

MAPPING POPULISM – A KEYWORDS ANALYSIS

Summary: The notion of populism is fraught with different meanings and definitions. In this paper, we tried to determine the context of its use in scientific journals. In particular, we devoted our attention to the analysis of (author) keywords. Our research was limited to articles and reviews from 2001 to 2018, in which the (author) keyword “populism” occurred. All data were derived from the Scopus database of metadata. The analysis was carried out using the VOSviewer software, which enables visual display and analysis of scientometric data. Our analysis showed that, in the stated period, much more attention was paid to the phenomenon of 'right' in relation to 'left' populism. The point of interest of the authors was mainly concentrated on the countries of Europe and (North and South) America. The term 'populism' is in a strong relationship (the high frequency of common occurrence of terms) with the terms 'democracy', 'nationalism' and 'neoliberalism'.

Key words: Populism, Keywords Analysis, Scientometrics, Scopus, VOSviewer

Introduction

Numerous meanings and definitions are associated with the notion of *populism*. Bearing in mind that this term is a ‘means’ of struggle in the political field, the absence of consensus regarding its content cannot surprise us. At the beginning of his book (*On Populist Reason*), Ernesto Laclau points out precisely the ambiguity of the notion: “Populism, as a category of political analysis, confronts us with rather idiosyncratic problems. On the one hand it is a recurrent notion, one which is not only in widespread use – being part of the description of a large variety of political movements – but also one which tries to capture something about the latter which is quite central. Midway between the descriptive and the normative, 'populism' intends to grasp something crucially significant about the political and ideological realities to which it refers. The apparent vagueness of the concept is not translated into any doubt concerning the importance of its attributive function. We are far from clear, however, about the content of that attribution. A persistent feature of the literature on populism is its reluctance – or difficulty – in giving the concept any precise meaning. Notional clarity – let alone definition – is conspicuously absent from this domain” (Laclau, 2005: 3).

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Domestic authors point to the diversity of meanings of this notion as well. Thus, Lošonc points out that "Populism avoids an intervention [захват] that has the ambition to be comprehensive" (Lošonc, 2017: 11). However, in this paper, we do not want to discuss all (possible) meanings of this term (More about this topic in: Rovira Kaltwasser et al, 2018). Also, we do not intend to defend certain views in the ongoing debates. We will pay attention to the context of the use of the word "populism" through the analysis of (author) keywords in scientific papers published in the period from 2001 to 2018. We selected this period for two reasons. First, it seems to us that political trends and events in the 21st century are reviving interest in the notion of populism. The second reason is technical. The Scopus database offers a greater coverage of recent editions of scientific journals.

Source of data

As is well known, there are multiple databases that provide similar metadata search capabilities. Each database has its own advantages and disadvantages. During the work on the Scopus platform, we noticed that some information was not precisely and accurately stated. In addition, we must say that there is a certain degree of contingency regarding the coverage of the data that Scopus provides. This database does not contain information about all the available journal numbers included in its system. These circumstances certainly can influence the results of the research. Then why did we choose Scopus? Independent researchers, in terms of the scope of the information, give priority to this database:¹ "Scopus is the database that indexes a larger number of journals than the other three databases studied. Web of Science does not provide any data regarding open access articles that it includes (if any)" (Falagas, 2017: 339). What kind of data Scopus provide? "Scopus launched in November 2004. It is the largest abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature, featuring smart tools to track, analyze and visualize research. With 22,800 titles from more than 5,000 international publishers, Scopus delivers the most comprehensive view of the world's research output in the fields of science, technology, medicine, social science and arts and humanities" (Sopus, 2017: 3). Koje časopise Scopus prihvata i na osnovu kojih kriterijuma su birani? "Titles should meet the following main eligibility criteria to be considered for review:

- Consist of peer-reviewed content
- Be published on a regular basis (have an ISSN number that has been registered with the International ISSN Centre)
- Be relevant and readable for an international audience (e.g., have references in Roman script and English language abstracts and titles)
- Have a publication ethics and publication malpractice statement" (Sopus, 2017: 17).

Scopus and other citation bases provide multiple possibilities for analyzing scientific journals. Why did we then decide to analyze (author) keywords? Castriotta gives us an explanation: "In particular, co-word analysis relies on the key-terms used by scholars to address a topic of interest. By investigating the ways in which these

¹ In addition, we can not say that data errors occur only in Scopus database.

terms are related to one another, co-word analysis delimits the boundaries of scientific areas. Keywords represent the shared knowledge within a scientific community, and their importance in a scientific domain results from the high level of acceptance of their meanings, which facilitate progress within a field” (Castriotta et al, 2018: 409). In another part of the same work, he states: “Co-word analysis is based on the assumption that keywords represent a meaningful description of an article’s content (Callon et al. 1983). Therefore, it is a useful tool to investigate scientific constructs (Engelsman and Van Raan 1994). According to Cobo et al. (2011), co-word analysis is an insightful technique that is capable of combining two different tools: (1) science mapping and (2) performance analysis. Both can be used for the examination of a body of research and the visualisation of its conceptual structure (including specific topics or thematic subfields). The conceptual structure is built by assembling different scientific concepts that are related to one another (Small 1999). Its results allow for the unpacking of relationships between groups of articles, authors, and concepts/words by determining important research questions (Cobo et al. 2011) and delimiting the boundaries of each subfield to highlight their structures and their evolution stemming from the scholars’ cognitive representations (Noyons et al. 1999; Castriotta and Di Guardo 2016). Focusing on the processes of co-word analysis, the co-occurrence of two words in the same article is an indicator of how these two concepts are related to each other (Cambrosio et al. 1993). A high frequency of these co-occurrences is a measure of similarity within papers that belong to a specific research theme” (Castriotta et al, 2018: 411). It should be noted that the analysis of (author) keywords in scientific articles also has its methodological limitations. The assumption that (author) keywords are adequately represented by the content of the article does not have to be well-founded. Besides, the variations in terms of the number of keywords (for each individual article) testify to the different 'density' of the description. Thus, works with a large number of keywords will have a greater chance of a more complete description of the content.

About VOSviewer

We used the VOSviewer software for the data analysis. This program allows visual display of data. What is VOSviewer? “VOSviewer constructs a map based on a co-occurrence matrix. The construction of a map is a process that consists of three steps. In the first step, a similarity matrix is calculated based on the co-occurrence matrix. In the second step, a map is constructed by applying the VOS mapping technique to the similarity matrix. And finally, in the third step, the map is translated, rotated, and reflected” (Van Eck & Waltman, 2010: 530).

How does VOSviewer process and display the data necessary for the creating of maps? What are the most important parameters and how are they determined? “Consider a network of n nodes. Suppose we want to create a mapping or a clustering of these nodes. c_{ij} denotes the number of links (e.g., co-occurrence links, co-citation links, or bibliographic coupling links) between nodes i and j ($c_{ij} = c_{ji} \geq 0$). s_{ij} denotes the association strength of nodes i and j (Van Eck & Waltman, 2009) and is given by

$$s_{ij} = \frac{2mc_{ij}}{c_i c_j}, \quad (1)$$

where c_i denotes the total number of links of node i and m denotes the total number of links in the network, that is,

$$c_i = \sum_{j \neq i} c_{ij} \quad \text{and} \quad m = \frac{1}{2} \sum_i c_i. \quad (2)$$

In the case of mapping, we need to find for each node i a vector $x_i \in \mathbb{R}^p$ that indicates the location of node i in a p -dimensional map (usually $p = 2$). In the case of clustering, we need to find for each node i a positive integer x_i that indicates the cluster to which node i belongs. Our unified approach to mapping and clustering is based on minimizing

$$V(x_1, \dots, x_n) = \sum_{i < j} s_{ij} d_{ij}^2 - \sum_{i < j} d_{ij}^2 \quad (3)$$

with respect to x_1, \dots, x_n . d_{ij} denotes the distance between nodes i and j and is given by

$$d_{ij} = \|x_i - x_j\| = \sqrt{\sum_{k=1}^p (x_{ik} - x_{jk})^2} \quad (4)$$

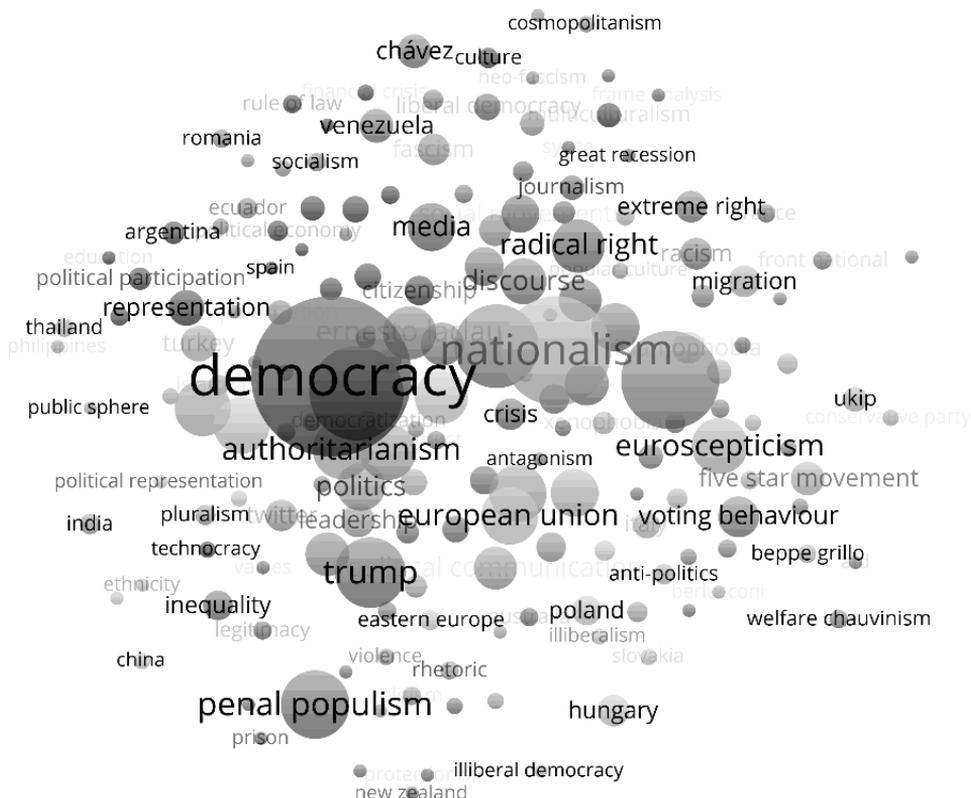
in the case of mapping and by

$$d_{ij} = \begin{cases} 0 & \text{if } x_i = x_j \\ \frac{1}{\gamma} & \text{if } x_i \neq x_j \end{cases} \quad (5)$$

in the case of clustering. We refer to the parameter γ in (5) as the resolution parameter ($\gamma > 0$). The larger the value of this parameter, the larger the number of clusters that we obtain. Equation (3) can be interpreted in terms of attractive and repulsive forces between nodes. The first term in (3) represents an attractive force, and the second term represents a repulsive force. The higher the association strength of two nodes, the stronger the attractive force between the nodes. Since the strength of the repulsive force between two nodes does not depend on the association strength of the nodes, the overall effect of the two forces is that nodes with a high association strength are pulled towards each other while nodes with a low association strength are pushed away from each other. In the case of mapping, it has been shown that the above approach is equivalent to the VOS mapping technique (Van Eck & Waltman, 2007; Van Eck et al., 2010), which is in turn closely related to the well-known technique of multidimensional scaling” (Waltman & Van Eck & Noyons, 2010: 2–3).

How is the interpretation of the data displayed in VOSviewer maps performed? “In the distance-based approach, the nodes in a bibliometric network are positioned in such a way that the distance between two nodes approximately indicates the relatedness of the nodes. In general, the smaller the distance between two nodes, the higher their relatedness [...] By default, VOSviewer therefore displays only the nodes in a bibliometric network and does not display the edges between the

Figure no. 2 – Network visualization (without keyword ‘populism’)³



When it comes to the most common keywords, the results of the analysis do not surprise us. It is somewhat expected that the notion of democracy most often occurs with the notion of populism. It is necessarily linked to democracy and all the other phenomena necessary for its sustainability and development. Therefore, with a somewhat lower frequency, words such as “elections”, “parties”, “public opinion”, “voting”, etc. appear. Perhaps the most important finding of our research is that social sciences are more interested in the so-called right populism. By this, we do not just refer to the keyword frequencies such as “right-wing populism”, “radical right”, “far right”, “neo-fascism”, “conservatism” etc. but also on terms like “nationalism”, “neoliberalism”, “capitalism”.

The difference can also be seen in terms of the parts of the world that have received the highest attention. Europe and America (North and South) are in the focus of interest. Less attention is paid to other continents. Thus, for example, the names of politicians from China, India, Russia, etc. can not be found. To some extent, clus-

³ The term “populism” in (author) keywords was the criterion on the basis of which we selected articles for our analysis. The omission of this term from the analysis (this and the following figures) was done only for a more vivid presentation of the results.

ters (represented by different colors on charts) are also determined by geographical notions and prominent political figures that have been linked to the populism.

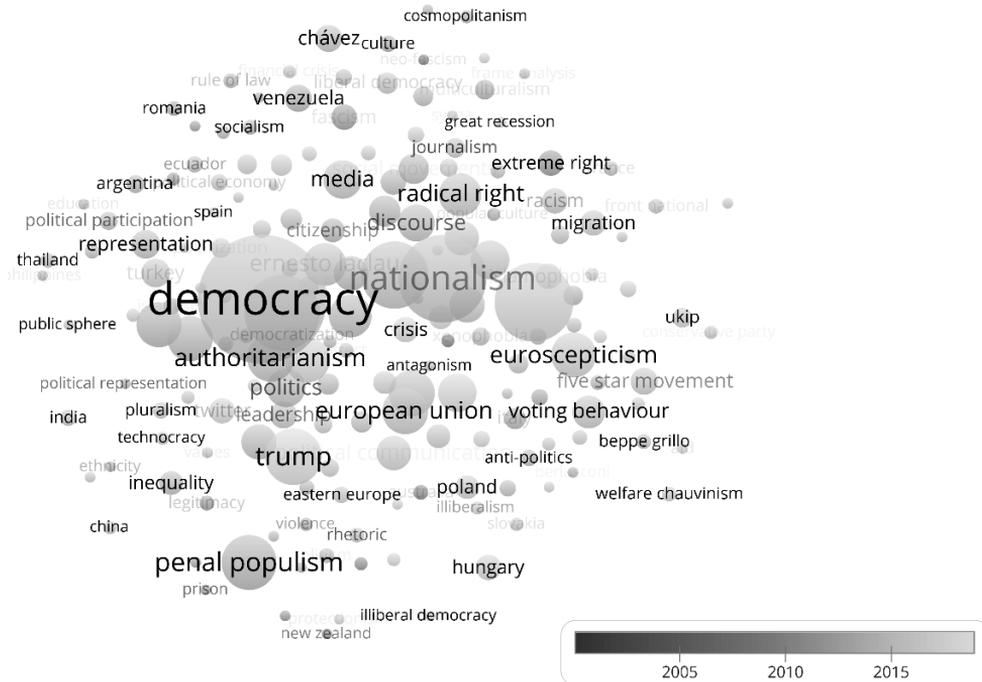
However, these charts (Figures 1, 2, 3) can be interpreted using 'reverse' logic. This way it can be seen which keywords are not linked or located at the 'opposite' end of the chart. For example, "welfare chauvinism" is 'on the opposite side' in relation to keywords like "Thailand", "Phillipines", "Argentina", "Turkey". It cannot be said that this finding is a surprise. But it can be said that it is somewhat surprising that the keyword "illiberal democracy" is at the other end of the chart, compared to the terms "Chavez", "Russia", "Venezuela", etc. It should be pointed out that the "illiberal democracy" is at a relatively low frequency of occurrence. Apart from the keywords with the highest degree of occurrence, terms such as "discourse", "authoritarianism", "hegemony", "affect" etc. are relatively close to the notion of populism.

Table no. 1 – author keywords frequencies

keyword	f.	keyword	f.	keyword	f.	keyword	f.
Populism	926	Twitter	14	Tea party	8	Refugee crisis	6
Democracy	104	Citizenship	13	The Netherlands	8	Slovakia	6
Nationalism	64	Gender	13	Affect	7	Technocracy	6
Right-wing populism	56	Inequality	13	Australia	7	Violence	6
Neoliberalism	53	Podemos	13	Beppe Grillo	7	AfD	5
Political parties	46	Poland	13	Class	7	Antagonism	5
Trump	37	Austerity	12	Comparative politics	7	Berlusconi	5
Penal populism	36	Authoritarian populism	11	Discourse theory	7	Bolivia	5
Authoritarianism	30	Capitalism	11	Elitism	7	Canada	5
European union	29	Conservatism	11	France	7	Civil society	5
Ideology	29	Italy	11	Front national	7	Clientelism	5
Elections	28	Liberal democracy	11	Italian politics	7	Crime	5
Euroscepticism	28	Religion	11	Legitimacy	7	Education	5
Latin America	28	Discourse analysis	10	Participation	7	Emotions	5
Social media	28	Extremism	10	Political theory	7	Ethnicity	5
Ernesto Laclau	26	Far right	10	Populist radical right	7	Frame analysis	5
Globalisation	26	Journalism	10	Rhetoric	7	Governmentality	5
Radical right	26	Multiculturalism	10	Romania	7	Great recession	5

Brexit	23	polarization	10	Rule of law	7	Illiberal democracy	5
Europe	23	Race	10	Socialism	7	Integration	5
Media	23	UKIP	10	Sovereignty	7	Internet	5
Politics	23	Western Europe	10	State	7	Neo-fascism	5
Discourse	22	Argentina	9	Thailand	7	New zealand	5
Immigration	21	Human rights	9	Voting	7	Nordic countries	5
Public opinion	21	Indonesia	9	Welfare chauvinism	7	Party system	5
Content analysis	20	Islam	9	AKP	6	Philippines	5
Liberalism	20	Political participation	9	Charisma	6	Political advertising	5
Political communication	20	Radical left	9	China	6	Political representation	5
Voting behaviour	19	United states	9	Conservative party	6	Post-communism	5
Hegemony	18	Xenophobia	9	Corruption	6	Press	5
Social movements	17	Anti-politics	8	Cosmopolitanism	6	Prison	5
Representation	16	Culture	8	Financial crisis	6	Protectionism	5
Turkey	16	Czech republic	8	Germany	6	Public sphere	5
Chávez	15	Democratization	8	Illiberalism	6	Punishment	5
Five star movement	15	Direct democracy	8	Left	6	Punitiveness	5
Leadership	15	Eastern Europe	8	Left-wing populism	6	Refugees	5
Venezuela	15	Ecuador	8	Media effects	6	Resentment	5
Crisis	14	Greece	8	Neo-populism	6	Russia	5
Extreme right	14	India	8	Parties	6	Spain	5
Fascism	14	Islamism	8	People	6	Syriza	5
Hungary	14	Lega Nord	8	Political culture	6	Text analysis	5
Identity	14	Marxism	8	Political discourse	6	Values	5
Islamophobia	14	Party politics	8	Popular culture	6	Zambia	5
Migration	14	Pluralism	8	Populist parties	6		
Racism	14	Political economy	8	Radicalism	6		

Figure no. 3 – Overlay visualization (without keyword ‘populism’)



When we look at Figure no. 3, we note that certain political events have quite obviously influenced the frequency and time of the occurrence of keywords.⁴ The average years for keyword occurrence are the following: “Tramp” 2017,46; “right-wing populism” 2016,57; “nationalism” 2015,06; “political parties” 2014,83; “globalization” 2013,85; “penal populism” 2013,33; “authoritarianism” 2014,70; “public opinion” 2014,43; “Ernesto Laclau” 2015, 38; “European union” 2015, 55; “liberalism” 2013, 95; “Latin America” 2013,6; “neoliberalism” 2016,15; “social media” 2017,11; “ideology” 2015,03; “Hungary” 2017,14; “racism” 2015,50; “Euro-scepticism”

Table no. 2 – number of occurrences of the word “populism” in a journals			
Journal title	f.	Journal title	f.
<i>Patterns of Prejudice</i>	20	<i>American Behavioral Scientist</i>	4
<i>Democratization</i>	17	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>	4
<i>Journal of Language and Politics</i>	16	<i>Asian Survey</i>	4
<i>Swiss Political Science Review</i>	16	<i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>	4
<i>Party Politics</i>	14	<i>British Politics</i>	4
<i>Political Quarterly</i>	14	<i>Dialectical Anthropology</i>	4
<i>Political Studies</i>	14	<i>Electoral Studies</i>	4
<i>Philosophy and Social Criticism</i>	12	<i>European Politics and Society</i>	4
<i>South European Society and Politics</i>	12	<i>Great Plains Quarterly</i>	4
<i>International Journal of Communication</i>	10	<i>Historical Materialism</i>	4

⁴ The average year for a particular term is given by two decimals after the comma.

<i>Journal of Contemporary European Studies</i>	10	<i>International Journal of Press/Politics</i>	4
<i>Comparative European Politics</i>	9	<i>Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology</i>	4
<i>Contemporary Italian Politics</i>	9	<i>Journal of Peasant Studies</i>	4
<i>Cultural Studies</i>	9	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i>	4
<i>Information Communication and Society</i>	9	<i>Political Research Quarterly</i>	4
<i>International Political Science Review</i>	9	<i>Revista Internacional de Sociologia</i>	4
<i>Javnost</i>	9	<i>Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica</i>	4
<i>Politics</i>	9	<i>Social Identities</i>	4
<i>Politics and Governance</i>	9	<i>Society</i>	4
<i>Acta Politica</i>	8	<i>Television and New Media</i>	4
<i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i>	8	<i>Theoretical Criminology</i>	4
<i>German Politics and Society</i>	8	<i>Analele Universitatii din Bucuresti, Seria Stiinte Politice</i>	3
<i>International Spectator</i>	8	<i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i>	3
<i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i>	8	<i>Communication and Society</i>	3
<i>Latin American Perspectives</i>	8	<i>Comunicazione Politica</i>	3
<i>Policy Studies</i>	8	<i>Debatte</i>	3
<i>Thesis Eleven</i>	8	<i>Democratic Theory</i>	3
<i>Comparative Political Studies</i>	7	<i>Energy Research and Social Science</i>	3
<i>Economy and Society</i>	7	<i>European Political Science Review</i>	3
<i>European Journal of Political Economy</i>	7	<i>French Politics</i>	3
<i>European Journal of Political Research</i>	7	<i>Globalizations</i>	3
<i>Journalism Studies</i>	7	<i>International Journal of Cultural Studies</i>	3
<i>Media, Culture and Society</i>	7	<i>International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society</i>	3
<i>Partecipazione e Conflitto</i>	7	<i>International Politics</i>	3
<i>East European Politics and Societies</i>	6	<i>Intersections (Hungary)</i>	3
<i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>	6	<i>Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies</i>	3
<i>European Journal of Communication</i>	6	<i>Journal of Agrarian Change</i>	3
<i>Geoforum</i>	6	<i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>	3
<i>International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy</i>	6	<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	3
<i>Journal of Intercultural Studies</i>	6	<i>Journal of Communication</i>	3
<i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i>	6	<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	3
<i>Journal of Modern Italian Studies</i>	6	<i>Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy</i>	3
<i>Journalism</i>	6	<i>Journal of Peacebuilding and Development</i>	3
<i>Punishment and Society</i>	6	<i>Modern Italy</i>	3
<i>Religion, State and Society</i>	6	<i>New Media and Society</i>	3
<i>TripleC</i>	6	<i>Organization</i>	3
<i>Utopia y Praxis Latinoamericana</i>	6	<i>Polish Sociological Review</i>	3
<i>West European Politics</i>	6	<i>Review of African Political Economy</i>	3

Conclusion

Science must carefully construct its notions as the basic assumption of any research effort. Their precise definition is a prerequisite necessary for a scientific activity based on the principles of objectivity, that is, intersubjective verification. However, the meanings of certain terms go through changes over time. Notions are changing in terms of their scope and content. In social sciences, the context of use also changes over time. New tendencies on the theoretical and empirical plan usually bring about a change of the term usage context. It can be said that the notions in science have their own 'popularity' that more or less attract the interest of the academic community. In social sciences and humanities, the 'popularity' of a given term has never been determined without 'interfering' with other factors. Political and social circumstances certainly contribute to such changes.

All of the above could also be said for the term *populism*. In this paper, we examined the context in which the notion was used in scientific works published in English in the 21st century. The approach we have chosen for such an undertaking is the analysis of (author) keywords co-occurrence in scientific journals, as part of the method of the co-word analysis. At the very end, it should be noted that in this paper we only made a review of a problem from only one narrow perspective. The application of other approaches and techniques in scientometry would certainly bring a wider and better overview of the situation in the case of the use of the notion of *populism*.

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МАПИРАЊЕ ПОПУЛИЗМА – АНАЛИЗА КЉУЧНИХ РЕЧИ

Сажетак: Популизам као појам већ релативно дуго изазива пажњу стручне и шире јавност. Упркос томе никада није постигнут начелан консензус у вези са садржајем појма. Етикета 'популисте' неретко се користи као средство борбе зарад оспоравања политичких неистомишљеника и опонената. Оваква околност је свакако допринела недаћама и неспоразумима поводом значења и употребе речи популизам. У раду нисмо задирали у историју наведених 'неспоразума', нити смо критички преиспитивали теоријске и истраживачке традиције које су обликовале различите употребе овог појма. Циљ рада је био знатно скромнији.

Покушали смо да понудимо анализу употребе појма на примеру рецентније научне литературе. Прецизније, анализа кључних речи у радовима полазна је основа нашег истраживања. Предмет истраживања били су чланци у научним часописима објављени на енглеском језику у периоду од 2001. до 2018. године. Све потребне податке смо добили захваљујући Scopus платформи која обезбеђује најширу основу за сцијентометријска истраживања. За ову базу смо се одлучили због великог обухвата научних часописа које нуди, без обзира на њене недостатке. Осим наведеног, треба напоменути да је основни критеријум за избор радова који су обухваћени анализом јављање појма 'популизам' међу кључним речима. Укупно је 1131 рад задовољио овај критеријум, односно био обухваћен анализом.

Анализу кључних речи смо извршили помоћу софтверског алата VOSviewer. Овај програм омогућава графички приказ и анализу података на основу учесталости јављања одређене кључне речи. За разлику од познатих и уобичајених статистичких поступака анализе података VOSviewer омогућава визуелно уочавање односа међу одређеним (кључним) речима. Дакле, на основу релација међу кључним речима (co-occurrences) могуће је уочити и како, односно на који начин је структурисано дато поље истраживања у одређеном временском периоду. Особеност овог софтверског решења, у односу на сличне програме, јесте у јединственом приступу формирању мапе података и кластера.

Анализа кључних речи показује нам да је у наведеним радовима знатно више пажње посвећено 'десном' популизму у односу на 'леви'. Појмови који су се најчешће јављали су „демократија“, „национализам“, „десни [right-wing] популизам“, „неолиберализам“ итд. Може се уочити да су конкретни политички покрети, партије и лидери на тлу (северне и јужне) Америке и Европе у највећој мери окупирали пажњу истраживача. Од свих теоретичара популизма Ернесто Лаклау се јавља као једини видљиви (и фигуративно и дословно) аутор у оквиру овог поља истраживања.

Кључне речи: популизам, анализа кључних речи, сцијентометрија, Scopus, VOSviewer

