Le spectre gauche-droite dans son rapport au populisme, à l'élitisme, et au pluralisme

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La présentation qui suit:

- 1. Le carré sémiotique: une application flexible
- 2. Un spectre du style politique
- 3. Style politique vs. gauche-droite
- 4. Une combinaison de spectres
- 5. Conclusion

1. Le carré sémiotique: une application flexible

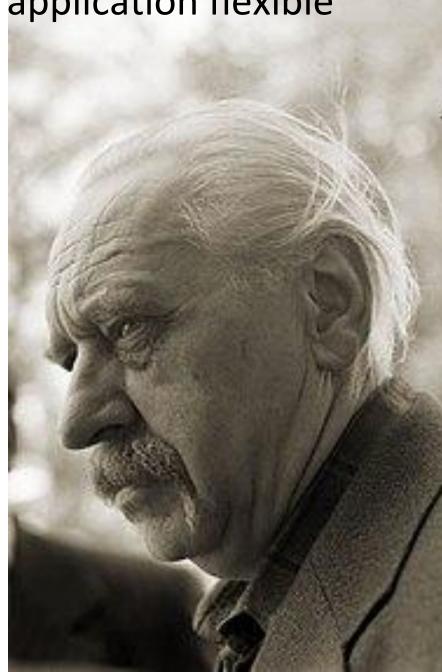
GREIMAS:

A la recherche d'une structure immanente à la signification.

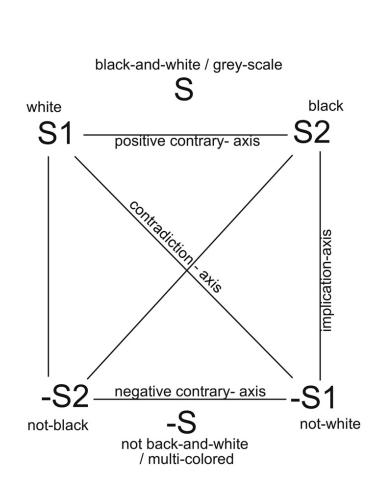
La signification doit être l'objet d'une narration — d'où la recherche de structures de signification narratives

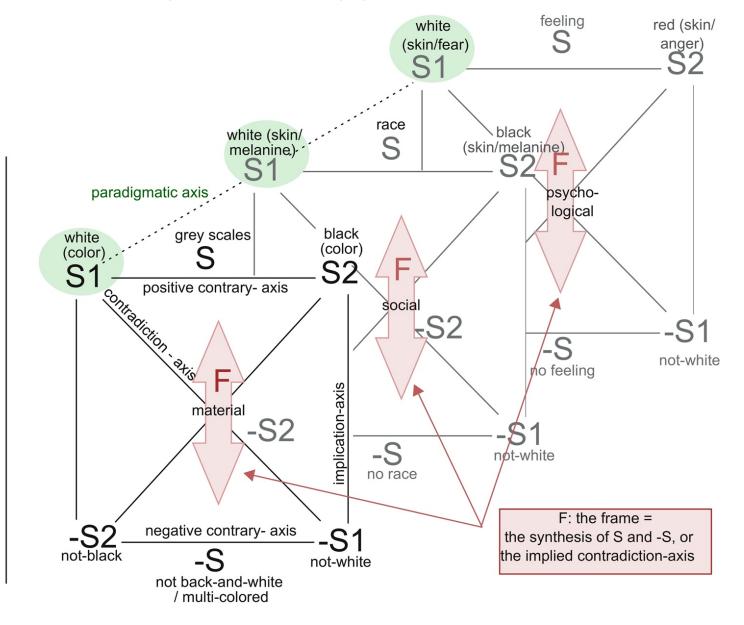
TROIS niveaux de signification:

- 1) manifestations, textes, performances, etc.
- 2) structure sémio-narrative de surface, basée sur des actions modèle *actantiel*
- 3) structures sémio-narratives de profondeur basées sur des oppositions carré sémiotique



1. Le carré sémiotique: une application flexible





1. Le carré sémiotique: une application flexible

Populisme opposé to élitisme et pluralisme

Mudde, 2004; 2017

Müller, 2016, 2017

Populisme opposé à liberalisme

Pappas 2016

Populisme opposé à pragmatisme

- Canovan, 1999, 2002

Populisme opposé à technocratie

Taguieff, 1997, 1998;
 Moffitt & Tormey, 2014;
 Moffitt 2016

Populisme opposé à institutionnalisme

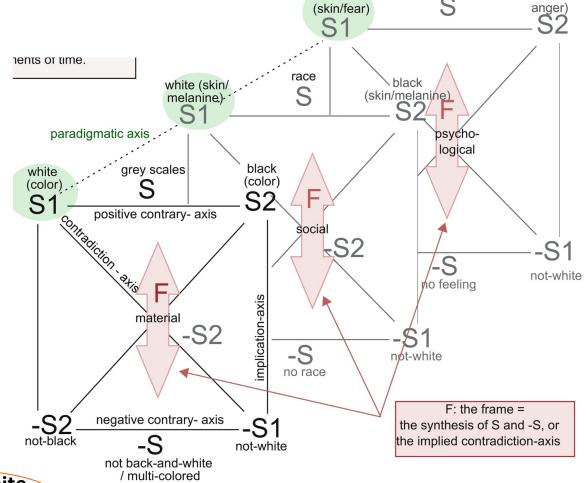
Laclau 2005

Populisme opposé à nationalisme, nativisme

De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017, Pappas 2016

Populisme de gauche opposé à Populisme de droite

- Katsambekis, 2016; Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2013; Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014; Stavrakakis, Katsambekis, Nikisianis, Kioupkiolis, & Siomos, 2017)



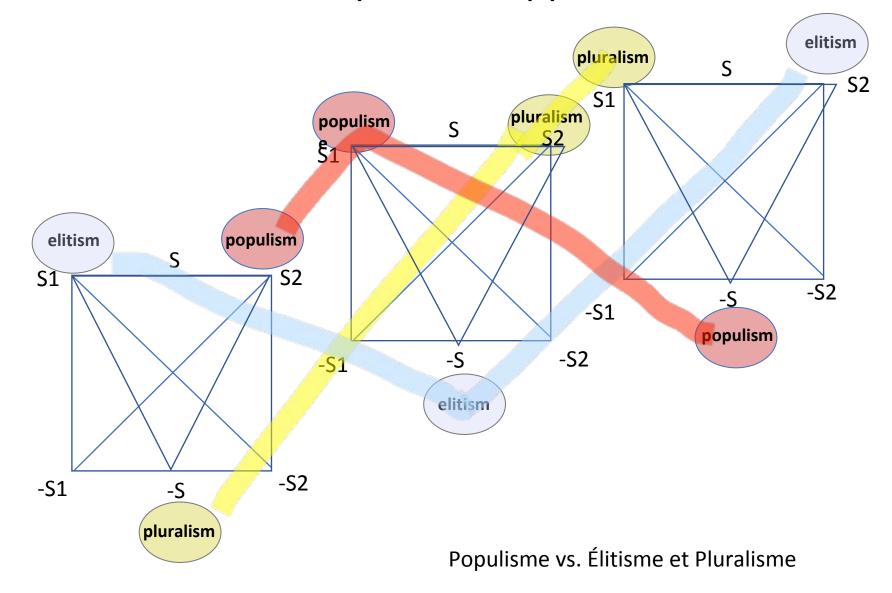
Les trois concepts:

Dans le **populisme**, un leader populiste parle directement au peuple en réclamant la restitution du pouvoir par l' élite corrompue.

Dans l'élitisme, l'élite gouverne. Le peuple a le pouvoir de choisir et de congédier ses leaders de l' élite comme bon leur semble.

Dans le **pluralisme**, le peuple se partage le pouvoir. Tout le monde fait partie du peuple. Celui qui reçoit le plus grand soutien jouit du pouvoir de façon temporaire.

1. Le carré sémiotique: une application flexible



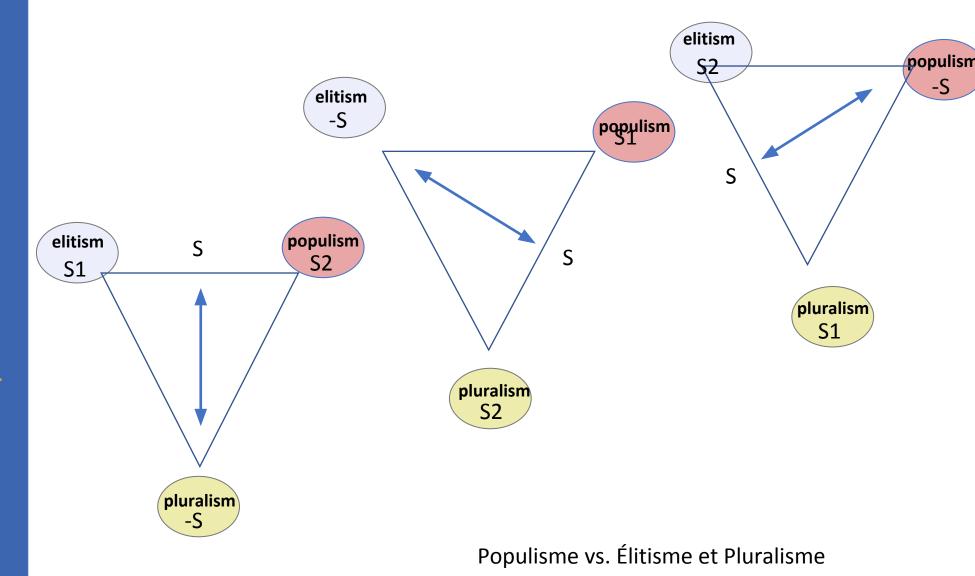
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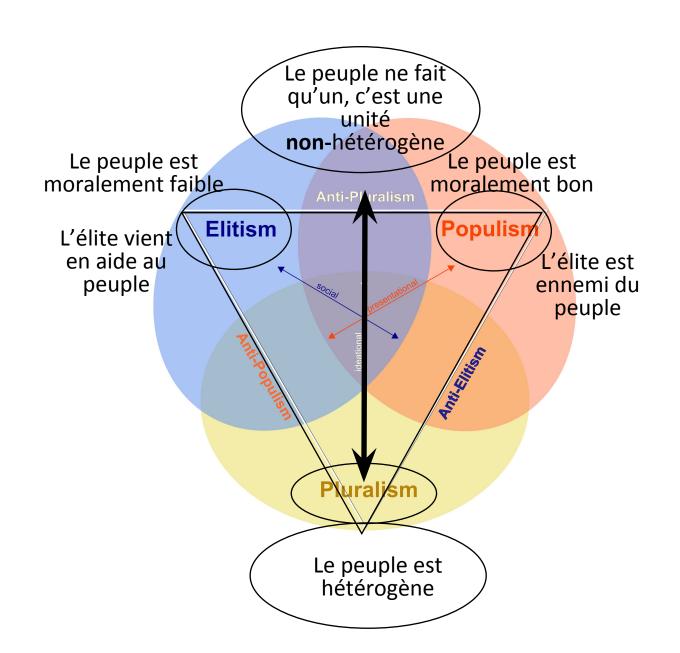
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1. Le carré sémiotique: une application flexible



Trois dimensions

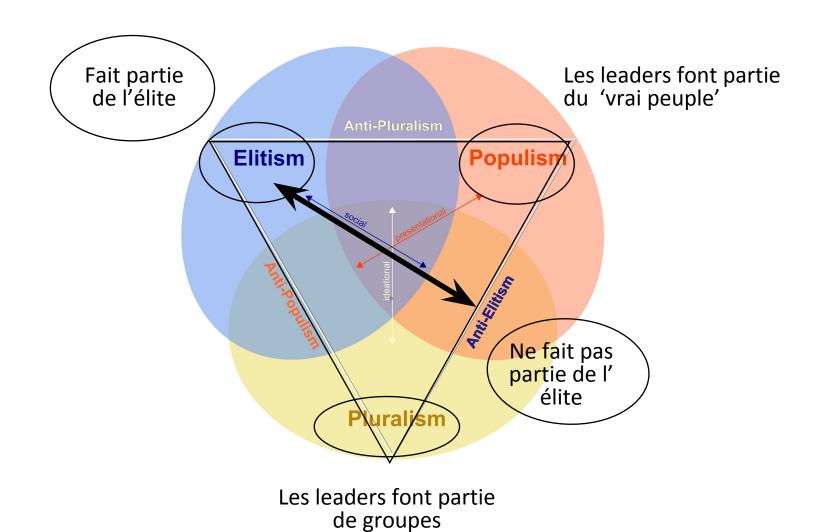
Dimension des idées



Trois dimensions

Dimension des idées

Dimension sociale



du peuple

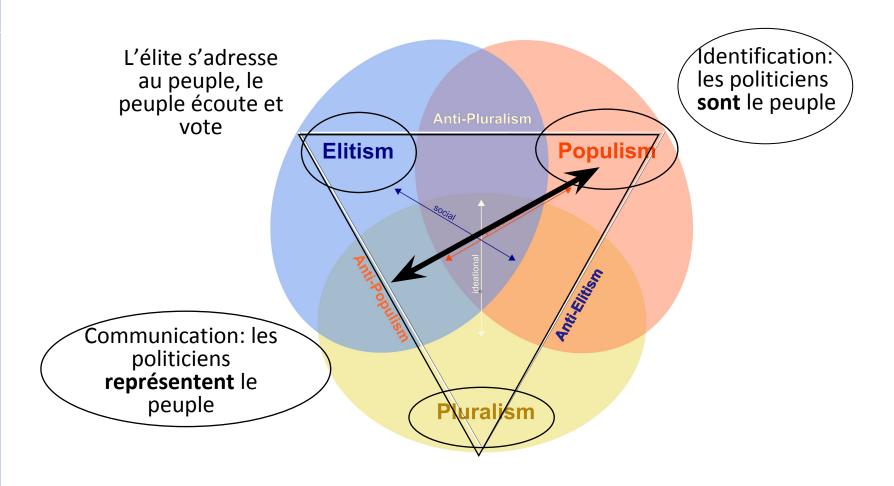
2. A spectrum for political style

Three dimensions

Dimension des idées

Dimension sociale

Dimension présentationnelle



Le peuple se parle en interne: discussions au sein de la société

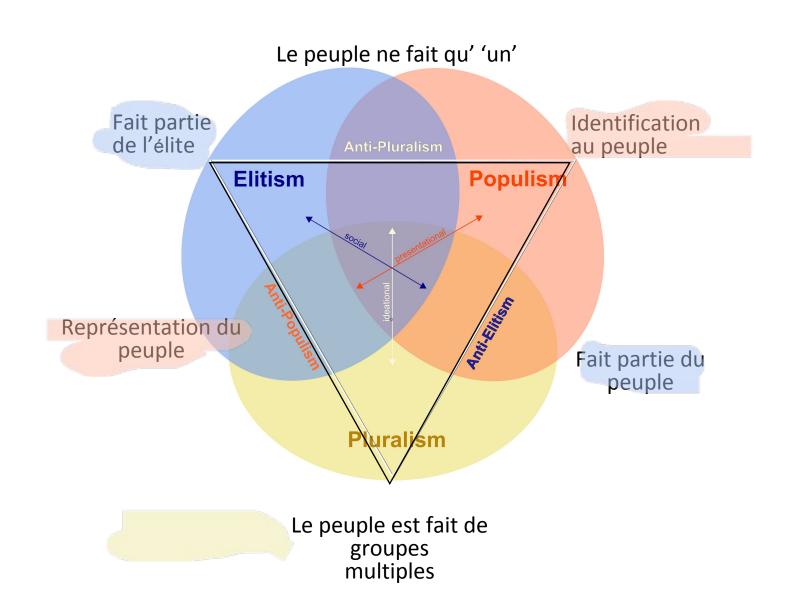
Trois dimensions

Trois tensions fondamentales dans le discours – et la société:

Dimension des idées

- -> Entre les genres et les espèces
 Dimension sociale
- -> Entre le signifiant et le signifié
 Dimension
 présentationnelle
- -> Entre la métaphore et le symbole

2. Un spectre du style politique



Le populisme est opposé à

Populisme opposé à élitisme et pluralisme

Mudde, 2004; 2017
 Müller, 2016, 2017

Populisme opposé à liberalisme

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Populisme opposé à pragmatisme

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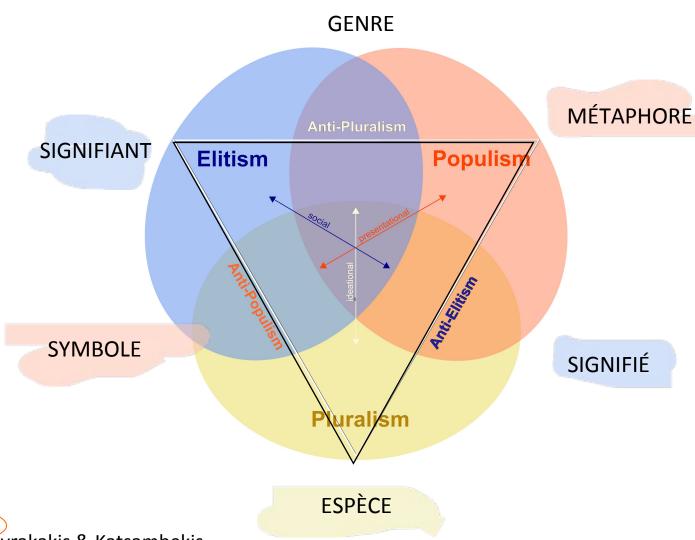
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A Multidimensional Framework

Elitism

Ideational

- The people as one morally weak and/or incapable body.
 The elite as good and capable.
- 3) Democracy is people electing an elite government.
- 4) Politics is cooperation and continuation.
- 5) Focus on success / what has been reached

Social

- I) Politicians are not part of the people. 2) Politicians are part of the elite: power to the elite.
- 3) Democracy legitimises elite power
- 4) Harmony: the elite working for "the greater good."
- 5) The elite / the elitist as "the hero"; the helper of the people.

Presentational

- 1) The elite represent the people: the elite talk, the people listen.
 2) Typical elite language as proof of competence.
- 3) People do not need to understand politics. They have faith.
- 4) Flattering style: Impressing the people with eloquence. 5) Positive language, emphasising achievements.

Anti-Populism

Ideational

- 1) The people as not one good and capable body.
- 2) The elite as not bad / corrupt and incapable.
- 3) Democracy is not self-governance of the people. 4) Politics is not a fight and not about changing the status quo.
- 5) No focus on what has been lost.

Social

- 1) Politicians not part of a homogeneous/unified people.
- 2) Not anti-elite, may be a member of the elite.
- 3) No power to a homogeneous/unified people.
- 4) No conflict: compromises or consensus. 5) The people / the populist not as "the hero."

Presentational

- 1) Not the voice of the people: remoteness / representation.
- 2) People in power explain policies: justification.
- 3) Messages / solutions based on expert knowledge.
- 4) Pacification style: a belief in "overlapping consensus."
- 5) Optimistic language, providing solutions

Political style as a performance on the political stage, discursively distinctive or similar at five elements of that stage

- I) the people
- 2) the (political) elite 3) government/democracy
- 4) politics 5) the political context
- multi-dimensional

contradiction / negation

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Anti-Pluralism

Ideational

- 1) A not-heterogeneous people: homogeneous or unified as one. 2) The elite as different from the people.
- 3) Democracy is government in service of the people.
 4) Politics is visionairy; doing "what is right".
 5) Experience as basis of truth (subjectivism).

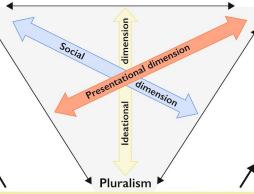
- 1) Not everybody belongs to the people (exclusion).
 2) Not everybody belongs to the elite.

- 3) Power to one's own group.
 4) Compromises are betrayals of one's own group and vision.
 5) One's own group is the hero, others the bad guy.

Presentational

- 1) Politicians speak in the interest of the people.
- 2) Speaking over or to the people or the elite as one group.
- 3) No efforts to bridge the gap between groups
- 4) No bargaining style: things are good or bad, no greyscales.

5) Emotional language (positive or negative), hyperbole



Ideational

- I) The people as multiple groups with different interests.
- 2) Elites are not special but are like all people: good and bad.
 3) Democracy is aimed at balancing interests between people.
- 4) Politics is pragmatic, aiming at solving actual problems.
- 5) Facts as basis of truth (objectivism).

Social

- 1) Politicians belonging to different groups of people (inclusion).
- 2) All people (elite or not) should be politically involved. 3) Democracy is sharing power / power to no one.
- 4) Compromises: cooperation and conflict are both needed. 5) Everybody can be "a hero" or "a bad guy".

- 1) People speak up for themselves, together with politicians.
- 2) Open, critical communication with all groups, including elites.
- 3) Transparency but no simplicity; explaining policies.
- 4) Bargaining style, toleration of differences (modus vivendi).
- 5) Factual language (nuanced) as a basis for arguments.

for Political Discourse Analysis

Populism

Ideational

- 1) The people as one good and capable body.
- 2) The elite as bad / not right.
- 3) Democracy is self-governance of the people.
- 4) Politics is a fight and is about changing the status quo. 5) Focus on crisis / what has been lost.

- 1) Populists are part of one homogeneous/unified people.
- 2) Populists do not belong to the elite: no power to the elite.
- 3) Exclusive power to the 'real' people or "one of us."
- 4) Conflict: belief that compromises are betrayals of the people.
 5) The people / the populist as "the hero."

Presentational

-) Voice of the people in language of the people: identification.
- 2) Emotional, accusatory language towards the elite: blaming.
 3) Messages / solutions based on the people's "common sense."
- 4) Polarization style; stirring the people
- 5) Negative, pessimistic language, enlarging crises.

Anti-Elitism

Ideational

- The people as not bad / not ignorant.
 Not "the elite as good and capable."
- 3) Democracy is not "the people electing an elite government."
- 4) Politics may involve conflict and change. 5) No focus on what has been reached.

Social

-) Politicians are part of the people.
- 2) No power to the elite.
- 3) Democracy is people governing people.
- 4) Conflict: people standing up against groups in power. 5) The elite / the elitist not as "the hero".

Presentational

- I) Making the voice of people heard.
- 2) No typical elite language. 3) People have to understand politics. They have to judge.
- 4) No flattering style—asking transparency.
- 5) Critical, no emphasis on achievements.

Three dimensions

Ideational:

Discourse structure: the mental framework

underlying discourse and social praxis.

Social:

Social praxis and group relations.

Presentational: Discourse use: rhetoric and performance.

















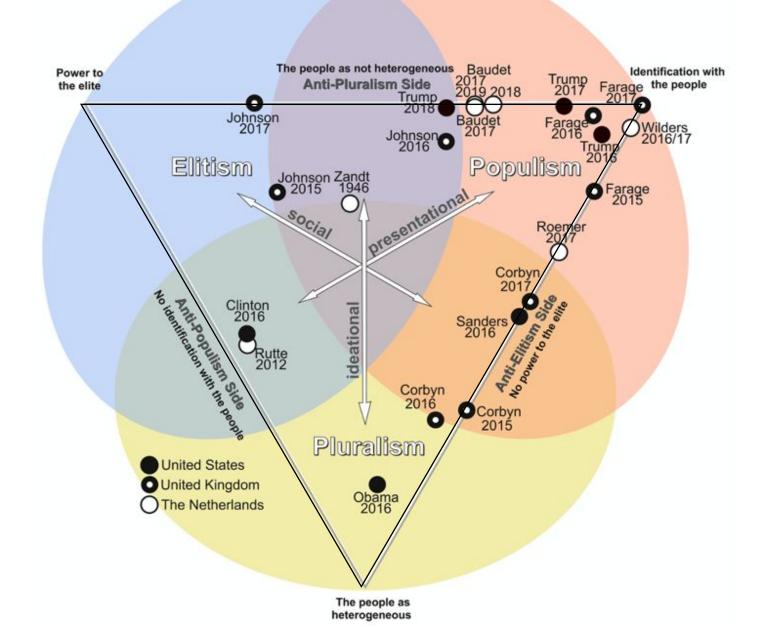
3. Style politique et spectre gauche-droite

Trois dimensions

Dimension des idées

Dimension sociale

Dimension présentationnelle



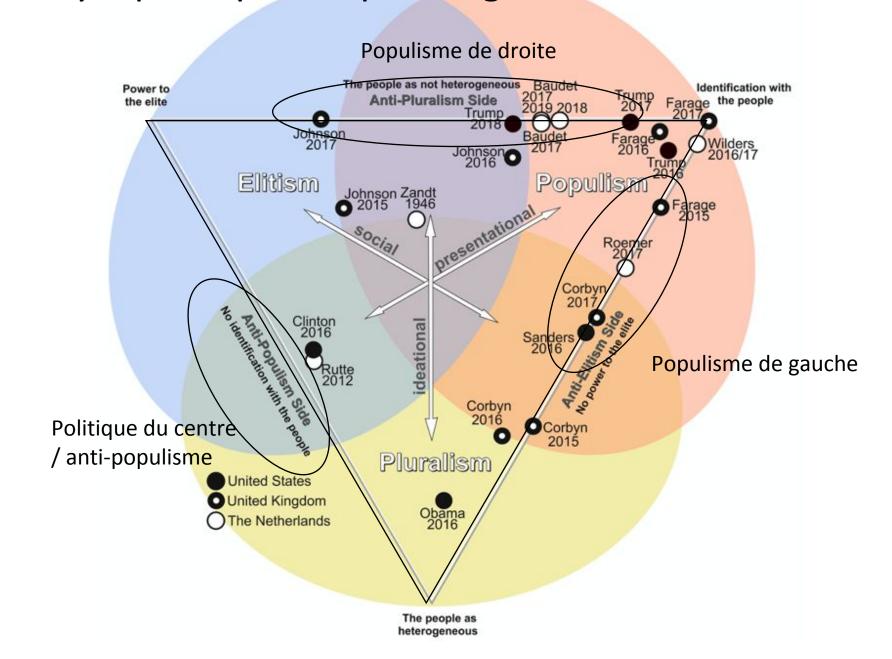
Trois dimensions

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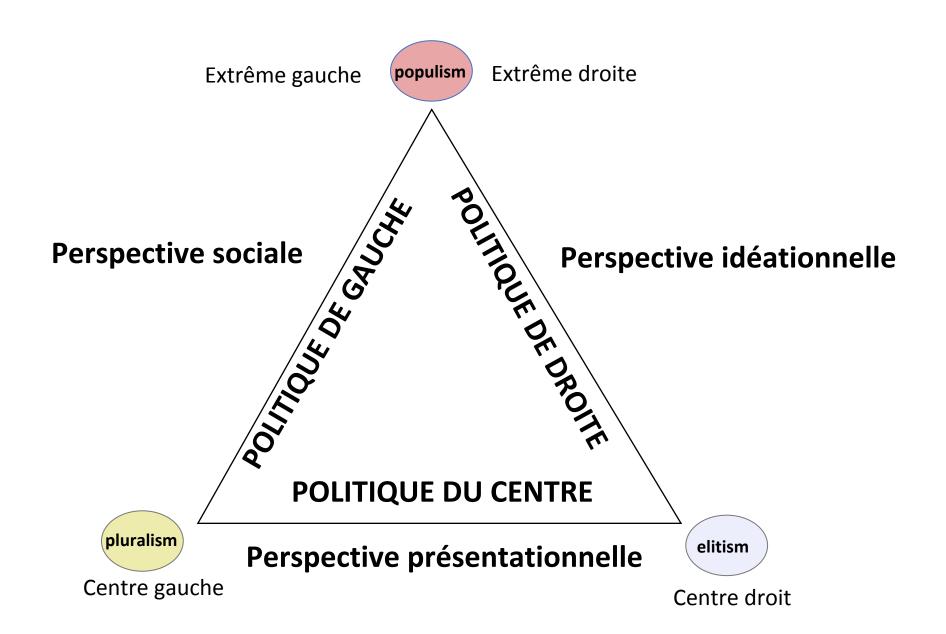
Dimension sociale

Dimension présentationnelle

3. Style politique et spectre gauche-droite







1) Spectre politique linéaire :

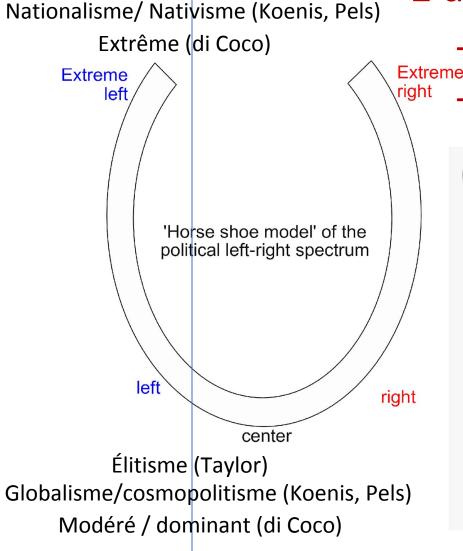
gauche centre droite

1 dimension: idées, contenu

Populisme (Taylor)

2) Modèle du fer à cheval

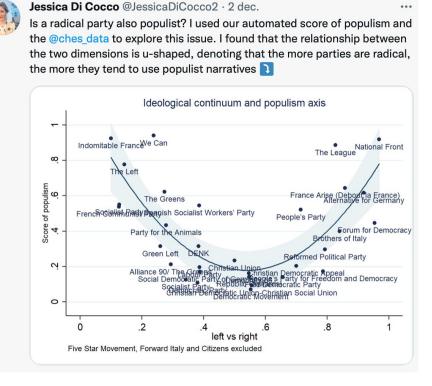
Pas d'explication de la raison pour laquelle extrême gauche et extrême droite partagent certaines idées



2 dimensions:

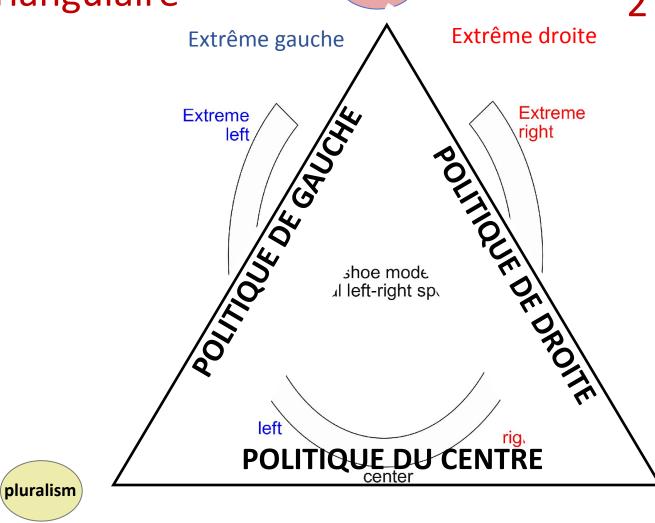
- idées/contenu

- comportement/action/style



3) Le spectre politique triangulaire

Centre gauche



populism

2 dimensions:

- idées/contenu
- comportement/action/style

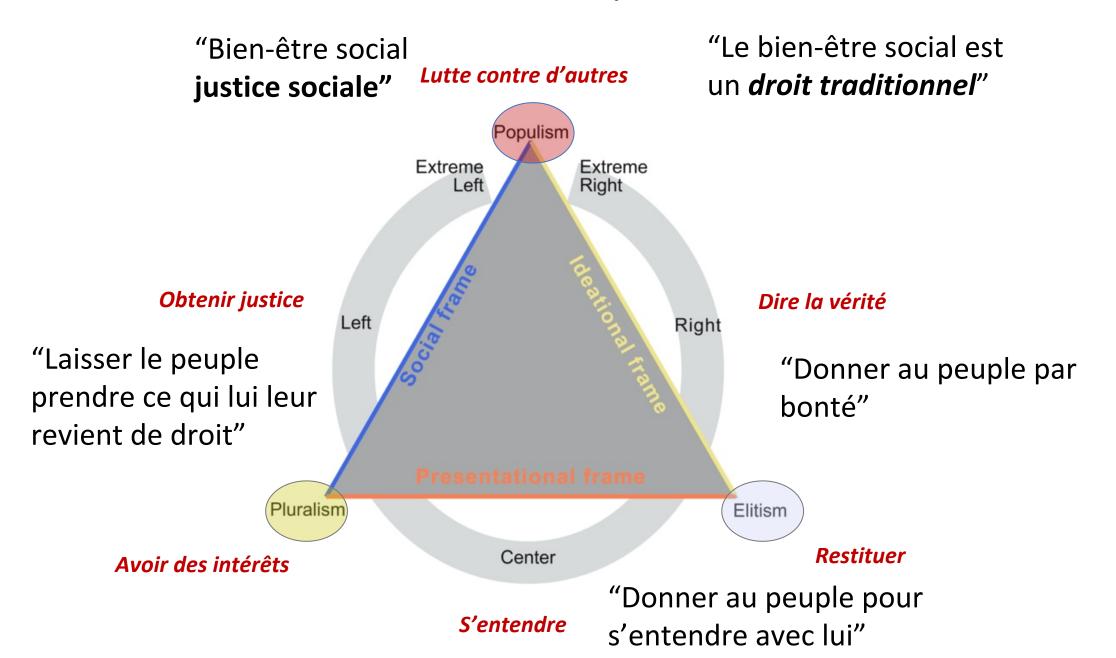


3 dimensions:

- idées/mise en perpective
- comportement/action
- communication-



Centre droit



Conclusion

- La combinaison de spectres du politique et du style explique mieux la politique actuelle
- Les différences principales en politique sont liées davantage à une **mise en perspective** qu'à une question de points de vue
- Populisme, élitisme et pluralisme marquent un **changement de perspective** entre les politiques de gauche, de droite et du centre.