Populism in Europe and the Americas

Although 'populism' has become something of a buzz word in discussions about politics, it tends to be studied by country or region. This is the first book to offer a genuine cross-regional perspective on populism and its impact on democracy. By analysing current experiences of populism in Europe and the Americas, this edited volume convincingly demonstrates that populism can be both a threat and a corrective to democracy. The contributors also demonstrate the interesting similarities between right-wing and left-wing populism: both types of populism are prone to defend a political model that is not against democracy per se, but rather at odds with liberal democracy. *Populism in Europe and the Americas* offers new insights into the current state of democracy from both a theoretical and an empirical point of view.

Cas Mudde holds a Ph.D. from Leiden University and teaches in the Department of International Affairs of the University of Georgia. His most recent book, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), won the Stein Rokkan Prize and was named a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title in 2008.

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser holds a Ph.D. from the Humboldt University of Berlin, has worked for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and was a post-doctoral fellow at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB). He is the recipient of the Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship for a two-year research project on populism in Europe and Latin America, which he is currently undertaking at the University of Sussex. His research interests include populism, democracy, and Latin American politics, and his work has been published in *Democratization* and the *Latin American Research Review*, among others.

Populism in Europe and the Americas

Threat or Corrective for Democracy?

Edited by

Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser

University of Georgia and University of Sussex



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107023857

© Cambridge University Press 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Populism in Europe and the Americas : threat or corrective for democracy? / edited by Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser.
p. cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-107-02385-7
I. Populism–Europe–Case studies.
2. Democracy–Europe.
3. Populism–America–Case studies.
4. Democracy–America.
I. Mudde, Cas, editor of compilation.
II. Rovira Kaltwasser,
Cristóbal, editor of compilation.
JN40.P673 2012
320.56'62094–dc23 2012003069

ISBN 978-1-107-02385-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To Peter Mair (1951–2011)

Contents

	List of figures	page ix
	List of tables	x
	Notes on contributors	xi
	Preface	XV
1.	Populism and (liberal) democracy: a framework for analysis CAS MUDDE AND CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER	1
2.	Populist parties in Belgium: a case of hegemonic liberal democracy? SARAH L. DE LANGE AND TJITSKE AKKERMAN	27
3.	Populism and democracy in Canada's Reform Party DAVID LAYCOCK	46
4.	The Czech Republicans 1990–1998: a populist outsider in a consolidating democracy SEÁN HANLEY	68
5.	"To hell with your corrupt institutions!": AMLO and populism in Mexico KATHLEEN BRUHN	88
6.	Populism in government: the case of Austria (2000–2007) FRANZ FALLEND	113
7.	Populism and democracy in Venezuela under Hugo Chávez KENNETH M. ROBERTS	136
8.	Populism and competitive authoritarianism: the case of Fujimori's Peru STEVEN LEVITSKY AND JAMES LOXTON	160

vii

viii	Contents	
9.	Populism, democracy, and nationalism in Slovakia KEVIN DEEGAN-KRAUSE	182
10.	Populism: corrective <i>and</i> threat to democracy CAS MUDDE AND CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER	205
	Bibliography Index	223 251

Figures

1.1.	Dimensions of the quality of democracy	page 19
2.1.	The electoral success of populist parties in Belgium,	
	1981–2010	29
2.2.	Left-right positions of Flemish parties, 1985–2005	38
2.3.	Political trust and satisfaction with democracy,	
	1997–2004	42
5.1.	Intensity of populist discourse over time	96
9.1.	Use of populist appeals in Slovakia by party,	
	1992–2008	185
9.2.	Indicators of populism in Slovakia by government,	
	1992–2008	185
9.3.	Indicators of democracy in Slovakia, 1992–2008	198
9.4.	Model of contextual influence on populism's potential	
	for threat or correction	202

Tables

1.1.	Relationship by strength of populism and democracy	page 23
4.1.	Support for SPR-RSČ in elections to the Czechoslovak	
	Federal Assembly, 1990–1992	71
4.2.	Support for SPR-RSČ and successors in elections to the	
	Czech parliament, 1990–2010	72
5.1.	Populist themes in the discourse of Andrés Manuel	
	López Obrador	92
6.1.	Elections to the national parliament (lower house,	
	Nationalrat)	114
6.2.	Voting motives of FPÖ supporters (1990–1999)	119
7.1.	Presidential election results in Venezuela, 1993–2006	143
7.2.	Legislative election results in Venezuela, 1998–2010	144
7.3.	Popular referendums and presidential recall election	
	in Venezuela, 1999–2009	149
9.1.	Relationship by strength of populism and democracy	
	in Slovakia with average percentage change in	
	democracy-related scores during governmental term	199

Notes on contributors

- TJITSKE AKKERMAN is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Her research focuses on democratic theory and on populist radical right parties. Recent publications include (with A. Hagelund) "Women and Children First! Anti-immigration Parties and Gender in Norway and the Netherlands," *Patterns of Prejudice* (2007); "Friend or Foe? Right-wing Populism and the Popular Press in Britain and the Netherlands," *Journalism* (forthcoming in 2011), and "The Impact of Radical Right Parties in Government. A Comparative Analysis of Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010)," *West-European Politics* 2012.
- KATHLEEN BRUHN is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She focuses her research on the politics of leftist parties and movements in Latin America, particularly Mexico. She has published extensively on the foundation and development of Mexico's Party of the Democratic Revolution, beginning with her first book, *Taking on Goliath* (1997). Her most recent book, *Urban Protest in Mexico and Brazil* (2008), looks at the causes and implications of leftist party victories for protest strategies.
- KEVIN DEEGAN-KRAUSE is Associate Professor of Political Science at Wayne State University. His publications include *Elected Affinities: Democracy and Party Competition in Slovakia and the Czech Republic* (2006) and, co-edited with Zsolt Enyedi, *The Structure of Political Competition in Western Europe* (2010). He is co-editor of the 2012 *Handbook on Political Change in Eastern Europe* and co-editor of the forthcoming online version of the *European Journal for Political Research: Political Data Yearbook.* His ongoing research, including ongoing projects on populism and party change, concerns the origins and consequences of political divides in new democracies.
- SARAH L. DE LANGE is Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Amsterdam. She has previously been a Jean Monnet

xi

xii Notes on contributors

Fellow in the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Research at the European University Institute. Her main research interests concern political parties, party families, and party systems and her publications have appeared in *Acta Politica*, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Ethical Perspectives*, *European Political Studies*, *Party Politics*, and *West European Politics*.

- FRANZ FALLEND is Senior Scientist at the Department of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Salzburg, Austria. His research focuses on Austrian politics, comparative federalism, and regional policy. His recent publications include "Austria" in Political Data Yearbook 2009, special issue of the European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 49, Nos.7–8, 2010, pp. 880–98, and "Austria: From Consensus to Competition and Participation?" in John Loughlin, Frank Hendriks, and Anders Lidström (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Local and Regional Democracy in Europe.
- SEAN HANLEY is Senior Lecturer in East European politics at University College London. His interests include the development of new antiestablishment parties and right-wing politics in Central and Eastern Europe. He has a special interest in Czech politics and is author of *The New Right in the New Europe: Czech Transformation and Right-wing Politics, 1989–2006* (2007). He also writes an occasional blog on Central and East European politics: http://drseansdiary.wordpress.com.
- DAVID LAYCOCK is Professor of Political Science at Simon Fraser University, Canada. His research focuses on political ideologies, democratic theory, populism, and Canadian party politics. He has published Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies (1990), The New Right and Democracy in Canada (2001), Representation and Democratic Theory (2004), and articles on populism in Party Politics and Commonwealth and Comparative Politics.
- STEVEN LEVITSKY is Professor of Government at Harvard University. His research interests include political parties, political regimes and regime change, and weak and informal institutions, with a focus on Latin America. He is author of *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in* Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective (2003), and co-author (with Lucan Way) of Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War (2010).
- JAMES LOXTON is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University. His fields of interest are comparative politics and Latin American politics, particularly the intersection between

Notes on contributors

xiii

regime transitions and party formation. He is writing his dissertation on post-authoritarian political parties in Latin America following the Third Wave of democratization.

- CAS MUDDE is Assistant Professor in the Department of International Affairs at the University of Georgia. His previous publications include *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (2007), which won the 2008 Stein Rokkan Prize and was a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title. He is currently working on various projects related to the overarching question: How can liberal democracies defend themselves against political challenges without undermining their core values?
- KENNETH M. ROBERTS is Professor of Government at Cornell University with a specialization in Latin American politics. He is the author of *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru* (1998) and co-editor of *The Diffusion of Social Movements* (2010) and *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (2011). His research on political parties and popular movements in Latin America has been published in a number of scholarly journals.
- CRISTÓBAL ROVIRA KALTWASSER is Marie Curie Research Fellow at the Department of Politics of the University of Sussex. He holds a Ph.D. from the Humboldt University of Berlin and has worked at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and the Chilean Bureau of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). With research interests that include democracy, elite theory, populism, and Latin American politics, he has published in, among others, *Democratization* and the *Latin American Research Review*.

Preface

As holds true of so many things today, the origins of our scholarly collaboration and of this edited volume can be traced to a random match on the Internet. In 2009 Cristóbal had just started a post-doc – financed by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation – on populism in Europe and Latin America at the *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung* (WZB) and was surfing the Web for scholars of and texts on this topic. He came across the page of Cas, who had just started a similar project as a visiting fellow at the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame. We started an extensive exchange of e-mails, in which we discussed the challenges of undertaking cross-regional research on populism. Beyond these virtual discussions, we met in the fall of 2009 in Berlin and decided to collaborate on various related topics, one being this book.

After developing a rough theoretical framework, of which a significantly revised version is published as Chapter 1, we started to apply for funding and to invite potential collaborators. We were very lucky not only to find such a great team of esteemed experts, but to convince everyone we invited that this was worth their time. Thanks to the financial support of the Volkswagen Stiftung, we organized a workshop titled "Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?" at the WZB in Berlin in August 2010, where all collaborators presented the first versions of their chapters, which were discussed by the collaborators and a broad group of colleagues from Germany and beyond. Our workshop discussants all took their role very seriously and provided invaluable feedback to all authors. We want to thank Carlos de la Torre, Wolfgang Merkel, Emilia Palonen, Karin Priester, Hans-Jürgen Puhle, Paul Taggart, Peter Učeň, and Kurt Weyland once again for their great and thoughtful contributions to this project. We also want to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Volkswagen Stiftung, and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung for their generous financial and practical support for the workshop.

xvi Preface

After the workshop we gave all contributors a couple of months to re-write their chapters for the edited volume. While not everyone made the original deadline, all contributors not just stayed close to the deadline, they also provided excellent second drafts of their respective chapters. This was confirmed by the two anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press, who addressed problems in the framework chapter rather than in the individual country chapters. We want to thank all authors for being so engaged with and so open to our project, despite legitimate concerns about, and differences of opinions on, the key definitions used in this volume. It truly was a pleasure to work with all of you. Similarly, we want to thank the people at Cambridge University Press, in particular editor John Haslam, for their cooperation and support for our book. Moreover, we discussed the subject of this book with different friends and colleagues, who gave us invaluable comments and ideas. In this regard, we are particularly grateful to Martin Beckstein, Nancy Bermeo, Giovanni Capoccia, Matias Dewey, Klaus Eder, Raimundo Frei, John Keane, Alan Knight, Kirk Hawkins, Herfried Münkler, Pierre Ostiguy, and Laurence Whitehead.

As we were in the final stages of editing this book, we were, like many in the discipline, shocked by the devastating news of the sudden death of Peter Mair. Peter was a professor of comparative politics at the European University Institute and one of the leading scholars on parties and party systems and European democracy. Most of the collaborators of this book knew Peter and/or were heavily influenced by his work. Peter was also the Ph.D. supervisor of one of the editors at Leiden University, who remembers him not just as an exceptional scholar, but also as a kind and warm *Doktorvater* who will always be an inspiration to him. We dedicate this book to him.

Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser Greencastle, U.S. & Brighton, U.K.