

Populism as New Ideology in Literature
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(A Research Drawn from M.A. Thesis)

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Abstract

Populism is most fundamentally close to liberal democracy in itself or to any alternative common organization. The current research presents it as an approach that holds a philosophical system to mean that a democratic method of life is designed. The aim of study is to examine Populism as a central idea within the current media debates regarding politics and elections. The term typically appears from one occasion to another and each sociologist and journalist use it to refer to various phenomena. Populism is mostly advised with politics, theory, and an ideology. Thus, Populism is introduced by Cas Mudde, who is an Associate Professor of International Affairs at the University of Georgia, along with Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, who is an Associate Professor of Political as an ideology that classifies society into various hostile groups. For those scholar, The main groups includes two main components: the "pure people" and the "corrupt elite". In this, populism, gives a trail to the general will to people, through the common attachment in politics.

1. Introduction

Populism deals with a political and social rival that grows for representative activities. Although, it was considered, by most scientists and theorists, as a part of democracy, Populism enacts as a selected logic of articulation that permits to alter the information of a preferred subject with a strong identity "the people" which permits to alter the status "the elite".

In fact, this system is often seen as a democratizing assess, since it defends the principle of popular dominion as a target of some establishments. However, populism has also a dark side in its general will that it may lead to support the authoritarian tendencies. In recent years, the international academic community has introduced three sets of research investigations. These investigations attempt to reveal all the main features of populism. The first set of these research investigations illustrates the initiating of the important figures, which can be considered the populists' leaders . besides, the main reason that give the priority to the occurrence of those leaders and those movements. In fact, literature concerned with this issue particularly deals with the growing populism of the right wing as the main event in the late twentieth-century Europe. Also, the first

set of research scholars include: Goodwyn in 1991, Benett in 1969, Betz in 1994 and Tarch in 2000. Those scholars adapted the main historical research in an attempt to classify the original establishing of Populism. The second set examines the indirect effects of populism, particularly its threat to the elective government. Thus, literature that is concerned with the second subgroup enhances the awareness of the rise of right wing Populism in the late nineteenth century. From this point, scholars such as Mair, and Canovan who tried to study literature that associated with Populism's threats upon democracy. While the third set defines and classifies populism into unlimited types. From these perspectives, scholars such as Berlin, Ernst, and the most famous Canovan try to distinguish a variety of movements and rulers who have emerged over the last two centuries in Europe and America.

2. Populism: The Historical Background of the Ideology

Although, it appears that there is no specific concept about Populism, yet its origin can be traced back to the early 1870s when members of various agrarian organizations tried to reconstruct the social structure in recent American society. Earlier, populism is believed to be an ideology that deals with the various societal complexities that emerged in late nineteenth-century America. Lawrence Goodwyn, an American writer, political theorist, and a professor at Duke University states:

Populism was, however, soon blurred with primitive and demagogic elements, and finally developed into a mere political instrument to insight the mass. It regressed into a vehicle for racism, anti-Semitism, or other similar repugnant concepts. The demeaned form of populism is' a behavioral manifestation of deep-seated prejudices and "status anxieties," not a sensible product aimed at correctly unbalanced or generally exploitative economic practices pervading American society (Amineh 133).

Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, a professor of international relations at Webster University, asserts that modern Populism represents the earlier description of Goodwyn. According to Amineh, a populist is a politician, who demands the interests of common people to gain his or her political objectives. Also, Amineh introduced Collins's English dictionary definition of populism which is "a political strategy based on a calculated appeal to the interests or prejudices of ordinary people" (Amineh 133).

Indeed, Populism is a concept that is need to be questioned briefly because of its different definitions that are usually used to reach its essence. The early populist political leaders appeared in countries that rapidly were industrializing.

According to Steve C. Ropp a visiting research Professor of National Security Affairs, countries in different places in the world attached populism with the disruptions and pressure that is experienced by blue-collar workers, and thus with left-wing politics. The principal problem today is that Europeans today linked populism to specific countries like France, Germany, and Italy with right-wing politics. Because of this pressure, such a group of people may need a leader whom they believe can give them much support and hope for the future than the elected politicians of the country. In other words, Populism could be a representative force that drifts to the bases of the liberal institutions through a democratic world in various countries in Europe and South America (Ropp 2-3).

In a reference to the historical achievements of populism goals or purpose differently, populism can be as a specific location, affected by various aspects, which are related to its spread, as economics and political developments, as well as cultural elements. Populism is considered as a first historical movement called 'popularis' or 'popular' that marked the late period of the Roman state in which supreme power which is caught by people, particularly in the second century B.C. The word 'popular' is derived from the explanation of the word itself, which means, "pleasing the populace" or in the gladness of the populace. Populism consists of the reviving of the public classes from Roman society. In fact, it was not a movement associated with political events as in recent concepts; instead, it was a huge division in the social and political conflicts of the Romans. Scholars did not consider these movements as a voice that comes from outside (Gellner 6).

History has much evidence of populist movements in various periods, starting with the first populists who were called unauthenticated faction of the Roman senate. Those populists believed in prevailing the masses and used general vote by the electorate on their single political inquiry that had been mentioned to them for a direct resolution to avoid the Senate-including Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus. Following Rome, the next wave in populism was the process of remedying the organizations called Reformation that was practiced in Europe. These waves allowed the popular man to comprehend the meaning of the Bible, and has an association with God. It was the populist's ideas in essence and some groups, such as the Anabaptists even offered the establishment of populist theocratic communities. There were several populist revolutions or attempted rebellions based on protestant perfects in Germany and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gellner 7).

Populism, in Western Europe, has been emerged from a long-term operation that it has already started and still in progress, at the time of the participation of the great period of transitory economic decline. In Central and Eastern Europe, the bad level of the institutions that are related to the party systems has given a great chance for the rise of new populist competitors. Thus, the bad productions of the political and all the forms of authority accelerated the fundamental of anti-elitist consciousness, which supplies a broad reproduction land for populist competitors. For example, the powerful political populists in the larger part in all

Central and Eastern European (EU) members and their rivals. Populist disagreements have been introduced in political speeches throughout Europe, and populist suggestions have been established. As economic inequality became the basic law, the populists became greater to protect the weak people against strong people (Kriesi 3-4).

The events of World War II and how it had been processed were one of the great events that had a huge role in its influence overall world. Indeed, World War II events affected the present and the future because it can change the explanation and the evaluation of the contemporary state of affairs. From this point, populism will not be as effected ideology as it should be when society is divided into various groups. Due to the conflict between these 'components', it will be powerless to imagine or view what it will lead to. Populists link the will of plurality with the will of the human beings (Rosteck 82-83).

In fact, for several years, political scientists had many endeavors to provide a significant and correct definition for Populism because it had been a conventional direct concept. For example, Paul W. Drake, the American Professor of Political Science at the University of California, emphasizes three elements of a tentative definition: Populism uses "political mobilization, recurrent rhetoric, and symbols designed to inspire the people" (Dornbusch 7). Drake introduced the second element of the tentative definition: "Populism draws on a heterogeneous coalition aimed primarily at the working class, and led by significant sectors from the middle and upper strata". While in the third tentative definition: Populism has "connoted a reformist set of politics tailored to promote development without explosive class conflict" (Dornbusch 8).

It often copes with other ideologies that are suitable and described to be "thicker" such as socialism. Scholars wonder whether Populism is a "thin" ideology or a neutral political instrument. However, additional features are needed: first, Populism could be a strange type of ideology, which is called- a thin-centered ideology. In contrast to thick ideologies, Populism seems to be a solid concrete political schedule agenda. Mostly, Populism is utilized to label various speeches. In Europe, different parties call their competitors as instruments of an "institutions". While, In Central and Eastern Europe, Populism was restructured at the historical conventions of each society and drew normal bond intolerant universal ideologies. This reason was the main point that made the ideology of Populism designed its intolerant movements. As a result, Populism is distinguished as chameleonic. Second, Populism rejects institutional mediation that infusion, Populism, and forgiveness. Third, it usually supposes the inner homogeneity of the. Fourth, populism traditionally appears in a serious turn and is related usually to the rejection of modernity. Fifth, various examples of the specialist that have knowledge on populism suggest that a compelling charm that inspires devotion in others is an important aspect for a person in a leadership position for Populism to occur. For these features, many regard it as a subsidiary phenomenon that vanishes suddenly and entirely with the successful ending of the trouble. Thus, Populism denies the complication of everything

including the countries, and people. Also, it refuses most economic and social theories, besides, it proves the scientific elaborations, skills, common relationships, "means-tested" policy decision making, etc. (Martinelli 73).

Populism has been characterized in various terms, but its connection to literature could be indefinite to give particular knowledge about politics. Consequently, Populism can be regarded as a 'thin' ideology because it transformed a set of special aspects that react with the traditional ideologies. To give a determined definition to populism as either content or a form even it is considered, as an ideology or rhetoric, it will face many issues. As, Populism specified the contrast between and the, as its older aspect, there will be a discussion of the Populism whether to assure it as a wider thought or it is just a strategic message (Stanley 95).

However, there is a problem to understand populism as an ideology, because it creates many difficulties to analyze any given information. As a result, it is important to wonder whether it is possible to comprehend Populism as a speech instead of a 'thin' ideology. In order to solve the conceptual problems, populism concludes the idea that populist groups have an imaginary perspective on the liberal reality of elective authorities (Stanley 110).

The definition of populism as sounds to be suited to the British society, in which they describe themselves as "the people" who have smashed "the elite." Indeed, British populists have various viewpoints on government spending, trade, race, besides everything else. Jan-Werner Müller, a political scientist at Princeton University, believes that (Béland 42).

According to Jan-Werner Müller: Populism has its disagreements with the populists affirm that they are the voice of this 'right' nation and announcing that the outsiders stand outside or they are the 'antagonist of the people'. Hence, Jan-Werner Müller views:

Populists as dangerous, but does not cast them as a hostile outside force. He argues, rather, that they respond to and exploit the vulnerabilities of liberal democracies from within, promising impossible solutions to real problems inherent in liberal-democratic politics. It is thus important for liberal democrats not only to understand the "logic" of populism and the threat posed by populists' tyrannical tendencies but also to deprive populists political momentum by effectively addressing the problems that they exploit (Beland54).

For Müller, the representative government means wide-ranging self-government. Or what Robert Alan Dahl (1915-2014), a political theorist at Yale University, who affirms the pluralist theory of elective government and introduces "polyarchy" as an identifying of actual popular governance, which is

a form of representative government based on mainly general mature suffrage, urban freedom, and systematic aggressive elections. Müller states: "Populism is dangerous because it threatens the pluralism at the heart of liberal democracy" (Béland54).

3. Populism and Literature

Populism within the wide use of literature is viewed as an interesting hybrid form of a liberal way of controlling that does not suit precisely with any of the conventional conceptual cases. As the last great rise of Populism troubles in Europe and South America manifested more than 60 years ago, are started from our neglect of certain consequences of Populism (Ropp10).

Generally, Populism is associated with political professionals who act on the stage from both the extreme left and the extreme right, in addition to the new movements that attempt to change their reality. Moreover, the term "Populism" is a popular term nowadays, though its real meaning is not easy to see, or understand. It comes in various forms. The term is usually used in political discussion to hammer the opposition or to dismiss the beginning for criticism of policy. Populism is an occurrence that is intractable to comprehend and rough to analyze as a subject or as a situation. Yvonne Rosteck refers that Populism is usually understood in different ways by media and scientists (Rosteck 49-50).

Recently, when Cas Mudde draws Populism as an ideology that introduced society into two parties: 'pure people' against the 'corrupt elite', he introduced three characteristics of the populist system of ideas and ideals, which are First, people are seen as an identical entity consisted of 'simple citizens' who all have the same concern and vision. Second, the pure people and those who have wealth and strong places in whole articulations of a government in politics, culture, and the economy are seen as reciprocally hostile. Third, because common people are more capable than the selected persons, who are superior to others, they should be in a position to play an important role. Therefore, populists inspire the full public overreach, which comes from their indication of people's ethical supremacy. As such, Populism is supported by components taken from other ideologies (Mudde 167).

However, a single human being, a modern populist movement and which expresses denial groups cannot be divided into specific classifications. Movimento 5 Stelle in Italy is an example in which it has an unusual combination of political reactions and principles. Hence, it was accepted as one of the ultimate political power in the country. In addition, Populism can be associated with some extreme ideas for instance: the ideology undermining right-wing populists, such as the front national in France, United Kingdom Agricultural Policy (UKAP) in Britain, and the Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP) in Switzerland, which is nationalism (Rosteck 62).

Hanspeter Kriesi (1949), a Switzerland professor of political science assumes that populist beliefs are a mixture of supporting democracy and autocratic components. The most prominent feature of populism is that the individual must

be in leadership. In other words, Populism assured that its goals have corresponded with a representative understanding of the nation. In an identical way, populist ideology has an intolerant and undemocratic side. "Populism is a label adopted by many political causes with different agendas. Populism as ideology manifests itself in specific discursive patterns for identifying foes and solidifying the community of friends" (Kriesi 5).

The opposition between the awareness of 'the little people' and 'the larger people', to use the term of the medieval communal settlement is apparent in various situations. As the nineteenth-century management activities, a structural, passive reassessment of the concept of populism had passed on by nineteenth-century governmental actions. However, the study of the basic nature of knowledge of the economic measures initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933 to counteract the effects of the Great Depression. It complicated a massive public work program finished by the large-scale granting of loans and succeeded in contracting unemployment by between 7 and 10 million which was called (New Deal). The term of populism, which appeared in post-war as an important action, is developed at a precise rate to the overlooking of the concept of 'the people': thus, the increasing of the amounts in political speech, made Populism more central (D'Eramo 28).

Therefore, Populism in its purpose criticizes the organizations of progressive representative government, which demanded to protect freedom and support supremacy. As it is the system of thoughts that rejects restrictions of any sort on the persons' desire, Populist doubts the institution that established for religious purposes, such as the courts and central banks. Also, it denies the constitutionally registered protection of the racial, aesthetic, and religions, who are the minorities. It also declines any negotiation by establishments as political groups between the people and government, charging them of being work for personal benefits. On the same line, the mass media are viewed as adversaries who deceive and exclude people's opinions. Populist ideology does not acknowledge that there are numerous desires and views in a community. The argumentation will be useless because people usually have the right stance. In order to continue this viewpoint of people as a homogeneous entity, depictions of antagonists are constructed and, superstitions that subscribe to the sense of identity (e.g. William Tell, Joan of Arc) are summoned up. In addition, Populism is not an easy term that can be viewed directly because of its several historical origins that affected its explanations. Michel Hastings, the University Professor at the Institute d'Etudes Politiques in Lille in France, states:

The term populism first poses more problems than it solves: It refers historically to diverse experiences and its use is now saturated with standard-setting judgments. It is considered a negative term in the media and in the political and academic arena. But the effects this has on the populist movement should not be underestimated

and the increasing belief that there is a growing condescendence from the elite circles (Durant, et al.8).

Faraway from its political meaning, the values, opinions, and arguments of populism must be studied with its reference to the individual domain. Populism is mostly read as an 'institution' that can be viewed as a direct 'conviction' or a term that has 'meaning', although it is a little confusing. Nowadays, Populism is used excessively, in addition to its representation to those who are marginalized, due to difficulties in financial or educational resources in their society. At the same time, Populism has been used by the authority figures of governments. As populism manifests the continuation of time, which is linked to any contemporary liberal elective governments and to any change in the modern societies that follow any political practices, socio-cultural changes, and so on. As a result, it is approached to raise the issue of populism by encircling it to the phenomena of district issues because it cannot be described as something that has happened in an unsuitable time or as an accidental onset of opposition (Durant, et al. 9).

Populism nowadays is gasped in the political domain in addition to the intellectuals' discourse in rhetoric appearances such as 'populistic drift', 'populist endeavors', 'populist peril,' etc. The meaning of populism as a word, which is popular, has had various references including cynical misfortune: after it has left the mode of scholarly speech. Moreover, Populism must be classified and analyzed, in order to define the situations that the utterance 'populism' can be productively used. Increasingly, Populism, which displays an original story away from the European context, stands together with democratic theories of debates about the present and the future of democracies. Populism could not be recorded in a suitable way if there is not a disclosure of ideas. According to Dr. Florian Hartleb, a German political expert, dealing with the digital society, "Populism has a significant role which is associated with the government, and the main means of mass communication (especially television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet)" (Hartleb 9).

Usually, all society levels are connected in some way with the government by the specific desires from its people, but, when their government cannot respond to these demands it means a collection of specific constitute affairs will be established. For example, in the French Revolution, the came and introduced itself as the real container of civil rightness. In Laclau's view, this movement represented not only the people, but it represented society itself. In Latin America—from the 1930s to the 1950s —Populism theoretically overcomes as a system of government (Hartleb 19).

Populism is designated by their rivals and then conceived by definite sociologists like Gino Germani. Germani indicates that Populism has nowadays-passive implications (authoritarianism, nationalism, paternalism, demagogu—due to its interpretation in that place. Also, Germani refers to specific Populism leaders just like Juan Domingo Peron (Argentina) or Getúlio Vargas (Brazil). So

in the 1960s and 1970s, numerous superiorities of the Third World were described as populists, due to their way which was not different from their way of practicing power or the method of given it legality (D'Eramo 5).

Democracy in the modern world is the combination of two components of historical conventions. One is a common involvement in selecting authority figures and western imperialism. There was an ancient convention in Western affairs of state since the Magna Carta in 1215, which had the main goal that is the justice for the individuals who rejected the random arrest, religious conversion, and observation of thought. So, the individual's rights were secured from any autocratic mistreat or from any representative general principle (Pirvulescu 9).

Populism was, at last, viewed fairly by the scientist. In the beginning, it can determine a central common feature in its definition, which is the belief that the one who plans against the people is the. From this perspective, Populism accrues as an, an ideological: anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-urban, anti-Semitic, xenophobic, etc. Sergio Romano, an Italian writer, journalist, and historian, a former Italian ambassador to Moscow, has enhanced the, and indicated the passive attributes of Populism. Indeed, in Europe, two types can be recognized of populism: Christian Populism, and National Populism (Pirvulescu 20).

In Western Europe, Populism may appear as a narrow-minded ideology. In opposition to that, for many cases, the demand for the representative government was still wanted, like public supremacy by given a free of charge. Hence, this personal liberty cannot associate with the eager populists' principles like, Vladimir Putin, Recep Erdogan, Viktor Orbán, Jarosław Kaczyński. As, Populism has three main aspects, which are: the attempt to organize the common people against the selected individuals, bring back to the popular community in order to evaluate the people, and work hard against the collapse of the high classes (Pirvulescu 21).

During, the twentieth century, Populism has been formed to portray numerous activity and authority figures, including Teddy the McCarthyism of the 1950s, Roosevelt's Progressive Party, Huey P. Long the populist socialist revolutions of Latin America, the Tea Party, Ross Perot, Bernie Sanders, and Donald Trump. Therefore, the populist heritage that Donald Trump declares, 'Populism associated various American historical conventions that are related to political events which are derived either from extreme solitude of the war period and its aftermath or from the segregation of black and white people and the sexual discrimination' (Pirvulescu 21).

This ideology has one demerit that it will not be a mere ideology, instead, it will be just a means to gain complete authority. Populism was the mechanic that provides the power of speech to this particular narrow-minded ideology. In fact, many conservatives, which are illiberal doctrines, are connected with some domestic chosen people to end the force upon the dishonesty or to end the

injustice laws existing. Hence, populists are demanding the ascendancy of folk ascendancy by the general election to achieve their goals (Zakaria 24).

Although the word "populism" holds some disadvantages, it cannot be taken as a negative term; in fact, it is usually used as a substitute for other political activities, as it was in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Hence, it is possible to indicate the link between validation, assessment of the foundation, and the expression of populist claims. Whereas, Populism is specified by the competition between different social and political chains, the populist ideology points at a construct in a similar figure that represents the people. As, an example to such figures, the powerful leader Emperor Napoléon III, Boulanger, and De Gaulle, who established a political party seeking to represent the interests of common people by overtaking the traditional boundaries between traditional constitutional parties (Bullet, et al 2-3).

Dr. Taras Kuzio, the British academic and expert in Ukrainian political, economic, and security affairs, gives an explanation of populism referring that: 'populism is often associated with times of crisis and manifests itself in times of change'. Also, he asserts that it is attainment to Taggart's argument that (Pencheva 3).

Hence, according to Mariya Pencheva, it could be said that populism is a governmental act of mutable or a political plan of effort. As she asserts that Populism. Pencheva states, .Also, Pencheva introduced a question that (Pencheva 56).

Ellen Jane Willis, is an American left wing who works for the public affairs of the country, and essayist. Willis' clarification of how Islamic totalitarians have, call for the mass could almost, in the same manner, characterize the way the Russian and Chinese communist rebellions gain the obedience of the crowds. In this, Willis states that that, "As with fascism, the rise of Islamic totalitarianism has partly to do with its populist appeal to the class resentments of an economically oppressed population and to anger at political subordination and humiliation" (Martinelli 24).

Indeed, there are many varieties of populism, which can be recognized by contemporary political scholars. Agrarian populism, suggests populist activities drove by peasants and their groups. Their work is united, such as the preliminary debated populist popular of 1890s America which established against policies seen as, exercising the hard work farmers and other employees in behalf for those in the authority. Reactionary populism, this declares extreme right-wing populism and is almost identical to the. Another type is Populist Socialism, Left-wing populism that has often been associated with a protestation to capitalism and returning for communism or socialism. And, Populist democracy, which hints at attempts to take part in a higher part of the inhabitants more actively in the republican activity (Pirvulescu 20).

Recently, in France, for example, Populism appears to be a combination of Bonapartism with traditional Populism. While Bonapartism or the French Bonapartist denotes the protectors of Napoleon III and I with their political

methods and practices. In addition, their party has forward with the assertions of the 'Bonaparte' family for over a centur. In most East European countries, there is a contrasting stance to the progressive flows or the social government that is consolidated which came from the merging of habitual patriotic feeling and Populism (Pirvulescu 23).

4. Conclusion

It can be said that in the modern world, populism is meant for disagreement to the elite and coheres to the common person, and so is asserted by many senators of various aggregations. For globalization is based upon a belief in the future, and limitations to globalization involve an alteration in belief. The recent rise of populism can be elucidated as an outcome of the way of globalization in opposition to the way it reacts. A collapse in reciprocal trust happened according to recent economic theory, which causes an economic decline in economic products. For instance, televised interviews deals with politicians as anyone who has his message, using specific strategies including altering the common thing to a magnificent thing, exaggerating and overestimating every single case, dropping the competitors, restituting the disgraces and personal indictments. Meanwhile, the twenty-first century has seen a renewal of activities in the whole world. People joined huge desired revolutions that were contrasted to the neoliberal policies. While in South Africa, popular institutions organized the indigent people's coalition to increase their strive their living. Even in the Arab countries, mostly during the Arab spring and North Africa. Therefore, Populist speech and its exercise fostered people to oppose the establishments in a struggle over the future of the nation.

الشعبوية إيديولوجيا جديدة في الأدب
(بحث مستل من رسالة ماجستير)
الكلمات المفتاحية: الشعبوية، الأيديولوجية، الاقتصادية

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الملخص

الشعبوية هي أقرب ما يكون إلى الديمقراطية الليبرالية في حد ذاتها أو إلى أي منظمة عامة بديلة، ويقدم البحث الحالي ذلك على أنه نهج يحمل نظامًا فلسفيًا ليعني أن طريقة تصميم الديمقراطية في الحياة. الهدف من الدراسة هو فحص الشعبوية كفكرة مركزية في المناقشات الإعلامية الحالية المتعلقة بالسياسة والانتخابات. عادة يظهر المصطلح من بين الحين والآخر ويستخدمه كل من علماء الاجتماع والصحفيين للإشارة إلى ظواهر مختلفة. ينصح مصطلح الشعبوية في الغالب بالسياسة والنظرية والأيديولوجية. وهكذا، تم تقديم الشعبوية بواسطة (كاس مادي) وهو أستاذ مساعد للشؤون الدولية في جامعة جورجيا، جنبًا إلى جنب مع (كريستوبال روفيرا كالتواسر) وهو أستاذ مساعد في السياسة، كإيديولوجيا تصنف المجتمع إلى مجموعات متخاصمة مختلفة، والتي تشمل مكونين اثنين رئيسية هما: "الناس الأتقياء" الذين يعارضون "النخبة الفاسدة". لذا تعطي الشعبوية أثرًا للإرادة العامة للناس، من خلال الارتباط العام بالسياسة.

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