBC (2018), Dowling (2017), Helmus et al. (2018) and Sweney (2018).
76. RT (n.d.).
77. RT (2017).
78. These figures come from a survey of uploads to the RT documentary web page (titles and descriptions) between 01/01/18 and 23/05/18 (55 in total). These included in-house and external documentaries, and the date of upload was not necessarily the first date of airing. The sum of percentages equals 101% as all figures were rounded up to the nearest whole number.
79. Windren (2017).

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Populism and Foreign Policy

CHAPTER 5

Sedimented Practices and American Identity in Donald J. Trump's Election Campaign

Dirk Nabers and Frank A. Stengel

INTRODUCTION

This chapter makes the case for increased attention to the discourse theoretical notion of sedimented practices in populism research. It uses campaign speeches of America's 45th president Donald J. Trump as an illustration. In a nutshell, sedimented practices circumscribe the domain of credibility and intelligibility of a society's socioeconomic setting the norms, rules and institutions that are taken for granted by large parts of a society and which, over time, have obscured the evidence of their own contingent origins. It is argued here that every society is in constant need of reproducing itself, of procreating its founding myths and of stabilizing the norms and institutions it is founded on. In order to be credible and successful in elections, politicians need to refer to these myths and institutions. The norms and dominant discursive articulations that sedimented practices produce epitomize the temporary materialization of a society.

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These practices are deeply rooted within the structure of social relations and are thus hard to forgo. Sedimented practices set the framework for identities that are at least temporarily stable. In that sense, sedimented practices have severe ethical implications, for they provide the discursive frame in which moral judgments and new political decisions are taken.

Against this background, we will argue that most of the issues that characterize Trump's campaign as well as his political program are deeply rooted in such sedimented practices, epitomized in the idea of American singularity and greatness. Although many commentators claimed that Trump broke with important foreign policy traditions,[1] this judgment seems superficial and misleading. Trump was successful, goes our main argument, because he successfully connected his program with the sedimented discourses around which American society is institutionally organized. To be sure, we do not claim to downplay the danger posed by Trump for American democracy, but merely to add to our understanding of Trumpism's appeal.

Our argument is organized as follows. While the next part of the chapter will present the notion of sedimented practices in more theoretical detail, the analytical part of the chapter will illustrate the nexus between sedimented practices and foreign policy formulation. This part has two purposes: First, the centrality of the theoretical approach for any kind of inquiry into social and identity change will be substantiated. Second, the analysis will put foreign policy formulation in Trump's presidential campaign into the context of sedimented practices in the United States. The conclusion will summarize the major findings regarding the nexus between sedimented practices and foreign policy formulation.

Sedimented Practices as an Analytical Tool

This chapter is concerned with stabilized forms of collective human behavior around which communication in a society becomes possible. The basic, underlying assumption upon which such a concern is grounded is that the social—the norms, values, cultures of a given society as well as what its members commonly hold to be factually true—is discursively produced.[2] As Laclau explains, "[d]iscourse is the primary terrain of the constitution of objectivity as such […]. [E]lements do not pre-exist the relational complex but are constituted through it".[3] Thus, the very foundations of society have to be seen as the contingent result of on-going practices of articulation in which different discursive elements are linked with each other.[4] As a consequence, this paper directs

analytical attention to the always only temporarily fruitful effort of grounding society, by codifying principles, norms, rules, institutions, etc. The temporary result of such practices are what Judith Butler refers to as "contingent foundations" and what Ernesto Laclau calls "sedimented practices".[5] As Laclau explains:

> So, to the questions, Why prefer a certain normative order to others? Why invest ethically in certain practices rather than different ones? the answer can only be a contextual one: Because I live in a world in which people believe in A, B and C, I can argue that the course of action D is better than E; but in a totally presuppositionless situation in which no system of beliefs exists, the question is obviously unanswerable.[6]

This means that sedimented practices constitute political credibility as well as social intelligibility and circumscribe the possibilities of the ethical. New political projects must be connected with such practices at least to a certain degree to be successful. Put differently, if a new political project, such as, for instance, the one proposed by Trump in his campaign speeches, clashes with the "ensemble of sedimented practices constituting the normative framework of a certain society",[7] it will likely be rejected by a larger audience. Credibility implies availability, in that a political project has to be linked with certain political traditions that subjects identify with.

This argument will certainly lose persuasiveness with the extent of an articulation of societal crisis. The more far-reaching a crisis is articulated, the fewer principles will still be in place. However, it is hard to imagine that a society is represented as crisis-ridden to such a degree that it requires complete re-institution. Even in the most severe crisis, vast areas of societal sedimented practices remain intact. On that basis, a true Trumpian revolution—for instance, actually breaking with U.S. allies or openly opposing notions of U.S. exceptionalism—would certainly provoke far-reaching counter-reactions within the American society. One need not be a prophet to claim that a complete overhaul of long-standing principles of American foreign policy is impossible.

Against this background, let us now summarize the most important tenets of the notion of sedimented practices. In a nutshell, these practices entail three important dimensions: First, sedimented practices are often based on mythical purity. They conceal their worldly origins and often rely on transcendental or divine legitimacy. In order to elucidate the concept

of sedimented practices, many poststructuralist theorists have devoted much time to the discussion of mythical purity and presence. In Derrida's work, for instance, this led to the deconstruction of origins. Defined as the original moment in a historical succession of moments, nothing precedes it, and it serves as a foundation for an understanding of today. The initial moment is constructed as trouble- and crisis-free, characterized by purity and unadulterated self-presence. In that way, myths represent the absolute source of meaning and serve as a frame in which politics becomes possible. As Laclau explains with reference to Husserl, "the social is equivalent to a sedimented order, while the political would involve the moment of reactivation" of the founding moment of that order.[8] This elucidates the close link between sedimented practices and myth.

Second, sedimented practices are constitutive of historical change. Meanings vary over time, later moments are sedimentations of former ones, and the inseparability of these moments is equivalent to historical difference. The transformation of society rests in its incompleteness: Sedimented practices never represent the social in its entirety; they are always internally incomplete and *dislocated*. The notion of dislocation is constitutive of critical and poststructuralist work stressing the differential quality of the social.[9] It highlights societal fissures, antagonisms, the impossibility of essentialist subjectivities and the weakening of dominant imaginaries. Dislocations are crucial in the understanding of processes of social transformation, as they engender structural gaps that have to be filled, situations of fragmentation and indeterminacy of articulations, and in doing so substantiate a progressive notion of politics. Dislocations are intra-discursive, and they can be seen as windows of opportunity, as situations characterized by conversions of articulatory practices and accompanying shifts in public discourses, which can then be used as a platform for a hegemonic intervention. Once hegemonic relations are established, the primacy of the political is threatened by the quasi-naturalness of established social institutions, which in many cases involve bureaucratization and technologization. The prime example of this danger is the undoubted nature of the modern nation state, visible also in Trump's policy program, despite its only rather recent evolution, that is, after the Westphalian peace in 1648. The most brutal forms of war have since been fought in its name, and its almost natural legitimacy is institutionalized in international law and nationalist foreign policies. What is forgotten is its principal quality as politically constituted and historically contingent.

Third, in endowing certain political decisions with credibility and delegitimizing others, sedimented practices entail an ethical dimension. Like for Laclau, it is clear that for Michel Foucault, all social relationships are ethically permeated, even when it comes to the most private spheres of the social, as, for example, in the domain of sexuality. For instance, Foucault argues that, "it [sexuality] doesn't exist apart from a relationship to political structures, requirements, laws, and regulations that have a primary importance for it".[10] The emphasis on sedimented practices opens up a truly critical perspective in this context: The materiality of the body can be replaced by the materiality of gendered discourse; sedimented practices, which have produced dichotomous gender constructions over millennia, are complemented by radical performativity. The mind/body opposition is queried in this context, alongside binaries such as rational/irrational, inside/outside as well as public/private, and theorists ask "whether the [t]raditional hierarchical rituals of global power relations are indeed integral to the everyday practices of the world's peoples and their various modes of life".[11] In that way, even the most sedimented (and hegemonic) practices rest on contingency and can therefore be stripped of their essentialist appearance.

Thus, one can say that social change implies new sedimented practices in the form of institutions, the establishment of new power relations, forms of inclusion and exclusion and rights of access. The subject, and this equally applies to an American president as a rather privileged subject, becomes a subject only *qua* identification with particular structural positions.[12] While abrupt change becomes improbable from this perspective, it is still in principle possible. The dislocation of social identities sometimes leads to new institutionalized practices, which retroact on the essentially dislocated social structure. The dislocated social structure will never be fully sutured, hegemony remains a contingent intervention and institutionalization must be characterized as an on-going endeavor that continuously takes on new forms. Were signification and institutionalization eternal, dislocation would be replaced by stability. The fragility of the social and the impossibility of signification become the precondition of sociality on the one hand and the attempt to erect stable meaning systems on the other. Yet, nothing is essential, nothing predetermined in this process, any infinite kind of historical form is possible, if linked with particular sedimented practices which have acquired credibility over time.

Once a particular social force becomes hegemonic, however, it might be able to prevail for some time. This is precisely what we call sedimented

practices. Laclau argues that when a discourse reaches the stage of establishing a dominant representation of reality for all those participating in the communicative process, it reveals a lot about the course of action in collective identity formation. If the same "reality" (for instance the slogan "Mexicans and Muslims are criminals; we need a wall and a ban on immigration") is reflected in the articulations of all, or a broad majority of interacting subjects, one can speak of hegemony. Different subjects compete for hegemony by offering their specific "systems of narration" as a compensatory framework for an articulated crisis, thereby attempting to fix the meaning of social relations. Hegemony—the operation through which one particularity (e.g., one particular discourse) assumes the symbolic representation of the universal (e.g., the truth)[13]—therefore reproduces our daily life; it starts to be hegemonic when our everyday understanding of social relations and the world as a whole start to alter according to the framework that is set by the hegemonic discourse. It is an act of power because it makes the world intelligible: "The power of discourse to materialize its effects is thus consonant with the power of discourse to circumscribe the domain of intelligibility".[14] In generating sedimented practices, the discourse produces specific practices and institutions. It acquires material objectivity by becoming institutionally fixed. Reflecting Gramsci's understanding of hegemony, institutions are supportive in providing stability in unstable social situations and therefore help to circumvent or minimize the use of force.

To conclude this brief theoretical discussion, one could state that sedimented practices are the prerequisite as well as the result of politics. They legitimize a certain strand of action, while delegitimizing others. Without those long-held principles, norms and institutions, however, an understanding of politics would be impossible. On the other hand, sedimented practices will never circumscribe the entirety of all social intelligibility. The incompleteness of all social institutionalization makes social transformation possible and implies the hope for moral progress. To understand Trump's policies toward the world, let us now analyze previously sedimented US foreign policy practices, against which Trump's foreign policy program can be better understood.

Sedimented Practices in US Foreign Policy

As argued above, sedimented practices are best characterized by three features: First, they are often connected with myths; second, they are constitutive of historical change; and third, they entail an ethical

dimension. Most crucially, founding myths and narratives of uniqueness are significant in any nation. Myths aim to produce the appearance of pure presence, they do not simply represent reality. As Alasdair MacIntyre aptly points out:

> Questions of rationality and irrationality cannot be appropriately posed until in a given culture the relevant utterances are given a decisive interpretation in terms of genres. Myths would then be seen as perhaps potentially science *and* literature *and* theology; but to understand them as myths would be to understand them as actually yet none of these. Hence the absurdity involved in speaking of myths as misrepresenting reality; the myth is at most a possible misrepresentation of reality; for it does not aspire, while still only a myth, to be a representation.[15]

Myths provide powerful articulations of identity and difference. Importantly, myths essentially point to an absence, a fullness of society that can never be fully reached. Social transformation emerges as a result of struggles to fill that empty presence. "Myths are no more than a foil which represents the missing fullness of a nation".[16] Moreover, a myth has to remain empty because any attempt to actually fill a myth with specific meaning, to fix what it means (and what it does not mean) would mean to subject the myth to everyday political struggles, thus ending its mythical status. American exceptionalism is a case in point here, as Deborah Madsen argues: "American exceptionalism permeates every period of American history and is the single most powerful agent in a series of arguments that have been fought down the centuries concerning the identity of America and Americans".[17]

Myths like American exceptionalism point to an allegedly pure origin that has been lost. Thus, US exceptionalism is rooted in the nation's origins as a Puritan colony, envisioned as God's country, and the development from a colonial to a national identity.[18] Needless to say, such a discourse is deeply ideological. Exceptionalism for instance rests on the claim that the United States is the richest, most powerful and, importantly, most virtuous country in the world.[19] That is, central to exceptionalism is the claim that the US "system is superior to all others".[20] This is the basis for the demand for the United States to accept its responsibility for the global promotion of democracy and liberal values. This responsibility also functions as a justification for the need to continuously expand the economic and military power of the United States through the creation and maintenance of international institutions and the global spread

of capitalism.[21] The myth of exceptionalism thus formulates a (necessarily vague) vision of US identity and America's place in the world.

In that context, the notion of identity is crucial. Identity can only be established by drawing a line between the mythical Inside and a negative Outside, which is excluded from the myth, and this is closely related to crisis. Crisis must essentially be understood as articulations of threatened identities. We argue here that a foreign policy discourse that represents a particular Other as "alien, subversive, dirty or sick", as described by David Campbell in *Writing Security*,[22] has been rampant in the United States for a long time. One example here is the Cuban Missile Crisis, in which the deployment of Soviet missiles to Cuba was articulated not just as a military threat but as a threat to the United States' identity, to the American people's, indeed the entire West's, freedom. At the same time, the Cuban Missile Crisis also provided an opportunity for the United States to "reassert its leadership role".[23] Needless to say, the same incident was articulated in an entirely different way in Cuba and the Soviet Union, which represented the crisis as an expression of US imperialist aggression, a threat to socialism as a global emancipatory project and an incursion on Cuban sovereignty.[24]

Furthermore, myths, such as the myth of American exceptionalism, result from what Laclau calls "the absence of God as fullness of Being".[25] Not surprisingly, discourses of US exceptionalism incorporate religious references, which lend additional credibility. Important in this context is the sense of US Manifest Destiny, broadly understood as America's God-given mission to improve the condition of all mankind by spreading universal democratic values around the globe.[26] Manifest Destiny has from the beginning been characterized by close links to expansionism, and as such goes beyond the mere exceptionalist claim that the United States is superior, best expressed by John Winthrop's well-known phrase that the American settlers "shall be as a city upon a hill" with "the eyes of all people […] upon us".[27] Manifest Destiny goes one step further by stating that Americans had the (religiously inspired) mission to "climb down from their hill" and spread their values.[28]

A deeper inquiry into the traditional dimensions of exceptionalism reveals the central role that "freedom" plays in US discourses of exceptionalism. This dates back to the American revolution, in which freedom referred mainly to independence from the English king.[29] At that time, freedom was intimately linked to religious terminology, as President Abraham Lincoln's famous Gettysburg address nicely illustrates. Lincoln

stated "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom – and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth".[30] Lincoln regularly relied on the notion of freedom to describe the uniqueness of American identity, and already then, the United States was presented as "the last, best hope of earth".[31]

However, the "combination of exceptionalism with at least a theoretical universalism" only became a program in the twentieth century, as Godfrey Hodgson points out.[32] The central point of reference here is Woodrow Wilson who outlines his famous 14 points in a speech to a joint session of Congress in 1918 in which he sketched his vision for keeping the peace in Europe. His speech contains ten references to freedom, including the "freedom of navigation upon the seas", "[a] free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims", the assurance to Russia "of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing" and "the freest opportunity of autonomous development" for Austria-Hungary.[33]

What is also clearly visible here is that freedom implies a distinction between the free and the unfree. In US foreign policy discourses after World War II, this process is striking. Most crucially, National Security Council document number sixty-eight of April 7, 1950 (NSC 68), which is considered to be one of the founding documents of post-World War II US foreign policy,[34] establishes a direct connection by drawing a clear line between the free world and the world of slavery: "The idea of freedom, moreover, is peculiarly and intolerably subversive of the idea of slavery". Overall, the document includes 59 references to "freedom" or the adjective "free", at least one in almost every single paragraph. Around the notion of freedom, borders between different subjects are drawn and hierarchies established. For instance, the document states that "[t]he implacable purpose of the slave state to eliminate the challenge of freedom has placed the two great powers at opposite poles. It is this fact which gives the present polarization of power the quality of crisis".[35] Crisis would become a central feature of US foreign policy discourses. Moreover, NSC 68 also articulated a specific notion of masculinity, drawing on traditional notions of the family in which the father reserves the right to protect his family.[36] This is also visible today in many instances in the United States, one prominent example being the gun discourse, primarily fabricated by the National Rifle Association of America (NRA). In this context, notions of manliness are closely linked to freedom, thus making the right to bear arms essentially about freedom.[37]

In many US foreign policy documents of the past century, it seems as if the malevolent outside had already contaminated the inside. This suggests that, as Jacques Derrida would perhaps maintain, that "America" as a privileged signifier is not present prior to its infiltration by an external trace. Eventually, the outside becomes constitutive to its being, as Bennington explains: "it [the inside] is […] always (already) becoming but never quite become".[38] Presence never rests in itself, but follows upon the infiltration by the trace-relation, and is therefore influenced by absence and otherness. Due to the subversion by the radically excluded, the equivalential chain that names the inside will never be pure and self-contained; otherwise, exclusion would be superfluous. The basis of Derridean deconstruction is to be found in the questioning of such binaries on the grounds of their mutual infiltration and subversion. It must be clear that traces of multiple identities rest in the "American", both within and outside of US borders.

Hence, throughout the twentieth century, the notion of freedom as the underlying principle of exceptionalism has been sustained by difference, and has generated the Manichean and gravely normative image of Americans versus Soviets, free versus unfree, liberal versus totalitarian, good versus evil and—crucially—the United States as leader versus their followers in the Western hemisphere. In US discourses of exceptionalism, the claim to global leadership is intimately linked to American moral superiority. For instance, in 1961, John F. Kennedy declared that:

> We will face challenge after challenge, as the Communists armed with all the resources and advantage of the police state attempt to shift the balance of power in their direction. […] For we bring to the battle our own resources, the particular advantages of a free society – advantages which our adversaries cannot match […]. And it is in this fact that is man's best hope. For our nation is on the side of man's desire to be free, and the desire of nations to be independent.[39]

Here, freedom points to the need to overcome the antagonistic force and to thus achieve a full identity. Like Kennedy, numerous presidents have drawn on this construction of a world split between the free world and its opponents. For instance, during the Cold War Harry S. Truman stated that "[w]e cannot hope to maintain our own freedom if freedom elsewhere is wiped out"[40] and Dwight D. Eisenhower predicted that "[…] history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or

the timid. […] For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America".[41] What this shows is that exceptionalism rests on boundary-drawing practices that demarcate the United States as the champion of freedom from multiple Others.

At the same time, exceptionalism is also ideological in the Laclauian sense. Ideology here refers to the moment of closure in which meaning is temporarily and partially fixed, at which point the contingency of the social is concealed because a contingent identity presents itself as fully constituted and self-transparent.[42] Through the construction of a clear line between a pure (free) Self and a threatening (unfree) outside, any potential unfree, imperfect elements inside are denied. All elements that do not fit into this clear split of the discursive realm into two neatly separable camps are expelled. Weakness, a lack of freedom, racism, inequality and injustice, etc. are firmly banned.

Importantly, the close connection between freedom and religious rhetoric remained prominent throughout the twentieth century. In almost all speeches of American presidents before Barack Obama, the call for freedom is related to basic principles of Christian faith and an adherence to the concept of the "chosen people". Especially in America's 40th President, Ronald Reagan, religious conservatives saw a president who advocated the nation's Judeo-Christian heritage, frequently drew on Bible verses and put the notion of "freedom" at the center of his policies, for instance contending in a speech to the *National Association of Evangelicals* in 1983 that, "freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged".[43] Importantly, freedom's opponents were linked to religious notions of evil. Some of Reagan's statements on foreign policy which include references to "freedom" seem to reappear later in President Bush's speeches after September 11, 2001 (though with a different ideological target), examples being Reagan's prediction in 1982 that "[the] march of freedom and democracy […] will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people",[44] and Reagan's 1983 representation of the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil in the modern world".[45]

Reagan is an obvious example here, but references to an evil Other were not limited to Republican presidents. For instance, in his inaugural address, Jimmy Carter also stressed a US sense of mission, closely linked to freedom and human rights,[46] and in 1992, as a presidential

candidate, Bill Clinton painted the vision of "[a]n America that champions the cause of freedom and democracy".[47] While religious vocabulary is much more toned down in Clinton and Carter's speeches, it is still omnipresent.

Drawing on notions of freedom, religious vocabulary and the establishment of a clear frontier between the Self and an evil Other have contributed to the credibility of numerous presidents, candidates and policies in the past. Stuart Croft correctly points out that such a connection with preexisting narratives was necessary for the successful institutionalization of the "war on terror".[48] The "good (new) war on terror"[49] that was proclaimed was only possible because it did not clash with sedimented practices, instead reinscribing past discourses of national security and exceptionalism into the present.

It is not surprising that some of the main tenets of the sedimented practices that constituted American frames of intelligibility over centuries were instantly employed in George W. Bush's first speech on the evening of September 11. These included the reference to freedom ("our very freedom came under attack"), the allusion to a malevolent Other ("evil, despicable acts of terror"), the invincibility of the United States ("But they have failed; our country is strong"), its superiority ("we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world"), the blaming of individual wrongdoing, not global political structures ("the very worst of human nature"), the immediate consideration of military options ("Our military is powerful, and it's prepared"), the prominence of justice in US foreign affairs ("to find those responsible and to bring them to justice"), absolute determination ("we stand together to win the war against terrorism"), Christian faith ("spoken through the ages in Psalm 23") and, finally, the notorious sense of mission ("we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world").[50]

All in all, the link with sedimented discourses can be seen as a precondition for successful hegemonic politics—both domestically and globally. Sedimented practices are intertextually entwined with the discourses of the present, thus lending the latter credibility. The United States has traditionally been articulated as strong, responsible, peace-loving, willing to lead—with military means if necessary—modern, and free/liberal, exhibiting syntagmatic characteristics of masculinity, religiosity and dependability. Negative terms which are set in contrastive relations and delimit the meaning of the United States are criminal, socialist/communist, Muslim, war-prone and totalitarian. These binaries continue to shape Trump's foreign policy, which we will analyze in the next section.

Sedimented Practices in Trump's Campaign Speeches

When it comes to sedimented practices and actual foreign policy, one should expect more continuity than social change. However, in the debate about Trump's political campaign and his expected presidency, the majority of observers have emphasized the exceptional nature of both his political demands and his campaign style. At a closer look, however, all three central tenets of the notion of sedimented practices—myth, dislocation in the form of external contamination as well as the severe ethical ramifications of hegemonic practices—are visible in Donald Trump's campaign speeches. They are coupled with the most important pillars of American exceptionalism: the construction of a strict antagonism between the free United States and an unfree Other, leadership and transcendental legitimization, centering on the fundamental notion of "freedom". As in other presidents' speeches, Trump uses the standard freedom-centered vocabulary, ranging from conspicuous expressions like "our freedom, our safety and our country",[51] over "choice, freedom and opportunity"[52] to "the liberties and freedoms of all America".[53]

Among the statements that seem to indicate a departure from long-held principles and institutions are Trump's claim that NATO was obsolete, his putting in question unconditional US alliance solidarity, his announcement to re-evaluate each and every international treaty the United States is party to in regard to its benefits for the United States, the travel ban for Muslims as well as his demand to torture terrorist suspects and to kill terrorists' families.[54] Thus, at first glance, Trump's campaign statements seem to clash with the sedimented practices that organize US foreign policy discourses. However, a deeper analysis of his campaign speeches unveils a different picture: Firstly, Trump is not the first president who *allegedly* breaks with the established traditions of US foreign policy.[55] Secondly, the analysis reveals that Trump's campaign speeches also display strong interpellations of sedimented practices, while at the same time claiming that a crisis situation requires the drastic measures he himself proposes. This second point is what we will focus on in the following. We will show that mythical purity, the danger of contamination and infiltration—what we summarize as dislocation—as well as the effort of shifting ethical boundaries go hand in hand in the process.

To begin with, what is prevalent in Trump's campaign speeches is the claim that the United States finds itself at a crucial point in time in which past policies have failed to the extent that drastic change is required. As Trump put it, "Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories

anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them".[56] In this context, Trump replicates an argumentative pattern that is typical for US presidents. One must not go back far into the history of US foreign policy to find abundant examples. September 11 is a prime example here. For instance, Bülent Diken and Carsten Lausten elucidate that September 11 was articulated as an absolute evil, comparable to the Holocaust.[57] The discourse just appeared to be ahistorical at times, since universal claims attempt to erase all traces of the past. September 11 *had to* be constructed as without a history, and the future had to be without comparison.[58] Comparable to Trump, George W. Bush described a break with everything that occurred before in world history: "All of this was brought upon us in a single day – and night fell on a different world",[59] and Vice President Cheney spoke of "a new era of international security".[60] There is an inherent tension between ahistoricity and historical continuity in both discourses, which describes an aspect that is characteristic for the analysis of sedimented practices. In a similar vein, Trump argued that the 2016 election was the last chance to turn the tide and avoid total catastrophe: "My message is that things have to change – and this is our one chance do it. This is our last chance to do it".[61] However, dislocation always implies the promise of a brighter future. As Trump put it, "to achieve this New American Future, we must break free from the bitter failures of the past".[62] The dislocation of sedimented practices, by questioning the stability and rationality of traditions, becomes the prerequisite for politics. The defining element of the social is its essentially dislocated character. One could state that Trump's maneuver laid bare the fundamentally dislocated character of the American society. Without pointing to dislocated structures, political change would become unthinkable.

Importantly, the articulation of dislocated structures included both domestic politics and policy, and foreign policy. What is remarkable, in particular if compared to his opponent Hillary Clinton, is the dire picture that Trump painted of the current situation the American people finds itself in. Not only did Trump claim that domestic policy was not in the interest of the American people anymore, but equally US foreign policy was completely off the rails. The turning point, according to Trump, was the Cold War, during which US policy had been rational and principled. After the Cold War, Trump claimed in early 2016, US foreign policy "veered badly off course" and "logic was replaced with foolishness and arrogance".[63] This led to what according to Trump

amounted to "one foreign policy disaster after another".[64] Indeed, Trump claimed, US foreign policy under President Obama lacked vision, direction and strategy, and had instead been marked by "randomness" and "chaos" and influenced by "ideology" rather than facts and rational thinking.[65] Overall, it could not be qualified as anything but "a complete and total disaster".[66] More specifically, Trump took issue with the Iraq and Libya interventions, which contributed to the rise of the Islamic State,[67] criticized the nuclear deal with Iran as "disastrous" and "catastrophic" for "stupidly and foolishly" giving Iran "billions and billions of dollars".[68] To be credible to a large audience, Trump referred here to a policy that could be connected to fundamental pillars of US foreign policy: the Cold War as the period of "realism", an epoch of great leaders like Henry Kissinger and John F. Kennedy. According to the Republican candidate, the reason for the dire state of US foreign policy was a corrupt and incompetent elite, incapable of leading. It is at this point where the relevance of sedimented practices becomes obvious. For the argument ties in with what Walter Russell Mead has called the "Jacksonian" tradition of US foreign policy,[69] which manifests itself mainly in a fundamental critique of foreign policy elites, their views and the worth of their expertise as well as in a nativist nationalism. America is usually depicted as white, nationalist and Christian.[70]

A comparable argument is most clearly visible in Trump's arguments about the need to exchange the whole foreign policy establishment. According to Trump, politicians "are all talk, no action" and

> controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. […] We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.[71]

Instead, Trump argued, referring to himself, the US needed "a truly great leader" who could "take the brand of the United States and make it great again".[72] Corresponding to long-held discourses about elitism in the United States, not just the top tier of the political establishment, but indeed most people active in government were portrayed as either incompetent or corrupt. According to Trump, the old foreign policy elites were made up mostly by "those who have perfect résumés but very little to brag about except responsibility for a long history of failed policies and continued losses at war".[73] Since one could never "fix

a rigged system by counting on the same people who rigged it in the first place",[74] the old elites had to be replaced: "We have to look to new people".[75] Importantly, despite portraying himself as a radical outsider, claiming to have joined the political arena "so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people who cannot defend themselves",[76] Trump was anything but. In fact, part of his credibility derives from a long history of businessmen claiming superior management skills as a basis for a political candidacy.[77]

Moreover, leadership has always been accompanied by the imperative of burden sharing in US foreign policy. In fact, every US administration since WWII has pointed to this shortcoming, and the theory of collective action and burden sharing in NATO has long been an issue in IR theory debates.[78] Trump's argument that the United States was "rebuilding other countries while weakening our own", is old wine in new skins.[79] Specifically, Trump criticized US alliance policies, which he saw as financing security free-riders who "are not paying their fair share" because they saw the United States as "weak and forgiving".[80] If this continued, the United States would have to "let these countries defend themselves".[81] While this is a statement that can be traced back into Cold War times, it has led Stephen Cimbala and Peter Forster to state laconically that "Alliances engaged in military deployments or other interventions cannot avoid wrestling with the thorny issue of burden-sharing".[82]

Equally, the attack on international organizations (IOs) more generally follows a long line of historical arguments critical of any international entanglements. Trump lamented the "utter weakness and incompetence of the United Nations" and claimed that the UN were indeed "not a friend of democracy", to "freedom" or to the United States.[83] It is worth recalling here the unilateral turn of the George W. Bush administration and at times heavy neoconservative criticism of IOs as well as isolationist tendencies among parts of the Tea Party.[84] Especially in the context of the Iraq war, great doubt was raised that United Nations weapons inspections could ever provide enough insurance of Iraqi disarmament to make an invasion unnecessary. On August 26, 2002, Vice-President Dick Cheney for example warned that weapons inspections might only "provide false comfort that Saddam was somehow back in the box".[85] The United States finally started the invasion of Iraq on March 19, 2003 without a UN mandate, constructing it as a preemptive strike against an enemy state and implying a reformulation of traditional *ius ad bellum* in two ways: First, preemption reserves the right for the

United States to intervene in any country that is judged to be a threat at any time in the future; second, it leads to a new concept of sovereignty in that governments are held responsible for what goes on within the borders of their states; those who fail to act in accordance with the norms set by the United States would lose their sovereignty. In Trump's reading, as a result of weak and indecisive policies, and for not standing up to either against Iran, North Korea or China, neither US allies nor its rivals still respected the United States anymore.[86] In fact, the United States were "laughed at all over the world".[87]

These tendencies illustrate that the ground for Trump's policies had already been prepared during the Bush years. In the "very, very troubled times of radical Islamic terrorism",[88] Trump claimed, the world was actually "more dangerous now than it has ever been".[89] In the United States, threat creation had become functional to political purposes after September 11, 2001.[90] Under Trump, this kind of threat creation goes hand in hand with a diminution (that is, feminization) of the United States, which was articulated as weaker than before: "If President Obama's goal had been to weaken America, he could not have done a better job".[91] Indeed, according to Trump, the United States had "become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems".[92] The consequence of this policy failure could only be to "shake the rust off America's foreign policy"[93] and to replace it with "a disciplined, deliberate and consistent foreign policy. With President Obama and Secretary Clinton we've had the exact opposite — a reckless, rudderless and aimless foreign policy, one that has blazed the path of destruction in its wake".[94]

At the same time, Trump equally incorporated elements from the long tradition of realism in US foreign policy. Arguments that emphasize strength and the ability to make unilateral decisions as well as express skepticism toward international entanglements of any kind are prominent in Trump's speeches, indeed so much so that some observers have claimed that his foreign policy strategy was a predominantly realist one.[95] Thus, Trump announced "America First" as "the major and overriding theme" of his administration,[96] meaning that his foreign policy would "put the interests of the American people and American security above all else".[97] Trump vowed to "no longer surrender this country or its people to the false song of globalism. The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down".[98] Specifically, Trump pointed out the need to be able to act unilaterally, preserving "our ability

to control our own affairs".[99] Also, Trump advocated restraint, at least at times: "A superpower understands that caution and restraint are really truly signs of strength".[100] Indeed, Trump called for the US to get "out of the nation-building business" and to focus on "creating stability in the world" instead,[101] explicitly rejecting any attempts to spread American values with force:

> Instead of trying to spread universal values that not everybody shares or wants, we should understand that strengthening and promoting Western civilization and its accomplishments will do more to inspire positive reforms around the world than military interventions.[102]

Especially with respect to the Middle East, Trump advocated for realism. "In the Middle East our goals must be, and I mean must be, to defeat terrorists and promote regional stability, not radical change".[103] This very much follows a realist tradition in US foreign policy, predominant in particular during the Cold War, which also was the last time that the United States, according to Trump, actually had a coherent strategy.[104]

However, what is a crucial and omnipresent continuity in American foreign policy is the articulation of antagonistic frontiers. In line with that, Trump demanded a Muslim ban[105] and in 2016 called Mexicans "rapists", "criminals", and the country's government "totally corrupt".[106] These statements are no surprise from a discourse theoretical point of view, as the eventuality of a hegemonic discourse depends on the construction of a threatening, excluded outside: "a radical exclusion is the ground and condition of all differences"[107]; it is the unifying ground of any society. It is also worth remembering George W. Bush in this context, who deliberately avoided negative connotations of Islam but openly articulated the Self as Christian and thus implicitly constructed a non-Christian Other. While in almost all speeches of American presidents before Barack Obama, the call for freedom is related to basic principles of Christian faith and an adherence to the concept of the "chosen people", this tendency is also conspicuous in Trump's speeches. Given the deep division of American society, it is more the form than the substance of Trump's statements which is at times surprising. The articulation of binaries, the depiction of an "evil" Other and antagonism are significant for the establishment of hegemonic relations in times of crisis.

In addition, established traditional notions of masculinity played a strong role in Trump's campaign.[108] Especially US foreign policy

and security discourse is strongly influenced by traditional masculinist norms.[109] Here, strength is prized above all, and weakness (or what could be seen as such) rejected. Trump's speeches are replete with references to the need to make America "strong" again.[110] Strength is here mainly understood as military strength. Even the misogynist and racist elements in Trump's campaign—precisely the statements that many liberals expected to lead to Trump's downfall—primarily clashed with the sedimented practices in liberal discourses, not necessarily with everyday discourse in the majority, or at least a significant portion, of the population.[111] Indeed, Trumpism, including its racist and misogynist elements, is linked to a discursive stream in US history that portrays the American people as being mainly of European ancestry, that is, white and Christian. On white supremacy in the US, see e.g., Allen (2012) and McVeigh (2009). This nativist conception of the American people underpinned lobbying efforts for Congress to bar Chinese and Japanese workers from entering the United States in the late nineteenth century, helps understand the (at least temporary) success of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s as well as support for internment camps during the Second World War. It is no accident that especially the attack on "political correctness" was highly credible at least to a considerable part of the American public. In contrast, arguments about diversity, gender equality, LGBTQ and other minority rights, as well as against discrimination, demand acknowledgment of the very heterogeneous elements that according to the racial-nationalist tradition Trumpism draws on do not belong to the core of the American people. Thus, one could make the argument that even the most offensive statements resonate with discursive patterns in US public discourse.[112] Overt racism and misogyny might clash with the sedimented practices that govern the liberal elites, but that does not necessarily mean that the latter are relevant for the entirety of the United States.

In the two instances of domestic and foreign security discourses, a gendered articulation of state identity has been prevalent for a long time. Just like virtually every conservative president before him, Trump criticized his predecessors for neglecting the US military while "asking our generals and military leaders to worry about global warming".[113] As opposed to that, Trump himself was in favor of strengthening the military, as he claimed in his announcement speech: "I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever".[114] Also the struggle against terrorism—or, as Trump put it, "radical Islam"—required above all to "get tough".[115] The alternative was nothing

less than US demise: "If we don't get tough, and if we don't get smart, and fast, we're not going to have our country anymore. There will be nothing, absolutely nothing, left".[116] The best way to ensure victory through strength was to vote for Trump, for "Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody".[117] Such statements are hardly surprising, as the United States has traditionally been articulated as strong, responsible, peace-loving, willing to lead—with military means if necessary—modern, and free/liberal, exhibiting syntagmatic characteristics of masculinity, religiosity and dependability. Negative terms which are set in contrastive relations and delimit the meaning of the United States have frequently been criminal, socialist/communist, war-prone and totalitarian.[118]

Against this background, strength was articulated as the basis for any negotiations. As mentioned above, Trump seems predisposed with an alleged loss of respect by allies and rivals alike, which has to be restored through strength. The discussion of China is illustrative here. During his foreign policy speech in April 2016 Trump claimed that "China respects strength and by letting them take advantage of us economically, which they are doing like never before, we have lost all of their respect. […] A strong and smart America is an America that will find a better friend in China, better than we have right now".[119] One example for how the invocation of traditional notions of masculinity resonated at least with some parts of the audience (demonstrating its compatibility with sedimented practices at least in some discourses) is demonstrated in reactions by Twitter users. One tweet, retweeted by Trump, stated: "[…] Now you need not wonder why we are attracted to a strong leader like @realDonaldTrump. The rest don't cut it. ALL WIMPS!!".[120]

At the same time, American strength was articulated as in the interest of the world as such, connecting to long-standing notions of the United States as a force for good, which had "saved the world" twice during the twentieth century, once from National Socialism, the second time from communism[121]:

> The world is most peaceful and most prosperous when America is strongest. America will continue and continue forever to play the role of peacemaker. We will always help save lives and indeed humanity itself, but to play the role, we must make America strong again. […] we must — we have to and we will make America great again. And if we do that — and if we do that, perhaps this century can be the most peaceful and prosperous the world has ever, ever known.[122]

Like many of his predecessors, Trump frequently coupled the promise of prosperity with an emphasis on liberalism and freedom. Remembering conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, he promised to follow her example and fight "very hard to the very end for a free and prosperous America".[123] To conclude, one could therefore state that Trump's campaign did not clash with important sedimented practices, around which the American society has been built over a long time.

Conclusions

Our brief analysis of the reference to sedimented practices in Trump's campaign speeches illustrates how sedimented practices, dislocation, antagonism and institutionalization are all necessary constituents of a theory of foreign policy, while each element is constituted by all the others. Importantly, the appeal to sedimented practices can in principle go hand in hand with noticeable breaks in a system of signification. The construction of anxiety by Trump, his depiction of "evil" Others (such as Muslims and Mexicans), the articulation of new institutions through the implementation of new legal structures are progenies of a discourse connected with (gendered) sedimented practices. Voids can only be filled and a lack can only be sutured if they do not clash with these traditional discourses; yet, the practice of filling and suturing remains contingent, and novel, unprecedented political decisions and processes of institutionalization can be the result.

A strong notion of agency is introduced by Trump, linked to equally strong notions of universality, truth and morality. Propositional assumptions thus play a prominent role in his speeches. The battle between discourses to become the leading interpretative structure brutally reveals the configuration of power relations in a given historical moment. Hegemonization makes power discernible in the first place. In any case, the form of power described here is uneven, not stable or static, but is rearticulated continuously, and new discursive perspectives are opened up by subversive practices. As it becomes hegemonic, the discourse generates new kinds of political action along the lines of the dominant interpretative framework. It is here where the moment of the subject in a poststructuralist theory of foreign policy might come into play. Yet, the transformation of hegemonic discourses are always connected with powerful sedimented practices (otherwise they would fail to become hegemonic) and as a result is at most an incremental process. Only by restoring

the discourse of a mythical purity of the origin can a possible societal future and a sense of community and togetherness become tangible. The vision of a better future is most credible if linked to the transcendental, in the US case by linking it to imaginaries of America as God's country. This however is in itself dangerous because such powerful myths risk becoming perceived as without alternative, producing the illusion that only one political option is feasible in a given situation, which in itself is in tension with the ideal of a pluralist democracy. Also, it is questionable to what extent the US-specific rhetoric of freedom will be able to enlist more heterogeneous subjects outside of the United States as well. Reactions to Trump's statements so far seem to suggest that the appeal of the hegemonic project that he advocates is limited.

Notes

1. E.g., Fidler (2017), Ikenberry (2018, 2017), Jahn (2018), Patrick (2017), Stokes (2018), a rare exception is Abrams (2017).
2. Nonhoff and Stengel (2014).
3. Laclau (2005, 68).
4. Laclau and Mouffe (2001).
5. Butler (1992), Laclau (1996). Laclau (ibid., 103) explains that: "If politics is the ensemble of the decisions taken in an undecidable terrain - that is a terrain in which power is constitutive - then the social can consist only in the sedimented forms of a power that has blurred the traces of its own contingency."
6. It should be clear by now that 'context' must not be conflated with 'foundations'. It does not refer to the determination of meaning from a location outside discourse. Laclau (2014, 134), in IR, the question of universal standards was raised, for instance, by Shapcott (2001, 10–12).
7. Laclau (2000, 82), see also Laclau (1990, 66).
8. Laclau (2014, 68). For a discussion of myth in Derrida's work, see Derrida (1992, 10–11), where he argues that: "Monogenealogy would always be a mystification in the history of culture." Cf. also Norval (1996, 7), who analyzes the "construction and purification of the Afrikaner community."
9. For in-depth analyses of the term, see Nabers (2015, 2016).
10. Foucault (1984, 384). See also Foucault's discussion of psychiatry: "I have tried to see how the formation of psychiatry as a science, the limitation of its field, and the definition of its object implicated a political structure and a moral practice" (Foucault 1984, 386).
11. George (1994, 7).

12. On subjectivity in poststructuralism, see Nonhoff and Gronau (2012).
13. Laclau (2005, 70).
14. Butler (1993, 187), see also Laclau (1977, 103), Laclau (2005, 106, 115).
15. MacIntyre (1971, 253), see also de Beistegui (1998, 162), for a discussion of myth; finally, in IR, see Guillaume (2011, 2) and Der Derian (1995, 367), who investigates the "metaphorical and mythical beginnings of a unform realism."
16. Nabers (2015, 154).
17. Madsen (1998).
18. Bercovitch (1975). Prominent IR theorists have also called "exceptionalism" a myth; see, for example, Walt (2011), on national identity, see also Prizel (1998), on "America" as an "imagined community", see Campbell (1998, 91–132).
19. For a *tour de force* through the history of American "exceptionalism", see Hodgson (2009) and Madsen (1998).
20. Lipset (1997, 51).
21. Nabers (2015, 154).
22. Campbell (1998, 3).
23. Weldes (1999, 38). For the leadership role of the United States during the Cold War, see also Sjöstedt (2007), for a conceptualization of "threat" and "danger" as discursive conditions, see Campbell (1998).
24. Nabers (2015, 156).
25. Laclau and Zac (1994, 36), see also Laclau (1990, 78), Laclau (1996, 11), Laclau (2000).
26. Houghton (2002), McDougall (1997, 76–98), Watson (2018, Chapter 12), Weinberg (1935), Wickham (2002), for early articulations of Manifest Destiny in US foreign policy, see Fiske (1885), O'Sullivan (1839), Schurz (1893).
27. Quoted in LaFeber (1994, 9).
28. LaFeber (2002, 551).
29. For an overview of the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War, see Hodgson (2009, Chapters 1 and 2).
30. Lincoln (1863).
31. Lincoln (1862).
32. Hodgson (2009, 182).
33. Wilson (1918).
34. Campbell (1998, 23). For a broad analysis of the central tenets of US foreign policy during the Cold War, see also Weldes (1999, 41), who identifies four constitutive facets of US practices: "as a global and hemispheric leader, as the bastion and defender of freedom, as strong and resolute, and as credible."

35. US Department of State (1950).
36. See also Young (2003).
37. See, for example, NRA Executive Vice President and Chief Executive Officer Wayne LaPierre's summary of US identity: "Today's NRA was built on the backs of the greatest generation: the American heroes who fought and died for our freedom in World War II, Korea and Vietnam. […] Those heroes left the battlefield but never the fight. Their voices rang out through every statehouse in America for decades, demanding every office holder recognize and fight for the same freedoms for which their brothers in arms died" (LaPierre 2013). For the argument of "masculinity" in US identity see also Weldes (1999, 46), who concludes that: "U.S. identity, in short was not only masculinist but aggressively macho"; finally Sjöstedt (2007, 241).
38. Bennington (2006, 193).
39. Kennedy (1961, 369).
40. Truman (1950).
41. Eisenhower (1953).
42. Laclau (2006, 103, 114; 2014, 15f).
43. Reagan (1983).
44. Reagan (1982).
45. Reagan (1983).
46. See Carter (1977): "Because we are free we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. Our moral sense dictates a clearcut preference for these societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights. We do not seek to intimidate, but it is clear that a world which others can dominate with impunity would be inhospitable to decency and a threat to the well-being of all people."
47. Clinton (1992).
48. Croft (2006).
49. Jackson (2005, Chapter 6).
50. The White House (2001a).
51. Trump on Sept. 12, 2016, in Baltimore.
52. Trump on Aug. 8, 2016, in Detroit.
53. Trump during the Final Presidential Debate on Oct. 19, 2016, in Las Vegas.
54. IISS (2015), Trump (2016d).
55. It is worth recalling though that George W. Bush's foreign policy was equally discussed, by some observers at least, as a radical departure from established traditions, indeed as a "revolution," see for example Daalder and Lindsay (2003).
56. Trump (2016c).
57. Diken and Lausten (2005).

58. For an analysis of the temporal dimension of the 'war on terror', see Lundborg (2012).
59. The White House (2001b).
60. The Vice President's Office (2003).
61. Trump (2016a).
62. Trump on Aug. 19, 2016, in Dimondale, Michigan.
63. Trump (2016b).
64. Trump (2016a).
65. Trump (2016b).
66. Ibid.
67. Trump (2016a).
68. Trump (2016e).
69. Mead (2002, 2011, 2017).
70. For a similar argument, see Cha (2017).
71. Trump (2016c).
72. Ibid.
73. Trump (2016b).
74. Trump (2016a).
75. Trump (2016b).
76. Quoted in *New York Times* (2016).
77. Neumeier (2018), Bloom and Rhodes (2018).
78. Stimulated, most prominently, by Oneal (1990).
79. Trump (2016b).
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., Trump (2016j).
82. Cimbala and Forster (2005, 1).
83. Trump (2016e).
84. Carter (2003), Bolton (2000), Kagan (2002), Mead (2011).
85. See 'In Cheney's words: The Administration Case for Removing Saddam Hussein', *New York Times*, Aug. 27, 2002.
86. Trump (2016b).
87. Ibid.
88. Trump (2016d).
89. Trump (2016b).
90. Jackson (2005), for a detailed account.
91. Trump (2016b).
92. Trump (2016c).
93. Trump (2016b).
94. Ibid.
95. Brooks (2016).
96. Trump (2016b). As Kazin (2016) points out, the idea of "America First" itself is not new. The America First Committee was a lobbying group

that argued for isolationism during the 1940s and even included later President Gerald Ford. The committee stumbled over Hitler's aggressive policies and openly anti-Semitic slurs of some of its supporters.

97. Trump (2016b).
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Donald Trump: Ban all Muslim travel to the US, cnn.com, Dec. 8, 2015, http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/ [10 December 2016].
106. What Donald Trump has said about Mexico and vice versa, cnn.com, Aug. 31, 2016, http://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/31/politics/donald-trump-mexico-statements/ [10 December 2016]. See also Trump (2016c).
107. Laclau (1996, 39, also 52); for a comment Howarth (2000, 105), Critchley and Marchart (2004, 4), Gasché (2004, 25).
108. Also remarkable in this regard is Trump's exceptionally blunt dismissal, mostly via Twitter, of competitors and critics alike as "weak" (read: feminine), including Hillary Clinton, Paul Ryan, Marco Rubio and Jeb Bush (Trump 2016f, h, i, j).
109. Cf. e.g. Cohn (1987, 1993), Nagel (1998), Poloni-Staudinger and Ortbals (2014).
110. Trump (2016b).
111. Neiwert (2017).
112. Gökarıksel and Smith (2016).
113. Trump (2016b).
114. Trump (2016c).
115. Trump (2016d).
116. Ibid.
117. Trump (2016c).
118. For a deeper analysis and more examples, see Nabers (2015, Chapter 4).
119. Trump (2016b).
120. Trump (2015).
121. Ibid.
122. Trump (2016b).
123. Trump on Sept. 9, 2016, in Washington, DC.

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The Populist Radical Right Goes Canadian: An Analysis of Kellie Leitch's Failed 2016–2017 Conservative Party of Canada Leadership Campaign

Brian Budd

INTRODUCTION

A new wave of populist leaders, parties, and movements has swept across established Western democracies. These assorted populist phenomena have received considerable electoral support while challenging the socio-political status quo at sub-national, national and global levels of governance. One country that was seemingly immune to the global outbreak of populism is Canada where there has been a shift back toward the center of the political spectrum under Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Elected in 2015 amidst the global rise of populist leaders, Trudeau has helped to usher in what many political commentators see as a renewed era of progressive liberalism in Canada, defined by a commitment to multiculturalism, international trade and diplomacy, immigration, Indigenous reconciliation, and gender equity. The shift back toward a

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more liberal, pluralistic style of politics under Trudeau stands in contra-distinction to the global ascendance of right-wing populism. Canada has become looked at by many both domestically and internationally as an antithesis to the radical right-wing populism flourishing in other parts of the world.[1]

However, despite a renewed commitment to liberal pluralism, the supposed aversion of the Canadian electorate to enactments of right-wing populism belies both the historical tradition of populism in Canada as well as recent examples of right-wing populists in Canadian politics. A number of Canadian politicians have recently adopted the populist style of politics championed by right-wing leaders in the United Kingdom, France, and other Western European countries. One of the most noteworthy Canadian adopters of the populist style is former Conservative Member of Parliament, Kellie Leitch. In her 2016–2017 leadership campaign for the Conservative Party of Canada, Leitch parroted many of the rhetorical and discursive strategies deployed by Donald Trump, promoting a populist radical right-wing[2] policy agenda containing similar types of nativist, authoritarian and populist proposals aimed at reforming immigration from Islamic countries while reasserting Canadian values as the guiding framework for political deci-sion-making. Leitch's campaign ultimately proved to be highly unsuc-cessful, with Leitch receiving less than 8% of votes cast resulting in a 5th place finish in the leadership race. Despite Leitch's failure, her campaign represents an important case to understand the international diffusion of right-wing populism among leaders across different cultural and politi-cal contexts. Furthermore, as a female politician, Leitch provides a useful case toward furthering our understanding of the gendered dimensions of populist performances both in terms of the gendering of populist dis-course and the challenges facing female populist leaders.

While many public commenters have dismissed Leitch's campaign as an example of 'faux populism' and the incompatibility of extreme right-wing populism within the cultural and political context of Canada, no effort has been made to understand her campaign through the lens of populist theory. My contribution to the edited collection takes up this challenge. Using Moffitt's theoretical framework[3] that conceptualizes populism as a distinct political style that is performed, embodied, and enacted across different political and cultural contexts, I analyze Leitch's self-presentation to argue that the failure of her campaign is due largely to her inability to convincingly perform core tenets of a populist style

of politics. More specifically, Leitch failed to position herself in proximity to the 'people,' deviate from acceptable standards of political behavior and adequately perform a sense of crisis and institutional breakdown consistent with the success of past Canadian populists. Instead, the visual and discursive contours of Leitch's campaign represent an importation of the types of nationalistic populist rhetoric observed in other parts of the world, particularly Northern Europe. While past Canadian populists have had partial success by basing their appeal to prospective supporters on a conception of 'the people' structured around an economic discourse of tax-payers and undeserving welfare recipients, Leitch's brand of populism evokes a cultural definition of the people based on a highly gendered discourse that positions immigration as a cultural and physical threat to gender equality and the safety of women. This attempt ultimately fell flat and failed to gain traction with Conservative Party members, demonstrating the culturally contingent nature of populist enactments between different contexts. On a theoretical level, Leitch's failure to adequately practice the core tenets of the populist style also demonstrates the inherent challenges facing female populists. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications that gender and the inherent masculinity of the populist style has for the future of populism across the globe.

The Sporadic History of Populism in Canada

Highly visible displays of populism have proven to be a rare feature in Canadian politics, particularly at the national level of politics. However, a closer look at the historical genesis of both left and right-wing parties in Canada reveals that despite limited opportunity structures, populism has and continues to play an important—if not largely overlooked—role in contemporary federal party politics in Canada. Populism in Canada emerged most clearly in the Western provinces during the period between the First and Second World Wars. Dissatisfied with the policies of the Ontario-based Liberal-Conservative coalition government, a well-organized agrarian populist movement sprung up across Canada's Prairie provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.[4] This movement coalesced into a number of different political parties who have at different points in Canada's political history exerted decisive influence over the trajectory of political discourse and policymaking at both provincial and federal levels of politics.

Despite populism playing a formative role in shaping the development of both left and right-wing parties, recent iterations of populism in Canada have been overwhelmingly associated with right-wing parties. The right-wing Reform Party represents one of the most prominent and successful examples of populism in Canadian history. Established in 1987 and led by Preston Manning, the Reform Party capitalized on a growing sense of Western alienation and dissatisfaction with the Progressive Conservative Party to offer a populist challenge to the status quo in federal politics. Manning and the Reform Party's brand of politics sought to organize the common people against a coalition of government and business elites associated with the creation and management of the Canadian welfare state.[5] Manning also took aim at "special interests" and minority groups profiting and benefiting from the welfare state at the expense of the common people defined discursively as hardworking, tax-paying Canadians.[6] This divide between the hard-working common people and spendthrift elites was combined with libertarian policy proposal designed to shrink the welfare state, oppose Quebec sovereignty, challenge multiculturalism, strengthen the jurisdiction of provinces and introduce greater direct democracy measures into political institutions.[7]

While the Reform Party was disbanded in 2000, its brand of populism rooted in discursive appeals to Canadian taxpayers and common sense policies have continued to play an important—if not sporadic—role in right-wing politics. Despite its development into a brokerage political party that has aimed to consolidate support across a wide cross-section of Canadian society, the Conservative Party of Canada under the leadership of former Prime Minister (2006–2015) and Reform Party MP (1993–1997), Stephen Harper continued to engage in the types of populist appeals perfected by Manning and the Reform Party. Scholars have demonstrated various types of populism exhibited by Harper over the course of his government including market populism,[8] penal populism,[9] and libertarian populism.[10] All of these varieties of populism noted in Stephen Harper's government highlight the periodic use of epistemological appeals to 'common sense' in an effort to garner support for particular policies or governing approaches that circumvent bureaucratic or political oversight.

In surveying the history of populism in Canada, it becomes quite clear that Canadian populism is both quantitatively and qualitatively different than the types of populism observed in other contexts. Firstly, while certainly influential, populism is not a mainstay feature of Canada's political system. This is due to the absence of many of the electoral opportunity

structures necessary for the success of populist parties and leaders. One of the most prohibitive factors discouraging populism is Canada's electoral system. Single-member plurality systems, like Canada's first-past-the-post electoral system, have been identified as key hurdles to populism, providing few political opportunities and electoral incentives for populist parties to succeed at the national level of politics.[11] Instead, Canada's electoral system has incentivized the formation of large brokerage parties focused on accumulating broad regional support across a wide cross-section of Canadian society. The success of brokerage politics has had the effect of discouraging the formation of small regional or issue-specific parties offering political alternatives to Canada's three major federal parties. Canada's political culture has also evolved to favor the instability of minority governments over coalition governments, yet another disincentive for the formation of small, grassroots populist parties. Finally, the populism that has found success in Canada has been markedly different in form than other types of populism witnessed elsewhere. Canadian iterations of populism have for the most part veered away from a nationalistic version of populism rooted in xenophobia and ethnic exclusion. The lack of a homogenous ethnic heritage or nationalism in Canada serves as a limiting factor for the success of the types of culturally-based populism observed in Europe and the United States. Canadian's tend to define themselves largely through an official commitment to multiculturalism and ethnic inclusion, as oppose to attempts aimed at creating a monocultural state aligned with a shared cultural or ethnic heritage. Public opinion research has shown that a commitment to immigration and multicultural accommodation among Canadians serves as a key barrier to the success of populist appeals rooted in xenophobia and cultural anxieties.[12]

In light of the trends and limitations, part of what makes Kellie Leitch's campaign notable is that it represents a significant departure from the historical tradition of Canadian populism. Rather than offering a political performance and policy platform rooted in discursive appeals to hard-working tax-payers, Leitch instead adopted the style of populism most associated with Western European populists. Leitch's unsuccessful bid for the leadership of the Conservative Party represents an importation of the culturally-based, nationalistic populism practiced by European populists in countries like Austria, Denmark, Germany, and France. As such, Leitch's campaign offers insight into both the global diffusion of populism as a political style and the symbiosis between performances of populism and specific cultural contexts.

Case Study: Populism in the 2016–2017 Conservative Party of Canada Leadership Race

The 2016–2017 Conservative Party of Canada leadership election was notable on a number of fronts. First and foremost, the leadership race marked the first time the party had selected a new leader since Stephen Harper was elected on a first ballot majority in 2004. The imprint of Harper's tenure on the Party beginning with its founding in 2004 and his subsequent leadership over the course of 4 federal elections is indelible. Under Harper, the Conservative Party developed into a brokerage political party that successfully united social conservatives and neoliberals under a policy agenda that included key reforms in the areas of criminal justice, citizenship policy, trade, and childcare.[13] For the Conservative Party, the leadership election in 2017 marked not only the selection of a new leader but also a potentially defining shift in the ideological and policy directions assumed by the party under Harper. The election was also notable in regard to the number of candidates that entered the race. The leadership process included a total of 17 candidates, a number that was eventually whittled down to 13 by the time the leadership vote was held on May 27, 2017. This large field of contenders lacked a clear frontrunner and produced a wide spectrum of candidates with varying personal backgrounds, ideological leanings, and policy agendas.

Attracting a considerable amount of media attention in the early days of the campaign period was Conservative MP Kellie Leitch. Leitch's campaign was marked by a number of divisive policy proposals aimed at reforming immigration and instituting Canadian values as a guiding framework for public policy. In offering these proposals, Leitch relied on a heavy blend of populist discourse and self-presentation to frame her campaign and garner support from Conservative Party members. On the surface, Leitch appeared to be a highly unlikely practitioner of the populist political style. Prior to entering federal politics in 2010, Leitch worked as an orthopedic pediatric surgeon and a university professor. While she had a longtime involvement with the Conservative Party of Canada, Leitch did not run for office until 2010. Leitch successfully won the Conservative nomination for the Ontario riding of Simcoe-Grey county and would later go on to win her seat in the 2011 general federal election. Leitch's education and professional background made her a highly reputable and promising member of the Party. Under the Harper government, Leitch would serve as the Minister for Labour and

the Minister for the Status of Women up until the defeat of the government in 2015.

The 2015 federal election marked a turning point for Leitch in her political career and public image. In an effort to capitalize on public opinion polls showing support for the banning of religious headcoverings during citizenship ceremonies, Leitch and Conservative Immigration Minister Chris Alexander jointly presented a proposal for the creation of a "barbaric cultural practices" tipline. The tipline would encourage members of the Canadian public to report individuals who they suspected may be engaged in violent cultural practices such as forced marriage, sexual slavery, and honour-killings. This proposal was widely ridiculed and dismissed as a thinly veiled attempt to capitalize on anti-Muslim racism. Leitch would later tearfully recant the proposal in a television interview, stating that despite her concern for the wellbeing of women and children if given a second opportunity she would not have offered her voice and support for the proposal.[14]

Despite this about face, Leitch doubled down on her hardline stances against cultural accommodation in her leadership campaign. As the first candidate entering the leadership race, there was little initial indication that Leitch would revisit the exclusionary, divisive politics she espoused during the federal election. However, under the direction of campaign manager Nick Kouvalis, a political strategist dubbed a "populist svengali" by the news media, Leitch sought to distinguish herself from the field of candidates by reengaging with populism.[15] This reversion to populism began in early September of 2016 when Leitch sent out an email survey to her supporters asking their opinions on whether immigrants should be screened for "anti-Canadian values". This proposal sparked intense media attention for Leitch's campaign, who shortly after released a statement supporting the introduction of direct, face-to-face screening procedures and a test for immigrants for anti-Canadian values. This proposal mirrored similar promises made by then U.S. Presidential candidate Donald Trump to ban immigration from predominantly Muslim countries. For Leitch, the values test proposal sparked the beginning of a highly populist campaign replete with policy proposals and rhetoric that targeted elites and dangerous others in defense of a homogenous Canadian people. Leitch cast the existing Liberal government along with her rivals as out-of-touch elites, who were weak and ineffective while offering policy proposals that included the elimination of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the legalization of the possession and use of

pepper spray and mace to protect women from assault, a crackdown on anti-pipeline protests, and the introduction of citizen-initiated referendums. While Leitch ultimately failed to mobilize the necessary support to succeed in the leadership election, her campaign represents a useful case to explore the performative dimensions of right-wing populism and the challenges facing would-be populists in Canada.

Theory: The Political Style Approach to Populism

The theoretical approach that I deploy to analyze Leitch's leadership campaign is what has been termed the political style approach. As a more recently developed approach in the populism theoretical canon, the conceptualization of populism as a political style borrows from and resembles many aspects of the other approaches to populism while offering a distinct, innovative and modular framework that can be applied across a wide array of contexts. This approach has received fullest articulation in the work of Benjamin Moffit,[16] who offers the following definition of populism: "A political style that features an appeal to 'the people' versus 'the elite,' 'bad manners' and the performance of crisis, breakdown or threat." (45) This definition of populism rests on theories of performativity, whereby populism is one of many styles of politics that different actors perform within a heavily mediated political environment. The general concept of political style in this theorization of populism refers to the "repertoires of embodied, symbolically mediated performance made to audiences that are used to create and navigate the fields of power that comprise the political, stretching from the domain of government through to everyday life."[17] This definition implies many of the same ontic components of populism suggested by Ernesto Laclau's political logic approach,[18] but takes these a step further to focus on the ways in which political subjectivities and relations are established through symbols and visual performances in addition to the use of signifiers and other discursive enactments. As such, rather than focus on the ontological content of populism in the form of organization[19] or ideology,[20] the political style approach emphasizes the processes and practices by which populists seek to reconstitute political relations between the pure people and a maligned elite.

Approaching populism as a political style entails studying three interrelated features of political performance: appeals to "the People" versus "the Elite"; "the performance of bad manners"; and performing crisis,

breakdown or threat. These three common features emerge out of an inductive analysis of the academic literature since the 1990s, whereby 28 cases of leaders commonly accepted as examples of populism were analyzed.[21] Ultimately, this is a minimal definition of populism rather than an ideal-type. The three features serve as a baseline for the types of performances we can characterize as populist. The definition also is not meant to suggest that any one feature can be determined in isolation as populist, but rather that they represent individual pillars that when enacted concurrently constitute a populist performance. The performance of these three features will also vary considerably between different contexts. The task for a researcher using this framework is to understand how these three features become enacted and embodied through political performance so as to be appealing to audiences in a particular social and cultural context.

Similar to other theoretical frameworks, the political style approach to populism centers the antagonistic division of the people against the elite as a central essence of populism. Like the political logic approach, the study of populism as political performance focused on how the people are rendered present by populists.[22] As such, "the people" are not a pre-existing social group that populists draw upon, but rather a constituency that populists render present through their political performance. In populist performance, the people are rendered present by a leader who is able to present themselves as being intimately close to the people and capable of speaking on their behalf. While many writers on populism emphasize a direct link between populist leaders and the people, in practice appeals to the people are mediated through representation whereby a "virtual image" of the idealized people and popular will is constructed through performance.[23] In constructing the people, populists rely on symbolic displays and the deployment of signifiers that bring to the fore an imagined community comprised of a homogenous idealized people.[24] These performances of the people rest on complex appeals to cultural symbols and discourses connected to nationalism, race, gender, and ethnicity. The performance of the people as an in-group also entails the construction of a maligned elite who are outside the boundaries of "the people" and are out of touch with the popular will. Often, the construction of the elite will be accompanied by the construction of an identifiable Other, typically those outside the state or the idealized community who are a threat to the people. Importantly, populism connects these dangerous Others to the elite, often by portraying the elite as

aiding the Other at the expense of the people. In sum, the populist style rests, in part, on performative appeals to a puritanical people against an established elite and an identifiable outgroup whose identity and presence is threatening to the people.

The second pillar of the populist style of politics, is what Moffitt colloquially terms as "bad manners". This element of populist performance arises out of the need for populists to paradoxically be both ordinary and extraordinary to appeal to the people. Populists must be of the people and beyond the people simultaneously. To demonstrate their ordinariness, populists regular deploy bad manners as part of their political performance in the form of a disregard for political correctness, the use of slang, swearing and various other forms of unusual or colorful behavior.[25] These behaviors deviate from acceptable standards for politicians and help to construct a leader as being one with the people and outside the political establishment. Populists balance these performances of ordinariness with performances of extraordinariness by demonstrating their strength, vitality, and health. These performances of extraordinariness are essential to demonstrating that the populist leader has the strength and capacity to solve the problems of the people and reinstituting common sense as the hegemonic epistemology of politics. Ultimately, the performance of bad manners is a critical component to counterbalancing the performance of extraordinariness and helps populists maintain a close proximity to the people.

The third and final pillar of populist performance is the performance of crisis, breakdown or threat. As most scholars who have studied populism demonstrate, populist leaders actively draw upon moments of institutional, political, cultural or social crisis to garner support and pursue power.[26] The bulk of the literature situates crisis as external to populism, as either something that populists seize upon or as a trigger that mobilizes a populist response. However, the political performance approach argues that rather than being external to populism, crisis is an internal feature of populism. In other words, populists make crisis visible through their performances. As Moffitt puts it, populists look to spectacularize some type of institutional failure by sensationalizing it, linking it to other issues and failures, and calling for immediate decisive action that only the populist leader is capable of. Ultimately, the convincing performance of crisis is a necessary element for the success of a populist performance as it functions to simplify political space between the people and the elite and

create the perception that there is a need for the types of simple common sense solutions offered by populists.

Again, while this theoretical triad does not encapsulate every possible empirical aspect of a given case of populism, it provides a useful baseline framework for deductive interpretation. Moreover, the conceptualization of populism as a modular style of practicing politics provides a fruitful avenue to understanding how populism diffuses between different contexts and how performances of populism are tempered by particular social and cultural settings. Using this framework, I offer an analysis of Kellie Leitch's populist performance in the 2017 Conservative leadership election. In deconstructing Leitch's performance, I demonstrate that Leitch failed to adequately perform core tenets of the populist style necessary to position herself as an advocate of the people and construct a convincing sense of crisis consistent with the political and cultural context of Canada.

Methodology and Data

One of the key challenges in conducting this study well after the leadership vote has concluded is assembling a comprehensive and systematic collection of campaign material. A large portion of the material relevant to this study such as campaign websites, emails to supporters and print-based campaign literature are simply unavailable. While this is a limitation it is not a fatal impediment to my study. Many key campaign communications are still publicly available in the form of YouTube videos, Facebook posts, television interviews, and Tweets. The analysis offered in this chapter is based on a review of 25 campaign-related videos posted on Kellie Leitch's official Facebook page. These videos were arguably the most important campaign communications released by Leitch, who largely eschewed traditional media strategies in favor of connecting with her followers through her own social media accounts, Moreover, focusing on videos as opposed to textual sources is consistent with the conceptualization of populism as a political style, whereby the embodied, symbolic and discursive aspects of political performance are brought under analysis.

In my analysis, I employ an interpretivist methodology incorporating the techniques of visual discourse analysis[27] to explore the key tenets of political performance specified by Moffitt: the 'People' versus the 'Elite'; bad manners; and crisis, breakdown, and threat. In applying visual discourse analysis, I focus on the semiotic elements of Leitch's

self-presentation to explore how she sought to convey an image of herself as a leader of the pure people while discursively constructing her opponents as part of the political establishment. Thus, my analysis focuses on uncovering how Leitch sought to construct populist political subjectivities and relations through the visual representations of her campaign. To observe these aspects of Leitch's self-presentation in the campaign texts I have gathered, I began with a broad coding of aspects of my visual and textual sources into each of the three theoretical categories. Upon doing so, I re-analyzed the data to unpack the specific aspects of textual, symbolic, visual and embodied performance that connect the enactment to each of the three pillars of the populist style. By keeping flexibility in my approach, I am not looking for specific enactments of the populist style in the mould of other populists or a theoretical ideal type per se, but rather deducing aspects of Leitch's performance that fit the general banner of each of the three pillars.

ANALYSIS

The People vs. The Elite: The Ambiguity of Canadian Values and the Absence of the People

The defining feature of Leitch's campaign was a much maligned proposal of a test for new immigrants on their possession of and commitment to Canadian values. The defining values of Canadian identity as identified by Leitch are hard work, generosity, freedom, tolerance, and equality. This nexus of values draws connections to core values of liberal democracy, as well as moral values normally associated with the protestant work ethic. Within her discourse, Leitch positions these values as historically situated, as rooted in the flourishment of early Canadian settler society. However, she decouples these values from Euro-Canadian settlement, emphasizing that these values apply equally to all immigrant groups:

> Whether you were born in Canada, you came to Canada sometime ago, or even this week; It doesn't matter when you came or where you came from.[28]

Much was made in media coverage of her campaign regarding the ambiguity surrounding what Leitch meant when referring to these values. The attempt to define 'the people' through an ambiguous set of moral signifiers is a common strategy used by populists to unite a wide number

of disparate social groups together. As Arditi notes, ambiguity in defining who fits within the category of the people allows populists to render present a broad social collective without ever drawing firm boundaries of whose identities can fit under the banner of 'the people'.[29] In this way, defining Canadian identity using ambiguous, flexible values provides avenues for a variety of groups to imagine themselves as part of "the people" and see Leitch as speaking on their behalf. Similar strategies have been used by other populists such as Australia's One Nation Party under Pauline Hanson who based much of her appeal to voters in an offer of cultural renewal against an influx of Southeast Asian immigrants and refugees.[30]

While there is ambiguity as to who "the people" are within Leitch's discourse and performance, the other side of the dichotomy, 'the elites', is far clearer. Leitch identifies the elites as "the mainstream media, the Ottawa bubble and even some Conservatives".[31] This framing of the political establishment as comprised of politicians, political insiders, and media members out-of-touch and out-of-tune with the public will is fairly consistent with the discourse of populists' from other parts of the world. More germane to her campaign, the dichotomy between the people who subscribe to an ambiguous set of Canadian values, and elites who are out of touch or unwilling to listen to the people provided a built-in defense for her campaign against accusations of racism and Islamophobia. For Leitch, criticisms of her definition of Canadian identity become the musings of out-of-touch elites, as she made clear during her convention speech when she proclaimed: "We have no identity Justin Trudeau? You and your elite friends are wrong!"[32]

While the discursive contours of her construction of the people and the elite fits the mould of other international examples of populism, Leitch's performance of populism does not clearly establish a connection between herself and the people she is claiming to speak for. This is evident in Leitch's epistemological contradiction of drawing on both common sense and elite knowledge to justify her campaign policies. Leitch's populist performance also falls short in establishing a sense of "virtual immediacy" between herself and the people.

While Canadian populists in the past have seen success by framing their policies as supported by common sense and in line with the opinion of the general public, Leitch is inconsistent in her evocation of common sense. On the one hand, Leitch strategically uses performances of connecting with the people when framing her proposal for the Canadian

values test. For example, rather than merely introducing her proposal in a straightforward press-release or official announcement, Leitch introduced her values test in an email survey to her campaign followers. This not only helped to generate media attention, but also served as a way to link her proposals to the public will. Her official announcement of the values test that followed made sure to link her proposal to a mandate from the Canadian public:

> Over the last several months I've been traveling the country, speaking to Canadians who are members of the public and those who are not. Everywhere I go, I hear the same message:
>
> Canadians are proud of their identity and shared values. No matter where I've been, I've heard the same thing: Canadians want a leader that will protect and promote our shared values. This is the direction that I've received from Canadians.[33]

The framing of common sense also provides an avenue to insulate her proposals from criticism from those that might view her proposals as unfairly targeting ethnic minorities:

> I'm confident that the majority of Canadians agree, a discussion of our Canadian values is not racist, xenophobic or anti-immigrant; it's just common sense.[34]

However, while Leitch links her values test to the public will, shrouding the proposal as common sense and supported by the majority of Canadians, other aspects of her performance deviate from epistemological appeals to the public will. While initially framing her values screening proposal as common sense and supported by the majority of Canadians, as her campaign pressed forward she began to justify her proposal using elite sources of knowledge. For example, during her first debate performance, Leitch justified her values test proposal using the work of McMaster University Sociologist, Vic Satzewich, holding up a copy of his book, *Points of Entry: How Canada's Immigration Officers Decide Who Gets In*. This integration of appeals to public opinion with elite knowledge conflicts with the populist style. In incorporating appeals to elite knowledge in her political performance, Leitch obscures her

connection with the people and undermines her image as a champion of the public will.

While an epistemological disconnect emerges between Leitch and the public will over the course of her campaign, one of the key features undermining Leitch's populist performance is the absence of "the people" within the imagery and symbolism used by her campaign. With the exception of her campaign launch and convention speech, the videos and imagery offered by her campaign fail to render visible the people. The settings for Leitch's campaign rarely include visual representations of the people or locations that establish a connection to the proverbial "heartland"[35] where the people reside. Instead, her campaign videos take place in locations that exude the very connection to elitism that Leitch is rallying against. Her most famous campaign imagery is comprised of high-production videos released on her Facebook page where she presented her core campaign promises. While much media scrutiny was devoted to Leitch's awkward and wooden delivery during these videos, more importantly the setting of these videos undermines her presentation as a populist. All of these videos take place in a dimly lit, wood-panelled office, in front of a large desk and Canadian flag. This setting conveys a status of elitism as opposed to an imagery of ordinariness that populists must perform in order to establish a connection with the people. Other examples of her campaign imagery also serve to undermine her populist credentials. For instance, while positioning her campaign as an organized insurrection against "the Ottawa bubble", Leitch frequently stages her campaign videos on Parliament Hill. Rather than symbolizing an outsider status so many populists have traded in, this staging creates the perception of Leitch as a political insider. As Moffitt notes, while many analyses of populism focus on the direct relationship between populists and their followers, supporters rarely establish a direct connection with politics leaders.[36] Instead the bond between populists and the people are developed through mediated images that create a "virtual immediacy" that locates the leader as part of or near the people. Leitch's campaign communications and imagery rarely demonstrate Leitch's connection to the people. Instead Leitch seeks to appeal to the people through images that reinforce her own elitism and membership within the political establishment.

Bad Manners: The Scourge of Political Correctness and the Absence of Femininity

One of the critical means by which populists establish a connection to the people is to position themselves as an outsider relative to the political establishment. Moffitt notes that populists are forced to balance two contradictory attributes: being of the people on one hand, while demonstrating themselves as extraordinary leaders capable of taking on the political establishment on the other.[37] In other words, populists must balance the competing traits of ordinariness and extraordinariness in order to successfully perform the populist style.

While almost all politicians seek to demonstrate a degree of ordinariness in their background, populists take this performance to an extreme in an effort to exaggerate their proximity to the people in contrast to their opponents. In order to interpret the self-presentation of ordinariness in Leitch's campaign, we can deploy Moffitt's concept of bad manners, referring to deliberate behavior that contravenes accepted standards for how one should act in the political realm. In studying Leitch's campaign performance, there are frequent rhetorical barbs thrown at the supposed political correctness of her opponents and media elites. For example, in a video stating her opposition to Motion 103, a non-binding motion that called on the Government of Canada to condemn Islamophobia, Leitch states her opposition to the motion on the grounds that it represents an institutionalization of political correctness at the expense of free speech.[38] Another example of Leitch's performative opposition to political correctness, is one of her campaign fundraising efforts conducted under the banner "Revenge of the Comment Section." This fundraising initiative saw Leitch rally supporters supposedly maligned by the mainstream press as angry Internet commenters. Leitch appears to be actively stoking those engaging with politically incorrect speech to support her campaign while positioning herself within their ranks.

However, while making proclamations against political correctness, nowhere in Leitch's political performance does she herself engage in any form of political incorrectness. Leitch altogether avoids the use of slang, curse words or slurs commonly deployed by populists to demonstrate their ordinariness. Instead, Leitch's language, composure, and style of dress all remain fairly technocratic and adhere to accepted standards of

political behavior. Thus, it would appear that while condemning political correctness in her discourse, Leitch fails to engage in performative acts that would see her engage in the very type of political incorrectness she is calling for. As such, while railing against political correctness, Leitch does not attempt to form a connection between herself and the common people through the performance of bad manners. Rather, she attempts to forge a connection with those alienated by the political establishment through a shared morality.

While the performance of ordinariness through bad manners is a critical component of the populist style, populists must also demonstrate their extraordinariness as well. Populism as a performative style requires a leader capable of elevating themselves above the people as someone capable of fixing their problems and taking on the political establishment. Populists do this by various symbolic and embodied performances that seek to demonstrate the unity and strength of the people through their own physical health and strength. In Leitch's campaign performance, strength is performed largely in relation to her positions on illegal immigration, natural resource development and reforming self-defense laws. In her videos promoting these policy positions, Leitch maintains a masculine demeanor through her embodied performance, emphasizing her resolute toughness to deal with critical issues affecting the safety of the Canadian people through straightforward and zero-tolerance policies. These performative displays of masculine toughness help to construct her opponents as too weak and politically correct to take the necessary steps to ensure Canada's cultural integrity, while elevating herself as the type of messianic populist leader capable of doing what is necessary.

While stereotypical masculine traits are evident in Leitch's performance, the literature on populism has shown that female populists are required to balance the masculine traits of strength and virility with feminine qualities such as the demonstration of caring, empathy, and maternalism.[39] While Leitch has aspects of her personal and professional history as a pediatric surgeon that could be integrated into her performance to introduce her feminine qualities, these are completely absent from her campaign performance. Instead, Leitch's performance is offered in the mold of the classic populist strongman. In light of the literature on gender and populism, the absence of clear performances of gendered traits seems to work against Leitch's enactment of the populist style.

Crisis: Gendering the Threat of Immigration and the Absence of Economic Crises

Despite the absence of embodiments of femininity in Leitch's performance, the core of Leitch's deployment of the populist style rests on a highly gendered performance of crisis. The performance of crisis is a key dimension of the populist style, helping to consolidate a populist's definition of "the people" through the construction of some type of immediate threat, while also providing an objective rationale for the types of sweeping institutional reforms being proposed. Moffitt states that for a convincing performance of crisis, populists must "spectacularise" some type of institutional failure to create the perception of the existence of a broader social, political or cultural crisis.[40] Within Leitch's performance, the key institutional failure that she identifies is the inability of the immigration system to adequately screen and vet immigrants. According to Leitch, the absence of face-to-face interviews with new immigrants leads to individuals who hold values and opinions antithetical to Canadian values and mores to be unjustly admitted to Canada. Thus, rather than being a security threat to commit acts of terrorism that threaten the public safety of Canadians, immigrants are a cultural threat, possessing values that undermine the freedom and tolerance that characterizes Canadian society.

While Leitch frames her performance of crisis largely in terms of cultural values, she links the cultural threat posed by immigrants to physical safety through a gendering of her performance. Leitch's discussion of her values test is promoted as a recognition that "men and women are equal" and as a signal to newcomers that "violence and misogyny" will not be tolerated.[41] The linkage between Leitch's proposed values test and the safety of women is further emphasized in Leitch's performance in a Facebook video she released congratulating Malala Yousafzai on her honorary Canadian citizenship. Leitch uses the video as a reminder for Canadians that "we have to make the choices to ensure that we live in freedom and tolerance"[42] Leitch commends Yousafzai while highlighting the vulnerability of women and girls in other societies that do not share the same cultural values as Canada. The use of gendered threats offers a bridge for Leitch to link the crisis of immigration to a more general sense of crisis and threat facing women. One of Leitch's other most notable proposals, was a change to Canada's *Criminal Code* that would legalize pepper spray and mace as a way for women to protect themselves against

would-be attackers. While framing her proposal as a "sensible solution" to the widespread issue of violence against women, Leitch highlights the inadequacies of the *Canadian Criminal Code* to protect women, stating "women should not be forced by the law to be victims of violence".[43] Leitch heightens the sense of crisis around violence against women by citing *Statistics Canada* reports that outline the proportion of women who experience physical or sexual violence in their lifetime. This discursive linkage between other cultures, violence against women and immigration is evocative of the populist style of politics which seeks to link various types of institutional failings together to perpetuate a sense of immediate crisis.

While Leitch's gendered discourse allows for the linking of unfiltered immigration and violence against women, she fails to draw broader connections to the other components of her platform. For instance, her economic policies offer many of the same conservative policies developed over the Harper era focused on lowering corporate tax rates and providing economic support directly to families and entrepreneurs. Absent in any of her performances is a linking of the crises of immigration with economics. This strategy has proven successful in previous iterations of populism in Canada. In the past, right-wing populists have based much of their appeals to hard-work taxpaying Canadians, whose hard-earned money becomes misused by politicians to fund welfare services and multicultural projects. The failure to link the sense of crisis she is conveying to economics ultimately works against the performance of a more general sense of crisis that would lend support for the simple and direct policies she is advocating. As Laylock notes, past iterations of right-wing populists incorporate a sense of economic inequality and crises within their performance:

> Right-populism in the Reform, Alliance, and some provincial Progressive Conservative and Liberal parties, identifies the people in much more local and recognizable terms: they are ordinary, hard-working Canadians who have financed an unfairly redistributive and freedom denying regulatory welfare state. The people have not benefited from these social programmes and regulations, because they are hard-working and law-abiding, because they have been overtaxed, and because they are not members of the special interests.[44]

The failure to offer a populist performance in support of her economic policies appears to ignore a tried and true strategy that has proven useful for past right-wing politicians who have deployed the populist style.

Discussion

The 2016–2017 leadership campaign of Kellie Leitch represents a case of failed populism that helps to illuminate the shared features of right-wing populism as a global empirical phenomenon, as well as theoretical insights into the gendered nature of populism as a style of political performance. Over the course of her campaign, Leitch offered a largely unconvincing performance of populism, failing to bring into practice core tenets of the populist style that have proven successful for leaders in other countries. Examining Leitch's campaign against international examples of populism, particularly those from Western Europe, allows us to position Leitch within the broader global trend of right-wing populism. It is clear that when comparing her campaign against other international cases of populism that Leitch sought to mobilize a similar type of gendered discourse used by populist right-wing parties to limit the migration of Islamic immigrants to Europe.

The defining feature of Leitch's leadership campaign was her proposal to reform immigration through the introduction of face-to-face interviews with migrants and the imposition of a test for Canadian values. In promoting this policy during her campaign, Leitch deployed a highly gendered discourse and performance that sought to spectacularize a crisis of immigration by juxtaposing Canada's lax screening procedures with threats to gender equality and violence against women. The connection drawn between immigration, specifically that from Islamic countries, and gender equality mirrors the types of discourses and policy proposals put forth by populists in Northern European countries.[45] In the post 9/11 era, the linking of immigration and liberal notions of gender equality has developed into a cornerstone of populist discourse from parties and leaders in France, the Netherlands, Austria and Denmark, where anti-immigration positions have become justified by relating immigration to the growth of harmful cultural practices that threaten the equal status of women.[46] The mobilization of liberal values toward illiberal ends arises within European contexts where there is a broad societal acceptance of liberal norms pertaining to gender equality and women's rights. Right-wing populists have exploited this normative shift by using liberal notions of gender equality as defining civilizational values of the West against backward, uncivilized Islamic countries where patriarchal oppression is framed as an engrained cultural value.[47] The gendering of immigration discourse among populist parties and actors represents a shift

away from explicit appeals to ethnic nationalism, where anti-immigration stances are increasingly justified using the language of liberalism as oppose to exclusionary appeals promoting ethnic homogeneity on the basis of creating monocultural states.[48]

This type of gendered discourse is not foreign to Canada. During the Harper government, and as recently as the 2015 federal election campaign, proposals to ban the wearing of the Niqab during citizenship ceremonies were used as critical wedge issues by the Conservative Party in an attempt to garner support within Canada's french-speaking province of Quebec. Concerns over oppressive cultural practices have developed into important points of conversation in recent evocations of Quebecois nationalism, where anxieties over reasonable accommodation extending to oppressive patriarchal practices have served as justification for the strengthening of Quebec sovereignty.[49] What Leitch's campaign represents is an evolution of this discourse in Canada toward a mainstreaming of gender-based concerns directly within debates pertaining to Canada's immigration system. The failure of Leitch's campaign to gain traction within the leadership race represents the limitations of this type of discourse outside of the province of Quebec and the challenges of importing populist discourses and performances hinging on cultural anxieties within a country lacking a strong sense of ethnic nationalism. Ultimately, the internalization and acceptance of multiculturalism as a defining feature of Canadian identity serves to limit the appeal of nationalistic populist performances that have proven to be at least somewhat capable of cultivating a constituent base in Northern European countries.[50]

In a historical context, Leitch's brand of populism departs from the types of populism deployed by previous Canadian right-wing politicians. Past enactments of populism in Canada have based their appeal to supporters largely through neoliberal discourses and ideologies focused on reigning in government spending, lowering taxes and reducing government intervention within the economy and society. While multiculturalism has been a target of past right-wing leaders, populist opposition has largely been framed in economic and anti-egalitarian terms, as unwarranted state interventions that waste tax dollars and award resources unfairly on the basis of group membership. Leitch's performance of populism deviates from this tradition, foregrounding multiculturalism on the basis of cultural concerns. Within her campaign, there is virtually no linkage drawn between economics and immigration policy. The centering of cultural anxieties is again indicative of shifts noted among European

populists, where the economic programs of populist right-wing parties tend to not to be neoliberal and economics as a whole are not treated as primary issues.[51] The absence of economics within her performance in favor of cultural concerns that resonate in European societies demonstrates the necessary fit between performances of populism and the political and cultural contexts in which they are deployed. In performing crisis, Leitch failed to extend the scope of institutional breakdown to the sphere of economics, offering a populist performance that fails to incorporate strategies that have proven successful for Canadian populists in the past.

While the analysis I've offered notes the deficiencies exhibited by Leitch's deployment of the populist style, her campaign demonstrates some of the broader challenges facing female populists. Despite the widespread recognition of the masculine nature of populism, there is a dearth of research exploring exercises in populism among female politicians.[52] This is somewhat reflective of the fact that populism, particularly on the right-side of the political spectrum, tends to predominantly be the foray of male politicians. Thus, Kellie Leitch joins a relatively small roster of female leaders like Marine Le Pen, Pia Kjærsgaard, Sarah Palin, and Pauline Hansen in deploying the populist style. As Moffitt notes, the practice of the populist style for male leaders is far more straightforward than it is for female leaders. In many countries, particularly those in Latin America, masculinity in the form of overt sexuality, bravado, and physical strength are key elements of populist performance serving to construct distance between populist leaders and the political establishment.[53] For female leaders, these projections of masculinity tend to be tempered by or counterbalanced with performances of femininity that demonstrates the feminine traits of caring, empathy, maternalism and female sexuality.[54] For example, in a study of former Danish populist leader, Pia Kjærsgaard, Meret notes that while Kjærsgaard cultivated a self-styled image as a tough, professional and authoritarian leader, she compensated for these masculine traits by overemphasizing and exaggerating her private-life defined by a motherly, ordinary, over-emotional and straightforward demeanor.[55] The balancing act between performances of masculinity and traditional norms of femininity create an added layer of difficulty in the deployment of the populist style for female leaders. Reflecting on these challenges, it is clear that unlike other examples of female populists, Leitch did not include clear performances of femininity within her campaign, presenting herself instead as the type of tough, decisive decision-maker capable of restoring law and order that

has proven successful for male populists. However, despite the fact that Leitch hits many of the same notes that have struck a chord for male populists elsewhere, her performance ultimately rang hollow during the leadership race.

These findings point to the challenges that female politicians face in Western democratic politics at large, particularly in Canada, where they are constantly disciplined and required to demonstrate their competency and respectability to justify their presence within domains of politics that are marked by masculine expectations. As Linda Trimble notes in her comparative study of female Prime Ministers, female politicians are not afforded the same assumed political legitimacy as men and are instead tasked with negotiating gendered expectations to be convincingly accepted as credible political leaders.[56] The requirement of the populist style to deviate from accepted standards and norms of political behavior thus represents a dilemma for female politicians. Leitch's campaign indicates that while the populist style has grown to become increasingly influential within a global age of increased media saturation and the celebritization of politics, the ability to capitalize on these trends vis-à-vis the populist style may not be equally available to women. In other words, the populist style of politics—and by extension the current global populist zeitgeist—may itself be rooted in and shaped by heteronormativity and hyper-masculinity to the effect that it marginalizes female leaders. It is the task of scholars to focus both further theoretical and empirical attention to the puzzle of populist leadership and gender. With specific reference to the political style approach, an agenda for future research ought to include greater attention on the gendered dimension of the populist style and the differentiation that exists when deploying the style in practice between male and female performers.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an analysis of an unlikely populist from an unlikely context. While populism is far from a recurrent feature of Canadian politics, it has played an important historical role in the trajectory of party politics in Canada since the 1930s. Leitch's campaign represents one of the most recent iterations of populism. However, unlike her predecessors, Leitch's brand of populism draws inspiration from outside the borders of Canada to portray a sense of crisis linked to the flow of Islamic immigrants. While this framing ultimately proved to be unsuccessful in propelling Leitch to victory for a variety of internal and

external reasons, it demonstrates the alluring global reach of right-wing populism. The failure of Leitch's campaign should not be treated as evidence of Canada's imperviousness to populism or xenophobia. Canada is far from the multicultural utopia it purports itself to be, and faces its own challenges with regard to racial tensions, ethnic inclusion, and national identity. While Leitch ultimately failed to offer a convincing performance of populism capable of mobilizing the necessary support to succeed in the leadership race, it does not negate the possibility of another leader emerging who is adept at wielding the populist style in a manner that connects with the cultural and political values of Canadians.

In fact, we do not have to look far for such a case. The recent election of Doug Ford as the premier of Ontario in June of 2018, demonstrates the potential success of right-wing populism in Canada. Unlike Leitch, Ford constructed his populist performance mainly around economic appeals to middle-tax tax-payers and attacks against corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. Ford's brand of populism coheres much closer to the tradition establish by the Reform Party where cultural resentments are downplayed or framed through neoliberal discourse. Juxtaposing Ford's success against Leitch's failure demonstrates the susceptibility of Canada to enactments of right-wing populism that adequately conform to the prevailing political and cultural milieu. If Leitch's campaign demonstrates anything, its that even with electoral and cultural barriers in place, the global siren call of populism will likely to continue to draw the attention of Canadian politicians.

Notes

1. *The Economist* (2016).
2. Mudde (2007, 22).
3. Moffitt (2016).
4. Laycock (2005), Conway (1978).
5. Patten (1996).
6. Ibid., 109.
7. Laycock (2005, 180).
8. Sawer and Laycock (2009).
9. Kelly and Puddister (2017).
10. Ramp and Harrison (2012).
11. Mudde (2007, 233).
12. Adams (2017).
13. Snow and Moffitt (2012).

14. Zimonjic (2016).
15. Maher (2018).
16. Moffitt (2016).
17. Ibid., 28–29.
18. Laclau (2005).
19. Weyland (2001), Jansen (2011).
20. Mudde (2004).
21. Moffitt (2016, 42).
22. Laclau (2005), Arditi (2007).
23. Moffitt (2016, 102).
24. Taggart (2000).
25. Moffitt (2016, 44).
26. Taggart (2000), Laclau (2005).
27. Rose (2007).
28. Leitch (2016).
29. Arditi (2007).
30. Mason (2010).
31. Leitch (2016).
32. Leitch (2017d).
33. Leitch (2016).
34. Ibid.
35. Taggart (2000).
36. Moffitt (2016).
37. Ibid., 57.
38. Leitch (2017b).
39. Moffitt (2016, 66), Meret (2015).
40. Moffitt (2016, 121).
41. Leitch (2016).
42. Leitch (2017c).
43. Leitch (2017a).
44. Laycock (2005, 199).
45. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2015).
46. Morgan (2017), de Lange and Mügge (2015).
47. de Lange and Mügge (2015).
48. Akkerman (2015).
49. Bilge (2012).
50. Adams (2017).
51. Mudde (2007, 136).
52. Spierings et al. (2015).
53. Moffitt (2016, 66).
54. Ibid.
55. Meret (2015).
56. Trimble (2017, 214).

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Populists and Foreign Policy: Evidence from Latin America

Grant Alan Burrier

Introduction

Donald Trump's unlikely victory in 2016 re-kindled a broad interest in populism. For the first time in recent history, a global hegemon experienced a visceral populist revolt. Part of the wave, *Foreign Affairs* dedicated an entire issue to "the Power of Populism" and its rise has been precisely that: powerful. Less than three decades after Francis Fukuyama prematurely declared "the End of History," the current leader of the United States maintains an ambivalent, if not confrontational, stance toward the key pillars of the post-World War II liberal order: multilateralism, democracy, and open trade. Unfortunately, our extant comparativist research on the subject concentrates mainly on the domestic causes and consequences of populism.[1] Globalization, rising regional organizations, and technological change are reshaping our notions of national boundaries. Burgeoning external trade ties, increasing cultural exchange, and migration directly influence domestic politics and facilitate populist party mobilization.[2] Nevertheless, too little scholarship probes how populism

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impacts foreign policy and international relations, making this volume a particularly valuable contribution. As the contemporary world generates overlap between domestic and foreign policies, it is imperative we address this gap in the literature to better understand our future.

A chameleonic, recurring phenomenon transcending space and time, populism long divided scholars looking for a clear conceptualization (see note 1). Does the term encompass political, social, historical, economic, or ideational considerations?[3] Should populism be defined by its social base, economic policy prescriptions, or historical stage of development? Spurred by several scholars in the late nineties,[4] a growing consensus stresses the political attributes of populism, streamlining its mushrooming attributes and increasing its analytical utility. As Weyland concludes,

> Populism [is] a specific way of competing for and exercising political power. First and foremost, it shapes patterns of political rule, not the allocation of socioeconomic benefits or losses.[5]

In this vein, this chapter understands populism as: *a political strategy that features a personalistic leader seeking direct linkages with mass voters, who employs an anti-elitist, majoritarian logic to bypass traditional forms of representation*. Not a clearly elaborated dogma, populism manifests a "thin-ideology" that can be fused with a broad array of different political beliefs across the ideological spectrum.[6,7] Contradictory, ambiguous, and opportunistic, populists prove fiendishly difficult to satisfactorily position on the ideological spectrum. Given an outsized emphasis on the individual character traits of the leader, populists reject clear, partisan beliefs for a more flexible, adaptable approach to politics. Thus, ideologically speaking there is not one type of populism.

Similarly, this chapter cautions against *prima facie* ascribing specific economic, cultural, or foreign policies as populist. Scholars[8] frequently assert that populists deploy expansionist, redistributive economic policies and use nationalism to consolidate their political base. But beyond theory-building and descriptive case studies, scholars have not tested whether these hypotheses are generalizable to all (or most) populists. A key contribution of this chapter is leveraging data to actually test hypotheses[9] and confirm whether there are demonstrable foreign policy differences between populists and their non-populist counterparts.

Another significant contribution of this chapter is the breadth of the comparison. Largely theoretical or descriptive, most empirical work on

populism emphasizes a single-case study. While this methodology provides much-appreciated depth, it sacrifices generalizability. To what extent is the single-case representative of the larger populist sample? To increase generalizability without sacrificing depth, I utilize a relatively novel approach, directly comparing six Latin American countries over three decades (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Nicaragua, and El Salvador). A longitudinal cohort study (LCS) research design coupled with analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Time-Series Cross Sectional (TSCS) estimation techniques compares countries with extended histories of populism (the treatment group) to peer nations where populism has been notably absent (the control group). Although commonly encountered in the fields of medicine, nursing, and psychology, this approach is particularly useful for social scientists desiring a balance between generalizability and depth.

The chapter proceeds accordingly. The literature review highlights the general consensus about what a populist foreign policy entails: more nationalism and protectionism. I argue these concepts overlap with populism, but remain distinct categories. I then discuss three populist waves in contemporary Latin America (classical, neopopulists, and Bolivarian), noting archetypical examples and briefly detailing their defining characteristics and shared policies. I then explain the LCS research design, data, and coding before presenting the results.

In the end, there is minimal evidence populists pursue more aggressive national defense policies. Although bombastic, nationalist rhetoric frequently heightens tensions and encourages border conflicts, the chauvinistic discourse has not translated into armed conflict or dramatically different defense priorities. There are significant differences when it comes to foreign economic policy. Compared with non-populist contemporaries, populists generally occupy extreme ends of the economic policymaking spectrum, embracing dramatic market liberalism or protectionism. These differences among populists can be largely attributed to the structural position of their country in the international economy. Whether comparing neo-populists or Bolivarian populists, in wealthier, more industrialized nations, left- and right-wing populists erect more tariffs and limit overall levels of trade openness. On the other hand, in less developed, smaller countries the inverse occurs as nations embrace greater international trade and fewer tariffs.

POPULISM, NATIONALISM, AND PROTECTIONISM

Traditionally, most studies focus on the causes and consequences of populism. Nevertheless, a growing number of studies tackle how populism impacts foreign policy and how globalization re-activated populist mobilization. A review of the literature highlights two common policy themes: nationalism and protectionism.

Populism and nationalism have close empirical and conceptual links. Both claim to represent broad groups of people and demonstrate a similar proclivity for categorizing people into the people/elites and in/out groups. In both cases, a nebulous, often-changing, broadly-articulated "people" and "elites" can assume ethnic or socioeconomic overtones that transcend or are confined by national boundaries. The result is overlapping, incoherent classifications that are confusing.[10] Historically, in both Europe and Latin America populists have utilized nationalist discourse as a convenient political mobilization strategy.[11] This recurring presence of nationalism among populists encourages many scholars to posit populist foreign policies inherently include insularity, a defense of national sovereignty, and domestic-focused foreign policy.[12] Yet, individual case studies reveal great complexity.

Dorraj and Dodson see Venezuela and Iran's aggressive, anti-American, anti-neoliberal foreign policies as archetypical populism, representing "a strong nationalist impulse to break away from colonial dependence."[13] At the same time, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hugo Chávez pursued transnational political objectives far beyond a simple defense of national interests.[14] Milam and Nelson define a "populist foreign policy" as a concern for sovereignty mixed with nationalism, but admit the difficulty of objectively delimiting precisely where national pride becomes blatant chauvinism.[15] Others consider "populist diplomacy" to be protectionist, nationalistic, and anti-American, yet recognize "while [some populists] take actions that detract from U.S. security objectives, they quietly cooperated with Washington and seem to be striking a balance."[16]

While there are natural affinities between populism and nationalism, DeCleen cautions against "including elements of nationalism in definitions of populism [as it] hinders its application to other (non-nationalist) forms of populism."[17] While thoroughly populist, the political discourse and platform of Brazil's Fernando Collor de Melo (1990–1992) was not notably nationalistic.[18] Indeed, his inaugural address was titled "Brazil:

Open to the World." Conversely, nationalism appears in non-populist scenarios as a political mobilization strategy. Contemporary Cuba represents a fairly-institutionalized, non-populist one-party state, but frequently embraces national symbols like independence hero José Marti and uses an anti-imperialist discourse to maintain popular support.

DeCleen has articulated the clearest theoretical differentiation, focusing on spatial differences in discourse.[19] On one hand, populism denotes a political distinction between powerful and powerless and is structured around a vertical axis referring to power, status, and hierarchy. Nationalism fashions a more horizontal, in/out understanding of community, placing cultural and geographic boundaries between groups. Although the in/out distinctions can appear to have vertical dimensions hinting at racial or cultural hierarchies, DeCleen notes these distinctions are first subordinated to horizontal in/out distinctions of nation.[20] Hence a populist foreign policy may include nationalist strategies and discourses, but there remains a conceptual distinction between nationalism and populism.

Beyond nationalism, generations of scholars[21] have theorized a linkage between populism and policies entailing some degree of expansionary public spending, economic redistribution, and protectionism. In many accounts, populists are depicted as immature spendthrifts who compromise the macro-economic stability of their country. Too often these aforementioned accounts overlook or downplay the political factors and social conditions driving the policy decisions. Mughan et al. find job insecurity predicts support for populist parties.[22] Responding to voter insecurity, we might expect parties on the left or right to offer ideologically consistent explanations and solutions (more state intervention versus more market freedom). Yet, populists are ideologically ambiguous. Focusing on their personality, they often freely select policies from the left- and right-side of the policy spectrum to fulfill immediate political needs. For example, Mughan et al. note how the Australian One Nation simultaneously proposed liberal economic policies for domestic economic matters while supporting mercantilist international trade policies.[23] We will note a similar phenomenon in Latin America below, where avowed neoliberals like Carlos Menem and Alberto Fujimori will erect trade barriers. So-called left-wing populists decried as socialists will pursue free trade and market liberalization. Essentially, trade tariffs, quotas, and country-of-origin requirements are useful, simple executive initiatives rapidly promulgated to protect employment or create jobs. These

measures directly assuage voter worries and allow populists, unmoored from firm ideological commitments, to score political points.

Beyond job security, protectionist economic policies are justified using nationalist appeals. Threatening national development, self-sufficiency, and security, foreign competitors are accused of exacerbating trade deficits, engaging in unfair trading practices, and dumping subsidized products. These treacheries are blamed for destroying local producers and their profitability. The World Values Survey and other international surveys reveal a clear overlap between protectionism and nationalism.[24] While income, education, skill levels, class, and sector-specific factors (exports vs imports) influence whether individuals endorse trade openness, values and identity contribute mightily. Specifically, individuals who are attached to their community and exhibit higher degrees of national pride profess more protectionist attitudes.[25] Under Hugo Chávez (1999–2013), Venezuela frequently melded nationalism and protectionism to decry an "unfair" international conspiracy against their economy,[26] a practice that has been amplified under Nicolás Maduro (2013–). Yet, like nationalism, protectionism deserves some conceptual distinction from populism. Many non-populist executives have implemented protectionist policies at times, particularly the developmental states of East Asia and the military regimes in Latin America's Southern Cone. Additionally, we will find some populists, like Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, resist protectionist temptations and pursue market-oriented economic policies.

Political demands for economic protection moderate when social institutions function well and economic growth is booming and equitable, but populism thrives during periods of faltering political representation and economic turmoil.[27] In the current environment, globalization has been a useful catalyst for populist mobilization from both the left- and right-wing.[28] Although the nation-state remains the principal adjudicator of political debate, representation, and policymaking, globalization increases the scope and power of international organizations and supra-national institutions. Concurrently, while generating growth, neoliberalism increased job insecurity and exacerbated inequality. Additionally, it generated shocks from increased migration flows and financial markets.[29] Populists have successfully targeted multilateral institutions as mortal threats to national sovereignty and criticized the domestic economic dislocation and uncertainty generated by international competition and greater flows of people. Contemporary populists have focused their derision on the cosmopolitan, globalist elite responsible for these problems.

In summation, populist presidents display affinities for nationalism and protectionism while globalization set the stage for renewed populist mobilization by providing succor to citizen insecurity. Yet there are compelling theoretical reasons to maintain conceptual differentiation. Not all nationalists are populists. Not all protectionists are populists. As we shall observe below, populists may or may not be rabid nationalists. In terms of trade, they enact varied trade policies that are not always protectionist. Much like a Venn diagram, there are logical instances where categories intersect or diverge (Fig. 7.1).

Three Waves of Populism in Latin America

The region with the most consistent and variegated populist presence, Latin America is a particularly rich base for research. Contrasted with examples from Europe and the United States, Latin America usually demonstrated a more inclusionary version of populism.[30] Eschewing an exclusionary nationalism based on ethnicity or immigration, populists on the right and the left targeted excluded segments of the population and incorporated their concerns into their political programs. This section
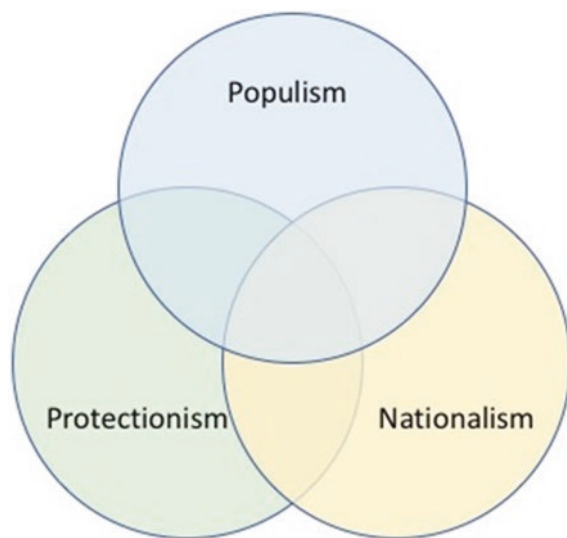
Fig. 7.1   Venn diagram of populism, nationalism, and protectionism

quickly synthesizes the scholarly literature on the subject to highlight some key differences among three waves of populist mobilization. Space constraints limit in-depth analysis of individual exceptions, but overall, we will note consistent elements of nationalism and protectionism.

Classical Populism (1930s–1950s)

Populism's first wave included cases like Argentina's Juan Perón, Peru's Victor Haya de la Torre, Ecuador's José Velasco Ibarra, and Brazil's Getúlio Vargas. Latin America was transitioning from a rural to a modern, urban society. Countries previously exporting primary commodities with elite-dominated political institutions were transforming into diversified, industrial economies with greater democratic participation. Classical populists quickened this transition, prioritizing national development and industrialization, while fostering greater political inclusion for organized labor and women. While concentrating on populism's domestic impact and linking its appearance to specific economic stages of development, initial research[31] confirmed the presence of nationalism and protectionism.

First, economic grievances, coupled with political indifference, encouraged populism's rise. Although Latin America's economies were becoming wealthier and more industrialized, they remained relatively stagnant compared with Europe or the United States. As the global effects of the Great Depression spread, protectionist policies grew and international trade declined, while job insecurity and economic turmoil increased. Populists promised to minimize the boom-bust cycles of primary commodity exporting nations by building modern, industrialized economies. While populism included some racially-charged policies and discourse,[32] classical populists focused their efforts on curbing international dependency and building domestic self-sufficiency. Their discourse constantly referenced non-alignment and national pride. Saving the economy equaled saving the nation and citizens were exhorted to make sacrifices to build a more independent, sovereign nation.

While rural elites ignored urban white-collar and working-class voters, populists appealed to their economic and social insecurities. Radio pioneers, classical populists encouraged massive demonstrations and rallies to spread information and directly connect with voters. Classical populists implemented interventionist policies, like import-substitution industrialization, to protect the national economy and encourage greater

industrialization. Beyond protectionist macro-economic policies, they offered more political inclusion. Voting restrictions were lifted, extending enfranchisement to the working class, the poor, and women. Unions linked to populists were encouraged to mobilize for better workplace conditions, pay, and vacation time. Corporatism permitted officially-sanctioned unions to join the policymaking process and influence labor policy. Finally, many populists founded social safety networks, providing healthcare, education, and pensions to their citizens for the first time.

Neopopulism (1980s–1990s)

Once again, economic calamity encouraged a second populist wave. After a "Lost Decade," many governments encountered the limits of state-driven economic models and suffered from ballooning external debt, skyrocketing inflation, massive unemployment, and economic contraction. Neo-populists, shortened from neoliberal populists, promoted a different political agenda than classical populists, but demonstrated a similar leadership style, including presidents like Peru's Alberto Fujimori, Argentina's Carlos Menem, and Brazil's Fernando Collor de Mello.[33] Once again opting for highly personalized leadership, neopopulists eschewed building party organizations, relying heavily on television to connect with voters. Neopopulists constantly undermined newly minted checks on their authority, interfering with judicial independence and opposing presidential term limits. Starting with Fujimori, another similarity among some right-wing populists was a strict, high-profile crackdown on crime and violence. This security-driven *mano dura* approach among populists was particularly witnessed in Guatemala under General Otto Pérez and Colombia under Álvaro Uribe.[34] Beyond ethno-national or cultural cleavages, security issues will remain an attractive issue for right-wing populist mobilization in the world's most violent hemisphere.

Blaming the economic dysfunction on traditional politicians and corrupt, "rent-seeking" insiders (particularly bureaucrats and corporatist labor unions), neo-populists bashed elites for their economic performance and appealed to small business owners, rural poor, and workers in the informal economy. Disbanding ISI and developmental policies, neopopulists implemented free market reforms, privatizing state-run companies, promoting economic liberalism, and encouraging international investment. In this sense, neopopulists were mild nationalists. While they utilized nationalist symbols and discourse to mobilize

support, they were not advocating self-sufficiency or insularity, merely a better nation, better situated in the global economy. Neopopulists tempered nationalist discourse to attract international investment. On one hand, neopopulists break our expectations of protectionism. Neoliberal reforms included a series of standard policy prescriptions like greater market liberalization and reductions in government spending. Yet, many scholars note free market reforms accompanied significant increases in social spending.[35] Neo-populists still needed political coalitions to support economic reforms. As we shall see below, although neo-populists privatized failing companies, cut taxes, and encouraged foreign investment, they retained lower levels of trade openness and higher tariffs than our previous qualitative studies imply.

Bolivarian Populism (1999s–)

Continued inequality and sluggish growth corroded the Washington Consensus. Although neopopulists mobilized informal sectors of the economy to win political power, these citizens failed to experience better living standards. As their frustration mounted, a new wave of populist leadership mobilized voters behind messages of political inclusion and economic redistribution. Prominent among the latest wave of populists have been Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, Ecuador's Rafael Correa, the Kirchner clan in Argentina, and Venezuela's Hugo Chávez.[36] Studies on the Bolivarian populists[37] highlight a broadening nationalism that acquires a regional integrationist dynamic mixed with greater interventionist policies.

Criticizing neoliberalism's failures, Bolivarians promoted a more active state, with greater public control over natural resources, higher levels of public investment, and generous levels of social spending. Moving from representative to direct democracy, Bolivarians stress plebiscites and elections, giving the political system the feel of a permanent campaign. They are media-savvy, manipulating coverage and using social media to retain high approval ratings. While promoting nationalist symbols and sharply critiquing the foreign policy of the United States, the Bolivarians promoted regional integration efforts like Mercosur, a South American trade bloc, and ALBA, a more radical Latin American and Caribbean intergovernmental organization spearheaded by Venezuela. These integrationist programs went far beyond previous efforts and offered an intriguing, more regionally-inclusive trans-nationalism. In terms of economic policy, contemporary populists again demonstrate a mixture of trade openness

and intervention. While there are protectionist impulses, like higher taxation on natural resource extraction and isolated nationalizations, Bolivarian populists also operate in a thoroughly globalized world. While we might expect a return to protectionism, there may be international constraints. I will compare neo-populists with their Bolivarian counterparts in greater depth below.

In summation, Latin American populism amply illustrates that populists experience great success during periods of economic turmoil. Facing adverse international and domestic conditions, they promise national salvation. While the exact prescriptions varied, they pursued dramatic policies that attacked an unpopular status quo, mobilizing citizens against ineffective elites. Given the poor economic conditions that portend their success, populists seem particularly concerned with enacting radical economic changes. As we shall see in the next section, this predilection for breaking the economic status quo will differentiate populists from their non-populist contemporaries.

Research Design and Coding

The research design is a quasi-experimental, longitudinal cohort study (LCS)[38] of six cases that are broadly representative of Latin America: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Though LCS designs are commonly encountered in nursing, medicine, and psychology, this approach is useful for social scientists desiring generalizability and depth. Instead of random samples, cohort studies create specialized, intentional groupings to gain greater leverage over how one specific factor, based on its presence or absence, produces divergent results among similarly situated cases. At the same time, given a limited, non-random sample, there is reduced external validity and less capacity to make casual arguments about cases outside the sample.

First, the LCS establishes groups, splitting cases into appropriate sub-groupings (the cohort), using clear criteria to distinguish group membership. The cohort is defined by shared characteristics to reduce confounding factors and control specific variables to better ascertain the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable of interest (Hammond et al. 2015). For the purposes of this study, cases were split into three groups based on GDP (gross domestic product) and HDI (human development index) to create cohorts with similar social and economic development.

Next, the LCS splits cohorts into control groups and treatment groups. The treatment group receives the intended intervention, while the control group is used as a baseline to test the effect of no treatment over time. In this study, we are looking to establish if populism influences foreign policy. Are there concrete foreign policy differences between populists and non-populists? Inside each cohort, I selected one country that experienced a case of prolonged or serial populism (the treatment) and one country that did not (the control), using Mainwaring and Scully as a guide (see Table 7.1).[39] Because my conceptualization of populism explicitly considers it as a political strategy designed to win elections and exercise power in a minimally democratic context,[40] each country is included in the dataset after holding their first democratic election.[41] Except Colombia, where competitive elections stretch back to 1958, the remaining countries experienced democratic transitions within the same decade, establishing a fair temporal base for comparison.

For this project, a cohort design is theoretically compelling because it better controls for variation in social and economic conditions. Following Wagner's Law, the public sector grows in response to development. Complex societies require more regulation and public goods provision. Wealthy, industrialized nations inherently produce more regulation and larger bureaucracies than impoverished agrarian societies. Additionally, differing levels of development encourage differing economic orientations and strategies. In smaller, less developed countries like Nicaragua and El Salvador, we intuitively expect greater openness to global trade flows as their smaller economies of scale make autarky

Table 7.1 Cohort study design: cases and groups

	High-development cohort GDP per capita > $20 K HDI: very high	Middle-development cohort GDP per capita $20–10 K HDI: high	Low-development cohort GDP per capita < $10 K HDI: medium
Populist	Argentina (1983–) *Menem 89–99 *Kirchner 03–07 *Fernández 07–15?	Peru (1980–) *Fujimori 90–00 *Humala 11–15	Nicaragua (1984–) *Ortega 07–15
Non-populist	Chile (1989–) none	Colombia (1980–) *Uribe 02–10?	El Salvador (1984–) *none

Note * denotes populist administration, ? denotes contentious coding. *N* = 197 years

less plausible. In contrast, larger countries with more resources, consumers, and scale, like Argentina or Chile, could maintain relatively closed economies.

To accompany the LSC design, I use ANOVA (Analysis of Variance), an estimation technique testing the difference in means among groups. It analyzes variation across groups and confirms significant differences of means in a controlled, nonrandom sample. Specifically, I use Two-Way ANOVA because it permits the comparison of two categorical variables across a continuous response variable.[42] In this case, the categorical variables would be level of development and the presence of populism. The response variable is military spending, trade openness, or tariff rates. In question form, we are asking does the level of development coupled with populist leadership produce a certain type of tariff policy? Like the cohort study design, ANOVA only compares groups within the sample, producing limited generalizability to cases outside my dataset.

Much ink has been spilled arguing whether certain presidents are populists. To code populism, I follow the definition supplied above and compare my codings with previous scholarly work.[43] The only point of disagreement with Doyle,[44] is in how populist presidencies are coded over time. Since populists critique ruling elites, Doyle assumes after one electoral victory, the candidate is no longer an outsider. Essentially, the populist now constitutes the ruling elite. Although logically consistent, this coding decision overlooks the larger fact that populists develop a highly charismatic, personalist political approach that rarely institutionalizes. Preferring top-down mobilization, populists are notoriously spotty when it comes to creating permanent political parties.[45] Emphasizing the individual leader, populists evince little need for ideological coherence or programmatic policies, something we expect from institutionalized party systems. Subsequently, I code the presidencies of Colombia's Álvaro Uribe (2002–2010) and Argentina's Cristina Fernández (2007–2015) as populist and will further explain this decision.

Since 1849, Colombia has been dominated by two political parties, Conservative and Liberal, and has proven remarkably resistant to populism.[46] Although a traditional politician with two decades of political experience before taking office, Uribe unofficially broke with his Liberal party to run as an independent candidate against the official party nominee, Horacio Serpa. In office, he continued an aggressive anti-establishment discourse and leveraged his personal charisma to secure constitutional reforms permitting consecutive election, something

previously banned. Given Uribe's messianic commitment to himself, Bejarano notes:

> At the end of his [second] term, there was no institutionalized pro-Uribe party to succeed him. Instead of working toward the institutionalization of a new party to uphold and continue his political project. Uribe kept presenting himself as the only possible candidate, turning his job into a permanent campaign. (2013, 342).

Citing high popular support, Uribe laid waste to democratic institutions and horizontal checks on his power until the Supreme Court finally intervened to block a third re-election effort. These characteristics led most scholars[47] to code Uribe as a populist.

Another contentious case is Cristina Kirchner Fernández. Most scholars consider her husband, Nestor Kirchner, a clear populist.[48] A little known, outside candidate from the remote Patagonian state of Santa Cruz, Kirchner emerged from the wreckage of the 2001 peso collapse[49] to win the presidency with protestors demanding "Que se vayan todos! (They all [establishment politicians] must go)." He crafted a personalized political ideology called *kirchnerismo*, blending a disdain of political elites, international financial institutions (particularly the IMF), neoliberalism, and the media with increasing state economic intervention and clientelistic social programming. At the same time, Kirchner pursued direct linkages with voters, encouraging social protests, to bypass formal institutions and force Congress to adopt his preferred legislation. Doyle argues by representing a governing insider, Fernández was no longer a populist when she ascended to the Presidency.[50] Nevertheless, like her husband, Fernández continued anti-establishment appeals, top-down mobilization, and charismatic, personalist political organization. Given these characteristics, most researchers[51] code her presidency as populist. Having explained the design and coding, I move to the empirical analysis.

Results

Returning to the theoretical expectations presented earlier, scholars posit a populist foreign policy includes elements of nationalism and protectionism. To test these hypotheses, I consider two separate aspects of foreign policy that influence a nation's position in the international system: military strength and trade.[52]

In terms of military strength (spending, personnel, armament), various tests (pairwise correlations, tests, time series cross sectional analysis, and ANOVA) failed to confirm significant differences between populists and non-populists. If there is any observation to be made, it is Latin Americans generally spend less on their military (Fig. 7.2). Populists are no more likely to increase the active number of personnel or import more armament. Whether considering military expenditures as either a percentage of central government spending or GDP, the overall decline in expenditures since the 1980s is striking. Colombia is the only major Latin American country, including those outside my sample, to currently earmark more than 2.5% of their GDP to the military, which makes sense given its 53-year civil war that hopefully is entering its final stages. For all the rhetoric of greater militarization, Álvaro Uribe, did not spend significantly more or less than other Colombian executives. In fact, he averaged less spending (3.46%) than his immediate predecessor, Andrés Pastrana (3.76%), who entered peace negotiations with the guerillas and created demilitarized zones.
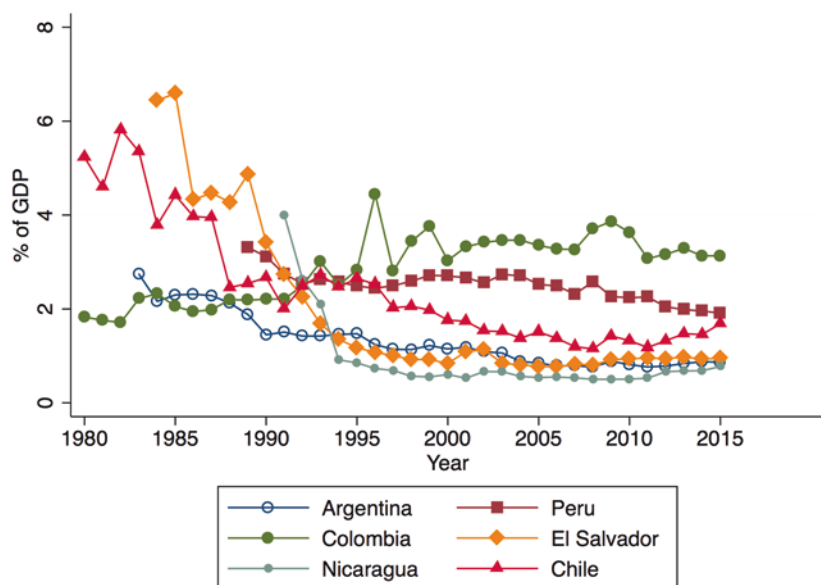
Fig. 7.2 Military expenditures over time

While there is little evidence of spending differences, did populism promote military confrontation between neighbors? The only serious conflict in the dataset was a one-month battle between Peru and Ecuador in 1995. A 48-mile border dispute in a remote section of Amazonian jungle, the Cenepa War produced nearly 100 causalities and wounded many more. At the time, Peru's leader was neopopulist Alberto Fujimori. However, the initial provocateur was Ecuador under the conservative, nonpopulist government of the 71-year old Sixto Durán-Ballén. Ignoring a treaty dating to a previous conflict in 1941, Ecuador constructed an outpost in Peruvian territory. Nevertheless, Fujimori intentionally fanned the flames of war with observers alleging the skirmishes and images of the President flying to the front line promoted a surge in popularity as he approached elections.[53] Although political tumult in Ecuador did not help, there is ample evidence Fujimori dragged out peace negotiations unnecessarily to score domestic political points.[54] Nevertheless, during the same period, the Peruvian president cut average spending on the military by roughly half from his immediate predecessors, averaging 2.67% of GDP.[55] While Fujimori did not reduce tensions with neighboring Ecuador, he did not initiate the conflict or belligerently start a bloodier conflagration.

While populists commonly deploy nationalist rhetoric, the recent evidence from Latin America suggests aggressive words have not escalated into violent conflict, even during a recent border dispute between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. While populist Daniel Ortega used nationalistic bombast to claim a remote island on the Rio San Juan, the countries are currently settling their rival claims using intergovernmental organizations like the International Court of Justice and the Organization of American States. Populism is not yet responsible for war in contemporary Latin America.

As stated previously, cohort studies analyze categorical differences inside and between case sets. With regards to development, there is clear evidence higher and lower income nations pursue distinct economic policies. Figures 7.3 and 7.4 show the mean applied tariff rates[56] and trade openness across high, medium, and low levels of development, comparing populist to non-populist administrations. The black whiskers outline confidence intervals. Generally, developed countries maintain lower levels of trade openness and more tariffs. At the same time, there are significant policy differences between populists and non-populist presidents across three levels of development.
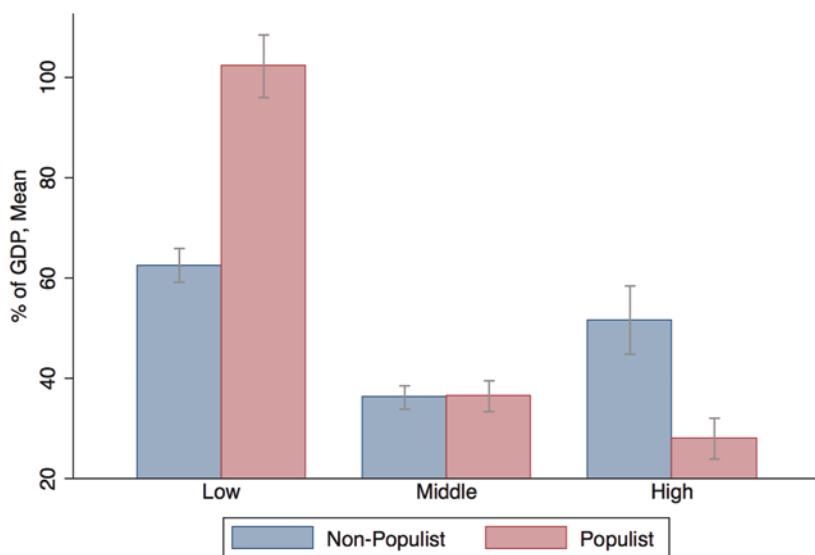
*Trade Openness= (Imports +Exports)/GDP. Whiskers denote Confidence Intervals

Fig. 7.3 Trade openness by development

In most cases, the populist president represents the extremes of the economic policy spectrum: open or protected. Somewhat surprisingly, Bolivarian populist Daniel Ortega consistently boasts the greatest trade openness (102%) and some of the lowest tariff rates (3.9) in the sample. In the same time-period, El Salvador averages a trade openness of 70.5% and tariff rates of 4.3%. On the other side, two neopopulists were the most protectionist presidents in my sample. In middle-income Peru, Fujimori maintained higher tariff rates (13.2–17.92) and lower levels of trade openness (26.4–35.5). In more developed Argentina, Carlos Menem pursued high average tariff rates (12.7–16.73) and lower levels of trade openness (13.7–23.3). While both are credited for dramatic neoliberal reforms, neither president outperformed their control group counterpart in Colombia or Chile. This finding stresses there are likely short- and long-term consequences to populism. In more developed countries, serial populism promotes greater protectionism on average than economies that successfully avoid populist executives.

When comparing the "statist" Bolivarians and "neoliberal" neopopulists, trade policy is not neatly divided by partisan ideology. Argentina is
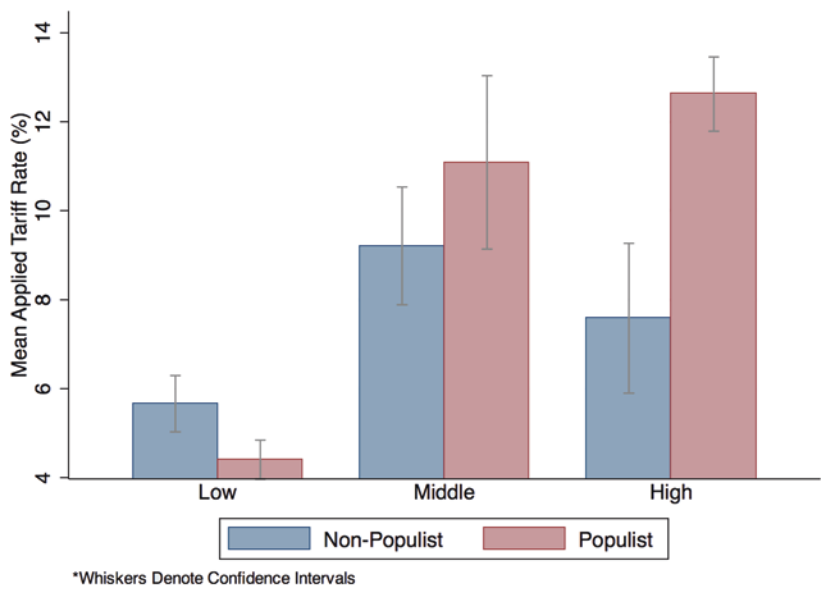
Fig. 7.4 Tariffs by development

a particularly illuminating example. During the decade-long presidency of Carlos Menem, trade openness averaged 18.8% and tariffs averaged 14.4%. For both Bolivarian populists, Nestor Kirchner (40.94, 12.52) and Cristina Fernández (33.27, 11.40), there were higher levels of international trade and fewer tariffs. Although the figure declines for Fernández, Kirchner and Menem negotiated the same number of international trade agreements (7)[57] despite Kirchner only serving one term in office. Importantly, when contrasted with the control case (Chile), since 1989, tariffs in Argentina have been 43% higher. Between 1989–2015, Argentina signed 16 international trade agreements, mostly facilitated by MERCOSUR. In the same period, Chile signed 27 mostly bilateral agreements.

Thus, a consistent finding is that populists generally are protectionists, particularly when looking at tariff rates. The applied tariff percentage for populists is 10.41 compared with 7.34 for nonpopulists and this finding is highly significant (pr > .001). To further test this finding, I ran two tests (ANOVA and TSCS) as a robustness test for temporal factors (Table 7.2). ANOVA specifically focuses on the differences

Table 7.2 Economic policy and populism tests

	ANOVA: TradeOpenness	ANOVA: Tariffs	TSCS: TradeOpenness	TSCS: Tariffs
Populist	6.15**	9.88***	65.27***	−4.76***
			(5.93)	(−3.48)
Level of development	148.06***	27.79***	−25.48***	.152
			(−8.67)	(0.27)
Populist#LevDevelopment	60.70***	–	−31.67***	–
			(−4.76)	
Populist#LevDevelopment	–	8.86***	–	3.36***
				(6.32)
R^2	.65	.43	.71	.51
N	192	124	192	121

Note Anova=Two-way Anova reports *F*-Statistic and Prob>*F*. *$p<.10$; **$p<.05$; ***$p<.01$ Shapiro-Wilke and Shapiro-Francia tests confirmed normal distribution.

TSCS=Test uses a random effects model estimated by generalised least squares. Model includes: fixed effects (nation and year), a lagged dependent variable, and robust standard errors. Z-score in parenthesis

between categories, while the TSCS confirms whether categories collectively matter over time. To interpret results, observe the interactions (Populist#LevDevelopment), not the individual variables (Brambor et al. 2005). The consistency across models re-enforces the robustness of the results.

First, the ANOVA results show the significant main effects of populism and level of development on both trade openness and tariffs. It also demonstrates the separate significance of populism and level of development. The simple main effects for populism and income level can be usefully re-visualized in Figs. 7.3 and 7.4. Although differences between the intermediate cohort, Peru and Colombia, are less significant, the effect of populism on trade policy in the least and most developed cohorts is dramatic. Among developed countries, Chile and Argentina, non-populist leaders are nearly two times more likely to demonstrate a greater openness to international trade (non-populist (np) mean (m)=51.6, standard deviation (sd)=20.9; populist (p)m=27.9, sd=9.8) and fewer tariffs (np m=7.5, sd=4.3); p m=12.6, sd=1.8). Among less developed nations, El Salvador and Nicaragua, the relationship inverts with populists demonstrating nearly two times the levels of trade openness (np m=62.5, sd=12.2; p m=102.2, sd=9.5) and fewer tariffs (np m=5.6, sd=1.7; p m=4.4, sd=.66). Additionally, deploying different codings for Uribe and Fernández, our more contentious instances of populism, does not change the substantive results.

Critics may contend ANOVA does not sufficiently control for temporal factors influencing trade policy. Thus, I ran additional tests, using panel data and a random effects model of generalized least squares. I include fixed effects (for unobserved, constant heteroscedasticity), a lagged dependent variable, and robust standard errors.[58,59] Fixed effects and a lagged dependent variable deflate the significance of the explanatory variables, carrying the risk of a Type 1 error. Nevertheless, it increases confidence in significant variables. Given the ample evidence that the type of development *and* the presence of populism produce varying trade policies, I include an interactive variable.[60] Once again, I find ample support for the previously stated findings. The presence of a populist president coupled with higher levels of development produces more protectionist economic policy: less trade openness and higher tariff levels.

Conclusion

Much of our scholarly literature examines the domestic causes and consequences of populism. Beyond expanding our lens to better understand how populism affects international relations, this chapter adds rigorous empirics to a debate that hitherto has been largely theoretical, qualitative, and limited to single-case studies. While the cohort research design and ANOVA do not produce universal generalizations, the diverse sample size and the controlled nature of the analysis provide powerful insights into the six cases considered in this chapter. In the end, an empirical analysis of Latin America yields a complex range of populist foreign policies.

Do populist presidents maintain a discernibly different foreign policy compared with non-populist presidents? The theoretical section outlined how populists utilize nationalism and protectionism to capture public support and stay in office. Throughout Latin American history, classical, neo-, and Bolivarian populists all demonstrated remarkably similar strategies of political mobilization and governance. In the empirical section, I demonstrate similarities and differences between populists, but more importantly I illustrate how populists differ dramatically from their non-populist counterparts, focusing on two critical components of foreign policy and state strength: the military and the economy. Although data and space constraints currently impede testing how populists allocate resources to their foreign ministries and their behavior within international organizations, this could prove an interesting future line of inquiry.

With regards to military policy, the evidence is largely inconclusive. Although there is no evidence populists channel more resources to their militaries than non-populists, their aggressive nationalism sometimes initiates or prolongs minor border disputes, as witnessed with the Cenepa War and Río San Juan border disputes. Fortunately, large-scale conflict has been averted. The differences between populists and non-populists become more apparent looking at economic policy. On liberal or protectionist extremes, populists gladly occupy the most radical ends of the economic policymaking spectrum. Consequently, there is sizable heterogeneity among populists, but much of it is linked to the structural position of the country in the international economy. Ceteris paribus, populists prefer protectionism, but this tendency grows when coupled with higher overall development. A less developed country like

Nicaragua encourages populists like Ortega to head the opposite direction: less protection and more trade. These findings offer two intriguing avenues for future research.

First, there appears to be a causal mechanism linking populism and protectionism. Populists frequently win elections after economic (and political) crises, and economic change is a critical component of their campaign for office. Globalization has undermined the previous status quo, increasing citizens' sense of economic insecurity. These fears increase voters' ire toward the elites responsible for these changes, but also make them more receptive to promises made by outsider, populist candidates. As populists meticulously construct broad, multiclass coalitions to defeat traditional politicians, tariffs and other protectionist measures may embody a relatively low-cost signal to garner voter support. On one hand, consumers are unlikely to notice price increases or the reduced product availability caused by tariffs. They would be less inclined to mobilize for the public good (cheaper products, more selection). Simultaneously, businesses and unions directly benefitting from tariffs enjoy selective incentives to mobilize in their favor, trading political support for economic protection. These protected sectors may represent politically important constituencies that are ultimately minor contributors to the overall economy, but their political heft makes them ideal target for populist protection. In this fashion, protectionism reveals more of a political calculation than a cogent economic strategy. Future research should analyze how tariffs and trade openness respond to specific blocs of a populist politician's base.

Second, the link between populism and protectionism is mediated by levels of development. In marked contrast with the expectations of early scholarship, populism appears at any stage of development. Globalization does not affect every country equally and looks dramatically different depending on a nation's overall economic position. To low-skilled labor in developing countries, increased trade may represent an opportunity to break the shackles of persistent rural poverty and underdevelopment. At the same time, low-skilled labor in developed countries may be wary of the increased competition and worry about job security. In general, my findings highlight the continued importance of structural economic circumstances. Frequently scholars and analysts, broadly paint Latin American countries as pursuing similar economic policies. However, there are differing levels of receptivity to global trade that goes beyond a country's governing political ideology. The nation's position in

the global economy significantly conditions the economic policies they develop. It is a useful reminder that disaggregating our data into more coherent subgroups, like the cohort study model employed in this chapter, may permit more refined, accurate answers to the questions motivating our studies.

In the end, populists offer weary citizens dramatic change. In terms of foreign policy, the initial evidence from Latin America suggests change most likely occurs within the economic domain. The lingering question is whether the radical economic cures prescribed by populists fix the underlying economic problems, or whether dramatic economic change perpetuates a never-ending cavalcade of charismatic personalities promising a new cure.

NOTES

1. A partial list includes: DiTella (1965, 1997), Ionescu and Gellner (1969), Germani (1978), Canovan (1981), Drake (1982), Roberts (1995, 2003, 2006), Knight (1998), Taggart (2000), Weyland (2001, 2003), Mudde (2004), Coniff (2012), de la Torre and Arnson (2013), Kaltwasser et al. (2017).
2. Mughan et al. (2003), Rodrik (2017), Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017), Chryssogelos (2017).
3. For extensive summary, see Taggart (2000) or Weyland (2001).
4. Roberts (1995, 2003, 2006), Knight (1998), Taggart (2000), Weyland (2001, 2003).
5. Weyland (2001, 11).
6. Ideational and strategic camps have emerged since 2000, yet given a similar prioritization of the political sphere, I find the perspectives more complimentary than antagonistic.
7. Taggart (2000), Weyland (2001), Mudde (2004).
8. Sachs (1989), Dornbusch and Edwards (1989), Vilas (1992), Paramio (2006), Dorraj and Dodson (2009), Pastrana and Vera (2011), Rodríguez (2012), Milam and Nelson (2013), Schamis (2013), Brands (2014).
9. For similar efforts, see Mughan et al. (2003), Doyle (2011).
10. Canovan (2004).
11. Chryssogelos (2017), DeCleen (2017).
12. See Malamud (2003), Chryssogelos (2017). A more convoluted conceptualization would be Pastrana and Vera's (2011) "diplomatic populism", referencing Colombian President Álvaro Uribe's attempts to "win external favor and public support to legitimate his de-institutionalizing

and anti-constitutional practices to the international community while re-enforcing his good domestic image and legitimacy (601)."

13. Dorraj and Dodson (2009, 2).
14. DeCleen (2017, 19–23) raises the intriguing prospect of transnational populism. Although more conceptual clarification is needed, this phenomenon is specifically appropriate for Hugo Chávez.
15. Milam and Nelson (2013).
16. Brands (2014, 4).
17. DeCleen (2017, 1).
18. Panizza (2005).
19. DeCleen (2017).
20. Ibid.
21. Ianni et al. (1973), Germani (1978), Sachs (1989), Dornbusch and Edwards (1989), Vilas (1992), Paramio (2006), Dorraj and Dodson (2009), Pastrana and Vera (2011), Rodríguez (2012), Milam and Nelson (2013), Schamis (2013), Brands (2014).
22. See also Mayda and Rodrik (2005).
23. Mughan et al. (2003).
24. Mayda and Rodrik (2005).
25. Ibid.
26. Paramio (2006), Dorraj and Dodson (2009).
27. Mainwaring and Scully (1995), Coniff (2012), Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017).
28. Mughan et al. (2003), Rodrik (2017), Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017), Chryssogelos (2017).
29. Rodrik (2017).
30. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013).
31. Fundamental analyses include: Di Tella (1965), Cardoso and Faletto (1969), Malloy (1970), Ianni et al. (1973), Germani (1978), Drake (1982), Coniff (1982), Vilas (1992), Collier and Collier (1992).
32. Collier and Collier (1992).
33. Key studies include: Roberts (1995), Knight (1998), Weyland (2001, 2003), Taggart (2000), Burgess (2003), Dugas (2003), Panizza (2005), Coniff (2012), de la Torre and Arnson (2013).
34. Uribe's contentious example is discussed below.
35. Weyland (2003), Burrier (2016).
36. Most Bolivia specialists (See Crabtree in de la Torre and Arnson 2013) argue Bolivia's Evo Morales and his social movement-based political party, Movimiento Al Socialismo, maintain horizontal checks that reduce populist personalization. As Morales removes constitutional checks on his authority (most recently term limits), undermines linkages facilitating

social movement participation, and reduces pluralism within MAS, the argument is more difficult to sustain.

37. Roberts (2003), Levitsky and Roberts (2011), Rodríguez (2012), Coniff (2012), de la Torre and Arnson (2013), Brands (2014).
38. For a concise explanation of cohort study parameters, strengths, and weaknesses, see Hammond et al. (2015).
39. Mainwaring and Scully (1995).
40. Weyland (2001).
41. While experts debate the quality of elections in El Salvador and Nicaragua during the 1980s, I follow the scholarly consensus (see Mainwaring and Scully 1995).
42. Acock (2008).
43. Doyle (2011), Levitsky and Roberts (2011), and de la Torre and Arnson (2013) categorize provide thorough contemporary codings of populist presidencies.
44. Doyle (2011).
45. Roberts (1995, 2003), Weyland (2001, 2003).
46. Bejarano 2013.
47. Doyle (2011), Pastrana and Vera (2011), de la Torre and Arnson (2013), Weyland (2017). For an exception, albeit with a problematic operationalization of populism, see Dugas (2003).
48. See Richardson (2009), Ostiguy (2009), Doyle (2011), Coniff (2012). Using a restricted historicist understanding of populism, Schamis (2013) argues only Juan Perón qualifies as an authentic populist. Nevertheless, Schamis agrees the Kirchners demonstrate hallmark populist character traits: personalist electoral vehicles, non-programmatic policy, and top-down leadership that undermines horizontal accountability.
49. A response to the hyperinflation of the 1980s and early 1990s, Argentina adopted a fixed-exchange rate and pegged the peso to the US dollar, producing an overvalued peso. Increasing debt, shrinking foreign investment, and capital flight ended with a massive contraction in the Argentine economy, dramatically increasing unemployment while forcing the government to adopt austerity measures and cut social services. Most Argentines saw the value of their pensions crash. Between December 2001 and January 2002, Argentina experienced extreme political volatility with 5 different presidencies.
50. Doyle (2011).
51. Levitsky and Murillo (2009), Ostiguy (2009), Levitsky and Roberts (2011), Coniff (2012).
52. Through desirable to include tests for foreign relations spending, data was woefully incomplete for Colombia and Peru. Remaining national-level data did not standardize well across cases or predate 2000, leading to a significant loss in variation.

53. Brooke (1995).
54. Herz and Nogueira (2002).
55. Fernando Belaúnde (1980–1985, 4.96%), Alán García (1985–1990, 4.42%).
56. The weighted mean applied tariff is the average of effectively applied rates at the six- and eight-digit product level and averaged for products in each commodity group (World Bank 2017).
57. Data available at the OAS's Foreign Trade Information System: www.sice.oas.org
58. Alternative estimation techniques including robust regressors ('rreg'), Prais-Winsten regression, and ML random-effects estimators ('mle') did not produce major substantive changes to the reported results or model robustness.
59. Beck and Katz (1995), Achen (2000).
60. Given multiple T-tests, graphs, the ANOVA results and space constraints, I do not formally present a Lincom test although it re-confirms the presented conclusions (Brambor et al. 2005).

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Making (Latin) America Great Again: Lessons from Populist Foreign Policies in the Americas

Daniel F. Wajner

Introduction

This chapter explores the formulation of foreign policy among populist regimes in Latin America. In this chapter, I use a comparative analysis to explore three waves of Latin-American populism: classic, neoliberal, and progressive.[1] Through the delineation of patterns of change and continuity, I hope to contribute toward the further development of the emergent research on the international dimensions of populism which, despite recent efforts, remains theoretically and empirically underdeveloped.[2]

A number of scholars of populism, especially Latin-Americanist scholars, have paid close attention to the local drivers, patterns, and impacts of populist leaders, movements, and regimes.[3] However, little systematic attention has been given to their external drivers, patterns, and outcomes, specifically, how populist leaders, movements, and regimes manage their relations with neighboring countries, international

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organizations, extra-regional powers, and transnational networks. The Latin-American experience can help to fill this gap, through serving as a multi-level, regional case study wherein we can analyze a range of populist eras in the same area and compare, with significant variance in time and space, how these regimes conducted their foreign policies on the hemispheric, interregional, regional/sub-regional, and global/transnational levels.

This research finds that the populist waves in Latin America exhibit several unique foreign policy characteristics. Regarding both systemic alignment and international economy policies, a "populist foreign policy" can have different "faces", varying across waves between more "pro-Western" and "anti-Western" positions, as well as between more liberalized and protectionist economic models. Likewise, earlier populist leaderships were inclined to prioritize pragmatic patterns. However, the third wave was distinct from previous ones due to the increase of key state decisions motivated by ideational elements. In addition, as part of a strategy of legitimization through the interplay of local, regional and international channels, Latin-American populist regimes have increasingly supported globalist and regionalist policies that empower several identity-based solidarities of *el pueblo* ("the people") which often overlap. Finally, in an apparent tendency to extrapolate the populist (domestic) determinants to the international realm, it is possible to identify gradual changes in the personalist and political character of the diplomatic relations, as well as a growing emphasis placed on public diplomacy attempts directed to international audiences, discursive attacks against transnational elites, and the cultivation of patron–client relations with international networks.

These Latin-American cases are not just historical, but are ongoing. Therefore, in addition to its historical contribution, the study elucidates significant political implications concerning current Latin-American politics and the politics of other regions. These lessons may play a crucial role in providing answers to many pressing questions relevant since 2016, when political analysts began to refer to the "comeback" of populism with growing intensity,[4] and IR scholars posited that contemporary politics was entering an era of *global populism*.[5]

The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first part, I begin by reviewing Latin-Americanist literature on populism and the existing attempts to theorize the foreign policy preferences of populist regimes. Following this, in my empirical section, I explore the characteristics

of the formulation of "populist foreign policies" during the periods known as "classic populism" (1930s–1950s), "neoliberal neopopulism" (1980s–1990s), and "progressive neopopulism" (2000s). I then conclude the chapter with a discussion of possible foreign policy patterns in Latin-American populist regimes and draw final conclusions.

The 'Latin-Americanist' School(s) on Populism and Neopopulism

Since the 1960s and 1970s, much of the scholarship on populism has been confined to a limited range of historians and political scientists occupied with specific area studies, such as comparative politics and political philosophy. Of particular prominence are concerned "Latin-Americanists", that is, academics whose field of expertise is empirically based on cases from the (Latin) American region. Indeed, as early as 1982, Paul Drake claimed that populism was a "concept mostly elaborated by Latin Americans themselves".[6] More than four decades later, a brief list of important theoreticians of populism would still include several renowned Latin-Americanists, such as Michael Conniff, Javier Corrales, Torcuato Di Tella, Steve Ellner, Gino Germani, Kirk Hawkins, Ernesto Laclau, Steven Levitsky, Philip Oxhorn, Francisco Panizza, Kenneth Roberts, Cristóbal Rovira-Kaltwasser, Carlos de la Torre, and Kurt Weyland. This is an exceptional case in social sciences, as it seldom occurs that the intellectual and empirical baggage improving the understanding of current events is imported from the "periphery" to the "center".

The Latin-Americanist school(s) of populism have assumed a prominent role in the populist theorization because this phenomenon appeared simultaneously in several Latin-American countries, contexts, and variations.[7] It has even been argued that it seems to exist in this region due to a symbiotic relationship of "seduction"[8] or "temptation".[9] The periods of more intense Latin-Americanist academic production on populism, like all around the world, reveal its motivating factor in the empirical driver—the aspiration to elucidate the development and conduct of regimes that were neither utterly authoritarian nor completely democratic ("illiberal democracies",[10] or "competitive authoritarianism").[11]

For Latin-Americanists, the populist approach was initially relevant for the study of the so-called *classic* models of the 1930s–1950s in Latin

America and previous *proto-populisms* since the beginning of the twenti-
eth century.[12] These studies focused on examining individual cases and
detecting characterizations and styles, with a goal of differentiating the
populist analytical framework from those applied to variants of social-
ism. Less "superficial" theorizing appeared with time, addressing how
populisms arise and function over a variety of epochs, locations, and
ideological tendencies.[13] Several Latin-Americanist theorists, first and
foremost among them Ernesto Laclau, increasingly examined the social
conditions that enhance the emergence of the "*populist rupture*", assum-
ing either historical/cultural, sociological, conjunctural, or discursive
perspectives.[14] This approach later gave rise to a more comprehensive
study of more recent *neopopulisms*, with a range of ideological variants.[15]

Hence, according to Drake, by the end of the millennium the popu-
list research program had reached its "theoretical maturity".[16] Since then,
the rich Latin-Americanist research on populism has joined the efforts of
scholars worldwide in the consolidation of an analytical core of the populist
research program, through a comprehensive process of comparing cases,
zones, and trends which have taken place over the last five decades.[17]

One significant contribution of the Latin-Americanist school(s) of
populism has been their theorizing that the populist concept refers much
more to the means than to the ends. Laclau's approach, which has been
widely accepted and applied, understands populism as "a way of doing
politics",[18] both regarding discursive strategies and practices. Over
time, this particular "mode of articulation" becomes an intrinsic path of
"political culture". In addition, these scholars have brought to light that
populism may emerge in diverse and unexpected contexts, combining
both "bottom-up" and "upside-down" drivers.[19] Indeed, this "eclectic,
ad hoc nature of populism" is often "a key tactical asset in the actors'
attempt to enlarge politically".[20]

Most Latin-Americanist perspectives have also influenced scholars to
detach populism from the illusion that it is a simple "midway between
the descriptive and the normative",[21] wherein populism is either merely
a descriptive framework or a necessarily normative (usually pejorative)
qualification of the discursive method employed by the populist leader
toward masses ("*plebes*").[22] In opposition to the *intelligentsia*'s "hostil-
ity" to the "popular",[23] some of these approaches have "tolerated" a cer-
tain degree of populism as "a necessary evil" to advance reforms.[24] Yet,

ethical discussions persist concerning the desirability of "legitimizing" or "justifying" populism as a means of political action.[25]

Latin-Americanist scholars have also been critical in the development of a list of characteristics that constitute the hard core of the populist research project. Building on multidimensional characterizations of populism, such as those offered by De la Torre,[26] Connif,[27] Laclau,[28] Roberts,[29] and Weyland,[30] the "central core" may be understood as being comprised of five interrelated attributes: a narrative constitution of "the People"; dichotomizing discourse based on radical anti-elitism; the cult of a personalist leader-people relationship; the erosion of the mechanisms of representative liberal democracy; and the appeal to patronization and clientelism as methods of mass political mobilization.

Such a theoretical crystallization has been crucial in avoiding the attribution of problematic notions of populist leaders as being primarily being "charismatic", "demagogic", or simply "popular", thus letting populism to become itself "an identifiable phenomenon".[31] More consensual characterizations also enable scholars to refer to populism not as a dichotomous category, but rather in a more measurable manner, as "an issue of grade".[32]

Latin-Americanists and other scholars of populism continue to engage in discussions to determine the direction in which the populist research project should now continue. The recent "global" wave of populism may serve to strengthen the current path, exploring how populism deals with more specific issue-areas, for instance, by filling the existing vacuum regarding how populist regimes design and conduct foreign policy. In endeavoring to shed light on this puzzle, the varied past experiences in Latin America can serve as a "laboratory" to explore populist foreign policies.

Analyzing the Foreign Policies of Populist Regimes

The widespread understanding of the populist analytical framework as a category of (domestic) political analysis has led the majority of scholars to focus on elucidating patterns within the local sphere, while largely overlooking its foreign policy dimensions. Consequently, little attention has been paid to the external drivers, patterns, and outcomes of the

populist regimes and movements in their relations with regional, international, and supranational actors.

Even in the constitutive years of populist literature, there have been numerous calls to examine whether such populist patterns were also evident in foreign policy, particularly from Latin-Americanists. Drake, for instance, urged further research on the "reactions of foreign powers to populist movements".[33] Yet, few scholars specializing in populism responded to these calls to fill the existing theoretical and empirical vacuum, even if from a secondary, less systematic, or simply descriptive perspective.[34] This disregard is especially surprising, as Schori-Liang argues, considering the importance these movements have attributed to foreign policy issues.[35] The historical path that populism has taken as a category of political analysis, which offers no clear ideology or coherent content regarding the domestic scene, can probably explain the (scarce) significance which scholars of populism from comparative politics and area studies ascribed to the forms the regimes could take in the international scene.

This problem could be also tied to the larger division of political science into international relations (IR) and comparative politics (CP), wherein the former focuses on international affairs while the latter compares policies across a range of units. Indeed, the IR community mostly disregarded the inclusion of the populist conceptualization in a systematic way, including within the sub-field of foreign policy analysis.[36] The last two years of intense IR discussion regarding the global rise of populism are elaborating upon initial theoretical developments, which should be reinforced.[37]

In the Latin-American case, despite the immense literature on populism, on the one hand, and the large number of studies concerning these governments' foreign policy on the other, a comparative perspective combining the two is notably lacking. These two research schools seem to advance in parallel directions, without meeting, missing a unique opportunity for theorizing. Latin America is the only arena to provide such a large number of cases, which occur simultaneously in various countries and contexts, in distinguishable waves, during long governmental terms, and characterized by a variety of political ideologies and styles. In this case in particular, the tendency to make divisions in modes of analysis between IR and CP might help explain why the studies of

"populist foreign policy" may have fallen into this gap, especially given that the Latin-Americanist scholarship is strongly dominated by CP. An exception can be found in the work of Dodson and Dorraj, which compares the foreign policies of populist regimes in Venezuela and Iran, although it is doubtful that both cases can be included within the same "populist" framework.[38]

Indeed, if the populist phenomenon revolves around the question of who comes to power and how they govern, the fact that many Latin-American populist movements rose to power allows scholars to explore more clearly their foreign policy strategies.[39] The first period of populism in the region occurred in the early twentieth century, more precisely between 1910 and 1930, with "reformist" leaders that are often identified as "*early*" or "*proto-populisms*".[40] There is greater consensus that since then, Latin America has experienced at least three distinct waves of populism and neopopulism: *classic populism* (1930–1950s), *neoliberal neopopulism* (1980–1990s), and *progressive populism* (2000s–present). The following section focuses on these three waves, striving to attain a better understanding of how these populist leaders managed their foreign policies.

Disentangling the foreign populist puzzle should focus on different categorizations that can help to analyze how foreign policy was impacted by the three waves of populist regimes in Latin America. In this case, geographic criteria are used for the delimitation of categories, which may enable an in-depth tracing of the preferential policies' content in terms of systemic positioning and international economy, the foreign policies strategies in terms of decision-making patterns, diplomatic styles, and diplomatic channels, as well as the participation roles adopted vis-à-vis regionalist and globalist integration schemes. The analysis is therefore divided into four levels in an attempt to synthesize and compare the preferred themes, strategies, and styles employed by the Latin-American populist regimes:

(a) *The continental level* (considering the US both a hemispheric and an international hegemon),
(b) *The interregional level* (mainly towards Europe),
(c) *The regional/subregional level* (within the Latin-American region),
(d) *The global/transnational level* (comprising inter-governmental forums, "Second" and "Third World" clubs, global civil society).

LATIN-AMERICAN POPULIST FOREIGN POLICIES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

(1) Classic Populist Foreign Policies (1930s–1950s)

Background Overview

Three cases of classic populism are considered "prototypical": Perónism, Gétulism (or Varguism), and Cárdenism.[41] These cases refer to the governments of Juan Perón in Argentina (1945–1955, 1973–1974), Getúlio Vargas in Brazil (1930–1945, 1951–1954), and Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico (1934–1940). Although more controversial, the literature points out additional cases of leading populist figures such as the Colombian Jorge Gaitán or the Peruvian Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, as well as other examples of "hybrid" regimes in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Panamá, Venezuela, and Uruguay.

In a vibrant socio-economic context following the Great Depression, and after mid-range socio-economic sectors, immigrants, and indigenous peoples gained access to universal suffrage, classic populist regimes rose to power in Latin America.[42] These political outsiders, usually military figures that engaged in broad multi-class alliances, responded to the demands of the new electorate to combine reform and order.[43] Their election was also linked to a cultural Latin-American impulse to prefer heroic, paternalistic, and patronizing figures of the *caudillo* type, which vividly combined mystical leaderships with strongly nationalist and folkloric rhetoric.[44]

Once in power, classic populists advanced industrial projects, the nationalization of the agrarian, banking, and energy sectors, redistributive social security legislation, constitutional reforms, and expansive policies in education and health. Within this domestic context, classic populists adopted a discourse that combined highlights of defensive/"autonomist" nationalism with developmentalist protectionism. The rhetoric that dichotomized between "the people" and the "foreign oligarchy" mainly aimed to strengthen the perception that national citizens were of the highest import (i.e. they are "first"), while claiming the prevalence of a national essence which should be rediscovered and reconquered ("make them great again").[45] However, they conducted a fundamentally pragmatic foreign policy, aiming to avoid real diplomatic confrontation *vis-à-vis* external powers with strong interests at stake.

By applying models of "non-revolutionary" transformation (i.e. non-communist systems), these regimes required foreign economic power to finance their planned industrialization.[46]

(a) The Continental Level
Although they existed along a clear spectrum to some extent, classic populists sought to reaffirm the national preference for foreign policy autonomy while maintaining cordial relations with the United States.

Despite Cárdenas' emphasis on a foreign policy with a "strong ideological expression", his technocratic advisors soon helped him understand the crucial role of foreign capital in Mexico's development.[47] Certainly, Cárdenas' initial expropriation of oil, railways, and frontier lands generated international pressures; yet by 1938, he backtracked and signed a settlement to compensate foreign companies. US–Mexican relations shifted from "boycott to conciliation" after such "moderation", including Mexico's collaboration with the Allies' world war efforts.[48]

Likewise, aiming to facilitate a gradual alignment with the United States, Vargas too exploited Brazil's support of the Allies after Pearl Harbor as a bargaining tool to obtain economic advantages for the development of "strategic" sectors such as steel, energy, mining, or automobiles.[49] By signing a bilateral military cooperation agreement in 1952, Vargas reinforced during his second government this close US–Brazil relationship.

Perón's stance is more complex, firstly, because of his rhetorical confrontation with the US ambassador Spriulle Braden (since the 1946 elections) that led to a prominent media campaign to vote for "Perón or Braden".[50] Moreover, toward the Cold War, Argentina initially declared its intention to adopt a "neutral" position (or, in Peron's words, a "Third Position"). However, by 1947–1948, Perón sought a "modus vivendi", seeking renewed US diplomatic representation to advance Argentina's economic interests without losing face for ending his "radical" period. Argentina thus joined the Organization of American States (OAS) and agreed to the Pan-American Defense Alliance (TIAR).[51]

(b) The Interregional Level
Classic populist regimes were strongly connected to Europe as a result of their historical attraction to European governmental models and their cultural identification with the West.[52]

Vargas and Perón were particularly attracted to the corporatist model, and their sympathy served to strengthen relations with Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal, and Mussolini's Italy. Vargas' stance was also expressed in his government's fruitful commercial and financial relations with pre-war Nazi Germany. All this was not supposed to be to the detriment of commercial relations with Great Britain or France, yet, the relations with these two historic "partners" certainly experienced some tensions, particularly following the nationalization of companies and the subsequent negotiations over compensation.[53]

In contrast to Perón and Vargas, Cárdenas assumed a critical and active position against fascist regimes from the beginning, and particularly during the Spanish Civil War. However, Cárdenas' pragmatist nature is most clearly illustrated by exporting oil to Germany and Italy during World War II and by establishing diplomatic relations with Franquism.[54] Moreover, even if Cárdenas introduced identity components of indigenism in favor of domestic alliances, he did not anchor these practices in an anti-colonialist rhetoric by attacking Spain, Great Britain, Portugal, or France.[55]

(c) The Regional/Sub-regional Level

In the Latin-American experiences, the nationalist diatribes did not hinder the development of regional integration projects based on an identity embedded in a common Latin American solidarity. Nevertheless, this regionalism was of a functional nature, as no major resources were allocated for this purpose.[56] Moreover, although the populist leaders showed greater personalism, there were no major efforts to address audiences in neighboring countries.

Different institutional frameworks expressed the desire for regional integration of the classic populists, in parallel to Perón's "America from the Arctic to the Antarctic", which corresponded to the framework of the US-led Organization of American States (OAS). However, when it seemed possible that exceptional relations with the United States would not flourish and the old association with Europe would "not return to normality", these regimes started formulating the preliminary sketches of Latin-American sub-regionalist schemes.[57]

Perón's attempt to create the ABC Alliance, which strove to complement Argentina's economy with those of Brazil and Chile, was the most ambitious example. The project was tackled by Brazilian conservative groups which advocated for Brazil's full alignment with the United

States in terms of foreign policy.[58] Cárdenas too took distance from regionalist projects and, in contrast with his indigenist initiatives in the local sphere, he did not substantively empower an Indo-Americanist legitimation strategy in the regional sphere.[59]

(d) The Global/Transnational Level

Classic populists conducted ambiguous relationships with other actors in the international system, at that time divided into "Second" and "Third" worlds. This ambiguity mainly originated in the inherent contradiction between the general preference of the populist regimes to dramatize differences with the communist/socialist camp, on one hand, and their political commitment to its political, syndicalist, and intellectual supportive bases, on the other.[60]

In Perón's Argentina, while populist discourse discredited socialist, and at times capitalist, systems by generally adopting a pragmatic nature, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were renewed in 1946 after almost three decades of interruption.[61] Relations with the rest of the world also slowly improved in the context of the Non-Alignment Movement, as well as through the diversification of bilateral partnerships, irrespective of ideology, in terms of trade and investment.[62]

Cárdenas' Mexico similarly maintained strong relations with the "Second" and "Third" worlds; Trotsky's reception in Mexico is a good example of Cárdenas' non-alignment.[63] In other words, despite their military obligations to the United States under the TIAR, the classic populist regimes in Latin America mostly "distanced" their positions from the Cold War.[64] Yet, the influential military classes were strongly instilled with anti-communism, particularly in Brazil under Getulio's regime.

(2) Neoliberal Neopopulist Foreign Policies (1980s–1990s)

Background Overview

Predictions that the era of "post-populist politics", which emerged in Latin America since the 1960s, could be permanent,[65] soon proved erroneous. A "revival" of populism since the 1980s led to a period which scholars refer to as *neoliberal neopopulism* (or "*neo-neo*"); this period followed two decades dominated by "bureaucratic-authoritarian" dictatorships, and occurred in tandem with attempts at "re-democratization"

and the culmination of the Cold War.[66] Despite the fact that literature mentions a wide variety of populist-style politicians who rose to power in Perú, Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Venezuela during this period,[67] there are three "prototypical" neo-neo cases: Alberto Fujimori in Perú (1990–2000), Carlos Ménem in Argentina (1989–1999) and Fernando Collor de Melo in Brazil (1990–1992).

These *neoliberal caudillos* hoped to escape the prolonged financial crisis that had beset Latin America throughout the 1980s.[68] Aiming to liberalize the economy, finance, and trade, they introduced austerity and market-oriented reforms reflective of the *Washington Consensus* framework. This form of "outward-oriented economic growth" operated in parallel with personalist political leaderships characterized by a direct relationship with the masses. Some have explained this unexplored combination as an inconsistent contradiction, while others highlight it as a natural affinity.[69] Mirroring classic populism, these leaders promoted an anti-establishment discourse against "political classes," "party machineries," and "bureaucracies". Nevertheless, in order to emphasize this kind of "*politics of antipolitics*" and their own perception as "outsiders," neo-neo regimes maintained a strong media profile and exploited new methods of political marketing.[70] Once in power, they "accepted" fiscal adjustments via the "old" patronage model, while they advanced social programs of "solidarity" and "compensation" on the micro level. Moreover, claiming to save the nation from institutional chaos, the neo-neo regimes did not hesitate to initiate controversial constitutional reforms, exercise political intimidation through intelligence agencies, and use executive decrees to subordinate legislatures, provinces, and partisan groups.[71]

This encounter between the classic national-popular political model and the rising neoliberal economic model also influenced the formulation of foreign policy. Decision-making assumed a pragmatic character, explained as a more "normal", "mature", or "realistic" view of the role of "peripheries" in the capitalist international system, in comparison to previous *dependentista* paradigms.[72] This view, along with the perception of total US pre-eminence in the new post-Cold War era, led neo-neo regimes to seek changes in their economic situation by drastically shifting foreign policy toward "the center"; that is, subordinating sovereign political interests to national commercial interests.[73] Foreign policy discourse, tactics, and resources were therefore channeled to "attract" this "center", including the modernization of the diplomatic service and the

geographical diversification of foreign trade, while the role of a "presidential diplomacy" was emphasized with a more exaggerated protagonist style.[74]

(a) The Continental Level

The *automatic alignment* translated into the desire to establish "special alliances" with the United States on the inter-American level as a first step toward "reinsertion" into the First World. These governments hoped that such an alliance would send a message of change and confidence to the international financial community.[75] Therefore, Collor, Ménem, and Fujimori played leading roles in the trade liberalization scheme implemented in the early 1990s under the Free Trade of Americas Agreement (FTAA).[76]

Indeed, Menemism presented the need for new methods to de-ideologize the confrontation with the United States as the reason for its own "metamorphosis" from the developmental discourse of "classic" Peronism to an orthodox neoliberal economic policy, a shift "in the pursuit of the Peronist goals".[77] Particularly symbolic was the famous statement of Guido Di Tella, the Argentinean Minister of Foreign Affairs, which announced Argentina's interest in maintaining "intimate relations" ("*relaciones carnales*") with the United States.[78]

Likewise, both Collor and Fujimori focused on achieving a political alignment with the United States, seeking US assistance to their own domestic challenges at that time, mainly internal security and the fate of the poverty funds. However, the "harmonious relations" fluctuated significantly in Perú as a consequence of the erosion of democracy following Fujimori's "self-coup" of 1992, his reluctance to eradicate cocaine plantations, and the growing human rights violations during the counterinsurgency operations.[79]

(b) The Interregional Level

By preferring to avoid political confrontation and emphasizing their cultural affinity to the Western civilization ("westernness"), the neo-neo regimes showed a stance *vis-à-vis* Europe that followed a "strategic turn" akin to the positions adopted toward the United States.[80]

This "rapprochement" with Europe, its major powers, and the "Paris Club", was also justified by referring to the post-colonial relationship during the previous century, when the region enjoyed "preferential" conditions for its international insertion.[81] Hence, the neo-neo regimes

coopted European investments in the areas of infrastructure, communications, energy, and mining, thus improving relations, particularly with Great Britain, Spain, France, Italy, and Germany. Ménem even re-established the Argentine-British diplomatic relations which had been interrupted since the Malvinas War of 1982.

The three countries initiated processes aimed toward the institutionalization of inter-regional relations with the European Union, while they also established the first Ibero-American Summits of Heads of State. Ménem even led the process that facilitated the formal negotiations for an EU-Mercosur Association Agreement between 1999 and 2005.[82] In addition to the first steps that the neo-neo made to join the OECD, Argentina also attempted to join NATO, after collaborating militarily during the 1990 Gulf War.[83]

(c) The Regional/Sub-regional Level

Latin American transnational solidarity was pursued, once again, at the regional level, this time contributing to an integration process of the "open regionalism" type that the neoliberal neopopulist regimes advanced. That is, it served as a "stepping stone" toward inclusion into the globalized international system.[84]

Indeed, in the case of Ménem's Argentina and Collor's Brazil, Mercosur emerged from the strengthening of bilateral relations during the mid-1980s; this alliance was formalized and reinforced during the 1991 Asunción Treaty, when Uruguay and Paraguay also joined the alliance.[85] For Menemism, Mercosur would also serve as a facilitator toward liberalization through the FTAA and WTO negotiations.[86] Despite these sub-regional bodies establishing customs unions and envisaging a future convergence of macroeconomic policies, the real involvement in the Latin-Americanist agenda was minimal; this discursive anchoring was mostly aimed to enhance the perceptions of regional stability.[87]

Likewise, Fujimori's Perú pursued a similar "stabilization" path in its outset, by applying conflict management tools with Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador during 1990–1992. Through the restructuring of the Andean Pact, Fujimori even attempted to lead sub-regionally. However, in the wake of Fujimori's self-coup in 1992, this regionalist process was delayed given the broad criticism within the OAS and particularly following Perú's armed clashes with Ecuador in 1995. Fujimori's regime returned to the Pact only in 1996, contributing to its renaming as the Andean

Community and joining the Andean Free Trade Zone, while signing border agreements with Ecuador in 1998 and Chile in 1999.[88]

Finally, the neo-neo also followed the US line at the OAS and the UN on motions condemning the human rights situation in Cuba, as well as ratified the Treaty of Tlatelolco on regional nuclear non-proliferation by the mid-1990s.

(d) The Global/Transnational Level
After the fall of the Soviet Union, the neoliberal neopopulists weakened relations with both the communist and non-alienated bloc countries. Meanwhile, these regimes expressed their intentions of deepening "selective alliances", particularly regarding bilateral commercialization, for instance with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and with Japan.

However, the decision to concentrate external action on a few areas dictated diplomatic practice (Russell 1994), as did the preference to avoid images of political relations with other "Third World" developing countries. Indeed, Ménem's government broke away from the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and reoriented Argentina's voting pattern in the UN.[89] In addition, Argentina canceled nuclear agreements with "very unreliable" partners, in Di Tella's words, referring to the sale of uranium to Iran.[90]

In fact, "unreliable" transnational actors deeply affected the neo-neo wave, following accusations of unethical behavior relating to foreign policy that derived from criminal investigations.[91] Menem's foreign relations fell into disgrace following scandals that linked his government to corruption and the trafficking of arms to Ecuador and Croatia. Fujimori was also involved in transnational scandals, in which he, in association with his chief of national intelligence, Vladimiro Montesinos, managed a repressive corrupt para-state network, which even sold arms to the FARC.[92] Collor too was impeached and convicted of fraud and illicit enrichment.

(3) Progressive Neopopulist Foreign Policies (the 2000s)

Background Overview
In "reaction" to the financial and institutional crises which occurred between 1998 and 2003 in Latin America, and with the fall of the

neoliberal regimes, *progressive neopopulist* leaderships gradually came to power. These regimes combined a return to state intervention in the market with similar neopopulist patterns.[93] This phenomenon was most "radically" expressed in *Chavismo* (or *Bolivarianism*), the political movement led by the Venezuelan Hugo Chávez.[94] The *progressive neopopulist* wave covers both the presidential term of Chávez (1999–2013) and his successor Nicolás Maduro (2013–present), as well as allied movements, mainly Bolivia's Evo Morales (2007–present), Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega (2007–present), Ecuador's Rafael Correa (2007–2017), and Argentina's Néstor and Cristina Kirchner (2003–2007 and 2007–2015). Other more disputed applications of the term include Brazil, Honduras, Mexico, Perú, and Uruguay.[95] Although this wave is still ongoing, since 2015, there has been a gradual shift in which hybrid leaderships are becoming increasingly evident.[96]

Although drawing on neo-neo regimes in terms of style and tactics, the progressive neopopulisms have displayed substantial programmatic similarities with classic populism.[97] As the latter, they accuse the externally oriented elites of selling out the country ["*vende-patrias*"], thus relying on nationalist invocations.[98] Meanwhile, similarly to the former, these "outsider" leaderships presented themselves as archetypes of the "common people", exploiting the weakness, lack of credibility, and fatigue among the traditional parties, best represented by the Argentinean notion of "*Que se vayan todos!*" ("Let them all go").[99]

Once in power, the progressive neopopulist regimes returned to an industrialized, expansionist, and semi-protectionist system, taking advantage of the favorable revenues from the energy and commodity cycles. Likewise, they patronized both popular and elites' mobilization through the promotion of redistribution programs, which used highly politicized criteria.[100] Meanwhile, most of these regimes have trampled representative democratic institutions, albeit to different degrees; the spectrum of semi-authoritarian practices includes confrontations with communication networks, extensive use of plebiscitary authority, reforms of the judicial system, the creation of para-police groups, and systematic control of currency exchanges and consumer price indexes.[101]

Concerning external relations, such regimes share with the classic populists the worldview that conceives in a non-deterministic way the "peripheral" alignment with "the center", a decision that can be rejected in an autonomous way.[102] Nevertheless, on behalf of a confrontational foreign policy, progressive neopopulists make wider use of

ideational characteristics. Indeed, with the concept of a leadership that is "once again a player in world events", the *Chavista* regimes have transformed their personalistic and charismatic populism into "a foreign affair".[103] Deviating from the pragmatism displayed in previous waves, their anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic stance has been more forceful than ever before, except in Néstor Kirchner's case. Moreover, unlike other regional powers like Brazil that were left "without followers" when they refused to pay the costs demanded for exercising leadership,[104] Chavismo invested enormous efforts and resources in cooperating with allied regimes, activating civil society organizations networks, engaging in dialogue with global audiences, and co-opting intellectual elites.[105]

(a) The Continental Level

Resonating with the position historically maintained by Cuba and the Latin American communist movements, progressive neopopulists have adopted a strong anti-imperialist/anti-US diatribe. The rejection of any external intervention forms the very essence of their foreign policy, as illustrated by Chávez's fervent rejection of military cooperation programs, foreign narcotic patrols, or emergencies' external assistance, Kirchner's (initial) unwillingness to repay the external debt, and Morales' opposition to the eradication of cocaine crops.[106]

These regimes have presented the United States and its neoliberal "agents"—first and foremost the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—as against the nation ("*antipatria*") (Ellner 2004, 28). Likewise, they assumed a common opposition to the US-led trade liberalization processes, either the FTAA (ALCA), or the bilateral FTAs ("*alquitas*") negotiated after the FTAA "burial" at the 2005 Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata. The United States also encountered vocal opposition of Latin American populists on the international scene, for instance, during the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

However, progressive neopopulists have maintained a certain degree of flexibility concerning their strategic interests. Examples of this pragmatism can be seen in the uninterrupted Venezuelan sale of oil to the United States (Chavez-Maduro), the ultimate Bolivian approval of plans to fight cocaine (Evo), the renewal of US military bases in Ecuador's territory (Correa), or the final cancellation of Argentina's external debt in 2006 (Kirchner).[107] However, while Chávez was restricted by these kind of "realistic" limitations, his combative strategy became more explicit both in eccentric speeches and aggressive practices following the 2002 coup d'état.[108]

Argentina saw shifts at the continental level during this period. While Néstor Kirchner's "Peronist" foreign policy combined a discourse of confrontation with broad economic pragmatism,[109] this changed in Argentina under the leadership of Cristina Kirchner, who demonstrated a larger affinity to Chavismo's radicalism.[110] Indeed, this process of gradual foreign policy radicalization applied to all instances,[111] while sometimes even led by other Chavista countries, as demonstrated by the withdrawal of Nicaragua and Bolivia from the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR) in 2012–2014, followed later by Venezuela and Ecuador.

(b) The Interregional Level

Although they were more ambiguous and fluctuating, relationships with Europe followed a similar outline of confrontation, accompanied by a certain economic pragmatism.

European governments and elites, mainly in France and Spain, initially provided wide support to these neopopulists, who were considered "like-minded" due to their progressive dimension. In Kircherismo's case, this support was particularly relevant for appeasing the Paris Club, especially given Argentina's inconsistent foreign policy of the early 2000s.[112]

Chávez too at first assumed a more moderate position toward Europe, notable in his maintenance of the Ibero-American Summits and even the negotiations with the EU through the Andean Community of Nations (CAN). However, the rejection of "Westernized" Europe prevailed over time.[113] The XVII Ibero-American Summit in November 2007 best illustrated this rejection, more specifically during the scandal in which the Spanish king Juan Carlos shouted at Chávez: "*¿por que no te callas?*" ("why don't you shut up?!").

In contrast, reflecting efforts to preserve foreign investments and good commercial relations, Kirchner, Correa, and even Morales were engaged in less vociferous discursive clashes with European countries. These relationships later helped them to survive the tensions with multinational companies caused by their domestic nationalizations. Several examples of these tensions exist, including between Morales' Bolivia and the Spanish company, Repsol, that owned YPF Bolivia. Another example exists in Kirchner's Argentina following the expropriation of 51% of Repsol YPF's shares and the "rescue" of Aerolíneas Argentinas, in addition to the renewed controversies over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/Malvinas.

(c) The Regional/Sub-regional Level

Progressive neopopulists not only viewed the creation of a new wave of regionalist frameworks through their aspirations to realize the eventual Bolivarian dream of "unifying" Latin America, but also as a way to influence other regional governments and weaken extra-regional inference in Latin-American affairs.

The main regional legitimation strategy of Chavismo consisted of empowering an all-encompassing collective identity under the notion of "*Nuestramérica*" ("Our America"), based on Cuban José Marti's famous 1891 essay. This macro-narrative embedded often overlapping transnational collective solidarities, such as Pan-Americanism, Latin-Americanism, Ibero-Americanism, Indigenismo, or Afro-Americanism.[114] Drawing on this strategy, Chávez initially created the "Bolivarian Alternative for America" (ALBA, later the "Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America"), while Morales, Correa, and Ortega gradually joined him. However, the difficulties encountered in its potential expansion ultimately led these regimes to support additional sub-regional projects,[115] such as the reform of MERCOSUR or the creation of the South-American Community of Nations proposed by Brazil (CSN-CASA, later UNASUR), until the ultimate establishment of the Community of Latin-American and Caribbean States (CELAC).

Progressive neopopulists also promoted grandiose Bolivarian projects in infrastructure and financing, such as *Petro-Caribe*, *Banco del Sur*, *Gasoducto del Sur*, and bilateral cooperation enterprises in literacy and health. Likewise, aiming to influence Latin-American public opinion, create a cult of personality and enhance political mobilization, these regimes also empowered a network of regional solidarity through the participation of grassroots movements and famous figures, as well as through the creation of a regional mass communication project called *Telesur*. However, in contrast to the other regimes, Kirchnerism usually prioritized convergence with Brazil, in addition to its discursive support for Bolivarian projects.[116]

(d) The Global/Transnational Level

By claiming preference for a multipolar world and collaborating in *soft-balancing* with the United States, progressive neopopulist regimes deepened their military, political, and cultural relations with rising global powers such as Russia and China.[117] The anti-hegemonic activism of

these regimes was also expressed in their active role and new voting pattern at international bodies, such as UN agencies, the OPEC or the G20/G77, as well as in the strengthening of *South-South* cooperation with other regional pivots within the so-called *Global South*, including South Africa, Iran, and Turkey.[118]

Another key aspect of progressive populists' transnational activities was their intense activism within "anti-system" frameworks, which enabled these regimes to legitimize themselves, particularly in front of allied political sectors that had attacked the credibility of their socialist or anti-liberalist positions for being empty, demagogic, or not truly revolutionary.[119] The strengthening of relations with the *radical left* can be understood in this way, within the exportation of an ideological innovation that Chávez named *Socialism of the 21st century*.[120] In addition, these regimes cooperated with grassroots advocacy networks linked to the anti-globalization struggle, while they simultaneously established symbiotic relations with several famous world intellectuals, social collectivities, and ethnic communities as part of these anti-system trends.[121] Through these transnational networks, progressive neopopulists managed to frame multiple identity-based solidarities and translate them into political alliances, thus linking local, regional, interregional, and global levels.

Conclusions

The present study examined how the populist regimes in Latin America managed their foreign policy, by presenting a close analysis of the three main waves of populism in the region—classic, neoliberal, and progressive. The adoption of a comparative perspective based on geographic criteria allows for several conclusions regarding the way foreign policy was managed by populists to be drawn.

Overall, the recent findings indicate that, in terms of ideological or programmatic content, it is difficult to define a coherent phenomenon of "populist foreign policy". In a way, Laclau's argument that the populist label of a regime anticipates nothing about its ideology is also corroborated in its foreign dimension.[122]

The foreign policies of the Latin American populist regimes have had different "faces", first of all, in terms of systemic alignment in international politics. Classic populists adopted an intermediate position of non-alignment, emphasizing nationalist and autonomist rhetoric, yet

ultimately accepting US leadership. Contrastingly, neoliberal neopopulists almost totally aligned with the United States and Europe, while progressive neopopulists almost totally rejected their hegemonic leadership.

Likewise, there is no single approach to international economic, financial, and trade policies that can be labeled as "populist foreign policy". We can distinguish the adoption of international trade models with a strong tendency to protectionism, centralization, and nationalization during the classic populism stage; models that tended toward open trade, liberalization, and privatization during the neoliberal neopopulist stage; and semi-protectionist, semi-centralizing, and semi-nationalist stances during the progressive neopopulist stage.

Nevertheless, the findings support the existence of a pattern among populist Latin-American regimes in the empowerment of transnational solidarities for legitimation purposes. Further, it is possible to distinguish a greater tendency among the recent populist regimes in Latin America to recreate new types of regionalist and globalist practices to legitimize themselves locally, regionally, and internationally.[123] This path particularly possessed "real" weight in Chavismo's regional leadership where, accompanied by a greater willingness to invest resources in cooperation and client–patron relations, crisscrossing solidarities were translated into multiple transnational schemes through the discursive articulation of an all-encompassing *Nuestramerican* macro-identity. Likewise, while classic populisms felt closer to "non-aligned" and "Third World" identities but invested limited resources and efforts, progressive neopopulisms translated their sense of belonging into denser "Global South" alliances and stronger support networks within the "radical Left", the "anti-globalization movement", and other intellectual, political, and cultural elites in the world.

The third populist wave also distanced itself from previous ones in terms of its decision-making patterns and diplomatic methods. If the two first populist waves had mostly pragmatic foreign-policy that prioritized the regime's political survival, the progressive neopopulist wave, and particularly the Chávez regime, made several state decisions motivated by ideational considerations, which even endangered the regime's short-term interests. There is also a gradual tendency among the last wave of populist regimes to emphasize personalist styles, diplomatic delegations of a political character, and public diplomacy toward international audiences. Indeed, Latin America's "historic preference for paternalistic guidance" and "patron-client linkages"[124] apparently can also apply to foreign policy.

In sum, the patterns affecting the last decades of Latin American populism may offer indications related to emerging occurrences in other areas. Indeed the Latin American experiences tend to precede the rest of the Western world. However, it is still too early to conclude that the tendencies drawn by this study will be permanently rooted within Latin America, let alone are applicable in foreseeing their occurrence in cases of populism in other regions. The research project on populist foreign policies in IR is currently relevant but its agenda is extremely broad, thus demanding further scholarship with varied theoretical approaches and methodologies.

NOTES

1. E.g., De la Torre (2007), Panizza (2005), Roberts (2015), Weyland (2009).
2. De la Torre (2015), Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017), Verbeek and Zazlove (2017).
3. E.g., Conniff (1999), Hawkins (2009), Laclau (2005), Mudde and Rovira-Kaltwasser (2012), Oxhorn (1998), Roberts (1995), Weyland (2001).
4. O'Neil (2016), Zakaria (2016).
5. See Nabers, MacDonald and Stengel's introduction, Moffitt (2016).
6. Drake (1982, 218).
7. Roberts (2003, 37), Roniger (2013).
8. De la Torre (2010).
9. Žižek (2006).
10. Zakaria (1997).
11. Levitsky and Way (2010).
12. E.g., Conniff (1982), Di Tella (1965), Germani (1978).
13. Laclau (1987, 25).
14. Mackinnon and Petrone (1998, 23–25).
15. E.g., Conniff (1999), Ellner (2004), Hawkins (2003), Laclau (2005), Oxhorn and Panizza (2005), Roberts (1995), Weyland (2001).
16. Drake (1982).
17. See De la Torre (2015), Ellner (2012), Hawkins (2016), Levitsky and Loxton (2013), Roberts (2015), Rovira-Kaltwasser et al. (2017), Weyland (2009).
18. Laclau (2005, 17).
19. Roberts (2003, 37; 2015, 155), Oxhorn (1998, 235–237).
20. Wirth (1982, x–xii).
21. Laclau (2005, 3).

22. Bonilla-Saus and Isern-Munne (2014).
23. Canovan (1981, 11).
24. Mackinnon and Petrone (1998, 15–16).
25. De la Torre (2007, 384), Panizza and Miorelli (2009).
26. De la Torre (2010).
27. Connif (1999).
28. Laclau (2006).
29. Roberts (1995).
30. Weyland (2001).
31. Barr (2009, 30), Mackinnon and Petrone (1998, 45–46).
32. Laclau (2006, 58), Stanley (2008, 108).
33. Drake (1982, 242–243).
34. See a recent exception in De la Torre (2015).
35. Schori-Liang (2016).
36. See a few exceptions of under-theorized use of the populist category in Hughes (1975), Mead (1999, 2011), Schori-Liang (2016).
37. See Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017), Moffitt (2016), SAIS (2017), Verbeek and Zazlove (2017).
38. Dodson and Dorraj (2008).
39. Conniff (1999, 2).
40. Conniff (1982, 5–6, 43–45), Mackinnon and Petrone (1998, 17–21).
41. Conniff (1999, 16), Roberts (1995, 88), Mackinnon and Petrone (1998, 22).
42. Conniff (1982, 13–22; 1999, 6–10), Roberts (2015, 144).
43. Panizza (2005, 18), Roberts (1995, 85).
44. Drake (1982, 221), Ellner (1982, 139), Vázquez (1983, 46–48), Stein (1982, 121–129).
45. Ellner (1982, 137), Conniff (1999, 5).
46. Oxhorn (1998, 226).
47. Knight (1998, 210–212), Semo (1998, 233).
48. Semo (1998, 151), Vázquez (1983, 71).
49. Llana (1975, 61–63), Neto and Malamud (2015, 14), Skidmore (1998, 102).
50. Vannucci (1986, 378–379), Trask (1984, 75).
51. Ellner (1982, 142–144), Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 248), Trask (1984, 69, 78).
52. Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 248), Trask (1984, 69).
53. Di Tella (1998, 209), Rein (1993).
54. Semo (1998, 150–152), Vázquez (1983, 71).
55. Knight (1998, 221).
56. Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 266), Neto and Malamud (2015, 12).
57. Di Tella (1983), Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 248), Vannucci (1986, 380–382).

58. Skidmore (1998, 122–127).
59. Knight (1998, 221).
60. Ellner (1982, 137–144), Drake (1982, 227–229).
61. Brennan (1998, 107–108), Ellner (1982, 142–144).
62. Di Tella (1983), Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 249).
63. Knight (1998, 7).
64. Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 248).
65. Drake (1982, 217).
66. Conniff (1999, 13), Mackinnon and Petrone (1998, 36), Weyland (1999, 172–179).
67. Conniff (1999, 3, 14), Levitsky and Loxton (2013, 113–114), Roberts (2003).
68. Maxwell and Mauceri (1997, 233).
69. E.g., Roberts (1995, 82), Weyland (1999, 182–189).
70. Ellner (2004, 17–18), Madrid (2008, 385–387), Roberts (1995, 113–116).
71. O'Neil (2016, 32–33).
72. See Bernal-Meza (2002, 74), John (2011, 123).
73. Giacalone (2012, 337), Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 267).
74. Bernal-Meza (2002, 77), Sabogal (2009).
75. Bernal-Meza (2002, 77–78), John (2011, 123).
76. Bernal-Meza (2002, 82–83).
77. Brennan (1998, xii), Conniff (1999, 13), Giacalone (2012, 339), Neto and Malamud (2015, 10–11).
78. Brennan (1998, 23).
79. Ellner (2004, 29), Maxwell and Mauceri (1997, 241), Roberts and Peceny (1997, 217–220), Weyland (2000, 485).
80. Russell (1994).
81. Bernal-Meza (2002, 74–77), Neto and Malamud (2015, 12), Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 267).
82. Wajner and Labadie (2009).
83. Bernal-Meza (2002, 77–78).
84. Edwards (2010, 71–90), Kacowicz (1999, 546–548), Mace and Thérien (1996), Neto and Malamud (2015, 12).
85. Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 248).
86. Bernal-Meza (2002, 87–88).
87. Ibid., 79.
88. John (2011, 123–124).
89. Escudé (1995).
90. Di Tella (1998, 32).
91. Ellner (2004).
92. Levitsky and Loxton (2013, 122).

93. Edwards (2010, 122–164).
94. De la Torre (2007), Ellner (2005), Hawkins (2016), Weyland (2009).
95. See, in this respect, the distinction between "radical" and "moderate" left in Castañeda (2006), Seligson (2007).
96. Wajner (2016).
97. Ellner (2004, 18), Hawkins (2003, 1145).
98. Edwards (2010, 165–190), Roberts (2003, 24).
99. De la Torre (2013, 30–31), Hellinger (2005, 9, 15), Roberts (2015, 153).
100. Vargas Llosa (2007, 60), Weyland (2009, 151–159).
101. Hellinger (2005, 15–18), Roberts (2003, 35–36).
102. See Giacalone (2012, 345), Tickner (2014, 176).
103. Hellinger (2006, 12), Vargas Llosa (2007, 57).
104. Malamud (2011).
105. Weyland (2009, 158–159).
106. O'Neil (2016, 34–35), Weyland (2009, 156–157).
107. Gardini and Lambert (2011, 2–3).
108. Hellinger (2006, 15).
109. Malamud (2011).
110. O'Neil (2016, 32), Vargas Llosa (2007, 60).
111. Ellner (2012, 101–104).
112. Neto and Malamud (2015, 12).
113. Hellinger (2006, 7).
114. Wajner and Roniger (2019).
115. Hellinger (2006, 7).
116. Russell and Tokatlián (2006, 261–263).
117. Dodson and Dorraj (2008, 71–73).
118. Ellner (2004, 19, 28), Hellinger (2006, 4–7), Madrid (2008, 478–493).
119. Ellner (2005, 160).
120. Reyes (2006, 84–104).
121. Ellner (2004, 24–26), Vargas Llosa (2007, 56–57), Wajner (2017).
122. Laclau (2006, 57).
123. See, in this respect, Wajner and Kacowicz (2018), Wajner and Roniger (2019).
124. Drake (1982, 221).

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Between Populism and Pluralism: Winston Peters and the International Relations of New Zealand First

David B. MacDonald

Introduction

Aotearoa[1] New Zealand (NZ) is a small but wealthy country, geographically located in the South Pacific, yet strongly interlinked economically, culturally, and militarily to other western settler states as well as to Western Europe. With a population of under 5 million people, NZ is known for punching above its weight in international relations, and for being a committed liberal internationalist player and promoter of a rules-based global order.[2] NZ may therefore seem an unlikely host for an electorally successful populist party, known for its disdain of political correctness and identity politics, its anti-elitism and its dog whistle politics against Asians, Muslims, and for the targeting of some aspects of biculturalism between settlers and Indigenous Maori. Yet New Zealand First (NZF) has played an important role in the electoral system since its formation in 1993.

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Half Maori himself, NZF's leader Winston Peters has been described recently as a "maverick populist," "arch populist," "irascible," New Zealand's version of Donald Trump, with NZF denounced as a "small anti-immigrant party."[3] Despite simplistic descriptions of the party, NZF has routinely played a role in government. In 2017, it joined a coalition government with the left of center Labour Party. Peters currently is deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and was acting prime minister when Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern took maternity leave. He has also occupied cabinet positions in a coalition with the right of center National Party in 1996 and in a support agreement with Labour in 2005.

In this chapter, I use the example of NZF to problematize the relationship between populism and democracy as it is often articulated in the recent literature on populism. Jan-Werner Müller in particular has argued that populism is by its very nature opposed to pluralism.[4]

My central argument in this chapter is that populism doesn't always have to operate as the antithesis of pluralism. Indeed, electorally successful populist parties can demonstrate their longevity by embodying elements of both populism and pluralism, depending on whether they are in government or not, and whether or not they are in the midst of an election campaign. Sartori's classic test of party relevance for small parties is their ability to either leverage or blackmail mainstream parties in order to gain influence. This implies a high degree of political dexterity.[5] While populist parties are often presented as a short-term phenomenon because they are unable to work with others in government,[6] my argument here is that if we see populism as a style (following Moffitt[7]) rather than a "thin" ideology (following Mudde[8]), a political party can achieve longevity and stability by selectively and strategically deploying and pulling back populism when required.

NZF would seem to belie Müller's argument about populism and pluralism, for its ability to consistently switch between populism and pluralism, deploying populism during election campaigns and while in opposition, while functioning as a mainstream pluralist party once they are in a support or coalition agreement with a government. This chapter draws on interviews with Peters and other NZF members of parliament (MP), MPs from other parties, as well as Maori elites, and almost two decades of primary and secondary research. Peter's longevity and uncanny ability to survive and work closely with both mainstream parties has made him what former United States Ambassador William

McCormick referred to as "the master chameleon" of NZ politics. In 2008, McCormick highlighted initial State Department fears about Peters as "an anti-immigration and protectionist populist; a quick-to-anger and bombastic performer; and an enthusiastic baiter of the media." The concern was that this appointment "would damage New Zealand's international relations and send mixed messages to capitals around the world." However, McCormick reflected: "Peters has proved his worth in the role," and "caused no ugly scenes, offence or uncertainty in foreign capitals." Indeed, Peters was lauded both for his constructive role in further NZ relations with the United States through personal diplomacy and for his deft handling of Pacific regional issues.[9]

Arguably, Peters and his party deploy a populist style when it suits them, and choose to avoid such discourse when it doesn't. This conforms well with Moffit's description of populism as "a political style that is performed, embodied and enacted across a variety of political and cultural contexts."[10] Another ingredient in the success and longevity of NZF is NZ's Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system, first introduced in the 1996 elections. Here, voters have two votes—for an MP representing their constituency and a party vote from a list of approved candidates. The NZF list has consistently performed well with voters, through Peters' careful navigation of the MMP environment. The NZF has been able to both act with a mainstream party to govern and has also been adept at weakening a government when it is in opposition. This has been part of the party's appeal; it can either bring about coherent policy changes of interest to its supporters, or bring to public attention policies that its supporters oppose. Unlike some other populist parties, the NZF is, following Sartori's vocabulary, both "governing oriented" and "ideologically acceptable to the other coalition partners," in contradistinction to "anti-system parties."[11]

I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of populism and pluralism, before moving to an overview of the rise of Winston Peters and NZF. During election campaigns and in opposition, NZF through Peters deploys a populist style, promoting a standard populist discourse of anti-elitism, criticism of globalization and neoliberalism, fear of immigrants, foreigners, and foreign investment, and positions critical of treaty and other legal rights for Indigenous peoples. However, the party generally embraces pluralism when in power, the parameters of which I will define in the next section. Its pluralism is evident in matters of foreign policy, to which I devote the second half of this chapter. Here, Peters has

successfully navigated the international relations of New Zealand, setting aside his populism to play the part of a mainstream western liberal internationalist political leader.

Populism and Pluralism

In defining populism, I draw from the work of Mudde, Moffitt, Canovan, and others, who have identified many standard characteristics of populism. First, a discourse of dichotomy is common, which, as Mudde explains, stresses division between "two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite'."[12] Populists (especially but not exclusively those on the right) often draw distinctions between the goodness of the people (including appeals to ethno-cultural purity) and the negative qualities of elites and/or others within society who are not seen to be part of the people. This could include bankers, politicians, media elites, academics, at the top, or perceived "foreigners," Indigenous peoples, and others. Populist leaders may denounce "political correctness" and make a show of violating social taboos.[13]

Tied to this (although more often to the right of the political spectrum) is nostalgia for a mythical golden age when things were better, when secure jobs were available, when the country was more culturally homogenous and national identity and patriotism were far less contested, and when the economy was controlled by domestic industries and not foreign corporations. Rising immigration and foreign investment may also be targets. Multiculturalism may be viewed with suspicion as the party engages in romanticism, harkening back to "a supposedly more certain, secure and moral past."[14] This does not necessarily apply to more left-wing varieties of populism, such as US Democratic presidential hopeful Bernie Sanders's nostalgic and anti-elitist messages, mixed with a celebration of diversity.[15]

Populism is often articulated through charismatic leaders, able to capture the imagination of the people and create a special bond with them, appeal to shared fears and values—rather than simply an exchange of promises.[16] However, Weyland, Mudde, and Kaltwasser outline two demerits of such leader-centric parties. First, they can be unpredictable because leaders are opportunistic and pragmatic, and not necessarily pinned to any coherent and consistent set of political priorities.[17] Second, they are marked by a general lack of longevity. Their radical nature can also lead to a lack of coherent organization and the ability to recruit mass numbers of followers. If they gain power, they are often

too disorganized and unfocused to maintain power for any length of time, and if they don't succeed in gaining power soon, party support can quickly evaporate.[18] Peters has managed to avoid these problems as I argue, principally by setting aside the populist style when in government.

Typically, most discussions of populism have privileged domestic factors, with globalization and neoliberal trends being frequent targets of some populist leaders. In their recent report on what they dub the "populist nationalist zeitgeist" in European foreign policy, Higgott and Proud have articulated three key points, namely: anti-globalization skepticism and a commensurate distrust of free trade; suspicion of multilateral institutions and an unwillingness to engage too deeply with them, and finally a seemingly irrational preference for building relationships with Russia over western countries.[19]

Verbeek and Zaslove have similarly observed anti-globalization rhetoric as characteristic of a populist style. Populists tend to focus on the losers in globalization with respect to incomes, access to housing, employment security, social welfare benefits, and so on.[20] Rodrik too suggests that populism be seen as a backlash against globalization, with globalization blamed for creating new forms of inequality between states and within states, widening existing cleavages between "capital and labor, skilled and unskilled workers, employers and employees, globally mobile professionals and local producers." This growing inequality is not by accident, since the model of globalization is "built on a fundamental and corrosive asymmetry," "driven overwhelmingly by a business-led agenda." This trickle-down theory of economic development has led to stark contrasts and major structural problems within many western states, including New Zealand.[21]

The inequalities caused by the changes in domestic structures due to globalization, may, however, be an insufficient explanation for the appeal of populism. This is so given that voters appear to be more concerned with cultural and social issues, which have been seminal to the success of the Brexit movement and the rise of Donald Trump. In addition to globalization, Galtson sees poorly managed "waves of immigration" playing a key role not only in creating new competition for employment opportunities, but also in potentially "threatening established cultural norms and public safety." Culturally, as some segments of society become more skilled and desirable as employees while we see a decline in manufacturing, we face sharper divisions between those benefited from economic and structural changes and those who do not.[22]

How does pluralism differ from populism? Bearing in mind that these are contested terms, we might follow Hawkins is describing pluralism as a style which is less prone to extreme contrasts, generally avoids creating dichotomies between pure people and elites, and stylistically can involve promoting a more technical and narrowly focused discourse, channeled towards policy questions. Pluralists also tend to accept differences of opinion without demonizing opponents, and are more willing to accept institutions of government and democratic elections as legitimate. In short, pluralists are more willing to play by the rules and justify the system within which they operate, while populists may have a far less conventional view of their political environment and the established order of things.[23]

Pluralism has been presented by some recent observers as the antithesis of populism. David Marquand for example, sees pluralism "rejoic[ing] in variety," enjoying "the clash and clang of argument," and viewing the good society as "a mosaic of vibrant smaller collectivities." By contrast, populists see a more black and white view, "a world of dilemmas, of tensions between conflicting goods, and of negotiation between the bearers of different values." Populists in this view feel that "legitimate power springs from the uncorrupted people, and only from the people. Checks and balances are therefore suspect."[24] More recent work by Müller articulates essentially the same perspective—that "populists are always antipluralist," given their claim that "they alone, represent the people." This implies in practice: "When running for office, populists portray their political competitors as part of the immoral, corrupt elite; when ruling, they refuse to recognize any opposition as legitimate." Overall then he argues that populism should be understood, at least on the right, as "as an exclusionary form of identity politics" that poses a danger to democracy because democracy and pluralism are closely bound up together.[25]

While Marquand and Müller draw out some useful distinctions in their respective work between these two political styles, their analysis applies poorly to NZF and its long history in the New Zealand context. In what follows I focus on how Peters and his party draw out populist arguments in domestic politics, before exploring in the second part how in terms of foreign policy and international relations, Peters has bypassed populist rhetoric (thus styling NZF as a more pluralist option), where he has more or less unified his goals as party leader with that of the government and the country.

Winston Peters and the Rise of New Zealand First

Aotearoa New Zealand was one of the last regions of the world to be subject to European colonization. The Indigenous Maori trace their origins back to the Pacific—their first settlements date back to 850 AD. By 1200 AD there were over twenty iwi or tribes in the North Island and some three or four in the South Island, each possessing its own territory, government, and self-sustaining economy. British exploration began during the eighteenth century with James Cook's mapping of the coastline and establishment of trading relations with Maori. Some British settlement followed thereafter.[26]

The 1840 *Treaty of Waitangi* is considered New Zealand's founding document, and the basis of the myth of equality between Maori and Pakeha (white New Zealanders). In return for loyalty to the British Crown, Maori were to have sovereignty over their lands and resources recognized. The Treaty was signed between British Governor and over 500 North Island Maori chiefs, formally making the North Island a British colony, while paving the way for direct annexation of the South Island. While the state was ostensibly founded on myths of bicultural partnership, NZ was administered as a British colony and later as a dominion. The Maori population relative to Pakeha (or white New Zealanders) was reduced to a small proportion of its former size and power, while the colonizers engaged in massive land theft and other forms of colonial control. From the 1970s and 80s, this began to change as NZ became increasingly bicultural as a result of Maori activism and a general global spread of human rights and civil rights norms. In the 1980s, Te Reo Maori was made an official language, and settlements to Maori tribes (or iwi) for their loss of land and wealth for breaches of the Treaty led to the rise of Maori iwi playing an important role in policy formation and NZ politics. NZ thus became increasingly bicultural in important symbolic ways.[27]

Within this larger context, Peters made his entry into national politics. Winston Raymond Peters was born in 1945, the middle child of 11 children, and raised in rural New Zealand by a Maori father and Scottish mother. He grew up in modest circumstances and was instilled—as he tells it—with the values of honesty and hard work.[28] After obtaining a law degree from the University of Auckland, and captaining the university's Maori rugby team, Peters went to work for a leading law firm and was recruited by the governing National Party in the late 1970s, winning a seat in 1979.[29]

As one of very few Maori MPs, Peters was groomed to take an important leadership role within the party and was seen as a potential prime minister in waiting. Unfortunately for Peters and for National, the government (which was grossly mismanaged under the lengthy premiership of Robert Muldoon) was voted out of power in 1984, replaced with a Labour administration under David Lange. Burdened by unsustainable debt, Labour moved NZ from a highly regulated and protectionist economy to one of the most neoliberal and open in the world. This strengthened the aggregate prospects for the economy but led to a massive decline in manufacturing, while property prices soared and the gap between rich and poor rose exponentially.[30] Labour remained in power for two successive terms promoting neoliberal reform, before giving way to National in 1990, which continued many of the same draconian policies. Peters increasingly fell afoul of the government during this time. He served as Minister of Maori Affairs from 1990 to 1991, but grew increasingly critical of the neoliberal turn, and was sacked from cabinet and then from the National caucus in 1992.

Peters' personal stature grew during this time, as he claimed to speak for the victims of economic reform. He gained support among the elderly, farmers, some Maori, and small business people imperiled by the changes in tax law, and the changing structure of the economy. The fact that many close to the government profited enormously from the privatization of formerly state owned assets added to Peters' appeal.[31] In 1992, Peters formed NZF with a small group of supporters; they contested the elections in 1993, gaining two seats.

NZF have polled between 4 and 13.3% of the popular vote since 1993 and have only been out of Parliament between 2008 and 2011.[32] Three times they have been involved in governing the country, through a coalition with the right of center National Party in 1996–1998, a confidence and supply agreement with the left of center Labour Party in 2005, and a coalition with Labour in 2017. This has been beneficial to Peters, who has secured numerous cabinet positions: Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer in 1996; Minister for Foreign Affairs and Racing in 2005 (outside cabinet); and in 2017: Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs, State Owned Enterprises, Racing, and Minister for disarmament and arms control. He has also served as acting Prime Minister when Jacinda Ardern went on maternity leave in mid-2018. Others within the party have also gained cabinet-level positions including control of Defense, Infrastructure, and Internal Affairs. Peters has been at the helm of NZF

for 25 years; in the same period Labour has cycled through eight leaders, and National has had seven.

NZF's Domestic Political Positions

From 1993, NZF secured two important electoral constituencies which it has maintained on and off for the past two and a half decades—poorer older Pakeha (or white NZers) and a proportion of younger Maori, two demographics which have been alienated in many of the neoliberal reforms.[33] The elderly have been a core constituency and the focus of many policy initiatives. This includes a strong stand against the privatization of state assets, and a range of socially conservative policies including opposing same sex marriage. The SuperGold Card is one of NZF's signal accomplishments, available for all people over 65, it allows them discounts on goods and services from a network of almost 9000 businesses, and reduced local government services, including free off-peak public transportation. To cater to this constituency, NZF focuses on what one might call old world values, and Peters has used the Bible to court many older voters, appealing to the "Cultural Bible"—stories, themes, and images which are from the Christian tradition but not rooted in any particular religious institution. A committed anglophile, Peters also mixes Biblical imagery in with old style pro-British patriotism and frequent mention of western literary cannons like Shakespeare.[34]

As is typical of many populist parties, NZF promotes an anti-elitist message. Peters' focus during the 2017 campaign was on promoting stability, with issues such as economic uncertainty, the decline of home ownership, growing student debt, law and order, unemployment, currency volatility, overreliance on exports, and the decline of manufacturing.

> [P]eople have simply had a gutsful … People are sick of worrying about bills, or rather their inability to meet them. They are sick of the feeling of just being swept along by life – we have middle-class families barely treading water, let alone getting ahead. They want to know why as working men and women they are so damn poor…[35]

Elitism is largely tied here to globalization and to the selling off to state assets to cronies and to foreign elites as well.

> We have a government that works only for the elite few – not for you! We have a government that always puts the short-term profits and greed of

its cronies ahead of the interests of New Zealanders as a whole. We have a government that serves the globalization agenda of its mates in big corporates and international business.[36]

This has been standard fare for the Party since 1993, as Peters makes the rounds of Probus, Rotary, and GreyPower meetings throughout the country, courting older voters concerned about the direction of the country.

IMMIGRATION AND GLOBALIZATION

Consistent with the rhetoric of populist parties in other regions of the world, NZF has been roundly critical of high immigration, and since 1996 they have consistently called for a reduction of annual immigration levels from upwards of 50–70,000 down to about 10,000.[37] Anti-Asian sentiments have also been a regular feature of NZF's appeal. Political commentator Bryce Edwards noted of the 2008 elections that "Peters blamed immigrants for everything from 'placing a significant strain on education and health services' to causing high home mortgage rates." Edwards credits this stance with the older rank and file party members who had social conservative backgrounds in the Social Credit Political League as well as the One NZF, which remains an active supporter of NZF and an organization to which NZF routinely sends coded appeals.[38]

Another focus of attack has been Islam, and Peters has historically, like many other populist figures, contrasted the supposedly peaceful and tolerant traditions of western democracy with the purportedly "anti-Semitic, anti-Christian, and anti-gay … intolerance" of fundamentalist Islam.[39] A flashpoint occurred in 2013, when NZF MP Richard Prosser published an article labeling Islam a "stone age religion," and claiming most terrorists are "angry young Muslim men who hate the West," decrying Moslems as being "a sorry pack of misogynist troglodytes from 'Wogistan'."[40] Peters issued a statement denouncing Prosser for having "wrongfully impugned millions of law-abiding, peaceful Muslims."[41] Despite this incident, which resulted in complaints to the NZ Human Rights Commission, Prosser remained highly placed on the party list and continued until late 2017 as an MP.

Peters articulated personal and hurtful attacks on Asian communities and immigrants in the 1990s, even invoking the specter of Vietnamese immigrants as jewel thieves in a well-known speech. He has toned down much of his overt dog whistle politics, especially after gaining the foreign minister position in 2005. His focus has moved more into cultural

integration and less on attacks against specific racial or ethno-cultural groups. Instead he has been promoting integrationist arguments, calling as he did in 2017 for immigrants to "fit in":

> New Zealand has gone from a nation of united people to an urban collection of communities, many clinging to where they were, rather than where they are now … When people come to New Zealand, NZ First says they should fit in and contribute to our laws, our values, our culture, language and traditions.[42]

The focus has also shifted from attacks on some groups to a targeting of elites for profiting from high levels of immigration, by bringing in large numbers of workers to drive down the price of labor. As well, the government's pro-business immigration policies were accused of driving up housing prices and putting education and health services under strain. The idea is that the government was not investing sufficient resources and immigrants are taking much needed services.[43]

Less contentious has been NZF's targeting of overseas investment. Countering asset sales to overseas purchasers has been central to the appeal of NZF since it was formed. In 1996, Peters campaigned on the fear that NZ was no longer a "country fit for the families of ordinary New Zealanders," and was instead becoming "a paradise for foreign take-over merchants looking for cheap gains at our expense."[44] By 2017, his campaign messages remained similar: the National government was accused of "the wholesale flogging off of our land and other sources of wealth to foreigners," while the Overseas Investment Office tasked with monitoring investment was nothing but "a toothless poodle."[45]

Indigenous Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi

Peters' views of Maori issues are complex and are in part related to some strands of debate within Maori communities about the nature of Indigenous sovereignty and what was given up and retained during the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, his views are well out of step with mainstream Maori views about biculturalism and the role of the Treaty in national life. This includes matters related to Indigenous self-determination and the role of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[46] Peters is of the view that Maori leaders who signed the Treaty agreed to live under British law in return for gaining the right to keep their lands and live as citizens within the

new state. The essence of Peters' claim is that New Zealand is a defacto bicultural society comprised primarily of Maori and European New Zealanders but a de jure unitary state under western law and governance. The Treaty bound the country together under one sovereign, and from 1840, Maori iwi (tribal nations) surrendered their self-determining capacity to the British crown, making them an integral part of the nation as citizens but not as a separate race possessing separate or distinct legal rights.[47] This particular view negates the reality that Maori leaders did not relinquish sovereignty, and therefore retained their right of self-determination. It also negates many of the policies and practices of biculturalism which have recognized iwi as legitimate political entities and have provided a range of settlements for breaches to the Treaty, including land, financial compensation, apologies, and other measures.[48]

He applies several arguments with respect to Maori. First, they are an integral part of the nation yet have been disproportionately affected by globalization, foreign investment, and immigration. They have been the primary victims of neoliberal reforms by Wellington and Auckland based elites and they should be helped if they are in economic need, not due to their "race." Racializing Maori, Peters has charged, has been a tool of opportunistic Maori elites, using a "grievance industry" to advance their own personal agendas at the expense of Maori people as a whole.[49] Peters thus paints a picture of Maori and Pakeha elites working together to enrich themselves at the expense of hard-working NZers of all races.

In an interview with me, Peters described his party as "a conservative party, but with a huge proviso, we call ourselves responsible conservatives." He put it:

> We understand the philosophy of the philosophy of conservatism; we're responsible in the context, that in conservatism, as with capitalism, it's no value of anyone without the following features to promote; life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for everybody, that's the difference.[50]

NZF has generally presented itself as siding with Maori writ large on economic issues, but standing against iwi-based elites, and taking aim at what Peters calls "apartheid" and identity politics more generally.[51] He draws strong distinctions between Maori as Indigenous people with rights to land and culture within a unified nation, and Maori elites who he feels are calling for unfair privileges, which only leads to corruption. This pan-Maori anti-iwi stance is problematic in that it largely negates

the history of Maori as self-determining nations, with their identity based on extended family or whanau, local community or hapu, and larger national units or iwi.[52] Peters makes the argument that such forms of identity should largely be a thing of the past. This is to essentially deny iwi-based Maori a key or even the key aspect of their identity as Indigenous peoples. NZF's views are often perceived by Maori leaders as advocating Maori assimilation into Pakeha-dominated society.

Peters and International Relations

That Peters was both populist and pluralist and could switch back and forth was noted by McCormick, who described his "ability to change styles between his foreign affairs and his domestic political duties." In foreign policy, Peters left aside his "harder edged instincts" from the domestic scene, and "successfully de-link[ed] … his two professional identities." While "as a politician he is frequently bombastic and gaudy," McCormick concluded: "as a diplomat he is more measured." However, in late 2008, as NZF slumped lower in the polls due to their cohabitation with Labour, McCormick predicted that Peters would "drastically reduce his foreign travel and ramp up the populism," to the extent that "as the election grows nearer this relationship will likely be tested as Peters seeks to differentiate his party from an unpopular Labour Party by becoming increasingly politically independent, perhaps even openly hostile, to current policy."[53] This turned out to be the case, as Peters took aim at Labour for assets sales to the Chinese, and made an impressive show of rejecting a free trade agreement with China that the Labour government had spent years negotiating.[54]

In 2017, when asked about the proposed coalition with NZF, former Labour Prime Minister Helen Clark opined: "He was my minister of foreign affairs for three years. I can say that on no occasion did NZ First let us down. In the business of government we had a very very functional and good working relationship."[55] Annette King, a former Labour cabinet minister during Peters' time argued in 2017: "There is a lot of nonsense spoken about how hard he is to work with. That is not true. He is a man of his word."[56]

As Foreign Minister, Peters was also legally constrained. The confidence and supply agreement specified that Peters would not be in cabinet, but would be bound by the government's decisions regarding foreign policy. He would be expected to toe the line, as Clark observed

in 2005: "it's very clear that our government has very well established foreign policy positions—Ministry of Foreign Affairs briefs, ministers go with briefs, they represent government policy, nothing can be clearer than that." Further, Peters was legally obliged to adhere to the *Cabinet Manual*, which specifies the duties of each minister and their responsibilities. Peters could criticize the government in areas that were not his responsibility, such as the environment or trade, but could not criticize Labour in foreign policy.[57]

He also had little interest in contesting NZ's dominant discourse of itself as a small state, open to trade with the outside world, and seeking to work by the international rules of the game to promote a liberal internationalist world order, cooperating with allies, while enhancing its regional role in the Pacific. Nor would Peters critique (as foreign minister) NZ's growing dependence on China in terms of trade. China was NZ's second largest trading partner in 2016 with $22 billion in two-way trade, much of it primary products such as dairy products, wood, and meat.[58]

Peters has largely acceded to forms of liberal internationalism as foreign minister. As he articulated in 2014, NZF's approach to international relations was "to be realistic," which implied "strengthening bonds with our trusted allies—Australia and the United States." While "keeping an even keel in our political and diplomatic relationship with Japan and China." Peters is cognizant that NZ now lives within a multipolar world, marked by the decline of American power and the rising influence of China. NZ, Peters recognizes, is "a small state … in a world of giants."[59]

He has described NZ's core interest as "national self preservation," "ensuring our security and stability in an uncertain world." The threats he identified were of a common range: "population growth, climate change, poverty, dislocation to the world economy occasioned by the Western financial crisis, corruption, terrorism." NZF's foreign policy approach was at that time outlined in several points. The first was enhancing partnerships with Australia and the United States including military cooperation. A second focus was on trade and investment, bearing in mind the growing power of China and India and the continued power of Indonesia and Japan.[60]

Peters as foreign minister has generally been favorable to China and has grown comfortable with the reality of the free-trade agreement Labour signed in 2008. In December 2017, as the newly minted foreign minister, in a talk to the Confucius Institute in Wellington, he went so far as to chide critics of China's human rights. He instead focused on the ability of the

Chinese economy to lift millions out of poverty and urged western commentators to focus on these achievements instead of "constantly harping on about the romance of 'freedom'."[61] Journalist Fran O'Sullivan noted that the talk was "straight from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade playbook. It sent China a message that it was 'business as usual' despite the change of Government." Indeed, Peters held his tongue and seemed to reverse course on what he has been saying during the campaign.[62]

Peters has also changed his stance on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which he dismissed in 2016 as "sham and a scam." By early 2018 he supported it, arguing that "substantial changes" had been made which made the TPP more attractive to NZ, specifically with reference to the ability of states to sue the governments of its trading partners. [63]

In recent interviews, Peters has been extremely careful to tone down his earlier China-bashing rhetoric. When questioned in March 2018 about whether China was a negative influence on the Pacific, Peters hedged, saying: "Well, not all outside influences are good, and sometimes from the same country can come good influences and bad influence." When responding to his earlier campaign comments that "China is quietly starting to dominate the lives of New Zealanders and clearly our economic direction," Peters backtracked, saying that it would be better if NZ controlled its own industries. He added in the third person: "No one has been more respectful of the place of modern China in the world than New Zealand First and Winston Peters. Make that very clear."[64]

Peters also forged strong relationships with the United States during his time as Clark's foreign minister, and played a constructive role in 2007 when he visited North Korea as part of a delegation to halt its nuclear weapons program. By 2017, Peters developed cordial relations with then US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, to the point where the United States was said to be involving NZ in a "secret project" in the Asia-Pacific. Peters expressed interest in again intervening in the North Korean situation, "as a small country, but as an informed one."[65] Whatever plans were hatched at this time did not later materialize into anything concrete.

Where he has been consistent throughout is with respect to the Pacific. Under Peters, the government focused attention on the Pacific (a reset was announced in early 2018). Peters articulated the view that "New Zealand is a Pacific country, linked by history, culture, politics, and demographics." He continued: "In many respects, the Pacific is where New Zealand matters more, wields more influence, and can have a more positive impact." His reset has focused on three points: first the

interconnectedness of NZ with the Pacific and the vastness of the territorial space; second the national security challenges; and third shared economic and other opportunities. Overall, he articulates a vision of mutual benefit for NZ and Pacific countries.[66]

On a broader international canvas, Peters has yet to show any real affinity with other populist parties or movements, and he does not explicitly tie NZF to the growth of populism in other contexts. The exception seems to be Nigel Farage, with whom he enjoyed watching cricket in the UK in April, 2018. Farage was the former head of the UK Independence Party and a key architect of Brexit. The focus of their conversation seems to have been the growing influence of the Commonwealth in the aftermath of the Brexit vote.[67] Peters has been pro-Brexit for some time, seeing it as a way of distancing Britain from the EU and also promoting the rise of a Commonwealth free trade area, which would heal a "rift dating back 43 years." In May 2016, Peters addressed the British House of Lords, and promoted Brexit as a "bold and courageous" move for the British electorate. Peters put himself in British shoes, empathizing with the British dismay at the "invasion of EU nationals from countries like Poland and Romania," while also deriding the EU's "ridiculous laws, drafted by high-paid minds" bureaucracy, and elites. He concluded: "The British people stand on the cusp of an exciting future."[68] He has also been very open minded about a free trade agreement with Russia, downplaying human rights abuse issues and Russia's involvement in a range of activities including the shooting down of a passenger plane.[69]

However, he has been, true to form, someone who has generally put NZ's interests first, especially when dealing with economic matters. McCormick's assessment of Peters is apt in the sense that he turns populist rhetoric on and off like a tap, focusing more on pluralism as foreign minister, while ramping up populist rhetoric when in opposition or during election time.

CONCLUSIONS

In domestic politics, Peters has operated as what some would see as a textbook populist, promoting anti-elitism, myths of a pure people (albeit a people who are both Maori and Pakeha), criticism of political correctness and any form of "racial favoritism" or affirmative action, while calling consistently for reduced immigration (especially of Asians and

Muslims), denouncing excessive foreign investment, open borders to trade, and many aspects of globalization. He has been widely criticized for his racist views of racialized immigrant communities in New Zealand.

Where Peters and NZF appear quite different comparatively speaking from other populist parties lies in the party's longevity, and in the party's policy consistency over time. A third difference lies in their ability to play by the rules of the political game, and thereby to maintain a high level of functionality and pragmatism by working in support or coalition roles with mainstream political parties. The NZF has also been able to accomplish its cabinet roles effectively, to the extent that they remain a viable option for both parties to consider. Peters is then both a populist and a pluralist—he does not have a single axis to his way of proceeding in politics which helps explain his longevity and his capacity for reinvention.

So what can we take away from this example to better understand the global dimensions of populism? First, the NZF case demonstrates that many purportedly populist leaders need to embrace a mixed style if they are to remain relevant within an electoral system. Here we might allude again to Sartori's classic analysis of party relevance, which under MMP has largely depended on a party's ability to either be in coalition or to blackmail a government.[70] Peters has been able to make NZF electorally relevant since 1993, using aspects of a populist style, but also tempering this with pluralism when required.

This case offers a refutation of any conception that successful populism is ipso facto the antipode to pluralism. In its combination of two quite different constituencies—some poorer Maori and older Pakeha—we might see NZF reflecting a different view of how populism operates. For example, Laura Grattan has recently made the case for seeing populism at the grassroots as fundamentally pluralistic, uniting disparate groups in society against elites who are often more narrow in terms of their viewpoints and their identity. Populism can thus be diverse, mass-based and celebrating of diversity.[71] It would be a stretch to describe NZF in precisely this way, given the fact that it does stand opposed to widespread immigration and any ingrained form of multiculturalism, but this very different view of the ways pluralism and populism interact can inform our understanding of how NZF has successfully operated for so long in what remains a vibrant, tolerant, and innovative democratic electoral system.

NOTES

1. Aotearoa is a Maori word which means "land of the long white cloud."
2. Steff and Dodd-Parr (2018).
3. Daly (2017a).
4. Müller (2016).
5. Sartori (2005, 108–109).
6. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 60), Weyland (2017, 49–72).
7. Moffit (2016, 4).
8. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017).
9. McCormick (2008).
10. Moffit (2016, 4).
11. Sartori (2005, 108–109).
12. Mudde (2017, 27–47).
13. Grevin (2016).
14. Gustafson (2006, 51–54).
15. Dulio and Klemanski (2018, 43–75).
16. Hawkins (2010, 41).
17. Weyland (2017).
18. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017).
19. Higgot and Proud (2017, 8–9).
20. Verbeek and Zaslove (2017, 384–405).
21. Rodrik (2018, 12–33).
22. Galston (2018, 5–19).
23. Hawkins (2010, 3–34).
24. Marquand (1999).
25. Müller (2016).
26. Salmond (1997).
27. MacDonald (2016, 643–664).
28. Wishart (2014).
29. Gustafson (2006, 63).
30. Smith (2005, 181).
31. Gustafson (2006, 63).
32. Electoral Commission/Te Kaitiaki Take Kowhiri (2016, 2017).
33. Liu and Mills (2006, 83–99).

34. Myles (2016, 135–153).
35. Peters (2017).
36. Ibid.
37. Wong and Ritchie (2017).
38. Edwards (2008).
39. Myles (2016, 144–145).
40. Calls for Prosser to Resign Over Muslim Comments (2013).
41. Vance and Chapman (2013).
42. Rutherford and Smallman (2014).
43. Peters (2017).
44. Gustafson (2006, 63).
45. Peters (2017).
46. For a more mainstream view, see Jones (2016).
47. Wishart (2014).
48. MacDonald (2016, 643–664).
49. Maori Missing Out, Says Peters (2002).
50. Peters (2013).
51. Rutherford and Smallman (2014).
52. Maaka and Fleras (2006), Mutu and Jackson (2016).
53. McCormick (2008).
54. NZ First Ads Explain Its Position on China FTA (2008).
55. Daly (2017b).
56. Hunt (2017).
57. Clark (2005).
58. Steff and Dodd-Parr (2018).
59. Peters (2014).
60. Ibid.
61. Cooke (2017).
62. O'Sullivan (2017).
63. Patterson (2018).
64. Peters (2018a).
65. Cheng (2017).
66. Peters (2018b).
67. Foreign Minister Winston Peters Enjoys a Spot of Cricket with Brexit Architect Nigel Farage (2018).
68. Moir (2016).
69. Peters (2018c).
70. Sartori (2005, 108–109).
71. Grattan (2017).

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Conceptualizing the Links Between Populism, Nationalism and Foreign Policy: How Modi Constructed a Nationalist, Anti-establishment Electoral Coalition in India

Thorsten Wojczewski

Introduction

In 2014, the Hindu nationalist *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP)—roughly Indian Peoples Party—under the leadership of Narendra Modi was swept to power in a landslide election victory. The party's election triumph marked a turning point in India's post-independence history. For the first time in more than 30 years, a single party managed to secure a clear-cut majority in parliament—and, for the first time, it was not the Congress Party which has dominated Indian politics after independence.[1] The Hindu nationalists contest the secular-pluralist idea of India associated with state founder Jawaharlal Nehru and assert that India's identity and nationhood are grounded in Hindu culture and religion

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(*Hindutva*). The BJP, as the political wing of the Hindu nationalist movement, claims that it represents the "true" people, the Hindus, that must be "protected from a minority-appeasing 'pseudo-secular' establishment, […] a group made of English-speaking, Westernized – uprooted – elites who defend secularism at the expense of the authentic, Hindu identity of the nation."[2] By pitting the "pure" people against corrupt elites, the Hindu nationalist BJP follows a distinct populist logic.[3] With his personalized style of leadership, direct appeals to the public through the sophisticated use of technology (e.g. Twitter and Facebook) and the promise to 'clean' India of a corrupt establishment through an "India first" policy,[4] Narendra Modi embodies the populist face of Hindu nationalism par excellence.

This chapter looks at the relationship between populism and foreign policy by analyzing the extent to which Modi's BJP has used foreign policy to construct and sustain the domestic electoral coalition that brought the BJP to power. Commonly, populism has been conceptualized as a "thin-centred ideology" that is usually combined with "thicker" ideologies such as nationalism or socialism which give it its particular ideological outlook or content.[5] While it is relatively easy to establish links between populism and other ideologies, this does not tell us what exactly these links imply: for instance, is populism necessarily linked to nationalism, can populism inform other ideologies or is its content primarily a result of the latter and, most importantly, how can we study the nexus between populism and (Hindu) nationalism without conflating both concepts? Moreover, it remains unclear in the "thin ideology" approach if the notion of ideology has any further *ontological* significance or purpose in the context of populism, or whether it is merely a normative belief-system about the nature of man and society.[6] In short, what is ideological about populism?

Drawing primarily on Laclau's discursive understanding of populism[7] and poststructuralist International Relations (IR) scholarship,[8] the chapter develops a theoretical framework that enables us to conceptualize the relationship between populism, nationalism and ideology as well as the nexus between populism and foreign policy. Laclau understands populism as a distinct discursive strategy through which a collective identity of 'the people' and a 'popular' will are constructed by placing different (frustrated) social demands into a common opposition to an Other—the

political establishment—that is blamed for frustrating the satisfaction of these demands.[9]

This focus on the construction of collective identities through processes of Othering bears a remarkable resemblance to the way in which poststructuralist IR scholars have conceptualized foreign policy. In his seminal work *Writing Security*, David Campbell understands foreign policy as a discourse that (re-)produces the Self (the state) in relation to (dangerous) Others, a (secure) domestic in relation to a (threatening) foreign.[10] Combining these conceptions of populism and foreign policy, this chapter will show how the BJP and its leader Narendra Modi have used foreign policy as a site for the (re-)production of their populist claim to represent 'the people'. In this context, the chapter will also elaborate on the interrelation of the populist and nationalist dimension of this political project and its ideological core. Instead of understanding ideology as a belief-system that impacts on the 'thin' ideology of populism, this chapter conceptualizes ideologies as those mechanisms through which the discursive and thus contingent nature of social reality is concealed. In short, an ideology creates the illusion that there is an objective reality. This conception of ideology, which is informed by poststructuralism[11] and Lacanian psychoanalysis,[12] understands the study of ideology as the study of the mechanisms that make this illusion possible. Lacanian theory has foregrounded the notion of fantasy as such an ideological mechanism that places the Self into a linear, coherent narration and provides it with an imaginary essence by relating it to what challenges that identity.[13] By grounding Indian identity in Hinduism, the Hindu nationalist discourse offers such a fantasmatic narrative that naturalizes a particular representation of the Self and conceals the essential incompleteness of (what we view as) social reality and the resulting impossibility of a fully constituted subject.

Before examining the interrelation between populism and foreign policy in the discursive project of Modi's BJP, the following two sections outline the chapter's analytical framework that sheds light on the different underpinning logics of populist and nationalist discourses and how they relate to foreign policy as well as the role of ideology in discourses. Instead of postulating a clear-cut distinction between populism and nationalism, the chapter foregrounds the interplay of populist and nationalist logics in the populist *Hindutva* discourse.

Populism, Nationalism and Foreign Policy

Ernesto Laclau's discursive understanding of populism, which both informed and builds on the poststructuralist discourse theory that he developed in collaboration with Chantal Mouffe, defines populism as a distinct political mode of constructing and claiming to represent the people.[14] To understand populism as a distinct type of discourse means, as De Cleen and Stavrakakis point out, that populist projects do not "represent pre-existing socio-political categories" such as 'the people' but are "closely involved in the discursive construction of the categories they claim to represent."[15] This argument is based on the ontological assumption that "all objects and actions are meaningful, and that their meaning is conferred by particular systems of significant differences."[16] Accordingly, the meanings and identities of all subjects and objects are constituted and reproduced within these systems of signification that relate differences to confer meaning: "something is what it is only through its differential relations to something else."[17] This process of meaning-generating is captured by the term discourse. By relating or articulating different objects and subjects, a discourse symbolizes a "structured totality resulting from articulatory practices" that provides a particular way of understanding and interpreting social reality.[18]

A populist discourse is organized around the signifier 'the people', making it the discourse's nodal point and thus the point of reference for constructing a collective identity and uniting different actors in a common political project. The notion of 'the people' functions here as a so-called 'empty signifier'. Empty signifiers are characterized by an indeterminable signified, that is, they can obtain various different meanings and allow diverse groups to identify with this political project.[19] While an empty signifier is able to represent a chain of signification as a whole, the construction of this chain involves the linking together of heterogeneous and unsatisfied social demands, which enter into relations of equivalence by pitting them against a common enemy—the establishment—that is blamed for frustrating these demands.[20,21] In populist discourses, the elite or the establishment assumes the role of the antagonist that is accused of "depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice."[22] Hence, the core feature of populism is the dichotomization of society "along the lines of a down/up antagonism in which 'the people' is discursively constructed as a large powerless group through opposition to 'the elite' conceived as

a small and illegitimately powerful group."[23] The populist leader, movement or party claims to represent 'the people' against an establishment that has frustrated their demands, and presents these demands as expression of a popular will.

Antagonisms, such as the people-as-underdog vs. the powerful elite, indicate the inherent negativity in the constitution of identities and reveal the limits of any discursive structure. As discourses can only constitute meanings by establishing difference, they can never exhaust all possible meanings a signifying element (such as the people or the state) can obtain and thus necessarily exclude something (e.g. other subjectivities or courses of action). This absence or negativity thus prevents the full constitution of discursive structures[24] and implies that the subject, which can only constitute itself as a subject through identifying with the subject positions provided by a discourse, is characterized—in the terminology of Lacan's psychoanalysis—by a constitutive *lack* that is insuperable.[25] This lack is rendered visible in moments of dislocation when "the subject's mode of being is disrupted by an experience that cannot be symbolized within and by the pre-existing means of discursive representation."[26] By disrupting existing meaning-structures and confronting the Self with the precarious and incomplete nature of its identity, a dislocation is typically experienced as a crisis by subjects.[27]

According to Laclau, "the emergence of populism is historically linked to a crisis of the dominant ideological discourse which is in turn part of a more general social crisis."[28] This crisis, however, is no objective phenomenon that determines its own effects, but rather denotes the limits of social objectivity, the ruptures in our established reality and opens up a political struggle for discursive hegemony, that is, competing discursive articulations seek to establish their narration of the crisis and its solution as the dominant interpretative framework.[29] A populist discourse is a possible response to a dislocatory moment. Such a discourse would blame the establishment for this "experience of a lack"[30] and the missing "fullness of the community" by grouping together different social actors, and their frustrated demands, and presenting them as the collective victim of the crisis caused by the elite. The empty signifier of 'the people' is then an "attempt to give a name to that absent fullness" and to construct the populist actor(s) as the representative of this popular will and solution to the crisis.[31]

Like populism, nationalism is a particular way of discursively constructing collective subjects and identities. To distinguish between

populism and nationalism, De Cleen and Stavrakakis have drawn attention to the different nodal points and Others (or antagonisms) of populist and nationalist discourses: While populism's central point of reference are 'the people' that are juxtaposed to the elite in a *down/up* antagonism, nationalism is articulated around the nodal point of 'the nation', as an imagined sovereign community of belonging and shared fate, past, space and other distinct characteristics such as shared language or customs, that is constructed via an *in/out or member/non-member* distinction by relating it to other nations that serve as a constitutive outside.[32] Like populism, nationalism can take different forms, ranging from exclusive ethno-cultural nationalism to civic nationalism, and thus construct the nation's outside in more or less antagonistic terms. The discourses of right-wing parties, for instance, typically draw a hard and antagonistic boundary between the nation and its outsiders and place emphasis on "the protection of the nation, of the native people and culture, against the enemies of the nation and its dangerous 'others': immigrants, foreigners or some other perceived external threat."[33]

While De Cleen and Stavrakakis' typology helps us to identify populist and nationalist logics and cautions us against conflating the two notions, its rather clear-cut distinction between populism and nationalism tends to place less emphasis on the interplay of both logics in most populist discourses and, in particular, makes it difficult to study the external or international dimensions of populism. As we have seen, both populism and nationalism are modes of discursively constructing identities/subjects by drawing a political boundary between two positions. Poststructuralist IR scholarship has shown that the discourse of foreign policy is such a boundary-drawing practice that plays a crucial role in the constitution and re-production of collective identities "through the inscription of boundaries that demarcate an 'inside' from an 'outside', a 'self' from an 'other', a 'domestic' from a 'foreign'."[34] Instead of viewing foreign policy as the external relations of an actor with a (relatively) stable identity and interests, foreign policy becomes the practice through which the ontological referent, in whose name foreign policy is conducted, is (re-)produced. From this perspective, IR can be understood as a discourse that dichotomizes a secure, homogenous and sovereign 'inside' (the state) from a dangerous, anarchic and heterogeneous 'outside' (the international system).[35]

While IR scholars have focused on the ways in which foreign policy discourses re-produce the identities of nation-states or supra-national

actors such as the European Union (EU),[36] this chapter argues that the populist notion of 'the people' can also be an ontological referent that is (re-)constructed via the discourse of foreign policy. There are different ways in which foreign policy can become a site for the re-production of the populist dichotomization of people-as-underdog versus the elite and the populist assertion to represent a popular will. First, a populist discourse can represent a state's foreign policy as 'elitist', detached from the interests, values and concerns of the people and undermining popular sovereignty. Second, it can pit the people against transnational elites or a transnational power bloc located in international organizations (e.g. International Monetary Fund), supranational bodies (e.g. EU), transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations. Third and arguably most effectively, a populist discourse can link the domestic establishment to external Others, ranging from other states and inter/supranational institutions to different transnational actors such as corporations, terrorist networks or migrants, and can accuse the elite of collaborating with 'foreign forces' and interests that attempt to weaken or harm the people rather than representing and promoting the interests of the people. Against this backdrop, populist projects claim to restore and defend popular sovereignty against internal and external Others, and pursue a foreign policy that is represented as an expression of the people's interests and makes the populist actor the legitimate representative of the state.

As we can see from these different discursive articulations, populism can through the discourse of foreign policy construct a series of dangers and internal and external Others that serve as shared negativity for the representation of the people-as-underdog and the populist actor as its saviour and rightful representative. These articulations often blur the down/up and in/out distinctions identified by De Cleen and Stavrakakis and indicate an interplay of populist and nationalist logics, making it difficult to determine which logic prevails in a specific context. For example, the populist right-wing and left-wing discourses in Southern Europe do not only pit the people against the domestic establishment and the transnational elite located in the EU but also against the German Other which is accused of dominating the EU and causing social, political and economic crises through its austerity policies. As we will see, this interrelation of populist and nationalist logics also features in the discursive project of Modi's BJP.

Ideology and Fantasy: The Fantasmatic People

Before turning to this nationalist-populist discourse, we need to illuminate ideology in populist discourses can shed light on the appeal of such discourses, and thus explain why actors 'enjoy' identifying with it. In contrast to common conceptions of ideology as 'false consciousness' or 'illusionary representation of reality', a discourse-theoretical account of ideology postulates that the very notion of an objective reality is already ideological. Since our 'access' to reality is always mediated by discourses which merely offer a *particular* representation of social reality at the expense of alternative representations. The purpose of ideologies, as "secondary discourses", is to cover over the missing essence of subjects and objects and the role of the political in their constitution.[37] This ontological lack, resulting from the purely relational character of identities, means that the subject can never attain a full and complete identity.

Foregrounding this ontology of lack, Lacanian psychoanalytic theory sheds light on the ways in which the subject negotiates this lack and deals with the anxieties, uncertainty and insecurities resulting from it.[38] In this context, Lacan's notion of fantasy comes into play. Most generally, a fantasy provides the subject with the illusion that it can attain a full and complete identity that defines its place in the world. Through fantasies, "the subject pursues the promise of capturing the perceived-to-be-lost (though never achieved) sense of wholeness".[39] It is this promise to fill this absent fullness and overcome the anxieties and insecurities resulting from the ontological lack that explains why subjects desire or enjoy identifying with a particular discourse. A populist discourse channels the subject's desire towards a particular object—the (empty signifier of) the people—that holds out the promise of repairing this lack, and creating a harmonious society: the fantasmatic people.

How do fantasies conceal the essential incompleteness of (what we view as) social reality, and the resulting impossibility of a fully constituted subject? They name a distinct narrative structure and place the subject into a seemingly linear, coherent storyline that reduces the complexity of everyday life and provides the subject with "foundational guarantee" and "imaginary fullness".[40] In particular, this fantasmatic narrative has two principal dimensions which Glynos and Howarth call the "beatific" and "horrific" dimensions of fantasy. While the former is "providing an image of fullness, wholeness,

or harmony" once a particular obstacle is overcome, the latter is "conjuring up threats and obstacles to its realization on the other" and thereby tells the story of an impending disaster that will befall the subject if this obstacle is not overcome.[41] As we will see in the following section, these two fantasmatic narrative forms also structure the Hindu nationalist discourse.

The Interplay of Populism, Hindu Nationalism and Foreign Policy

The rise of the Hindu nationalist discourse in India, from the late 1980s onwards, can be understood as a response to the dislocation of the erstwhile hegemonic Nehruvian discourse, symbolizing a broader sociopolitical crisis besetting India,[42] and the growing exposure to globalization following India's policy of economic liberalization in the early 1990s. The discourse of globalization has dislocated existent conceptions of space, time and belonging and created an awareness for an increasingly de-territorialized world,[43] in which goods, capital, people, labour, lifestyles and threats such as terrorism or diseases can transcend national borders more easily and undermine national sovereignty. By representing "globalization as unstoppable process, affecting all areas of economic, political and social life", the discourse of globalization can heighten "feelings of ontological insecurity and existential anxiety for many people."[44]

The Hindu nationalist BJP seized on such fears of "[n]ew concepts and lifestyles [that] are taking roots in the Indian society", as BJP president Rajnath Singh noted, "posing a challenge to our cultural values in the same manner foreign companies and products had increased their presence in the country in the wake of globalization and liberalization in recent times."[45] In the Hindu nationalist discourse, these issues were explicitly linked to questions of national identity or, more precisely, the "lack of a national identity" due to "the onslaught of the Nehruvian secularists" who are accused of denying India's Hindu identity and thereby wanting "the nation to disown its essential personality."[46] The Hindu nationalists brand the 'Nehruvian secularists' as 'pseudo-secular', given the absence of a uniform Indian civil code and exemptions for Muslims from the expectations of Indian civil law, religious-based reservations in education and the special status of Jammu & Kashmir—India's only

Muslim-majority state—in the Indian constitution. By asserting that the Congress elites and their 'pseudo-secular' allies have used secularism merely as a device for garnering block minority votes, the Hindu nationalist BJP could claim that India's political establishment is more concerned with 'appeasing' minorities rather than representing the Indian people as a whole, and the Hindu majority community in particular.

Though the BJP has used such populist appeals for political mobilization since its inception and could also translate them into an election victory in 1998 when the party formed, as part of a big coalition, the National Democratic Alliance government,[47] it has been Narendra Modi who excelled in combining Hindu nationalism with populist politics. Modi began his political career in the Hindu nationalist, paramilitary volunteer organization *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS) and, after rising through the ranks of the RSS and later the BJP, became chief minister of the state Gujarat in 2001. In Gujarat, Modi developed and embodied a distinct populist variant of Hindu nationalism that he has also used to create and sustain a populist electoral coalition on the national level: a style of leadership and administration that is centred around his person, projects himself as a 'doer' who 'gets things done' even if this means to take tough decisions or bypass intermediary institutions and the extensive and innovative use of technologies, ranging from conventional TV and radio addresses to emails and SMS, to communicate directly with the people.[48]

On the national level, Modi and the BJP managed to create a populist electoral coalition by conjuring up a strong sense of crisis, economic anxieties and disillusionment with corrupt, inept and weak elites and presenting him as a political "outsider […] isolated from the elite class" who will rescue India from peril. At an election speech in January 2014,[49] Modi stated:

> [W]e all have experience of working in the elections, but if we look at all the elections of past, we will find that 2014 elections are completely different. We have not ever seen such plight in the country! The world's largest democratic country stands leaderless, strategy less and even its intentions are doubted, the country has never seen such a day, which we are living in today. The ghastly form of corruption that the country has witnessed in the last decade, was never seen before. Farmers committing suicide, the youth astray for employment, women worried for their honour, the children dying of inflation…such plight is unprecedented.[50]

Deploring this moral, political and economic crisis, Modi's BJP appealed to voters through a distinct ideological fantasy that has, as a secondary discourse, shaped the Hindu nationalist project since its formation during British colonial rule. As a religious-conservative discourse, the Hindu nationalist discourse contrasts, through this ideological fantasy, India's current feeble situation with a mythical and glorified past, when India, in the golden Vedic age of the Hindu civilization, is said to have experienced a long period of cultural and spiritual purity and flourishing, stability, economic affluence and political and military strength.[51] As the BJP claimed in its 2014 election manifesto:

> India is the most ancient civilization of the world and has always been looked upon by the world as a land of wealth and wisdom. India has been credited to have developed, apart from philosophy and mathematics, science and technology of a very high order, which had attracted scholars from all over the world. […] India's contribution to the march of civilization goes back to several thousand years before the Christian era. […] India was respected for its flourishing economy, trade, commerce and culture. It had an international outreach from Korea to Arabia, from Bamiyan to Borobudur and beyond. Before the advent of Britishers, Indian goods were internationally recognized for their quality and craftsman- ship. India had a much bigger role and presence in industry and manufacturing than any nation in Europe or Asia. […] Indian prosperity held the world in thrall. It was this wealth which attracted the foreigners—from Alexander to the Britishers. Historical records establish the level of progress and prosperity attained by India before the advent of the Europeans.[52]

The fantasmatic narrative suggests that this civilization has "an organic cultural core which is Hindu in character" and consists of an ethnically and culturally homogenous community: "Hindus have always been, and are one", "we are a people who have always constituted nation."[53] The fantasy that "India is such an ancient Nation that we are the proud inheritors of thousands and thousands of years of heritage, knowledge and civilized existence"[54] creates the illusion that India is not an imagined community, but a natural entity with a transcendental foundation. By grounding Indian identity in Hinduism and presenting it literally as God-given, this fantasmatic narrative provides the Self with a foundational guarantee and an eternal imaginary essence. This is the 'beatific' side of the narrative. It promises a 'fullness-to-come', a strong and complete identity that is rooted in a stable foundation. Crucially,

it is this Hindu essence that is presented as the foundation of the strength, prosperity, harmony and unity of India in ancient times and therefore this Hindu-ness must be re-asserted in order to make India great again. This fantasmatic narrative 'grips' subjects because it promises the modernization of a society and societal harmony without compromising its basic values and traditions. Hindu nationalism—the forging of a strong and monolithic national identity—offers the Self ontological security in times of change, uncertainty and growing complexity and becomes the precondition for the nation's survival, development and prosperity in a globalized world. In the words of the BJP: "no nation could chart out its domestic or foreign policies unless it has a clear understanding about itself, its history, its roots, its strengths and failings. In a highly mobile and globalized world, it is imperative for a nation to know its roots that provide sustenance to its people."[55]

Having offered an image of India's glorious (Hindu) past and wholeness, the fantasmatic narrative then tells the story of how this once strong and pure Hindu nation fall prey to foreign invaders (Muslim and the British) and identifies the obstacle, or the Others, that prevent India from reviving this past and obtaining a complete identity: the 'pseudo-secular', corrupt establishment and the nation's 'foreign' enemies. This process of Othering indicates the interplay of populist and nationalist logics in the discourse. It links together a range of frustrated social demands and different castes and classes by bringing them into a common opposition to politically and morally corrupt elites and the foreign Other.

For creating an electoral coalition, Modi's BJP did not primarily embark on a discursive strategy which pits the native Hindu people and their culture against 'dangerous minorities' such as Indian Muslims or an 'external threat', as a nationalist logic would demand, but rather identified the political establishment, and the Congress elites in particular, as the Other against which different social demands could be presented as equivalent and different actors could be united in a populist alliance. During the election campaign, as E. Sridharan has observed, the "BJP for the most part kept quiet about Hindu nationalism", but focused instead on what it called "the Congress-led government's corruption and poor performance, particularly the slow growth, un-employment, and inflation" and "the quality of Congress party leadership, which Modi flayed as effete, indecisive, weak, and dynastic."[56] In particular, Modi regularly ranted against the "dynasty" of the Nehru-Gandhi family within the Congress Party and its "devotion to one family and not the nation". He blamed "the rule of a dynasty" which is more concerned

with political gains and securing their 'hegemonic' hold over the party and the country for India's many problems,[57] ranging from "poverty" and underdevelopment to "bad governance", "nepotism" and "corruption".[58] In this context, he drew a strong political boundary between himself, "a man who was born in a backward caste and used to sell tea in trains", and the Congress' "elite family" and their privileged followers in the Westernized, English-speaking "high society".[59]

To reinforce this up/down antagonism between the people-as-underdog and Modi as their representative versus the corrupt establishment, Modi's BJP shaped a discourse that lumps together the establishment and the foreign Other. In an election speech in Mumbai in December 2013, Modi linked the Congress to the British colonial rulers and equated his campaign against the Congress with the Indian independence struggle:

> From the same land where the call Quit India was made, let us make a call for a Congress Mukt Bharat [Congress-free India] […] Congress immersed in vote bank politics. They have learnt the 'art' of divide and rule well from the colonial rulers. The nation should unite against the Congress the way it got united during the freedom movement.[60]

By associating the Congress with the colonial Other, which exploited and oppressed India, the populist Hindutva discourse effectively constructs India's establishment as *foreign*, as driven by a 'neo-colonial mindset' that they have internalized from the British colonial rulers and that is responsible for India's social and political crisis which is manifested in "casteism, dynasty, corruption and exploitation, treachery and keeping complete control over power."[61] This association of the Congress and its leadership with the colonial Other has become a common theme in the discourse. In 2017, Subramanian Swamy, a senior BJP politician, produced for example fabricated documents which would allegedly show that Rahul Gandhi has embraced British nationality, and demanded that the Congress leader must therefore "be stripped of his [Indian] citizenship."[62] The British colonial rulers were not the only foreign Other with which the political establishment has been lumped together. The junior minister for enterprise in Modi's government, Giriraj Singh, warned for example before Modi's election victory: "Those who intend to stop Narendra Modi are looking at Pakistan. In the coming days, there won't be any place for them in India […], but Pakistan".[63] In the election campaign for the state Uttar Pradesh, BJP

president Amit Shah coined the acronym "KASAB" which he claimed would stand for the Congress Party, Samajwadi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party—the BJP's main competitors in the state.[64] Kasab is also the surname of Ajmal Kasab, the only Pakistani terrorist who was taken alive after the 2008 Mumbai attack and, after a highly publicized trial, sentenced to death in 2012. In a similar vein, Modi accused "Congress leaders [of] lending their voice to those who want Azadi [independence] in Kashmir" and thus suggested that the Congress supports Kashmiri separatists.[65]

This conflation of elite and foreign Other also points to the nationalist dimension of the populist *Hindutva* discourse. In an inside/outside logic, the discourse essentially equates Indian identity with Hinduism and represents Hindus as the autochthonous people of India, whereas religious minorities such as Muslims and Christians are represented as outsiders, foreign Others, who must accept Hinduism as India's cultural foundation or *Leitkultur*. Though Muslims and Christians are in a minority, they are constructed as a threat to Hindus, because they are allegedly more aggressive and better organized communities than the Hindus who have remained weak and divided into many sects and along ethnic, caste and linguist lines.[66] Moreover, and this is the core idea of Hindu nationalism, as developed by the early Hindu nationalist ideologue V.D. Savarkar: only those Indians who regard India both as their *pitribhu* (fatherland) and *punyabhu* (holy land) are believed to be full and loyal members of the national community,[67] whereas those communities whose religions originated outside India are believed to have potentially different allegiances (e.g. Mecca or the Roman Church).[68] This makes these communities to a potential 'fifth column' which can be used by external actors such as Pakistan or Islamic fundamentalists to harm India.

By constructing the threatening minority Other and projecting India's lack—the absence of a strong, stable and complete identity—onto the Other, the Hindu nationalist discourse tries to unite Hindus in a political bloc and construct a physically and spiritually strong Hindu Self. This discourse of danger symbolizes the 'horrific' dimension of the Hindu nationalism's ideological fantasy that foretells a doomsday scenario which will befall India if the Hindus, as majoritarian community, do not assert India's Hindu identity and elect a strong, nationalistic leadership. "No nation can survive for long without a binding identity", as BJP politician Swamy alerts given the lack of a strong.

Hindu consciousness which encompasses the willingness and determination to collectively defend the faith from the erosion that is being induced by disconnect with our glorious past. […] If this degeneration and disconnect are not rectified and repaired by resolve to unite Hindustanis, Hindu civilization may go into a tail spin and ultimately fade away as other civilizations have […] India collapses and balkanizes like the USSR, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, or fragments like Columbia into separate countries or areas with rampant terrorism, narcotic rackets & AIDS, stark poverty, and unemployment. […] Hindus have to unite against the threats to their legacy. We Hindus are under siege today […] what is truly alarming is that Hindu society could be dismembered today without much protest since we have been lulled into complacency or have lost the capacity to think collectively as Hindus.[69]

Though less pronounced than the populist logic, Modi's BJP has also drawn on and shaped such discourses of danger and threats. Modi's National Security Adviser (NSA) Ajit Doval (2012), for example, named the illegal immigration of Muslims from Bangladesh a "demographic invasion" and linked migrants to "terrorists and fundamentalists" and Pakistan, which would use Muslims in India for "sabotage, subversion, espionage and Jehadi terrorism". Joining his NSA in these anti-Muslim utterances, Modi announced at a campaign speech in the Indian state West Bengal, which borders Bangladesh, that illegal (Muslim!) immigrants from Bangladesh should "be prepared with their bags packed" after the election.[70] However, like his NSA who blamed those political parties that "consider these immigrants as captive vote banks" as the root cause of the problem,[71] Modi did not merely try to unite Hindus in a nationalistic alliance by placing them into a common opposition to immigrants, foreigners or India's external enemies such as Pakistan and China. Rather, he sought to create a much broader populist chain of equivalence that pits the people against a morally and politically corrupt establishment, which is not only unable to deal with these security challenges, but has in fact exacerbated them. Railing against the Congress-led government's weak and inept foreign and security policy, Modi noted during the election campaign:

Everyday, we are surrounded by dangers. Pakistan is not putting an end to its activities, China keeps threatening us often, it intrudes our land! […] If China gets in, we're watching…when Pakistan decapitates our soldiers, we're waiting. People don't know who is running the country […] *the problem is not on the border, the problem is in Delhi.* […] Till the time we do

not have an efficient, patriot government […], we will not be able to guarantee the nation's security.[72]

Drawing on such representations of external threats and linking these threats to a corrupt political establishment, Modi and the BJP could present him as a strongman, who exudes an aura of personal determination, strength and menace and is the answer to the fears and rising expectations of the people. In other words, foreign policy becomes a site for the populist assertion that Modi is the true representative of the people and thus for the creation and maintenance of the electoral coalition which brought the BJP to power in 2014. Proclaiming that "the world needs to realise the greatness of India",[73] Modi promised an "India first" policy that will see "a confident and sure India, engaging with the global community on its own terms and principles" and countering threats to India's security from a position of strength.[74]

Modi has pursued a very activist foreign policy and invested a significant amount of time and energy in India's international engagement, signalling, as some scholars claim, that the "reorientation of India's international role might well have acquired an irreversible momentum under Narendra Modi."[75] Accordingly, "Modi has brought a new, more muscular resolve to India's foreign policy" and adopted, through this "muscular and nationalistic 'India first' geostrategy",[76] a more "assertive" approach vis-à-vis Pakistan and China that manifests in India's "new willingness to use force beyond its borders."[77] This image of the strongman, who will transform India's role and status in the world and does not shy away from taking tough decisions and confronting India's foes has been important to Modi's domestic electoral support. By going on more foreign trips than any prime minister before him, establishing well-orchestrated rapports with world leaders and dreaming up new slogans and initiatives (e.g. 'Make in India', 'Act East Policy' or 'Neigbourhood First'), Modi attempts, like many populists, to maintain a state of semi-constant political mobilization that seeks to dominate the political space, and present Modi as hyper-active transformative leader who will make India great again.

Using foreign policy as a site for the re-production of the populist representation of people-as-underdog vs. corrupt elites is at first glance counter-intuitive and even risky. After all, foreign policy is generally a

highly elitist, often rather secretive state-to-state practice that is removed from the people. To give the impression of a *people's foreign policy*, a policy that appears as expression of a popular will, Modi makes extensive use of social media channels such as Twitter and Facebook, emails and SMS and a Narendra Modi App to communicate with the people directly, report on the successes of his foreign trips and encourage his followers to comment and 'vote' on his policy initiatives. In addition, he launched the monthly radio programme and podcast *Maan ki baat* ('conversation of the month'), in which Modi responds to questions and suggestions sent to him. When US President Barack Obama visited India in January 2015, Modi invited him on the show and both state leaders shared their thoughts on questions from the public.[78] During his state visit to the United Kingdom in April 2018, Modi participated in a globally televised town hall event *Bharat ki baat, sab ke sath* ('India's talk with everyone'), where he interacted with members of the UK's big Indian diaspora and fielded a series of questions.[79]

These diaspora events have become a distinctive feature of Modi's international visits and diplomacy. During his inaugural visits to the United States and the United Kingdom, for example, he addressed big crowds at New York's iconic Madison Square Garden and Wembley Stadium in London. Modi's diaspora diplomacy satisfies some of the needs of overseas citizens of India and people of Indian origin by sustaining a sense of belonging and connection to India. It also aims at "strengthening India's interests abroad", as BJP General Secretary Ram Madhav noted: "It is like the way the Jewish community looks out for Israel's interests in the United States."[80] At the same time, the Indian diaspora can also be mobilized to sustain and extend Modi's populist electoral coalition. In addition to winning over new (financial) supporters and voters, Modi's regular interactions with the diaspora, which are widely televised and reported in India, convey the image of a popular common man's prime minister who uses his international visits not only for meeting state officials and business leaders but also to meet with the 'common' people, with an open ear for their concerns, problems, and suggestions. By 'bringing' the people in and making them a target group of his foreign policy, Modi can claim that his foreign policy has given voice to the people and restored popular sovereignty.

Conclusion

Employing a poststructuralist, discourse theoretical framework, this chapter understood populism, nationalism and foreign policy as discourses that construct collective identities by drawing and institutionalizing political boundaries between Self and Other. While poststructuralist IR scholarship has shown how the state or the nation is (re-)produced via the discourse of foreign policy, I argued that the populist notion of the people—and the populist actor as its 'true' representative—can also be the ontological referent that is constructed and re-produced through the discourse of foreign policy. Against this backdrop, the chapter analyzed how the Hindu nationalist BJP and its leader Modi have used foreign policy as a site for the creation and maintenance of a populist electoral coalition. Linking populist and nationalist logics, *Hindutva* discourse pits the people against a "pseudo-secular" establishment that is accused of securing their grip on power through the appeasement of minorities rather than representing the Indian people as a whole, and the Hindu majority community in particular. By linking the political establishment to the foreign Other, the discourses reinforce the assertion that the BJP and Modi are the true representatives of the Indian people and dissenting elements are not part of the people but 'conspire' with the enemy. Modi was created the impression of a people's foreign policy that restores popular sovereignty and is met with approval by the people who he seeks to address directly through the sophisticated use of communication technologies and diaspora diplomacy.

Notes

1. Sridharan (2014), Tillin (2015).
2. Jaffrelot and Tillin (2017, 181–185).
3. Cf. Mudde (2004, 2017).
4. Modi (2014a).
5. Mudde (2004, 2017), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017).
6. Mudde (2017, 4–5).
7. Laclau (2005); cf. also De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017), Stavrakakis (2017).
8. Campbell (1998), Diez (2004), Nabers (2009, 2015).
9. Laclau (2005).

10. Campbell (1998).
11. Norval (2013).
12. Žižek (1989).
13. Žižek (1989), Glynos (2008).
14. Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Laclau (2005).
15. De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017), 305.
16. Howarth (2000), 101.
17. Laclau (2005, 68).
18. Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 105).
19. Laclau (2005, 69f., 85ff.).
20. Hence, there is no pre-existing commonality between the different actors and demands that form such a popular alliance, rather this commonality is produced by placing them into a common opposition to the elite.
21. Stavrakakis (2017, 543).
22. Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008, 3).
23. De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017, 310).
24. Howarth (2010, 312f.).
25. Žižek (1999).
26. Glynos and Howarth (2007, 14).
27. For the relationship between dislocation and crisis, see Nabers (2015).
28. Laclau (1977, 175).
29. Laclau (1990, 63ff.), Stavrakakis (2017, 547).
30. Lack, in this context, can refer to any form of demand which has not been met: democratic representation, identity, prosperity, justice etc.
31. Laclau (2005, 85).
32. De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017).
33. Stavrakakis et al. (2017).
34. Campbell (1998, 9).
35. Ashley (1987), Walker (1993).
36. See Campbell (1998); Diez (2004), Nabers (2015).
37. Norval (2013, 160f.).
38. Žižek (1989), Solomon (2015).
39. Solomon (2015, 37).
40. Glynos (2008, 283, 287).
41. Glynos and Howarth (2007, 130).
42. Cf. Wojczewski (2018, 95ff.).
43. Scholte (2005).
44. Kinnval (2006, 11–12).
45. Rajnath Singh (2006).
46. Swamy (2006, 16, 26), Advani (1992).
47. Hansen (1999).
48. Jaffrelot and Tillin (2017, 185, 188).

49. Modi (2014b).
50. Modi (2014c).
51. Wojczewski (2018, 197–198).
52. BJP (2014).
53. Swamy (2006, 42, 49).
54. Modi (2017a).
55. BJP (2014).
56. E. Sridharan (2014, 26, 29).
57. Modi (2013a).
58. Modi (2014c).
59. Ibid.
60. Modi (2013b).
61. Modi quoted in Livemint (2018).
62. Swamy (2017).
63. Quoted in Peer (2017).
64. Quoted in *The Hindu* (2017).
65. Modi (2017b).
66. Jaffrelot (2007, 15–16).
67. Accordingly, Jainists, Buddhists and Sikhs, whose religions originated on the Indian subcontinent and are closely intertwined with Hinduism, are part of the national community.
68. Savarkar (1938, 148).
69. Swamy (2006, 10, 27f., 95).
70. Modi quoted in Sridharan (2014, 26).
71. Doval (2012).
72. Modi (2013c, emphasis added).
73. Modi (2015), Modi (2013c).
74. Modi (2014a).
75. Mohan (2015, 214).
76. Ganguly (2014, 12), Chaulia (2016, 206).
77. Bajpai (2017), Ganguly and Kapur (2017).
78. Prime Minister's Office (2015).
79. Modi (2018).
80. Quoted in *The Guardian* (2015).

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Populism and International Politics

The Liberal International Order and Its Populist Adversaries in Russia, UK and USA

Robert G. Patman

INTRODUCTION

During the last five years, there has been a three-pronged populist assault on what is known as the liberal international order. An external challenge emerged after Vladimir Putin returned to the Russian presidency in 2012, engaged in information warfare with the United States and EU, and used force in Ukraine in 2014 to redraw the territorial boundaries of post-war Europe for the first time since the Second World War. Two internal challenges developed in the wake of Britain voting narrowly in a June 2016 referendum to leave the community of liberal democracies that comprise EU and America electing Donald Trump—a flamboyant economic and political nationalist—to the White House in November 2016. At the same time, it was also evident that these challenges had somewhat morphed together to create an internal–external threat nexus to the liberal order. Possible Russian involvement in the Brexit vote has been the subject of investigations by a UK Parliamentary Committee and the UK Electoral Commission while Special Counsel Robert Mueller's

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investigation into alleged Russian interference into the 2016 American presidential election has already generated a number of indictments.[1] Those indicted include Paul Manafort, former Trump campaign chairman; Rick Gates, Trump's one-time deputy campaign deputy; George Papadopoulos, a former Trump campaign adviser; General Michael Flynn, Trump's former national security adviser; and 13 Russian nationals, 12 Russian intelligence officers, and three Russian companies.[2] Taken together, these developments have helped propel national populism on to the central stage of political debate and scholarly interest.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the proliferation of threats to the liberal international order during the last decade. This chapter proceeds in five stages. The first part attempts to clarify the notion of the liberal international order and what is meant by the term populism. The second section considers Vladimir Putin's armed intervention in neighboring Ukraine in 2014 ostensibly to protect Russian sovereignty from the expansion of Western interests in the region. The third part examines the narrow victory of the Leave camp in a referendum that was held on 23 June 2016 to test public support for British membership of the EU. The fourth section considers Donald J. Trump's shock election victory over Hillary Clinton, the heavily favored Democratic presidential candidate, in the November 2016 election. It should be emphasized that opposition to "globalism" and globalization and pledges "to take back" national sovereignty were central themes linking these three outcomes. The fifth section assesses the relationship between these developments and whether the populist upsurge represents a significant blow or even permanent change to the liberal international order. The central argument advanced here is that the current populist wave is symptomatic of deeper structural shifts in the evolution of the liberal order during the 1980s and unless these underlying causes—the downsides of globalization—are directly addressed the populist challenge is unlikely fade away anytime soon.

Conceptualization of the Liberal Democratic Order and Populism

The liberal international order can be defined as an open and rules-based system of international relations that is "enshrined in institutions such as the United Nations and norms such as multilateralism."[3] This expression

became more widely used in the Western world during the post-1945 period. In many ways, the Atlantic Charter, a joint declaration between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill signed in August 1941, was a forerunner of this order. The principles set out in the Atlantic agreement included peace and security (including the right to self-defense and the preservation of the territorial status quo), self-governance (self-rule, open societies, the rule of law), economic prosperity (economic advancement, improved labor standards, social welfare), and free trade and the preservation of the global commons.[4] These principles shaped the US commitment to the postwar economic recovery and security of Western Europe through the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

However, such principles enjoyed only limited international support during the first four decades of the Cold War era after 1945. The United Nations Charter, signed by all but one of the original member states, was based largely on Westphalian principles rather than the liberal principles endorsed by the Western states led by the United States. There was no document that laid out the basis for a specifically liberal international order that was agreed by all the world's powers. As John Ikenberry has pointed out, the post-1945 international order actually represented a fusion of two distinct order-building projects: firstly, the modern state system, a project dating back to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; and secondly the liberal order, which over the last 200 years was led by the United Kingdom and the United States and which in the twentieth century was aided by the rise of additional liberal democratic states.[5] The Westphalian order was based on the concept of the primacy of state sovereignty in which states recognize no higher authority than themselves in what is seen as a self-help international arena. The liberal international order, on the other hand, embraces a vision of an open, rules-based system where states cooperate and trade to make mutual gains. Supporters of this perspective share the view that liberal democracies are distinguished by institutionalized forms of popular, democratic sovereignty (such as free and fair elections, forms of representative government, pluralism, and a free and diverse public and media sphere) and certain constitutional rights and principles (like individual rights and liberties, including freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and an independent judiciary[6]). And unlike authoritarian or autocratic states, liberal democracies are willing to recognize they share common interests

and values and are able to cooperate through international institutions to extend the rule of law and realize mutual benefits.[7]

However, in the 1980s, two related developments helped to expand the reach of the liberal international order. First, the advent of globalization—a term popularized during this time to describe revolutionary changes in personal computing and the establishment of the internet—which facilitated new links between societies, institutions, cultures and individuals on a worldwide basis.[8] Second, the demise of the Cold War in the late 1980s and the disintegration of the USSR in December 1991 seemed to pave the way, according to Francis Fukuyama, for a new world system based on western values of liberal democracy, market capitalism, and international cooperation.[9] Fukuyama and other observers were right to envisage a new stage in the evolution of the liberal system, but it did not turn out to be quite the order they expected. To be sure, the Westphalian conception of state sovereignty was significantly qualified during the first two decades of the post-Cold War era.

Since 1945, the liberal international order has had security, economic and human rights manifestations.[10] According to a liberal perspective, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) should ultimately decide what sovereign states can and cannot do in security terms. But such aspirations were quickly thwarted by the fact that the five permanent (P5) members of the UNSC hold a veto power and the outbreak of the Cold War, which soon saw the world divided into rival blocs or spheres of superpower influence. In a globalizing post-Cold War era, intra-state war rapidly displaced inter-state war as the dominant form of international conflict—on 11 September 2001, for example, America, the world's most powerful state, was powerless to prevent an attack on the very symbols of its economic and military dominance by a transnational terrorist organization, al-Qaeda—but the veto power of the P5 members continues to impede the international efforts to resolve security challenges that are beyond the capacity of great powers to fix.

The global economy did become relatively more liberal after 1945 through the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). But the Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF)—were somewhere between state and global institutions: they aspired to be global but were dominated by Western powers, an arrangement that John Ruggie called "embedded liberalism."[11] Nevertheless, the end of the Cold War and the impact of deepening globalization accelerated international economic integration and lowered

barriers to the flow of goods, services, capital, knowledge, investment and, to some degree, people across borders. The creation in 1994 of the World Trade Organization (WTO) was, according to Ikenberry, "the most formal and developed institution of the liberal international order."[12] In particular, the WTO's trade disputes resolution mechanism is binding and that means the sovereignty of one or more of the states to a trade dispute could be overridden by a WTO panel charged with resolving a disagreement such a disagreement.

The human rights component of the liberal order found expression in the United Nations Charter, which "reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights, and dignity and worth of the human person" and committed all member states to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion," and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948.[13] While the Cold War politicized human rights, it did not stop the steady institutionalization of this norm.[14] In the post-Cold War era, a series of humanitarian interventions in the 1990s, the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) by more than 100 states—although the United States, citing concerns about national sovereignty, declined to join it—and the ideas of a "responsibility to protect" (R2P), which was adopted by the United Nations in 2005, all sought to expand the human rights agenda in ways that further circumscribed the Westphalian doctrine of state sovereignty.

The concept of populism refers here to a "thin-centred ideology (discourse) that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' and 'the corrupt elite,' and which argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people."[15] By maintaining a Manichean distinction between the people and the elite, populism, Populism, in contrast to pluralism, rejects the idea of a universalistic view of human nature and rejects the legitimacy of many different groups and interests. This thin ideology can be attached to "thick" ideologies across the political left–right spectrum, whether they are socialism, nationalism, anti-imperialism or racism, in order to explain the world and justify particular agendas. It is a political approach that reflects anger and resentment toward existing authorities within a society, "whether big business, big banks, multinational corporations, media pundits, elected politicians and government officials, intellectual elites and scientific experts, and the arrogant and

privileged rich."[16] Ordinary people, it is claimed, are the victims of these establishment elites. Populist leadership is often provided by prominent personalities and charismatic individuals, which claim to represent "the will of the people." Not surprisingly, populists draw a sharp distinction between the legitimacy of their support and the illegitimacy of those opposing them.

While populism is not necessarily antidemocratic, scholars like Mudde believe it is essentially illiberal, especially in its disregard for minority rights, pluralism and the rule of law.[17] Populists tend to assume the ordinary people are a monolithic group, and that those governing should protect them against perceived threats from "different" peoples such as elites, immigrants or some other minority with possible links to foreign countries and cultures. Populism generally chooses monoculturalism over multiculturalism; backs national self-interest over international cooperation; favors closed borders over the free movement of peoples, labor and capital; and prefers traditionalism to progressive and liberal values.[18]

To assess the relationship between the liberal international order and a resurgent populism, it is useful to examine it from the vantage point of three case studies.

Putin's Standoff with the International Liberal Order

Vladimir Putin has governed Russia for almost two decades, having returned to the job of president in 2012 after a four-year stint as Prime Minister.[19] It should be emphasized that just four days after Putin's inauguration in 2000, he implemented plans to impose a "vertical of power."[20]

According to Karen Dawisha, after more than 17 years in power, Putin has established a governance system in which the leader, his inner political circle and friendly oligarchs have massively enriched themselves at the expense of Russian society as a whole.[21] It is a system that assigns a prominent regime maintenance role to Russia's intelligence services, and is one characterized by widespread corruption, stark inequality, the suppression of independent media organizations, and the systematic harassment and intimidation of political opponents.[22]

Since his return to the Russian presidency in 2012, and after mass anti-Putin demonstrations fueled by vote-rigging allegations in the country's parliamentary elections, Mr. Putin's conviction that the West was inimically opposed to his regime significantly hardened. In something of

an echo of the Soviet past, Mr. Putin's regime has found it politically convenient to speak of a Western threat, and cast domestic opponents as "traitors," "enemies of the people" and tools of foreign interests.

In this vein, the conflict between Russia and the Ukraine during the last three years has generated the worst crisis in relations between Moscow and the West in the post-Cold War era. But it has enabled Mr. Putin to play the patriotic card at home. In 2013, Moscow used economic pressure on the Ukraine to block a proposed trade association agreement with the EU, and when angry anti-government protests toppled the Yanukovych leadership in Kiev in February 2014, the Kremlin reacted with force.

After annexing Crimea in March 2014 and then actively supporting armed separatists in eastern Ukraine, Putin's Russia was targeted by several rounds of international sanctions from the United States and EU. However, the Putin government said the Ukraine crisis was not caused by Russia. Instead, Putin publicly insisted the United States and EU had deliberately destabilized Ukraine, and Moscow had no option but to retaliate with sanctions of its own against a number of Western countries, including Germany.[23]

Meanwhile, Moscow intensified its opposition to Western diplomatic efforts to remove the Assad dictatorship from power during the Syrian civil war, and intervened militarily in September 2015 in a six-month operation to bolster its Syrian ally. More discretely, Mr. Putin has sought to undermine what he sees as Moscow's adversaries in the liberal international order in an apparent bid to counter serious political questions about his leadership at home. Pressures have been building in Russia over a system of governance marked by economic stagnation, widespread corruption, rampart inequality and growing repression.

Putin's strategy has involved, among other things, backing socially conservative, extreme nationalist forces in the UK, Germany, France and USA which oppose globalization and promise "to take back control" of their countries. To this end, the Kremlin has utilized the Russian state media to emphasize the ideas and activities of the Brexit leaders, depict Angela Merkel's refugees' policy in Germany in a wholly negative way, demonstrate a clear preference for "anti-establishment" politicians like France's Marine Le Pen, UK's Nigel Farage, and America's Donald Trump, and largely trash the views of those who do not subscribe to this political line.[24]

In particular, there is growing evidence Putin's Russia colluded with the Brexit camp to influence the outcome of the 2016 referendum. Fake Twitter accounts were used to rally support for Brexit, and Alexander Yakovenko, the Russian ambassador to the UK, met frequently with Leave.EU donors, including multimillionaire Aaron Banks, co-founder of the Leave.EU campaign and Brexit's biggest campaign donor.[25]

While Mr. Banks reportedly declined offers of several lucrative Russian business deals in the build-up to the Brexit vote, another business associate and Leave.EU donor apparently received shares from a private sale of a Russian diamond company. Questions have also been raised about whether Russian money found its way into pro-leave campaigns. In particular, the UK's National Crime Agency (NCA) is reportedly investigating alleged links between Brexit's biggest donor and Russia.[26]

In many ways, Russian involvement in the UK's EU referendum was paralleled by its role in the US presidential election later the same year.

US intelligence agencies believe the Putin government tried to sway the 2016 American presidential election in favor of Donald Trump, and a special counsel, former FBI director Robert Mueller, is actively looking for evidence of collusion between Moscow and Trump's campaign. Among other things, it is alleged Russian security services penetrated Hillary Clinton's private email system and passed on stolen emails to Wikileaks; initiated a separate hack of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters, which caused turmoil with that party; and that Russian officials held meetings with senior members of Trump's team before and after Trump's election victory.[27]

At the same time, there are signs the Putin regime has provided some financial backing for far-right nationalist parties like *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) and the anti-Islam Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West (PEGIDA) in Germany as well as the National Front in France.[28]

So why has the Putin regime backed populist ultra-nationalist parties and politicians in the EU and the United States? Putin's strategy is intended, above all, to demonstrate the weakness of the liberal order and create a climate in which international sanctions against Moscow could be lifted. These sanctions are seen in Moscow as a direct threat to the legitimacy of the Putin government. They highlight the fact Putin has failed to diversify the Russian economy after 18 years in power and affect key figures in his regime who have hugely benefited from an economy dependent on oil, gas and minerals.

Since 2014, the Russian economy has been hit by a plummeting rouble, spiralling inflation, substantial capital flight and virtually no growth until late 2016. Declining financial reserves has also forced the Putin government into an austerity drive that has so far spared the military and social services from cuts, but if the reserves continue to run down austerity may have to be extended to these politically sensitive sectors.[29]

In short, Putin faces conditions at home that belie the claim that Russia is a resurgent great power, and appears to be in a race against time to weaken the international sanctions against his regime and thus reassure his wealthy inner circle he can counter growing signs of discontent within Russian society. On 26 March 2017, a wave of unsanctioned rallies were held across Russia to protest corruption in the government of President Putin.[30] The angry protests followed demands by the opposition politician and anti-corruption campaigner, Alexei Navalny, for answers to allegations that Prime Minister, Dmitry Medvedev, has been enjoying a lavish lifestyle when many Russians are economically struggling.

While Mr. Putin's decisive victory in the 2018 presidential election in Russia was said to vindicate his muscular foreign policy, such a claim has to be weighed against the fact the most significant political opposition candidates were shut-out of the presidential contest and that popular protests are unlikely to diminish at a time of economic hardship for many Russians. In short, the domestic conditions that generated Putin's campaign against the liberal order show no sign of going way in the near future.

Brexit and the Liberal International Order

In a huge political upset, British people voted narrowly in a national referendum on 23 June 2016 to leave the EU. The margin of victory was just 3.8%. The referendum had been foreshadowed by a long period of political ambivalence toward membership of the EU by the two major political parties in the UK, both of whom had sizeable and influential anti-EU factions.

However, the holding of the referendum on EU membership was not the product of a broad popular demand.[31] Rather, it was the result of a promise made by former Prime Minister, David Cameron, in 2013 to placate right wing anti-EU Tory MPs and counter the apparent electoral appeal of Nigel Farage's anti-immigrant United Kingdom Independence

Party (UKIP). However, after the unexpected re-election of the Conservative government in 2015, Cameron was politically obliged to honor a pledge that had been made mainly to buy peace within his ruling party.[32] But for Cameron and the Remain side the referendum did not go according to plan.

The referendum campaign of 2016 highlighted a major divide over the role of the sovereign state in the twenty-first century. The Brexit camp—spearheaded by politicians like Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage and internationally backed by the likes of Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump—insisted that the Westphalian nation-state remained the key player in the international arena, and that the impact of the forces of global and regional integration on the sovereign state was much exaggerated.[33] It was argued that states like Germany and France had played a crucial leadership role in shaping the evolution of the EU, but that role has come at a cost. The Brexit camp argued the German–French partnership shaped an EU organization, in which the national interests of a number of states, particularly Britain, had been under-represented and marginalised.

The solution to this problem, according to Brexit supporters, was for Britain to leave the EU project and "take back control" of its national sovereignty. It was claimed that after leaving the EU, the UK would be able to spend an extra £350 million per week on the country's National Health Service (NHS); Britain's economy would be more competitive because UK would immediately be able negotiate its own trade deals with emerging economies and the world's biggest economies; and the City of London, no longer subject to regulations from Brussels, would obtain the flexibility and scope to become world's top financial center.[34] Furthermore, Brexit campaigners claimed that an exit from the EU would avoid spillover from Europe's migration problems. By exiting the EU, "leavers" argued the UK could impose strict immigration controls and uphold strong national borders. It was said such measures would prevent migrants taking jobs and places in schools from British citizens.

Suffice it to say, the Remain camp firmly rejected the view that British sovereignty was diminished by membership of the EU. Far from being constrained by the EU, the Remain camp argued that the sovereignty of a state like Britain has been boosted by its membership of an economic, political and diplomatic community of more than 500 million people. It was noted that at the time of joining the EU in 1973, the British economy had under-performed for the best part of the post-1945 period.

By 2013, Britain had the fifth largest economy in the world. Almost half of Britain's exports went to the EU, whereas Britain takes less than 12% of its imports from the EU. All this was cited as evidence that the benefits of the UK being able to sign its own free trade deals were exaggerated. No country in the world would give the UK trading advantages that London was not able to achieve as part of the EU. Outside the EU, the UK would be less valuable to other countries and less able to fight for its own interests.[35] Remainers argued that Brexit would not only jeopardize Britain's biggest export market but almost certainly trigger a significant exodus of capital and investment from the UK.

As things turned out, the Leave side secured a marginal victory in a fiercely contested referendum. A right-wing extremist, Thomas Mair, brutally murdered Jo Cox, a Labour MP for Batley and Spen in Yorkshire and strong supporter of the Remain cause, in broad daylight.[36] Both the Leave and Remain sides technically suspended their campaigns for two days as a mark of respect for the murder of an elected politician, but even the death of an elected politician did little to quell the bitter divisions displayed over Britain's relationship with the EU. Many Leave campaigners and supporting media outlets caricatured Remainers as "Remoaners"—a description that is still used today in newspapers like the Daily Mail, The Express, The Telegraph and the Sun—and it was strongly implied that Remainers were national traitors and lackeys of Brussels. The Remainers warned of economic disaster in the event of a Leave victory, a claim dismissed as "Project Fear" by leading members of the Leave camp.

A striking feature of the Brexit campaign both before and after the referendum was the constantly invoked populist narrative that Leavers sought to empower "ordinary people" and strike a massive blow against the British political establishment that had purportedly sold out the country's interests to interfering bureaucrats in Brussels. In other words, leading Brexiteers like Boris Johnson, Jacob Rees-Mogg and Nigel Farage presented themselves as at the forefront of an anti-establishment uprising.[37] And that narrative was widely accepted in the national and international media.

But the distinction between declaratory and substantive strategy should be kept in mind here. The political establishment in the Conservative party and, to a slightly lesser degree, in the Labour party had always comprised hardline Eurosceptics. And the Leave camp was significantly better funded than their Remain opponents. Top Leave

donors included right-wing free-market libertarians like wealthy businessman Aaron Banks who donated more than 8 million pounds and stockbroker, Peter Hargreaves, who contributed more than 3 million pounds.[38] At the same time, the Brexit cause has continued to be backed by a cabal of media billionaire cheerleaders like Rupert Murdoch, Richard Desmond, Viscount Rothermere, Sir David Barclay and Sir Frederick Barclay. It would seem that Brexit—as far as these wealthy supporters are concerned—offers the best prospect for making Britain a Singapore-style, low-wage, low-benefit and low-regulation economy.

Shortly after the Brexit vote, David Cameron's successor as Prime Minister, Mrs. Theresa May declared "Brexit means Brexit" and insisted that a narrow victory by the Leave camp in a non-binding referendum provided the legitimate basis for the biggest and potentially most damaging change to British external policy since 1945. Mrs. May's stance on the EU referendum result was effectively supported by the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn in the major opposition Labour party. Corbyn said Labour would "honor" and respect the vote of the British people to leave the EU.[39]

But little has happened since the referendum to boost the legitimacy of Brexit. Having publicly called for a clear Brexit mandate at the General Election of 8 June 2017, Mrs. May's Conservative party saw its majority in Parliament slashed and was forced to form a minority government with the support of the hardline Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). At the same time, the May government has over two years failed to develop a workable plan to withdraw from the EU that would avoid economic disaster. According to projections by the UK government's own Department for Exiting the European Union and the Office of National Statistics, an increasingly-likely "hard" Brexit would lower the UK GDP by 8% (£158 billion) and cost 2.8 million jobs. Even a "soft" Brexit that kept Britain in the Single Market—leaving it with no say in EU decision-making—would lower the GDP by 2% (£15 billion) and put 700,000 out of work.[40]

Mrs. May's belated attempt to spell out a more coherent Brexit approach in early July 2018 not only split the Tory party with the Brexit Minister, David Davis, and the Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, resigning from their posts, but also did little to address the interests of nearly half of the British people that voted to remain in the EU. Nevertheless, the May leadership and Brexit supporters keep claiming in an Orwellian fashion that "the British people have voted to leave the EU" and

strongly reject the idea of a second referendum. Such a stance is author-
itarian and misleading. It is the hallmark of a liberal democratic society
that dissent is not only tolerated but is considered part and parcel of a
political process that enables policy errors to be corrected or reversed.[41]

The populist pledge that Brexit would help UK "take back control"
has been exposed since the referendum. The May government may
have dreamed of dictating the terms of the Brexit negotiations, but the
emerging reality is that Britain ultimately will have to accept the terms
agreed by the other 27 independent EU countries. The conclusion of
the first round of Brexit negotiations in December 2017 was particularly
instructive. Despite much bluster, the May government had to capitu-
late to all the EU demands in order to move the discussions on to the
question of a free-trade agreement in 2018.[42] But this is only part of
the story concerning the UK's disempowerment. States as large as the
United States and China and as small as New Zealand have told the May
government that free-trade deals with the EU take priority over any
bilateral trade agreements with the UK. Market size matters. Instead of
boosting Britain's sovereignty, the prospect of Brexit seems to be rapidly
diminishing it.

In the space of two years since the EU referendum, the predictions
of "Project Fear" have largely been realized. The UK has changed from
being the fastest growing economy in the EU to the slowest.[43] Sterling is
more than 17% lower against the Euro than it was in 2015, inflation has
risen to 3.0%, economic growth has been sluggish, and the prices of the
products the UK imports have soared. Meanwhile, a growing number
of firms in London are now looking to relocate their business premises
to other European countries involving the loss of thousands of jobs in
the UK. Among others, insurance giants like Lloyds and Royal London
are establishing subsidiaries in Brussels and Dublin respectively while
investment banks such JPMorgan, Citigroup, Goldman Sachs, HSBC
and Standard Chartered are moving staff to cities like Frankfurt, Paris,
Dublin and Luxembourg.

Finally, we now know, thanks to ground breaking research by the
journalist Carole Cadwalladr and information provided by whistleblow-
ers, Christopher Wylie—one-time director of research at Cambridge
Analytica—and Shahmir Sanni—former Vote Leave activist—the integrity
of the EU referendum result has been seriously compromised by illegal
money, data crimes and Russian involvement.

In May 2018, Leave.EU, one of the main Brexit campaign organizations, was fined £70,000 by the UK Electoral Commission for exceeding its legal spending limit by at least 10% and furnishing incomplete and inaccurate documentation.[44] Meanwhile, Vote Leave, a campaign group headed by Boris Johnson and cabinet member, Michael Gove, has been fined £61,000 by the UK Electoral Commission and referred to the police for serious breaches of electoral law. Among other things, Vote Leave spent £675,000 with a smaller group, BeLeave, on an initiative led by Aggregate IQ using the social media to target voters. This spending should have been declared and meant that Vote Leave exceeded its legal spending limit of £7 million by almost £500,000, a huge overspend.[45]

Moreover, the UK's Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) in mid-July fined Facebook £500,000, the maximum amount possible, for allowing the improper use of millions of users' data by the consultancy Cambridge Analytica, and is pursuing a criminal prosecution of its parent company, SCL Elections Ltd, which is linked to a Canadian business that provided analysis for the Vote Leave campaign ahead of the 2016 EU referendum.[46]

Finally, and as already noted, there is mounting evidence Putin's Russia colluded with prominent Brexit campaigners to influence the outcome of the 2016 referendum.

THE TRUMP ELECTION AND THE CHALLENGE TO THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Donald Trump's surprise victory in the US presidential election in November 2016 has delivered perhaps the greatest challenge within the liberal international order since America played a pivotal role in helping to establish that institutional framework in the post-1945 era.

It is should be emphasized that a resistance to globalization was arguably the foremost policy theme in Trump's election campaign for the White House. He made a strong electoral pitch to Americans that felt their social and economic status in society had been severely eroded over recent decades by the economic impact of globalization, and particularly the outsourcing of US jobs, technological innovation, mass migration and demographic change.[47]

Pledging to put "America First" and to "Make America Great Again", Trump stated his determination to fight to protect American jobs and

prevent America being "ripped off" by the rest of the world. Trump presented America as a major victim of the contemporary liberal order. He also said he was ideally placed to correct this situation because he was not a "legacy" candidate from the US political establishment. Moreover, he repeatedly emphasized he was a very wealthy and successful businessman that did not need to do the bidding of powerful lobby groups in Washington DC. In short, Trump presented himself as the anti-politics politician who could "drain the swamp" in Washington and provide decisive and independent leadership to fix America's problems.

This populist message resonated with sizeable numbers of angry and alienated white working-class voters that saw the global financial crisis of 2008–2009 as the culmination of a trend over three decades that had systematically undermined their status and position within America. The Trump team's skeptical approach to globalization and multilateral institutions was a major point of departure from the previous Obama administration, which maintained that a "simple truth" of the twenty-first century is "the boundaries between people are overwhelmed by our connections."[48]

But Trump's populist message was not confined to his political campaign for the White House. In his Inauguration speech of January 2017, President Trump set the tone by declaring "we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, DC, and giving it back to you, the people." That meant, in Trump's words, immediately ending the "carnage" of America's policies of past decades.[49]

After a little more than eighteen months in office, the Trump administration has already withdrawn or distanced America from a growing list of multilateral agreements. These include the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the Paris Climate Accords, the Iran nuclear deal and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which the Trump administration has pledged to renegotiate or withdraw the United States from altogether.

Further, in an effort to rectify the United States' trade deficit, President Trump in 2018 has unilaterally slapped steep tariffs on billions of dollars' worth of goods from China, the EU, Canada, Mexico and Japan. The tariffs currently involve approximately US$34 billion of Chinese goods, and the imposition of tariffs of 25% on steel imports from the EU, Canada Mexico and Japan, along with 10% on their aluminium imports. All of these countries are responding with levies of

their own on thousands of US products and informing the World Trade Organisation (WTO) of their retaliatory measures in what appears to be clear breaches of the WTO's rules-based trade regime by Washington. While Mr. Trump hopes his protectionist strategy will stimulate growth and new jobs in the United States, there are already indications that some quintessential American companies such as the motorcycle company, Harley Davidson, are relocating and building plant in Thailand so that they can continue to export their products to the EU in a way that avoids retaliatory tariffs imposed on US made products.[50] At the same time, the Trump administration's round of tariffs clashes with the liberal principle of free trade and runs the real risk of inciting a trade war between the United States and its major trade partners and allies. Although President Trump insists America will win a trade war, most economists believe that all parties lose in such a contest.[51]

Trump's brand of nationalism appears to have weakened America's commitment to the rule of law and international human rights. For one thing, his administration courted controversy over its decision to recognize Jerusalem as the new capital of Israel. While President Trump took pride in the fact he had honored a campaign pledge in making this move, the decision received little international support. Many of America's traditional allies saw Trump's decision as premature and probably illegal since the Palestinians had long claimed East Jerusalem as their capital and the status of this city therefore should be part of the Israeli–Palestinian negotiations that facilitated the establishment of a Palestinian state. Angered by criticisms in the UN, the Trump administration's ambassador warned Arab countries objecting to the US recognition of a new Israeli capital that they could not expect American development and support if such opposition to US diplomacy in the Middle East region continued.[52]

President Trump has also exhibited a preference for personalized diplomacy with authoritarian leaders over bilateral or multilateral diplomacy with leaders from liberal democratic states. His U-turn on US policy toward North Korea is a case in point. At a one-day summit with Kim Jong-un, in Singapore on 12 June 2018, Trump heaped effusive praise on the North Korean dictator whose consolidation of power in Pyongyang involved the murder of two relatives, invited him to the White House, and claimed that historic progress had been made toward denuclearization of the Korea peninsula. Yet a joint statement at the end of the summit belied such claims. In return for Trump's willingness to suspend military exercises with South Korea, Kim Jong-un agreed in

principle to begin the process of denuclearization, a commitment previously made by North Korea leaders in 1995 and 2006.[53]

President Trump's visit to Europe in July 2018 only seemed to confirm a preference for "dictator diplomacy." Beginning with his participation at the annual NATO summit, Trump inter-alia harshly criticized some of America's closest allies for their level of defence spending and accused Germany of being "a captive of Russia" because of the building of Nord Stream 2, a Russian pipeline, through part of Germany.[54] Trump's outrageous claim was a barely veiled attack on German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. After the NATO summit, Trump journeyed to London where directly interfered in the UK's domestic politics by attacking the "soft" Brexit approach of Mrs. Theresa May, declaring that former Foreign Secretary would make a fine Prime Minister and describing the EU as a "foe" of the United States, a comment that prompted the German Foreign Minister, Heiko Maas, to remark that Europe "can no longer completely rely on the White House."[55]

President Trump's summit with Vladimir Putin in Helsinki, on the last leg of his European trip, did little to dispel the impression that he was compromised in some way in his dealings with the leader of Moscow's authoritarian regime. On the eve of the summit, Trump blamed the Obama administration for the deterioration in US–Russian relations following Russian intervention in the UK, and indicated in a press conference that he believed Putin rather than US intelligence on the question of Russian interference in the 2016 election, a position he attempted to walk back when he returned to Washington. Trump's performance in Helsinki was strongly condemned across the political spectrum in the United States and prompted former CIA Director, John Brennan, to accuse the president of treason.

In light of the Trump administration's record thus far, there seems to be a "back to the future" quality about its foreign policy. President Trump seems to believe in a purely Wesphalian order where the world should be ruled exclusively by sovereign states. Such a stance is consistent with Trump's "America First" approach. As the world's most powerful state, the United States, according to the reasoning of the Trump team, would disproportionately benefit from the diminution of multilateral constraints established by a liberal international order and its rules. To paraphrase Thucydides, the Trump administration seems to exemplify the view "the strong rule where they can and the weak suffer what they must."

Interestingly, Trump's foreign policy perspective seems to overlap with that of the Putin regime. At the 2017 Munich Security Conference, Sergei Lavrov, the Russian foreign minister, argued that NATO "remained a Cold War institution"—Mr. Trump himself has sometime described NATO as "obsolete"—and that Moscow intended to build a "post-West world order" based on the supposed self-balancing competition among autonomous nation-states.[56] The Trump team's support for the idea of unfettered state sovereignty was highlighted by its strong and enthusiastic support for Brexit, a position shared by the Putin regime. In contrast, the Obama administration took the view that the UK was more influential inside the EU than outside it.

But is Trump really leading an anti-establishment revolution in the United States that will seriously threaten the liberal international order? The disruptive impact of the Trump administration cannot be minimized. But Trump's cabinet picks look anything but anti-establishment. It includes a heavy sprinkling of billionaires from Wall Street and the oil industry. And his much touted tax reforms are unlikely to reduce the wealth gap that has put the American dream beyond the reach of so many people in that country.[57]

At the same time, President Trump's efforts to advance an anti-establishment nationalist economic agenda have bumped up against the complexities of an interconnected world characterized by long global supply chains and foreign direct investment. It should be emphasized that US corporations have benefited enormously from a globalized economy and continue to outperform their rivals. As Sean Starrs' study points out, in 2014 US corporations continued to dominate the leading sectors of the global economy, such as aerospace and defense, chemicals, computer hardware and software, electronics, financial services, heavy machinery, oil and gas, pharmaceuticals and retail.[58]

In short, the Trump team is likely to struggle on the anti-globalization pledges that have been made. And there is little evidence US corporations and businesses believe they have been the major victims of globalization as President Trump often likes to proclaim.

THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND THE IMPACT OF THE POPULIST THREAT

The three case studies considered here confirm that the liberal international order is being significantly threatened by populism on multiple fronts. While the cases in question have distinctive national

characteristics, it is also clear that certain common features can be identified in the narratives of the populist actors. The Putin government, the Brexit leadership and the Trump leadership have all questioned in various ways the role of multilateral institutions, and looked to oppose what are seen as the corrosive effects of globalization, particularly in relation to immigration, trade and global governance. These actors seem to want to go back to the old order agreed at the Yalta conference in 1945, in which states with different ideologies and political systems coexist and pledge to respect each other's territorial sovereignty—a "purely Westphalian world," as Peter Harris described it.[59] That is to say, the populists yearn for a world ruled by independent nation-states that brook no constraints on their sovereignty by multilateral institutions or international rules.

These populist leaders have presented themselves as defending "ordinary" citizens in anti-establishment struggles whether it is against NATO "aggression" toward Russia, the "traitorous" Europhile political class in the UK or American globalist "losers" who allegedly are happy to outsource US jobs and investment overseas. By constantly framing a zero-sum conflict with "globalists"—domestic enemies plotting to enslave nations in an extended liberal order or "new world order"—these populist leaders are seeking to highlight their credentials as the only authentic nationalists, and such claims may be bolstered by foreign support in the form of financial and digital or social media support. It is no coincidence that there has been a high degree of populist solidarity between leaders like Putin, Farage and Trump in recent years.

It would be wrong, on the basis of the three cases examined here, to regard the populist threat to the liberal order as an "episodic phenomenon" that will fade away as soon as the populist politicians achieve power and are seen to be unable to deliver on their unrealistic promises.[60] That is wishful thinking, and ignores the deep structural changes in the 1980s associated with globalization (and the end of the Cold War) that helped to produce the current populist tide. While globalization era has helped integrate the world through startling advances in communication, the establishment of a global information infrastructure and massively increased trade and investment, it also unleashed new perils or exacerbated existing problems. Examples include the rise of transnational terrorism, the proliferation of intra-state wars, international organized crime, mass migration, neoliberal economic reforms, growing inequalities and relentless environmental decline.

The dark side of globalization in the post-Cold War era created a fertile breeding ground for populism in fledgling and established democracies. Many would-be voters looked for politicians who could deliver a promise of stability or hope, especially as some of the major parties appeared to be almost indistinguishable from one another and firmly tied to the status quo.[61] Three specific factors reinforced this populist awakening. First, since the early 1990s, there has been a trend among some within the academic world to say there is no material reality, only acts of interpretation. If reality is defined as a social construct, the task of holding others, including politicians, to a truth-standard becomes much more difficult.[62] Second, "alternative facts" and declining levels of trust in authority have been weaponized by a changing global media landscape,[63] During the last decade and a half, digital networks and social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have become major providers of news at the expense of more traditional news mediums such as TV, radio and printed newspapers. This development has meant many members of the public now choose to get their news exclusively from sources whose bias they agree with.

Third, and most importantly, the global financial crisis of 2008/2009 substantially eroded trust and confidence in neo-liberalism and public institutions in countries most directly and adversely affected by this economic upheaval. While there has been an economic recovery since the financial crisis of 2008–2009, that event has continued to cast a long shadow. In 2014, it was noted, for example, that 85 of the world's richest people owned the same amount of wealth as the 3.5 billion poorest, which is close to half the world's population.[64]

Unless the downsides of globalization can be reversed, there is no reason to anticipate that the threat of populism will soon diminish. The political appeal of leaders like Putin, Farage and Trump stems largely from their recognition that globalization and the liberal international order it shaped has failed to fulfill the expectations of many citizens, especially in the areas of jobs, security, migration and the protection of long-held beliefs.

But while problems of the liberal international order have played an important part in helping to facilitate the rise of populism, it would be premature to expect the collapse of this order. The liberal order may not be perfect, but it is more than simply a diplomatic cover to protect the interests of the United States and the Western countries. Bilateral and multilateral US security guarantees during and after the Cold War

have helped to pacify regions such as East Asia and Central Europe, and prevented the emergence of regional hegemons whose dominance was unlikely to be benign. An open, rules-based trade system in the era of globalization has not only benefited Western countries, but has lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty in countries like China, which liberalized its economy in the 1980s and joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001.[65]

At the same time, it is unlikely that populist politicians will be able to solve the policy problems, which contributed to their prominence. In power, there are few indicators that Putin, Brexit leaders or the Trump administration will find it possible or even desirable to fulfill their pledge "to back control" and reverse the process of globalization they all rail against. After all, globalization is a major structural change driven by technology that has all states—big, medium and small—more interconnected and vulnerable. In the twenty-first century, globalization has redefined state sovereignty. All states, including Russia, the UK and America are confronted by economic, security and environmental problems that defy resolution on a purely national basis. In such an environment, meddling in the Ukraine, withdrawing from the EU and a "America First" slogan may win nationalist applause in the short-term. But in the longer term, such actions may well prove detrimental to the very national interests that are supposed to bolster.

Moreover, the prospect of a political counter-response to the rise of populist forces and leaders cannot be discounted. But more is required than simply defending the liberal international order status quo against the attacks of populist adversaries. The focus should be on identifying elements of the liberal international order that need to be strengthened and reformed. In light of what has been said here, one priority stands out. The liberal economic order must be made to work better for more people. The current degree of inequality within and between nation-states is neither morally acceptable nor politically sustainable. If such conditions persist, populist leaders and demagogues will continue to be able exploit and manipulate such deprivation for their own political purposes. Apart from a few obvious changes like increasing the representation of non-Western countries in the IMF and other specialized agencies, there is little consensus about what a reformed liberal economic order might look like. But without economic reform to the liberal international order, the populist challenge is likely to endure.

Notes

1. Burgess (2018).
2. Weiss (2017), Schallhorn and Farber (2018).
3. Ikenberry (2011b, 56).
4. The Avalon Project (2018).
5. Ikenberry (2011a, 1–2).
6. Plattner (2010).
7. Ikenberry (2009, 72).
8. Ionescu (1991, 11–12), Clark (1997, 15).
9. Fukuyama (1989, 16).
10. Kundnani (2017, 4).
11. Ruggie (1982, 379).
12. Ikenberry (2011b, 62).
13. United Nations General Assembly (1948).
14. Patman (2000, 5).
15. Mudde (2004).
16. Inglehart and Norris (2016, 6).
17. Mudde (2016).
18. Inglehart and Norris (2016, 7).
19. Oliker (2017).
20. Dawisha (2014, 269).
21. Ibid., 1–2.
22. Pankow and Patman (2016).
23. National Turk (2015).
24. Patman (2017b).
25. Cadwalladr (2018), Mostrous et al. (2017).
26. Embury-Dennis (2018).
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The Global Rise of Populism as a Socio-material Phenomenon: Matter, Discourse, and Genetically Modified Organisms in the European Union

Shane Markowitz

Introduction

"We have the best water, the cleanest air, and the most beautiful land-scapes…God protect Bavaria."[1] In justifying the stance of the Christian Social Union political party against the cultivation of transgenic crops in Bavaria, Markus Söder, since 2018 Minister-President of Bavaria and quoted above, paired mass disapproval of the public toward genetically modified organisms (GMOs)—he noted that 80% of the public was opposed—with frames highlighting the vulnerability of traditional land-scapes, wildlife, and ways of life that he argued needed protection from the risk of pollination-driven gene transfer.[2] In doing so, Söder under-lined the marrying of the social and material and particular arrangements of space and matter that are at the root of many a populist appeal, from the construction of border walls associated with populist rhetoric on

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305

immigration to the imposing of trade barriers deemed necessary for the protection of jobs.

Despite this visible presence of matter, among the most influential perspectives examining populism, nevertheless, are discursive and ideological approaches, which tend to give emphasis to the role of language and shared understandings in inscribing meaning to matter but less so to the agency of matter in and of itself. Discursive perspectives provide attentiveness to populist phenomena as constituted through articulations of social, economic, and political grievances, "where the ambitions of the relatively marginalized find common cause with the sufferings of those who are considerably more oppressed within the social hierarchy."[3] Relatedly, ideological approaches too turn toward interrogating political rhetoric, but with a focus on highlighting the emotive manipulation (e.g. "the heartland") that underlies populist claims and popular appeal.[4] This focus on emotion is put in stark contrast to what is presumed to be rational and well-reasoned economic policy.

There has also been a growing body of research engaging with changing global socio-economic contexts and arrangements in enabling particular iterations of populism, including most notably through the arguably omnipresent phenomenon of globalization.[5] While providing attentiveness to dislocations and reorientation of resources and power (e.g. "winners and losers" of globalization) in emerging globalized economies and their imprint on populism, this examination though still obscures the very technicality of matter itself in constituting, for example, political economy configurations and the ways in which such constellations come to engender the direction and shape of populist content in particular settings.

The recent "materialist turn" in social and political theory has indeed put to challenge many of the conventions of social science scholarship, highlighting the vibrant and agentive capacities of material things that were traditionally conceived of merely as objects that were coped with by human beings or as passive objects upon which meaning is imposed.[6] Timothy Mitchell,[7] for example, has highlighted how the very materiality of different resources and minerals and the different material processes involved in extracting and transporting them have shaped trajectories of labor and political mobility and in turn political regimes. Others have shed light on the role of matter in shaping the constituting of avian flu, electrical blackouts, the securitization of infrastructure, the development

of surveillance regimes, the altering of human moods, and imaginaries of modernity.[8]

This chapter sets out to make the case, through exploration of a couple snapshots of the issue of genetically modified organisms in the European Union, that examining matter also holds promise in better understanding the global rise of populism. Plant biotechnology is a case in which the technology has been well-noted as becoming anathema to significant swaths of the EU, with the development of a (relatively) stringent regulatory and societal framework that has by and large made the EU a GMO-free area in terms of cultivation and food consumption.[9] These developments could be characterized as populist in that they have come despite the fact that transgenic crop applications have generally received favorable opinions from the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) and the technology as a whole has been portrayed as promising in terms of the development of crops that can grow under adverse climate conditions or provide nutritional benefits.[10] The debate has, moreover, witnessed political parties that once advocated in favor of transgenic crops with frames focused on the importance of research and innovation to economic growth shift their positioning to advocacy against transgenic crops.[11] Such moves have been criticized by GM supporters as "cheap propaganda" detrimental to the economy.[12] It is also a useful case for analysis given that in explaining issue outcomes, scholars have put a spotlight on underlying social and economic discourses and emotive tropes employed in the contestation over the issue, situating the eventual rejection of the technology within discourses on European food/farming culture, globalization, and democratic deficits. These alternative perspectives provide an opportunity to interrogate the intelligibility that comes through integrating matter into analytical narratives.

The populist themes are exemplified in the policy success of the anti-GM coalition, which was argued to have moved "quickly and effectively to seize the initiative to frame GMOs as a threat to biodiversity and farmer autonomy and an insufficiently regulated food safety issue" in the "context of preexisting issue salience of the mad cow crisis and the emerging antiglobalization movement."[13] It has been argued that European identity frames of appreciation for the "natural" non-industrialized environment and "natural" historically-based food have made GMOs an "other" that risks contaminating nature and leading to the artificialization of European life.[14] Sassatelli and Scott have pointed

out that "in many European societies food is crucially linked to a sense of belonging to a national community and to the ways each nation has customarily portrayed itself, and often, derogatorily, the 'others.'"[15] By strategically framing GM as an attack on identity, on legitimating symbols and political values, the anti-GM movement has consequently, as the argument goes, persuaded Europeans to largely reject the technology and its associated negative consequences.[16]

Farmers too were brought into the fold. The frames of national identity, food culture, and agriculture are argued to have been synthesized particularly effectively by European small-scale and peasant farmers, including José Bové, the small French cheese farmer turned European Green Party leader, who used the term *malbouffe*, referring to a general disdain for many aspects of globalization-oriented food and agriculture, including GMOs, the fast food industry, and industrialized agriculture.[17] Such articulations were argued to have been further enhanced by the role of the American company Monsanto in entering the European market with unlabeled products, consequently sparking activist groups to orchestrate crop trashing events and port blockades of GM crop shipments.[18]

While the backdrop of identity and the frames employed to magnify these attachments plausibly mattered and highlight particular iterations of power, this chapter indeed seeks to highlight the socio-materiality involved in underlining this mattering in a few snapshots of the issue construction. In the sections that follow I first outline the socio-material approach, drawing on new materialism generally and the agential realism of Karen Barad specifically, employed in this empirical analysis. Facilitated by interview fieldwork with representatives of agricultural interests, environmental groups, anti-GMO organizations, the plant breeding scientific community, and political parties, the chapter then turns to specifically examining farmer mobilization as one particular area closely associated with the rise of mass populist appeal on the issue across the EU, interrogating the intra-activity between pollen, topography, farmland layout, and European regimes on labeling and supermarket branding that constituted the decision-making landscapes underpinning these moves, with a focus especially on the region of Bavaria as one case site in which to examine these entanglements more in-depth. The subsequent section then further examines—through an interrogation of the soybean and the global socio-material constituted processes of production and consumption in which the soybean has become entangled—how

political posturing on the issue developed in, in fact, nuanced ways, again employing Bavaria as a case site to explore these relations. European approaches toward GMOs are argued to have not simply been orchestrated by local political actors, but rather to have been contingent phenomena constituted socio-materially through the relations between pollen, soybeans, and landscapes and different material/discursive practices, including production and consumption patterns, regulatory frameworks, and food retailer branding moves, within and across conventionally conceived political borders and the further channeling of these processes into specific settings. The chapter concludes with interjections on what this understanding of politics may entail for future engagement with the global rise of populism.

Agential Realism as an Approach for Understanding the Materialization of Populism

At the heart of this chapter's alternative approach to examining the debate over genetically modified organisms is an attunement to materiality, a move that draws on the emerging body of scholarship labeled as the (new) material turn.[19] What these approaches have in common is that they have advocated for the elevation of materiality in social and political analysis to correspond to the primacy of matter in our lives and argued for a move away from the human-centered focus of research in the humanities and social sciences.[20] Rather than conceiving of materiality in instrumental terms as raw power or as vessels inscribed with social meaning, these different approaches have conceptualized objects and non-human things as capable of enacting agency beyond the discursive inscriptions to which they are often attributed. They reject mechanistic conceptions of matter in terms of cause–effect relationships, but also challenge what is perceived as the reduction of objects to discourse. Discursive and emotive approaches, for example, have been criticized for conceiving of matter as "essentially passive stuff, set in motion by human agents who use it as a means of survival, modify it as a vehicle of aesthetic expression, and impose subjective meanings upon it."[21] Diana Coole further adds: "…is it not possible to imagine matter quite differently: as perhaps a lively materiality that is self-transformative and already saturated with the agentic capacities and existential significance that are typically located in a separate, ideal, and subjective realm?"[22] Taking

stock of contemporary physics, new materialists explore the efficacy of material agency, including the material propensity for self-organization and self-transformation, in all different types of local and global systems.[23] Moreover, they examine the repercussions of this lively, dynamic, and vitalist matter on the organization of the world.

An aim of these endeavors is to generate a more aware understanding of politics. Andrew Barry, for example, by way of the phenomenon of the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan oil pipeline, highlights the ways in which British parliamentary discussions over the pipeline were shaped and guided by the very materiality of pieces of the pipeline itself.[24] This was demonstrated when following the failure of previously used coating material on the pipelines, the British House of Commons surprisingly came to deliberate not the possibility of civil war or Britain-Georgia relations, but rather the type of synthetic material that joined the pieces of pipe together.[25] In this vein, the pipeline can be seen as not only socially constructed by international actors, but also as itself fundamentally shaping the interactions between policymakers outside the realm of any predefined discourse. In a similar way, the 2003 electrical blackout in Canada and the northeast United States has been seen as being constituted and made possible by "very active and powerful nonhumans: electrons, trees, wind, fire, electromagnetic fields."[26] Jane Bennett especially puts emphasis on the distributed agency in which this phenomenon was constituted, including generator failures, brush fires, and the overloading of transmission lines within a broader assemblage comprised of power plants, energy companies, electricity demands, and energy deregulation. Timothy Mitchell, meanwhile, examining Egypt's political modernization and period of nation-building, rather than solely focusing on humans and social construction, attributes the process to a distributed network comprised of both a British military invasion from the north and a malarial mosquito infestation arising from the south.[27] In this regard, in shedding light on such agency, new materialists have problematized orthodox political accounts of phenomena, uncovering overlooked practices that perform power in significant ways and without which outcomes and the processes involved in constituting them cannot be adequately understood.

My own interrogation of plant biotechnology in this chapter is facilitated conceptually through Karen Barad's agential realism approach, a strand of new materialism that has shown promise in being put to use in a range of different fields in making sense of, for example, the

development of health epidemics, the securitization of infrastructure, digital self-imaging, and primary school bullying.[28] Differentiating the approach from other new materialist perspectives that put an emphasis on matter possessing agency through and through, according to Barad, phenomena, referring to differential patterns of mattering (i.e. diffraction patterns), are generated through processes of complex "intra-action" between multiple material-discursive practices and particular material entities.[29] As opposed to the concept of "interaction," which presumes pre-existing agencies, "intra-action" refers to the "mutual constitution of entangled agencies" between material entities and material/discursive practices.[30] As such, rather than coming in the form of pre-formed entities that possess agency, Barad understands matter and discourse as being conferred meaning and becoming determinate only in the field of practice in specific situations.

The notion of a material-discursive practice is especially important in Barad's agential realist approach for they are "specific material (re)figurings of the world" that enact cuts that include and exclude and steer the performances of particular entities.[31] They are the conditions of possibility or boundary-drawing devices, themselves also materialized in their relations with other material-discursive practices, that confer meaning and delineate the range of possible actions for any other entity. As such, all objects and discourses, themselves constituted through relations between various other entities and discourses, are, in fact, not simply entities or discourses but material-discursive practices. An illustration of these processes, provided by Barad, may be gleaned from the phenomena of fetal ultrasound images, which are generated in the intra-actions between a piezoelectric transducer and fetus. While at a fundamental level, the transducer functions to both provide and receive ultrasound waves, Barad notes that the performance of the piezoelectric transducer, nevertheless, is constituted through its entanglements with numerous elements, including the acoustic impedances of tissues, interface geometry, and frequency. As an apparatus of measurement, moreover, the piezoelectric transducer is itself not natural or passive, but rather "constituted through particular practices that are perpetually open to rearrangements, rearticulations, and other reworkings."[32] It is itself a phenomenon (re)materialized in the intra-actions between a range of material/discursive practices that involve "medical needs; design constraints (including legal, economic, biomedical, physics, and engineering ones); market factors; political issues; other R&D projects using similar

materials; the educational background of the engineers and scientists designing the crystals and the workplace environment of the engineering firm or lab…" among others.[33] In this vein, the transducer, as an object of matter and as a discursive-material practice, is both produced within the boundary-setting actions of numerous material-discursive practices, while also functioning to further generate these practices in addition to the ultrasound images that it more visibly produces.

The added value of agential realism, vis a vis other new material-ist approaches, has been in its promise to overcome the limitation that some new materialist perspectives have been criticized for in neglecting social context, in failing to take into account "the productive working of geopolitics, economics and history," particularly as it relates to per-formativity, referring to the mutually constituted meanings and agencies that emerge between entangled discursive-material practices through their interplay and intra-actions in the field of practice rather than a priori.[34] By way of example, Claudia Aradau highlights how the securiti-zation of infrastructure is not only constituted through speech acts nor solely by the capacity of certain types of matter to rupture but through the coming to matter or not of these entities and processes through their entanglements with practices of civil engineering, legal practices of responsibility, emergency planning, and building design.[35] The infra-structures become materialized "through their capacity for being dis-rupted and their effects upon the smooth functioning of society."[36] Urban infrastructure, for example, often reliant on steel and concrete, becomes securitized on account of the tendency for these materials to corrode, in connection with the societal importance placed on bridges, water systems, and transport systems.

In employing such an approach to examine the mobilization of politi-cians and farmers for or against transgenic crops in the EU, in engaging with the relations between material entities and the other material-discursive practices upon which they emerge alongside, agential realism provides an analytical opportunity to shed light on not only the instru-mental role of particular material objects (e.g. genetic sequences, soybean traits, dynamics of pollen) or "discourses" (e.g. EU food labeling regimes, agrarian identities) in the process, but also fundamentally how they come to confer meaning on one another and in the process steer one another's mattering. In doing so, there is an opportunity to pinpoint overlooked explanations that overcome the simplistic attribution of causal agency to particular speech articulations or material forces and in the process

highlight alternative intervention points that provide opportunities for political change.

The narrative presented in the sections to come particularly problematize and unpack the politics at play in the issue trajectory, emphasizing the socio-material origins of farmer mobilization patterns and especially putting a focus on pollen and soybeans as powerful entities that ordered the ways in which farmers engaged with the issue of GMOs generally in Europe. Importantly, these stories revolve not only around this vibrant matter though, but how specifically it was materialized in its intra-actions with particular topographies, climates, and spatial distributions of farmland in different regions of the EU and European regimes on labeling, food retailer branding developments, and production and consumption practices in different countries (e.g. growing meat demand).

The Socio-material Constituting of Political Mobilization Against Transgenic Crops: The Changing Stances of Farmer Groups and Their Mattering

That an examination of the mobilization of farmers in the debate over GMOs is worthy of analytical attention in understanding the constituting of populism is borne out of the existing scholarly literature and my own empirical fieldwork attributing their involvement as pivotal to political positioning on the issue. Of particular analytical note, the stance of European conventional farmers, represented largely by the lobby group COPA-COGECA, on the issue—and the political ramifications therein—has importantly been contrasted with that of the American Farm Bureau, the largest organization in the United States representing farmers, which was resolute in its support of transgenic crops throughout the 1990s and 2000s and opposed to GM labeling.[37] In the EU though, conventional farmers were rather noted as "conspicuously absent" in both the pro and anti-GM movements at the same time that the EU placed a moratorium on approval of transgenic crops in 1998.[38] This divergence has, significantly, meant a less inclusive and coherent pro-GMO movement and concurrently a broader anti-GMO movement in the EU that encompasses large-scale agricultural interests to some extent.[39]

This inclusion, in turn, has trickled up to the political level, particularly displacing the positions of some right-wing political parties in the EU traditionally allied with conventional farmer groups. In the region

of Bavaria, for example, a change in the stance of the Christian Social Union (CSU) political party, in government since the issue erupted on the scene in the 1980s, has been observed. While CSU political leaders were initially prominent supporters of transgenic crops in the 1990s, they later changed their stances in the 2000s, setting up local GMO-free initiatives and committing the region to membership in the GMO-free Regions Network of Europe.[40] As perceived by a Bavarian anti-GMO activist and Agriculture spokesperson for the environmental group Bund-Naturschutz, the CSU began to oppose GMOs when they saw that farmers, normally a core segment of the CSU electoral vote, were protesting and cooperating with what they would have considered radical environmental groups associated with the Green Party.[41] Given the Green Party's success in national politics—becoming junior partners in the government from 1998 to 2005—at the time, this was not a development to which a blind eye could be easily turned. It was at this time that CSU politicians indeed turned to frames focused on portraying themselves as the first "green party."[42]

A protest organized by farmers in the city of Rosenheim in Bavaria in 2009 that attracted 3500 attendees was also noted as particularly crucial in shifting the tide. Referring to this event, the director of the Bavarian Institute for Crop Science and Plant Breeding emphasized the farmers' increasing involvement as a central moment in the debate, particularly as it embarrassed the CSU.[43] Underlining this point, the environmental activist emphasized that Rosenheim was a "very important district for the CSU politics: It is a safe district for the CSU. When that is changing, that causes problems."[44] A leading official in the CSU indeed acknowledged that the event left a big impression on Horst Seehofer and Markus Söder, at the time, respectively, Chairman of the CSU and Bavarian Minister of the Environment and Consumer Protection.[45] It was only a few days after the Rosenheim event that Markus Söder, in particular, remarked that a change of course was needed in plant biotechnology.[46] The language of the conventional farmer groups on the protection of nature, significantly, would be adopted by CSU politicians.[47] And only two months later, despite division in the German cabinet (e.g. some in the CSU/CDU leadership called it "irresponsible" and "cheap propaganda"), the CSU leadership, including Agriculture Minister Ilse Aigner who hailed from Rosenheim County, successfully lobbied for a German ban on the cultivation of Monsanto's GM maize, the only approved transgenic crop in the EU at the time.[48]

Groups representing small and organic farmers, meanwhile, have been noted by other scholars as central support actors in the European anti-GMO movement more broadly, especially in particular national contexts. In Austria, for example, organic farmers, representing ten percent of all farmers in the early 2000s, have been attributed a role in instigating a national anti-GM policy in that country.[49] Small-scale farmer movements in France and Italy, meanwhile, were noted to have put pressure on national governments in their respective countries to protect local products and traditions.[50] In France, this resulted in tangible effects, including the invitation of the small-scale farmers to government consultations and an eventual shift in the government policy on the issue.[51]

It is worth noting though that the positioning of farmers—and consequently politicians—was not at all inevitable. Conventional farmers, in fact, were noted to have initially been supportive of the use of transgenic crops, acting as lobbying forces in favor of the technology in Austria, France, and the UK in the mid-1990s before changing their tune.[52] In Austria, for example, organizations representing the majority of conventional farmers were noted to have opposed a strictly GMO-free stance in the country until the late 1990s, with the groups stressing the potential beneficial uses of agricultural biotechnology.[53] And in the region of Bavaria, where farmer groups would eventually go on to develop widespread anti-GM networks, my research has shown that there was a perception that Bavarian farmers were initially largely indifferent to the GMO-free movement and rather more focused on economics and survival.[54] This inclination is highlighted in the fact that even today, Bavarian farmers still largely use imported and significantly cheaper GM animal feed—not included in the GMO-free region stipulations—to feed their animals despite opposition from local environmental groups.[55]

Rather than an automatic turn against GMOs, therefore, one can plausibly assert that many farmers were open to the technology and certainly not at first sold on the anti-GMO movement. This chapter now turns toward understanding how it was possible that farmers could become mobilized in the first place, tracing their involvement to the movement of pollen and the ways in which its agency was enhanced specifically within particular topographical settings, agricultural spatial divisions, and political economy structures; that is, employing Barad's concepts, through the intra-activity between pollen and numerous material-discursive practices. While the chapter keeps the broader European context in mind, specific snapshots are at times especially focused on the

region of Bavaria, an area that exemplifies some of the political shifts observed more broadly in the EU, with the CSU-led government in the 1990s initially employing pro-GM frames based on economics and science and then shifting to emotional framings premised on the protection of farming traditions and landscapes in the 2000s. This more targeted case analysis provides an opportunity to draw out some of the processes at work.

Farmer Agitation Made Possible: Pollen and Its Entanglements with Topography, Farmland, Supermarket Branding, and Food Labeling

Pollination has been a process of nature for millions of years, enabling seed plants to reproduce when pollen grains are transferred to the female reproductive organs of plants. The process is enabled by other material entities, including insects and wind, which can carry the pollen hundreds of meters from a source plant. Overall, the mean foraging distance for pollen-collecting bees has been marked at around 1750 meters in simple landscapes and pollen beetles have been known to travel over even longer distances, often in large numbers.[56] The wind, meanwhile, is generally capable of carrying pollen a range from less than 10 meters (the majority of cases) to several hundred meters.[57]

These processes mean that agriculture is an open system, with there always being the possibility that seed DNA from crops on one farm can be spread to crops on another farm, particularly those within close proximity to one another. In the annual ryegrass plant, for example, pollen-mediated gene flow has been shown to occur at a distance of 3 km.[58] This displacement action has been especially enhanced in certain parts of the EU where small farms (often family-owned) are the norm, enabling pollen—and DNA with it—to drift between farms in an area. Eurostat data from 2013 showed that altogether, small and very small farms comprised 86% of all farms in the EU.[59] By comparison, the equivalent number of very small and small farms in the United States was around 39% according to 2012 data.[60] This propensity of small farms to be bunched together in particular rural areas in the EU, as in Poland, combined with the ability of bees and wind to displace pollen means that gene transfer is often unavoidable between farms.[61]

Though the transfer of genetic material has been a process of nature for millions of years and needed not necessarily become a controversy, in the European agricultural context of the 1990s and 2000s, the transfer of genes from GM crops to other organisms came to be called *contamination*, indicating that the admixture was undesired.[62] That it was virulently unwanted in agriculture, unlike prior conventional admixture, owes to pollen's alliance with two other material/discursive practices—the advent of the GMO label and supermarket branding developments that rendered European labeling requirements meaningful. In 2003, new EU regulations were introduced that stipulated mandatory labeling for any food products (including any ingredient in a food product) with a presence of GMOs above a 0.9% threshold.[63, 64]

Underlining its symbolic character and performative potential in intra-acting with the European consumer space, the National Grain and Feed Association in the US emphasized that the European labeling requirement was akin to putting a "skull and crossbones on the packet."[65] Context is important to understand why this was the case. Throughout the 1990s, European food retailers had gradually aligned themselves more closely with consumer rights through various marketing and practical schemes. Part of this process involved the development of store own-name brands—designed to provide companies with a competitive advantage over rivals, but which had the perhaps unavoidable effect of placing food retailers more directly under the microscope of consumer groups.[66] In the context of transgenic crops, this meant a hands-off approach, with food retailers eschewing GM food products.

Overall, a policy of containment was solidified, cemented in the double lock of supermarket branding initiatives and mandatory stringent labeling.[67] These processes of containment though, in the context of the anti-GM alliance, also would come to play a fundamental role in reshuffling the mobilization patterns in the debate, particularly with respect to the activism of farmers. This was on account of the fact that the label and branding developments became intertwined with pollen drift and farmers seeking to protect the market value of their products. The potential for the admixture of GM and non-GM crops meant that even farmers seeking to grow GM crops for the purpose of animal feed, not subject to labeling requirements, were putting their neighbors at economic risk and raising potential legal issues for themselves. In Germany, there was worry that there might be a "war in the villages" with non-GM farmers potentially turning to the court system to protect their livelihoods.[68]

The obstinate and uncontrollable behavior of pollen, aided by intensified activism from groups representing organic and small-scale farmers, nevertheless, encouraged the EU to intervene in 2003 by developing a compromise solution aimed at allowing "the market to operate freely, while reducing the policy conflicts on GMOs."[69] The Commission introduced this principle as co-existence—the notion of an agricultural system based on the segregation of conventional, organic, and GM farms, thereby enabling the methods to exist side by side and farmers to make their own choices between these options.[70] The legislation was proposed as non-binding guidelines that enabled Member States to designate minimum isolation distances between GM and non-GM farms, with the responsibility to conform to these regulations falling to the GM farmers. Spatial separation, in other words, would displace the nodes connecting different types of farms through pollination by cutting off pollen's ability to reach non-GM farms.

Interrogating the co-existence system as a discursive-material practice helps make sense of the way in which it has come to be conferred meaning and matter differently in different localities through its relations with other practices. Given the fact that the precise separation distances were left to the member states, it has been noted that debate simply trickled down to the national and regional levels.[71] The uncertainties involved and hardening European rejection of GMOs gradually constituted changing positions for some conventional farmer groups who had initially been open to the use of the technology. While putting farmers into a context in which it was plausible for some to choose to mobilize against GMOs or remain indifferent, there was no guarantee though that the processes would channel action into any particular direction. Instead, what has been observed is the sporadic political organization of farmers throughout the EU, generally against GMO cultivation but with farmers in some regions such as in Catalonia and Aragon in Spain being more accommodating to transgenic crops.[72]

In the Bavarian context, political efforts to craft a system of co-existence ultimately did not overcome the symbolic and displacement effects of pollen and labels, undercut by earlier practices of clustering small farms together over many generations of family ownership, according to a Bavarian environmental scientist based at the Institute for Biodiversity.[73] The average size of farms has been estimated at around 35 hectares in Bavaria according to a spokesperson for the Bavarian Farmers Association (BBV), the largest lobby organization for farmers in the region.[74]

The director of the Bavarian Crop Science and Plant Breeding Institute noted that these small farms pose an obstacle for GMOs in Bavaria because it is difficult to protect them from pollen drift.[75] This burden is only magnified for some crops in which pollen may drift farther afield. Highlighting the case of canola, he emphasized that it "would be impossible to grow non-GM Canola when your neighbor is growing GMO canola" in Bavaria due to pollen drift and the proximity of farmland.[76] When scientists or plant breeders have pursued field trials, farmers have pursued litigation because of these concerns. The result in Bavaria was that crop cultivation, even for trials, was severely limited and even if farmers wanted to plant GM crops, they had to abide by stringent regulations on isolation distances.

This picture contrasts with eastern parts of Germany where the average farming size is larger—in some cases over 1000 hectares—and where many farmers and local governments chose to support GM crop cultivation before the national ban. These areas were some of the most predominant areas with GMO farming in the country before the national government banned MON 810 maize in 2009.[77] It should be pointed out that the regional government of Saxony-Anhalt, in fact, challenged—unsuccessfully—in court German legislation restricting the cultivation of transgenic crops through isolation distances.[78] In these regions, unlike other parts of the country, there is indeed a legacy of large-scale industrial farms which were previously owned by the government or cooperatives during the GDR. Since the reunification of Germany, a majority of these farms have either remained as large-scale cooperatives or been sold off to companies.[79] This large-scale farming system has inflicted dramatically different implications on how the farms are managed and the type of farming practices that are employed, particularly with respect to GMOs. One environmental scientist pointed out that "with a huge farm, it's easier to keep a [GMO separation] distance of let's say 150 meters as required by the law….it's much easier to abide by these rules if you have a huge farm than if you have a neighbor close by."[80]

Another unexpected entity, in consort with the above outlined web of material/discursive relations, constituting the saliency of transgenic crop appeal has been the character of the physical topography of the region. In Bavaria, for example, the hilly landscape has made mass cash-crop farms, where there is a larger market for GMOs, untenable in much of the region.[81] Instead, Bavarian farmers, especially in the southern and eastern parts of the region, are focused on dairy production, an industry

where commercial GMOs have not been marketed.[82] Furthermore, according to a plant breeding scientist at the Technical University of Munich, climate conditions render the one GM crop that has been approved for cultivation in the EU—an insecticidal maize variety produced by Monsanto—relatively impractical in Bavaria; the corn borer is not a threat to crops in the region, thereby reducing the need to use Bt or crops expressing the Bt toxin.[83] Another plant breeding scientist, based at the Bavarian Institute for Crop Science and Plant Breeding, noted that "even the farmers didn't see in the beginning that there was a product they could use…that was necessary here in our region."[84] This contrasts with the situation in Spain, where the ecology of the area has constituted the corn borer as a plausible threat to the crop yield of farmers and where around one-third of the maize crop or over 100,000 hectares comprises the GM variety.[85] In regions of Spain where there is considerable pest pressure, there are even higher levels of GM maize cultivation, highlighting again the power of the corn borer and other pests as entities that displace farmers' thinking on the issue.[86] As the GMO spokesperson for Friends of the Earth Europe pointed out, "maize is really tricky, you can easily spray pesticides in weeds and rye, but to spray a maize field when it's well-grown, you need heavily expensive equipment."[87] This has been especially true for small and medium size farmers in Spain, who might otherwise be worried about contamination, for whom the Bt maize has offered a convenient solution promoted by government and official advisors.

These different socio-material entanglements, in turn, would be channeled into political action in different ways. In Bavaria, for example, GM farming became less and less socially tenable, in some cases reordering relationships between neighbors. In the town of Iphofen, a wine-growing area in northwestern Bavaria, a heated local debate erupted after a farmer decided to cultivate MON 810, as described by one anti-GMO activist in a nearby area.

> The farmers were fighting against one another. One of the farmers wanted to grow MON 810, but others were against it, and they fought against the farmer. And he was alone. The entire city was against the farmer. He became smaller and smaller because of the pressure from outside.[88]

The social pressure from neighbors ultimately proved too much to bear for the Iphofen farmer who soon after relented. Another activist

emphasized that there used to be many farmers who planted GMOs in Germany in 2007/2008, but now "because of big social pressure, we don't have GMO areas in Bavaria or anywhere else in Germany. And when you look at a map, you see that there used to be areas with GMO seeds grown and now we don't have that."[89] A representative of the BBV emphasized that earlier discussion and interest among farmers about having GMO cultivation in the cash-crops areas of northern Bavaria didn't get far off the ground. The cash crop farmers lost the internal debate on account of the fact that "the small fields here don't carry separate GM and GM-free crops, so we said okay it doesn't make sense here in Bavaria to grow GMOs."[90]

This intertwining of matter and discourse also gave rise to more formal forms of political activity in the region. In the Rosenheim area of Bavaria, beginning in 2006, a group of farmers developed the anti-GMO political group called Zivil Courage that morphed into a movement with numerous chapters throughout Bavaria that held regular meetings and major protest events.[91] Most notably, in 2009, leaders of the movement organized an over 3000-attendee event in the Inntalhalle of Rosenheim, hosting Vandana Shiva, a well-known global anti-GM campaigner and winner of the Alternative Noble Prize. The central theme of the event focused on the risks of agricultural biotechnology and the loss of freedom for farmers. Vandana Shiva, in particular, lambasted the greed of multinational companies and highlighted the economic and social costs of transgenic crops.[92] As noted above, such platitudes were eventually adopted by CSU politicians in a major policy shift for the political party largely associated with the rise of groups like Zivil Courage.

This contrasts with the situation in Catalonia and Aragon, where the large percentage of farmers cultivating GM crops has also sheltered these groups from non-GM farmers, instead putting pressure on organic farmers to withhold any complaints lest they disrupt the peace of a neighborhood.[93] In this vein, matter and discourse both came to gain meaning in different ways in different contexts through their entanglements with one another, in the process reorienting the types of farmer mobilization—and in turn populism—that were plausible. If such constellations had emerged in different ways in additional local settings (e.g. Bavaria) and more generally across the EU, then the issue may have been contested differently, thereby at the very least altering the decision-making landscape in which populist views took hold or not in political circles.

Populism Mitigated? GM Animal Feed Practices in the European Union and Their Embeddedness in Soybeans, Topographies, and Global Political Economies

Just as the emergence of perceived populist policy positions on GMOs was constituted socio-materially across the EU, so too was the shape and content of these policy stances. In fact, the viewpoint of conventional farmers and the respective politicians presumably vying for their votes have not so universally aligned with anti-GMO critics. In the region of Bavaria, for example, a particularly key issue dividing the BBV—the farming lobby group—from the broader anti-GMO movement in the area was constituted by attitudes toward permitting the use of GMO animal feed for livestock. While the Bavarian environmental group Bund-Naturschutz had conceived of a GMO-free Bavaria as one without any traces of GMOs in any parts of the food chain, the BBV framed a GMO-free Bavaria in less radical terms.[94] More specifically, the BBV crafted its notion of a GMO-free Bavaria as a region free of transgenic crop cultivation ("no cultivation"), but accommodating toward the import of GM animal feed for livestock—"we know that we need to import GMO soybeans for feeding our animals."[95] It is this policy stance of the BBV that has indeed been formulated in the vision of a GMO-free Bavaria set out by the CSU-led regional government.[96] This nuanced policy formulation, I argue, was materialized through multiple intra-acting material-discursive practices, including resistance of European climates and fields to soybean cultivation, the adoption of transgenic crops in soy-producing countries, and rising industrial/consumer demand for meat and other animal products. These processes, significantly, were set in a context in which unlike the case of food derived directly from GM ingredients, there was no EU legal requirement to label animal products that had been produced from animals grown on GM feed diets.

According to 2013 data, the EU imports around 36 million tons of soybean and soymeal every year to meet plant protein needs, with a total of around 60% of its total protein animal feed consumption met with imports.[97] These imports notably come largely from Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina, and the United States, four countries with widespread use of transgenic crops and where societal discourses have generally been accommodating to the technology.[98] In 2007, a time period in which the GMO-free alliance was particularly politically active, figures showed that GM soy comprised 64% of total soy production in the world, with 2013

data showing 100% of soy production as GMO in Argentina.[99] It should be pointed out that this production has at least been in part contingent and contested—with one governor in Brazil, for example, sanctioned by federal officials for his initiative to keep the state of Parana GMO-free and Brazil as a whole only beginning to allow GMO cultivation in the early 2000s but with GMOs reaching 60% of soy production by 2007.[100] That transgenic crops weren't contested in the same way as they were in the EU context though has engendered implications for EU farmer options.

The need for animal feed itself, it should be pointed out, has emerged as a phenomenon constituted by global and European practices of meat consumption and the very materiality of soybean in facilitating the achievement of these demands.[101] Monogastric animals (e.g. pigs and poultry) have in particular been understood as being dependent on soybean animal feed, which provides the essential amino acid lysine necessary to prevent nutrient deficiencies in these animals.[102] Consequently, without soybeans, it becomes exceedingly difficult to sustain both growing human world populations that require protein and high-quality livestock whose very demand has been rising in recent years, illustrated, for example, in increased demand in China for Brazilian soybean.[103] Its proneness and inability to resist weed populations, in consort with the relative ease with which it could be genetically engineered to withstand the herbicide sprays used to eradicate these weeds, has also made it a primary target for the transgenic crop market. In this regard, soybean itself, in its intra-activity with other material-discursive practices (e.g. rising meat production/consumption in China), has become a boundary setting practice.

With regards to a reliance on soybean imports, it should be acknowledged that the agricultural landscape across the EU, in intra-activity with the soybeans themselves, has importantly functioned to constrain farmers from growing their own protein-rich soy for animal feed locally, as pointed out to me by one plant breeding scientist.[104] Soybeans are notably short-day plants dependent on both temperature and photoperiod, thereby limiting the range of possible geographical/latitude locations for the crop.[105] In particular, the generally northern growth conditions of Europe have hindered the adaptation of soybeans.[106] In Bavaria, to give one example, soybean cultivation in 2015 was around 15,000 tons of production on around 5000–7000 hectares of land compared to the 800,000 tons of soybean imports.[107] Altogether, according to 2011 data,

protein crops were cultivated on only three percent of EU arable land.[108] This compares to around 25% of arable land in the United States for soybean alone.[109]

In addition to the technical obstacles placed on soybean production in European climates and the adoption of GM soy varieties internationally, the EU's dependence on GM soy imports has become further entangled with trade agreements, including the GATT and the 1992 Blair House Agreement, obligations that have eliminated tariffs on soy, oilseed, and other protein-rich crops, thereby further entrenching the external dominance over this market over the past several decades in the EU.[110] Not only did these moves further disincentivize soybean production in the EU, but they were also perceived as resulting in a loss of practical know-how related to soybean farming practices and the end of development of protein seed crop varieties favorable to European climates.[111]

These displacements, in turn, have constituted decision-making landscapes that have seen European farmers shift away from domestic soybean cultivation toward instead the import of protein-rich feedstuffs to feed livestock and the ever-growing demands of the industry. There has been a noted insufficient amount of domestic European feed to replace the GM soybean imports and the little conventional soybean supply available, around 10% of all soybean use, has been mostly used for human food products.[112] In the context of Bavaria, this meant that in the 2000s, Bavarian farmers were faced with the choice of either purchasing GM animal feed from abroad or paying a steeper premium for the limited supply of non-GM animal feed available.[113] The use of GMO-free soy products had demanded an estimated price premium of around 2–10% by 2000, but this figure was noted to have risen to around 5–17% in the later 2000s.[114] A 2015 analysis revealed around a 20–40 euro per metric ton price premium (or nearly 5–10%) for the non-GMO variety.[115]

Within the Bavarian setting specifically, given that a significant number of Bavarian farmers opted for the cheaper GM animal feed, the BBV took a position against incorporating a ban on GM feed, reflected also in the stance of the CSU as noted above. In this vein, the perspective of Bavarian livestock farmers on what it means to be GMO-free rather emerged through the entanglements, for example, between soybeans and landscapes and the ways in which they were conveyed significance through their relations with various material-discursive practices, including agricultural practices, regulatory environments, and food

consumption habits in different countries. The broader point here is that taking into account intra-activity between matter and discourse means in this case recognizing that certain policy prescriptions, deemed populist (or not), emerge (or not) out of decision-making landscapes that materialize socio-materially through complex relations between local and global. This chapter now concludes with a few interjections on the implications of this understanding for engaging with the global rise of populism.

Conclusion

Like many other phenomena deemed to be populist, the rejection of transgenic crops in the EU has generally been explained as a product of social contestation. In this case, the anti-GM movement mobilized a broader network of supporters than the pro-GM movement and was able to effectively steer the positioning of political parties across the ideological spectrum. Between the movements themselves and the politicians that were both influenced by and led them, emotive framings were employed articulating the protection of traditional ways of life and landscapes against the threat of globalization and the new technologies and multinational companies associated with them. This chapter has not questioned these discursive and ideological premises of populism in this case, but rather has highlighted the socio-material underpinnings of the configurations of mobility that emerged, without which the shape of populism on plant biotechnology that arose cannot be understood.

Across the EU, the political positioning toward GMOs, in fact, has emerged in nuanced ways. While the EU area as a whole has largely turned against the cultivation of transgenic crops, the use of GM animal feed has proven resilient. These seeming ideological contradictions underscore the notion that shifting global political economies, including global trading regimes, haven't led in any linear fashion in making populism more or less likely, but rather have reordered existing relations between matter and discourse and brought into the fold new entanglements between the material and discursive practices operating in different settings. In this vein, the global rise of populism is not merely constituted through the mechanism of counter globalization movements in response to shifting global political economies, but rather in each instance is the embodiment of the intermingling of different practices and material entities in different contexts and the displacements

therein that make certain emotive framings salient over what is presumed reasonable.

The stories narrated here highlight the fact that there were numerous intervention points through which the outcomes could have emerged differently. In terms of the decisions of farmer groups to tolerate imported GM animal feed, rather than being purely attributed to the surface level price premiums for soybean, for example, examining this process from the perspective of intra-activity put a spotlight on how decisions were also embedded within widespread practices of food consumption and production both locally and globally. As one point of intervention, there have been recent initiatives from NGOs, government plant breeding agencies, and private organizations to augment European non-GMO soy production.[116] These moves are further buttressed by support from EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) reforms that provide subsidies for or otherwise incentivize soybean production.[117] And there has indeed been an accompanying gradual increase in the amount of soybean produced in the EU, from around 4 million tons production in 2013 to nearly 6 million tons in 2015, with projected further increases expected in the future.[118]

With this said, if anti-GM groups are to achieve their aim of broader shifts in EU GM soy use in a context in which Brazilian discourses on transgenic crops and changes in food consumption patterns globally impinge on the goals of environmental activists in local EU contexts, it may also be contingent on a shift away from industrial models of agriculture and food dependent on soy production both locally and globally and/or shifting practices of GM use and acceptance in soy-producing countries. The findings of this chapter indeed suggest much further contemplation is needed in our political systems. If particular socio-materially constituted spaces and political contexts are to be constantly tied up with the practices of other contexts, then are recent moves into transnational and cross-border civil society coordination, in fact, legitimate and are they beneficial to intervening groups or are there alternatives that may better reroute issue outcomes in specific cases? At the very least, engaging with discourse-material intra-activity highlights the need to look also beyond seemingly direct causal attributes and related solutions to particular processes to also the broader diffraction patterns and socio-material processes that confer meaning on these performances. It is through this type of engagement that we can begin to better grapple with the global rise of populism and impart lessons on how these processes can be altered to construct a better world.

Notes

1. Bollmann and Hägler (2008).
2. Söder (2006).
3. Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017, 402).
4. Hadiz and Chryssogelos (2017).
5. Ibid.
6. Aradau (2010), Mutlu (2013).
7. Mitchell (2011).
8. Aradau (2010), Bennett (2010), Huysmans (2006), Sheller (2014), Wilbert (2006).
9. Devos et al. (2010), European Commission (2015), James (2012), Jasanoff (2007).
10. Funk and Rainie (2015), Mathiesen (2014).
11. See discussion of the Christian Social Union later in this chapter.
12. Spiegel (2009a).
13. Ansell et al. (2006, 119).
14. Hayes (2006).
15. Sassatelli and Scott (2001, 215).
16. Heller (2013).
17. Toke (2004).
18. Ansell et al. (2006), Bauer (2015), Levidow and Carr (2009), Schurman and Munro (2010), Toke (2004).
19. Mutlu (2013).
20. Mutlu (2013).
21. Coole (2010, 92).
22. Ibid.
23. Connolly (2013), Coole and Frost (2010).
24. Barry (2013).
25. Ibid.
26. Bennett (2010, 24).
27. Mitchell (2002).
28. Aradau (2010), Højgaard and Søndergaard (2011), Warfield (2016), Wilbert (2006).
29. Barad uses the term diffraction – an analogy from classical physics - to refer to the process in which a particular entity (e.g. a slit or obstacle in the example of waves) engenders particular effects on the meaning of the performances of other entities (e.g. a wave), see especially Barad (2007).
30. Barad (2007, 33).
31. Ibid., 140.
32. Ibid., 170.

33. Ibid., 203.
34. Aradau (2010, 497), Barad (2007).
35. Aradau (2010).
36. Ibid., 506.
37. Ansell et al. (2006).
38. Ibid., 101.
39. Ibid.
40. Bayerische Staatskanzlei Pressemitteilung (2014), Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Umwelt und Verbraucherschutz (n.d.), *Die Welt* (2005), Isermann (2009), Söder (2006).
41. Ruppaner (2015).
42. Bollmann and Hägler (2008).
43. Doleschel (2015).
44. Ruppaner (2015).
45. Isermann (2009).
46. Ibid.
47. Bollmann and Hägler (2008).
48. Isermann (2009), Spiegel (2009a, b).
49. Seifert (2009).
50. Ansell et al. (2006), Doherty and Hayes (2012).
51. Doherty and Hayes (2012).
52. Lynch and Vogel (2001), Seifert (2009), Toke (2004).
53. Seifert (2009).
54. Doleschel (2015), Woerlein (2015).
55. Backus (2008).
56. European Environment Agency (2002), Steffan-Dewenter and Kuhn (2003).
57. Hüsken and Dietz-Pfeilstetter (2007).
58. Busi et al. (2008).
59. Eurostat (2016).
60. National Agricultural Statistics Service (2012).
61. Clancy (2016).
62. Binimelis (2008).
63. Although not required by law, several European organic certification organizations enforce a 0.1% detectability standard (Brookes 2006).
64. European Parliament and Council of the European Union (2003).
65. Mitchell (2003).
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Populism and Trade: The 2016 US Presidential Election and the Death of the Trans-Pacific Partnership

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INTRODUCTION

During the 2016 US presidential election, a "populist" wave crashed onto US shores, infusing the political discourse with its unmistakable "people versus elites" rhetoric. Indeed, as a *Washington Post* article claimed, "If you had to sum up 2016 in one word, you might choose 'populism'."[1] The term populism most broadly refers to references of 'people vs elites' in political contexts, and while it has roots in political history, the term itself is broad enough that leaders on both the extreme political right and left have been called populist.[2] Indeed, during the 2016 US presidential campaign, candidates Bernie Sanders on the left-side of the Democratic party and Donald Trump on the right-side of the Republican party were both referred to as "populist" candidates.[3]

Although populism had already impacted elections worldwide particularly in Latin America and Europe, it caught US establishment

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337

party politics off-guard and upended what initially appeared to be a "legacy" election between Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton, wife of former President Bill Clinton, and Republican Jeb Bush, brother of former President George W. Bush. In addition to negatively impacting mainstream candidates, populism also thwarted President Obama's plan to complete the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a 12-member regional trade agreement, after more than five years of negotiations.[4] President Obama intended to submit the TPP for Congressional ratification during his final year in office with the hope of adding a significant piece of trade legislation to his "Asia Pivot" legacy.[5] However, the populist rhetoric of Sanders and Trump targeted free trade as "bad" for workers and harmful to the US middle class.[6] This dramatically shifted the political debate over TPP, quickly eroding initial Congressional support for the agreement as well as pushing presidential candidate Hillary Clinton to switch her position to oppose the TPP even though she had been heavily involved in negotiating it as Secretary of State. In all, this chapter claims that populism created chaos for "politics as usual" in the United States, and forced President Obama to abandon his TPP plans and give into the anti-trade climate that accompanied the 2016 election.

In this chapter, I examine the rise of populism during the 2016 US presidential election and ask how did populism shift the US political climate against free trade? In order to understand the rise of populism in the United States, the chapter draws on a narrative approach[7] and analyzes White House and presidential candidates' public statements on the TPP, as well as media coverage of the trade agreement, during the 2015–2016 period. Drawing on speeches, newspaper stories, and public opinion polls, the chapter examines why the White House pro-trade narrative lost ground to the populist anti-trade surge and why trade became a lightning rod issue for populist candidates creating an anti-trade fervor that ultimately ended US participation in the 12-member TPP agreement.

POPULISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

In response to political events in Latin America, Europe, and the United States, scholarly studies of populism are on the rise.[8] According to Girdon and Bonikowski,[9] existing approaches to populism fall into three paradigms—populism as an ideology, populism as a discursive style, and populism as a political strategy. The scholarly literature also refers

broadly to two sides of populism—right-wing and left-wing. Both right-wing and left-wing populism share a core that prioritizes "the people" over established elites but diverge politically in terms of who is to blame for societal problems and how to solve them. As Inglehart and Norris explain, "Populism [reflects] a loose political ideology emphasizing faith in the 'decent', 'ordinary' or 'little' people over the corrupt political and corporate establishment, nationalist interests (Us) over cosmopolitanism cooperation across borders (Them), and protectionist policies regulating the movement of trade, people and finance over global free trade…"[10] With this definition, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump both fit the definition of populist—while they differ in definitions of who exactly the elites are, they are both in agreement that free trade has hurt American workers and agree that "Washington" does not represent the interests of "ordinary" Americans.

However, the proliferation of scholarly work on populism has also muddied the conceptual waters and there is significant scholarly debate on just what populism is, and how to conceptualize the term.[11] For example, Cas Mudde points out the increasing number of terms just to explain the phenomena of *right-wing* populism.[12] Others debate whether populism can be defined as either a thick or thin ideology,[13] or whether it can be classified as an ideology at all.[14] Moreover, the literature has spawned a rash of new words designed to more accurately reflect the nuances of the different types of populism and the different political parties.[15] In terms of theoretical spectrum, scholars from Marxists to liberals to post-structuralists and qualitative to quantitative approaches have all examined the phenomena.[16]

Aslanidis argues for a discursive formulation of populism to emphasize the strategic use of the term in political discourse, a move that opens up the path for greater empirical examinations of the different instances of populist discourse in domestic contexts.[17] He critiques Cas Mudde's ideological formulation and claims that by shifting to populism as a discursive frame, "we are left with a purely discursive definition: populism modestly becomes a discourse, invoking the supremacy of popular sovereignty to claim that corrupt elites are defrauding 'the People' of their rightful political authority. It becomes an anti-elite discourse in the name of the sovereign People."[18] In 1995, Michael Kazin described populism as "a language" that ordinary people—and the often-wealthy politicians who claim to speak for them—use to organize themselves against elites they see as "self-serving and undemocratic." This linguistic style appeals

to a "producer" class disenfranchised by elites through rhetoric that can become a "language of the dispirited, vengeful, and the cynical."[19]

With a discursive approach to populism, the focus is on how populist language is used and to what effects rather than on how to define it in the abstract and if or whether the definition holds in all cases across different geographical regions.[20] As journalist John Judis states, "When political scientists write about populism, they often begin by trying to define it, as if it were a scientific term, like entropy or photosynthesis. To do so is a mistake. There is no set of features that exclusively defines movements, parties, and people that are called 'populist': the different people and parties that are placed in this category enjoy family resemblances of one to the other, but there is not a universal set of traits that is common to all of them."[21]

While there is a "core" in a populist discourse that involves references to the "common person" or giving voice to the people in contrast to "elites," exactly who represents the common folk or who constitutes "elites" is more or less up for interpretation and discursive deployment. Thus, even the "core" of populism can be deployed differently by different actors and still resonate with audiences representing wide categories of the disenfranchised "little guy." As seen in the rhetoric of Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump, "there is no one constituency that comprises "the people." They can be blue-collar workers, shopkeepers, or students burdened by debt; they can be the poor or the middle class. Equally, there is no common identification of "the establishment." The exact referents of "the people" and "the elite" do not define populism, what defines it is the conflict between the two—or, in the case of right-wing populism, the three (the people, the elite, and the scapegoat).[22]

Given the multiple ways that the core concept of populism—the people against the elite—can take shape in discursive constructions, this chapter contends that populism should also be examined as a particular type of narrative or story. Narratives derive from broader discourses but shape discursive elements in more specific ways that cast characters (or actors) in a plot (theme) that explains a situation (or policy) to a given audience in a familiar or relatable way.[23] In IR, narrative approaches have become more common-place,[24] and analyzing populism's narrative features contributes to our understanding of why populist constructions are effective in mobilizing the public. Populism, seen as a narrative, allows a shift from a focus on particular definitions of the concept to a focus on how the core idea is used as a policy story.

Patricia Ewick and Susan Silbey identify three elements of narrative construction: (1) a selective recounting of past events and characters, (2) the events described are temporally ordered, (3) the events and characters are related to one another and embedded in some overarching theme that makes up the overall feeling or impression of the story.[25] Narratives are crafted by actors but also draw upon existing broader discourses that are assumed or subsumed in creating stories particularly about policy options that might be abstract, complicated, or difficult to explain to a public audience. Given that trade agreements are often thought of as abstract, complicated, and difficult to explain to the public, a narrative approach to trade sees trade politics as an opportunity for elites to tell "trade stories" that involve more relatable elements such as national stories of identities, values, past events, and personal stories of the everyday experiences of Americans. In other words, trade politics are ripe for a narrative analysis.[26]

By focusing on language and "trade stories," the media coverage of trade politics is also important for reflecting the current political climate for or against trade and for expressing the public "debate" over what trade means and how it should be talked about. As the presidential campaign began to heat up in the fall of 2015, the US media began to increase coverage of political candidates and this corresponded with President Obama's outside-lobbying campaign for the TPP. With the media no longer able to ignore "fringe" candidate Bernie Sanders due to the sheer crowd size of his rallies, and with increased coverage of reality TV star, candidate Donald Trump, the media increasingly published stories on "populism" and brought this term to the public debate on trade.

Populism in the Media

In the year leading up to the 2016 US presidential election, the US news media detected the populist shift underway and began a flurry of coverage that included stories on whether or not Donald Trump in particular, as well as Bernie Sanders, could be classified as populist candidates and what that meant for the coming election and political climate in general. Headlines about populism proliferated such as "Who's the real populist in this presidential campaign?,"[27] "Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump Ride the Populist Wave,"[28] "Donald Trump, The Perfect Populist,"[29] "Is Donald Trump a populist?,"[30] and "Why Donald Trump really is a populist,"[31] or "Donald Trump is not a populist,"[32] "Trump is doing

populism all wrong"[33] and "In the Age of Trump, populism ain't what it used to be."[34] The media attention created a buzz regarding just what "populism" meant and whether or not the current candidates could be classified as populist or not. Indeed, google searches for the term "populism" were up 90% in July 2016 over the previous year according to Google Trends.

While there was disagreement in the media over whether or not the term populism was applied accurately to the 2016 campaign, there was little doubt that the populist rhetoric most often targeted economic issues and framed the typical "people versus elites" narrative in terms of middle-class workers or producers as exploited by the financial elite and wealthy politicians. Trade agreements, big business, and "globalism" were frequent targets of Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump. Indeed, Sanders entire campaign platform focused on income and wealth inequality and revolting against an economic system skewed against the middle class, and Trump's campaign focused on a "rigged system" that worked against the working class and benefited corrupt politicians. With an emphasis on "disastrous trade policies" that stifled American growth and eviscerated the middle class, candidates Sanders and Trump used economic populism to rally against the current political establishment. This elevated the candidates' popularity but created shock-waves for the economic status quo. As one journalist puts it, "If one had to choose the biggest loser in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, globalized free trade would be as good a place as any to start."[35] In media reports, financial institutions, journalists, and pro-free trade advocates expressed concern about the future of US economic policy and reflected on how badly damaged US trade policy would be by the impact of the "populist backlash." A *BusinessWeek* piece captured the mood in stark terms with its headline stating: "The presidential campaign's protectionist rhetoric is threatening global commerce."[36] At the opening of the World Bank and IMF meetings in October of 2016, financial leaders publicly expressed worry and concern that worldwide populism fueled by slow growth and increasing inequality would make things much worse for the global economy. IMF leaders and meeting participants warned against protectionist reactions "likening protectionism to 'economic malpractice'" but recognizing that "more and more, people don't trust their elites. They don't trust their economic leaders, and they don't trust their political leaders."[37]

Other media reports attempted to disaggregate "economic populism" from what they believe to be other forces driving the political climate in

2016. Fareed Zakaria argued shortly after Donald Trump's victory, that it was the anti-immigration aspect of Trump's message that helped determine victory and not his economic message. As he wrote:

> Supporters of Trump and other populist movements often point to economics as the key to their success - the slow recovery, wage stagnation, the erosion of manufacturing jobs, rising inequality. These are clearly powerful contributing factors. But it is striking that we see right-wing populism in Sweden, which is doing well economically; in Germany, where manufacturing remains robust; and in France, where workers have many protections. Here in the United States, exit polls showed that the majority of voters who were most concerned about the economy cast their ballots for Hillary Clinton.[38]

On the other hand, Jeffrey Sachs refers to Trump as a short-run populist, who uses populist rhetoric for personal gain. Sachs writes, "Listen to President Trump describe how he will make America great again. He will deport illegal migrants; cut corporate taxes; build a wall and make Mexico pay for it. He will punish companies that move jobs abroad; deregulate the economy; and end environmental protection. This is a world mainly of shortcuts…Trump is the quintessential short-run populist. History teaches why such populism is doomed to fail."[39]

However, the frequency of media reporting on populism indicates that regardless of the particular application of the term, the candidates successfully used economic populism to convey a message that shifted the possibilities for US trade politics as usual. For President Obama, this meant that what appeared to be a challenging but doable trade agenda in the summer of 2015 began to erode as the 2016 election campaign unfolded. Populism was creating a protectionist backlash that was making it increasingly less likely that TPP ratification in Congress could be successful. To examine the impact of 2016 election-cycle populism on the US trade agenda more closely, the next section will examine how the campaign impacted President Obama's attempt to pass TPP.

Populism, the TPP and the 2016 Campaign

For most of 2015, it seemed all but certain that President Obama would pass his signature trade legislation, the TPP during his last year of office. The TPP, the largest regional trade accord in history, would have set new

terms for trade and business investment among the United States and 11 other Pacific Rim nations—a group with an annual gross domestic product of nearly $28 trillion that represents roughly 40% of global GDP and one-third of world trade. As a central part of President Obama's "Asia Pivot," the administration along with the Department of Commerce, the Office of the United States Trade Representative, and hundreds of corporate interest groups were pushing hard to press Congress for trade promotion authority, and eventually for passage of TPP in Congress.

Mid-way through 2015, more Americans supported the trade agreement than opposed it.[40] In April 2015, the New York Times published an article with the headline, "Washington, Though Still Divided, Comes Together on Trade and Other Issues."[41] The article predicted that given that the expected Tea Party opposition to the TPP never materialized, the Obama administration's push to pass the trade agreement in the coming year with almost entirely Republican support seemed likely to succeed. In May 2015, the Senate approved "fast-track" authority clearing the way for the President to sign the TPP, which he did at the beginning of 2016, and thus the only remaining step was Congressional ratification which he hoped to achieve by the summer of 2016.

While the Obama administration was not anticipating a particularly easy legislative battle, the TPP had unparalleled support by the business community and corporate lobbies. The Center for Responsive Politics reported that during the five years of TPP negotiations, companies and groups paid $2.6 billion to lobbyists while TPP was on their agenda.[42] In just the first two quarters of 2015 alone, members of the pro-TPP coalition spent $261 million lobbying for TPP.[43] In all, the TPP legislative campaign appeared to look like past free-trade agreement domestic battles and President Obama signaled a robust public outside-lobbying campaign to convince the public and thus the House of Representatives to ratify TPP despite the usual opposition. In February 2016, he told a New Zealand audience, "We should get TPP done this year and give more American workers the shot at success they deserve and help more American businesses compete and win around the world."[44]

However, 2016 proved to be an unusual year for US election politics. By the beginning of 2016, the White House narrative on TPP directed by the Obama Administration was already losing ground to the anti-trade narratives of the presidential candidates. By the spring of 2016, 85% of Republicans reported that trade deals hurt US jobs—a stark turnaround from the traditional Republican free trade position from less than

a year earlier when Republicans had been essential for passing fast-track authority for President Obama. While each candidate had a particular "trade story," the anti-TPP storylines coalesced on two main themes—past trade agreements took American jobs and thus America should put American workers first (America first/nationalism) and trade agreements are elitist and benefit corporations, those in power, and are negotiated in secret or through a rigged system and the expense of everyday people (populism).

In the following sections, I apply a narrative approach to public documents of President Obama, Bernie Sanders, and Donald Trump's statements on the TPP as well as to newspaper coverage of the TPP during the summers of 2015 and 2016. To apply a narrative approach, I conducted a thematic content analysis for key/trigger words/phrases in newspaper coverage of the TPP in the New York Times during the 2015–2016 period.[45] I used search parameters of the key words TPP and either Obama, Sanders, or Trump to find the data set. I also applied the same method to the public speeches on the TPP using the American Presidency Project online database of presidential speeches.[46] Once I found initial categories, I manually coded frequencies over time to analyze the dominant themes used by President Obama, Bernie Sanders, and Donald Trump to characterize the TPP agreement. By examining the most frequent trigger words and phrases in the documents, the overall trade "narratives" can be analyzed, compared, and discussed. In the next sections, I examine the TPP narratives of President Obama and the two presidential candidates, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump.

The White House Narrative: Pro-globalization and Anti-China

The Obama administration's pro-TPP campaign primarily consisted of two narrative storylines: a national identity 'balance against China' storyline that represents TPP as an American-led balance against an aggressive, unfair and rule-breaker China, and an American Dream/Globalization storyline that describes "leveling the playing field" for American workers and claims that globalization creates jobs and raises wages for American workers. For example, President Obama often used language such as this when talking about TPP to reporters, in speeches and in press releases: "With the TPP, we can rewrite the rules of trade

to *benefit America's middle class.* Because if we don't, competitors *who don't share our values*, like China, will step in to fill that void."[47] In this small segment, he connects the two storylines together—global trade can benefit the middle class (via jobs) (globalization storyline) and America is superior to China and should be the leader in the global economy (identity storyline). This was a common strategy for campaigning for free trade—past Presidents such as Clinton used a similar pro-globalization, American identity narrative to pass NAFTA in the early 1990s.[48]

President Obama hoped to follow in this success by similarly selling the benefits of free trade for American workers and businesses. However, Obama used an identity narrative storyline that did not incorporate an actual *partner* country of the TPP agreement like Clinton did in NAFTA. He instead set the TPP up as a way to counterbalance a rising China (not a member of the TPP) in Asia and to help limit Chinese influence in the region. Like many discursive and narrative strategies, he attempted to utilize an us/them dynamic to infuse the narrative with more affective qualities that mobilize a public reaction.

In examining the Obama administration's pro-TPP campaign, there are consistent themes holding the narrative together via various "catch phrases" or "trigger phrases" that point to the broader storylines and overall narrative of why TPP is a good thing for the United States. Table 13.1 below lists the trigger phrases or key words that signal the storylines to the audience. In the Obama administration's pro-TPP narrative, trigger phrases signaled an identity storyline about why American leadership in the region was enhanced through the TPP by balancing China's influence and preventing an anti-American

Table 13.1 Example of words/phrases for Obama/White House TPP narrative

Balance/China-identity storyline	*American dream/globalization storyline*
China will negotiate own trade agreement	Economic opportunity
China will fill the void	Fast-growing market
China does not US share values	Raise wages/high paying jobs
China will lower trade standards	Benefit middle-class
China is against open internet	Open markets to exports
China is a rule-breaker	Raise standards of living
	Level the playing field for workers

values regime from writing the economic rules as well as an American Dream/pro-globalization storyline that stated the benefits of the TPP for American workers, small businesses, and the middle class.

For example, in a May 2nd, 2016 Op/Ed written by President Obama, he lays out the administration's case for TPP utilizing the two narrative storylines:

> Today, some of our greatest *economic opportunities* [American Dream/Globalization] abroad are in the Asia-Pacific region, which is on its way to becoming the most populous and *lucrative market* on the planet [American Dream/Globalization]. Increasing trade in this area of the world would be *a boon to American businesses* and *American workers,* [American Dream] and it would give us a leg up on our economic competitors, including one we hear a lot about on the campaign trail these days: China. Of course, China's greatest economic opportunities also lie in its own neighborhood, which is why China is not wasting any time. As we speak, *China is negotiating a trade deal that would carve up some of the fastest-growing markets in the world at our expense, putting American jobs, businesses and goods at risk.* [Balance/China identity][49]

This example shows the Obama TPP narrative strategy of stating how the TPP would both promote jobs and economic opportunity for American workers while simultaneously balancing against China's own efforts to secure a market that is more in line with its values. The American Dream/Globalization storyline signaled here positions trade as a positive boon for American businesses and workers but it also quickly links to the opposing storyline about China. China is represented as a threatening counterpart to the United States who will take advantage of the market if TPP fails and at great cost to the US economy. While not directly characterizing China's identity in this segment, the implication is that China taking the lead on its own trade agreement in the Asian region is threatening to US interests and values. This segment demonstrates the overall Obama administration's pro-TPP narrative campaign as two-sided—ultimately pro-globalization and anti-China. Another example, from the Obama White House TPP webpage, describes why we need TPP:

> With the TPP, we can rewrite the rules of trade to *benefit America's middle class* [American Dream]. Because if we don't, competitors *who don't share our values*, like China, will step into fill that void. [Balance/China identity][50]

Again, in this overview of TPP, the Obama administration develops its main narrative strategy—passing TPP will benefit American workers economically and balance against China, a threat to Asian stability and a country in tension with American values.

As it became evident that the US presidential election was shifting the public debate against free trade, President Obama began to position TPP in response to the protectionist language emerging from the Sanders and Trump campaign. He argued that TPP addressed past concerns over trade and that an "anti-immigration" stance from the Trump campaign was causing an anti-globalist reaction that inappropriately targeted trade. For example, in September 2015, as Trump's campaign gained popularity, Obama addressed the Business Roundtable, who had already spent $18 million in the first quarter of 2015 alone lobbying for the TPP,[51] by stating: "Here's the concern politically, I think within the Republican Party some of the same impulses that are anti-immigration reform, some of the same impulses that see the entire world as a threat and we've got to wall ourselves off, some of those same impulses also start creeping into the trade debate. And a party that traditionally was pro-free trade now has a substantial element that may feel differently."[52]

A year later, Obama faced the realization that even with some calling for a "lame-duck" session Congressional vote on TPP, the anti-TPP forces had succeeded and even if Hillary Clinton were to win the election, it was a nearly impossible political climate for TPP ratification. In an October 16, 2016 Op/Ed, Obama wrote: "Wherever I go these days, at home or abroad, people ask me the same question: what is happening in the American political system? How has a country that has benefited—perhaps more than any other—from immigration, trade and technological innovation suddenly developed a strain of anti-immigrant, anti-innovation protectionism? Why have some on the far left and even more on the far right embraced a crude populism that promises a return to a past that is not possible to restore—and that, for most Americans, never existed at all?"[53] In less than 12 short months, the plan to successfully pass TPP through Congress failed, and the pro-globalization, anti-China narrative had lost out to a more powerful, anti-trade, protectionist, populist narrative. The next section examines the rise of the populist, anti-trade narrative coming from the 2016 presidential candidates Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump.

The Candidates' Narrative: Populism, Trump and Sanders

In the fall of 2015, presidential candidates, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump gained increased media coverage as surprise at the success of both campaigns sparked wide interest in two very different candidates with a similar message on trade. Despite the drastically different Democrat and Republican candidates' position on nearly everything else, Sanders' and Trump's common message on trade was cued to have a profound impact on the TPP and the overall free-trade debate in the United States. As the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the biggest US labor organization, puts it, "[Trump] doesn't appeal to the Sanders voters, because all of his solutions are at the other end of the spectrum, with one exception, and that's trade. I think he's tapped into the legitimate anger and frustration that's out there. He knows a great issue and a powerful issue and a powerful narrative when he sees it, and our narrative is very, very powerful."[54] This anti-trade synthesis between two candidates from different political parties converged during the primary season particularly targeting past "bad" trade deals such as NAFTA and the current campaign to ratify the TPP. As the 2016 campaign gained momentum, a rising populism narrative began to interrupt the Obama Administration's pro-TPP campaign and the candidates' counter-narrative drew on opposing storylines to Obama's pro-globalization and American Identity/balance China storylines.

While the two candidates, Trump and Sanders, differed in style and vision, their anti-TPP narratives shared two dominant storylines—America first nationalism/protectionism, and populism. In Table 13.2 below, the most frequently used trigger words are listed to show what

Table 13.2 Example of coding words/phrases for candidate anti-TPP/Trade narrative

America first/protectionism	*Corrupt/elitist/populism*
Trade exports jobs	Rigged system
Trade lowers wages	Trade agreements lack transparency
Trade increases unemployment	Trade benefits corporate power
Trade creates poor working conditions	Trade agreements formed in secrecy
Race to the bottom	Trade agreements are complicated/long
Disastrous trade policies	

phrases or words signaled the two main storylines from an analysis of candidate speeches, press releases, and Op/Eds from October 2015–November 2016 via the American Presidency Project archive.

For example, at a speech at a United Steelworkers rally in Indiana, Sanders stated, "We must rewrite our *disastrous trade policies* that enable *corporate America* to *shut down plants* in this country and *move to Mexico and other low-wage countries* [America First/Nationalism]. We need to end the *race to the bottom* and enact trade policies that demand that American corporations *create jobs here and not abroad* [America first/nationalism]."[55] In this segment, Sanders triggers an America first/nationalist storyline that describes trade as exporting jobs abroad rather than creating them at home. He also implies that "corporate America" is the responsible party who can be held accountable signaling a populist storyline where elites rule and make decisions at the expense of the people. In a similar narrative, one month earlier, Trump wrote an Op/Ed in *USA Today* against the TPP. He wrote, "The *great American middle class is disappearing*. One of the factors driving this economic devastation is America's *disastrous trade policies*. … America's *politicians* — beholden to *global corporate interests* who profit from offshoring — have enabled *jobs theft* in every imaginable way [Populism]. They have tolerated *foreign trade cheating* while enacting trade deals that *encourage companies to shift production* overseas [America First/Nationalism]."[56] In this piece, Trump utilizes the American First/nationalism storyline and also triggers the populist storyline with references to the middle class vs. politicians and corporations.

In their campaign speeches, Sanders and Trump often deploy populist terms such as "workers" and the "people" to characterize who they are addressing and who is the main subject in their "trade story." Their characterizations contrast with the subjects often at the center of President Obama's speeches on economic and trade issues—the "small business owner" or "entrepreneur." Sanders characterizes "the people" as change agents responsible for leading a revolution that will take back the government and the country from billionaires. In his speech announcing his candidacy for President, Sanders states, "Today, we stand here and say loudly and clearly that enough is enough. This great nation and its government belong to all of the people, and not to a handful of billionaires, their Super-PACs and their lobbyists [Populism]."[57] Trump also uses the term "workers" in opposition to "politicians" and "financial elites" in many of his speeches on the economy and trade.

Also, in contrast to President Obama, Sanders and Trump characterize the economic environment as one of extreme lack and hardship. They both blame at least one scapegoat for causing current and past economic situations. In Sanders' speeches, he blames the greedy billionaire class and politicians who have supported free-trade deals in the past. For example, in his campaign announcement speech, he states, "For decades, presidents from both parties have supported trade agreements which have cost us millions of decent paying jobs as corporate America shuts down plants here and moves to low-wage countries."[58] Trump also frequently blames financial elites and politicians. For example, in his speech on the economy and trade he states, "our workers' loyalty was repaid… with total betrayal [Populism]. Our politicians have aggressively pursued a policy of globalization, moving our jobs, our wealth and our factories to Mexico and overseas [America First/Nationalism]. Globalization has made the financial elite, who donate to politicians, very, very wealthy [Populism]."[59] In these examples, Sanders and Trump activate a populist storyline and use it to establish who is to blame and what caused the poor and devastating economic environment. They also both use emotional trigger words such as "disaster," "betrayal," "greed," and urgency such as "enough is enough" to add emotion to their narratives.

Both candidates repeatedly targeted the TPP as part of their campaigns, and as a specific example of a "disastrous" trade policy. For example, in response to President Obama's notification to Congress that he would be submitting TPP to them for consideration, Sanders stated, "Wall Street and other big corporations have won again. It is time for the rest of us to stop letting multi-national corporations rig the system to pad their profits at our expense [Populism]. This agreement follows failed trade deals with Mexico, China and other low-wage countries that have cost millions of jobs and shuttered tens of thousands of factories across the United States… We need trade policies that benefit American workers and consumers, not just the CEOs of large multi-national corporations."[60] Sanders activates the worker vs. elite populist narrative by positioning CEOs and multinational corporations as benefiting from trade at the expense of the American workers and consumers. He also links TPP to past trade agreements that were particularly unpopular such as NAFTA by invoking Mexico and China by name. In a later speech reacting to candidate Hillary Clinton's changed stance on the TPP, Sanders states, "The Trans-Pacific Partnership is a continuation of disastrous trade policies which have cost this country millions of

decent-paying jobs and have led to a race to the bottom."[61] Trade in general, and the TPP in particular, became fused with a populist narrative that was emblematic of elites exploiting and benefiting financially at the expense of the working class.

For Donald Trump, the TPP was also the centerpiece of a fierce nationalist narrative that fused with populism to position America "first" over globalist economic policies. His anti-trade message is summed up in an endorsement by Jeff Sessions in February 2016: "Trump alone has rejected the donor class, defending America's jobs and wages from open borders, uncontrolled immigration and the massive Trans-Pacific Partnership that will cede U.S. authority to foreign powers. Trump's trade and immigration plans will revitalize our shrinking middle class, keeping jobs and wealth and income inside the United States of America. Trump understands that a nation must always place the interests of its own people first."[62] Repeatedly, Trump appealed to the working class, despite his own wealthy background, and he used trade issues to make his appeal palpable and plausible. For example, in June 2016, he stated: "We…switched from a policy of Americanism – focusing on what's good for America's middle class – to a policy of globalism, focusing on how to make money for large corporations who can move their wealth and workers to foreign countries all to the detriment of the American worker and the American economy."[63] He regularly addressed TPP by name through his populist narrative. In August 2016, he stated, "Just imagine how many more automobile jobs will be lost if the TPP is actually approved. That is why I have announced we will withdraw from the deal before that can ever happen."[64]

For the Trump campaign, the overall strategy was to link economic issues with hot-button conservative issues such as immigration. A narrative of economic populism allowed this to happen. Reflecting later on the success of the Trump campaign, former Trump White House strategist and campaign manager, Steve Bannon recounts his deliberate strategy of honing Trump's existing populist/economic nationalist message to combine explicitly with an anti-immigrant narrative. He recalled, "I started doing just some analysis about what a working-class movement and this populist movement, what it could really do in a general election… I said, look, trade is number 100 on the list of issues, nobody ever talks about it and immigration is like two or three, but if we ran a campaign that really focused on the economic issues in this country and

really got people to understand how trade is so important, and immigration are inextricably linked…we could really set this thing on fire."[65]

Moreover, Trump's ability to speak plainly and openly about issues most Republicans would not discuss gave him a resonance with working-class people even if he himself did not represent the working class. He did not shy away from emotional appeals or from sparking anger and fervor in his supporters and his willingness to whip up anger and blame showcased just how powerful emotional rhetoric can be. In Bannon's interview, he attributed Trump's success with his ability to speak like a "regular" person and thus connect with lower-class and middle-class voters. Bannon remarked, "remember, he does not speak like a politician. He speaks in a very plain-spoken vernacular. Here's the thing I took away from it, it resonated with people like you couldn't believe. No other Republicans were talking about this. Remember, Republicans had a standard doctrine of free trade and … but it was just not resonating."[66] Bannon's remarks confirm that an overall narrative strategy to link trade to immigration was used and a populist storyline brought these issues together.

For the media, coverage of the Sanders and Trump campaigns brought an anti-trade populism to the mainstream and helped create an anti-TPP domestic climate that Obama could not overcome. In comparing the overall media coverage of the issue of trade over the 2015–2016 period, the "populist" shift can be shown in trigger word frequencies. In the analysis, the coverage of the TPP was examined via *New York Times* articles that appeared with the term Trans-Pacific Partnership or TPP in the summer of 2015 compared to the summer of 2016. For the summer of 2015, 92 *New York Times* articles were analyzed. The most frequently co-appearing relevant words were: "Obama" at 490 times, "China" at 270 times, "workers" at 169 times and "jobs" 157 times. The 2016 presidential candidates were rarely mentioned with the term "Hillary Clinton" appearing 148 times, "Bernie Sanders" 37 times, and "Donald Trump" only 29 times (See Fig. 13.1).

The word frequencies show that President Obama controlled the TPP narrative during this period. Not only was he the most frequent person associated with TPP in the *New York Times* stories but also his TPP narrative was dominant demonstrated by the appearance of the word China as by far the most frequent trigger word associated with TPP. Recall that Obama's TPP narrative consisted of two storylines—an identity storyline

Fig. 13.1 Word cloud of relative frequency of key words for TPP, NYT Apr 1–Sept 30, 2015[67]

about how the TPP would balance against China and a pro-globalization storyline that trade brings jobs to American workers.

However, one year later, the *New York Times* coverage of the TPP had been profoundly impacted by the 2016 election, which was now in full swing. In the summer of 2016, the *New York Times* ran 40 articles on the TPP, down significantly from the 92 during the past summer and indicating declining coverage of the TPP as it was less and less likely that it would be introduced to Congress. The most frequent co-appearing words were "Donald Trump" at 342, followed by "Hillary Clinton" at 224, "Obama" at 239, "Sanders" at 157. "Jobs" overtook "China" as the most frequent, non-name term at 157 compared to 148 with "Workers" at 103. Given that there were more articles in the 2015 data set, the terms "jobs" and "workers" actually increased over the 2015 data set but the most profound change is the rise in the term "Trump" (See Fig. 13.2). Also, a notable change is the frequency of candidates' names as well as the name Obama compared to the 2015 data.

In addition, new terms appeared during the 2016 summer such as "Brexit" and "Rigged" as candidate Donald Trump took control of the TPP narrative.
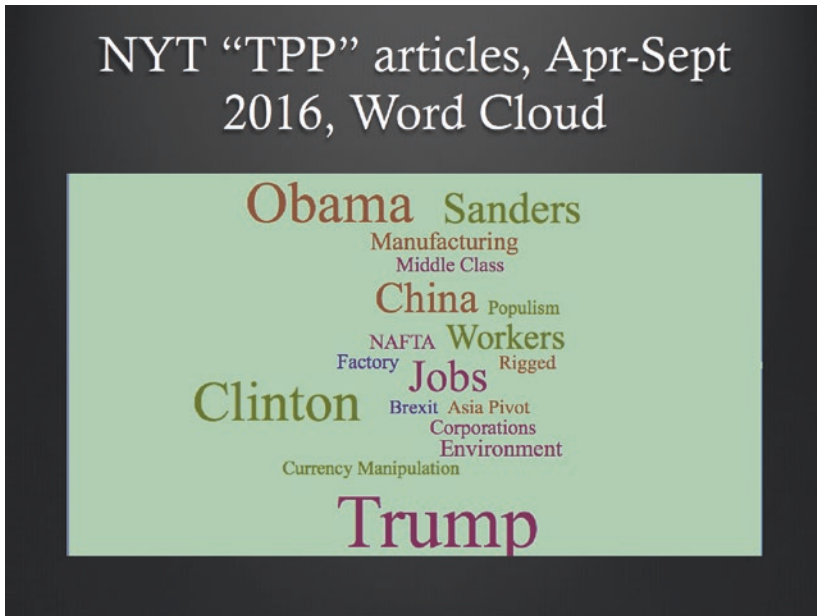
Fig. 13.2 Word cloud of relative frequency of key words for TPP, NYT Apr 1–Sept 30, 2016

The 2016 *New York Times* data shows that while Obama was still connected to the TPP in the newspaper reporting, his message was overtaken by a candidates' message that dominated the media coverage. The steep decline in Obama's 'balance against China' storyline as indicated by the decline in word frequency of the term "China" shows that Obama struggled to revive his pro-TPP narrative during that final summer when there was still a hope that TPP could be brought to a Congressional vote. By the end of the summer, it was clear that the TPP was not likely to pass and President Obama had lost his legislative push for TPP ratification.

Conclusion

This chapter claims that populism as well as trade should be analyzed from a narrative approach. As narratives, populism and trade become opportunities to tell a particular kind of story about how certain elites

exploit "everyday" people and whether or not economic integration is an opportunity to create jobs and secure US power in the world or another example of exploiting the working class and shifting production overseas. Without a plausible story, trade is obtuse and uninteresting for most Americans but with a certain kind of story, trade incites rallies, protests, and votes. If there is one lesson to learn from the 2016 US presidential election, it's that economic "stories" can tap into deep seated cultural values, feelings of unfairness, and even hate.

In analyzing the US domestic politics of trade, it is evident that a rising populism narrative took hold during the presidential election cycle and directly impacted US trade policy. Of course, President Obama knew that this last year would be an election year, and yet all early indicators suggested the likelihood of TPP success and a legislative victory that would have cemented his "Asia Pivot" and impacted US trade policy for years to come. However, a closer look at the politics of trade as a "story" shows why this did not come to pass.

For the TPP, the candidates' trade narrative of America first nationalism and populism overcame Obama's pro-trade, globalization, and anti-China narrative. In as much as populism created an anti-trade climate during this particular period, Obama's trade narrative also lacked plausibility and should be duly credited with the legislative loss. By positioning his trade narrative as anti-China, Obama attempted to attach an identity storyline to his pro-trade messaging but without directly crafting any identity stories about the actual members of the TPP, he failed to craft a compelling identity story that so often has worked in the past.[68] Without a convincing identity storyline about existing members, Obama was left with an opposition identity storyline that positioned the TPP as a balancer against China. While this particular reasoning was plausible, it left a gaping hole in the identity messaging about the TPP itself. With his pro-globalization storyline eviscerated by the candidates' populism, Obama's pro-TPP narrative lost, ultimately leading to policy failure. Populism succeeded, in part, because Obama's narrative failed.

Finally, the rise of populism took off during the US election cycle because of its attachment to an anti-trade and economic exploitation story. It also succeeded in the case of Trump's campaign due to the existing racist and anti-immigration messaging that paired well with an anti-trade crusade. Without an economic message, populism would not have gained traction but by targeting past and current free-trade agreements such as NAFTA and the TPP, it exploded and became impossible

to overcome. This profoundly shaped the domestic trade debate and ultimately upended US trade policy that had shifted toward liberalization for the past decade or two. Of course, with the election of President Donald Trump, US trade policy shifted further toward an uncertain future. In all, the chapter demonstrates that trade narratives, such as populism, are critical to understanding trade policy so often conceived of as resulting from a clash of interests or an outcome of corporate lobbying.

NOTES

1. Taylor (2016).
2. Inglehart and Norris (2016).
3. Kazin (2016).
4. Pesek (2016).
5. Cheng and Chow (2014).
6. Skonieczny (2018b).
7. Narrative approaches examine the structure and impact of actor-driven stories about political issues or events. It is increasingly common in International Relations and Social Science more broadly. See, for example, Miskimmon et al. (2013).
8. Moffitt (2016), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017).
9. Gidron and Bonikowski (2013).
10. Inglehart and Norris (2016).
11. See Gidron and Bonikowski (2013).
12. Mudde (2007).
13. Freeden (1996).
14. Aslanidis (2016).
15. See Mudde (2007) for a long list of terms and usages.
16. De Cleen and Stavrakakis (2017), Aslanidis (2018), Pauwels (2011), Engesser et al. (2016).
17. Aslanidis (2016).
18. Ibid., 96.
19. Kazin (1995, 286).
20. Aslanidis (2016).
21. Judis (2016).
22. Ibid.
23. Krebs (2015), Miskimmon et al. (2013).
24. Krebs (2015), Van Noort (2017), Miskimmon et al. (2013).
25. Ewick and Silbey (1995, 200).
26. Skonieczny (2018a).
27. Borosage (2015).
28. Cassidy (2016).

29. Lind (2016).
30. M.D (2016).
31. Wilkinson (2017).
32. Shrum (2017).
33. Nicolaci da Costa (2017).
34. Ehrlich (2017).
35. Cohen (2016).
36. Kapadia (2016).
37. Ibid.
38. Zakaria (2016).
39. Sachs (2017).
40. *Washington Post*/Poushter (2015).
41. Steinhauer and Weisman (2015).
42. Tucker (2015).
43. Wilts (2015).
44. Obama (2016a).
45. I used the date range of September 1, 2015–September 1, 2016 given the election cycle.
46. Peters and Woolley (2018).
47. Obama (2015b).
48. Skonieczny (2001, 2017, 2018).
49. Obama (2016b).
50. Obama (2015b).
51. Tucker (2015).
52. Obama (2015a).
53. Obama (2016c).
54. Haberman (2016).
55. Nichols (2016).
56. Trump (2016a).
57. Sanders (2015a).
58. Ibid.
59. Trump (2016c).
60. Sanders (2015b).
61. Sanders (2015c).
62. Sessions (2016).
63. Trump (2016b).
64. Trump (2016d).
65. Bannon (2017).
66. Ibid.
67. The frequencies came from a manual search of the data set derived from the Lexis/Nexis newspaper search described above and the word cloud was generated using a free software download from wordcloud.com.
68. Skonieczny (2018a).

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Conclusion: Populism, Foreign Policy, and World Politics

Frank A. Stengel, David B. MacDonald and Dirk Nabers

This edited volume has called for an improved dialogue between populism researchers and IR scholars. In the individual chapters, a carefully selected group of international experts has outlined some of the benefits of cooperation, and has sketched out the potential contours of an international study of populism. The contributors have outlined theoretical approaches to the study of populism and global politics in Part I, scrutinized populist foreign policies with a broad range of comparative case studies and theoretical reflections in Part II, and discussed the global and international dimensions of the rise of populism in Part III. In this conclusion, we will briefly sketch a preliminary agenda for studying the nexus between populism and world politics. We propose a three-step

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model consisting of an analysis of (1) populists' specific ideologies and foreign policy positions, (2) their respective domestic opportunity structures, and (3) the international context.

First, any systematic attempt to assess the impact of populism on world order should begin with a typology of different populist parties and movements (their specific ideological views), and their foreign policy positions. In contradistinction to claims that populism as such might be a universally negative phenomenon, populism scholars in this volume stress the importance of drawing distinctions between populists and their movements.[1] Populism as a thin-centered ideology can be combined with a number of different ideological elements,[2] and these elements can engender distinct foreign policy positions. While it is certainly true that populists in general often criticize various aspects of international cooperation and integration, it is important to note differences if one wants to explain and analyze populists' foreign policy positions. This is even more important when it comes to problematizing to what extent populists are a danger to "the West," world order, the European Union, etc. Thus, while left- and right-wing populists both often oppose the EU, the right frequently does so through the lens of nationalist (and nativist) ideologies, while the left's Euroscepticism is generally motivated by the EU's neoliberal policies.[3] Right-wing populists with nativist conceptions of the people tend to be more skeptical of international cooperation, and less inclined to support supranational governance arrangements like the EU, which infringe on the people's self-government.

Similarly, more exclusionary forms of populism tend to be less open to multinational cooperation. Nevertheless, a careful contextual analysis is always necessary, as even right- and left-wing populists are not united by a unified and coherent ideology. For instance, although both are examples of right-wing populism, Trump advocates protectionism,[4] while the German Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) explicitly argues in favor of free trade and multilateral trade agreements.[5] Moreover, populist positions will also depend on where parties are based and on how selected international issues impact on their society. Some will oppose a world economic order that advocates free trade and is built on IOs such as the World Trade Organization and the World Bank, others will oppose (some) political aspects of world order, like sovereignty, self-determination, or the assumption that liberal democracy should form the normative basis of international politics.

Second, to what extent populist policy positions are adopted as official state policy depends on domestic structure and institutional opportunities and constraints. Here, researchers can draw on IR studies of domestic politics and liberalism.[6] While political parties in general can influence policy through agenda-setting, populists in government have a higher chance of being able to push through their agendas. At the same time, even populists in government are not free to act as they please, especially if they are in a coalition government, where they will be constrained by coalition agreements and the desire to maintain functional and productive relationships with their governing partners. Even in the United States, where the government is not hampered by coalition partners and the president is more influential in matters of foreign policy than in many other countries, (s)he is significantly constrained by Congress, which controls taxation and determines funding for all federal departments and agencies. Trade agreements and treaties must also be ratified by Congress.[7] Research on intergroup dynamics[8] and bureaucratic politics[9] suggests that even in strong presidential systems, heads of state/government face significant constraints by other players. Moreover, a veto player like an independent judiciary can provide a significant obstacle to the implementation of foreign policy goals.[10] Trump learned this the hard way in his attempt to close the US borders to people from Muslim-majority countries. In addition, an incumbent can be constrained by past decisions, for instance international treaties or trade agreements. These factors have to be taken into account when assessing the potential impact of populism on both domestic and world politics.

Third, foreign policies do not necessarily translate directly into international effects. International repercussions, for instance effects on regional or world orders, also depend on the international configuration of state preferences in specific settings. Liberal IR theory suggests that whether the assumption of government power by populists leads to conflict or cooperation depends precisely on this configuration.[11] Thus, while it might be true on average that rightist parties will be more conflict-prone than leftist ones,[12] things might prove to be more complicated.[13] Indeed, given the already existing transnational cooperation between different right-wing populists, it is reasonable to assume that once in government they might be inclined to continue cooperating within their group (the same might apply to populists on the left).[14]

What this suggests is that more research will be needed to see how and under which conditions populists in government support or undermine multilateralism or maybe even establish some forms of "regularized intergovernmentalism".[15]

Trump's presidency offers, for good or ill, an excellent laboratory to examine whether and to what extent the assumption of government power by populists translates into foreign policy change. Given the radicalness with which Trump and other populists differ in their foreign policy positions from mainstream parties, populism provides a good test case to examine whether personalities, ideologies, or structural factors (systemic as well as domestic) matter most to the making of foreign policy. Trump and other alleged populists in power would provide interesting test cases to see to what extent foreign policy does actually change if someone with radically different views enters office. Research on leadership styles, personality traits, and ideology would likely suggest it will,[16] while, say, bureaucratic politics (let alone realist) approaches might expect little change.[17] To be sure, one would have to still analytically distinguish between effects of Trump's personality and action that is the result of (populist) ideological positions. To that end, populism and IR scholars should work together in a new research program on comparative populist foreign policy.

In terms of further research, different strands may be pursued on the basis of these findings. As will have become clearer throughout this volume, a number of international or even global dimensions can be seen as constituting populist success. These include globalization, the expansion and depoliticization of global governance, and regional integration.[18] So far, these studies have treated the relationship between international developments and populism as relatively straightforward and causal. However, as authors from different theoretical perspectives have argued,[19] political reality should be better understood as a social/discursive articulation. Any "reaction" to international developments is more the result of a specific discursive framing or production than to an unmediated reality. To view globalization as a force which objectively exerts particular types of pressures on governments to adapt is far too simplistic.[20] As such, it is certainly worth exploring how a specific discursive production contributes to the resurgence of nationalist discourses and demands for unilateralism. Here, the discursive approach to the analysis of populism has already gained a head start.[21] So far, these studies have

mainly focused on theoretical questions such as how social movements emerge and how certain discourses become hegemonic. However, they could also make a contribution to analyzing how international developments are articulated in discourse and are linked to policy demands (for instance for protectionism or unilateralism).

Finally, populism scholars and IR researchers could analyze how populist actors organize in transnational networks. As noted by some researchers, populist actors are often united by common intellectual sources and connected in transnational networks. This aspect remains underexplored in the literature on populism, yet could be extremely important in understanding the success of some parties, through, for example, Russian financial aid for European right-wing populist parties. A special case might also be the active intervention by foreign actors into the domestic politics of another country.[22] Although the full extent of the Russian involvement in the 2016 U.S. presidential election still remains to be uncovered, it is undoubtedly true that Russian actors tried to influence elections in favor of Trump via a targeted social media strategy. Moreover, while populism researchers have focused some attention on populist contagion,[23] they could certainly profit from increased exchange with IR scholars interested in transnational advocacy coalitions and transnational networks more generally.[24] Here, again, domestic opportunity structures come into play as an important limiting factor.[25]

Thus, IR scholars would do well to take populism research into account, for scholars outside IR have spent a significant amount of time theorizing the phenomenon, distinguishing it from related issues, and systematizing different forms of populism. Researchers outside IR will benefit by engaging with issues related to global politics, which can contribute to a better understanding of the rise of populism. This volume aims at closing at least some of the existing research gaps while signaling new directions for populism studies and IR into the future.

NOTES

1. Zeemann (this volume), March (2017), Verbeek and Zaslove (2015, 2017).
2. Mudde (2007).
3. Chryssogelos (2017), Stavrakakis and Katsambekis (2014), but see Halikiopoulou et al. (2012).
4. Tierney (2016).
5. AfD (2016).

6. Bueno de Mesquita (2002), Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2012), Moravcsik (1997).
7. Milner and Tingley (2015: ch. 4), Ray (2013: ch. 5).
8. Hermann and Hermann (1989).
9. Allison and Zelikow (1999).
10. Tsebelis (2002).
11. Moravcsik (1997).
12. Kaarbo (2012).
13. Switzer (2016).
14. For instance the Greek leftist party Syriza and its Spanish equivalent Podemos share the same intellectual roots (McKean 2016), namely the work of the late Argentinian political theorist Ernesto Laclau (2005).
15. Krotz (2010).
16. Inter alia, Bell (2002), Byman and Pollack (2001).
17. E.g. Allison and Halperin (1972), Allison and Zelikow (1999).
18. Chryssogelos (2017), Verbeek and Zaslove (2017), Zürn (2004).
19. E.g., Jervis (2006), Mintz and Redd (2003), Nabers (2015), Sylvan (1998).
20. Watson and Hay (2003).
21. Stavrakakis (2017).
22. Verbeek and Zaslove (2017).
23. Rydgren (2005).
24. Bloodgood (2011), Keck and Sikkink (1998), Madsen and Christensen (2016), Pierce and Hicks (2017), Slaughter (2004). See also Stengel and Baumann (2018).
25. Risse-Kappen (1995).

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Index