Populism on the Rise
Democracies Under Challenge?

Introduction by Paolo Magri

ISPI

Populism on the Rise:

Democracies Under Challenge?

Edited by Alberto Martinelli

ISPI

ISPI

The Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) is an independent think tank dedicated to being a resource for government officials, business executives, journalists, civil servants, students and the public at large wishing to better understand international issues. It monitors geopolitical areas as well as major trends in international affairs.

Founded in Milan in 1934, ISPI is the only Italian Institute – and one of the few in Europe – to place research activities side by side to training, organization of international conferences, and the analysis of the international environment for businesses. Comprehensive interdisciplinary analysis is achieved through close collaboration with experts (academics and non-academics alike) in political, economic, legal, historical and strategic studies and through an ever-growing network of think tanks, research centers and Universities in Europe and beyond

Contents

Introduction

When in June 2015 Donald Trump announced he was running for President of the United States, political pundits and the media dismissed the possibility he could actually win the Republican Party nomination as pure science fiction. One victory after another, they continued to mock him. Today, sixteen months later, he is the Republican Party presidential candidate, he scores high in the polls and seems to be ready to take over as the next US President, ready to "make America great again".

By the same token, when in January 2013 David Cameron committed to an In-Out referendum on Britain's membership in the EU in an effort to unite his Conservative Party, nobody, not even Cameron himself, thought that the "Leave" camp could win. Three years later, Brexit is a reality here to stay: the UK decided to leave the EU, Cameron abandoned his political career and all of us have been left with the same, puzzling, question: "How did it happen?".

These are just two examples of recent political developments that somehow caught the world by surprise, contributing to a growing sense of concern or even alarm about the future of the Western world and, particularly, Western democracies as we know them.

When putting the spotlight on Europe in particular, the prospects seem even gloomier. Populists are in power in Poland and Hungary, they are in the coalition governments in Switzerland and Finland, they top the polls in France and the Netherlands, and their support is at record highs in Sweden. Not to mention the recent rise of Alternative für Deutschland in Germany and the continuous success of Syriza, Podemos and the Five Stars Movement in Southern Europe. Twenty-six years after the fall of the Soviet Union and the demise of communism, another spectre seems to be haunting Europe: populism.

But nothing happens out of nothing. If one digs deeper under the surface of the newspapers' and general media's scary titles, crystal clear symptoms emerge over recent years or even decades. To start with, it is worth remembering that the post-Cold War system laid the groundwork for the rise of new world powers, challenging the old ones and their governance structures (starting from Bretton Woods Institution), while old divisions and clashes simply re-emerge. Besides, this happens at a time when global trends erode national sovereignty and strongly constrain national governments' ability to deliver. All of which goes hand in hand with the lack of legitimacy and scope of governing power of the European Union, which turns out to be unable to fix the problems that not even national governments are able to fix.

This holds true especially when it comes to the ability to find viable ways out to the dramatic consequences of the double-dip recession Europe has gone through since 2008. Record-high unemployment – especially youth unemployment in many EU countries – coupled with rising inequalities and regional disparities in all EU countries is putting the very concept of Europe through continuous litmus tests. This is not surprising at all since political leaders have been using the UE as the perfect scapegoat for national failures for too many years, also by using and abusing old and new means of communication. To make things worse, they did little to give the European Union the necessary competences to tackle new needs and challenges. Among them, the paralysis of the EU in dealing with the migration crisis that has been unfolding since 2011, as a byproduct of the fragmentation of the Arab States in the aftermath of the "Arab Spring". Let alone the other implications of the political Middle-Eastern and African crises: terrorism and radicalization processes spreading to Europe and feeding uncertainty, resentment and, ultimately, further contributing to the creation of a breeding ground for anti-establishment parties.

In turn, citizens are increasingly tempted to perceive the EU as a giant eating up nations' sovereignty and people's rights and savings. But the EU is just a giant with feet of clay whose fragility will

be further tested over the next months as a number of key EU countries will go – or return once more – to the polls: Spain, Austria, France, Germany, Netherlands.

However, as we noted above, the populist upsurge is anything but a European feature. Populism has been a recurring trend in US politics, it is deeply influencing the Presidential campaign, and has often marked Latin American governments.

So the time is ripe to delve under the surface and analyze the root causes of the various types of populisms and how they are changing the political landscape of modern democracies, from Europe to the US. This is the attempt made by the ISPI Report, which collects analyses by international experts and scholars.

In the introductory chapter Alberto Martinelli, building on the various attempts to find a suitable definition for a concept as controversial as that of populism, guides the reader through different kinds of populism, highlighting the causes and the opportunity structures of contemporary populist parties. In particular, the author identifies three sets of causes: first, the impact of the post-Cold War scenario, that has brought to light old cleavages and nationalisms as is the case in Eastern Europe; second, the crisis of representative democracy and of mainstream political parties that is proper to Western democracies; third, the impact of the global economic and financial crisis, which brought about a wave of populism in the debtor countries of Southern Europe.

In chapter 2 Matthew J. Goodwin draws a comparison between the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the French Front National (FN), two of the most electorally successful populist radical right parties in Western Europe. Although rooted in different ideological traditions, the two parties share common features and political strategies. Moreover, the two parties are among the most successful in Europe: UKIP played a central role in mobilizing the national vote for Brexit in the June 2016 referendum, while the French FN assumed an ever growing role in the national debate. After analyzing the origins and development, the programmatic offer and the social bases of support, the author also tries to draw some future scenarios for the two parties.

A deep insight into the populist radical left is offered in chapter 3 by Paolo Segatti and Francesco Capuzzi. Acknowledging the fact that most studies on populism have focused on parties and leaders belonging to the radical-right party family, Segatti and Capuzzi try to fill the gap in the literature by analyzing three parties that cannot be included in the aforesaid political family: the Five Stars Movement (FSM), Podemos and Syriza, a sort of "Mediterranean way to populism". The authors investigate whether these three parties share enough features to be aggregated into the same political family, or whether they show divergent backgrounds and attitudinal profiles that do not permit the claim that they are instances of the same political phenomenon. The chapter also investigates whether the factors that contribute to increasing their competitiveness in a specific election are the same and equally important in each of the three countries, Italy, Spain and Greece.

Piotr Sztompka's fourth chapter overturns the traditional approach to the study of populism, which focuses on politicians (i.e. the "supply" side), by placing emphasis on citizens and their responsiveness to populist-appeals (i.e. the "demand" side). The author argues that populism is the specific emotional and cognitive condition of society that is responsive to the populist agenda, thus requiring an explanatory focus on the social conditions engendering the demand for populist leaders. This explanatory strategy is applied to Eastern Europe, and in particular to the worrying ascent of populism in Poland. By examining the sequence of political, economic, cultural and social phenomena that took place in Poland after the collapse of communism, the author highlights all the dilemmas and the paradoxes of the difficult transition to democracy that ultimately led Polish society to opt for the populist Law and Justice party.

Populism in the 2016 US presidential election is at the core of the last chapter. Kirk Hawkins with Rebecca Dudley and Wen Jie Tan move from the premise that, unlike in Western Europe, populism is a persistent feature of US politics, thus making the US extremely similar to Latin America, where populist movements have historically been frequent phenomena. However, what differentiates the two regions is that in the United States populist movements

have been less electorally successful: as the authors put it, no radical populist movement has ever won the presidency. Yet in 2016 we have seen a populist contender, Mr. Donald Trump, manage to win the Republican Party presidential nomination. By addressing the root causes behind Mr. Trump's striking success, the authors assess how severe this latest wave of populism is in the US, what lessons can be drawn from this experience and, most of all, what the most appropriate policy responses are that can be put in place.

This Report repeatedly states that populism is not an entirely new phenomenon as it builds upon traditional and old triggers which are mixed with new drivers including global/regional trends and new communication tools and technologies. What remains to be seen is if, and to what extent, the rise of populism will make Western democracies weaker and different from the ones we have known so far.

Paolo Magri
Ispi Executive Vice President and Director

1.   Populism and the Crisis of Representative Democracy

Alberto Martinelli

Contemporary democracies are being challenged. Their key institutions, political parties, have been in crisis for some time due to a variety of reasons, from the decline of ideologies to the growing rifts between party organizations and citizens, from the weakening of intermediation to widespread corruption, from the impact of mass media to the personalization of politics. Populism seems to be everywhere nowadays. Three decades of economic globalization have eroded state sovereignty, reduced the capacity of government parties to implement effective policies and fulfill voters' expectations. The asymmetry of power between global finance and national politics limits the policy options and regulatory instruments of national leaders and reduces their appeal for citizens who feel increasingly impotent. In a context of growing denationalization, elected leaders with declining consensus tend to delegate decision-making to electorally unaccountable and poorly visible elected technocratic bodies, with the consequence of further widening the gap between parties and citizens.

On top of all that is the fact that almost a decade of economic stagnation has worsened the crisis *within* democracy (not *of* democracy, since no regime change has taken place as in the 1930s). Economic stagnation is just one aspect of a systemic crisis and of a more general sequence – which started with the US subprime loans, soon became a global financial crisis, and then economic stagnation with high unemployment (particularly among the young) and deflation, and a sovereign debt crisis with very negative impact on

welfare, work, families, urban life and consequent sentiments of frustration, insecurity and fear and anti-establishment attitudes. The linkage of the political crisis to the economic crisis has created a breeding ground for populist movements and parties, often taking the form of national-populism.

Populism: a controversial concept

Populism is a controversial and slippery concept. It has become a "catch-all word", as a century ago Joseph Schumpeter defined a similarly widely used word: imperialism. This is why it requires, as we tried to do in this volume, a rigorous definition of the concept and an outline the key common elements and main differences. It also requires a clarification of what kind of empirical phenomena (ideologies, consensus strategies, collective movements, party organizations) and what type of political regimes in the various countries and regions of the world it can be applied. Populism covers in fact a variety of political phenomena transcending its historical roots, which can be found in the Russian anti-authoritarian movement of the second half of the XIX century and in American grass roots politics of the 1890s. Populism was the name retroactively given to the Russian intelligentsia who opposed the Tsarist regime and industrialization in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s; the populists, active in several different groups, wanted a better form of government for Russia than the existing Tsarist autocracy. In the United States, the People's Party was an agrarian-populist political party, which for a few years, 1892-96, played a major role as a left-wing force in American politics (in 1894 it took more than 10% of the vote in the House of Representatives elections). Built on a coalition of poor cotton farmers in the South (especially North Carolina, Alabama and Texas) and troubled wheat farmers in the Plains states (especially Kansas and Nebraska), the populists represented a radical form of agrarianism, hostile to elites and cities and highly critical of capitalism, especially banks and railroads, and allied themselves with the labor movement.

Since then, the term populism has been widely used in the XX and XXI centuries to describe anti-elitist appeals against established interests or mainstream parties, referring to both the political left and right in Europe, North America, Latin America and other regions in the world.

Populism is both an ideology and a strategy of consensus organization. For some scholars like Taguieff (1986) populism does not have any specific ideological character, but is rather a kind of rhetoric, an attempt to connect empathically with the masses, which can apply to different ideological models. For some others it is weak political thought, with a thin and poorly elaborated core (Freeden 1998; Mudde 2004). But, while thin, this ideological core is very strong, since it consists of a fundamental opposition between the people and the elite, both as undifferentiated wholes, without internal rifts, conflicts of interest, different identities and loyalties. More specifically, the populist vision includes the existence of two homogeneous groups, their antagonistic relationship, the affirmation of the right of the majority against the minority, the Manichean opposition between "we" (the pure, virtuous people) and "them" (the corrupt and negligent elite, rulers or establishment). But populists differ on who should be included or excluded from the people and which elites, besides established party leaders, should be blamed (asylum seekers, all immigrants, global finance, transnational elites).

The vagueness and plasticity of this ideological core, thin and strong at the same time, allows the populist rhetoric to be combined with a variety of "thick" ideologies, such as nationalism (Martinelli 2013) or socialism, that add more specific content to it. Conceiving populism as a thin ideology makes it possible to account for the variety of political content and orientation of populist movements (right and left), while simultaneously stressing a set of common features, and also illustrates the dependent relationship of populism on more comprehensive ideologies that provide a more detailed set of answers to key political questions (Stanley and Ucen 2008).

As Mény and Surel (2000) argue, the cognitive and normative core of populism consists of the twin concepts of people as the

exclusive source of power and of community as the legitimate criterion for defining the people. More specifically, the distinctive features of populist ideology can be traced to the three meanings of people: the people as the sovereign "demos", the legitimate foundation of the political order, the people-class (the common people, the plebs, the mass of citizens without property, Main Street as opposed to Wall Street), and the people-nation, with its ethnic roots. These different meanings resound in different languages, as for instance in the French word "peuple" which defines a voluntary union of individuals expressing the general will, or the German word "volk" which defines an organic entity that transcends individuals. Common ideological elements are the mistrust of any elite, first of all the political elite, and the emphasis on the people as the true legitimate actor of public decision-making, the antagonism to international finance, the affirmation of social bonds within organic communities which goes together with diffidence towards and refusal of others (immigrants, foreigners, ethnic minorities, worshippers of other religions). Although not present in all forms of contemporary European populism, the link with nationalism reinforces and organizes the populist ideology around the key questions of inclusion into/exclusion from the community and of the reaffirmation of national sovereignty against the EU "super-state" in opposition to the project of "an ever closer union". There is the widespread belief that some immigrant groups (as a whole, not single members of them) are culturally incompatible with the native community and are threatening the national identity and the EU institutions are blamed to foster the threat by upholding the free movement of people. Nationalism and populism have a lot in common (the demonization of political opponents, a conspiratorial mindset, the search for scapegoats, the fascination with more or less charismatic leaders), but, first and foremost, the anti-European stance. The hostility toward the European project, the advancement toward an ever closer union, the establishment of the euro, represents the connecting link between populism and nationalism (Martinelli 2013; Cavalli e Martinelli 2015).

Causes and opportunity structures
of contemporary populist parties

The rise of the new populist parties take place in quite in different contexts and can be traced to a constellation of processes that combine to create opportunity structures (Kitschel 1995) used for mobilizing support by skillful political entrepreneurs.

Most of this volume is dedicated to the nature and role of populist parties in the various countries of Europe and of the European Union in particular (the chapters by Matthew Goodwin, Paolo Segatti and Francesco Capuzzi, Piotr Sztompka). The EU will therefore be the focus of my chapter as well. The populist upsurge is not, however, limited to the EU and for this reason we have included the chapter by Kirk Hawkins with Rebecca Dudley and Wen Jie Tan. Populism has been a recurrent trend in American politics, taking the form of a struggle either against "Big Government" (more often on the right of the political continuum) or "Big Business" (more often on the left of the political continuum) or against both. Populism is having a significant revival in the current presidential campaign, in which populist issues and rhetoric are prominent. In the Republican primary race Donald Trump presented himself as the anti-Establishment champion, who does not belong to the party apparatus and criticizes both government's bureaucracy and Wall Street's arrogance. In the Democratic primary race Bernie Sanders, although a member of Congress, emphasized his diversity from the party elite and stressed issues of traditional American populism.

In contemporary Europe various interrelated causes contribute to the populist upsurge. First, the impact of the post-Cold War scenario, that has once again brought to light old rifts and old nationalisms and has created difficult problems of regime change, thus fostering the political career of populist leaders in Eastern Europe, bringing them to government, as in Hungary and Poland. Second, the crisis of representative democracy and of mainstream political parties, which are less and less able to mobilize voters and to structure political conflict. This crisis of input democracy goes together with a crisis of output democracy because of the combined impact

of globalization and the democratic deficit in EU governance: on the one hand, global trends erode national sovereignty and limit the capacity of national governments to implement effective policies, on the other, the EU governance system does not yet have the legitimacy and scope of action which are necessary to deal with problems that are too big to be coped with at the national level. Third, there is the impact of the persistent economic crisis, which interacts with the implications of the political Middle-Eastern and African crises (asylum-seekers and terrorist attacks on European cities) with the result of feeding uncertainty, resentment and fear of the future, and of creating a favorable ground for anti-establishment parties.

The first set of causes and opportunity specifically structures concern the family of populist parties of Eastern Europe. The implosion of the Soviet Union has unfroze cleavages and conflicts which during the long Cold War had been absorbed into the bipolar confrontation between the USA and the USSR. The end of the struggle between two alternative *Weltanschauungen* helps to explain the resurgence of national, ethnic and, religious identities and the related geopolitical conflicts that had been anaesthetized and hidden behind the rhetoric of the competing universalistic ideologies of free society and communism. Old cleavages inherited from the past intersect and partly overlap with new conflicts stemming from political, economic and cultural transformations of the present and the new global processes. With the collapse of former regime, with planned economies and social security systems breaking down, when traditional social relations are in flux and a sentiment of general insecurity grows, making ethnic groups rely on their cultural and linguistic communities. Where society fails, the nation seems the only guarantee and national populism prospers.

Sztompka's chapter discusses this set of causes focusing on Poland, but his analysis is to a large extent applicable to other post-communist societies (and even to the lander that have been reunified with the rest of Germany, like Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania, where the populist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) recently scored a big electoral success). Sztompka speaks of a sequence of traumatic experiences, stemming from a major

break in historical continuity, a radical change that took place at all levels of social life: politics, economy, culture and everyday practices. The high expectations of most people were frustrated by the "unfortunate legacy of the past", such as pervasive bureaucracy, overabundant and obsolete laws, underdeveloped parties, stagnant and inefficient state-owned companies, overgrown and fragmented agriculture, weak civil society and the lack of a modern political culture. Societal cleavages developed as a result of the unintended consequences of reforms, which unequally distributed the social burdens of transformation (unemployment, selective impoverishment, ruthless competition, illegal immigration, growth of crime); society was split between those who were successful under the new system and those who have experienced either objectively or subjectively a loss and failure and even idealized the past. This situation created a social climate favorable to the growth of populist parties and leaders, like the Polish Law and Justice party, which promised to complete the "unfinished revolution" by finally eliminating from public life all elites, blamed for the way they managed the transition and for not breaking with the communist past. The crisis of democratic representation is acute both in Western and in Eastern, post-communist, Europe, but with the difference that in the latter the party system has not yet produced a stable mainstream which reliably represents their constituencies.

An interesting aspect of the Central and Eastern European experience is that populist parties and leaders have been both in the opposition and in government more often that in the rest of Europe. When they are in the opposition they fully display the rhetoric of "we", the people, against "them", the corrupted rulers. When in government they often seem unfit to rule, since they are incapable of fulfilling the loft, populist promises they have made, and often get involved in factionalism, clientelism and corruption. As a result of their poor performance in government, these parties suffer electoral defeats, but also prove capable of coming back to power, with the consequence that the political pendulum swings back and forth in almost consecutive elections. However, this swinging is not just the normal dialectics of representative politics, because from on

election to the next democratic life is impoverished, political apathy continues to grow and trust in institutions continues to decline.

The crisis of representative democracy and mainstream political parties

The second set of causes and opportunity structures is strictly political: the crisis of representative democracy and, first of all, the crisis of traditional, mainstream parties. As the title of this volume states, contemporary democracies are being challenged. Mainstream political parties have become less and less able to mobilize voters, as indicated by declining voter turnout, declining party identification and membership, increasing volatility of election outcomes and the percentage of voters who choose mainstream parties. Almost half, and in some cases more than half, of the citizens of Western democracies do not vote and among those who vote a growing number choose populist parties. Mainstream parties have become more and more catch-all parties, differing less and less in terms of ideological roots and policy-programs and tending to converge on the major policy issues. This compression toward the center of the political centrum leaves room for alternative populist strategies. But the crisis of mainstream parties also fosters political apathy and withdrawal from public life, which go together with a dramatic fall in trust of political institutions and the very idea of representative democracy. In Hirschmann's terms, exit and voice prevail over loyalty and participation.

Political parties, the key institutions of representative democracy, have been in crisis for some time for a variety of reasons: the declining appeal of the grand narratives of the past (communism's failure after the collapse of the USSR, social democracy's impotence in the face of rising inequalities, liberalism's loss to free market self-regulation); the growing rift between party organizations and citizens; the weakening of their intermediation role (which has increased the influence of a few powerful interest groups); widespread corruption and big political scandals; the impact of mass

media and the personalization of politics. Political parties are more and more "cartel parties" where the interests of leaders and cadres look increasingly detached from those of the rank and file and even more so from those of the common citizens.

The crisis of mainstream parties can be traced to the increasing tension between "responsibility" and "responsiveness", i.e. the tension between the parties' role as public representatives of the nation's citizens, and their roles as governments responding to a wide range of domestic, inter- and supranational stakeholders (Mair 2013). The combination of the erosion of mainstream parties and of the corresponding rise of challenger parties led Mair to speculate about a growing divide in the European party system between parties that claim to represent, but don't deliver (the challengers), and those that deliver, but are no longer seen to represent (the mainstream parties). Maistream parties and traditional associations of organized interests – first of all labor unions and employers' associations – are less and less capable of channeling demands, developing inclusive strategies, mediating among conflicting interests, transforming the vast array of different and sometimes conflicting social demands into policy-programs of rational change.

Contemporary media and the new media in particular are facilitating the growth of populism (Kriesi 2015). The mass media generally contributes to the representation crisis by enhancing the personalization of political leadership and by fostering the depoliticization of the party base. Party leaders communicate directly with their audience through the media and no longer need the party apparatus to get their message to their constituencies. Professional communication specialists are replacing party militants. As a result of technological change and the commercialization of the media system, the news media tend to impose their own logic on political actors who are forced to adapt. Political issues are treated like any other message, subject to the commercial logic of keeping the audience's attention through mechanisms of dramatization, oversimplification, polarization, stereotyping, reiteration of scandals and conflicts; the ordinary citizen's "common sense" is highly praised even when it actually amounts to little more than prejudice and disinformation. The om-

nipresence of media and their tendency to personalize politics facilitates populist strategy, allowing the political leader to reach out directly to the people. The populist strategy of consensus formation should be distinguished from the general personalization of politics, but it is favoured by this tendency. Although empirical evidence on the impact of media on politics is scarce and their influence should not be exaggerated, it cannot be denied that they significantly affect public discourse and enhance populism.

The impact of the new media is even greater. The *coup de grace* to a declining ability to mediate and intermediate is given by the relentless growth of the new media (Mény 2016). An authoritativeness based on knowledge and experience is severely challenged by the generalized claim of many web users to be experts of everything. On many social networks and blogs a scientifically proven therapy is put on the same footing as a charlatan's "natural remedy": a sociological analysis of migration is as worthy of attention as the nightmare picture painted by a fear-monger. The refusal to appreciate the advice of the expert is part and parcel with the populist attitude against the elites, all elites, with the consequence that individuals are often victims of lies and invisible manipulation. The web opens great chances for a better world, but also poses serious threats to democratic public discourse. The web is widely used for blaming and shaming adversaries, seeking scapegoats, expressing personal frustrations and prejudices, rather than for developing practices of deliberative democracy, which are based on respect for different opinions, a willingness to confront and compare and to reach reasonable compromises.

The crisis of political parties opens the way to populism as a political strategy through which "a personalistic leader seeks to exercise government power based on direct, unmediated, non-institutionalized support from large numbers of mostly unorganized followers" (Kriesi 2015), that in its turn serves to fuel populist strategies together with the role of mass media, old and new. Populism has been defined a "pathology of democracy" (Weiland 2001), but it is rather a symptom of democratic pathologies (corruption, clientelism, widening gap between political representatives and their

constituencies) and, as such, it should not be dismissed as just anti-systemic, but taken seriously in order to foster necessary reforms aiming at improving the quality of democracy.

Contemporary European populism is not actually against the democratic system, but it is inherently illiberal. Populist parties are opposed to the establishment, but not to anti-system parties, since they develop within existing democracies. Populism has a parasitic relationship with democracy, it develops in the "shadow of democracy" (Canovan 1999). Populist parties aim at defending democracy as the people's rule, which has been betrayed by corrupted and inefficient elites. They blame the power holders, but want to replace them through victory in elections. They take advantage and encourage the anti-politics and anti-establishment feelings of the masses, but become themselves members of the establishment and political actors in all respects, capable of fully exploiting the opportunities of representative democracy. The Five Stars Movement (Movimento Cinque Stelle - FSM) in Italy refuses to be defined a party and calls its necessary coordinating structures "non structures" but is already a political party organization in many senses, although still going through the complex process of institutionalizing of a collective movement. Populist leaders predict the violent reaction of the disgusted masses to the corruption of the elites and claim to play a key role in controlling violent dissent and channeling into democratic institutions.

Populism is not anti-democratic but it implies an illiberal version of democracy, bringing to the surface the constant tension between the two components of the "democracy of the modern", the liberal and the democratic it tries to solve the tension between the two by exploding the former and limiting the latter (Martinelli 2013). It is a recurrent attempt within democratic societies to dissociate democracy from liberalism (Urbinati 2014). It takes "government by the people" literally and rejects the essence of the liberal political tradition (division of constitutional powers, institutional checks and balances, constitutional guarantees); it has a monolithic conception of the people's will that neither allows mediation and intermediation among plural, conflicting interests, nor a deliberative style of de-

mocracy; and it is hostile to political parties and other intermediaries. Some right-wing populist parties, once in power, even tend to restrict civil liberties and constitutional guarantees. The most significant case in this respect is Orban's Civic Hungarian Union (Fidesz) that has limited the powers of the Constitutional court, the autonomy of the judiciary, freedom of the press, religious pluralism, and other civil liberties, in spite of the fact that these measures go against core values of the EU Treaties. In particular, freedom of expression can be limited in order to protect "the dignity of the Nation, the State and person" and to avoid "speeches of hate". The Constituional court will not be able to raise substantial objections to government laws, but can only suggest amendments to be approved by the Parliament. These, like similar measures taken by the Polish government, are for the moment exceptions, but significant exceptions.

Although recognizing the sincere democratic attitude of many supporters of populist movements and parties and the soundness of many condemnations of democratic dysfunctions, corruption and other illegal behaviours of political and economic elites, their conception of democracy tends to be rudimental and their democratic practice rather limited. Even the most recent version of populism, i.e. web democracy, that aims to give voice to ordinary citizens on the new agora of the new media (as in the case of the Five Stars Movement in Italy), often becomes a legitimating platform for plebiscitary leaders who control the movement and repress any dissenting voice in an apparently participatory, but actually authoritarian and intolerant, way.

The impact of the long economic crisis

The third basic set of causes and opportunities for the rise of populism can be traced to the global economic and financial crisis. A deep and lengthy economic crisis is prone to enhance the antagonism between the common people and some financial and political elites, since it aggravates economic inequality and social deprivation, and thus fosters the populist narrative and promotes its electoral success. Three decades of globalized economy had already eroded national

sovereignty, reduced the effectiveness of national economic policies and the scope of the welfare state. The lengthy financial crisis and related economic stagnation have further increased global constraints on policies and institutions that are vital for social consensus, with the effect of fostering a generalized climate of personal insecurity, social fragmentation and lack of trust in mainstream parties, thus providing populist parties and leaders with a powerful rhetoric resource. Left-wing populism which frames its anti-elitism in class terms seems to rely more on anti-globalism, but right-wing populism does so as well. For example, for Jean Marie Le Pen's Front National "mondialisme" is the present day's slavery and the new slave masters are those anonymous and vagrant bosses of world finance, who want to destroy nations in the name of profit. The euro is involved in the blame and defined a betrayal not only of France but of Europe as well, perpetrated through the forced integration of European economies into the US dominated world market. So it is no surprise that those segments of the working class, who are among the "globalization losers" and formerly voted for the left, turned to the National Front. A key manifestation of Europe's recession, the sovereign debt crisis, provided both left-wing and right-wing populists with the opportunity to reframe economic conflicts in nationalistic terms. Mainstream parties' government elites of both weak, "debtor", and strong, "creditor", countries are blamed, although for opposite reasons: the former for imposing on their people the social burden of reforms "ordered" by supranational and international institutions (the Troika) and by the selfish leaders of the most prosperous nations; the latter for the opposite reason of using their taxpayers money to pay for the debts of others. In any case, populists of both groups of member countries are all against the European Commission, the euro and the European Central Bank.

Moreover, the prolonged economic recession and growing unemployment have disruptive effects on the family and urban organization and deepen social inequalities and regional disequilibria. Marginalized social groups, which are severely hit by the crisis and find it difficult to adapt to the global economy, such as unemployed, underemployed and without stable employment NOT trying to imitate populist Euros-

ceptic attitudes youth and female workers, small artisans and shop-
keepers, industrial workers with obsolete skills are highly responsive
to populist appeals. Jackman and Volpert (1996) have shown that the
growth of unemployment is – together with the configuration of the
party system – the most important single variable correlated with the
success of right-wing populist parties. These parties often denounce
unemployment as a proof of the failure of European elites, and even
accuse them of preferring immigrants to indigenous workers.

The effect of the economic crisis on the rise of populism is more
evident in the debtor countries of Southern Europe (Kriesi and Pap-
pas 2015). But it also plays a role in Northern European "creditor"
countries, where it takes the form of "welfare chauvinism". Parties
like the Finnish True Finns, the Dutch Freedom Party, the Flem-
ish Vlaams Belang push for a system of social protection which is
reserved to native citizens and refuse to grant foreign workers the
same social rights as their indigenous employees. Combining the
political and economic causes we can draw insights into the social
base of populist parties and movements. Aside from a stubborn, but
limited extreme right-wing component, the bulk of voters is made
up of globalization losers, bolsters of mainstream parties, angry and
indignant citizens. Many of them are uncertain about not voting or
accepting the new populist offer. Being convinced that the politi-
cal representatives of all traditional parties are equally unreliable,
many of these voters shift quickly to non-participation whenever
the new populists fail to keep their promises of moralizing political
life. In spite of possible failures, contemporary populist parties have
a stronger social foundation than the old radical right.

The rise of populism as a threat
to the project of European integration

These three sets of causes and conditions favouring the rise of pop-
ulism intersect, overlap and combine in different ways and to differ-
ent degrees in the various regions of Europe. Populist parties occu-
py different positions in the political continuum and have different

targets: right-wing parties are mostly against immigration, the free movement of people and (in Northern countries) the sharing of debt; left-wing parties in the South are against international finance and the hegemony of neo-liberalism. But they all assume a specifically anti-EU character. The monetary union, the European Central Bank and Brussels bureaucracy have become easy scapegoats for populist neo-nationalist parties that proclaim the need to renationalize policies and to regain the decision-making power expropriated by the "European superstate". Most contemporary populist parties in the EU, from the French Front National to the Italian Lega and the Austrian FPO, from the UK Independent Party to the Dutch PVV, express a notion of the people that coincides with the sovereign nation. But Euroscepticism is also a distinctive feature of parties like Five Stars Movement, Syriza and Podemos, which, although in different forms and to different degrees, express a notion of the people that stresses social protest of the many against the privileged few and want to restore popular sovereignty for citizens ignored by international financial and supranational technocratic elites. The common ground populism and nationalism share lies anti-Europe feelings, defending one's homeland against the oppressive union, opposition to surrender of sovereignty and to the "expropriation" of ordinary people's rights by Eurocrats in Brussels and Frankfurt, as well as in hostility toward immigrants who are perceived as threats to domestic jobs, wages, and welfare provisions. The successful propaganda for Brexit is a summa of all this. The 2014 elections for the European Parliament (with the success of Front National and UKIP which were both the first parties in their own countries with 25% and 27% respectively) and the more recent national and regional elections in Greece, Spain, Sweden, Poland, Italy, Austria, Germany, have confirmed the rise of neo-populist parties which by now represent a stable component of the European party systems.

The rise of populism impacts on the structure of national political systems, and on the European Union. Whereas in the US the two-party system has not been altered by the neo-populism of Trump and Sanders, since both remained within the two mainstream parties' presidential races (the former as the winning Republican

candidate, the latter as the defeated contender for the Democratic nomination), the electoral success of populist parties has changed the party system in several EU member states from a bipolar-system to a three-party structure (as in France and Italy) or a four-party structure (as in Spain). The case of the UK and Germany are different since there the mainstream parties seem to hold better: in the UK the UKIP was not a real alternative for government, but was the winner in Brexit and in the last European Parliament elections. In Germany the growth of AfD can only further foster the grosse Koalition government, with the possible risk, however, of strengthening the rift between traditional and new parties and related anti-establishment feelings. The outcome of this complexification of the party system is uncertain and undecided: either mainstream parties will be capable of implementing the type of reforms we have outlined above and thus regaining ground, or the new populist parties will prevail, or a prolonged period of political instability may occur, as now in Spain.

At the EU level populist Eurosceptic parties are far from being capable of building a majority, since they polled a minority of the votes and are divided among themselves to the point of not being able to form a supranational group; but they will have an impact in at least two ways. First, their growth reinforces the politics of coalition between the three major pro-European party federations – the People's Party (EPP), the Socialists (S&D) and the Liberal-Democrats (ALDE). This grand coalition has strengths and weaknesses; on the one hand, it allows political compromises to ease the underlying tensions; on the other, it slows down and complicates EU decision-making and does not allow the full activation of a democratic dialectic between different policy programs, thus further fueling the charges against the EU of democratic failures. The second key impact is more important: the risk in the populist upsurge is not of having a populist anti-European majority in the EU Parliament, but that of a more divided European Council with populist heads of governments, with a vision of European integration limited to a common market, blocking common European actions.

The combined effect of the global economic crisis (low growth,

high unemployment, huge sovereign debt) and Middle Eastern wars (massive immigration of asylums-seekers, terrorist attacks by fundamentalist groups in European cities) exacerbate the rifts within the EU – creditor countries versus debtor countries, neoliberal Europe versus social Europe, national sovereignty versus federal union, free movement versus limited movement of people (Ferrera 2016) – and create a rich breeding ground for national-populist parties and movements. But they also build their consensus on the actual deficit of democratic representation in the EU, the unbalanced relationships between the Council, the Commission and the Parliament, the overcomplexity of the European decision-making process. EU institutions have implemented a successful exit strategy from the financial crisis and economic recession, but key policy decisions like the fiscal compact, and the European semester – which have significant implications for inter-state and inter-class redistribution – must be given democratic legitimation, the authority and validity provided by European citizens who express their will as shaped and organized by political parties, in general elections and referenda. The expertise of technocrats cannot possibly substitute for citizens' political will through "output legitimacy", since their decisions, even when provide effective responses to problems, are perceived as the product of remote and unaccountable elites, precisely a leit motiv of populist ideology.

European national-populist parties and governments challenge mainstream parties and threaten the achievement of an ever-greater union. They argue for the re-nationalization of policies, the restoring of frontiers (suspending, or even abolishing, the Schengen Treaty) and the restriction of welfare. But their proposal is doomed to failure, because in today's multipolar world no single European state, however economically strong and/or politically influential, can cope with the problems of the global scenario (economic stagnation, financial turmoil, regional wars, migrations, climate change) more effectively than a developed political union. Restoring the eroded sovereignty of national governments is an illusion and engaging in inter-state conflicts of interest is a dangerous game, since it destroys trust and cooperation and wastes resources that could be effectively

pooled together to face the most urgent common problems. The real alternative and best response to Eurosceptic populism is the achievement of the European project pursued by a core group of Eurozone countries aimed at developing effective strategies of sustainable and inclusive growth and of enhanced democratic quality.

References

Canovan, M. (1999) "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy", *Political Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp.1-16.

Cavalli, A. and A. Martinelli (2015) *La società europea*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Ferrera, M. (2016) *Rotta di collisione. Euro contro Welfare?*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.

Freeden, M. (1998) "Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?", *Political Studies*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp.748-765.

Jackman, R.W. and K. Volpert (1996) "Conditions Favouring Parties of the Extreme Right in Western Europe", *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 501-521.

Kitschelt, H. and A.J. McGann (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Kriesi, H. (2015) "Populism. Concepts and Conditions for its Rise in Europe", *Comunicazione politica*, no. 2, pp.169-187.

Kriesi, H. and T.S. Pappas (2015) (eds.), *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, Colchester, ECPR Press.

Mair, P. (2013) *Ruling the Void. The Hollowing of Western Democracy*, London, Verso.

Martinelli, A. (2013) *Mal di nazione. Contro la deriva populista*, Milano, Università Bocconi Editore.

Mény, Y. (2016) "Cosa ci insegna il populismo sulla democrazia?", *Quaderni di Scienza politica*, vol. XXIII, no. 1, April, pp.11-23.

Mény, Y. and Y. Surel (2000) *Par le peuple, pour le peuple*, Paris, Fayard.

Mudde, C. (2008) "The Populist Zeitgeist", *Goverment and Opposition*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 542-563.

Stanley, B. and P. Ucen (2008) *The Thin Ideology of Populism in Central*

and Eastern Europe: Theory and Preliminary Mapping*, Unpubl.

Taguieff, P.A. (1986) "La doctrine du national-populisme en France", *Etudes*, January, pp. 27-46.

Urbinati, N. (2014) *Democracy Disfigured. Opinion, Truth, and the People*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Weyland, K. (2001) "Clarifying Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 1-22.

2.   UKIP and Front National: Different Paths to Populism?

Matthew Goodwin

The UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the Front National (FN) are two of the most electorally successful populist radical right parties in contemporary Europe. In the most recent elections to the European Parliament in 2014 the UKIP and the FN were two of only three such parties to win their respective elections (the other being the Danish People's Party). Though both parties are rooted in different ideological traditions, belong to different party factions in the European Parliament and offer different messages to voters, the UKIP and the FN share common themes and political strategies. Both parties have also had a strong impact on their respective party systems, with the UKIP assuming a central role in mobilizing the nationwide vote for Brexit in the June 2016 referendum and the French FN similarly occupying a prominent role in national debate. This chapter will compare the two parties, devoting specific attention to their origins, programmatic offer to voters and their social bases of support. In the concluding section I will also consider the possible future evolution of the UKIP and the FN.

Origins and development

Though Nigel Farage and Marine Le Pen are often presented in media as representing the same political current they lead parties that are rooted in quite different ideological traditions. The UKIP is anchored in a long tradition of British Euroscepticism that first

emerged following Britain's vote to join the European Communi-
ty (EC) in 1975 and gathered momentum after the signing of the
Maastricht Treaty in 1993. The latter triggered a parliamentary re-
volt in the mainstream Conservative Party against European politi-
cal and monetary union, a strand of opposition to the EU that would
remain in place for the next twenty years. Aside from Conservative
politicians this Eurosceptic tradition was also expressed in the es-
tablishment of the Referendum Party in 1994, which campaigned
specifically for a referendum on the question of EU membership,
and also the rival UKIP, which had been founded at the London
School of Economics in 1993 to campaign for an outright "Brexit".

Following the 1997 general election and the death of the Ref-
erendum Party's leader, Sir Jimmy Goldsmith, the UKIP gradually
dominated the Eurosceptic flank of British politics. Over the next
fifteen years, and while focusing mainly on the constitutional ques-
tion of EU membership, the UKIP attracted rising support, notably
in European Parliament elections where it benefitted from a propor-
tional electoral system. Through these elections the party achieved
visibility and seats in the European Parliament, polling 6.7% of the
vote in 1999, 16.1% in 2004, 16.6% in 2009 and over 27% of the
vote in 2014. The party's rise was one reason why, in 2013, the in-
cumbent Prime Minister David Cameron promised to hold a refer-
endum on EU membership should he secure a majority government
at the next general election in 2015.

Yet during this period the UKIP struggled to make a similar
impression on domestic general elections that take place under a
majoritarian electoral system. The party won only 1.5% of the vote
in 2001, 2.2% in 2005 and 3.1% in 2010. Nor did the party invest
much effort in local and devolved assembly elections. Nonethe-
less, in the most recent 2015 general election the UKIP was able
to attract almost 13% of the vote, win one seat in the House of
Commons, finish as the second-ranking party in 120 constituencies
and assume a central role in Britain's media and political debate.
The outcome of the 2015 general election also delivered a surprise
majority Conservative government, meaning that Prime Minister
Cameron would have to fulfil his pledge to hold a referendum on

EU membership – a moment that breathed new life into the UKIP and brought the Eurosceptic tradition to the very forefront of British politics. In June 2016, the referendum was held and 51.9% of the electorate opted to leave the European Union (EU), a figure that increased to 53.4% in England (only Scotland, Northern Ireland and London voted to Remain). Public support for Brexit was a majority in an estimated 421 of 574 constituencies in England and Wales, including 60% of all seats that were held by the centre-left Labour Party. The result prompted Farage and his party to claim that they had achieved their goals – to force the established parties to hold a referendum and deliver a vote to leave the EU.

The origins of the UKIP contrast sharply to those of the French Front National, which can be traced to much longer and quite diverse ideological currents within national politics. There is a consensus among academics that the FN is anchored in a variety of right-wing extremist, neo-fascist, pro-French Algerian and Catholic fundamentalist subcultures and that for much of its early existence the party was more accurately a member of the extreme right-wing. Formed in 1972, the FN remained electorally irrelevant for much of the next ten years as the radical right in France was divided between several rival groups and there appeared to be a lack of political opportunities. It was not until 1984 when the FN and its charismatic leader, the military veteran and former Poujadist Jean-Marie Le Pen, pulled 11% of the vote in the European Parliament elections and won its first (10) seats. Shortly afterward, the party took advantage of a more favourable electoral system in domestic legislative elections and pulled almost 10% of the vote, also winning its first (35) seats in the National Assembly. From there on the FN gradually imposed itself on the electoral arena, including in presidential elections where Le Pen himself regularly pulled over 14% of the vote and, in 2002, famously reached the second round of balloting (subsequently losing to Jacques Chirac). The party's growth and visibility is one reason why several academics considered the French FN to be the "prototype" of the modern radical right party family.

In 2011, the leadership of the FN passed to Jean-Marie's daughter, Marine Le Pen, who sought to broaden the appeal of the FN (see

below) and reach a larger section of the electorate. The party has since continued to progress. In 2012, Marine Le Pen pulled 18% of the vote in the first round of the presidential elections, an increase of nearly eight points from her father's less impressive performance in 2007. The same year saw the FN experience more growth in legislative elections, pulling almost 14% in the first round, an increase of nearly ten points from its result in 2007. The party also gained its first two seats in the Senate from its strongholds in Southern France. In 2014, the FN finished first in European Parliament elections, getting almost 25% of the vote and securing 21 members of the European Parliament. Its vote marked a four-fold increase from its previous result in 2009. This growth continued in regional elections in 2015 when the FN secured almost 27% of the vote and won more than 350 seats. Against this backdrop, Marine Le Pen began to prepare for the 2017 presidential election, with several polls in late 2016 suggesting that she could match the performance of her father in 2002 by reaching the second round of the contest.

The programmatic offer

As Cas Mudde (*Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, 2007) has observed, populist radical right parties are generally united through an ideological core of nativism, authoritarianism and populist attacks against "the system". Nativism is defined as an ideology holding that states should be inhabited exclusively by the native-born and that non-indigenous elements that are seen to threaten the national community should be removed or reduced in size. Whereas in earlier years the radical right often made this case through "classical racism", arguing that certain social groups were threatening because of their ethnic or biological characteristics, the new "ethno-pluralist" doctrine has seen such parties instead claim that some groups are culturally incompatible with the indigenous community and so pose a threat to the cultural existence and identity of the native group. Authoritarianism refers to the belief in a strictly ordered society while populism is most often considered as a thin-centred

ideology that views society as being separated into two homoge-
neous and antagonistic groups, the "pure and good people" versus
the "corrupt or negligent elite". It should also be noted that whereas
earlier extreme right-wing parties adopted a hostile or ambiguous
stance toward democracy the contemporary radical right operates
within the boundaries of the democratic state, although such parties
typically call for "direct democracy" (i.e. greater use of referen-
dums and localism).

However, within this general formula are some notable varia-
tions that can be illustrated through a study of the UKIP and the FN.
Unlike several other populist radical right parties, the UKIP did not
arrive at this ideological formula until late in its development. As
noted above, for much of its early history the UKIP was a single-
issue party that campaigned almost exclusively for an end to EU
membership and showed little interest in nativist or authoritarian
rhetoric. Indeed, many of the party's early and influential activists
were self-described libertarians who campaigned against state in-
tervention and actively distanced themselves from the more toxic
extreme right groups, such as the British National Party (BNP) and
English Defence League (EDL) that were especially active between
2001 and 2010.

However, from 2010 onward Nigel Farage and his party began to
modify the ideological offer to voters, which owed much to changes
in the broader environment. The sharp rise in public support for
the UKIP outlined above coincided with the arrival of the Great
Recession and a period of relative fiscal austerity. Britain officially
entered into recession in early 2009 following a credit crunch that
had partly triggered a global financial crisis. The crisis had a clear
and visible impact. The UK's GDP fell from 1.2% in late 2007 to
-2.5% in early 2009, which was the sharpest contraction in output
since the late 1950s. The economy continued to undergo periods of
negative growth and did not manage to return to consistent growth
until early 2013. During this period the country also grappled with a
considerable deficit while government debt as a percentage of GDP
surged from 44% in 2007 to 90% in 2013 (only Portugal, Italy,
Greece and Ireland recorded higher levels of indebtedness). There

was also a notable increase in the level of unemployment, which peaked at over 8% in 2011, and the number of citizens claiming welfare also increased. The sharp downturn in the broader macroeconomic conditions seemed to offer new opportunities for populist mobilization that were underlined by two further events.

In 2009, and as the financial crisis erupted, Britain experienced the outbreak of a severe parliamentary expenditure scandal. It was revealed that national politicians from all three of the main parties – the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats – had abused their spending, with persistent media coverage fuelling public distrust and dissatisfaction. At the same time, public concern over the specific issue of immigration and its perceived effects on the country was on the rise, largely in response to record levels of net migration into the country. Fuelled by the accession of Central and Eastern European states to the EU in 2004, such as Poland and Lithuania, the free movement of EU nationals contributed to a sharp increase in the level of net migration into the country, which soon surpassed 300,000 people per year. Immigration quickly became one of the most salient issues for the electorate and from 2010 onward was often ranked by voters as among the most important issues facing the country alongside the economy.

The more immediate political environment was also relevant. In 2010, David Cameron and the Conservative Party had returned to power after promising to reduce the net migration number from the "hundreds of thousands to the tens of thousands". However, under free movement this was an unobtainable target, which fuelled public unrest over a perceived failure to exert control over immigration. Cameron was also sending mixed messages to the electorate, promising to curb immigration while adopting a socially liberal stance on issues like same-sex marriage and climate change and trying to moderate his party's image. In 2010, Cameron had also failed to secure an overall majority and was forced to share power in a coalition government with the traditional third party, the Liberal Democrats. The result of the election revealed how currents below the surface had also been creating additional space for populists. Combined, in 2010 the two main parties had won only 65.1% of

the vote, a figure that had been in steady decline since its peak in the 1950s when it had been over 96%. Public dissatisfaction with the established parties and a fragmenting political system was also reflected in rising support for the Liberal Democrats and other challenger parties which increased from 10.5% in 1970 to 30% in 1983 and 35% in 2010. By 2010, therefore, there had emerged a cluster of opportunities for populist mobilization – a financial crisis, a loss of trust in political elites, specific anxiety over immigration and a general erosion of public support for the established parties.

With the onset of the financial crisis the UKIP implemented some important modifications to its message – altering the "supply-side". The party sought to address public anxieties by framing the Eurozone's performance as validating its long tradition of hard Euroscepticism. As the crisis continued the UKIP responded by reiterating its older demands for dissolution of the "Euro" single currency and a return to a Europe based on trade alliances, rather than full economic and political union. Such opportunism was also reflected in the UKIP's resurrection of old themes; amidst the crisis, the party warned repeatedly that a failure to manage the economic fallout in the Eurozone was producing a "Germany-dominated Europe", a divide between North and South, and risked the prospect of mass civil unrest, revolution and the return of extreme nationalism. Such arguments were infused with claims that the EU suffered from a lack of leadership at the national and EU levels; Farage pointed to "puppet [technocratic] governments" in Greece and Italy as evidence of how the crisis had further revealed the "anti-democratic" credentials of the EU.

Yet the UKIP also modified its message in several ways. In programmatic terms the party was quick to respond to the new opportunities. After Farage was elected party leader for a second time in 2010, the party merged its demands for withdrawal from the EU with calls to "end mass immigration", a message that found resonance among an electorate that was preoccupied with immigration. Farage also began to target Eurosceptic conservatives who were disillusioned with David Cameron's more socially liberal brand of conservatism, non-voters and political protestors who might oth-

erwise have supported the Liberal Democrats, and a declining extreme right party, the BNP. Aside from its strident rhetoric on immigration, Islam and the political establishment, Farage also made clear his opposition to same-sex marriage and climate change and his support for grammar schools, all of which appealed to a coalition of older social conservatives and blue-collar workers. Aside from targeting Conservative Party voters the UKIP also made clear its intention to appeal to working-class and economically disaffected Britons who had previously supported the Labour Party.

The messaging of the French Front National, however, has differed in several ways. While the election of Marine Le Pen as the new FN leader in 2011 saw the party try to widen its appeal there remained a strong focus on its traditional issues of opposing immigration, the Euro single currency, established political elites in Paris and Brussels and, increasingly, the "Islamification" of French and European society more broadly. Such issues have been targeted alongside a broader call for greater sovereignty – both monetary and national – and for the greater protection of native French citizens. Yet Marine Le Pen has sought to reform the public image of the FN, attempting to infuse its campaigns with a modern and more "normal" presentation. This strategy of so-called "dédiabolisation" is intended to distance the FN from its more toxic foundations, to overcome social norms in Western democracies against extremism and more generally embed the party in the traditions and institutions of the French Republic. Rather than view the strategy as solely a product of Marine Le Pen, however, it should more accurately be seen as the latest attempt by some within the FN to achieve a stronger image of electoral credibility and legitimacy (an earlier effort to modernize the party was undertaken in the 1990s but resulted in a split). The strategy has seen Le Pen and her followers downplay the FN's earlier links to controversial extreme right-wing thinkers who were a source of influence for Jean-Marie Le Pen – such as Charles Maurras – and to modify the party rhetoric that in earlier years engaged willingly in biological racism and anti-Semitism. Though often neglected, the FN has also implemented significant changes to its economic platform – an area that also distinguishes the party from the UKIP. Whereas Farage and his party

are broadly at ease with free market economics, over the past two decades the FN has transitioned from what might be referred to as a right-wing free market position to a more economically protection-ist stance that is embedded within a populist strategy of appealing to economically insecure voters who feel threatened by neoliberal global markets. In this respect some academics, such as Gilles Ival-di, have referred to the French FN as occupying a "socialist-author-itarian" space on the political landscape – a position from which the party advocates raising modest incomes and pensions alongside a principle of national preference and restricting welfare access to members of the native in-group. This positioned the FN closer to the views of the average voter but also to the ideological and eco-nomic preferences of its own core voters. Yet the protectionist ethos of the party is still quite different from the economic stance of the UKIP, even if both parties share firm opposition to immigration, rising ethnic diversity and, increasingly, the perceived threat from Islam and settled Muslim communities.

Sources of support: comparing their voters

While the UKIP and the FN have quite different histories and also messages the two parties have won the bulk of their support from similar groups in society. There has now been a significant amount of academic research on the sources of support for the UK Indepen-dence Party. This research has shown how the UKIP has capitalized on social and economic divisions that have existed in Britain for de-cades. There are two distinct, but related, aspects to this story. The first centres on changes to Britain's economic and social structure that pushed to the margins the "left-behind" voters – people who tend to be older, working-class, white, with few or no qualifications, low incomes and who have few of the skills that are needed to adapt and thrive in a post-industrial economy. The second aspect is long-term generational changes in the values that shape the outlook of voters on a range of social and cultural issues, particularly on issues such as EU membership, identity and immigration.

Analysis of UKIP voters demonstrates how the party's support has consistently been strongest among the left-behind groups who were struggling economically before the onset of the post-2008 financial crisis and were then hit the hardest by the economic downturn. The core UKIP electorate is not motivated by the single issue of Europe but rather by a cluster of concerns – immigration, disapproval of EU membership and the perceived unresponsiveness of political elites in Westminster and Brussels. Since 2010, various statistical models have revealed how support for the UKIP is most strongly predicted by strong Euroscepticism, intense concern over immigration and its effects, and populist dissatisfaction with the established political class, all of which points to the conclusion that populism in the UK has prospered amidst broader political trends and from a national tradition of Euroscepticism. In fact, dissatisfaction with how the established parties were seen to manage immigration emerged as a more significant driver of support for the UKIP than dissatisfaction with how they were seen to manage the post-2008 economic crisis, underscoring the centrality of cultural and identity concerns. Since 2010, therefore, and amidst the most severe economic crisis for decades, the rise of populist Euroscepticism in the UK has been rooted in a more economically disadvantaged section of the electorate but driven chiefly by concerns over the social and cultural issues of immigration, the EU and, to a lesser extent, concerns over how the crisis has been managed. To the typical supporter of this populist radical party, the established parties are perceived to have failed to competently manage some of the main challenges facing the country, of which the economic crisis is only one.

It is also worth noting that more recent research on people who voted for Brexit reveals a similar story. Aggregate-level analysis of the referendum vote in June 2016 has shown how the vote to leave the EU was strongest among the poorest households that tended to have incomes of less than £20,000 per year, the unemployed, people in low-skilled and manual occupations, those who feel as though their financial situation has worsened and who have no qualifications. The role of education was especially important. For example,

15 of the 20 "least educated" areas voted to leave the EU while all 20 of the areas with the highest average education levels voted to remain in the EU. Much like support for the UKIP, support for leaving the EU was also strongest in the more economically disadvantaged areas of the country, notably in Eastern England where there are lots of declining coastal areas, heavily white populations and communities that over the past ten years have experienced significant inward migration from Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed it should be noted that statistical analysis reveals that the areas that had experienced rapid immigration over the past ten years were among the most likely to back the UKIP's call to leave the EU. Much like support for the UKIP, therefore, it was people who feel left-behind by Britain's rapid economic transformation, lack the qualifications and skills to adapt to the modern economy, and feel under threat from immigration, who were the most likely to vote for Brexit.

To a certain extent the social bases of support for the FN appear to be remarkably similar to that for the UKIP. From the 1980s onward the French FN has tended to draw the bulk of its votes in elections from the petite-bourgeois and working-classes and in this respect soon became the classic model of the populist radical right in Europe. Most of the party's support also tended to come from industrial and urban areas, although it would witness significant change. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the French FN experienced the so-called "proletarianization" of its support, winning larger numbers of voters from amongst blue-collar workers who were drawn to its combination of anti-immigration xenophobia and populism. Then, slightly later, the FN also became more successful in more rural areas, winning a growing number of votes from farmers and rural voters who had long rebelled against elites in Paris. Notably, in the 2002 presidential election Jean-Marie Le Pen polled quite strongly among workers in the agricultural sector who joined the small businessmen and blue-collar workers who had been voting in larger numbers for the FN since its initial ascendancy. The FN has also appealed directly to these rural voters, such as by talking about a "forgotten" rural France and taking advantage of public discontent with EU policies in the agricultural

sector. The FN's bases of support have also seen other changes. While most of the party's voters tend to be individuals with low levels of education, a blue-collar profile and feel dissatisfied with how democracy is functioning in France, recent studies suggest that FN voters have become younger in recent years and that Marine Le Pen has had some success in reaching out to people in their twenties and thirties. Furthermore, work by French academic Nonna Mayer has shown how Le Pen might also have had some success in closing the so-called "gender gap" in support for the populist radical right. Like most of these parties, during its early years the French FN was mainly supported by men although in 2012 Marine Le Pen did attract a greater number of female voters than her father, although since then a gender gap may have returned. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the French FN has managed to permanently attract more women. There have also been some other changes in the profile of this support. Like populist radical right parties in other European states the stronghold of the FN vote has been the urban working-class but it is also important to note that in more recent years this support has extended to more "peripheral" areas surrounding the larger cities. By 2012, there is evidence to suggest that public support for the FN had become just as strong in more rural and outer-city areas as in urbanized conurbations, a trend that can partly be explained by the growth of the party but also by a tendency among lower-income voters to move away from the larger conurbations to outer areas or for voters in those areas to feel more excluded from mainstream French society. This trend is integral to the French debate about "cultural insecurity" that has seen several observers trace support for the FN to perceptions among low-income voters that are they are not simply falling behind financially but are also culturally under threat from the spread of immigration and metropolitan areas. This reliance on an industrial working-class and rural sector has led some to suggest that the French FN may well struggle to achieve greater power and influence at the national level, given that these groups are at a broad level declining in numerical significance and unable to propel Le Pen or her party to a position of

majority strength. Without also appealing to sections of the better educated and more affluent middle-class it is difficult to see how the French FN can move fully into, and remain in, the mainstream of French politics.

Conclusion

The UK Independence Party and French Front National are among the most prominent and also electorally successful populist radical right parties in modern Europe. This chapter has explored their origins and early development, programmatic offer to voters and also the social bases of support. It has been shown that whilst the parties have emerged from quite different traditions there is significant overlap in their messaging and also their social bases of support. While the two parties differ in their economic message to their electorates both have focused heavily on the issue of immigration and cultural threat. In the process, and over the past two decades, the UKIP and the FN have won over similar electorates and core supporters who tend to be struggling economically, working-class and predominantly concerned with immigration and the perceived threat that this demographic change poses to their broader national community.

Yet it remains unclear whether both parties will be able to exert a greater impact in the coming years. Having become so reliant on blue-collar workers, the self-employed and the left-behind both the UKIP and the FN will struggle to reach out strongly to the middle-classes, women and young voters. There are signs that the FN might be more successful than other populist radical right parties in Europe in closing the gender gap and diversifying its support but more evidence is required. Should France continue to experience challenges to national security then this could provide Le Pen with an opening into the middle-class. Moreover, in the aftermath of the national vote for Brexit the future for Farage and the UKIP is not clear. Much will depend upon the ability of the new Prime Minister Theresa May and her Conservative government to deliver a new

deal with the EU that includes restrictions on the free movement of EU nationals and immigration more broadly, the core issue that breathed new life into UKIP's Eurosceptic rebellion. Should May fail to deliver on immigration reform then there will almost certainly remain space on the landscape for the populist radical right which, as in many other Western democracies, has become a core feature of contemporary British politics.

3. Five Stars Movement, Syriza and Podemos: A Mediterranean Model?

Paolo Segatti and Francesco Capuzzi

Populism is currently everywhere. It is a phenomenon that has radically changed the European political landscape over the past few years, but it is also a label attached to anything believed to challenge the *status quo*. As a phenomenon, populism manifests itself in different guises that defy a unitary and coherent definition. Over the years, however, scholars have come to agree on what populism is not. Populism is not like the ideologies that inspired the democratization process in Europe. Differently from those ideologies, populism does not express a coherent world-view from which policy alternatives percolate from elite reasoning to the mass beliefs system, albeit losing in consistency. It resembles a "thin-centred ideology" (Mudde 2004) or an "empty signifier" (Laclau 2005) whose core elements are recurrent appeals to an undifferentiated people and a radical antagonism to any elite (Worsley 1969; Mény and Surel 2002). Different policy preferences may be inferred from populism according to the definition of what constitutes the "people" and what aspects of the elite are blamed. Some populist movements, parties or leaders may be more likely to express concerns about representation failures in contemporary democracies or the hegemony of neoliberalism, thus echoing traditionally leftist claims. Other populist actors may be more inclined to express alarm about immigrant flows generated by a globalization that cosmopolitan elites are deemed to promote. In other cases, the same populist actors seem to shift from the worries of the former kind to those of the latter. In short, populist leaders may express attitudes and advocate

policy platforms quite different from each other or unstable over time. Nevertheless, the two recurring features distinguish a particular anti-establishment rhetoric and political style that parties or movement leaders are likely to adopt under specific circumstances (Panizza 2005; Barr 2009; Kriesi and Pappas 2015).

Most studies on populism have focused on parties and their leaders (Gidron and Bonikowski 2013) that belong to the radical-right party family. Moreover, there are quite a number of studies which compare the social and attitudinal profiles of those who vote or have voted for populist parties (Norris 2005; Mudde 2007; Hawkins, Riding, and Mudde 2012; Ackerman, Mudde, and Zaslove 2014). By contrast, few studies have compared the profiles of those who vote for or are attracted to parties that use populist appeals but clearly cannot be included in the radical-right family of populist parties. The Five Stars Movement (Movimento Cinque Stelle - FSM), Podemos and Syriza seem to be three examples of parties of this kind.

The central question addressed by this paper is whether Syriza, Podemos, and the FSM share enough features to be aggregated into the same political family, or whether they instead show divergent backgrounds and attitudinal profiles that do not permit one to claim that they are instances of the same political phenomenon, i.e. a populist radical left. A further question concerns the factors that contribute to increasing their competitiveness in a specific election. Are these factors the same and equally important in each of the three countries?

We will try to answer these questions by considering the extant non-comparative studies on the three parties' voters and the larger body of literature on radical-right parties. We also benefit from new analyses of survey data collected on the occasion of three national elections (Italy, 2013; Greece, January 2015; Spain, December 2015), and of the European Parliament election held in 2014[1].

In what follows, we first show the electoral performances of the three parties over the past six years, and their consequences on the three countries' party systems. We will then document where the

---

[1] Our analysis was limited because the national electoral studies data are not fully comparable. We supplemented the national electoral studies with the European Election Study (EES).

Greek, Italian and Spanish voters locate these three parties on the left-right continuum. Thereafter we will describe the ideological, social and attitudinal profiles of the voters for those parties. Finally, we will analyse the extent to which social and attitudinal determinants made voters certain or at least available to vote for them in the 2014 European Parliament elections.

A short electoral history

Movimento Cinque Stelle, Podemos, and the Greek "Coalition of the Radical Left" (Syriza) have dissimilar pre-electoral historical backgrounds, but all of them have experienced a dramatic electoral growth that has altered the traditional party systems.

Syriza was established in 2004 as a coalition of a few small parties on the Greek radical left. The main actor among them was the "Coalition of the Left, of Movements and Ecology – Synaspismos" (Nikolakakis 2016). As documented in Figure 1, Syriza remained a marginal political force until the political breakthrough of the May 2012 general election, when its percentage of votes grew from 3-5% to 17%[2]. Syriza then became the second electoral force in Greece. After 40 years of single-party governments (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013), no single party was able to form a majority in the Parliament, neither New Democracy (ND) nor the Panhellenic Socialist Party of Greece (Pasok), the two historical parties of Greek democracy. It was therefore necessary to call another general election for the following June. In that election Syriza performed even better, increasing its vote share and receiving the support of 27% of Greek voters. After the June election a coalition government was formed by ND, Pasok and the "Democratic Left" (Dimar). The large coalition-based government survived for three years and two elections – the May 2014 regional and the European ones – even if Dimar exited the government in April 2013. In the

---

[2] The votes for Syriza, as well as those for the other two parties, are expressed in terms of percentages of the valid votes.

elections called in 2014 Syriza performed very well, doing better in the European elections (27%) – when it became the first Greek party – than in the regional ones (18%) (Teperoglou, Tsatsanis, and Nicolacouplos 2015). Finally in the parliamentary elections of January and September 2015, Syriza again received a large number of votes (36%), and for the first time in its history became the leading actor of the new government, forming an alliance with the "Independent Greek" (ANEL), a tiny right-wing populist party.

The background of Podemos differs from that of Syriza. It was founded in January 2014, four months before the European elections, and, as Ramiro and Gomez (2016) remark, it can be seen as the institutionalization of the *Indignados* movement that emerged in 2011. In the European Parliament elections, the party obtained 8% of the valid votes, becoming the fourth political force in Spain (Cordero and Montero 2015). In the parliamentary elections of the following year, the party almost tripled its vote share (21%), breaking the long-standing Spanish two-party system (Orriols and Cordero 2016). Given the electoral outcome neither the PP (People's Party) nor the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) were able to form a majority in the Parliament. It was therefore necessary to call another round of elections for June 2016, when Podemos confirmed its percentage of 21% of the valid votes. When we write this report, chances of new elections this December are high.

The FSM was born from an unstructured network of local civic groups and municipal lists inspired by the campaigns of Beppe Grillo, a comedian turned into a vociferous critic of the malfeasances of the financial system and the widespread corruption of politicians, and by Gianroberto Casaleggio, a ICT consultant turned into an internet based democracy evangelist (Corbetta and Gualmini 2013; Biorcio and Natale 2013). In the 2010 regional elections, the FSM ran in five regions, and in some of them its candidates were elected. The first turning points for the FSM were the regional elections in Sicily in October 2012 and the municipal elections of the same year. In Sicily the movement obtained a remarkable 15% of the valid votes, and its candidate for the regional presidency received 18%. In the municipal elections, some FSM candidates were elected mayors

of important cities. Finally, in the parliamentary elections of February 2013 Grillo's party garnered almost 26% of votes. The electoral outcome made any government impossible except for a short-lived coalition in which the Democratic Party (PD) and PDL (People of Freedom) were again forced to support the same government. Contrary to expectations, in the following European elections, the FSM was unable to retain the same level of support. The PD – thanks to a sort of honeymoon for the new Renzi premiership – seemed to block the FSM's inroads into the Italian political system (Segatti, Poletti, and Vezzoni 2015).

Beyond the fluctuations in their electoral support, the crucial point is that, in a few years, Syriza, Podemos and the FSM have been able to disrupt the format of their countries' party systems and profoundly alter inter-party dynamics. The level of the net volatility in a few elections signals the size of the change in the voters' behaviour3. The highest level was reached in Greece in the national election of May 2012 (33%), in Spain in that of December 2015 (35%), and in Italy in that of February 2013 (37%). In Spain, Podemos's entry into the parliament coincided with a large increase in the effective number of parties at both the electoral and the parliamentary level, and the sum of votes for the first two parties (PP and PSOE) decreased from 73% of the valid votes in 2011 to 51% in 2015. This ended the two-party competition that had characterized Spain for almost 40 years. In Greece after the May 2012 election, the sum of votes for the two parties reached the lowest value of 35% from the former 73%, while the number of effective parties increased substantially. For three years, the two arch-competitors ND and Pasok were forced to join a grand coalition. In Italy after the inconclusive 2013 election, the sum of the indexes of the two main parties (PD and FSM) was 51%, after having been 74% in 2008 (PD and PDL). The number of effective parties did not increase markedly, since it was already quite large. But the party competition moved from the previous bipolar pattern to an unstructured three-party competition.

---

3 The volatility index or Pedersen index measures the electoral movement between two contiguous elections.

FIGURE 1 - ELECTORAL OUTCOMES
SYRIZA - PODEMOS - FIVE STARS MOVEMENT
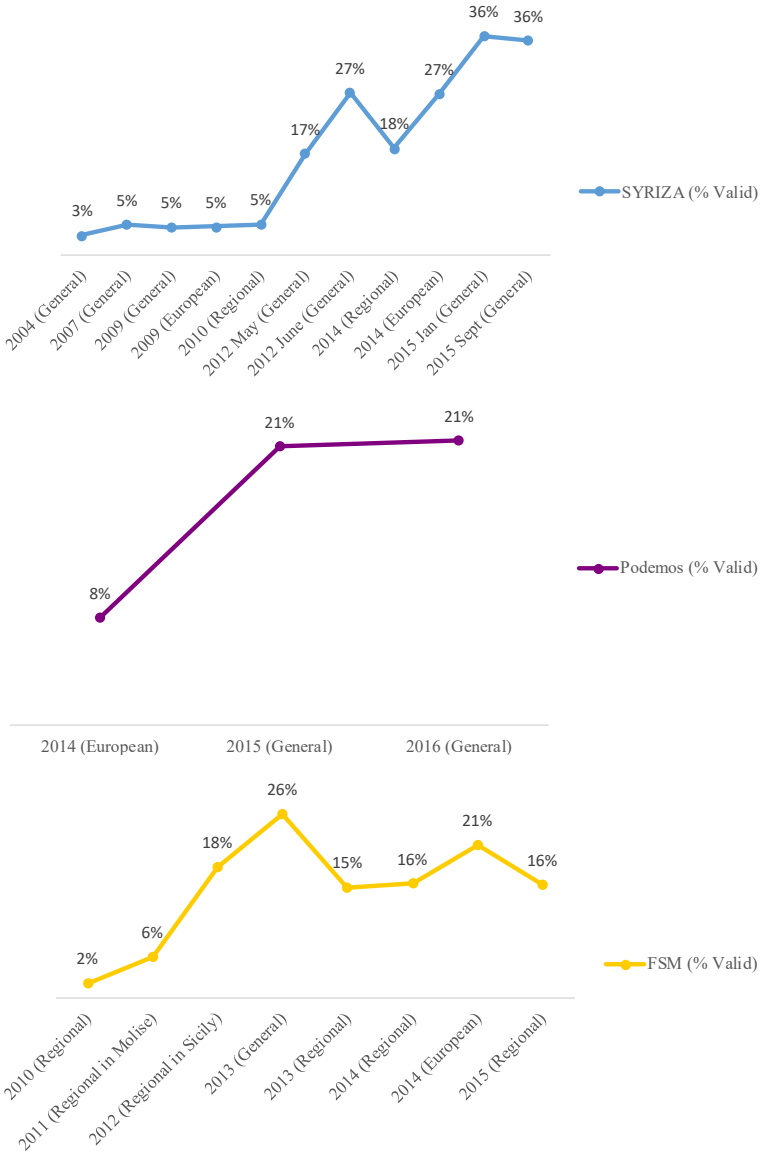
Are Five Stars Movement, Podemos and Syriza left parties?

There are three basic techniques with which to estimate the positions of parties in the political space: content analysis of party manifestos (Laver 2001); a mass survey in which respondents are asked to locate the parties and themselves on the left-right continuum (Thomassen, Noury, and Voeten 2004); and a survey in which experts are asked to do the same (Ray 1999). Although the measures are dissimilar as to the data which they observe, they furnish broadly coincident estimates of a party's location in the political space. We estimated the position of the three parties by looking first at where voters in general perceived these parties as located on the left-right continuum together with the other parties; and then at where the three parties' voters placed themselves on the same continuum. In both cases, the data came from three national electoral studies (Greece, 2015, Italy, 2013 and Spain, 2015) and from the European Election Study (EES 2014)[4].

Figure 2 displays where Greek, Italian and Spanish voters placed the relevant parties on the left-right dimension in the studies that we considered. The main messages, which Figure 2 furnishes, are two. The first is that the three so-called "populist" parties are not in the same position. The second is that not all of them maintain the same position over the two elections. In the national election of December 2015 Podemos was perceived as being close to the left pole, along with Izquierda Unida (IU). Its average location was a little less than 2 on a scale between 0 (extreme left) and 10 (extreme right). In 2014, however, Podemos was perceived as being a little less leftist. Syriza is also clearly located on the radical left side of the continuum (a mean position slightly larger than 3). Moreover, its position did not change very much over the two elections.

---

[4] The Greek data came from the National Election Study (ELNES) conducted by the team at Thessaloniki University. The Spanish data came from the CIS panel; the Italian data from the Italian National election Study (ITANES). The 2014 EES data come from a European project that covered almost all European Parliament Election. We thank all the scholars who made the collection and dissemination of these data possible.

FIGURE 2 - MEAN PARTY PLACEMENT ON THE LEFT-RIGHT CONTINUUM
AS PERCEIVED BY VOTERS
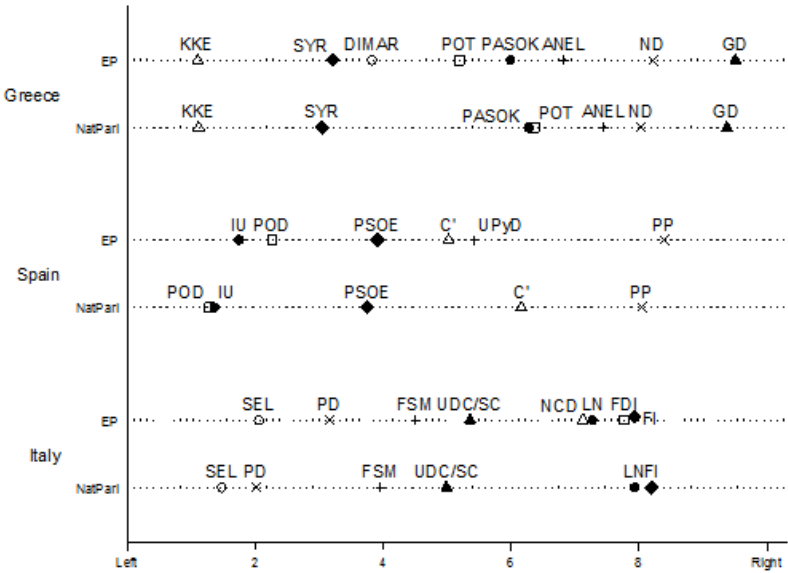
By contrast, voters located the FSM in the centre-left area (mean equals to 4); and it was perceived as even more in the centre at the European Parliament elections in 2014. The conclusion of this first exercise is that voters do not perceive our three parties as belonging to the same radical left family. There is a clear affinity between Podemos and Syriza, and a gap between them and the FSM. Nevertheless, even the first two parties are not twin brothers.

Figure 2 also provides a broad picture of how the presence of the three parties may have altered the party system. Firstly, on considering the distance on the left-right continuum between the two more extreme parties, it is clear that it is wider in Greece than in Spain, and even more than in Italy. Moreover, Syriza's entry has contributed to increasing party system polarization, since its current position is different from that of Pasok in the past. A similar dynamic can be detected in Spain. Podemos's electoral entry significantly increased

the ideological distance between the larger parties. The opposite occurred in Italy over the two elections. In the 2013 election, the Five Stars Movement was perceived by voters on average to be at point 4, and the PD was at point 2 (the same position as Podemos in 2015). One year later the voters perceived that the Democratic Party, under the new leadership of Matteo Renzi, was moving its position rightwards by 1 point, and the same shift, but smaller, took place for the FSM (4.5 on the left-right scale). In sum, Syriza and Podemos may have contributed to polarizing the party system on the left-right continuum. Instead, contrary to the general wisdom, the FSM's entry may have contributed to depolarizing the system on the same continuum.

The question is how many voters in the three countries are using the left-right continuum to locate the parties in the political space and what they mean when they place parties on the left-right continuum. As to the first question, it should be noted that in Greece only 11% were unable or refused to place at least one party on the left-right dimension in January 2015, and only 5% were unable to locate Syriza on the same continuum. In Spain (2015 election) 27% were unable to locate at least one party, and only 19% declared to be unable or refused to locate Podemos on the same left-right continuum. In Italy (2013 election) 41% of the voters did not know or refused to place at least one party in the ideological continuum, and 36% did the same in the case of Five Stars Movement. These percentages tend to increase in the European election. A further evidence that the left and right continuum is still important is that, in the national elections considered only a minority of voters for the three parties were unable to place themselves on the left-right continuum (2% of Syriza voters in December 2015, 6% of Podemos voters in December 2015, and 19% of the FSM voters in February 2013). Contrary to the common wisdom, left and right, whatever they mean, are still an effective cognitive instrument voters use to place parties and themselves in the political space, as Table 1 once more documents.

TABLE 1 - SYRIZA, PODEMOS AND FSM PLACEMENT BY THEIR VOTERS
AND THEIR SELF-PLACEMENT ON LEFT-RIGHT CONTINUUM (AVERAGE)

	SYRIZA		PODEMOS		FSM	
	Party	Voter	Party	Voter	Party	Voter
European Parliament	3.2	3.6	2.3	2.5	4.5	4.6
National Parliament	3.0	3.2	1.3	2.3	4.0	3.9

Table 1 shows where the three parties' voters placed themselves
and where they placed the party for which they voted. Supporters
of Syriza and the FSM have an average placement almost identi-
cal to that of the voted party, whereas those of Podemos have a
similar score in the European elections but significantly differ in
the case of the national election of December 2015. Voters placed
the party one point distant from the position where they placed
themselves.

A caveat is in order, however. The average placement may hide
different distributions of the voters' self-placements. One can see
from Figure 3 that the electorate of Podemos definitely appears to
be the most left-wing, followed by Syriza voters in both elections.
By contrast, the FSM electorate is more variegated. It has an impor-
tant segment of voters who placed themselves on the centre and on
the right section of the ideological continuum.

If voters do not ignore where parties stand in terms of the left-
right dimension and seem to be able to locate themselves also, does
it mean that this representation of political space also has shared
substantive meanings? This is a hard question to answer. In fact it
may well be that things are less clear in terms of the meanings at-
tached to left-right. At this regard we may expect that some or even
many voters are likely to think that traditional social and economic
issues are what still give content to the party position on the left
and right on the continuum and also to their preferences, as it has
been for many years. The crucial point, however, is that for the
same voters economic issues are not the only source of political
divisions. Many voters may have preferences on other, new issues,

Figure 3 - Distribution of the self-placement by voters of the three parties in national and European election (per cent)
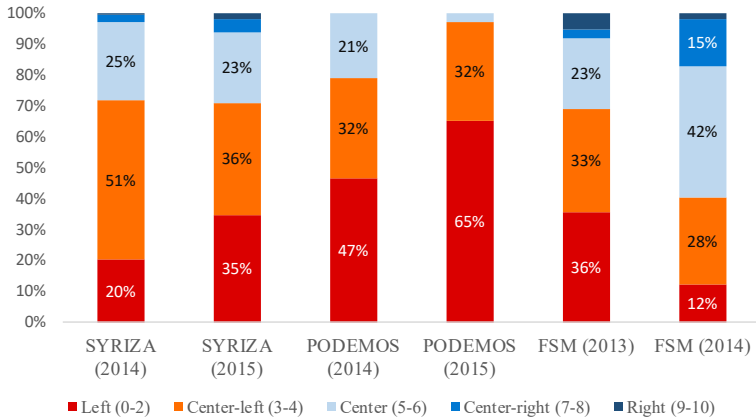
and these issues may not be fully included on the left-right continuum. If this is the case, when these voters placed our three parties on this continuum, they may have perceived that these parties are also located on a different issue dimension of political competition that differs from country to country. It may be Europe. It may be disaffection. It may be immigration. Or all of them. Further analyses should explore this topic in more detail. Here we can only alert the reader that if a system seems less polarized on the left-right continuum, as in the case of Italy, this does not mean that the system is not polarized on other unmapped issue dimensions (De Sio and Schadee 2013).

## The profile of the three parties' voters

A brief perusal of the comparative literature on radical-right parties' voters, and of the single country studies conducted on the voters for Five Stars Movement, Podemos and Syriza, suggests that their findings on the main background and attitudinal characteristics can be roughly summarized as follows.

1. In general, studies on the new challenger parties report that their voters, not everywhere but in many cases, tend to be younger than voters in general.
2. Studies on FSM voters, maybe differently from some new radical parties' voters, suggest that they are more educated than voters in general (Bordignon and Ceccarini 2013). They may also be more interested in politics (Maggini 2013).
3. Studies on voters for radical-right parties indicate that they are those most at risk because of globalization (unemployed or with unstable employment) (Mudde 2007). Does this apply to the voters of the three parties?
4. Because these voters are young, we can expect them to be less religious (see on the FSM case Biorcio and Natale 2013; Natale 2014). What about their opinions on moral issues such as those related to gay rights?
5. Several studies suggest that voters for new parties are more disaffected or discontented than voters in general (Itanes 2013; Tuorto and Passarelli 2016; Andreadis 2015; Orriols and Cordero 2016).
6. Many studies (among them Mudde 2007) suggest that voters for right-wing parties are Euro-skeptical. Compared with voters in general, are the voters for the three parties also less in favor of deepening the EU integration process, of building new financial institutions like a EU fiscal system, less inclined to trust the EP than the national Parliament, or less attached to Europe and more to their nation?

In order to address this question, we compared several background and attitudinal characteristics of the voters for the parties with those of the voters in general. We did so by computing how the former differed from the latter[5].

---

[5] We considered the national election data first. If there were no comparable items, we moved to the European election studies data. First items regard who voted for the three parties at the national elections. Second items (with asterisks) who voted for the same parties at European election of 2014. The reader should note that our results are election-specific.

Figure 4 - Who voted for the three parties at the national and
European elections (Selected characteristics)
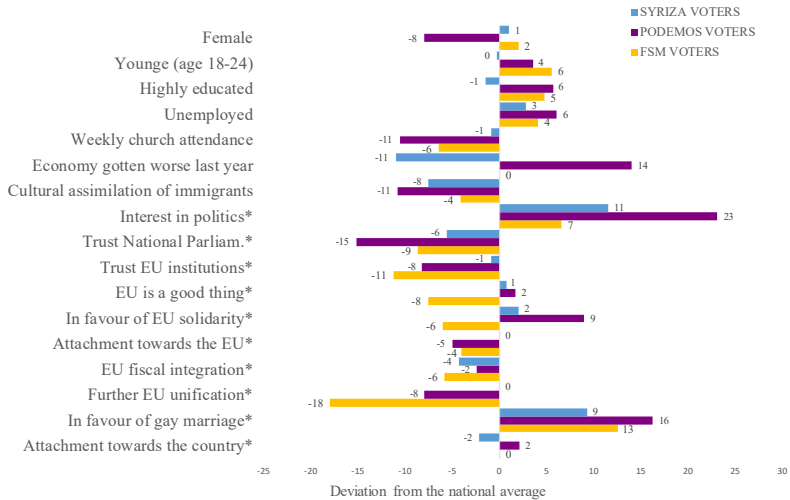
Note: First items regard who voted for the three parties at the national elections. Second items (with asterisks) who voted for the same parties at European election of 2014.

Figure 4 reports the results of this exercise. The top section of the figure reports the results based on analyses regarding the national elections (Greece, January 2015; Italy, February 2013; and Spain, December 2015). The data should be read as follows. In the case of gender, Figure 4 shows that the percentage of females among Podemos voters is 8 points less than the national average. Which means that in the December 2015 elections this party had a smaller proportion of female voters than the Spanish electorate as a whole. Since the deviation from the sample mean is negligible for Syriza and the FSM, one can conclude that their voters are distributed across gender more or less in the same way as voters in general. Following the same rule as to the age group, within the 18-24 cohort Podemos and FSM voters are more than the sample mean, respectively 4 points more than the average for Podemos, and +6 points for FSM. Syriza has more or less the same percentage as the elec-

torate as a whole. One may peruse the other social characteristics. The overall picture of the three parties' voters is then the following: Podemos is composed much more of male, young, highly educated, unemployed, and not religious people. The Five Stars Movement electorate replicates the features of the Spanish party's voters, with the exception of the gender component (slightly more female supporters). On the contrary, Syriza does not have an electorate that truly differs from the average Greek voter, perhaps because of the size of the electoral consensus. Figure 4 shows also that at the time of the respective national elections, Syriza voters were less pessimistic about the state of the national economy, Podemos more pessimistic than the average voter, while FSM voters shared the same concern of Italians as a whole. But one should note that the large majority of the three countries voters thought that the state of the economy was very bad. Thus, what we see here are differences in percentage points that in terms relative to the size of the general opinion are very small. Finally Syriza and Podemos voters are less in favour of assimilation policy towards immigrants (that is, are more multiculturalist) than their fellow citizens or than the Five Stars Movement voters.

The following part of Figure 4 shows how attitudes and opinions of the three parties' voters deviate from the national average voter at the time of the 2014 EP elections. Syriza's voters were more interested in politics and less trustful of their parliament than the other two parties' voters were. The voters of the three parties were also more in favour of gay marriage than the electorate as a whole. As to the other attitudes, there are few differences among the three parties to note. Syriza voters were critical of European Institutions, the process of European integration, and specific fiscal policy designed to support countries in crisis in a way not very different from the average Greek voter is. On the contrary, Podemos voters had less trust in European institutions, but were more in favour of solidarity fiscal policy among EU countries. As to the rest, their opinion on the process of Europe integration reflected those of their fellow Spaniards. Conversely, the FSM's voters in 2014 appeared more Euro-skeptical than the voters for

the other two parties. As to attachment to their own country, voters for the three parties do not differ (positively or negatively) very much from the voters in general. Nationalism does not seem a distinctive peculiarity of the voters for this kind of party.

What explains the three parties' level of competitiveness?

The foregoing analysis provides a great deal of information on who voted for the three parties in various elections. In this section we will analyze the competitiveness of the three parties at the time of the European Parliament election in 2014.

The level of competitiveness of a party depends upon three interrelated factors. The characteristics of the electoral context, the nature of the party (its position in the political space and its size), and then how many voters are available to vote for that party. We focus here on the third factor.

In principle, studying the competeiveness of a party requires distinguishing among at least three groups of voters: those who prefer party A more than any other party; those who prefer party A less than another party but are still available to vote for party A as a second or third preference; and those who would never vote for party A (Bartolini 1999, 2000)[6]. We may therefore say that the level of party competitiveness can be assessed firstly by looking at the differences among the size of the three concentric circles around the party. In particular, we have to observe the number of available voters, those who populate the intermediate circle. Secondly, we should also look at the characteristics, social and attitudinal, which drive these voters to consider party A as their second or third preference. If these characteristics are similar or close to those which influence the voters to have party A as first choice, we might expect that voters, for whom party A is only a second and third preference, might be more likely

---

[6] There is also a fourth group. Those who would never vote for any party. They tend not to turn out.

to vote for this party in a future election than voters whose attitudes are quite far apart[7]. Seen from the perspective of party A's competitive strategy, we may say that this party can get the vote of the available voters' pool, mobilizing issues similar to those it successfully mobilized to attract voters who are or became certain to vote for it.

Our research question is therefore the following. With reference with the 2014 electoral context, we look at the level of competitiveness of FSM, Podemos and Syriza as evidenced by the gap between individual characteristics of the voters who rated these parties as their first choice (certain voters) and those of the voters who rated the same party as second or third choice (available voters)

Party preferences are usually measured by a survey tool (van der Eijk and Franlin 1996) in which respondents are asked to indicate how likely they are to vote in the future for a list of parties. To be noted is that the instrument does not ask respondents to state the party for which they voted in that specific election. This survey question mimics the ballot paper by proposing mutually exclusive vote choices. The propensity-to-vote survey instrument instead allows voters to order their preferences across different parties. Thanks to the European elections study data, we were able

TABLE 2 - THE LEVEL OF COMPETITIVENESS
OF FSM, PODEMOS AND SYRIZA AT THE 2014 ELECTION

	FSM	PODEMOS	SYRIZA
External voters	63.0	57.6	47.5
Available voters	16.3	18.0	16.1
Certain voters	20.7	24.4	34.4
N	881	855	955

---

[7] To be sure, the vote for party A of those voters who are only available to consider it as a second or third choice may not materialize. The translation of preference in vote may depend on the other two factors affecting the party's level of competitiveness we mentioned before. In principle, however, the party preferences are quite reliable predictors of the actual vote. Which means that voters who are available might not change their voting habits.

to classify our respondents into three groups, as shown in Table 2.

As will be seen, in 2014 Syriza appeared to have the largest percentage of voters who preferred it to any other party. The number of available voters was, however, almost the same for all the three parties.

In order to gauge which of the demographic, social or attitudinal characteristics most differentiates the three types of voters, we built a model in which the classification shown in Table 2 was the dependent variable. The purpose of the model was to estimate the probabilities of a respondent being an external, or available or certain voter, given his/her individual characteristics.

We considered all the major factors that previous studies on voters for these parties suggest are important: being young, highly-educated, suffering employment problems, opinion on the economy, evaluation of the government's performance, attitudes towards immigration, Europe, and disaffection with political institutions. Thus, we included the following in our model: gender (as control), age (being between 18 to 24 years old vs. older cohorts), level of education, job market position, experience, direct or indirect, of job loss. Moreover, we added other attitudes, such as the opinion that the economy had worsened in the previous year, blame on the government. Other factors were: opinion on income redistribution, gay marriage, the level of control on the number of immigrants, on European integration, on financial support for another country if it is in crisis, confidence in the national Parliament. Finally, we incorporated ideology, assessed by left-right self-placement, into the model.

There is a further expectation concerning the levels of competitiveness of the three parties that we could control with our model, an expectation frequently aired by the media. The argument is that parties like the FSM, Podemos, and Syriza are competitive and attractive because they benefit from new transnational divisions, i.e. rifts that are not country-specific but pan-European (the EU crisis, the Great Recession, immigration flows, discontent with the elite, etc). Inferring a broad expectation from this argument, we may posit that these parties are competitive not only because voters who are available to vote for one of these parties have a profile

close to that of their certain voters, but also because this overlap between the profiles is the same for the three parties, equally occurring in the three countries.

In order to test this expectation, we first estimated the direct effects of individual characteristics on the probability of being certain, available or external voters in a cross-country pooled dataset, including the countries as control[8]. We thus assumed that the differences across individuals do not depend on the fact that voters are voters in different countries (i.e. exposed to a different political or economic context), but they depend on individual characteristics and attitudes reacting to a pan-European political climate. However, to make the test more robust, we estimated another model with the same individual variables, but in addition with interactions between the relevant individual characteristics variables and the country variables. The implicit assumption was that the effect of the individual variables changes according to the national political and economic context in which voters are embedded.

The results of these exercises are illustrated in the following figures, which report the marginal effects of the theoretically relevant variables[9].

---

[8] This and the following models were estimated with a multinomial logistic regression in Stata 14.

[9] The marginal effect indicates the size of the effects of the independent variable on the dependent variable. When the independent variable is a dichotomy (0-1), the marginal effect indicates how the probability on the dependent variable changes when the independent variable moves from 0 to 1. When the independent variable has more than two levels, i.e. runs from 0 /1, the marginal effect indicates how the probability on the dependent variable increases when one unit of the predictor variable increases, assuming that the relation between the two is linear. Finally, for sake of clarity, the figure reports only the marginal effects of the individual characteristics on the probability of being a certain or available voter for the three parties.

Figure 5a - What influence the level of competitiveness
of the three parties (marginal effect in pooled dataset)

The plus (+) means not statistically significant
The circle means that their confidence intervals overlap to each other
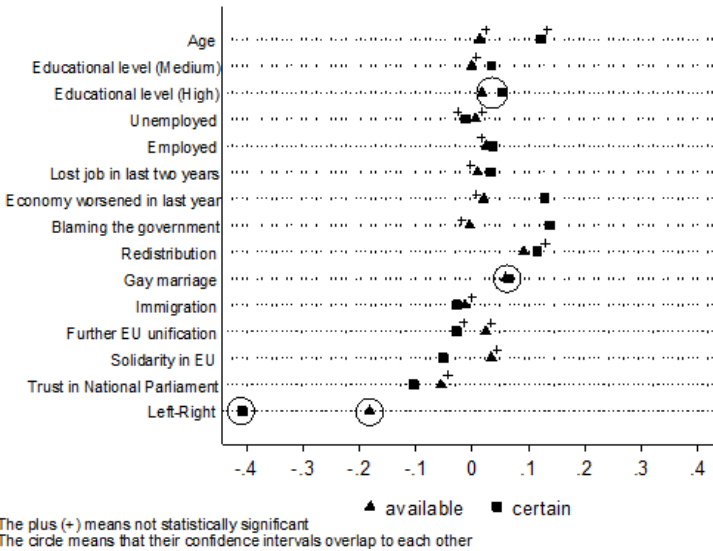
Figure 5b - What influence the level
of competitiveness of Syriza (marginal effect)

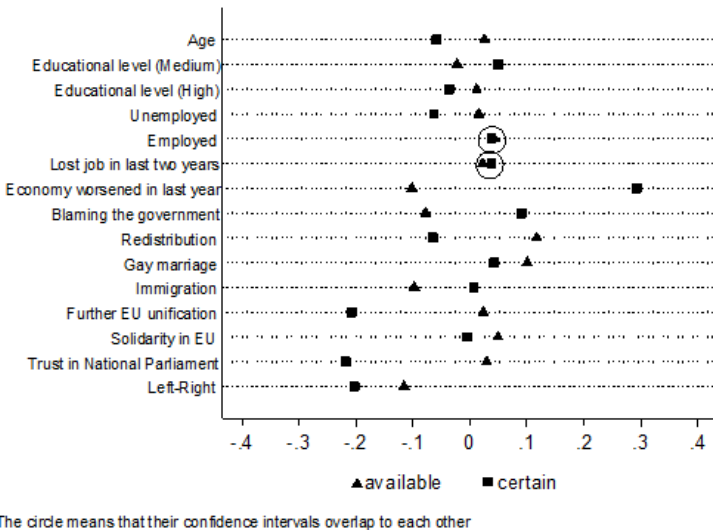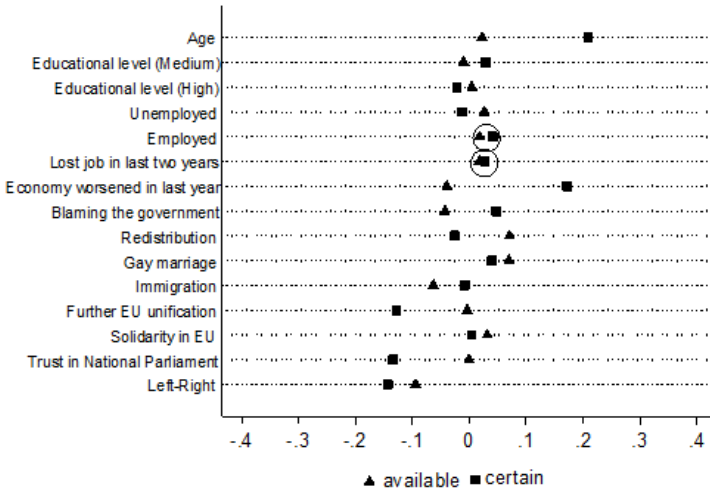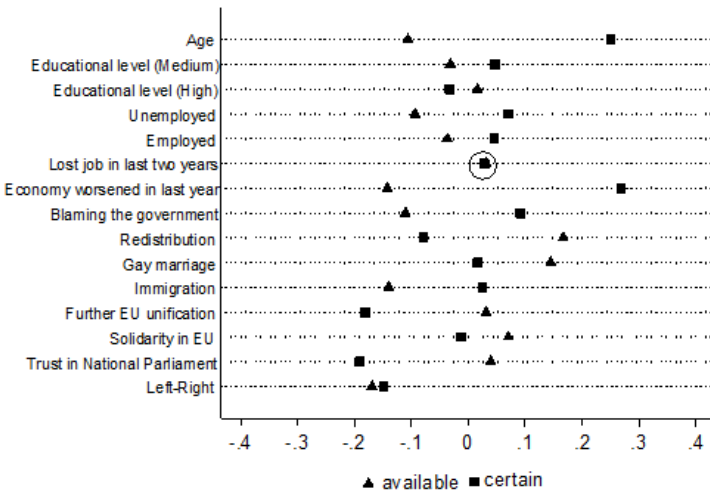The circle means that their confidence intervals overlap to each other

FIGURE 5C - WHAT INFLUENCE THE LEVEL
OF COMPETITIVENESS OF PODEMOS (MARGINAL EFFECT)

The circle means that their confidence intervals overlap to each other

FIGURE 5D - WHAT INFLUENCE THE LEVEL
OF COMPETITIVENESS OF FSM (MARGINAL EFFECT)

The circle means that their confidence intervals overlap to each other

First, let us consider the graph reporting the results of the pooled model without interactions. It is clear that most of the individual predictors do not really either overlap across certain and available voters nor differentiate between them. Most of the effects are not statistically significant (see the cross marker). A few others overlap between certain and available voters (see the circles). Voters that we call certain differ from those we call available only in their opinions on the economy and the government's performance. In both cases, they are slightly more negative. Overall, a model which assumes that country peculiarities do not matter is a poor predictor of what drives the different preferences voters have for the three parties.

In fact, if we look at the other figures, which report the results of the second model in which we incorporated the interaction of the individuals' characteristics with their country, we see immediately that many non-significant differences in the previous pooled model are simply the results of opposite effects of the predictors across the three countries. As a consequence, we have a better view of how the differences between the three parties as to their level of competitiveness in 2014 were related to national differences. Incorporating interaction with the countries means in fact taking into account the extent to which the effect of an individual's characteristics change according to a country's political and economic peculiarity.

A few examples of how country peculiarities do matter can help. In Italy and in Spain being 18-24 years old makes a voter less available to vote Five Stars Movement and Podemos, whereas it substantially increases the probability of being a certain voter for the two parties. In Greece, the opposite happens. Being very young, then, has a different across the countries effect on the competitiveness of the three parties.

The same reasoning may be applied to other attitudinal characteristics. This is the case of the attitudes toward Europe, which have different impacts on the type of voters. Those who are certain to vote for FSM, Podemos, and Syriza are definitely less in favor of going farther with EU integration than those who are available to vote for them, with a possible difference as to the opinion on policy to increase European Union solidarity. Voters certain to vote for the

three parties are also more disaffected than the voters who consider these parties as their second or third choice. By contrast, those who we call certain voters are more inclined to accept more immigrants than those who we call available. In all countries, the certain voters are also more negative towards the economy and the government's performance.

At the end, the only predictor whose effect is clearly the same for certain and available voters of the three parties is having experienced, directly or indirectly, a job loss. This is a condition that by closing the gap between certain and available voters increases the level of attractiveness of the three parties equally in the three countries. Finally, it has to be noted that ideology has effects in the same direction in the three countries. Certain and available voters for the three parties are located more on the left. In fact, self-placement on the right decreases the likelihood to express a positive preference for the three parties. But there are also evident differences between the three countries in the size of this effect. In Italy it is tiny and the same for certain and willing voters. In the other two countries, Podemos and Syriza voters are more leftist than the Spanish and Greek voters that consider these parties their second or third choice.

What lesson may we draw from this exercise?

Comparing the three parties only from the perspective of who voted for them or are available to vote for them is a partial way to address the problem of the populist parties that are not part of the new radical right family. Within these limits, this exercise provides a few hints:

- Five Stars Movement, Podemos and Syriza are indeed different from the populist radical parties described, among others, by Mudde (2007). Their voters are different in terms of demographics and they have different opinions on important issues. However, the three parties are not a homogenous family, except regarding the deep distrust towards politics. As to Europe, Five

Stars Movement voters have attitudes in part different from those of the two other parties. They are more Euro-skeptical than the other voters.

- The reasons why some voters look at these parties as their second and third vote choice are in many cases different from the reasons why other voters consider them as their first choice. Which means that these parties do not have unlimited mobilization resources. The domain in which voters certain to vote for them meet voters only available to vote for them is the experience of a job loss, i.e. the inability of government to provide robust economic growth and stable conditions of employment.
- Except for the risk of job loss, certain and potential voters for these parties are not influenced by really pan-European political climate, but by country-specific factors.
- Among them, crucial is the continuum left-right. Podemos and Syriza are parties that radically altered the left side of their countries' party system by increasing the ideological distance. The impact of FSM is more ambiguous. Looking at the characteristics of its voters, this party competes with left and right traditional parties, in a context, however, where voters remain anchored to left and right. The end of Italian bipolarism is evident in terms of aggregate electoral results. It may be premature in terms of ideological change.

References

Andreadis, I. (2016) *The Greek Voter according to HelpMeVote 2015 and ELNES2015*, 2016. Accessed September 1.

Ackerman, A., Mudde, C. and A. Zaslove (2014) "How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 47, no. 6, pp. 1324-53.

Barr, R.R. (2009) "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics", *Party Politics*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 29-48.

Bartolini, S. (1999) "Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part I", *Journal of Theoretical politics*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 435-460.

Bartolini, S. (2000) "Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part II", *Journal of Theoretical politics*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 33-65.

Biorcio, R. and P. Natale (2013) *Politica a 5 stelle. Idee, storia e strategie del movimento di Grillo*, Milano, Feltrinelli.

Bordignon, F. and L. Ceccarini (2013) "Tsunami a 5 stelle", in I. Diamanti (ed.), *Un salto nel voto*, Bari, Laterza, pp.60-71.

Corbetta, P. and E. Gualmini (2013) (eds.), *Il partito di Grillo*, Bologna, il Mulino.

Cordero, G. and J.R. Montero (2015) "Against Bipartyism, Towards Dealignment? The 2014 European Election in Spain", *South European Politics and Society*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 357-379.

De Sio, L. and H.M. Schadee (2013) "I flussi di voto e lo spazio politico", in *Voto Amaro: Disincanto e Crisi Economica nelle Elezioni del 2013*, Bologna, il Mulino, pp. 45-56.

van der Eijk, C. and M. Franklin (1996) *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the face of Union,* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Gidron, N. and B. Bonikowski (2016) *Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda*, Cambrige, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Harvard University. Accessed September 1.

Hawkins, K.A., Riding, S. and C. Mudde (2012) *Measuring populist attitudes*, Working Paper no.55, Committee on Concepts and Methods Working Paper Series.

Kriesi, H. and T.S. Pappas (2015) (eds.), *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*, Esse, ECPR press.

ITANES (2013) *Voto Amaro: Disincanto e Crisi Economica nelle Elezioni del 2013*, Bologna, il Mulino.

Laclau, E. (2005) *The Populist Reason*, London, Verso.

Laver, M. (2001) *Estimating the Policy Positions of Political Actors*, London, Routledge.

Maggini, N. (2013) "Gli elettori del Movimento 5 Stelle: fuori da destra e sinistra, ma interessati alla politica", in N. Maggini, L. De Sio (eds.), *Dossier CISE n. 2. Crisi e rimobilitazione. Gli italiani, la politica, i partiti nelle indagini campionarie del CISE (2011-2012)*, Roma, CISE, pp. 55-58.

Mény, Y. and Y. Surel (2002) "The Constitutive Ambiguity of Populism", in Y. Mény and Y. Surel (eds.), *Democracies and the Populist Challenges*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, pp. 1-21.

Mudde, C. (2004) "The Populist Zeitgeist", *Government and Opposition*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 542-563.

Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Natale, P. (2014) "The birth, early history and explosive growth of the five-stars movement", *Contemporary Italian Politics*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 16-36.

Norris, P. (2005) *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market,* New York, Cambridge University Press.

Nikolakakis, N. (2016) "Syriza's stance vis-à-vis the European Union following the financial crisis: the persistence of left Europeanism and the role of the European Left party", *European Politics and Society*.

Orriols, L. and G. Cordero (2016), "The Breakdown of the Spanish Two-Party System: The Upsurge of Podemos and Ciudadanos in the 2015 General Election", *South European Society and Politics*.

Panizza, F. (2005) *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*, London, Verso.

Passarelli, G. and D. Tuorto (2016) "The Five Stars Movement: Purely a matter of protest? The rise of a new party between political discontent and reasoned voting", *Party politics*, pp. 1-12.

Ramiro, L. and R. Gomez (2016) "Radical-Left Populism during the Great Recession: Podemos and Its Competition with the Established Radical Left", *Political Studies*, pp. 1-19.

Ray, L. (1999) "Measuring party orientations toward European integration: Results from an expert survey", *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 283-306.

Segatti, P., Poletti, M. and C. Vezzoni (2015) "Renzi's Honeymoon Effect: The 2014 European Election in Italy", *South European Politics and Society*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 311-331.

Teperoglou, E., Tsatsanis, E. and E. Nicolacouplos (2015) "Habituating to the New Normal in a Post-earthquake Party System: The 2014 European Election in Greece", *South European Politics and Society*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 333-355.

Thomassen, J.J.A., Noury, A.G. and E. Voeten (2004) "Political competition in the European Parliament: Evidence from roll call and survey analyses", in G. Marks and M.R. Steenbergen (eds.), *European integration and political conflict*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 141-164.

Vasilopoulou, S. and D. Halikiopoulou (1969) "In the Shadow of Grexit: The Greek Election of 17 June 2012", *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 523-542.

Worsley, P. (1969) "The concept of populism", in G. Ionescu and E. Gellner (eds.), *Populisms: its meanings and National Characterstics*, New York, MacMillan, pp. 212-250.

4.   The "Demand Side" of Populism: The Case of Poland

Piotr Sztompka

The story of the twenty-seven years since the collapse of communism has been told in two opposite ways. The optimistic, heroic narratives describe an epochal success of countries which have come a long way from being Soviet satellites to members of the European Union and Atlantic Alliance; the process of liberation, emancipation, modernization, Europeanization, Westernization. The pessimistic, gloomy narratives see the same process as a sequence of failures, excessive social hardships, growing inequalities, survivals of communism, unfinished revolution. There is indeed some measure of ambivalence in the process of communist transformation. And this is precisely what provides the opportunity for the emergence of populism, particularly if the party system becomes split into two main opposing camps adopting one of the narratives as its own. When in power – blaming failures on the opposition and boasting of successes. When in opposition – adopting the reverse logic: blaming rulers for failures and formulating seductive recipes for success. "we" as synonymous for all virtues, "them" as synonymous for all vices. The old dichotomies of left versus right, liberal versus conservative, nationalist versus cosmopolitan become irrelevant. As the cartoon on the cover of the recent issue of *The Economist* (August 5, 2016) shows: a new, huge rift appears to be dividing societies in half.

The concept of populism and the explanatory strategy

Populism is a contested concept. Most often it is defined as the strategy of political elites employing demagogical appeals, empty promises, vicious attacks on political opponents, framing the images of hidden enemies, creating myths, chasing scapegoats etc. There are pretensions of speaking on behalf of the "*populus*", the common people, or the nation, or the underdogs, supposedly oppressed by the elites, the rich, conspiracies, foreigners (Conovan 2005). Populism targets the emotions of the electorate in an attempt to win their support in order to gain power. The emergence of a strong, charismatic leader articulating populist ideology is often treated as typical. Such an approach focuses on politicians; their programs, their personalities, and their actions.

I propose to reverse this perspective and to focus on the citizens and their responsiveness to populist appeals. There is always a supply of demagogical and manipulative politicians found everywhere. But only sometimes and in some countries do they reach the electorate resonating with their moods and emotions. And only then do the populists have a chance of winning power. I will focus on the "demand" side of populism rather than on the "supply" side – to borrow terms from economics. Populism for me, as an actual, real phenomenon and a threat to democracy, is the specific emotional and cognitive condition of society that is responsive to the populist agenda. It includes not a few negative emotions and emotionally loaded beliefs such as: anxiety, anger, hostility, envy, contempt, revenge, superiority, indignation, disorientation, disappointment, resentments, xenophobia, chauvinism, and even sheer boredom with current rule. Such sentiments are usually much stronger as mobilizing forces than as rational arguments.

Such an approach to populism demands an explanatory focus not on the intentions, rhetoric and personalities of politicians, but rather on the social conditions engendering negative beliefs, moods and emotions. There are a number of sociological and social-psychological theories to hand which may be employed in order to understand the current surge of populism: relative deprivation (Gurr 1970), cul-

tural clash and cultural lag (Ogburn 1964), civilizational incompetence (Sztompka 1993), frustration-aggression (Dollard and Miller 1939), cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), moral panic (Thompson 1998), cultural and social trauma (Sztompka 2004a). They provide a sort of "toolbox" of explanatory ideas. I opt for the strategy of "disciplined eclecticism" (Merton 1976), not limiting oneself to one theory but rather utilizing various theories that are helpful in understanding the problem. But I give some explanatory priority to the theory of cultural, social and personal trauma. I also claim that the explanation of populism, like any other major social and political phenomenon, must adopt historical perspective, treat the current situation as the accumulated effect of earlier events and the field of constraints and opportunities opening as possible scenarios for further developments (Sztompka 1991). Therefore the theory of trauma will also be phrased in the dynamic way, as the continuous sequence of traumatizing events and traumatic responses leading eventually to the current emergence of populism.

The area to which I am going to apply such an explanatory strategy is Eastern Europe. In this effort one has to distinguish between the more universal causes of populism that pertain to the interconnected and interdependent "global village" of today, and the particular factors emerging in Eastern Europe. Global threats like the wave of terrorism, civil wars, religious fundamentalism, the flow of refugees, economic turbulences and financial crises must be "bracketed" for the purposes of this study. They indirectly influence Eastern Europe, but we must focus on particular conditions in this part of the world.

I will limit my angle of vision to only one country, Poland. But I believe that several mechanisms of post-revolutionary social change relevant for Poland, where the current ascendance of populism has become the worry for national and international observers, may be applicable to other post-communist societies.

Let us now look at the sequence of political, economic, cultural and social phenomena in Poland after the collapse of communism. The historical narrative will be interwoven with relevant theories taken from the "toolbox".

The anti-communist revolution
and post-revolutionary dilemmas

In the year 1989 the world changed in Eastern Europe. Several countries liberated themselves from the grip of the Soviet empire, and soon later the empire itself disintegrated and collapsed. To these events we give the name of revolution, and deservedly so (Kumar 2001). For even though they were not accompanied by the usual paraphernalia of revolutions – barricades, violence, bloodshed – they were clearly epochal, revolutionary events in the more important historical sense. They constituted a major break in historical continuity, a complete and radical change at all levels of social life for great masses of people. They embraced politics, economies, cultures and everyday practices.

At the political level it meant a shift from autocratic, centralized, single-party systems to the Western-style democratic regime. At the economic level it meant a shift from central planning and state control to the capitalist market. At the intellectual and artistic level, it meant a shift from the controlled and censored circulation of ideas and values to free and pluralistic expression with open access to world culture. And at the level of everyday life it opened to the people entirely new experiences: instead of the eternal shortages and long lines at every store, the unlimited options of a consumer society; instead of the greyness and simplicity of uniform life-styles, the colour and diversity of living spaces, products and fashions; and instead of limited mobility and restrained foreign contacts, open borders and unlimited travel and tourism.

It was also a revolution in a more personal, emotional sense (Aminzade and McAdam 2001); a time of tremendous popular enthusiasm, collective effervescence, elation with hard-won victory. It was a time of great national solidarity, regained dignity and pride. There was full support and trust for the new regime and skyrocketing expectations and aspirations. Freedom and prosperity seemed just around the corner.

The take-off

Three early political decisions determined the course of Polish transformation and strongly influenced further political and economic developments, as well as the social "climate" and the mood of the people. In the political domain the parliamentary system was adopted, with leading roles given to political parties and the executive with limited competences left for the President. There were also other important decisions at the political level: the creation of the Constitutional Court and the Office of the Ombudsman, finally legitimized by the Constitution of 2007. These institutions have attained strong positions and for many years have played a very important role in Polish politics. This role is only now being strongly contested and curbed by the populist party in power.

The second crucial area was the economy. Here the Finance Minister, eminent economist Leszek Balcerowicz, decided to use the "window of opportunity" and impose what came to be known as "shock therapy". All constraints on the free market were released, state controls minimized, prices liberated, convertibility of the currency safeguarded. It mobilized entrepreneurship and economic growth, curbed inflation, stabilized the currency. But in the short run it led to serious frustrations, as its side effects touched considerable segments of the population. Soon the populist politicians of the agrarian party were shouting: "Balcerowicz must go".

The third decision of fundamental importance for the "social climate" had to do with the issue faced by all revolutions: how to treat the defeated enemies. The rule in several revolutions of the past was the post-revolutionary terror: guillotines or firing squads. Not so in the Polish revolution. The first freely elected Prime Minister, eminent intellectual and "Solidarność" leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki, decided on reconciliation rather than revenge. He declared the "thick black line" policy of cutting off the past, proposing to ignore former communist party membership and even collaboration with the secret police, and to focus on the contribution that all citizens together could make to building the future. Unfortunately this magnanimous decision provided a ready argument with strong populist resonance

to some political parties, which later became quite successful in attaining power by blaming all difficulties and social frustrations on the supposed conspiracy of former unpunished and unrepentant communists, or communist "agents". And in the preserved archives of the secret police they were finding a ready weapon to shame and discredit political opponents. The issue of "de-communization" and "lustration" was to resurface several times and for some periods overshadowed all other issues of Polish politics. Digging out the issue now, in 2016, twenty-seven years after the collapse of communism is the cynical, populist power-game which has nothing to do with the high-sounding virtues of "law" or "justice" advertised in the very name of the current ruling party.

Unfortunate legacy of the past

It is a truism that all societies are path-dependent. In the case of Eastern Europe, a particularly strong impact was exerted by half a century of communist rule (Sztompka 1996b). This legacy became effective immediately after the revolution, producing various obstacles and barriers to the process of transformation. At the political level we inherited pervasive bureaucracy, an overabundance of inconsistent and obsolete laws, undeveloped political parties, weak civil society, a "social vacuum" in the non-governmental sector, civil service that was never apolitical, political elites not trained in democratic procedures and standards. At the economic level, we were left with nationalized property, huge, state-owned industrial enterprises stagnant and inefficient with obsolete technology, an overgrown and fragmented agricultural sector with a large segment of its workers toiling on small family farms.

But perhaps the legacy most resistant to change, featuring the most inertia, is to be found in the cultural-mental sphere, the domain of rules, values, norms, shared beliefs, ingrained "habits of the heart", subconscious reflexes (Sztompka 1999a). I would classify these cultural and mental traces of communism in two categories. The first I call "civilizational incompetence" (Sztompka 1993), in-

dicating by that term that people were left unprepared for the demands of modern, industrial and democratic civilization. They were lacking modern political culture, the citizen's ethos of responsibility and participation. They were not ready for modern labour culture, an entrepreneurial and managerial ethos. And they were also lacking in some skills of everyday life: driving culture, computer literacy, punctuality, care for the environment and public spaces. The second category I call "East-European identity" (Sztompka 2004a). The identity inherited from the communist period was typically tainted by the following traits: insecurity about one's position and status, a childish dependence on paternalistic authority, xenophobia and intolerance, an inferiority complex with regard to the West coupled with uncritical idealization of everything Western, a superiority complex toward the East (and particularly Soviet Russia), in the Polish case taking the form of a myth of being a chosen nation, providing the eastern defensive barricade for Christianity.

The turbulence at the beginning: the initial trauma

The axiological syndrome of *Homo Sovieticus* was dysfunctional for new institutions. The striking contrast emerged between the culture of communism, still remaining in people's minds, and the culture of democracy demanded by the new institutional environment (Sztompka 1996b). This can be rendered by the following oppositions: *(1)* collectivism vs individualism, *(2)* cooperation vs competition, *(3)* egalitarianism vs meritocracy, *(4)* mediocrity and mimicry vs visible success, (5) security of jobs, pensions, savings vs risk of investing, *(6)* belief in fate and providence vs belief in the power of the human agency, *(7)* leaning on state support vs self-reliance, *(8)* blaming the system for personal failures vs personal responsibility, *(9)* political passivism and escape into the private sphere vs participation in public life, *(10)* the idealization of a pre-communist past vs orientation toward the future.

To this split in the culture and its tension-producing consequences for the people, I give the name of initial cultural trauma

(Sztompka 2004b). Its symptoms were some disorientation, certain normative chaos (or "anomie") with the lack of clarity about what is right and wrong, proper and improper, good and bad – and consequently the lack of clear guidelines for conduct. It bred feelings of uncertainty and insecurity.

There is hope in the generational change. Inevitably, with aging, those who have been mentally "polluted" by communist experience move to the margins of social life, and the young generation is made up of people already born, raised and educated in the new system. But this is made more complicated by another trauma appearing in the second phase of transformation, which also touches the young generation.

The aftershocks of reforms: secondary trauma

The fundamental, structural reforms of political, economic and cultural domain undertaken in the first period of transformation bring about unintended, and sometimes unexpected, side effects. If the whole society is being rebuilt, some social costs are inevitable, and the burdens of transformation touch many people. What makes things worse is that these burdens are unequally distributed, affecting some groups very strongly, whereas others are able to escape their impact. These hardships become a new type of traumatizing condition, resulting in the secondary trauma, not cultural any more but social-structural.

On the objective side there emerge new forms of risks and threats: unemployment, impoverishment, ruthless competition, a growing wave of crime and delinquency, the immigration of culturally alien people from the disintegrating USSR. There is also a quick deterioration of living standards and social status, at least for some sizable groups: devaluation of savings due to currency reform, the withdrawal of the state welfare umbrella and resulting poverty (even homelessness), and the overturning of prestige hierarchies, with the degradation of all whose rank was not linked with financial success, e.g. academics, teachers, medical personnel.

On the subjective side there are two relative frames that make the experience of burdens more acute, leading to the feeling of relative deprivation (Gurr 1970). One is a comparison with the high hopes and aspirations of the revolutionary period. And another is the demonstration effect of Western prosperity, now made more visible than ever due to free media, open borders and the invasion of consumerism. People experience relative deprivation when they believe that they are justified in deserving more than they actually have. And there are several groups touched by this painful condition. First, those who were fighting against the communist regime and safeguarded the victory of revolution – and this means primarily the working class of huge industrial enterprises. They feel cheated because their life has generally not improved, and for some has even become dramatically worse, with unemployment and lack of occupational prospects. This kind of deprivation becomes even more acute when the material success of *nouveau riches* – entrepreneurs, businessmen, young professionals – is conspicuous and aggressively manifested. Second, there is a sizable group of former owners whose property – real estate, industrial, agricultural – was nationalized under communism. Now that private property has become a constitutional principle, they feel that it is their right to demand restitution. Third, for all the other people the frame of comparison has become the prosperous, consumer society of the West – reached either through travel and tourism, or invading local living spaces via international supermarkets, shopping malls and galleries (sometimes even more luxurious and exclusive than in major Western cities). People feel that now, already living in a capitalist society, they deserve the same level of affluence as those in the West. And yet, their income is still several times lower, while prices become equalized. Currently in 2016 a vision of development painted by the current populist government optimistically (???) predicts equalization of wages no later than the year 2030.

Both the objective and subjective deprivations become traumatizing. The symptoms of secondary trauma emerge very soon. First, there is a dramatic fall of trust, from its peak at the moment of revolution. It is particularly visible in so-called vertical trust: toward

the institutions, the government, the parliament, the president, or even toward the most abstract idea of democracy (Sztompka 1996a; Sztompka 1999a). Second, there is growing political apathy, low participation in elections, withdrawal from public life toward the private sphere of families, friends, and at most business or professional networks. Third, there is a spreading nostalgia for the past, the idealization of some aspects of socialism, especially job security, assured pensions, state provisions of free healthcare and educational services.

The split of a society

These symptoms of trauma are unequally distributed among the population. In fact the traumatizing conditions and resulting traumatic symptoms result in a split of society into two unequal parts. One consists of those who have been successful under the new system: who advanced educationally, made business, professional, or political careers, enriched themselves. There are also those who feel successful and satisfied in a more intangible way: intellectual, artistic, academic elites for whom the very freedom of speech, unlimited access to information, ability to travel abroad, make up for any material shortages they may still experience. At the opposite pole we find those who either objectively or subjectively experience a loss and failure. There are the less educated, manual workers but also several branches of more skilled workers whose training and skills have turned obsolete, there are the farmers who lost the monopoly of food production and can hardly compete with imports from abroad, there are the low-level clerks in public administration or state-owned firms who lost various perks, there are retired people, pensioners, and of course all the unemployed.

The split into successful and frustrated segments of the population is immediately replicated at the political level in the opposition of liberal, modern, pro-European parties, and more conservative, populist, Euro-sceptical and parochial parties. The political dynamics of post-communist societies reflects the split quite clearly, with

the political pendulum swinging from one side to the other in al-
most each consecutive election. In the countries like Poland where
the official church has always played strong role, there also emerges
a split in the church along similar lines; on the one side the more
modern, open, liberal, ecumenical wing, and on the other side more
conservative, fundamentalist, and nationalist faction.

The trauma of incompetent and/or immoral elites

The next, third, wave of trauma is of a different order. It is not so
much cultural or structural as personal. It originates not so much
in values or institutions or politics, but in the personal frailties
and weaknesses of the politicians. I call it the trauma of political
elites. At the start of the XXI century the political elites, irrespec-
tive of their ideological orientation – equally the right wing and
the left wing, liberal or conservative – manifest both intellectual
and moral incapacities. There appear glaring incompetence and er-
rors in decisions but, even worse, grave abuses of moral and legal
standards: egoism, cronyism, nepotism, factionalism, corruption
(Kojder 2004). A number of political scandals galvanize public at-
tention. Huge-scale corruption rings and mafia-type organizations
are discovered on the fragile border between business and politics.
The "moral panic" (Thompson 1998) breaks out. People start to
believe – admittedly with some good reasons – that all of politics
is completely corrupted, that nobody can be trusted any more, that
politicians do not represent the common people but only attend to
their own interests.
    The symptoms of new trauma become widespread. First, there is
the strengthening of the old dichotomy: "we", the common people,
and "them", the rulers. The alienation from politics and the priva-
tization of life become highly destructive in a democratic regime,
where the participation of "we, the people" is the crucial precondi-
tion of political functioning. The second symptom of trauma is an-
other dramatic collapse of vertical trust, which in the case of major
political institutions reaches unprecedentedly low levels. The third

symptom is the open manifestation of grievances and discontent, coupled with demands and claims directed at the government. This sometimes turns into highly visible spontaneous protests, "street politics" and clashes with the police (Ekiert and Kubik 1999).

The delayed echoes of the revolution: the trauma of backlash

With such moods as background the political pendulum swung to the right in the elections of 2005. Skilful politicians of the party whose name itself reveals demagogical inclinations – "Law and Justice" (henceforth referred to as L-and-J) – were able to use the traumatic conditions of society as the springboard to power. They promised major changes under a slogan of building the new "IV Republic", which meant breaking off from the errors and abuses of the "III Republic" constructed with post-communist compromises and leading to supposedly incomplete and fake transformation. They promised to complete the "unfinished revolution" by finally eliminating from public life all elites who had their roots in the communist system, and were supposedly blameable for all problems. And on top of that they promised to build a compassionate state, providing rich social benefits to all citizens. No wonder that in 2005 they won the elections: both presidential and parliamentary. The instrumental exploitation of social trauma and chasing scapegoats had proven effective.

And yet the margin of victory was very low, not sufficient for a parliamentary majority. Ironically, once in power the new government soon generated the fourth trauma. I call it the trauma of backlash. The classical traumatizing conditions appeared once again. First, the extremely elevated, populist electoral promises could not be met. The frustrated, unfulfilled hopes for higher salaries and wages, lower taxes, massive provision of cheap apartments and jobs for all resulted in a wave of escalating protests and strikes by doctors, nurses, teachers, coal-miners, policemen etc. Second, the government, lacking a sufficient majority in Parlia-

ment, was unable to force decisions and spent several months on mounting coalitions, which for the people gave the impression of selfish quests for power for power's sake and of abandoning service to society. Third, the eventual coalition with highly suspect, marginal, small parties of extreme populist and demagogical origins revealed the strategy of cynical "*realpolitik*", strikingly at odds with the proclamations of "moral revolution". Cognitive dissonance set in. Fourth, the slogan of the "IV Republic" implied a radical break, the extreme critique and rejection of the principles and practices of the "III Republic". People were told – contrary to all reason – that some 18 years of their lives and efforts were lost, that it was another instance in the chain of Polish disasters and failures, that we had once again to start anew, to build everything from scratch. Fifth, the obsessive hunt for some supposed communist conspiracy on which to blame all our problems created a vision of completely non-transparent public life, raised anxiety and uncertainty with another kind of moral panic. Sixth, there was a visible effort to suppress and dominate independent institutions, professional circles, and leaders of public opinion: the Constitutional Court was repeatedly discredited, the Central Bank was put in the hands of loyal politicians, the professionals – lawyers, academics, journalists, physicians – were attacked, sometimes personally. There were also clear attempts to instrumentalize the law and law enforcement for factional, particularistic political purposes. Nothing undermines vertical trust more than the growing appearance of unaccountability of the rulers, and the curbing of checks and balances, the mutual controls inbuilt in a democratic regime. Seventh, as a sort of subordinate theme, to deflect the popular unrest the government dug out the problem of lustration, rejected the policy of "thick black line" and intended to open the archives of the communist secret police to unravel the identities of all former collaborators or agents. The process soon got out of hand with self-appointed judges who publicized privately or illicitly obtained information. The "moral panic" was spreading and many people started to believe that former agents and spies were everywhere, even among their families and friends. The new

lustration law passed by the ruling majority in 2007 demanded of some half a million citizens occupying upper positions in a company to write self-incriminating declarations of their possible collaboration of forty, fifty and more years ago. This met with a huge wave of resistance, including cases of civil disobedience, and led the still independent Constitutional Court to veto and scrap the law entirely. But a deep division between those who were opportunistically loyal to the obviously unconstitutional law, and those who actively opposed it, is a very unfortunate side effect that remains, especially among the intellectual, academic and journalistic circles until today. This sad story of populist L-and-J in power was to be repeated almost literally ten years later in 2015.

At that time there was the re-emergence of the classical symptoms of trauma. First, the people became disenchanted or outright disgusted with politics. The dichotomy of "we" and "them" was sharper than ever. Participation in public life became more unpopular, the privatization of life proceeded further and political apathy set in. Second, distrust in public institutions was at its highest. Third, as a functional substitute for absent internal trust, the externalization of trust became visible in the phenomenon of massive temporary or even permanent emigration. With the opening of labour markets by some countries of the EU, young educated people, professionals and also manual workers emigrated in search of better opportunities. Their motivations were most often economic: they were looking for jobs. But for some their flight was also due to the unbearable political climate. Not accepting the current conditions they decided on what Albert Hirschman has called the "exit option", when the "voice option" was severely limited (Hirschman 1970). Fourth, anxieties, frustrations and pessimism were widely expressed, not only privately but also in the still independent media, which as a side effect fed the new wave of "moral panic". Fifth, we observed a rising demand for gossip and a new career of political satirist as a substitute for authentic public debate.

Back to normality: elections of 2007

In the elections of 2007 the sudden and unexpected mobilization of the young people who were bored and disgusted with public life under the IV Republic led to the return of the liberal and pro-European party Citizens' Platform (CP) to power, and it led to eight years of their governance. There was an immediate rise in public trust, activism and support for the new turn in politics. This promising situation held for two years. But three factors again produced growing disappointment. First, the inability of the ruling party to pass legislative projects of reforms due to the overused veto power of the President, clearly biased toward his own political background, the L-and-J party now in opposition. The second impediment was the fragile coalition with the populist agrarian party. On some occasions the ruling party also employed populist rhetoric painting a rosy picture of the country as a "green island" in grey Europe, or advertising the nationalization of private pension funds (in order to balance the budget) with rosy images of elderly couples on vacation in the Mediterranean. There were many achievements in this period, but equally some factors breeding a future populist turn in 2015. One was a disastrous plane crash at Smolensk on April 10, 2010 with almost one hundred victims, members of the political and military elites, including the presidential couple and top generals. This terrible event jolted the conscience of the nation and polarized the public into believers in the official claim of the air accident, or in the claim of the L-and-J of a vicious Russian-Polish conspiracy to get rid of the inconvenient President, Lech Kaczynski. His twin brother Jaroslaw, the leader of the L-and-J, took this opportunity to build political capital and to mobilize anti-government and anti-Russian moods, congruent with Poland's ages old anti-Russian resentments.

The other adverse factor was a series of scandalous disclosures touching the ruling CP. The waiters in elite restaurants recorded the private talks of politicians and sold them to the media. The arrogance, egocentrism and cynicism of some political celebrities was openly revealed.

The third reason was the election of the popular and charismatic government leader Donald Tusk to the Presidency of the European Council. His successor, Ewa Kopacz, a former Minister of Health, has not been able to continue needed economic reforms, opting for secure stability. But she also reintroduced to the agenda very controversial ethical issues: abortion, in vitro fertilization, gay rights, etc. This led to the counter-mobilization of conservative and religious segments of the population. The culture clash of liberal and traditional values has resurfaced again.

The pendulum swings again

In such a social climate a vigorous presidential and parliamentary campaign was launched by L-and-J, with a number of very attractive election promises. The real winner was giving a considerable monthly cash bonus to families for each second child and others to come (the only promise fulfilled so far). There was also a promise to reverse pension reform and return to the 60-65 retirement age. And the young candidate for President, Andrzej Duda, launched a very dynamic campaign across the country.

As a result L-and-J won the elections of 2015 on both counts, first assuring the victory of its candidate for President, and then, with additional momentum produced by this unexpected turn, winning with a sufficient majority in the parliament to rule single-handedly, without the need for a coalition. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the L-and-J's uncontested *éminence grise*, remained behind the scenes, having actual full power without any responsibility. The so-called "good change" had been initiated. In this one can see a striking repetition of the policies of the years 2005-2007, when L-and-J was trying to build the IV Republic. But the moves are now much more adventurous, with complete disregard for the opposition, and contempt for all who are against those in power as either not "true Poles", or of "lower sort". The message is clear and sometimes even openly articulated: the will of "the people" is more important than the constitution or the laws. And the concept of the people acquires

a strangely restrictive definition: no longer a full nation, but only the electorate and supporters of the ruling party.

The general direction of rapidly introduced changes is now pretty obvious: the reconstruction of the state with full domination of the central executive (and in fact a single leader) over other institutions: judiciary, civil society, local government. In the long run the purpose seems to be autocratic rule based on provincial nationalism, moral and religious traditionalism, with a manifested distance from the European Union.

More specific "good changes" may be seen in many areas. In the legal and political area they include the conflict about the Constitutional Tribunal paralysed by new regulations, obviously violating the constitution. Then there is the consolidation of executive power over the judiciary, with the offices of the attorney general and the Minister of Justice put in the single hands of the party bureaucrat rushing to intervene in court procedures. There is greatly enhanced jurisdiction of the police and anti-terrorist laws, in fact permitting massive surveillance, also of the Internet, which threats democratic freedoms.

In the economic realm, the intention to fulfil unrealistic material promises made to deprived groups, while morally commendable, endangers future fiscal and budgetary balance. In public media there is a visible turn toward one-sided propaganda. The historical policy is biased toward conservative, traditional, chauvinistic legacies.

Isolationist and nationalist foreign policy produces growing alienation from the European Union, e.g. by rejecting the quotas of refugees and ignoring the recommendations of the Venice Commission. There are numerous cases of favouritism and nepotism, putting political nominees in important jobs in local politics, state-run companies, and cultural institutions.

Society is even more divided. After a year of rule the government retains support among considerable portions of the population, perhaps mainly due to promised social and material benefits. On the other side there are groups that are more concerned with liberal freedoms, division of powers, and constitutional accountability. They raise the strongest protests and massive street mani-

festations, accompanied by the birth of a new social movement, the Committee for the Defence of Democracy. This situation creates new widespread anxieties and perhaps the most serious social trauma of those described earlier.

Last but not the final word

It was civil society that won the seemingly impossible victory over communism, which "raised itself by its boot-straps", as the Americans like to say. Now it seems that civil society is suppressed by the rulers, and some fruits of the revolution of 1989 are being wasted.

But history does not stop here. The process continues and will continue in a similar, turbulent way. "Social becoming" (Sztompka 1991) does not follow a smooth, linear trajectory, but rather a dialectical course. Through facing repeated challenges and fighting reappearing traumas it eventually pushes society forward. Alas, progress is always attained through "blood, sweat and tears".

References

Aminzade, R. and D. McAdam (2001) "Emotions and contentious politics", in R. Aminzade et al. (eds.), *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 14-50.

Conovan, M. (2005) *The People*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Dollard, J. et al. (1939) *Frustration and Agression*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Ekiert, G. and J. Kubik (1999) *The Rebellious Society*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.

Festinger, L. (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Evanston, Row and Peterson.

Gurr, T. (1970) *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton, Princeton University Press

Hirschman, A. (1970) *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Kojder, A. (2004) "Corruption in Poland: symptoms, causes. Scope and attempted countermeasures", *The Polish Sociological Review*, no. 2, pp. 183-202.

Kumar, K. (1989) *Revolutionary Ideas and Ideals*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Merton, R.K. (1976) *Sociological Ambivalence and Other Essays*, New York, Free Press.

Ogburn, W. (1964) *On Culture and Social Change*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Sztompka, P. (1991) *Society in Action: The Theory of Social Becoming*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Sztompka, P. (1993) "Civilizational incompetence; the trap of post-communist societies", *Zeitschrift fur Soziologie*, no. 2, April, pp. 85-95.

Sztompka, P. (1995) "Cultural and civilizational change: the core of post-communist transition", in B. Grancelli (ed.), *Social Change and Modernization*, Berlin-New York, DeGruyter, pp. 237-247.

Sztompka, P. (1996a) "Trust and emerging democracy: lessons from Poland", *International Sociology*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 37-62.

Sztompka, P. (1996b) "Looking back: the year 1989 as a cultural and civilizational break", *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 115-129.

Sztompka, P. (1999a) "The cultural core of post-communist transformations", in Boje, T. (ed.), *European Societies: Fusion or Fission*, London, Routledge, pp. 205-215.

Sztompka, P. (1999b) *Trust; A Sociological Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Sztompka, P. (2004a) "From East-Europeans to Europeans: shifting collective identities and symbolic boundaries in the new Europe", *European Review*, vol.12, no. 2, pp. 481-496.

Sztompka, P. (2004b) "The trauma of social change: a case of post-communist societies", in J. Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley, California University Press, pp. 155-195.

Thompson, K. (1998) *Moral Panics*, London, Routledge.

5.   Made in US: Populism Beyond Europe

Kirk Hawkins with Rebecca Dudley and Wen Jie Tan

Unlike in most parts of Western Europe, populism is a persistent feature of US politics. For nearly two centuries, populist third-party movements have challenged the traditional parties and attempted to reshape the political agenda (Kazin 1998). In this sense, US politics are more like the democratic politics of Latin America, where populist movements are frequent phenomena (Conniff 1999). The main difference between the two regions is that populist forces in the United States are generally less electorally successful – no radical populist movement has ever won the presidency. With the 2016 presidential election, however, some scholars and quite a few pundits are wondering if this pattern has changed (Gerson 2015; Stoehr 2016). For the first time in living memory, a putative populist contender (Donald Trump) has managed to win a major party nomination. In addition, populism seems widespread: other alleged, if less successful, populist candidates dominated the ranks of the Republican Party nomination, while a similar contender (Bernie Sanders) nearly won the Democratic Party's nomination. Commentators have noted the strong ideological and stylistic similarities between these candidates and the radical populists of the left and right in Latin America and Europe, and they fear it heralds an era of polarization, irrational policymaking, and creeping authoritarianism (Carroll 2016; Seib 2016; Wofford 2016).

How severe is this latest wave of populism in the US? What lessons can we draw from this experience concerning the causes of populism and, perhaps just as importantly, appropriate policy responses? Can these lessons be applied to other countries?

To answer these important questions, members of Team Populism, an international research network studying the causes of populism, have conducted a survey measuring the populist discourse of the major candidates during the US 2016 presidential campaign. Furthermore, we have incorporated insights from our broader, comparative study of populism to an analysis of current campaign events in the US.

On the descriptive side, we find that there are some strong populist candidates in the current campaign, and at least one candidate (Trump) has become more populist. But populism in the US is still not at the level one finds in Latin American countries; instead, it is similar to what we see in many Western European countries, where radical populists sometimes win seats, but most of the populists winning pluralities or memberships in government coalitions are relatively moderate (Hawkins and Silva 2015). Thus, it seems closer to previous episodes in the US.

On the causal side, we argue that the current wave is rooted in some of the same factors highlighted by studies of populism in Europe, such as the negative effects of economic and cultural globalization or the economic crisis. But we refine this argument and argue that all forms of populism should be understood as responses to *failures of democratic representation.* We also suggest that this understanding leads to a different way of crafting policy solutions. It requires recognizing the democratic basis of populist claims and forging policy compromises that explicitly take these claims into account. Although for much of Latin America and even Southern Europe this leads to significant pessimism, for the US and most of Western Europe the outlook is potentially more hopeful.

How populist are they?

In order to measure the level of populism in the 2016 presidential campaign, we focus on populist ideas, or what some scholars call the discursive frame or the thin-centered ideology of populism (Aslanidis 2015; Mudde 2004). This perspective not only allows us to measure the level of populism of different candidates, but to

make qualitative distinctions in the type of populism they embody – especially whether they are on the left or the right.

Specifically, we define populism as a Manichaean discourse that sees politics as a struggle between a reified will of the people and a conspiring elite. Populism stands alongside other discourses such as pluralism, which also believes in democracy but avoids the demonization of political opponents; and elitism, which views politics in a Manichaean fashion but reverses the roles of the elite and the people (Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser forthcoming). Although we favor this minimal definition, we recognize that other definitions prefer to add features such as charismatic, outsider leadership; movement-based organization; short-sighted economic policies; or the presence of certain types of coalitions (Dornbusch and Edwards 1991; Germani 1978; Weyland 2001). Nevertheless, most definitions see a pro-people/anti-establishment discourse as an essential feature for anything to be considered populist, and hence a baseline for measurement.

In our study we measure populist discourse through a textual analysis of speeches and party manifestos, using a well-tested technique called holistic grading (Hawkins 2009; Hawkins and Kocijan 2013). Holistic grading is a type of content analysis, in that it assigns a numerical value to the text based on the content. But unlike traditional content analyses that work at the level of words or sentences, it has coders read each text in its entirety and assign a single score, based on a coding rubric and a set of anchor texts that illustrate each point in the measurement scale. The resulting scale runs from 0 (no populism) to 2 (clear populist elements used, consistent and with a strong tone). To be clear, by "populist elements" we mean the two core elements of populist discourse: a reified will of the common people and a conspiring elite. Thus, a populist speech cannot just contain positive references to ordinary citizens, but must situate the people in a struggle with the elite.

For each text, we had two student coders read the text in its original language (English), assign a score, and complete a record with a short, typed justification for their score and illustrative quotes. All of the scoring sheets, scores, and original texts are available at the

Team Populism website, populism.byu.edu. Our holistic grading technique is not the only way to measure populism – other scholars have used other techniques of textual analysis very productively (c.f. Rooduijn and Pauwels 2011) – but it is one of the few that allows large-scaled international comparison.

The average scores for all of the candidates are in Table 1. These are averages of all the speech scores and the manifesto score, with the speech total weighted twice as heavily as the manifesto (the total number of speeches varies from 3 to 8 for each candidate). For a truly comparative perspective, we include scores for the major parties in the Spanish parliamentary election of December 2015 and the candidates for the Venezuelan presidential by-election of 2013; these use smaller but similar samples of just three texts: the announcement speech by the party leader or presidential candidate, the closing speech, and the party manifesto. Although this sample may seem small, readers should bear in mind that many studies of political ideology look only at a single text, the party manifesto; what we are doing here incorporates more information.

By way of background, the 2015 Spanish election took place less than two years after the emergence of Podemos, a widely discussed left-populist party that built off popular anger towards the post-2009 austerity measures; it was the second parliamentary election in which Podemos participated. It also marked the first appearance of Unidad Popular, a coalition of traditional leftist parties that in later elections formed a coalition with Podemos. In Venezuela, the 2013 presidential by-election was held to elect a successor following the death of Hugo Chávez. Nicolás Maduro, Chávez's Vice-President, defeated the opposition candidate Henrique Capriles by a small margin after a campaign marked by numerous irregularities.

As can be seen, the level of populism in the US campaign is more like that of the Spanish election than the Venezuelan. Consider first the US and Spanish elections. Only one candidate/party in each of these countries has a score close to the threshold of 1.5, Sanders and Unidad Popular. Below these are one or more moderately populist candidates (average scores greater than .5): Trump and Ted Cruz in the United States, and Podemos and Democracia

TABLE 1 - POPULIST DISCOURSE OF MAJOR CANDIDATES/PARTY LEADERS

US 2016		Spain 2015		Venezuela 2013	
Candidate	Average Score	Party	Average Score	Candidate	Average Score
Bernie Sanders	1.5	Unidad Popular	1.3	Nícolás Maduro	1.7
Donald Trump	0.8	Podemos	0.8	Henrique Capriles	1.5
Ted Cruz	0.8	Democracia y Libertad	0.8		
Marco Rubio	0.3	PP	0.1		
Hillary Clinton	0.2	PSOE	0.1		
John Kasich	0.1	Ciudadanos	0.0		

y Libertad in Spain. And in each country there are two or three essentially non-populist parties or candidates: Hillary Clinton, Marco Rubio, and John Kasich in the United States, and the traditional governing parties of PP (People's Party) and PSOE (Socialist Workers' Party) in Spain.

By contrast, Venezuela is a seething cauldron of populism. Admittedly, the context is different, in that we have just two parties/candidates competing in a situation of declining democracy. But it is remarkable to find that both the governing and opposition candidates have high scores across the entire campaign. For the current US campaign to end up similarly, not just Clinton but also Trump would need to significantly ratchet up their rhetoric and re-write their party manifestos. Only Sanders' discourse comes close to what we hear in Venezuela.

Because we have a large number of datapoints for the US campaign, we can break these results down across time, allowing us to look more closely at individual candidates. This is especially useful for analyzing Trump, whom some political scientists felt was not very populist at the start of his campaign (Barr 2016; Mudde 2015). The results are in Figure 1. Most of the candidates have fairly consistent rhetoric: Sanders stays high (coders all noted how

FIGURE 1- INDIVIDUAL SPEECH SCORES BY CANDIDATE
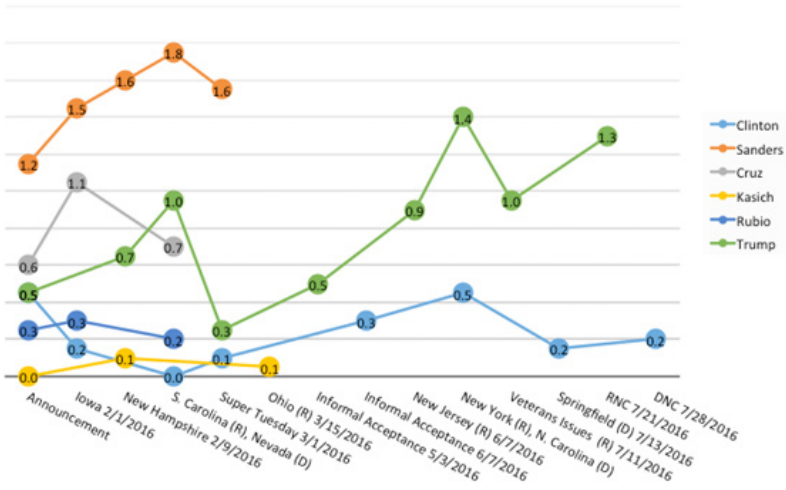
similar his speeches were), and Clinton, Kasich, and Rubio stay low. The candidate who shifts the most is Trump, who has in fact become more populist across the course of his campaign, especially after May 2016 when he effectively won the nomination.

Our coding technique also provides qualitative data that flesh out the nature and content of these discourses – including whether they were on the left or right. What we find is that the top populist candidates have issue profiles very similar to their counterparts in Western Europe. Trump, especially, is similar to radical right politicians elsewhere and different from traditional, conservative politicians in the US. In all his speeches (not to mention official campaign website; see https://www.donaldjtrump.com/positions), he speaks regularly about immigration, national safety and security, economic policy, and bringing jobs back to America. Controlling immigration (through building a wall or stronger measures of deportation) is easily the top issue mentioned, although he also emphasizes support for local law enforcement (and rejecting the claims of critical movements such as Black Lives Matter) and reducing government economic regulations.

Importantly, he distinguishes himself from traditional conservatives in his party by adopting an explicitly anti-free-trade stance and showing much greater support for traditional entitlement programs such as Social Security. And in terms of national defense, he is strikingly isolationist, expressing not just reluctance to commit US troops abroad but a willingness to unilaterally disavow key treaty obligations. This can be seen partially in the following quote from his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention:

> The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponents, is that our plan will put America First. Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo. As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America First, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect. This will all change in 2017. The American People will come first once again.

Thus, he is far more in line with current radical right positions in Western Europe, which also combine skepticism of "big government" and control of immigration with welfare chauvinism, an emphasis on law-and-order, and a retreat from the institutions of globalization.

In contrast, Sanders' speeches (and positions on his official website; see https://berniesanders.com/issues/) are more consistently leftist. The issue content of his speeches varies little across both time and location, with constant references to campaign finance, the inequality in wealth distribution, and an economy that works only for those at the top. These themes are summed up in a single paragraph from Sanders' victory speech in New Hampshire on February 10:

> Tonight, we served notice to the political and economic establishment of this country that the American people will not continue to accept a corrupt campaign finance system that is undermining American democracy, and we will not accept a rigged economy in which ordinary Americans work longer hours for lower wages, while almost all new income and wealth goes to the top 1%.

Thus, Sanders' economic positions are somewhat closer to those of Trump, differing largely in the radicalism of his solutions and his intolerance of capitalism. Where he differs more clearly is in his social positions and some of his foreign policy. Sanders expresses clear support for sexual and racial minorities (including immigrants) and liberal women's issues, and he seeks a reduced military and greater support for multilateralism and international organizations. He also expresses support for environmental regulation. In other words, Sanders hews closely to the policy agenda of many left-populist parties in Western Europe, such as Podemos in Spain or Syriza in Greece, which position themselves to the left on both economic and social dimensions.

What is causing this?

Knowing something about the level and types of populism present in the US campaign also tells us a great deal about its causes. These causes include some of the same factors driving populism in Western Europe, but they also point to a general problem of democratic representation.

US scholars and pundits have offered two arguments for the latest wave of populism that echo earlier theories coming out of Western Europe, namely, economic frustration and cultural change. On the one hand, populism seems to grow out of frustration with the negative impact of globalization on certain sectors of the economy, together with the immediate impact of the recent recession. While globalization has generally lifted national economies through gains from trade and reduced costs of transportation and communication, it harms sectors of the economy that lack comparative advantage – in the US, typically low-skilled labor in manufacturing. These losses have been magnified by the recent recession, which not only drove up unemployment and drove down wages for several years, but also erased the home equity of many indebted Americans. The losers to globalization are aware that these consequences are driven by more than just technologi-

cal change – they result from policies such as free-trade treaties and banking regulations. Hence, the losers are seeking some kind of economic retrenchment or revenge against a political elite that has abandoned them (e.g., Sides and Tesler 2016).

On the other hand, populism is also being driven by cultural globalization. Liberal, post-materialist values have made continual inroads at the expense of traditional values, including both traditional religious views and materialist, authoritarian values. The treatment of undocumented immigrants is one area where this is keenly felt, where some citizens feel that immigrants upholding different values (and who have not obeyed the law) are being given special welfare or other legal protections not normally granted to US citizens. People who hold these traditional values – typically the poor and less educated – are pushing back against the liberal progressive elite by supporting candidates who reaffirm their traditional views on appropriate family roles, national identity, and cultural homogeneity (e.g., Inglehart and Norris 2016).

These arguments clearly echo theories developed to explain the emergence of the populist radical right and, more recently, the populist radical left in Europe. Although European scholars initially argued that right-wing populist parties combined a programmatic mix of neoliberalism with anti-immigration (Kitschelt 1997), they modified their views as radical right parties shifted in response to the negative effects of globalization. Now European scholars see radical right populists defined by a mixture of welfare state chauvinism, anti-EU policies, and immigration controls (Mudde 2007). In contrast, left-wing populists have adopted only the economic side of the populist package, favoring a more radical statist position involving heavy government participation in the economy, combined with a culturally diverse stance (Stavrakakis and Katsambekis 2014).

Our description of Trump and Sanders' campaign rhetoric shows that these same patterns exist in the current wave of US populism. Thus, we think it is fair to argue that these factors – economic and cultural globalization, aggravated by the recent recession – are the initial links in a causal chain that produces support for populist parties in both Western Europe and the US today.

However, we feel that these initial causes provide only half an explanation, pointing us to the programmatic bases of specific populist parties but not the underlying reasons for their populist appeal. In other words, they explain why voters support populists of the right or left, and what constitutes these ideological positions today. But they do not explain why these parties are *populist* and what if anything voters find attractive about this discourse. After all, other non-populist varieties of parties with similar ideological stances are available – including not only extreme nationalist parties and reformed parties of the left, but in some cases mainstream traditional parties that have begun to adjust their programmatic stances.

To provide the other links in this causal chain, we and a variety of other social scientists have begun to suggest that populism generally is a response to perceived *failures of democratic representation* (Hawkins, Read, and Pauwels forthcoming; Kriesi 2014; Oliver and Rahn 2016; Rovira Kaltwasser 2014). This perspective looks seriously at the substance of populist ideas, which are essentially a claim rooted in democratic theory. Democratic theory argues that, because all members of the political community are possessors of agency, they are entitled to equality before the law and deserve to constitute sovereignty, each citizen having an equal claim to the exercise of that sovereignty (O'Donnell 2001). Populism argues that these rights are being violated: rulers are using their access to the state to benefit themselves at the expense of the citizenry. Of course, populism goes further than this, arguing that this elite is acting knowingly and in concert, i.e., as part of a conspiracy, and that desperate measures are justified, including eliminating some of the key institutions of liberal democracy. But underlying this more paranoid prescription is the fundamental claim that the equal protection of the law has been violated, hence, a failure of democratic representation in the deepest sense.

In addition, failures of democratic representation tend to occur in one of two modes that correspond to the basic type of party-based representation: clientelistic or programmatic. Party systems that depend on the conditional exchange of government goods and services for votes, or clientelism, are much more likely to feature

highly radical populists in power. Clientelistic party systems create many more opportunities for corruption and prevent governments from providing the kinds of public goods required for strong participation in a globalized, knowledge-based economy; not only is the rule of law weak, but economic performance is lower and policy crises are more frequent. In contrast, programmatic party systems that depend on the provision of policy programs utilizing universalistic criteria, or programmatic competition, are prone to relatively minor representational failures when parties fail to adapt to changing voter demands. Here governance is much stronger and policy crisis are more short-lived, and complaints about elite conspiracies are concentrated among particular constituencies and parties (Bornschier 2016; Kenny 2016).

This more complete theory goes a long ways towards explaining the predominance of radical populists in Latin America and Southern Europe, and the relatively mild experience of populism in the United States and other developed democracies. For historical reasons, countries such as Venezuela, Ecuador, and Greece tend to feature much greater levels of clientelism, corruption, and bad policy. Populists here cause serious and frequent disruptions to the institutions of democracy because the surrounding context is more likely to generate the kinds of problems that large numbers of citizens will interpret as a failure of democratic representation. In contrast, countries such Canada and the United States have relatively robust, well-functioning states. Consequently, populist movements are somewhat less frequent and, while they help reshape the political agenda, they rarely win outright power. A similar situation may now be emerging in Western Europe, which for various reasons (especially the trauma of fascism) has not experienced many strong populist movements since the interwar period. The current wave of populism may be something closer to the democratic norm.

Seen in this light, the 2016 US presidential campaign is similar to previous populist moments, reflecting a temporary disconnect between traditional parties and their constituents, rather than widespread outrage at a political system that has routinely failed to satisfy

basic standards of governance. Globalization and the Great Recession are very real phenomena affecting many lives, but they are temporary and will probably be dealt with by establishment candidates from the traditional parties as they adapt to and absorb the issues being raised by populist challengers. Trump and Sanders (as well some of the minor candidates from the Republican Party) are generally not targeting core institutions of US democracy or threatening to eliminate liberal capitalism, even though they clearly promise to modify some particularly hated policies. If they were elected, their impact on democracy would be limited not only by their own discourses, but by significant support for traditional institutions coming from opponents who are not as dissatisfied with US democracy.

Policy implications

None of this implies that the current wave of populism should simply be waited out. Programmatic party systems in the US and Western European democracies will survive only if they respond and adapt to this changing political agenda. Indeed, unlike in clientelistic systems where parties and politicians often become immobile and unresponsive, parties in these programmatic party systems are in many cases already adjusting. The question is what kinds of adjustments are most likely to prove successful.

While important positional shifts have to be made to accommodate the material and cultural demands generated by globalization and the economic recession, the ideational theory of populism suggests one important tactic. It is one that most current US politicians and intellectuals have not yet adopted, and one that has been largely ignored by the Western European policy elite. This is the suggestion that politicians take the claims of populist voters seriously and respectfully. The dominant approach by the policy elite in the US and Europe has been to dismiss populist claims as products of ignorance and backwardness. For example, American political scientists have spent a great deal of time trying to demonstrate that Trump supporters are bearers of deep-seated authoritarian values, a per-

sonality that is inimical to modernity and connected to the fascist movements of the last century. In Europe, a similar view motivates the *cordon sanitaire* that traditional parties impose on their populist competitors of the radical right.

However, populism is much more than a claim for material rewards or a privileging of traditional values, and certainly more than an emotional reaction born of low education. It is a claim that citizens are not being given equality before the law – that their fundamental rights as democratic citizens are being violated. Worse, their rights are being violated by a selfish elite that is not just deaf to their concerns, but consciously working against them. Merely redressing material concerns or traditional values will not respond to this deeper claim and, perhaps just as importantly, addressing the deeper claim may make it unnecessary to fully respond to other material or values-based claims. On the contrary, it opens up novel compromises.

For example, right-wing populist concerns about immigration effectively represent a sense that immigrants are being privileged at the expense of citizens. If true, this is a serious violation of democratic norms, not (necessarily only) a statement of xenophobia. Citizens are supposed to be the bearers of distinct, significant privileges in their home country, privileges that cannot be granted to non-citizens if citizenship is still to retain its meaning – especially if doing so comes at the cost of citizens and without their consent. Redressing right-wing populist claims about immigration does not necessarily require draconian measures against all immigrants, but it does require openly acknowledging the claim as a potentially legitimate one under the rules of liberal democracy. Thus, traditional politicians could emphasize that immigration will be allowed for humanitarian or economic reasons, but that this will be done in ways that still ensure the rule of law and the full rights of citizens. In the US in particular, this could be done by simultaneously enforcing laws against employing illegal immigrants while dramatically expanding quotas for new, legal immigrants and creating a more significant, federally-supported infrastructure for their assimilation. This position would address the needs of employers and the

immigrant tradition in the US, while still recognizing the concerns of disadvantaged citizens as legitimate.

To consider another example, left-wing populist claims about the negative impact of economic globalization are expressing a concern that sectors of the population with special access to education and other economic opportunities (or simply with unusual talents) are being unfairly benefited by policies of free trade, liberalized capital flows, and deregulation. Redressing these concerns does not actually require eliminating these policies or ending globalization as we know it. But it does mean publicly recognizing the unfairness of the institutions and social structures that produce this lopsided outcome and how these privilege one set of citizens over another. In the US this could be accomplished through a credible scheme of trade compensation that provides low-cost adult education and other essential short-term welfare benefits, financed through taxes on the beneficiaries of globalization. And it could be greatly ameliorated through improvements in public education and healthcare more generally.

The precise mix of feasible policies to create these compromise positions is less important than the meaning given to them (although without real substance, the rhetoric will seem hollow). What is essential is acknowledging the legitimacy of these claims and recognizing their basis in liberal democratic norms. Recognizing this legitimacy does not mean giving up equally important liberal claims; claims are often competing and conflicting (e.g., the rule of law vs. human rights, economic freedom vs. equality of opportunity). Conflicts must be resolved through the art of politics. But dismissing populist arguments outright represents its own kind of ignorance, an ignorance of ideas and the basis of their appeal.

Conclusion

The current wave of populism in the US presidential campaign is significant and parallels what we see in Western Europe. But it is not much greater than historical levels, and certainly nowhere near

what ones finds in the instances of radical populism in Latin America. Recognizing this fact is the first step in responding to populism in this country and in Western Europe.

The second step is recognizing the basis of populist claims. Populism is about much more than a particular set of material or cultural grievances rooted in globalization or the economic crisis, although these are part of the problem. More fundamentally, it represents a broadly shared sense that current policy failures are unfair and the result of elite machinations, hence, violations of basic democratic principles of equality before the law for all citizens. In developed countries, this requires taking a different political tack. It means trying to understand the basis of populist claims and publicly acknowledging their legitimacy, thus reaffirming the rights of all citizens. Happily, embracing this response opens up policy compromises that could reaffirm the liberal institutions governing the current global order. It does not require ceding the rhetorical ground to isolationists or xenophobes.

While this suggests some room for optimism in the developed, industrialized countries, it also suggests pessimism for less-developed countries such as those in much of Latin America or even Southern Europe. In these countries, where clientelism and corruption are endemic, mere programmatic compromises are unlikely to work. The problem is not so much the lack of mutual understanding (although this is also there) but a deep lack of will on the part of the political elite, who in many instances have little incentive to engage in the deep institutional reforms required to produce a state that fully recognizes all citizens' equality before the law. In other words, while the populist conspiratorial mindset is often an exaggeration in highly developed countries, it is a perfectly rational mindset in the less developed ones. Citizens are far more likely to try to remove all of the traditional politicians and embrace radical populist movements led by charismatic leaders. Thus far, we do not have any examples of radical populists creating highly professional institutions that respect the rule of law.

References

Akkerman, A., Mudde, C. and A. Zaslove (2014) "How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 47, no. 9, pp. 1324-53.

Aslanidis, P. (2015) "Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective", *Political Studies*, October, n/a – n/a. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12224.

Barr, R. (2016) "Has Latin American Populism Spread to the US?", *Mobilizing Ideas*, April 8.

Bonikowski, B. and N. Gidron (2016) "The Populist Style in American Politics: Presidential Campaign Discourse, 1952-1996", *Social Forces*, vol. 94, no. 4, pp. 1593-1621.

Bornschier, S. (2016) "Ideational and Party-System-Centered Explanations of Populist Success: Latin America and Western Europe Compared" in ECPR Joint Sessions: The Causes of Populism, Pisa, April 24-26.

Bos, L., Wouter Van Der, B. and C.H. De Vreese (2013) "An Experimental Test of the Impact of Style and Rhetoric on the Perception of Right-Wing Populist and Mainstream Party Leaders", *Acta Politica*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 192-208.

Carroll, R. (2016) "Insult, Provoke, Repeat: How Donald Trump Became America's Hugo Chávez", *The Guardian*, June 22, sec. US news.

Conniff, M.L. (1999) *Populism in Latin America*, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press.

de la Torre, C. (2015) "Podemos, el populismo y la democracia." *El País*, February 2.

Dornbusch, R. and S. Edwards (eds.) (1991) *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Germani, G. (1978) *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism*, New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers.

Gerson, M. (2015) "Is Populism on the Rise in America?", *The Washington Post*, October 1.

Hameleers, M., Bos, L. and C.H. de Vreese (2016) "'They Did It' The Effects of Emotionalized Blame Attribution in Populist Communication" *Communication Research* preprint issue. doi:10.1177/0093650216644026.

Hamid, S. (2016) "Donald Trump and the Authoritarian Temptation." *The Atlantic*, May 6.

Hardt, M. and A. Negri (2011) "The Fight for'Real Democracy'at the Heart of Occupy Wall Street", *Foreign Affairs*, October 11.

Hawkins, K.A. (2009) "Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 42, no. 8, pp. 1040-67.

Hawkins, K.A. and B. Kocijan (2013) "Codebook for Measuring Populist Discourse. Populist Discourse Project at Central European University".

Hawkins, K.A., Riding, S. and C. Mudde (2012) "Measuring Populist Attitudes", Working Paper Series on Political Concepts, ECPR Committee on Concepts and Methods.

Hawkins, K.A., and B. Castanho Silva (2015) "Mapping Populist Parties in Europe and the Americas", Paper prepared for the ALACIP Congress 2015, Lima, Peru, July 22-24.

Hawkins, K.A., Read, M. and T. Pauwels (forthcoming) "Populism and Its Causes" in *Oxford Handbook of Populism*, C. Rovira Kaltwasser, P.A. Taggart and P. Ochoa Espejo (eds.), New York, Oxford University Press.

Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2016) "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash", HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP16-026.

Kazin, M. (1998) *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press.

Kazin, M. (2016) "How Can Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders Both Be 'Populist'?", *The New York Times*, March 22.

Kenny, P. (2016) "Populism, Patronage, and Decentralization in Latin America and the Caribbean", ECPR Joint Sessions: The Causes of Populism, Pisa, April 24-26.

Kitschelt, H. (1997) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Kriesi, H. (2014) "The Populist Challenge", *West European Politics*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 361-78.

Mudde, C. (2004) "The Populist Zeitgeist", *Government and Opposition*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 542-63.

Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Mudde, C. (2015) "The Trump Phenomenon and the European Populist Radical Right", *The Washington Post*, August 26.

Mudde, C. and C. Rovira Kaltwasser (forthcoming) *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Norris, P. (2016) "It's Not Just Trump. Authoritarian Populism Is Rising across the West. Here's Why", *The Washington Post: Monkey Cage*. Accessed June 16.

O'Donnell, G. (2001) "Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 7-36.

Oliver, E.J. and W.M. Rahn (2016) "The Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 Election", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, vol. 667, no. 1.

Rooduijn, M. and T. Pauwels (2011) "Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis", *West European Politics*, vol. 34, no. 6, pp. 1272-83.

Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2014) "The Responses of Populism to Dahl's Democratic Dilemmas", *Political Studies*, vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 470-87.

Seib, G.F. (2016) "Behind the Rise of Populism, Economic Angst", *Wall Street Journal*, January 20.

Sides, J. and M. Tesler (2016) "How Political Science Helps Explain the Rise of Trump (part 3): It's the Economy, Stupid", *Washington Post*. Accessed August 16.

Skocpol, T. and V. Williamson (2013) *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, Reprint edition, New York, Oxford University Press.

Stavrakakis, Y. and G. Katsambekis (2014) "Left-Wing Populism in the European Periphery: The Case of SYRIZA", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 119-42.

Stoehr, J. (2016) "Bernie's Bank-Busting Isn't Progressive", *US News & World Report*, April 15.

Stone, W.J. and R. Rapoport (2008) *Three's a Crowd: The Dynamic of Third Parties, Ross Perot, and Republican Resurgence*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Sudweeks, R.R., Reeve, S. and W.S. Bradshaw (2004) "A Comparison of Generalizability Theory and Many-Facet Rasch Measurement in an Analysis of College Sophomore Writing", *Assessing Writing*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 239-61.

Weyland, K. (2001) "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics", *Comparative Politics,* vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 1-22.

Wofford, B. (2016) "Pinochet. Chavez. Trump?", *POLITICO Magazine*. Accessed August 16.

Conclusions. Policy implications for the EU

Alberto Martinelli

This volume is about populism in the consolidated democracies of contemporary Europe and the United States. Although populism is a recurrent feature in US politics and only a recent one in most European countries, similarities prevail over differences on the two sides of the Atlantic. The key common distinctive feature is the anti-establishment attitude, the Manichean opposition between we (the pure, virtuous people) and them (the corrupt and negligent elite). The main differences depend on the way in which the populist rhetoric combines with other, more comprehensive, ideologies, such as nationalism or socialism, that add more specific content and provide a more detailed set of answers to key political questions such as anti-migration policies on the right-wing side of the political spectrum or anti-neoliberal policies, on the left-wing side.

Populism is not anti-democratic, it lives and grows in the shadow of democracy. Populist parties are opposed to the-establishment, but not anti-system parties. Populism has been defined a "pathology of democracy" (Weiland, 2001), but it is rather a symptom of democratic pathologies (corruption, clientelism, the widening gap between political representatives and their constituencies) and, as such, it should not be dismissed as just anti-systemic, but taken seriously in order to foster reforms aimed at improving the quality of democracy. However, populism implies an illiberal version of democracy; it is an attempt to dissociate democracy from liberalism, to solve the tension between the two by exploding the former and limiting the latter. It takes "government by the people" literally, embraces a monolithic conception of the people's will and rejects the essence of

the political tradition of constitutionalism. Currently some national-populist parties in power are limiting constitutional guarantees, as in Hungary, Poland, Turkey, while populist opposition parties do not put this kind of claim in their programmatic agenda.

In this volume we tried to explore the rise of populism by analyzing the main causes and opportunity structures and the type of voters (or sources of support). From this we can draw some indications about the type of policies that are needed, both at the EU level and as a set of coordinated national policies at the level of member states, to face the populist challenge.

Taking populist exposure of democratic failures seriously

Two main policy implications should be drawn from the fact that populism exposes key pathologies and failures of representative democracy. The first is taking populist exposure of democratic failures seriously and responding to the distrust of politics through effective policies aiming at repressing corruption, clientelistic networks between parties and unchecked, powerful pressure groups, and the mismanagement of public resources. The second policy implication is the need to develop civic education and forms of both genuine direct democracy, such as referendums and deliberative democracy.

Defending civil liberties and constitutional checks and balances

A key policy implication should be drawn from the fact that populism underplays the liberal component of modern democracy and limits constitutional guarantees: the staunch defense of civil liberties and constitutional checks and balances should be made against any shortcut of pseudo-direct democracy.

The rise of populism also impacts the structure of national political systems, and the European Union. Whereas in the US the two-

party system has not been altered by the neo-populism of Trump and Sanders, since both remained within the two mainstream parties' presidential races (the former as the winning Republican candidate, the latter as the defeated contender for the Democratic nomination), the electoral success of populist parties has changed the party system in several EU member states from a bipolar-system to a three-party structure (as in France and Italy) or a four-party structure (as in Spain). The cases of the UK and Germany are different since there the mainstream parties seem to hold better: in the UK the UKIP is not a serious alternative for government, but was the winner in Brexit and in the last European Parliament elections. In Germany the growth of AfD can only further foster the Grosse Koalition government, with the possible risk, however, of strengthening the cleavage between traditional and new parties and related anti-establishment feelings.

The outcome of this complexification of the party system is undecided: either mainstream parties are capable of implementing the type of reforms we have outlined above and thus of regaining ground, or the new populist parties will prevail, or a prolonged period of political instability can occur.

At the EU level populist Eurosceptic parties are far from being capable of building a majority, since they won a minority of the vote and are divided among themselves to the point of not being able to form a supranational group; but they will reinforce the politics of coalition between the three major pro-European party federations – the People's Party (EPP), the Socialists (S&D) and the Liberal-Democrats (ALDE) – with its strengths and weaknesses. Such an alliance allows political compromises to ease the underlying tensions, which gave rise to the populist challenges in the first place, i.e. neoliberal vs. social Europe, creditor vs. debtor countries, supranational vs. national sovereignty, full acceptance vs. limited acceptance of the Schengen Treaty.

But on the other hand, it slows down and complicates EU decision-making and does not allow for the full activation of a democratic dialectic between different policy programs, thus further fueling the charges against the EU of democratic failures.

Tackling tensions and contradictions
rooted in social, economic and cultural crises

If mainstream parties, both at the national and EU levels, want to successfully respond to the populist challenge, they must take seriously the exposure by populist parties – in combination with more comprehensive ideologies such as nationalism and socialism – not only of the failures of representative democracy but also of other tensions and contradictions which are rooted in economic, social and cultural crises.

In order to counter the negative impact of the economic crisis, and to regain the confidence of the most negatively affected social groups ("globalization losers", marginalized workers with obsolete skills, the unemployed and underemployed youth) the EU should implement a set of policies aimed at fostering robust economic growth and greater and less unstable conditions of employment, as well as re-launching "social Europe".

In order to respond to the growing feeling of insecurity caused by terrorism an authentic common EU defense and security policy should be implemented. The EU must secure its external borders as a prerequisite for dissolving its internal borders. If a political union does not prove capable of protecting its frontiers, the most likely response by many citizens is to retrench within national borders, as national-populist parties urge them to do.

In order to respond to the concerns about the social and cultural issues of immigration (such as real or imagined fears concerning competition for jobs and social services and the failures of cultural integration), an effective European immigration strategy should be implemented, which includes policies of inclusion of immigrants not at the expense of citizens, policies of social integration for asylum seekers and criteria for their redistribution in the various member countries, expanding quotas for new legal immigrants, together with effective enforcement of laws against illegal immigration.

The leaders of the EU and its member states should, however, not try to imitate populist Eurosceptic attitudes, but develop alternative strategies of sustainable and inclusive growth and of enhan-

ced democratic quality. It is not an easy task, given the rifts between the different visions of European integration and the blocking role played by Eurosceptic leaders. In fact, the risk of the populist up-surge is not in having a populist anti-European majority in the EU Parliament, but that of a more divided European Council with po-pulist heads of governments blocking common European actions. The way out is the acceleration of the process toward an ever-closer Union by a core group of Eurozone countries, an option which has been facilitated by Brexit. A set of effective policies implemented at the supranational level by a smaller and more united group of member states would be the best answer to the populist charge of unresponsiveness from EU political leaders and institutions.

The Authors

Francesco Capuzzi, Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Milan. His main research interests are the study of anti-system parties, political participation, and electoral behaviour. He is currently working on the causes of public Eurosceptic attitudes, and their consequences on voter choices. He wrote a chapter on the local activists of the Five Stars Movement, included in the volume *Gli attivisti del Movimento 5 Stelle. Dal web al territorio* (*The Activists of the Five Stars Movement. From the Web to the Field*) (2015).

Rebecca Dudley, Undergraduate Research Assistant studying International Relations and French Studies at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. She has worked with Professor Kirk Hawkins for several years and has worked with Team Populism since its inception, including managing preparations for both Team Populism conferences to date. Rebecca published her capstone research project on populism in the French Revolution in *Sigma* (an undergraduate political science journal).

Matthew Goodwin, Professor of Political Science at the University of Kent and Senior Visiting Fellow at Chatham House. He is the author of four books and numerous research articles, including *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Public Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (2014).

Kirk A. Hawkins, Associate Professor in the Political Science Department of Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, and Director of Team Populism, a cross-regional scholarly network studying

the causes of populism. He is the author of *Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective* (2010).

Alberto Martinelli, Professor (Emeritus) of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Milan, Dean of the Political Sciences faculty, 1987-1999. President of the International Social Sciences Council. Past President of the International Sociological Association. President of the Fondazione AEM. Grand Officer of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic; Gold Medal from the City of Milan; Member of the Lombardy Institute of Sciences and Letters; editorialist for *Corriere della Sera*. Recent books: *La società europea* (*European Society*) (with A. Cavalli) (2015); *Mal di nazione. Contro la deriva populista* (*Nation disease. Against the populist drift*) (2013); *L'Occidente allo specchio* (*The West in the mirror*) (2012). *La modernizzazione* (*Modernization*) (2010). *Transatlantic Divide. Comparing American and European Society* (2008); *La democrazia globale* (*Global Democracy*) (2008); *Global Modernization* (2005).

Paolo Segatti teaches Political Sociology at the Social and Political Sciences Department at the University of Milan. Among his publications he recently edited (with Aldo De Virgilio) *La rappresentanza politica in Italia, Candidati ed elettori alle elezioni del 2013* (*Political Representation in Italy, Candidates and Voters in the 2013 Elections*) (2016); *European Identity in the Context of National Identities* (with Bettina Westle) (2016). He is a founding partner of the Italian National Election Study (Itanes) association and was for many years its President. He is currently concluding two research projects, on the effects of context on voter choices (with H. Schmitt and C. van der Eijk) and on the relations between religion and politics in Europe (with J.R. Montero and K. Calvo).

Piotr Sztompka is Professor (Emeritus) of Theoretical Sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He is a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Academia Europea (London) and American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Between 2002 and 2006 he served as an elected president of the International Sociological

Association (ISA). He has received honorary doctoral degrees from the universities of Moscow, Stockholm and Academy of Fine Arts, Krakow. His most important books in English include: *System and Function* (1974), *Sociological Dilemmas* (1979), *Robert Merton: An Intellectual Profile* (1986), *Society in Action: The Theory of Social Becoming* (1991), *The Sociology of Social Change* (1993), *Trust: A Sociological Theory* (1999), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (co-authored 2005).

Wen Jie (Fred) Tan is a student at Brigham Young University studying Political Science. He has worked for the Singapore Police Force and Ministry of Home Affairs (Singapore). This experience subsequently prepared Mr. Wen for work in the Ministry of Home Affairs and other voluntary grassroots responsibilities during which time he was required to make policy recommendations in response to national and international events. The current focus of his research revolves around populism as well as the role that religious freedom can play in promoting security and economic prosperity.