1. POPULAR ATTITUDES, POPULIST ATTITUDES & POPULIST PARTY VOTES

PROF. RICHARD ROSE FBA

CSPP Strathclyde & WISSENSCHAFTSZENTRUM Berlin

EPOP (Elections, Public Opinion & Parties) conference

Glasgow 13-15 September 2019

prof_r_rose@yahoo.co.uk

Thanks for research assistance to Sandra Horvath WZB

6/9/19
2. KEY TERMS

*Popular attitudes*: Totality of political values, preferences

*Populist attitudes*: a sub-set of popular attitudes (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017; Müller, 2017; van Kessel, 2015: 13))
  - Will of the people.
  - Traditional national culture.
  - Extreme ideology.
  - Left behind.

*Other Attitudes:*
  - Party identity. Class identity.
  - Civic participation (Barber 2004)
  - Environmentalism
  - Gender, moral issues

*Political preferences, behaviour:*
  - Values and policies: Democratic. Unconstitutional.
  - Behaviour: Voting. Conventional, unconventional protest
3. MODELS & HYPOTHESES

1. **Exclusive model**: Populist attitudes ---> populist party vote

   \[ H 1 \text{ If people hold populist attitudes, they vote for populist parties} \]

   Corollary 1a: The smaller the percent endorsing an attitude, the more likely it is to be exclusive to populist parties.

2. **Competition model**: Populist attitudes one of multiple influences

   \[ H 2 \text{ If people hold populist attitudes, they have a significant and substantial effect on political preferences, behaviour} \]

3. **Diffusion model**: Voters for governing party hold populist attitudes too

   \[ H 3 \text{ If populist attitudes have no significant effect, they will be distributed among all parties.} \]

   Corollary 3a: The higher the percentage holding a populist attitude, the more likely it is to be diffused among all parties.
4. POPULIST PARTIES A SUB-SET OF OUTSIDER PARTIES

*Outsider parties*: Not a governing party (LePen party) and/or recent (Five Star)

More than 300 Outsider parties in Europe in past two decades (Rose, 2019)

*Populist parties*: Will of all (Rousseau).

Populist parties with 1% of vote, 1 MP: 22 in 17 European countries

Range in votes: 0 (Portugal)- 55% Italy. Median: Fin, Sweden 17.5%

Range in seats: 0 (Portugal, UK) to 61% Italy. Median: Finland 19%

(See Appendix slide 8)

*Non-populist Outsider parties*

Personal: France: En Marche

National: Scottish National Party

Environmental: Green parties
5. POPULIST ATTITUDES VARY IN SIZE

H 1 Populist attitudes are minority attitudes

Undivided will of people as declared by leader. Rousseau
*Government doesn’t need to respect minorities (5%, ISSP)

Extreme right or left-wing ideology: (ISSP)
*Extreme right: pts 8-10 (15%) Extreme left 0-2 (11%)

Social exclusion: Left behind
*Low education, income, class. Ethnic minorities c. 15-30%.

H 3 Attitudes popular with plurality, majority

*Traditional national culture
  *Favour fewer, no immigrants (51%, Pew Europe, 2018)
  *Ethnic majority; identify with nation-state. Above 75%

Political exclusion
  *Government doesn’t care what people like me think (50%, ISSP)
6. CIVIC NOT POPULIST ATTITUDES FAVOR REFERENDUMS

In Europe 61 percent support referendums on major issues (ISSP, 2014: Q.53). A multivariate logistic regression of nine populist indicators found two significant; all eight civic influences were significant. (Rose and Wessels, 2019). The bars below show the size of the effect of significant variables independent of the direction.
7. POPULIST INFLUENCE ON VOTES, GOVERNMENT

VOTES DEPEND ON

H 1 Insiders vulnerable to protest entrepreneurs because of:
   Corruption.
   Leadership split on personality, policy
   Austerity
   Ignore populist issues such as Immigration
*Examples: Italy. Greece.

H 2 Positive Populist appeal
   Defend national culture, institutions against immigration, EU
*Example: UK

H 3 Positive Non-Populist appeal
   Environment: Green parties
   National independence: SNP. Catalan parties

IMPACT ON PARTY GOVERNMENT DEPENDS ON (Rose, 2019)

H 4 Whether Outsider support is decisive on an outcome, not on its size
   Eg Democratic Unionist 1.5% gives Conservative government its majority
   Eg LePen in presidential run off makes anti-LePen candidate the winner

H 5 Whether Insiders Co-Opt or Stigmatize Outsiders
   Adopt and destroy Outsider: British Conservatives: UKIP
   Absorb in system: Austria. Denmark. Norway
   Stigmatize and form cartel: Germany. Sweden.

* Timing, heterogeneity of outcomes dependent on national context and conjunctures.
8. APPENDIX VOTE FOR POPULIST PARTIES

Table 1: Electoral strength of populist parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>% Votes</th>
<th>N Seats</th>
<th>% Seats</th>
<th>Election date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>M5S</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LN</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FdI</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(55.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(382)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>FN</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FI</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(40.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n.a.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>SYRIZA</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>15.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>FPÖ</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>17.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Podemos</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vox</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(24.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(66)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(18.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>PVV</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(22.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Linke</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AfD</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(21.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(163)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(23.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Ps</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>FrP</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>VB</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>DF</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>ADR</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>18.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>UKIP</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parties winning one percent of vote and/or one seat in latest national election as of 31.8.19.

Source:  [Http://www.popu-list.org](http://www.popu-list.org), consulted 30.8.19
9. CITATIONS


