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16.091 words
07-07-2017

POPULISM VERSUS COSMOPOLITAN LIBERALISM

An alternative to the traditional left-right dimension in contemporary Western politics as the core currency of political exchange in times of changing narratives?

Abstract

This research examines the relevance of the left-right distinction and possibly newly emerging dimensions in contemporary Western politics. The research question is: *To what extent does the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension replace the traditional left-right dimension in contemporary politics as the core currency of political exchange in times of changing narratives?* It draws upon current developments as a growing political dissatisfaction and the inability of political parties or movements to engage the audience, as well as a universal debate about the intellectual discourse of the traditional meaning and relevance of left and right. Three recent events are analyzed through critical discourse analysis and content analysis: Brexit, the election of Trump and the French presidential elections. The analysis shows that the left-right distinction cannot be replaced by the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension, however that the populist – cosmopolitan narrative seems more engaging for the audience, differing per case in terms of intensity and focus. A new terminology that is entirely able to cover the current debate is yet to be defined.

Table of Contents

- 1. Introduction 3
- 2. Theoretical Framework 5
 - 2.1 The traditional left-right dimension 5
 - 2.2 Changing narratives 7
 - 2.3 Economic inequality perspective and cultural backlash thesis 8
 - 2.4 Populism versus cosmopolitan liberalism 9
 - 2.4.1 Populism 11
 - 2.4.2 Cosmopolitan liberalism 11
- 3. Methodology 12
 - 3.1 Critical discourse analysis 13
 - 3.2 Content analysis 13
 - 3.3 Brexit, the election of Trump, and the 2017 French presidential elections 14
 - 3.4 Methodology explained 14
- 4. Analysis 18
 - 4.1 Brexit 18
 - 4.1.1 Ideological analysis 19
 - 4.1.2 Analysis of addressed topics 24
 - 4.1.3 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations 25
 - 4.2 Election Trump 27
 - 4.2.1 Ideological analysis 28
 - 4.2.2 Analysis of addressed topics 34
 - 4.2.3 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations 35
 - 4.3 2017 French presidential elections 38
 - 4.3.1 Ideological analysis 38
 - 4.3.2 Analysis of addressed topics 48
 - 4.3.3 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations 49
- 5. Conclusion 52
 - 5.1 Results per event 52
 - 5.2 A comparison 53
 - 5.3 Research Question 55
- 6. Discussion 56
- 7. Literature 57

1. Introduction

Waking up in Great Britain on Friday morning 24th June 2016 was a memorable moment for many. The British electorate had voted to leave the European Union. Although the outcome was expected to be tight, the world seemed shocked by the radical result (Becker, Fetzer & Novy 2016, 2). After a period of 43 years of membership, the referendum introduced a new period in history. The project Europe and its destiny had become a matter of choice. Brexit marked “both a constitutional change for the UK and a significant rupture for the EU.” (Pisani-Ferry et al. 2016, 1). It put some important question marks around the essence of democracy; was it “a reassertion of national sovereignty and individual dignity against elites” or “a turn away from inclusion, integration and a liberal democratic Europe” (Diamond 2016, 4)?

Not much later, Donald Trump was chosen as the 45th President of the United States of America. The election was the result of a deeply polarized society with a considerable amount of unsatisfied working class white voters who felt displaced and threatened by immigration, globalization, and racial and cultural diversity (Diamond 2016, 4). Like other populists who are gaining momentum, Trump took advantage of a wave of anti-establishment sentiment (Holland & Aron 2017, 1). The issues on which the electorate based their votes were beyond traditional topics as economic inequality, health care and education; new complaints like terrorism and migration played an increasingly important role (Pew Research Center 2016).

Trends in Western Europe showed similar developments. In the months following these events, various governments lived up to elections, covering questions directly related to the future of the country. In 2016, elections in Austria, Italy and the Czech Republic were clear examples of events uncovering a deeply divided electorate. In 2017, this trend continued with elections in the Netherlands, France and Germany. All cases show an increasing dissatisfaction with mainstream politics and a longing for change (Amaro 2017, 1). People seem exhausted of traditional political parties and have unprecedented low faith in the legitimacy of the political elite. Brexit, the victory of Trump and the outcome of several Western European elections may be seen as historical moments that mark possible shifts in the political nature of various Western democracies, and as an expression of deep dissatisfaction with the status quo and a need for change (Democracy Index 2016, 1).

At the turn of the millennium, the successful US democratic model was the most common and logical form of government in the world – according to some even “the end of history” (Diamond 2016, 2). Democratic values had become universal, freedom flourished and the traditional left-right dimension, with left-wing voters favouring state control and right-wing voters emphasizing the role of the free market, shaped the political debate. “Europe and the United States provided both an end state toward which emerging democracies could move, and support to help them get there” (Diamond 2016, 3).

But that vision has now began to unravel. Basically, we can observe two new, particularly worrisome developments: the rise of populism and the rise of illiberalism in the West. Dissatisfaction and a historically low level of trust in conventional politics have given populist parties free way to mobilize against corrupt elites. Antidemocratic parties have gained popularity as more national, protectionist and anti-immigrant sentiments have grown. Voters’ motivations and party profiling seem to go beyond traditional economic left-right dimensions, as we know them. No longer only (economic) left- or right-wing issues are shaping the agenda, but, to a greater extent, topics around an open versus closed society, immigration, globalization and Europe (Nickisch 2017, 5). Also, “there’s a sense that the policies and the platforms of the left and the right have very much converged. They’re very much the same” (Nickisch 2017, 5). Parties with far-right cultural stances can simultaneously have leftist economic rhetoric. New and yet unimplemented dimensions increasingly overshadow classical political cleavages.

In this thesis, these new dynamics will be measured and analysed by looking at three recent events: Brexit, the election of Trump and the French presidential elections. The main question of the research will be:

To what extent does the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension replace the traditional left-right dimension in contemporary politics as the core currency of political exchange in times of changing narratives?

This question is relevant due to different factors. In the first place, it is part of a universal debate about the intellectual discourse: to what extent is the left-right division, as we know it, too simplistic, too binary and too political? Citizens’ policy preferences are more complex

and ideologically inconsistent (Otjes 2016, 1). “A growing body of evidence shows that the economic policy preferences of a large segment of citizens do not scale sufficiently.” New motives seem to influence voting behaviour. “Ever more citizens grow unwilling to take part in the sort of conventional politics that is usually seen as necessary to endorse democracy” (Stratulat 2016, 2). More and more political parties that are profiling themselves along the traditional left-right line are failing in their capacity to engage people. In the last years, populism has gained ground and is expected to have more influence on the political landscape in most Western societies. As a consequence, counter movements show a desire to open up, strengthen international and multilateral ties and support progressive values. The consequences of the shifting dimensions and the search of current institutions to adapt to these changes are likely to be profound (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 30).

Most of the existing literature is still focusing on traditional cleavages. Shifting narratives require adapted analyses and theories. We see severe changes on a very broad level, which means in a big variety of countries and on a large scale. Hence, adjusted research is needed.

2. Theoretical Framework

This part broadly explains the already existing literature and theories about the traditional left-right dimension in Western democracies. Also, it describes to what extent scholars question the left-right distinction as the most important tool to measure a party or voters’ position in the political spectrum. By using Inglehart and Norris’ (2016) “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash” as a basis for further research, we will investigate whether this dimension is still relevant in current events. The economic inequality perspective and cultural backlash theory tell us more about the changing nature of voting behaviour among citizens in Western societies. Here, cultural arguments seem most valid. Inglehart and Norris (2016) introduce a new, particularly relevant dimension that will be analysed in detail throughout this thesis: populism on the one side versus cosmopolitan liberalism on the other.

2.1 The traditional left-right dimension

According to Michael McDonald, Silvia Mendes and Myunghee Kim (2007, 63), the left-right distinction is the “core currency of political exchange”. It gives a simple, structured, and clear

view on political concepts and in this way; it serves as a “universal language that helps citizens, politicians and experts make sense of politics” (Noël & Thérien 2008, 198). The left-right distinction makes intercultural and international debates more coherent and easier to comprehend. For political parties, it is a tool to find a position in the political spectrum, and at the same time to make it more understandable for voters where to find them in the political debate. Moreover, left and right help the electorate to adopt a certain identity. People “cannot think successfully about their volitions if they regard themselves as unique. Instead, they look for clues in the situations, attitudes, and beliefs of others whom they regard as like themselves” (Lindblom 1990, 235). Left and right help people identify with a certain set of conceptions.

But what exactly does left and right mean? Traditionally, the dimension refers to the scope and breath of what goods and services should and should not be public goods (McDonald et al. 2007, 1). However, the rise of new politics in Western societies has gradually transformed the meaning of left and right throughout the years (Inglehart 1987, 5). Whereas left and right used to cover economic issues in particular, they also concern noneconomic values and post-materialist topics as individual autonomy and political participation increasingly. Still, the most obvious distinction today comes down to a set of historical perceptions: the left advocates state intervention, protection of the lower economic or social classes and equal opportunities for more and less advantaged, the right emphasizes individual responsibility and defends private property and capitalism.

“Controversies about definitions are ubiquitous” (Noël & Thérien 2008, 7); in social context people will always debate about proper categories and their definitions. “We care deeply about such debates because they provide the narratives through which we see the world, our communities, and ourselves” (Noël & Thérien 2008, 7). The left-right discourse is highly dependent on time, place and context. The interpretation of left in the United States doesn’t mean the same as the interpretation of left in Western Europe. Right in France is not the same as right in the Netherlands. And a postman can have a completely different motivation to vote for a left-wing party than, for example, a teacher. Still, the left-right distinction has for a long time been the “core currency of political exchange”; political science and international relations are mostly shaped and defined by this ubiquitous opposition (McDonald et al. 2007, 229). However, it is important to keep in mind that these notions remain relative.

2.2 Changing narratives

In 1990, Kitschelt and Hellemans (1990, 211) already examined to what extent the modern political discourse was influenced by new political parties, emerging around post-materialist issues and neoliberal ideas. They found at least four views. First, people consider the left-right division as meaningless. It does explain the conflict between liberal market capitalism and socialist statism, but ignores post-materialist issues such as political participation and the quality of life in contemporary industrial society. Second, political discourse is at least changed by the emergence of ‘new labels’. Third, left-right remains important, but loses its traditional meaning. And fourth, a pluralisation of the meaning of left and right takes place. Throughout the years, these views have been adopted by a growing number of academics and were underlined by various developments and events.

Today, a considerable amount of scholars call the traditional cleavage between left and right too simplistic (Noël & Thérien 2008, 198). Moreover, various recent developments show a shift in voting motivation and party profiling towards new dimensions, which cannot be explained by the notions of left and right only. Examples are the politics of identity, the war on terrorism, and the global environmental debate. Left-right voting, both economically and non-economically, has become a multidimensional character (Freire 2015, 1). Citizens’ opinions on the welfare state are usually ideologically inconsistent and contradictory, and economic interventionism and egalitarianism do not constitute a single dimension (Otjes 2017, 1). These inconsistent views can be explained by three causes: citizens feel they have not been given a fair share of society’s resources, they lack basic political knowledge, or they are not politically interested, and they have different perceptions due to different generations and regions with opposing historical experiences (Otjes 2016, 2). Dissatisfaction and a lack of policy representation lead to less political trust, more alienation from the political sphere and an increasing amount of citizens who vote for populist or extreme parties (Miller & Listhaug 1998, 183).

According to many academics, it is a mistake to necessarily try to explain this new voting behaviour and changing party profiling along the traditional left-right axis. “Previous analyses of parties in Western Europe have often associated populism with the right, using terms such as ‘radical right’, ‘far right’, or ‘extremist right’ parties. But it is increasingly recognized that this fails to capture certain core features of populist parties around the world” (Inglehart &

Norris 2016, 8). Populist parties often favour economic left-wing policies (De la Torre 2012; Remmer 2012; Aytac & Onis 2014). The ideological position of green parties is regularly associated with the left, but nowadays not necessarily linked to leftish ideas and even an increasingly important topic amongst parties on the right side of the political spectrum. And the war against terrorism is generally seen as “a security issue that jeopardizes the freedom and lifestyle of all civilized countries” and “a world’s fight” (Noël & Thérien 2008, 205-206). Traditional left- and right-wing parties fail to formulate and carry out a clear-cut policy about currently relevant issues. Also internally, they seem deeply divided. This asks for political realignment (Giesen 2017).

Altogether, a considerable amount of literature refers to a changing discourse in which we can no longer take the left-right distinction, as the main dimension through which politics can be explained, for granted. A combination of newly emerging (populist) political parties, as a consequence of a whole range of recent events as terrorist attacks, mass migration, climate change, and growing popular dissatisfaction due to a lack of policy representation and political trust, shapes a new political debate with shifting narratives.

2.3 Economic inequality perspective and cultural backlash thesis

In their recent research “Trump, Brexit, and the rise of Populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash”, Inglehart and Norris (2016, 2) try to analyse voting behaviour and the growing support for populist parties by examining two theories: the economic inequality perspective and the cultural backlash thesis. By using the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) to identify the ideological location of various parties in different countries and measuring the cross-national evidence for the impact of economic insecurity and cultural values, they search for the most valid explanation of changing voting behaviour in Western societies.

According to the economic inequality perspective, popular resentment and populist voting can be explained by “rising economic insecurity and social deprivation among the left-behinds” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 2). Growing income and wealth inequality lead to dissatisfied people who fuel anti-establishment, nativist and xenophobic sentiment, by “blaming ‘Them’ for stripping prosperity, job opportunities, and public services from ‘Us’.” This theory has historical roots. It explains populism as a result of big differences in income and wealth,

grievances among the global market's losers, discontent with current center-left political parties, and a low level of trust in the mainstream parties to be aware of and adapt to these concerns (Ludwigshafen et al. 2016).

The cultural backlash thesis views populist support as a retro reaction on “once-predominant sectors of the population to progressive value change” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 1). Not only economic motives determine voting behaviour, but also and to a greater extent, cultural arguments, “especially among the older generation, white men, and less educated sectors, who sense decline and actively reject the rising tide of progressive values, resent the displacement of familiar traditional norms, and provide a pool of supporters potentially vulnerable to populist appeals” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 3). This reaction against progressive cultural change can be seen as a result of an intergenerational shift toward post-materialist values, for example cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism.

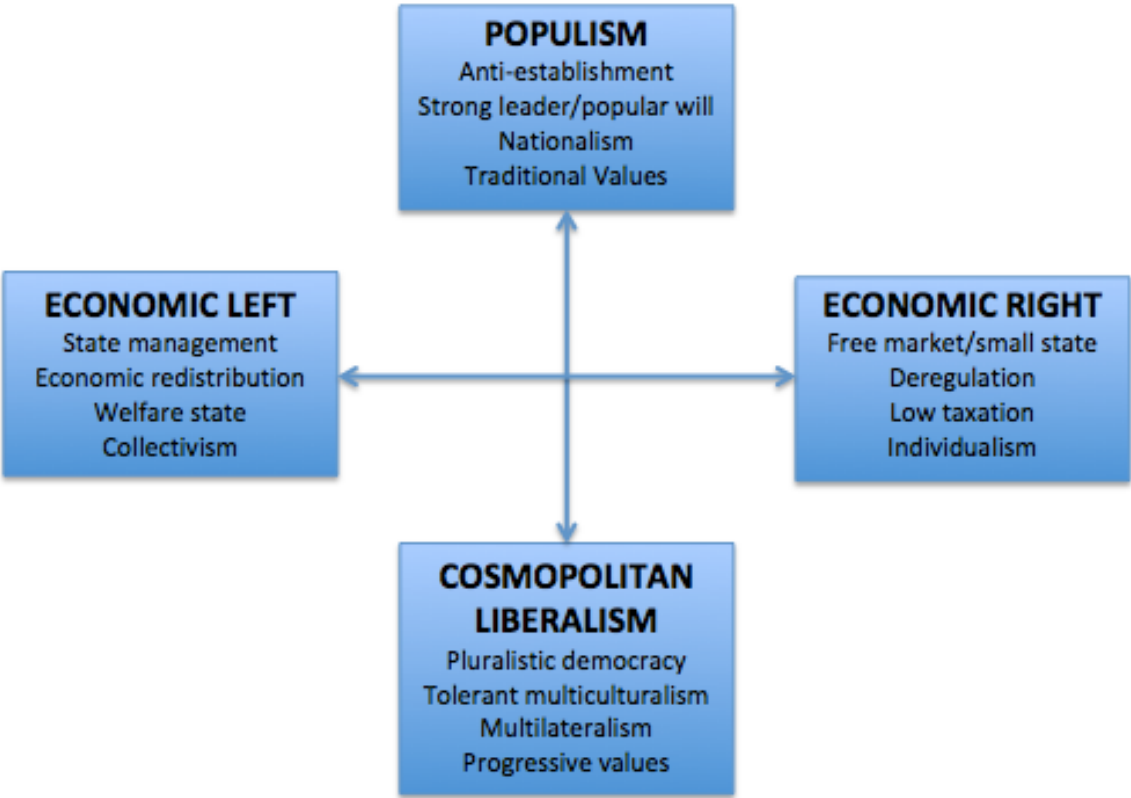
The research draws several conclusions. In the first place, populist support is indeed generally stronger among the older generation, men, the less educated, the religious, and ethnic majorities. This confirms a wide range of outcomes of earlier conducted research (Norris 2005, 2). Secondly, the results of the empirical analysis of the economic insecurity thesis are mixed and inconsistent (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 4). Populist parties did get significantly bigger support among people with a lower income and wealth, but this is not necessarily the consequence of economic inequality and social deprivation. In contrast, all five cultural value scales consistently show predictors of voting support for populist parties. From this, they conclude: “cultural values, combined with several social and demographic factors, provide the most consistent and parsimonious explanation for voting support for populist parties” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 4). In other words, shifting voting behaviour among voters in Western societies can be explained best by the cultural backlash thesis.

2.4 Populism versus cosmopolitan liberalism

By assuming that the traditional left-right axis no longer provides a full and appropriate framework for analysis of the Western political debate, the question arises which dimension would replace or complement it. Here, we can presume that cultural factors play a bigger role than economic concerns, as explained in the previous section. Inglehart and Norris (2016, 2) distinguish two opposing poles of a cultural continuum. On the one side, they observe

populism as “a philosophy that emphasizes faith in the wisdom and virtue of ordinary people (the silent majority) over the ‘corrupt’ establishment” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 6). On the other side, they see cosmopolitan liberalism as “the idea that all humans increasingly live and interact within a single global community, not simply within a single polity” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 7). As illustrated in *Figure 1* (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 34), they consider the cultural cleavage between populism and cosmopolitanism as orthogonal, so additional, to the classic economic class cleavage.

Figure 1
Heuristic model of party competition in Western societies



Reprinted from “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash.”, by Inglehart, R.F. & Norris, P., 2016, *Harvard Kennedy School – Faculty Research Working Paper Series*. (August 2016).

2.4.1 Populism

Populist and extremist expert Cas Mudde calls populism the expression of the general will of the people (Mudde 2015). The ideology distinguishes two antagonistic groups: “the pure people” and “the corrupt elite”. The elite is said to ignore and avoid discussing the most important issues that “the people” care and talk about, such as immigration and European integration. Populism shares three core features: anti-establishment, authoritarianism, and nativism (Mudde 2007, 2). It emphasizes faith in the wisdom and virtue of ‘normal’ people and reflects deep cynicism and resentment of existing authorities, it favours strong and charismatic leadership that expresses the voice of the people and in this way displays authoritarian leanings, and it stresses mono-culturalism over multiculturalism, which can be seen as xenophobic nationalism (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 7). It defends popular sovereignty at any cost (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2013, 1).

“Populism is conceptualized in this study as reflecting 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), protectionist policies regulating the movement of trade, people and finance over global free trade, xenophobia over tolerance of multiculturalism, strong individual leadership over diplomatic bargaining and flexible negotiations, isolationism in foreign and defense policies over international engagement, traditional sex roles for women and men over more fluid gender identities and roles, and traditional over progressive values.” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 17)

2.4.2 Cosmopolitan liberalism

Cosmopolitan liberalism, on the other side, refers to the idea of open national borders, shared multicultural values, diversity of peoples and lifestyles in outward-looking and inclusive societies (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 7). Cosmopolitanism is an orientation, a willingness to engage with the other. “It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity” (Hannerz 1990, 239). These cosmopolitan views are often times combined with liberal values, calling for a strong checks-and-balance system, a representative democracy, minority care, fair elections and a wide representation of political parties. Just like populism, cosmopolitan liberalism is a doctrine about the basis on which institutions and practices should be justified or criticized (Beitz 1999, 519).

“The cultural cleavage divides Populism from Cosmopolitan Liberalism, which favors the free flow of people, ideas, capital, and cultures across national borders, and pluralistic forms of governance based on respect for the protection of minority rights and checks and balances in decision-making processes.” (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 17)

Inglehart and Norris’ (2016, 34) heuristic model of party competition in Western societies (*Figure 1*) will be used as the basis for the research conducted in this thesis.

3. Methodology

After having displayed the broad range of existing literature focused on the notions of left and right, as well as the emergence of new dimensions as explanation for voting behaviour and party profiling, we can start clarifying the methodology that underlies the research conducted in this thesis. Important to mention here is that there is no theoretical model or method that can be seen as ultimate.

In this thesis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is chosen as the most applicable and appropriate method to analyse the election of Trump, Brexit and the French elections, in order to come closer to an answer to the research question: *To what extent does the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension replace the traditional left-right dimension in contemporary politics as the core currency of political exchange in times of changing narratives?* CDA will be used for the analysis of quotes and relevant topics. Additionally, content analysis (CTA) is used to count and classify keywords that can be linked to the presented dimensions.

First, these methods will be explained more intensively. Second, the selection of Brexit, the election of Trump, and the 2017 French elections as main subjects of research will be justified. Third, the way in which CDA and CTA are used throughout this thesis, and which steps it contains to get a complete view of the discourse in these documents, will be explained.

3.1 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is part of the broad method of discourse analysis, which can be described as the study of language in text and conversation. It is an umbrella term for the many traditions by which discourse is studied. Fairclough (1989, 24) refers to discourse as “the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part”. CDA contributes to critical social analysis and focuses on discourse and its relations with other social elements (for example power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities) (Fairclough 2012, 9). It describes and evaluates existing realities in a normative way, and hence “assesses the extent to which they match up to various values” (Fairclough 2012, 9). These values are generally fundamental for just or decent societies, in a way that they set certain standards.

CDA focuses on two dialectical relations: between structure and events. It tries to create a better understanding of social wrongs, the obstacles of addressing them, and possible ways of overcoming them. In this way, it is a facet of action, a construal of aspects of the world, and of the constitution of identities. “Critical discourse analysis (...) aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony” (Fairclough 1993, 135).

This method is chosen, because it attempts to link social practice and linguistic practice, and it tries to describe and evaluate existing realities. It reveals a social wrong, in this case the left-right dimension, which fails to explain the recent political debate in Western societies. Through the studying of various linguistic documents, we could probably discover what other dimensions have become equally or more important on both the voters side and the party side of the political spectrum.

3.2 Content analysis

Content analysis (CTA) is “an approach to the analysis of documents and texts, that seek to quantify content in terms of pre-determined categories” (Bryman 2008, 274). Neuendorf

(2002, 1) continues to define it as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics”. CTA can be focused on words, sentences, grammatical structures, clauses, ratios or even ‘themes’ (Prior 2014, 6). It is used to examine how news, drama, advertising and entertainment content of certain actors, parties or media reflect social and cultural issues, values and phenomena. Different from discourse analysis, it studies structured and quantitative textual content rather than textual meaning and interpretation. In this thesis, it will be used to count and classify certain keywords, which can be linked to the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension.

3.3 Brexit, the election of Trump, and the 2017 French presidential elections

For measuring this, the following recent events have been chosen as subject of analysis:

- 1) Brexit, decided on 23 June 2016
- 2) The presidential election of Donald Trump, on 8 November 2016
- 3) The French presidential elections, held in March - May 2017

All three events show a deeply divided electorate, a growing sentiment of anti-establishment and dissatisfaction towards mainstream politics. The Democracy Index 2016 (12) displays three parallels: a trend of electorate vs. establishment, mass vs. elite and considerable declining popular trust in governments. “They were the culmination of a long-term trend of declining popular trust in government institutions, political parties and politicians. They showed that society’s marginalized and forgotten voters, often working-class and blue-collar, do not share the same values as the dominant political elite and are demanding a voice of their own – and if the mainstream parties will not provide it, they will look elsewhere. This is the main lesson for political leaders facing election in Europe in 2017 and beyond” (Democracy Index 2016, 12). The events are clear examples of changing narratives, which may cause some important discursive changes in the near future.

3.4 Methodology explained

The methodology in this thesis exists of three parts. A research based on only one method would not suffice; it would give a flat and incomplete answer and leave out the context in which the discourse occurs. Therefore, an integration of different approaches has been

chosen. “The level of vocabulary is clearly important in the analysis of discourse, but, (...), words in discourse may only be interpreted precisely in the context in which they occur. (...) What is needed, therefore, is a level of relational content analysis where the relationships between words can be defined and those relationships, in addition to the counts on individual words or categories, may be classified and counted” (Wilson 1993, 1). An integrated method is fuller, more reliable and more explicitly relational. Also, it retains the story-like structure and records all data (Wilson 1993, 2).

1) Ideological analysis (CDA): this part attempts “to link the inaugural discourse with the social processes and to decipher covert ideology of this text” (Horvath 2009, 50). It focuses on phrases, text styles, linguistic frames and structures and tries to uncover the tone that is used to carry out a certain message or ideological statement. It is not so much a structured measuring tool, but rather a method that tries to classify certain text phrases along interpretation and style. In this thesis, all quotes and their connection to the presented dimensions are based upon the “2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey” (Bakker et al. 2015), see *table 1*. The variables are classified as either cultural or economic cleavages. The cultural cleavage is linked to the populism – cosmopolitan liberalism dimension. The economic cleavage is linked to the traditional left-right dimension. In this part of the analysis we will exclusively focus on the cultural dimension, so we will search for populist and cosmopolitan liberal quotes. In a later part of this research, we will also incorporate a more extensive focus on the traditional left-right distinction.

Table 1

Dimensions of party competition in Europe

| CHES Variable name | Description | Cultural cleavage | Economic cleavage |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| Galtan | Favor traditional values | .943 | |
| Sociallifestyle | Opposes liberal social lifestyles | .923 | |
| Nationalism | Promote nationalism | .918 | |
| Civlib_laworder | Favors tough law and order | .916 | |
| Multiculturalism | Against multiculturalism on immigrants | .904 | |
| Immigrate_policy | Against immigration | .880 | |
| Ethnic_minorities | Opposes rights for ethnic minorities | .864 | |
| Religious_principle | Supports religious principles in politics | .787 | |
| Urban_rural | Supports rural interests | .737 | |
| Deregulation | Favors market deregulation | | .956 |
| Econ_interven | Opposed to state economic intervention | | .925 |
| Redistribution | Opposed to wealth redistribution | | .894 |
| Spendvtax | Favor cuts in taxes and services | | .890 |

Reprinted from “2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey.”, by Bakker, R. et al., 2015, *Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina*.

In above model, for the cultural cleavage, topics on the populist side of the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension are described. In this thesis, we add the cosmopolitan liberalist side of the dimension by using the following model (adjusted by myself), see *table 2*. Every populist characteristic has a cosmopolitan liberalist counter-characteristic. For each quote, we determine how we can classify these statements and hence to what dimension they belong.

Table 2

Cultural cleavage model

| Populism | Cosmopolitan liberalism |
|---|--|
| Favors traditional values | Favors progressive values |
| Opposes liberal social lifestyles | Promotes liberal social lifestyles |
| Promotes nationalism | Promotes cosmopolitanism |
| Favors tough law and order | Opposes tough law and order |
| Against multiculturalism on immigrants | Favors multiculturalism on immigrants |
| Against immigration | Promotes integration |
| Opposes rights for ethnic minorities | Promotes rights for ethnic minorities |
| Supports religious principles in politics | Opposes religious principles in politics |
| Supports rural interests | Supports global interests |
| Wants power back to the people | Shows trust in governing political elite |

- 2) Analysis of addressed topics (CDA): this part is aimed at displaying topics that parties see as important, which can be linked to certain dichotomies. All topics and their connection to these dimensions are based upon the heuristic model of party competition in Western societies (*figure 1*) (Inglehart and Norris 2016, 34). According to this model, every dimension (economic left, economic right, populism and cosmopolitan liberalism) contains four key characteristics. In this part of the analysis, we try to make a connection between the raised topics in party programs / movement campaigns and the characteristics.
- 3) Analysis of frequently used words and connotations (CTA): this part will give a more quantitative based result of the analysis, and tries to find keywords and connotations that we can link to the traditional left-right dimension and the newly emerging dimension between populism and cosmopolitan liberalism. Based on Inglehart and Norris' article, the following words are chosen as typical keywords for either dimension, see *table 3*. The selection of words is based on the theoretical framework and methodology that the authors use throughout their work. The keyword density for every text will be measured by taking the total amount of words, and calculating what percentage of this text exists of the selected keywords that fit a certain dimension. Behind each word, you can find the page number on which a justification of the chosen word is displayed.

Table 3

Keywords

| Populism | Cosmopolitan liberalism |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Our (Inglehart & Norris 2016, 6) | All (7) |
| Own / ownership (6) | Shared / shared (7) |
| Threat / threatens (6) | Opportunity / opportunities (8) |
| Danger (6) | Chance / able / ability (8) |
| Border / borders (6) | Connect (7) |
| Power (6) | Open (7) |
| Immigration / migration (7) | Global / international (8) |
| Control (7) | Innovate / innovation (7) |
| Protect (6) | Responsible / responsibility (8) |
| People (6) | Together (7) |

Presumably, we can connect these statements, topics and words to either side of, or somewhere on, the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist axis. Beforehand, it is important to make a small disclaimer. Due to the fact that for Brexit we are using campaign materials, whereas for the election of Trump and the French elections we are studying party programs, it might be hard to compare the documents in terms of size, structure and content.

In the next section, party programs and movement campaigns will be analyzed through critical discourse analysis and content analysis.

4. Analysis

4.1 Brexit

On 23 June 2016, 51,9 percent of the British electorate (who actually voted) voted to leave the European Union. 48,1 percent had opted to remain (Goodwin & Heath 2016, 323). The referendum uncovered tensions that had been shaping domestic party politics in Great Britain for a long time: “a society which had, on the issues of EU membership and immigration,

become divided by social class, generation and geography” (Goodwin & Heath 2016, 324). The Labour party officially campaigned to remain in the EU, but faced an internal crisis in which the unpopular leader Corbyn got immediate pressure to resign after he “had failed to demonstrate leadership and communicate a compelling case for why Britain should remain in the EU” (Goodwin & Heath 2016, 324). The Conservative party was politically divided, centered around three distinctive Brexit camps: those who favour a ‘hard Brexit’, those who urge a ‘soft Brexit’ negotiation working closely with EU partners, and those who expect ‘Brexit means Brexit’, but would like the UK to retain access to the single market at a minimum (Diamond 2016). UKIP, the UK Independence Party, fully supported the Leave camp after campaigning its defining goal of withdrawing from the EU for twenty-three years. The Liberal Democrats were pro European Union; the Scottish National Party pled for a second independence referendum after the result.

The Leave-Remain opposition will be used as the plausible embodiment of the populist-cosmopolitan liberalist dimension. We study the Leave-campaign “Vote Leave, take back control” and the Remain-campaign “Britain Stronger in Europe”.

4.1.1 Ideological analysis

The ideological analysis displays representative quotes found in party programs or movement campaigns and tries to link these statements to either dimension on the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist axis.

Vote Leave, Take Control + “What Would Happen”

| Cultural cleavage | |
|--|---|
| <u>Populism</u> | <u>Cosmopolitan liberalism</u> |
| Favors traditional values <i>“EU energy regulations cost families and small businesses millions.” (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 9)</i> | Favors progressive values <i>“EU rules delay building schools and hospitals – and add millions to the cost.” (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 9)</i> |
| Opposes liberal social lifestyles X | Promotes liberal social lifestyles X |
| Promotes nationalism | Promotes cosmopolitanism |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>"In a world with so many new threats, it's safer to control our own borders and decide for ourselves who can come into this country, not being overruled by EU judges." (What Would Happen 2016)</i></p> <p><i>"We regain our influence in the wider world and become a truly global nation once again." (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 15)</i></p> | X |
| <p>Favors tough law and order</p> <p><i>"EU Judges are using the Charter of Fundamental Rights to take away more power from our police and security services." (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 6)</i></p> | <p>Opposes tough law and order</p> <p><i>"The European Court will still be in charge of our laws. It already overrules us on everything from how much tax we pay, to who we can let in and out of the country, and on what terms." (What Would Happen 2016)</i></p> |
| <p>Against multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p><i>"Nearly 2 million people came to the UK from the EU over the last ten years. Imagine what it would be like in future decades when new, poorer countries join." (What Would Happen 2016)</i></p> | <p>Favors multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Against immigration</p> <p><i>"We can control immigration and have a fairer system which welcomes people to the UK based on the skills they have, not the passport they hold." (What Would Happen 2016)</i></p> | <p>Promotes integration</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Opposes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p><i>"We take back control of our borders and can kick out violent criminals." (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 15)</i></p> | <p>Promotes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Supports religious principles in politics</p> | <p>Opposes religious principles in politics</p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| X | X |
| <p>Supports rural interests</p> <p><i>"We can spend our money on our priorities like the NHS, schools, and housing." (What Would Happen 2016)</i></p> <p><i>"The EU stops us signing our own trade deals with key allies like Australia or New Zealand, and growing economies like India, China or Brazil. We'll be free to seize new opportunities which means more jobs." (What Would Happen 2016)</i></p> | <p>Supports global interests</p> <p><i>"We have better relations with our European friends."</i></p> |
| <p>Wants power back to the people</p> <p><i>"Over half our laws are made by unelected EU bureaucrats in Brussels who we never voted for." (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 8)</i></p> <p><i>"We take back the power to kick out the people who make our laws." (Vote Leave Take Control 2016, 15)</i></p> | <p>Shows trust in governing political elite</p> <p>X</p> |

The Leave campaign reveals some interesting patterns. In the first place, it clearly shows populist sentiment, which is especially expressed in a desire for ‘taking back control’ over Britain’s own borders, rules and priorities. It has a strong opportunistic tone, reflected in a call for ‘a fairer’ system where no longer EU bureaucrats have the biggest influence, but elected people from the UK. The quotes show nationalist sentiment with a focus on the popular will and the voice of people to be heard. Secondly, it does uncover some liberalist arguments, which are mostly displayed in progressive thinking about the economy and (trade) relations. Religious principles or ideas about specific lifestyles are not included in the campaign. The amount of left-right rhetoric or issues, which emerge around this dimension, will be studied in the next section (analysis of addressed topics).

Britain Stronger in Europe + “Get The Facts”

| Cultural cleavage | |
|--|--|
| <u>Populism</u> | <u>Cosmopolitan liberalism</u> |
| Favors traditional values X | Favors progressive values <i>“Britain can either continue to benefit from being part of the world’s largest trading bloc, influencing rules so they work in our favour - or be on the outside looking in when decisions are made that affect our economy and our future.”</i> |
| Opposes liberal social lifestyles X | Promotes liberal social lifestyles <i>“British workers benefit from a number of protections at work which have their basis in European law. Action in Europe provided the basis for minimum paid annual leave, protections against discrimination and harassment at work, and for statutory maternity and parental leave.” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016, 4)</i> |
| Promotes nationalism X | Promotes cosmopolitanism <i>“Over 3 million UK jobs are linked to our trade with the EU.” (Get The Facts 2016)</i> <i>“In the EU you can find work, holiday and retire without visas, and study abroad on the Erasmus programme, offering you and your family even more ways to get on in life.” (Get The Facts 2016)</i> |
| Favors tough law and order X | Opposes tough law and order X |
| Against multiculturalism on immigrants | Favors multiculturalism on immigrants |

| | |
|--|---|
| X | X |
| Against immigration X | Promotes integration X |
| Opposes rights for ethnic minorities X | Promotes rights for ethnic minorities X |
| Supports religious principles in politics X | Opposes religious principles in politics X |
| Supports rural interests <i>“Being able to trade freely across the EU helps UK businesses grow and create jobs, giving you and your family more opportunities and more financial security.” (Get The Facts 2016)</i> <i>“Britain is stronger, safer and better off in Europe than we would be out on our own. Leaving Europe would risk our prosperity, threaten our safety and diminish our influence in the world.” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016, 2)</i> | Supports global interests <i>“Many of the threats to Britain's security are global in nature, such as global terrorism, cross-border crime or climate change. Whether it's implementing sanctions against Russia, sharing intelligence about terrorists or arresting criminals using the European Arrest Warrant, being in Europe makes us safer. There is strength in numbers in an era where international co-operation brings us more power and more influence.” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016, 2)</i> |
| Wants power back to the people X | Shows trust in governing political elite <i>“In the complex world of today, the UK has more control over its destiny by staying inside organisations like the EU. We would never dream of leaving the UN or NATO. Why would we leave the EU? If we want Britain to be a leader in the world, we need to be in Europe helping to take the big decisions.” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016, 2)</i> |

The Remain campaign includes mostly cosmopolitan liberalist ideas with some populist sentiment. The selected quotes show a progressive and inclusive view towards international

cooperation. Most arguments that advocate Remain point at the advantages of being part of the European Union, which protects the UK from unfair competition, creates opportunities and jobs and supports both rural and global interests. In the end, most arguments still come down to the promotion of national benefits such as Britain’s security, power and influence. The amount of left-right rhetoric or issues, which emerge around this dimension, will be studied in the next section (analysis of addressed topics).

4.1.2 Analysis of addressed topics

The analysis of addressed topics is aimed at giving an overview of the most relevant and urgent topics according to the presented political parties and movements. Presumably, this will tell us more about the dimension to which we can link them.

| | Vote Leave, Take Control + “What Would Happen” (10 topics) | Britain Stronger in Europe + “Get The Facts” (8 topics) |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Economic left | | |
| State management | X | Instability |
| Economic redistribution | X | Protect people |
| Welfare state | X | National Health Service |
| Collectivism | X | X |
| Economic right | | |
| Free market / small state | Free trade | Competition + trade |
| Deregulation | Control economy | X |
| Low taxation | Taxation | X |
| Individualism | EU power & control | X |
| Populism | | |
| Anti-establishment | X | X |
| Strong leader / popular will | Our laws + more democracy | X |
| Nationalism | Our money + great country | Family + place in the world |
| Traditional values | Control borders + security | X |
| Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
| Pluralistic democracy | X | X |

| | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| Tolerant multiculturalism | X | X |
| Multilateralism | Relations European friends | X |
| Progressive values | X | Climate change |

In above model, we can see that both campaigns not only include populist and cosmopolitan liberalist arguments, but also and to a considerable extent economic left and right related topics. In the Leave campaign, issues on the economic right side of the spectrum, such as free trade, deregulation, taxation and individual freedom play an important role. On the Remain side, this is the case for leftish ideas such as state management, and protection and promotion of the welfare state. The Remain campaign also promotes competition and free trade, but argues that this derives from being part of “the world’s largest trading bloc” rather than resigning from international cooperation in the EU.

To continue, the Leave campaign highly promotes populist topics such as “our laws”, “our money” and “our borders”, which calls for the voice of the people to be heard, a nationalist approach and a focus on traditional values. Yet, the importance of European relations must not be ignored. The Remain campaign does not mention many cosmopolitan liberalist issues, except for climate change and environment, but relates its inclusive ideas mostly to the promotion of the British economy and well-being.

4.1.3 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations

In the analysis of frequently used words and connotations, we link certain keywords to both dimensions, and in this way try to analyze the textual discourse in party programs or movement campaigns.

Vote Leave, Take Control + “What Would Happen”

Total amount of words: 1.393

| Populism | | | Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
|-----------------|---------|---------|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| Keyword | Repeats | Density | Keyword | Repeats | Density |
| Our | 35 | 2,51% | All | 0 | 0% |
| Own / ownership | 3 | 0,22% | Share / shared | 0 | 0% |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|-------|------------------------------|---|-------|
| Threat / threatens | 1 | 0,07% | Opportunity / opportunities | 0 | 0% |
| Danger | 2 | 0,14% | Chance / able / ability | 1 | 0,07% |
| Border / borders | 6 | 0,43% | Connect | 0 | 0% |
| Power | 10 | 0,72% | Open | 1 | 0,07% |
| Immigration / migration | 1 | 0,07% | Global / international | 1 | 0,07% |
| Control | 15 | 1,08% | Innovate / innovation | 0 | 0% |
| Protect | 1 | 0,07% | Responsible / responsibility | 0 | 0% |
| People | 2 | 0,14% | Together | 0 | 0% |

Populism average: 0,545%

Cosmopolitan liberalism average: 0,021%

Here, we can clearly see that the Leave campaign consists of mostly populist rhetoric. Especially the words “our”, “power” and “control” are shaping the tone of the text, which point at the desire to bring power back to the British people. Cosmopolitan liberalist keywords barely appear in the campaign.

Britain Stronger in Europe + “Get The Facts”

Total amount of words: 400 + 1.102 = 1.502

| Populism | | | Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
|--------------------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|---------|
| Keyword | Repeats | Density | Keyword | Repeats | Density |
| Our | 1 | 0,07% | All | 4 | 0,27% |
| Own / ownership | 0 | 0% | Share / shared | 0 | 0% |
| Threat / threatens | 0 | 0% | Opportunity / opportunities | 4 | 0,27% |
| Danger | 0 | 0% | Chance / able / ability | 2 | 0,13% |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|-------|------------------------------|---|-------|
| Border / borders | 0 | 0% | Connect | 0 | 0% |
| Power | 0 | 0% | Open | 0 | 0% |
| Immigration / migration | 0 | 0% | Global / international | 1 | 0,07% |
| Control | 0 | 0% | Innovate / innovation | 0 | 0% |
| Protect | 1 | 0,07% | Responsible / responsibility | 0 | 0% |
| People | 4 | 0,27% | Together | 0 | 0% |

Populism average: 0,041%

Cosmopolitan liberalism average: 0,074%

In the Remain campaign, the difference between populist and cosmopolitan liberalist rhetoric is considerably smaller. What is more, there is barely any cosmopolitan liberalist rhetoric used in these texts, even though the quotes and topics do show a relation to this dimension.

4.2 Election Trump

With the presidential election of Donald Trump on 8 November 2016, a new shockwave was sent throughout the world. After an intense campaign he succeeded to defeat his Democratic competitor Hilary Clinton, representing the Republican Party, which however not found full consensus on what political leadership within the party should entail. Whereas Trump “sought to mobilize ‘the people’ against allegedly corrupt elites” (Diamond 2016, 4) and stressed ‘America first’, Clinton advocated democratic rights and opportunities for the less advantaged, and international alignments as a tool to reinforce US influence and prevent wars.

In this thesis, we assume that “the election of Trump will embolden populist parties and tendencies all over Europe” (Gros & Blockmans 2016, 2) and hence see Trump and his Republican policies as plausible embodiment of the populist dimension. The Democratic Party and Clinton are, on the other side, linked to cosmopolitan liberalism. The “Republican Platform 2016” and “2016 Democratic Party Platform” will be used as documents for analysis.

4.2.1 Ideological analysis

The ideological analysis displays representative quotes found in party programs or movement campaigns and tries to link these statements to either dimension on the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist axis.

Republican Platform 2016

| Cultural cleavage | |
|--|--|
| <u>Populism</u> | <u>Cosmopolitan liberalism</u> |
| Favors traditional values <i>“Foremost among those institutions is the American family. It is the foundation of civil society, and the cornerstone of the family is natural marriage, the union of one man and one woman. Its daily lessons – cooperation, patience, mutual respect, responsibility, self-reliance – are fundamental to the order and progress of our Republic.” (Republican Platform 2016, 31)</i> | Favors progressive values X |
| Opposes liberal social lifestyles X | Promotes liberal social lifestyles <i>“We are the party of a growing economy that gives everyone a chance in life, an opportunity to learn, work, and realize the prosperity freedom makes possible.” (Republican Platform 2016, 1)</i> |
| Promotes nationalism <i>“To all who stand strong in the face of danger, so that the American people may be protected against it – The men and women of our military, of our law enforcement, and the first responders of every community in our land – And to their families.” (Republican</i> | Promotes cosmopolitanism X |

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Platform 2016)</p> <p><i>“We believe in American exceptionalism. We believe the United States of America is unlike any other nation on earth. We believe America is exceptional because of our historic role – first as refuge, then as defender, and now as exemplar of liberty for the world to see.” (Republican Platform 2016, i)</i></p> | |
| <p>Favors tough law and order</p> <p><i>“Our most urgent task as a Party is to restore the American people’s faith in their government by electing a president who will enforce duly enacted laws, honor constitutional limits on executive authority, and return credibility to the Oval Office. We need a Republican president who will end abuses of power by departments and agencies, like the IRS and the EPA, and by the White House itself.” (Republican Platform 2016, 10)</i></p> | <p>Opposes tough law and order</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Against multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Favors multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Against immigration</p> <p><i>“Illegal immigration endangers everyone, exploits the taxpayers, and insults all who aspire to enter America legally. (...) Our highest priority, therefore, must be to secure our borders and all ports of entry and to enforce our immigration laws.” (Republican Platform 2016, 25-26)</i></p> | <p>Promotes integration</p> <p><i>“Just as immigrant labor helped build our country in the past, today’s legal immigrants are making vital contributions in every aspect of national life. Their industry and commitment to American values strengthens our economy, enriches our culture, and enables us to better understand and more effectively compete with the rest of the</i></p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| | <i>world.” (Republican Platform 2016, 25)</i> |
| <p>Opposes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p><i>“America’s immigration policy must serve the national interest of the United States, and the interests of American workers must be protected over the claims of foreign nationals seeking the same jobs.” (Republican Platform 2016, 25)</i></p> | <p>Promotes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Supports religious principles in politics</p> <p><i>“The Declaration sets forth the fundamental precepts of American government: That God bestows certain inalienable rights on every individual, thus producing human equality; that government exists first and foremost to protect those inalienable rights; that man-made law must be consistent with God-given, natural rights; and that if God-given, natural, inalienable rights come in conflict with government, court, or human-granted rights, God-given, natural, inalienable rights always prevail; that there is a moral law recognized as “the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God”; and that American government is to operate with the consent of the governed.” (Republican Platform 2016, 9)</i></p> | <p>Opposes religious principles in politics</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Supports rural interests</p> <p><i>“This platform lays out — in clear language — the path to making America great and united again.” (Republican Platform 2016, i)</i></p> | <p>Supports global interests</p> <p>X</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Wants power back to the people</p> <p><i>“We believe that people are the ultimate resource – and that the people, not the government, are the best stewards of our country’s God-given natural resources.”</i></p> <p><i>(Republican Platform 2016, i)</i></p> | <p>Shows trust in governing political elite</p> <p>X</p> |
|---|--|

The Republican Party Platform clearly shows populist sentiment. Among the selected quotes, it meets all criteria for the populist dimension, except for the opposition of a liberal social lifestyle and multiculturalism amongst immigrants. It sharply criticizes increased immigration and has a strong nationalist tone. Also, it includes some phrases, which emphasize the religious principles promoted by the Republican Party. Only a few quotes point at some cosmopolitan liberalist viewpoints. The party promotes good integration for legal immigrants who can contribute to US society in terms of labor, economy and culture. Also, it supports a liberal economy where freedom and “the pursuit of happiness” are driving forces for economic growth. The amount of left-right rhetoric or issues, which emerge around this dimension, will be studied in the next section (analysis of addressed topics).

2016 Democratic Party Platform

| Cultural cleavage | |
|---|---|
| <u>Populism</u> | <u>Cosmopolitan liberalism</u> |
| <p>Favors traditional values</p> <p><i>“We will manage for tribal sacred places, and empower tribes to maintain and pass on traditional religious beliefs, languages, and social practices without fear of discrimination or suppression.”</i> (Democratic Platform 2016, 22)</p> | <p>Favors progressive values</p> <p><i>“Democrats are committed to protecting and advancing reproductive health, rights, and justice. We believe unequivocally, like the majority of Americans, that every woman should have access to quality reproductive health care services, including safe and legal abortion – regardless of where she lives, how much money she makes, or how she is insured.”</i> (Democratic Platform 2016, 37)</p> |

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Opposes liberal social lifestyles</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Promotes liberal social lifestyles</p> <p><i>“What makes America great is our unerring belief that we can make it better. We can and will build a more just economy, a more equal society, and a more perfect union – because we are stronger together.”</i> (Democratic Platform 2016, 3)</p> |
| <p>Promotes nationalism</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Promotes cosmopolitanism</p> <p><i>“Democrats believe that cooperation is better than conflict, unity is better than division, empowerment is better than resentment, and bridges are better than walls. It’s a simple but powerful idea: we are stronger together.”</i> (Democratic Platform 2016, 1)</p> |
| <p>Favors tough law and order</p> <p><i>“Democrats will support stronger criminal laws and civil penalties for Wall Street criminals who prey on the public trust.”</i> (Democratic Platform 2016, 11)</p> | <p>Opposes tough law and order</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Against multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Favors multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p><i>“Above all, Democrats are the party of inclusion. We know that diversity is not our problem – it is our promise. As Democrats, we respect differences of perspective and belief, and pledge to work together to move this country forward, even when we disagree. With this platform, we do not merely seek common ground – we strive to reach higher ground.”</i> (Democratic Platform 2016, 2)</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Against immigration</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Promotes integration</p> <p><i>“We are proud of our heritage as a nation of immigrants. We know that today’s immigrants are tomorrow’s teachers, doctors, lawyers, government leaders, soldiers, entrepreneurs, activists, PTA members, and pillars of our communities.”</i></p> <p><i>(Democratic Platform 2016, 2)</i></p> |
| <p>Opposes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Promotes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p><i>“And we know that our nation’s long struggle with race is far from over. (...) We must face that reality and we must fix it.”</i> <i>(Democratic Platform 2016, 1)</i></p> |
| <p>Supports religious principles in politics</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Opposes religious principles in politics</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Supports rural interests</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Supports global interests</p> <p><i>“Democrats believe we are stronger and safer when America brings the world together and leads with principle and purpose. We believe we should strengthen our alliances, not weaken them. We believe in the power of development and diplomacy. (...) And we know that only the United States can mobilize common action on a truly global scale, to take on the challenges that transcend borders, from international terrorism to climate change to health pandemics.”</i> <i>(Democratic Platform 2016, 2)</i></p> |
| <p>Wants power back to the people</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Shows trust in governing political elite</p> <p><i>“Under President Obama’s leadership, and thanks to the hard work and determination</i></p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <p><i>of the American people, we have come a long way from the Great Recession and the Republican policies that triggered it.”</i></p> <p><i>(Democratic Platform 2016, 1)</i></p> |
|--|--|

The Democratic Party Platform, on the other side, mostly consists of cosmopolitan liberalist ideas, which stimulate progressive values such as responsible and purposeful leadership, the power of development and diplomacy, and a focus on transnational issues (for example climate change, terrorism and health pandemics). It advocates equality, a just economy, diversity and international cooperation. The inclusive character of the Democratic Party can be found in many statements, of which several are displayed above. The only populist sentiment that one can discover has to do with the desire to preserve traditional values such as beliefs and languages and the promotion of stronger criminal law when it comes to public trust. The amount of left-right rhetoric or issues, which emerge around this dimension, will be studied in the next section (analysis of addressed topics).

4.2.2 Analysis of addressed topics

The analysis of addressed topics is aimed at giving an overview of the most relevant and urgent topics according to the presented political parties and movements. Presumably, this will tell us more about the dimension to which we can link them.

| | Republican Platform 2016 (10 topics) | 2016 Democratic Party Platform (13 topics) |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| Economic left | | |
| State management | X | No inequality + voting rights |
| Economic redistribution | X | Raise incomes |
| Welfare state | Social security | Health + safety |
| Collectivism | X | Economic security |
| Economic right | | |
| Free market / small state | Competition | X |
| Deregulation | Economy | X |
| Low taxation | Taxation | X |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Individualism | X | X |
| Populism | | |
| Anti-establishment | X | X |
| Strong leader / popular will | Democracy + danger | X |
| Nationalism | Foreign danger + education | Our troops + veterans |
| Traditional values | Immigration + families | X |
| Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
| Pluralistic democracy | X | Democracy |
| Tolerant multiculturalism | X | Our values |
| Multilateralism | X | Global threats |
| Progressive values | X | Climate change + education |

In the party platforms, both the economic left-right dimension and the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension seem important indicators. Republican ideas can be mostly related to right thinking, especially about free market competition, deregulation and taxation. Social security is important in terms of preserving and modernizing a system of retirement security.

Democratic ideas can be connected to leftish views on incomes, equality, collectivism and the welfare state. The Democratic Party Platform consists of many cosmopolitan liberalist ideas about pluralism, multiculturalism, multilateralism and progressive values. In none of these ideas (except for a nationalist call for support of “our troops and veterans”), populist sentiment, as described earlier in this thesis, can be discovered.

4.2.3 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations

In the analysis of frequently used words and connotations, we link certain keywords to both dimensions, and in this way try to analyze the textual discourse in party programs or movement campaigns.

Republican Platform 2016

Total amount of words: 37.798

| Populism | | | Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Keyword | Repeats | Density | Keyword | Repeats | Density |
| Our (outlier) | 385 | 1,02% | All (outlier) | 150 | 0,40% |
| Own / ownership | 48 | 0,13% | Share / shared | 9 | 0,02% |
| Threat / threatens | 35 | 0,09% | Opportunity / opportunities | 28 | 0,07% |
| Danger | 29 | 0,08% | Chance / able / ability | 27 | 0,07% |
| Border / borders | 19 | 0,05% | Connect | 6 | 0,02% |
| Power | 71 | 0,19% | Open | 20 | 0,05% |
| Immigration / migration | 12 | 0,03% | Global / international | 47 | 0,12% |
| Control | 47 | 0,12% | Innovate / innovation | 30 | 0,08% |
| Protect (outlier) | 101 | 0,27% | Responsible / responsibility | 26 | 0,07% |
| People (outlier) | 110 | 0,29% | Together | 12 | 0,03% |

Populism average: 0,227% (0,1% without outliers “our”, “protect” and “people”)

Cosmopolitan liberalism average: 0,093% (0,06% without outlier “all”)

In terms of keywords, this platform uses more populist than cosmopolitan liberalist rhetoric. Even when we exclude the outliers “our”, “protect”, “people” and “all”, we can see a difference in presence of both dimensions. Here, for the populist dimension, the keywords “own/ownership” and “control” are used most frequently.

2016 Democratic Party Platform

Total amount of words: 29.410

| Populism | | | Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Keyword | Repeats | Density | Keyword | Repeats | Density |
| Our (outlier) | 307 | 1,04% | All (outlier) | 94 | 0,32% |
| Own / ownership | 23 | 0,08% | Share / shared | 22 | 0,07% |
| Threat / threatens | 27 | 0,09% | Opportunity / opportunities | 39 | 0,13% |
| Danger | 12 | 0,04% | Chance / able / ability | 27 | 0,09% |
| Border / borders | 5 | 0,02% | Connect | 4 | 0,01% |
| Power | 37 | 0,13% | Open | 9 | 0,03% |
| Immigration / migration | 16 | 0,05% | Global / international | 54 | 0,18% |
| Control | 7 | 0,02% | Innovate / innovation | 18 | 0,06% |
| Protect (outlier) | 92 | 0,31% | Responsible / responsibility | 15 | 0,05% |
| People (outlier) | 112 | 0,38% | Together | 17 | 0,06% |

Populism average: 0,216% (0,06% without outliers ‘our’, ‘protect’ and ‘people’)

Cosmopolitan liberalism average: 0,1% (0,08% without outlier ‘all’)

When we exclude the outliers “our”, “protect”, “people” and “all”, the Democratic Platform uses slightly more cosmopolitan liberalist than populist words. However, the difference is small. This can be partly explained by the fact that also the Democratic Party shows some nationalist sentiment. Moreover, it mentions several issues around foreign “threats”/“danger” (which however can be tackled best by international and multilateral cooperation) and the “protection” of “people” in terms of state management and collectivity. This has influence on the amount of which these ‘populist’ keywords are used.

4.3 2017 French presidential elections

Finally, the French presidential elections in March - May 2017 embody an appropriate example of shifting dimensions. For the first time since 1958, Emmanuel Macron, under the banner of political movement En Marche!, succeeded to be brought to power from outside the country's mainstream parties (the Socialist Party on the left and The Republicans on the right). He won the second and crucial round of the elections with 66,1% of the votes (BBC 2017). Macron, a liberal centrist, pleads to unite the country's deep divisions, strengthen EU ties, and tighten integration between Eurozone countries (BBC 2017). Marine Le Pen, on the other side, took over the Front National leadership from her far-right father in 2011 and became second during the presidential elections in 2017 with 33,9% of the votes. Le Pen represents the French nationals who advocate the abandon of the euro (and return to the franc), a renegotiation of France's EU membership, a cut on legal immigration and an allocation of public services to French citizens ahead of foreigners (BBC 2017). Both candidates reflect a radical break with the conventional political system of France.

In this thesis, Macron is linked to the cosmopolitan liberalist dimension, and Le Pen to the populist dimension. In the analysis, we use the Front National party program "144 Engagements Presidentiels – Marine 2017" and En Marche! party program "Programme En Marche!" as subject of study. These documents are only published in the original language (French). Hence, all quotes, topics and words will be translated by myself.

4.3.1 Ideological analysis

The ideological analysis displays representative quotes found in party programs or movement campaigns and tries to link these statements to either dimension on the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist axis.

144 Engagements Presidentiels – Marine 2017

| Cultural cleavage | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Populism | Cosmopolitan liberalism |
| Favors traditional values | Favors progressive values |
| "Défendre l'identité nationale, les valeurs et | X |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>les traditions de la civilisation française. Inscrire dans la Constitution la défense et la promotion de notre patrimoine historique et culturel.”</i></p> <p><i>(“To defend the national identity, values and traditions of the French civilization. To insert defence and promotion of our historical and cultural heritage in the Constitution.”) (Marine 2017, 15)</i></p> | |
| <p>Opposes liberal social lifestyles X</p> | <p>Promotes liberal social lifestyles X</p> |
| <p>Promotes nationalism</p> <p><i>“Vous en êtes conscients, cette élection présidentielle mettra face à face deux visions. Le choix « mondialiste » d’un côté, représenté par tous mes concurrents, qui cherche à détruire nos grands équilibres économiques et sociaux, qui veut l’abolition de toutes les frontières, économiques et physiques, et qui veut toujours plus d’immigration et moins de cohésion entre les Français. Le choix patriote de l’autre, que j’incarne dans cette élection, qui met la défense de la nation et du peuple au cœur de toute décision publique et qui par-dessus tout veut la protection de notre identité nationale, notre indépendance, l’unité des Français, la justice sociale et la prospérité de tous.”</i></p> <p><i>(“You are aware that this presidential election faces two visions. The “globalist”</i></p> | <p>Promotes cosmopolitanism X</p> |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>choice, on the one hand, represented by all my competitors, which seeks to destroy our great economic and social balance, which seeks to abolish all economic and physical borders, and which still wants more immigration and less cohesion between the French. The patriotic choice, on the other side, that I embody in this election, which puts defense of the nation and the people at the center of every decision and above all wants to protect our national identity, our independence, unity of the French, social justice and prosperity of all.”) (Marine 2017, 2)</i></p> | |
| <p>Favors tough law and order</p> <p><i>“Soutenir les entreprises françaises face à la concurrence internationale déloyale par la mise en place d’un protectionnisme intelligent et le rétablissement d’une monnaie nationale adaptée à notre économie, levier de notre compétitivité.”</i></p> <p><i>(“To support French companies facing unfair international competition through the establishment of intelligent protectionism and the recovery of a national currency adapted to our economy, to stimulate our competitiveness.”) (Marine 2017, 7)</i></p> | <p>Opposes tough law and order</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Against multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Favors multiculturalism on immigrants</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Against immigration</p> <p><i>“Réduire l’immigration légale à un solde</i></p> | <p>Promotes integration</p> <p>X</p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>annuel de 10000. Mettre fin à l'automaticité du regroupement et du rapprochement familial ainsi qu'à l'acquisition automatique de la nationalité française par mariage. Supprimer les pompes aspirantes de l'immigration."</i></p> <p><i>("To reduce legal immigration to an annual balance of 10.000. To end automatic family reunification and the automatic adoption of the French nationality after marriage. To remove illegal immigrants.") (Marine 2017, 6)</i></p> | |
| <p>Opposes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p><i>"Ériger la citoyenneté française en privilège pour tous les Français par l'inscription dans la Constitution de la priorité nationale."</i></p> <p><i>("To establish French citizenship as a privilege for all French citizens by the inclusion of the national priority in the Constitution.") (Marine 2017, 15)</i></p> | <p>Promotes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Supports religious principles in politics</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Opposes religious principles in politics</p> <p>X</p> |
| <p>Supports rural interests</p> <p><i>"Pour cela, une négociation sera engagée avec nos partenaires européens suivie d'un référendum sur notre appartenance à l'Union européenne. L'objectif est de parvenir à un projet européen respectueux de l'indépendance de la France, des souverainetés nationales et qui serve les intérêts des peuples."</i></p> | <p>Supports global interests</p> <p>X</p> |

| | |
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| <p><i>“For this, a negotiation will be initiated with our European partners followed by a referendum on our membership of the European Union. The objective is to achieve a European project, which respects the independence of France, of national sovereignties and which serves the interest of the people.” (Marine 2017, 3)</i></p> | |
| <p>Wants power back to the people <i>“L’objectif de ce projet est d’abord de rendre sa liberté à la France et la parole au peuple. Car c’est en votre nom, et pour votre seul bénéfice, que toute politique nationale doit être menée.”</i> <i>“The objective of this project is first to restore freedom in France and bring voice back to the people. Because it is in your name, and for your own benefit, that the national policy is carried out.” (Marine 2017, 2)</i> <i>“Proximité démocratique: je veux que les décisions soient prises au plus près des citoyens et directement contrôlées par eux. Proximité économique: il s’agit de réaménager notre territoire, d’y trouver des services publics partout, de relocaliser nos entreprises et donc nos emplois.”</i> <i>“Democratic promise: I want decisions to be made as closely as possible to the people and I want them to be directly controlled by them. Economic promise: this has to do with</i></p> | <p>Shows trust in governing political elite X</p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>redeveloping our territory, finding public services wherever we can, and relocating our businesses and in this way our jobs.”)</i> <i>(Marine 2017, 2)</i> | |
|--|--|

Le Pen’s party program 144 Engagements Presidentiels does not contain any quote that we can link to the cosmopolitan liberalist dimension. It has a strong populist tone, meeting all criteria except for the opposition of liberal social lifestyles and multiculturalism on immigrants, and it does not say anything about religious principles. The amount of left-right rhetoric or issues, which emerge around this dimension, will be studied in the next section (analysis of addressed topics).

Programme En Marche!

| Cultural cleavage | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <u>Populism</u> | <u>Cosmopolitan liberalism</u> |
| Favors traditional values X | Favors progressive values <i>“Le changement climatique nous oblige à repenser notre organisation et nos modes de vie. Le nouvel ordre mondial nous impose un terrorisme djihadiste qui a frappé notre pays ces dernières années, tandis que des puissances régionales autoritaires émergent et que notre allié américain semble réviser les bases de sa diplomatie.”</i> <i>("Climate change forces us to rethink our organization and way of life. The new world order imposes on us a jihadist terrorism that has struck our country in recent years, while authoritarian regional powers are emerging and our American ally seems to revise the bases of its diplomacy.") (Macron 2017, 3)</i> |

| | |
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| | <p><i>“Changer le travail et l’entreprise ne suffit pas. L’essentiel est de changer notre rapport à l’écologie et à l’environnement. (...) Ce n’est pas qu’une question d’énergie, même si le réchauffement climatique est la menace la plus pressante. C’est aussi une question qui est posée à chacun d’entre nous. C’est une question sur notre modèle de développement et de production qui nous est posée à tous. Et qui peut créer des emplois!”</i></p> <p><i>("Changing work and business is not enough. The key is to change our approach towards ecology and the environment. (...) It does not just come down to energy; even now global warming is the most pressing threat. It is also a question that concerns all of us. It is a question about our model of development and production. And one, which can create jobs!")</i></p> <p><i>(Macron 2017, 10)</i></p> |
| <p>Opposes liberal social lifestyles</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Promotes liberal social lifestyles</p> <p><i>“Les principes fondamentaux (durée légale du temps de travail, égalité professionnelle, salaire minimum...) resteront dans la loi. Mais, par exemple, les horaires effectifs ou l’organisation du travail seront négociés au plus près du terrain. Ils seront dénis par accord majoritaire ou par référendum d’entreprise sur la base d’un accord.”</i></p> <p><i>("The fundamental principles (legal amount of working hours, professional equality, minimum wage...) will remain in the law. But,</i></p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| | <p><i>for example, actual working hours or the organization of work will be decided as close to the specific field as possible. They shall be defined by majority agreement or by an enterprise referendum on the basis of agreement.”) (Macron 2017, 9)</i></p> |
| <p>Promotes nationalism X</p> | <p>Promotes cosmopolitanism <i>“Nous construirons une Europe qui développe nos emplois et notre économie. Pour pouvoir investir beaucoup plus qu’aujourd’hui, nous voulons un budget de la zone euro voté par un Parlement de la zone euro et exécuté par un ministre de l’Économie et des Finances de la zone euro.”</i> <i>(“We will build a Europe that develops our jobs and our economy. In order to invest much more than today, we want a euro zone budget, elected by a euro-zone parliament and executed by a eurozone minister of economy and finance.”) (Macron 2017, 21)</i></p> |
| <p>Favors tough law and order X</p> | <p>Opposes tough law and order X</p> |
| <p>Against multiculturalism on immigrants X</p> | <p>Favors multiculturalism on immigrants <i>“Il faut aller plus loin. Renouer avec le patriotisme sans renoncer à nos histoires multiples et à notre projet européen. Car redonner à la France son éclat, c’est redonner confiance aux Français. D’où qu’ils viennent. Où qu’ils habitent. Quels qu’ils soient. Et leur faire confiance, c’est leur redonner le pouvoir de faire, d’agir, de réaliser.”</i></p> |

| | |
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| | <p><i>("We have to continue. Return to patriotism without giving up our multiple histories and our European project. To give back to France its brilliance, is to restore confidence to the French. Wherever they come from. Wherever they live. Whatever they are. And to trust them is to give them the power to do, to act, to realize.") (Macron 2017, 18)</i></p> |
| <p>Against immigration X</p> | <p>Promotes integration</p> <p><i>"Nous créerons des emplois francs pour encourager l'embauche des habitants des quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville."</i> <i>("We will create free jobs to encourage the hiring of citizens of the priority neighborhoods of the city's policy.") (Macron 2017, 19)</i></p> |
| <p>Opposes rights for ethnic minorities X</p> | <p>Promotes rights for ethnic minorities</p> <p><i>"La France est en effet peuplée pour une bonne moitié de femmes, pour un bon quart de jeunes, pour un bon cinquième de Français d'origine étrangère plus ou moins lointaine... Or ces visages, cette diversité, ces parcours différents, nous ne les retrouvons pas assez sur les bancs du Parlement!"</i> <i>("France is indeed populated by a good half of women, by a good quarter of young people, by a good fifth of French people of foreign origin more or less distant ... But these faces, this diversity, they are not enough represented in our Parliament!") (Macron 2017, 26)</i></p> |
| <p>Supports religious principles in politics X</p> | <p>Opposes religious principles in politics X</p> |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>Supports rural interests</p> <p>X</p> | <p>Supports global interests</p> <p><i>“J’ai décidé de me présenter à l’élection présidentielle car je veux redonner à chaque Française et chaque Français confiance en eux, confiance en la France et dans notre capacité collective à relever nos défis. Ce faisant, nous redonnerons à l’Europe et au reste du monde confiance en notre pays.”</i></p> <p><i>(“I decided to run for the presidential election because I want to give every Frenchman confidence in themselves, confidence in France and in our collective ability to keep up with our challenges. In doing so, we will give Europe and the rest of the world confidence in our country.”) (Macron 2017, 3)</i></p> |
| <p>Wants power back to the people</p> <p><i>“Nous donnerons la parole au peuple. Nous proposerons des conventions citoyennes dans toute l’Europe dès la fin de l’année 2017 pour redonner un sens au projet européen.”</i></p> <p><i>“We will give the floor to the people. We will propose citizen conventions throughout Europe as of the end of 2017 to give meaning to the European project.” (Macron 2017, 21)</i></p> | <p>Shows trust in governing political elite</p> <p>X</p> |

In Macron’s party program En Marche, on the other side, we do not see any populist quotes except for his call to bring power back to the people. He clearly supports a cosmopolitan worldview where progressive values are key, diversity is an enrichment and liberal socialism is on the basis. The amount of left-right rhetoric or issues, which emerge around this dimension, will be studied in the next section (analysis of addressed topics).

4.3.2 Analysis of addressed topics

The analysis of addressed topics is aimed at giving an overview of the most relevant and urgent topics according to the presented political parties and movements. Presumably, this will tell us more about the dimension to which we can link them.

| | Engagement Presidentiels – Marine 2017 (21 topics) | Programme En Marche! (13 topics) |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| Economic left | | |
| State management | Protection sociale (Social protection) | Plus pour ceux qui ont moins (More for less well-off) |
| Economic redistribution | X | X |
| Welfare state | Santé des Français (Health of the French) | X |
| Collectivism | Chacun de trouver sa place (Everybody can find his place) | Egalité (Equality) |
| Economic right | | |
| Free market / small state | Soutenir les entreprises (Support the companies) | X |
| Deregulation | X | La vie des Français plus facile (Easy life, without many rules) |
| Low taxation | Fiscalité plus juste (Fair taxation) | X |
| Individualism | X | X |
| Populism | | |
| Anti-establishment | Refaire un pays de libertés (Rebuild a country of freedom) | X |
| Strong leader / popular will | Parole au peuple (Voice of the people) | Une démocratie rénovée (A renovated democracy) |
| Nationalism | Souveranité nationale (National Sovereignty) | X |
| Traditional values | L'ordre republicain | X |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| | (Republican order) | |
| Cosmopolitan liberalism | | |
| Pluralistic democracy | X | X |
| Tolerant multiculturalism | X | X |
| Multilateralism | X | Une Europe protectrice (A protected Europe) |
| Progressive values | Environnement (Environment) | Responsabilité + model croissance (Responsibility + growth model) |

Above model uncovers some interesting observations. First, it seems clear that both party programs do not specifically contain either economic left or right-wing topics. Le Pen advocates social protection (which is reflected in ideas about state management, the welfare state and collectivism), but at the same time free market competition, support for private companies and low taxation. Macron supports equality and more social rights for employees, but one of his main objectives is deregulation and less state interference.

For the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist axis, in terms of addressed topics, Le Pen is mostly on the populist side, and Macron on the cosmopolitan liberalist side. Le Pen is clearly anti-establishment and favors a strong leader and the voice of the people to be heard. Also, she favors national sovereignty and a reformed Republican order. Additionally, she advocates preservation of the environment, which can be seen as a progressive thought. Macron calls for responsible leadership, an extension of “the project Europe” and progressive values. However, his focus on the popular will can be seen as a populist claim.

4.3.3 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations

In the analysis of frequently used words and connotations, we link certain keywords to both dimensions, and in this way try to analyze the textual discourse in party programs or movement campaigns.

144 Engagements Presidentiels – Marine 2017

Total amount of words: 5.759

| Populism | | | | Cosmopolitan | | liberalism | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|--|------------|---------|
| Keyword | | Repeats | Density | Keyword | | Repeats | Density |
| Our (outlier) | Notre | 14 | 0,24% | All | Tout | 25 | 0,43% |
| Own / ownership | Propre | 2 | 0,03% | Share / shared | Partage / partager | 2 | 0,03% |
| Threat / threatens | Menace | 3 | 0,05% | Opportunity / opportunités | Opportunité(s) / possibilité(s) | 0 | 0% |
| Danger | Risque | 3 | 0,05% | Chance / able / ability | Chance(s) / occasions | 2 | 0,03% |
| Border / borders | Frontière / frontières | 4 | 0,07% | Connect | Liaison | 0 | 0% |
| Power | Pouvoir | 4 | 0,07% | Open | Ouverte | 1 | 0,02% |
| Immigration / migration | Immigration / Migration | 6 | 0,10% | Global / international | Mondial / global / universel / international | 9 | 0,16% |
| Control | Contrôle | 10 | 0,17% | Innovate / innovation | Innovation | 2 | 0,03% |
| Protect | Protection / protectionnisme | 10 | 0,17% | Responsible / responsibility | Responsabilité | 0 | 0% |
| People | Peuple | 11 | 0,19% | Together | Ensemble / | 9 | 0,16% |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|--|--|
| | | | | | commun / collectif | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|--|--|

Populism average: 0,114% (0,1% without outlier “our”)

Cosmopolitan liberalism average: 0,086% (0,04% without outlier “all”)

As we can see in above model, Le Pen uses slightly more populist than cosmopolitan liberalist rhetoric. Without outlier “our”, populist words “control”, “protect” and “people” are most obvious.

Programme En Marche!

Total amount of words: 7.531

| Populism | | | | Cosmopolitan liberalism | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Keyword | | Repeats | Density | Keyword | | Repeats | Density |
| Our (outlier) | Notre | 71 | 0,94% | All | Tout | 46 | 0,61% |
| Own / ownership | Propre | 1 | 0,01% | Share / shared | Partage / partager | 1 | 0,01% |
| Threat / threatens | Menace | 2 | 0,03% | Opportunity / opportunités | Opportunité(s) / possibilités | 3 | 0,04% |
| Danger | Risque | 1 | 0,01% | Chance / able / ability | Chance(s) / occasions | 10 | 0,13% |
| Border / borders | Frontière / frontières | 2 | 0,03% | Connect | Liaison | 0 | 0% |
| Power | Pouvoir | 7 | 0,09% | Open | Ouverte | 4 | 0,05% |
| Immigration / migration | Immigration / Migration | 0 | 0% | Global / international | Mondial / global / universel | 8 | 0,11% |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------|---|-------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----|-------|
| | | | | | / international | | |
| Control | Contrôle | 5 | 0,07% | Innovate / innovation | Innovation | 3 | 0,04% |
| Protect | Protection / protectionnisme | 7 | 0,09% | Responsible / responsibility | Responsabilité | 9 | 0,12% |
| People | Peuple | 2 | 0,03% | Together | Ensemble / commun / collectif | 19 | 0,25% |

Populism average: 0,13% (0,04% without outlier “our”)

Cosmopolitan liberalism average: 0,136% (0,08% without outlier “all”)

En Marche has slightly more cosmopolitan than populist rhetoric. Without outlier “all”, the words “global/international” and “together” are most frequently present.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, we attempt to find out to what extent the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension replaces the traditional left-right dimension in contemporary politics as the core currency of political exchange. Before we can answer this question, the results of this research need to be discussed more extensively. We will do this by outlining the results per event. Afterwards, some similarities and differences will be drawn. In this way, we can make a comparison between the events and finally try to give an answer to the research question.

5.1 Results per event

For Brexit, we have studied the Leave and the Remain campaign. The Leave campaign consists of populist sentiment in which ‘taking back control’ over Britain’s borders, rules and

priorities seems most important. The texts have an opportunistic tone where national interests come first. They contain right-wing economic issues such as free trade, deregulation, low taxation and individual freedom. The Remain campaign has cosmopolitan liberalist sentiment but is still focused on national benefits (the British economy and well being). It has an opportunistic view on international cooperation: it protects and creates opportunities and jobs. The cosmopolitan ideas are expressed in progressive and inclusive values as the cornerstone of the campaign.

For the election of Trump, we have analyzed the Republican and Democratic Party Platform. The Republican Party program meets most populist criteria, especially strong nationalism, a focus on the interests of Native Americans and the exclusion of ethnic minorities. Also, it clearly advocates for bringing power back to the people. It contains economic right thinking about free market competition, deregulation, low taxation and the “pursuit of happiness”. The Democratic Platform contains cosmopolitan liberalist ideas with progressive values about responsible and purposeful leadership, the power of development and diplomacy and a focus on transnational values. At the same time, some claims have a slight nationalist tone. The economic ideas are mostly leftist: the platform calls for equality, collectivism and a bigger role for the welfare state.

The French elections put forward a populist Le Pen and a cosmopolitan liberalist Macron. Le Pen’s party program 144 Engagements Presidentiels has a strong populist tone and meets basically all criteria: it is anti-establishment, calls for a strong leader and the representation of the popular will, nationalism and traditional patriotic values. Remarkably, it has both left- and rightwing standpoints: it advocates social protection but also economic competition and low taxation. The same counts for Macron’s En Marche!, which favors equality and social rights for employees but at the same time deregulation and less state interference. Apart from that, it has clear cosmopolitan worldviews with progressive values and an extension of the European project.

5.2 A comparison

As expected, all chosen parties or campaigns fit one of the dimensions on the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist axis. The Leave campaign, the Republican Party and Le Pen mostly contain populist sentiment, whereas Remain, the Democrats and Macron have more

cosmopolitan liberalist ideas. However, the extent to which these ideas can be linked to both dimensions differs in terms of focus and intensity. The Leave campaign, for example, is very much focused on ‘taking back control’ while Le Pen is more anti-elite and aiming at recovering traditional, patriotic values. Remain’s cosmopolitanism is opportunistic in terms of national benefits, whereas the Democrats mostly call for responsible leadership and the power of diplomacy and development. Parties or campaigns, which mostly focus on cosmopolitan topics, can have populist rhetoric, and populist parties can show cosmopolitan liberalist features.

Clearly, all party programs and movement campaigns uncover a shifting discourse in which the traditional left-right dimension does not suffice. This does not mean that the left-right dimension is not applicable. The analysis of addressed topics shows that left-right thinking and economic left and right related topics still play a considerable role in party programs and campaigns. However, the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist distinction seems overall more engaging for the audiences and voters. New topics, which go beyond traditional ideas about state intervention, economic distribution and market working, increasingly shape the political agenda in Western societies. Here, we can think of ideas about national sovereignty, traditional values and the gap between elite and mass, but also immigration, multiculturalism, and climate change. This in turn leads to integration between the left-right and populist – cosmopolitan liberalist narratives. For that matter, these narratives are unique to any individual country. In France, there doesn’t seem to be a major left-right distinction between Macron and Le Pen. In the UK and the US these traditional divisions are clearer, but also here, established left and right parties have a hard time engaging the audience with a solid and clear-cut policy.

This integration between the left-right and populist – cosmopolitan liberalist narratives shapes a new debate and leads to the emergence of new political parties and movements, which occur along different lines, for different reasons and based on different grounds. Le Pen’s Front National and Macron’s En Marche! are perfect examples of parties that derive from unconventional ideas about an open versus closed society, progressive versus patriotic or nationalist values and the future of the EU. Certainly, these issues have always been part of the political debate, but they have never formed the basis on which a party was able to successfully engage a crowd, replace the established parties in the political spectrum and become the biggest during presidential elections. In the UK and the US, both the Leave and

Remain campaign and the Republican and Democrat platform are built on the more conventional divisions of left and right, which in turn seems to be one of the major reasons why they do not manage to successfully represent an audience: left and right do not fully explain current issues, they do not carry out one clear message, and they fail in answering the wishes and needs of an unsatisfied crowd.

5.3 Research question

Now we have analyzed the results and tried to make some comparisons, we can start answering the research question: *To what extent does the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension replace the traditional left-right dimension in contemporary politics as the core currency of political exchange in times of changing narratives?* Important to keep in mind is that the answer remains relative and open for discussion. Also, the cases discussed in this thesis are both recent events and continuing developments.

To start, the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension does not replace the traditional left-right dimension. The notions of left and right still cover many important political issues in Western democracies and hence cannot be ignored, however the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist narrative seems more engaging for the audiences and voters. Also, left and right fail to formulate a univocal policy when it comes to new developments and issues as the migration crisis, climate change and the elite versus mass debate. Here, politicians see opportunities to create alternative sets of values and new ways to engage people in political parties or movement campaigns. Often times, they use populist rhetoric or popular topics to get attention and gain votes. As this research shows, these parties can have different moral backgrounds and both left- and rightwing standpoints. On the other side, cosmopolitan liberalist supporters advocate inclusive and progressive ideas, which can contain economic left and right thinking either. The populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension complements the traditional left-right dimension, and differs per case in terms of intensity and focus.

Based on our results, we see a shift in narratives, in which traditional left and right thinking does not manage to engage the popular will recently. As stated earlier, research has shown that people need a set of conceptions, a language, a certain identity to identify with a political color and a presented policy. For a long time, left and right have managed to capture citizens' preferences and successfully convert them into policy representation. Left and right were

shaping the debate and determining people's identity or position within a social group or situation. Even the division of chairs in most parliaments was, and is still based on the party's position in the left-right spectrum. Today, a bigger part of the audience feels unrepresented and not understood in terms of wishes and preferences. It is here, that new sets of ideas have a chance to emerge and engage the crowd. Recently, the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension has proven to be a successful addition to the traditional left-right dimension (where, to be very clear, the notions of left and right do not disappear). This dimension complements the conventional notions of left and right but cannot necessarily be linked to either of these dimensions, as these research' examples have shown.

6. Discussion

The question is, whether these trends (the rise of populism on the one side and cosmopolitan liberalist sentiment on the other), will continue to shape future debates on national and geopolitical scale. While writing this discussion, several new developments are defining the current state of play.

In the United States, President Trump is facing a hard time retaining popularity amongst his electorate. Leonhardt (2017) put it as “the least successful 100 days of a US President since the concept exists”. He has made no significant progress, is far behind staffing his administration, is nagged by scandal, has no clear foreign policy, and is by far the least popular new president in the modern polling era. (Leonhardt 2017) His decision to resign from the Paris climate agreement has triggered many counter movements throughout the world to stand up against his populist ideas and speak up for cosmopolitan beliefs as responsible leadership, as in Macron's words: “Make our planet great again” (Shear 2017).

One month after his victory in the presidential elections, President Macron is on course for a landslide victory in the parliamentary election with 94 per cent of votes counted after the first round. “France's youngest leader since Napoleon entered the nation's highest office with no previous experience as an elected candidate yet has enjoyed a smooth few weeks as President” (Kentish & Roberts 2017). Part of his success seems a consequence of his fresh political energy and public will from the side of the French electorate to restore trust in the project Europe and in Macron's progressive, centrist ideas, and a general lack of confidence

in American global leadership. A strong wave of populist sentiment seems to trigger a renewed sense of European self-confidence.

For Britain, at the same time, this new dynamic is a diplomatic risk. After having obtained the Brexit mandate with the referendum in June 2016, Theresa May has called for a snap election in June 2017 to “strengthen her hand in forthcoming Brexit negotiations” (Birrell 2017). In a surprising result, the Conservatives made a net loss of 13 seats while Labour made a net gain of 30 seats. “Brexit, Trump, Macron in France, and now this: a result that was shaping up to be one of the most extraordinary shocks in UK electoral history” (Lusher 2017). May is starting negotiations with the EU in “an embarrassingly weak position” (Rentoul 2017). Also here, a broad sense of euroscepticism is possibly shifting towards a slight recovery of the continent’s sense of self.

Overall, a period defined by the rise of populism, euroscepticism and increased nationalist sentiment, reflected in (amongst others) the election of Trump, Brexit and the popularity of Le Pen in France, is now possibly turning into a period of a slight recovery of trust in the European project and the inclusive nature of Western societies. Here, we indeed see cosmopolitan sounds gaining support across the continent.

Clearly, the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension is currently shaping the political debate in Western societies. As stated before, this does not mean that the traditional notions of left and right are becoming inapplicable. They do play an important role but they do not manage to entirely explain the current debate. This thesis shows that the traditional left-right axis needs to be complemented by the populist – cosmopolitan liberalist dimension, in which either dimensions for that matter not necessarily fit another. Hence, a new terminology that is entirely able to cover this current debate is yet to be defined. Obviously, issues around an open versus closed society, progressive versus conservative values, and mass versus elite do play a considerable role in contemporary politics.

7. Literature

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