

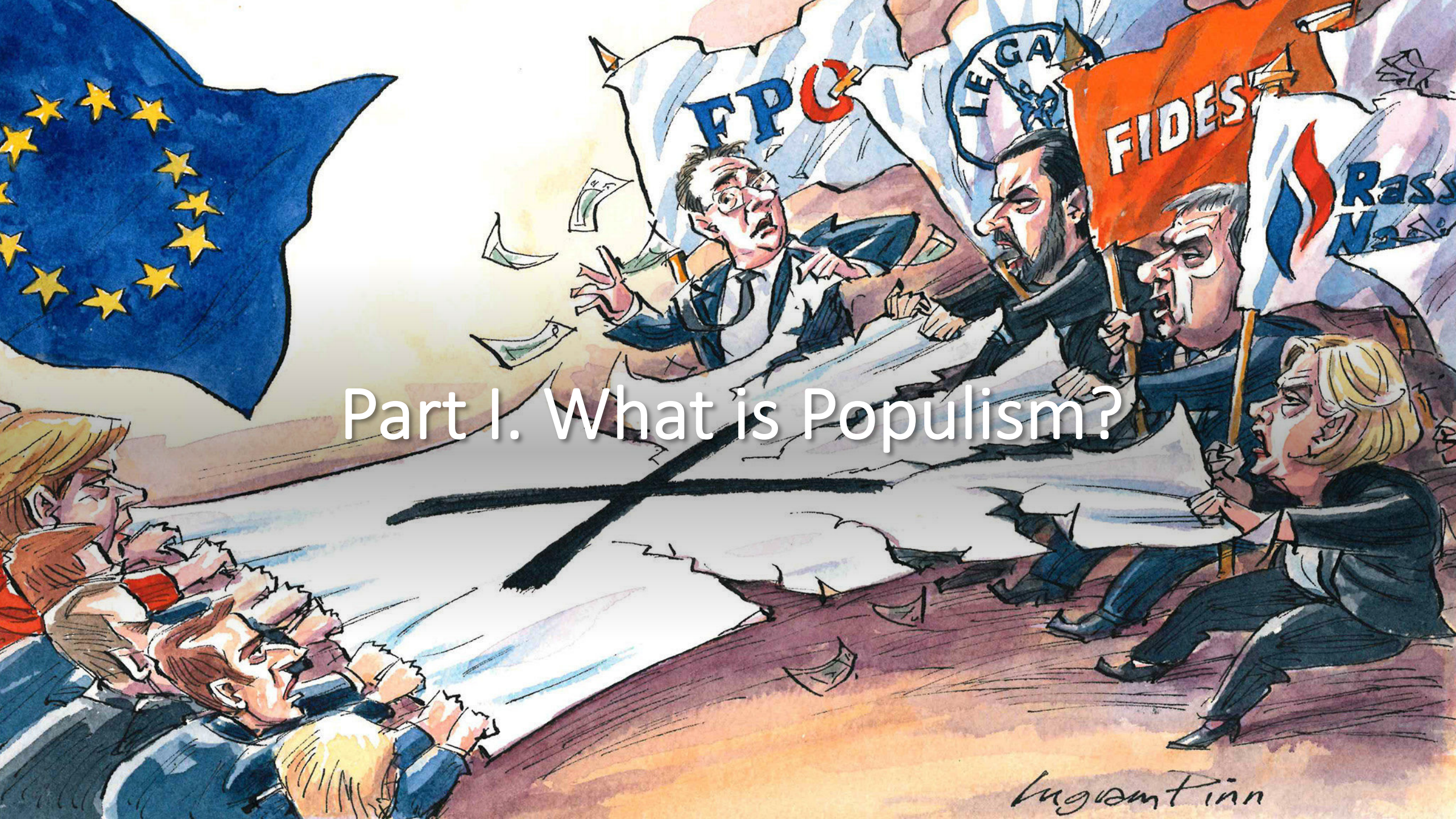
# Populism



# Outline

- I. What is Populism?
- II. Populism's Growth in Europe
- III. Populism in Action





# Part I. What is Populism?



# Populism

- **Mirriam-Webster:** A political approach that strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups
- **Mudde:** An ideology that considers society to be separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite”, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people







# General Populist Beliefs

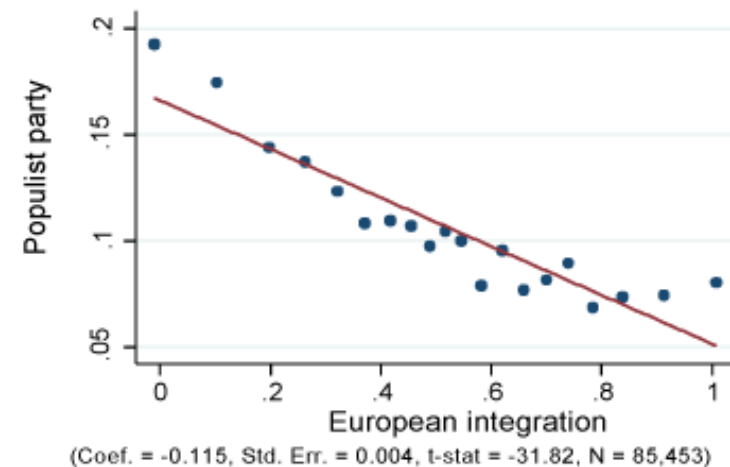
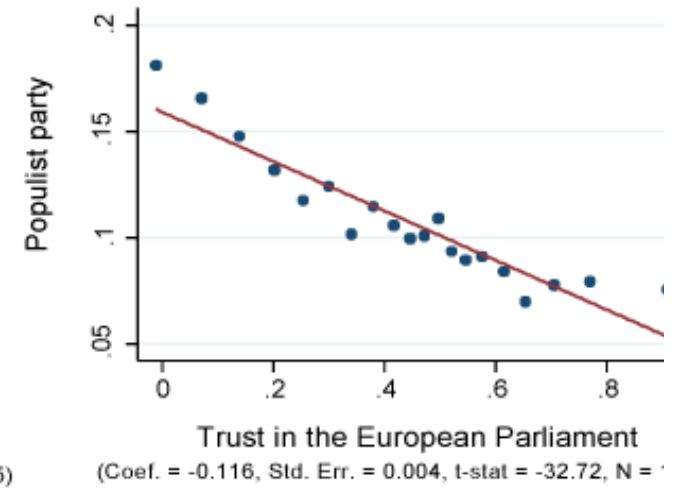
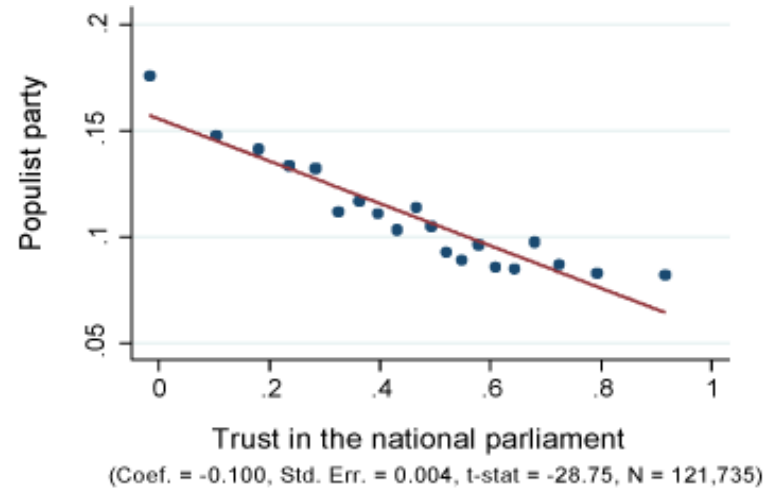
- 2) There is one will of the people, and this popular will is embodied in one person
  - Hugo Chavez: “Chavez is not me, Chavez is a people”





# General Populist Beliefs

- 3) Disdain for deliberative processes and decision making
  - Less talk, more action
- Deliberative institutions perpetuate power structures
  - Dominant political parties/institutions serve those in power rather than serve the people



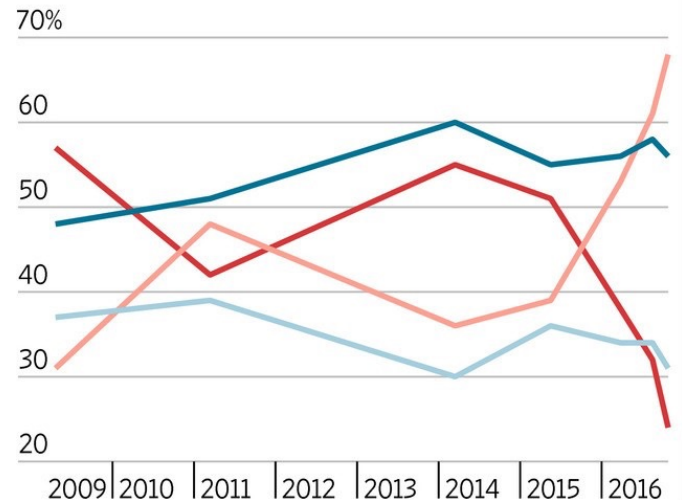
# General Populist Beliefs

- 4) A focus on short-term policies
  - Trade barriers and other interventions in the economy
  - Executive actions that temporarily resolve some issue

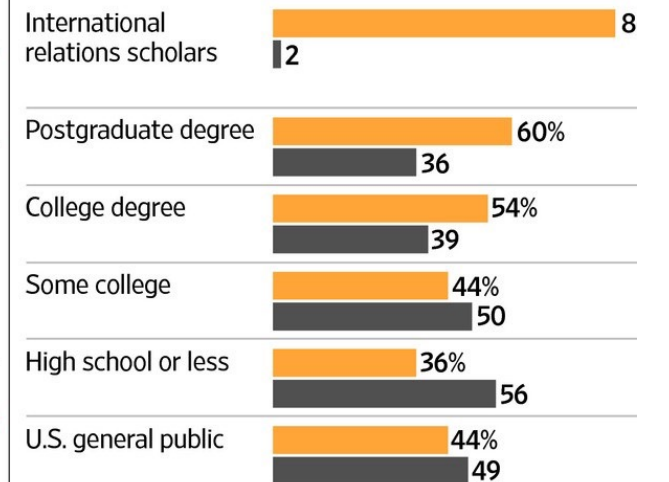
## Repudiating Economics

Compared to just three years ago, voters of both parties—especially Republicans—are less likely to see trade agreements as a good thing for the U.S. Voters of all education levels are less likely than academic to view U.S. involvement in the global economy positively.

**Percentage who say free-trade agreements are:**  
 Republicans: ■ Good ■ Bad   Democrats: ■ Good ■ Bad



**Percent who say U.S. involvement in the global economy is a:**  
 ■ Good thing ■ Bad thing



Sources: Pew Research Center (public support for trade and globalization); College of William & Mary (expert support for globalization)  
 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

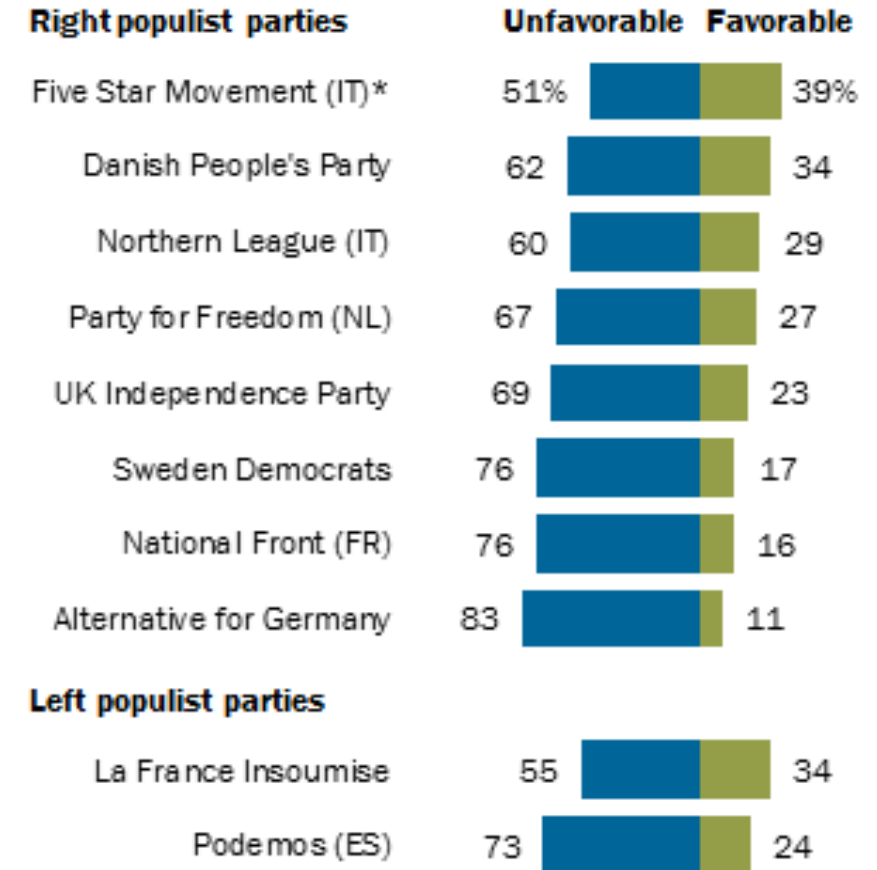


# Problems with Populist Beliefs

- 1) There is a true people, who are under attack
  - Generally, there is not one people, either ethnically or politically
  - Basis in societal division
    - Narrow interests vs professed broad interests

## Most populist parties deeply disliked

View of ...

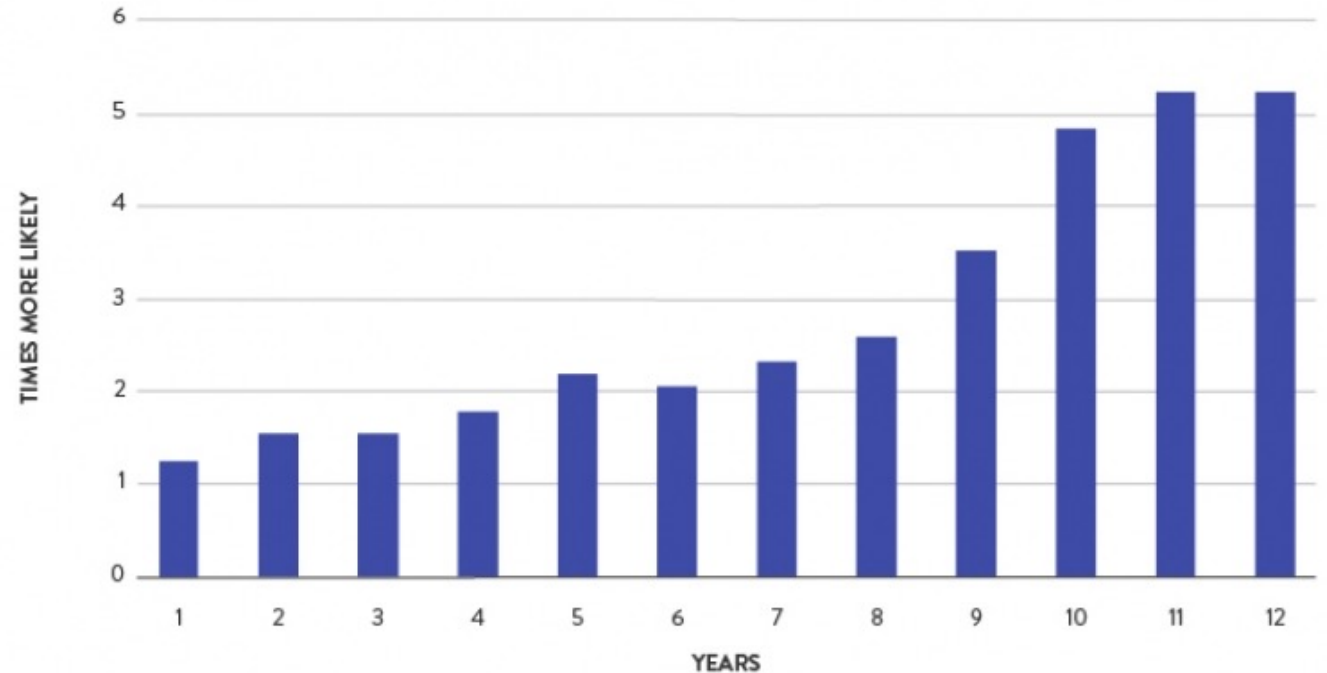


\*CHES expert ratings place the Five Star Movement's ideology slightly right of center, though it is not part of the radical right party family. See Appendix B for details.

Notes: IT=Italy, NL=Netherlands, FR=France, ES=Spain.  
Source: Survey of eight Western European countries conducted Oct. 30-Dec. 20, 2017.

# Problems with Populist Beliefs

- 2) There is one will of the people, and this popular will is embodied in one person
  - Dictatorial inclinations
  - No sustainable movement - no lasting institutions, no real succession strategy
- Graph: Populists' Relative Likelihood of Staying in Office, Compared With Non-Populists

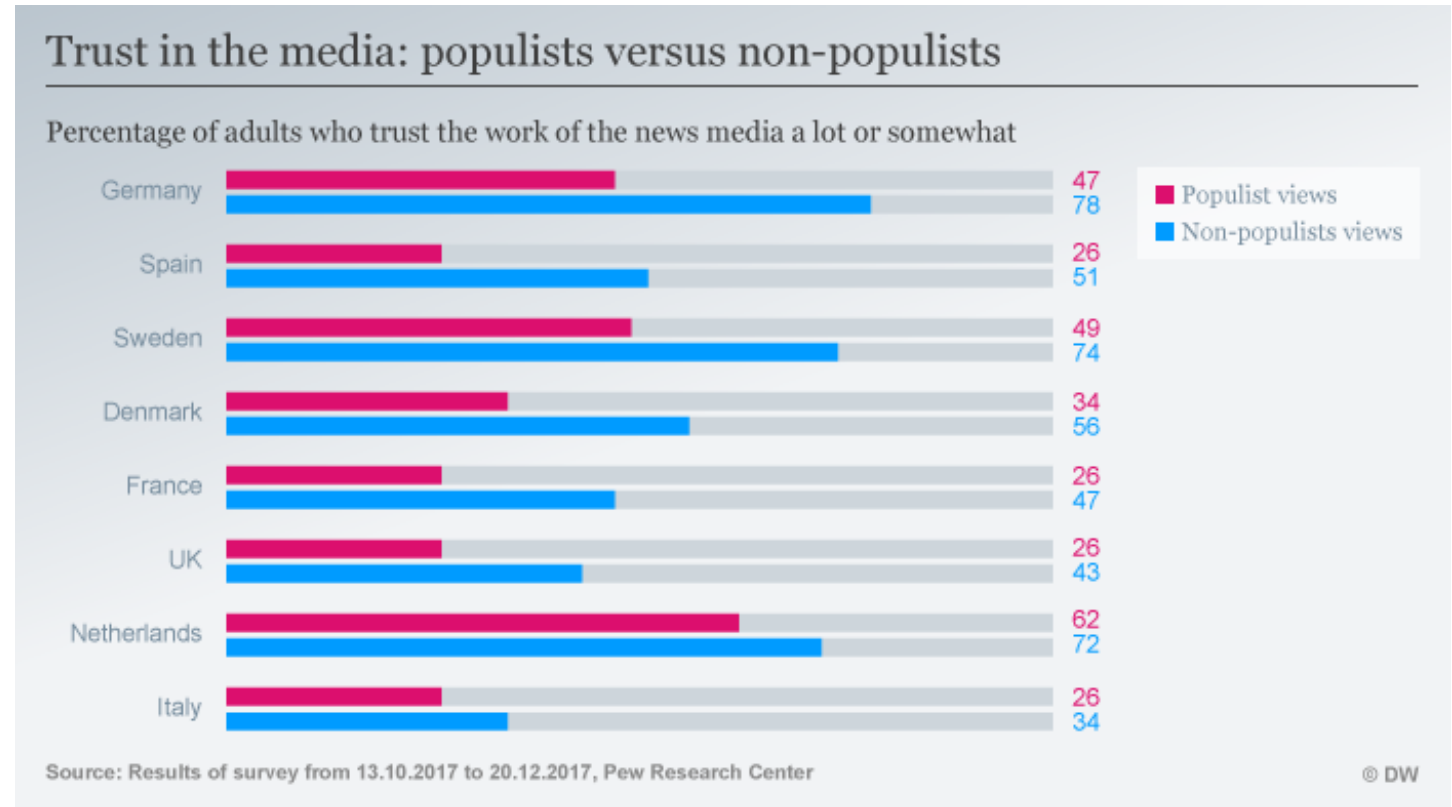


Source: Authors' calculations



# Problems with Populist Beliefs

- 3) Disdain for deliberative processes and decision making
  - Weakens established democratic institutions by bypassing or destroying them
- Long-term consequences
  - Erodes checks and balances on the executive
  - Democratic backsliding 4x more likely
  - Human and civil rights tend to decline
  - Trust in media declines



# Problems with Populist Beliefs

- 4) A focus on short-term policies
  - Little regard for downstream consequences
  - Poor, non-strategic decisions regarding the economy, foreign policy
    - Tariffs to benefit small groups
    - Removal of state from negotiations
    - Limiting influence







# Part II. Populism's Growth in Europe



# Types of Populism in Europe

- Right Populism
  - Anti-elite
    - Globalists
  - Eurosceptic
    - Nationalist by nature
  - Anti-immigrant
  - Anti-Muslim
  - Anti-globalization
  - Nativist
    - Blood and soil
  - Traditionalist
    - Traditional gender roles
  - Protectionist





# Types of Populism in Europe

- Left Populism
  - Anti-elite
    - Corporations, banks
  - Anti-capitalist
    - Generally espouse socialist principles
  - Anti-globalization
  - Anti-war
    - War economy
  - Environmentalism
  - Pluralist
    - Egalitarian, feminist
  - Protectionist



# Types of Populism in Europe

- Right Populism

- **Anti-elite**

- Globalists

- Eurosceptic

- Nationalist by nature

- Anti-immigrant

- Anti-Muslim

- **Anti-globalization**

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- **Protectionist**

- Left Populism

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- Corporations, banks

- Anti-capitalist

- Generally espouse socialist principles

- **Anti-globalization**

- Anti-war

- War economy

- Environmentalism

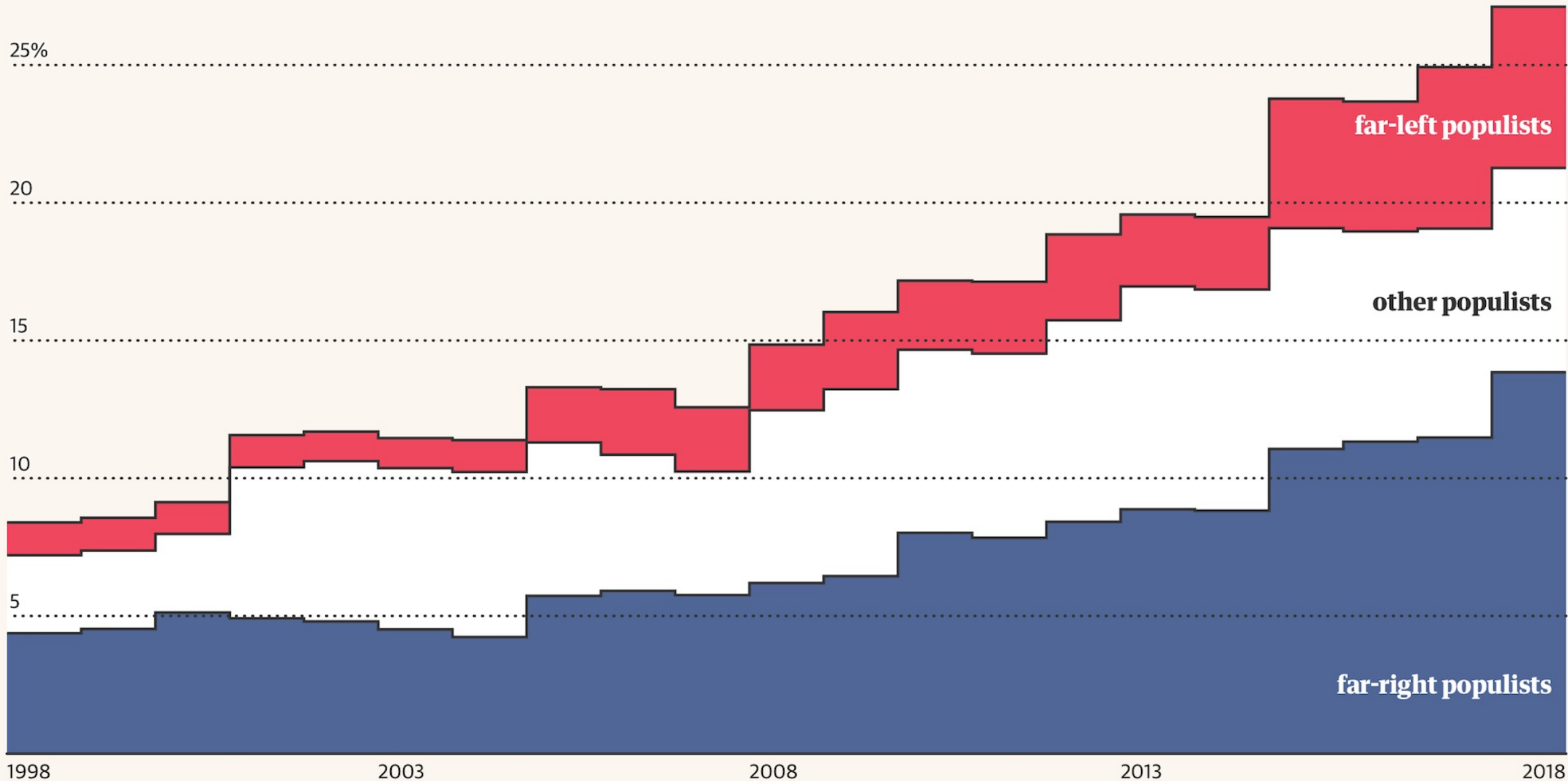
- Pluralist

- Egalitarian, feminist

- **Protectionist**

## Overall populist vote share in Europe, 1998 to 2018

Combined vote share by year for 31 countries, as at last parliamentary election

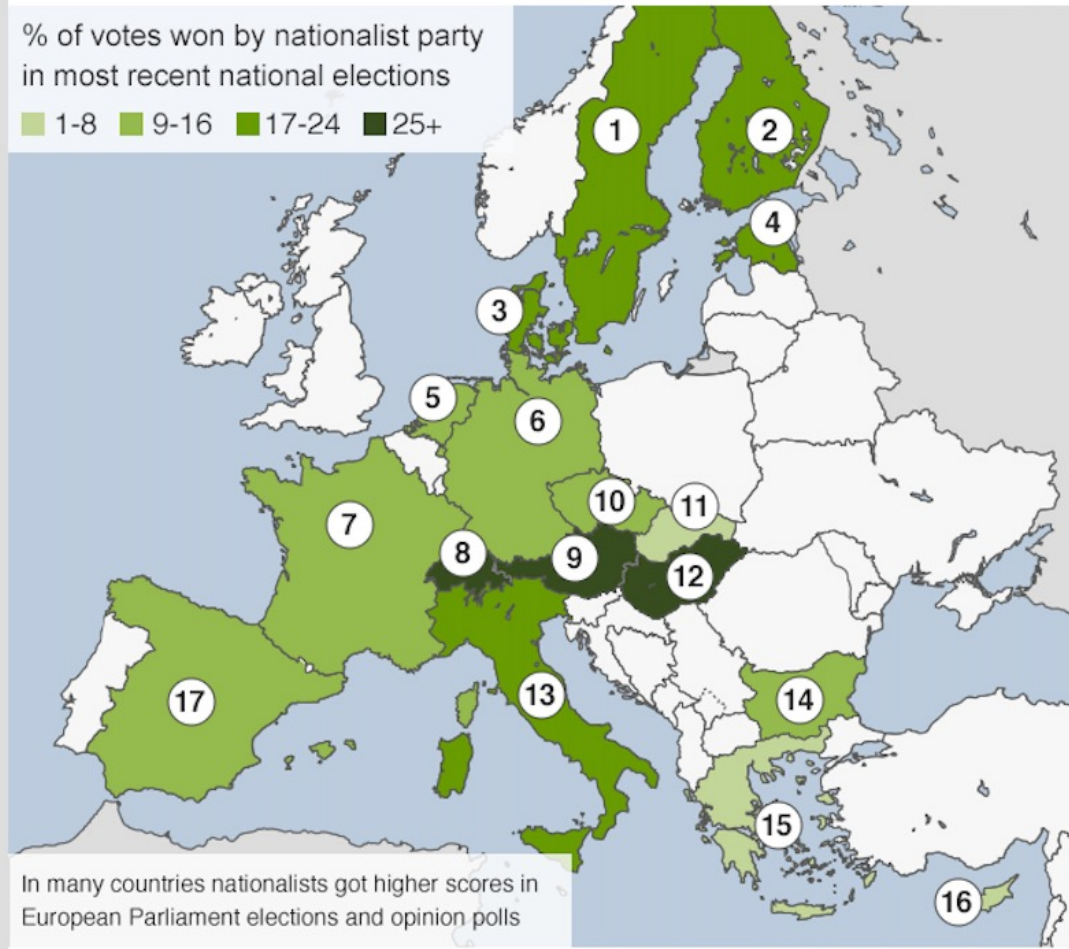




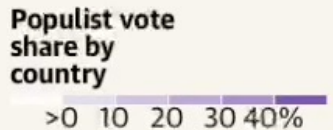
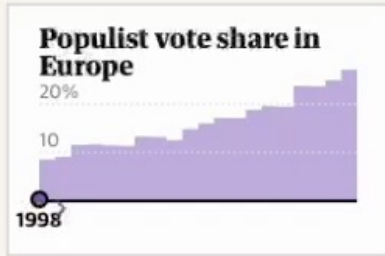
## Rise of nationalism in Europe


% of votes won by nationalist party  
in most recent national elections

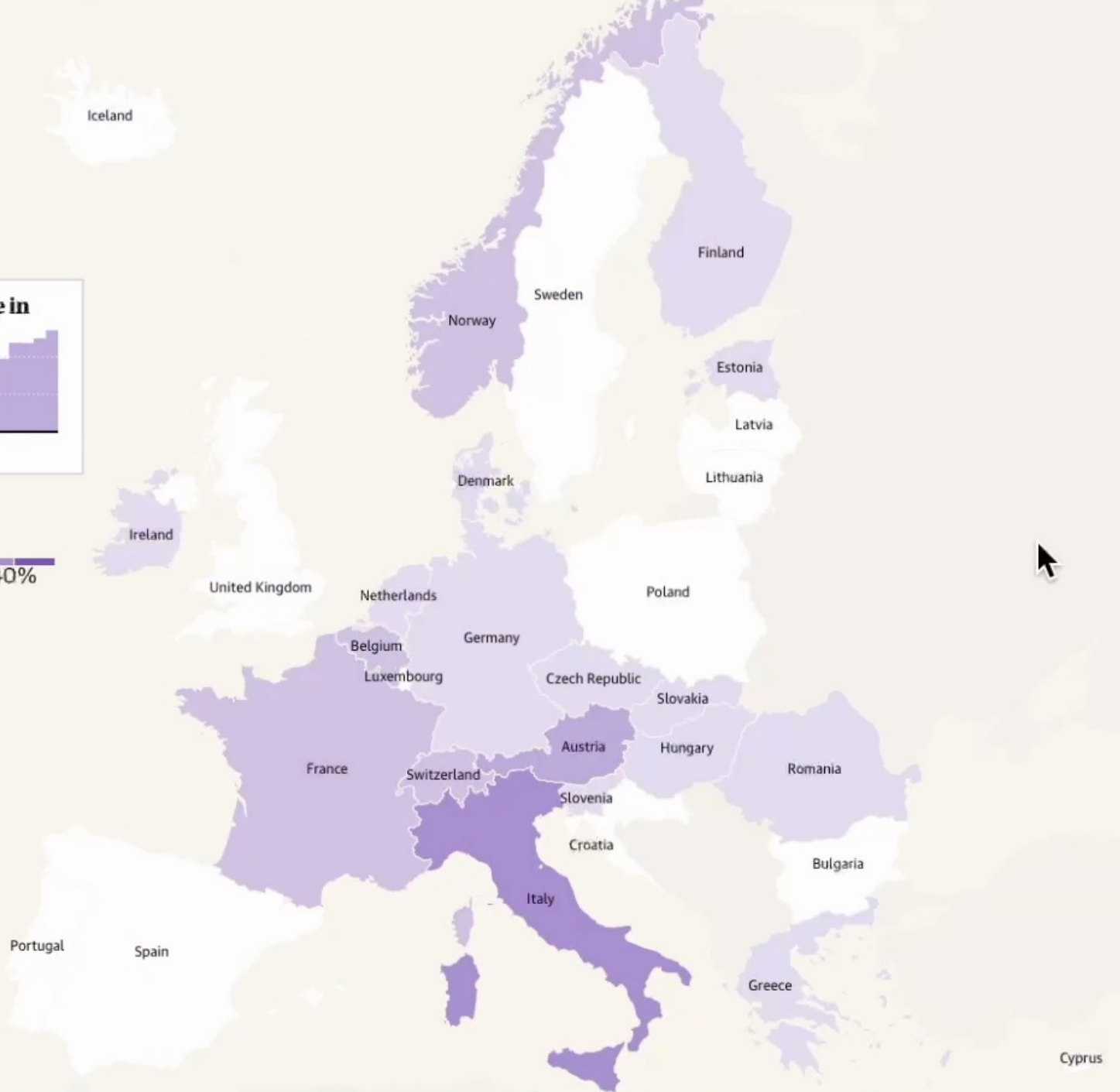
1-8 9-16 17-24 25+



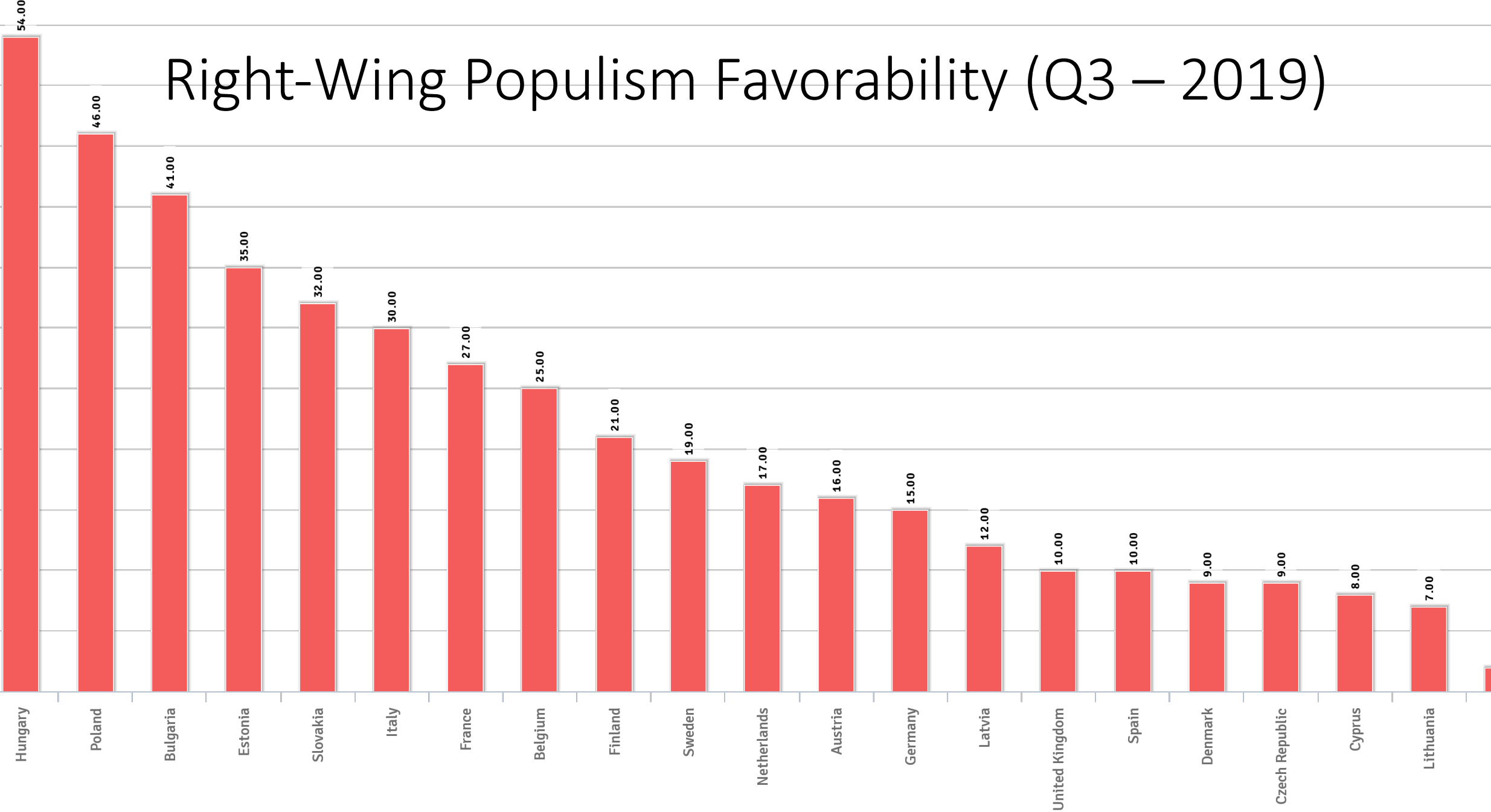
- Sweden**  
Sweden Democrats **17.6%**
- Finland**  
The Finns **17.7%**
- Denmark**  
Danish People's Party **21%**
- Estonia**  
Conservative People's Party **17.8%**
- Netherlands**  
Freedom Party **13%**
- Germany**  
Alternative for Germany **12.6%**
- France**  
National Rally **13%**
- Switzerland**  
Swiss People's Party **29%**
- Austria**  
Freedom Party **26%**
- Czech Republic**  
Freedom and Direct Democracy **11%**
- Slovakia**  
Our Slovakia **8%**
- Hungary**  
Fidesz **49%**, Jobbik **19%**
- Italy**  
The League **17.4%**
- Bulgaria**  
United Patriots **9%**
- Greece**  
Golden Dawn **7%**
- Cyprus**  
ELAM **3.7%**
- Spain**  
Vox **10.3%**



 Populists in cabinet

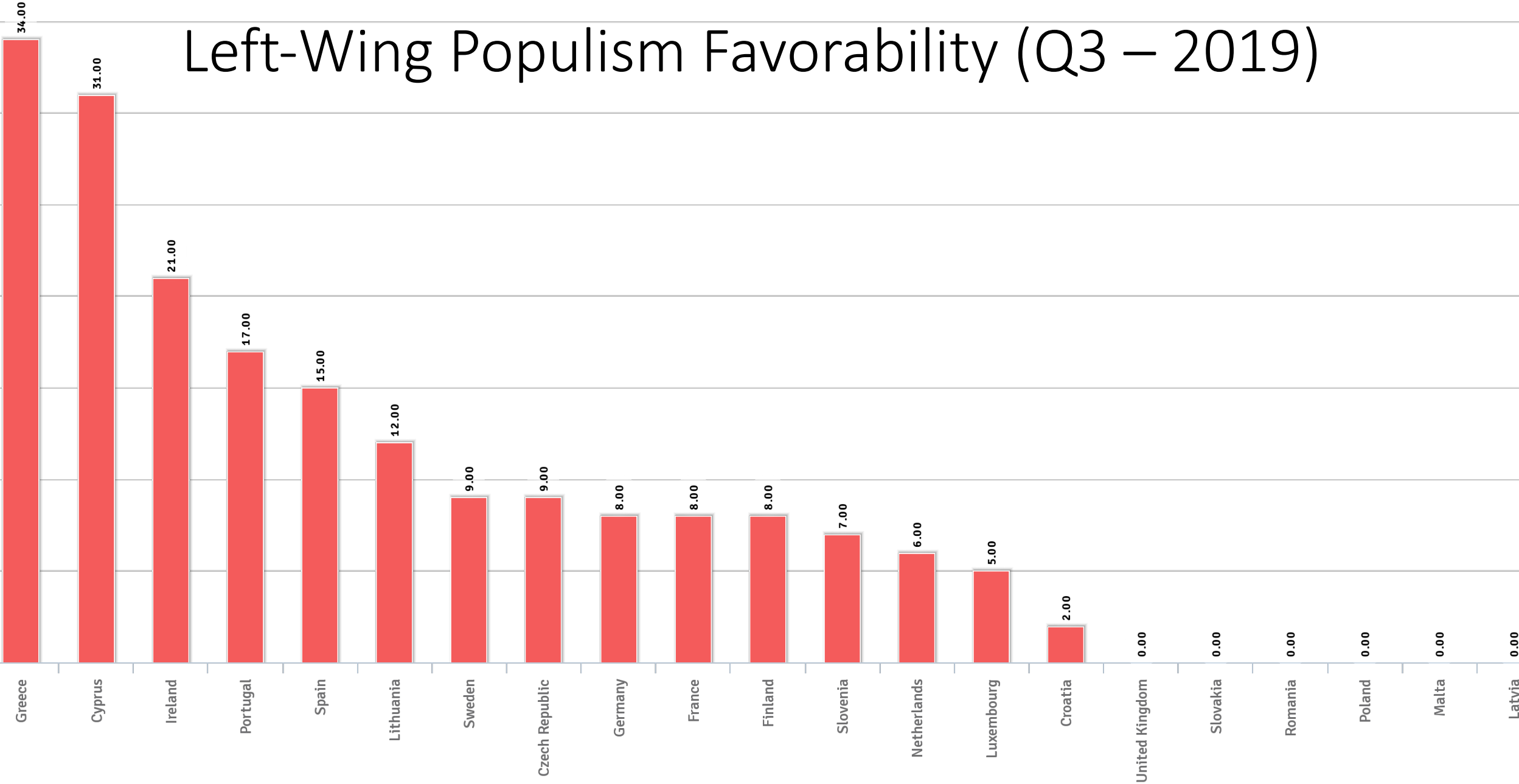


# Right-Wing Populism Favorability (Q3 – 2019)





# Left-Wing Populism Favorability (Q3 – 2019)



**Table 1: Electoral performance of populist radical right parties in the 2014 and 2019 European Parliament elections**

Country	Party	2014 vote share	2019 vote share	2019-2014 vote share variation	2014 seats	2019 seats	Seats variation
Austria	Freedom Party	19.7	17.2	-2.5	4	3	-1
Belgium	Flemish Interest	4.3	11.5	7.2	1	3	2
Bulgaria	Ataka	3.0	1.1	-1.9	0	0	0
Bulgaria	Volya	-	3.6	3.6	0	0	0
Czech Republic	Dawn - National Coalition	3.1	9.2	6.0	0	2	2
Denmark	Danish People's Party	26.6	10.8	-15.8	4	1	-3
Estonia	Conservative People's Party	4.0	12.7	8.7	0	1	1
Finland	Finns Party	12.9	13.8	0.9	2	2	0
France	National Front / National Rally	24.9	23.3	-1.6	24	22	-2
Germany	Alternative for Germany	7.1	11.0	3.9	7	11	4
Greece	Independent Greeks	3.5	0.8	-2.7	1	0	-1
Greece	Orthodox Rally	2.7	1.2	-1.5	0	0	0
Greece	Greek Solution	-	4.2	4.2	0	1	1
Hungary	Jobbik	14.7	6.4	-8.3	3	1	-2
Hungary	Our Homeland Movement	-	3.3	3.3	0	0	0
Italy	Brothers of Italy	3.7	6.5	2.8	0	5	5
Italy	Lega	6.2	34.3	28.2	5	28	23
Netherlands	Party for Freedom	13.3	3.5	-9.8	4	0	-4
Netherlands	Forum for Democracy	-	10.9	10.9	0	3	3
Poland	Kukiz' 15	-	3.7	3.7	0	0	0
Slovakia	Slovak National Party	3.6	4.1	0.5	0	0	0
Slovakia	We are Family	-	3.2	3.2	0	0	0
Slovenia	Slovenian National Party	4.0	4.0	0.0	0	0	0
Spain	Vox	1.6	6.2	4.6	0	3	3
Sweden	Sweden Democrats	9.7	15.4	5.7	2	3	1

# Populist Electoral Results in the EU Parliament





## Part III. Populism in Action



# Right-Wing Populism in Practice - Hungary

- Fidesz Party – PM Viktor Orban
- Began in the late 1980s as a liberal centrist party, and entered into opposition as such
- Split in 1993 led to more liberal members moving to other parties, Fidesz became more conservative
- Came to power in 1998 as a regular conservative party
- Lost power in 2002, regained power in 2010



# Fidesz

- 2010 – electoral victory gave Orban a supermajority (68%)
- Now had the power to change the constitution, which they did in 2011
- New constitution limited checks on party in power, through enfeebling the constitutional court
  - Judges chosen by a single person, appointed by the government





# Fidesz

- **Policies**
- Economic interventionism
- Pro-European (but not necessarily EU)
  - Clashes over migration and death penalty
- Anti-immigration
  - But has let in more foreign workers recently due to need
- Using national opinion polls to push their ideology through priming
- “99 percent reject illegal migration. Let's not let Soros have the last laugh!”





# Fidesz

- **Worrying developments**
- Authoritarianism
  - Former party politicians oversee institutions that were created as checks on government - the State Audit Office, the State Prosecution Service, and the National Fiscal Council
- Press freedom
  - Limiting government advertising revenue to non-loyal press
  - Targeting owners of non-loyal press



# Fidesz

- **Worrying developments**
- Freedom of Judiciary
- Gerrymandering
- Intervening in civil society
  - Closure of CEU
  - Threatening NGOs that take funding from abroad







# Right and Left Populism in Action - Italy

- Left – Five Star Movement
  - Second largest number of votes - 2018
- Right – the League
  - Largest number of votes - 2018





# Five Star Movement

- Founded by comedian Beppe Grillo in 2009
  - Now led by Giuseppe Conte
- Promotes direct democracy
  - Candidates and platform chosen by online voting on Grillo's blog
- Non-careerist politicians
  - Two-terms maximum
  - Must reduce official salary
- No electoral alliances
- Expulsion of illegal immigrants
- Anti-vax movement association



# League (Lega Nord)

- Founded by Umberto Bossi in 1991 in Northern Italy
- Cumulative, amalgamated party
- Supports greater federalism
  - Even independence for Padania
- Traditional Catholic views on reproductive and sexual rights
- Opposes illegal immigration





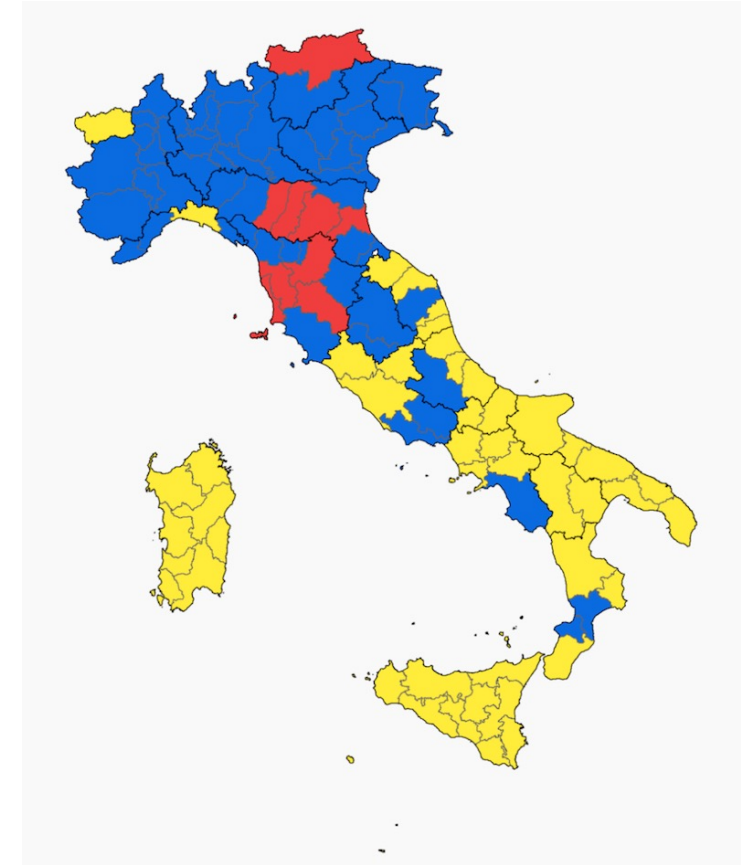
# League

- The oldest party in Italian government
- Employ a cultural defense of Italy, and in particular Northern Italy
- Islam is often characterized by the party as representing a fundamental threat to the values, way of life and cultural integrity of northerners
- “The courts (run by elites) are complicit in undermining the values and traditions of the people, since minority rights are privileged over those of the indigenous majority”
- “EU—as an elite-driven organization promoting globalization—fails to do enough to prevent the arrival of immigrants and does not defend the common Christian roots of European people “



# Populism in Italy in Action Today

- 2018 elections – vote split between three coalitions
- Five Stars and Lega joined together in a populist coalition
- Appointed an independent PM – Giuseppe Conte – a technocrat who becomes quite popular
- Salvini, however, believed he could get more power if new elections were called in 2019
  - Lega had just won 34% in EU elections
- Lega leaves the gov, trying to force snap elections





# Populism in Italy in Action Today

- Salvini's plan fails
- Conte resigned with an hour-long speech
  - "I see that the League's leader Matteo Salvini lacks the courage to take responsibility for his actions. If there's a lack of courage, don't worry, I'll take responsibility before the country that is watching us"
  - "We do not need men who have 'full powers', but people who have institutional culture and a sense of responsibility"
  - Salvini "irresponsible", "reckless", "alarming" and "disrespectful"
- Conte re-instated as PM when Five Stars and the Democratic Party formed an unlikely coalition



# More Populism In Europe

- In all, there is no single model of populism in Europe today
  - Right-wing
    - Even when just generally angry











UNITED  
AGAINST  
TYRANNY





# More Populism In Europe

- In all, there is no single model of populism in Europe today
  - Right-wing
  - Left-wing





# More Populism In Europe

- In all, there is no single model of populism in Europe today
  - Right-wing
  - Left-wing
  - Euroskeptic



# More Populism In Europe

- In all, there is no single model of populism in Europe today
  - Right-wing
  - Left-wing
  - Euroskeptic
  - Neo-Nazi





# More Populism In Europe

- In all, there is no single model of populism in Europe today
  - Right-wing
  - Left-wing
  - Euroskeptic
  - Neo-Nazi
  - Traditionalist
    - Christian



# More Populism In Europe

- In all, there is no single model of populism in Europe today
  - Right-wing
  - Left-wing
  - Euroskeptic
  - Neo-Nazi
  - Traditionalist
    - Islamic



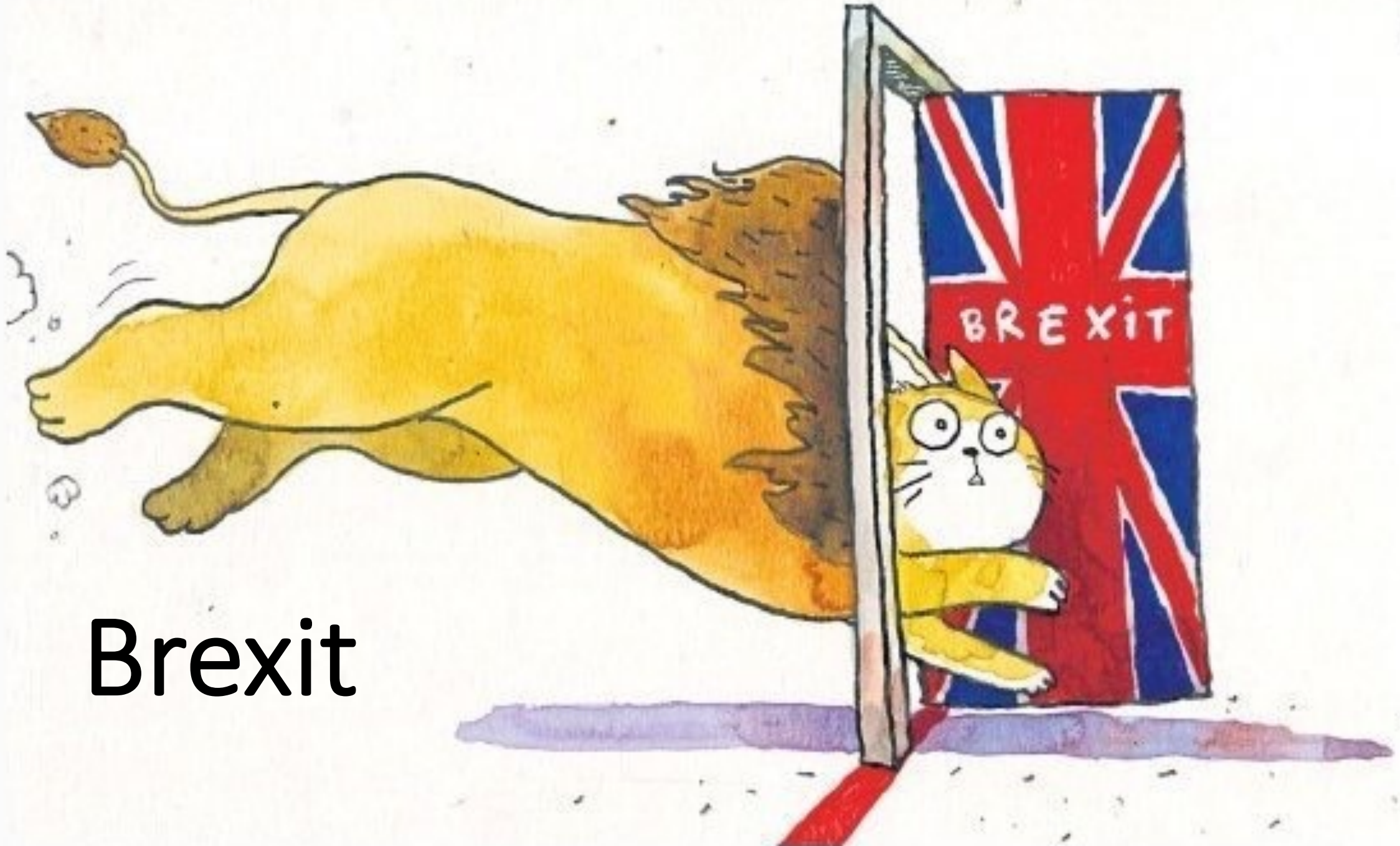


# Going Forward

- Populism, for now, is on the rise
- While populist politicians usually cannot remain in control long, the erosion of democratic safeguards can help keep them in power
- Long-term concerns
  - Independence of media
  - Independence of courts
  - Protection for minorities
  - EU cohesion



MOP  
2019



Brexit



# Outline

- I. The History of Britain in Europe
- II. UKIP and the Campaign to Leave the EU
- III. Who Voted for Brexit?
- IV. What Has Happened Since the Referendum?
- V. What Does the Future Hold?

The image shows two flags waving against a clear, light blue sky. On the left is the Union Jack, the national flag of the United Kingdom, featuring its characteristic red, white, and blue design. On the right is the flag of the European Union, which is blue with twelve yellow stars arranged in a circle. The flags are positioned in front of a building, with a portion of the building's roof and a security camera visible on the right side. The text 'Part I. The History of Britain in Europe' is overlaid in the center of the image in a white, sans-serif font.

Part I. The History of Britain in Europe



# Britain and Europe

- History of offshore balancing – remaining largely out of European affairs
- Late-comer to EC (1973)
  - Originally vetoed by De Gaulle over British idiosyncrasies in terms of economics, and Britain's perceived hostility toward the European project
- But...joining led to initial difficulties

rhp  
means  
bearings

# THE GUARDIAN

Manchester

Monday January 1 1973

5p

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BRIDGE students, small and Thomas, who decided to strike a holiday in after taking a vote, later double from a 100 per cent. It happened in the city of London, North, Cornwall, 10 in Lands End, were the ground for the city of Mr Goddard, at Finch and Park Lane, was announced after. Police said thousands, April 18, Town, Gloucester, was sitting, however.

had been in Cornwall for four days, with two brothers—brothers, L and Nicholas, 25, who had returned to the city, but not was done, as they had decided to see more drink it.

altering  
EATWOOD teacher again showed him to the farce of the day without participation. The teacher and by heavy men, but there were no between 21 and 1, and there are in the farces from



Two of the crowd: Mr George Thomson (left), one of Britain's two European Commission members, with Mr Duncan Sandys—who becomes a Companion of Honour in today's honours list—celebrating entry into Europe at a torchlight rally in London last night.

## We're in—but without the fireworks

By DAVID MCKIE and DENNIS BARKER

Britain passed peacefully into Europe at midnight last night without any special celebrations. It was difficult to tell that anything of importance had occurred, and a date which will be entered in the history books as long as histories of Britain are written, was taken by most people as a matter of course.

The principal party political figures maintained their familiar postures of hope and optimism or head-shaking despair. Mr Heath was starting back from Ottawa, where he had gone for the funeral of Mr Lester Pearson, at about the time that Britain, along with Denmark and Ireland, officially became members of the European Community.

In a spate of pre-recorded interviews, he expressed his own hope and satisfaction at the successful outcome of the long march towards Europe with which he had himself been so closely associated for so long.

Yesterday the initial optimism on the market, by Cyprian Karamanlis, Centre for the EEC, suggested that 20 per cent were happy about embracing an exit Mr Heath depicted, as an exciting adventure, while 20 per cent would prefer to get off. Twenty-three per cent had no opinion at all.

into Europe .....	4
Leading article .....	12
Terry Coleman interview .....	12
Schumann .....	13
Anthony Harris .....	15

the preponderant wish of the British people that Britain should not be a member of present terms is headed.

The TUC, long sceptical about entry, said that the new opportunities were also likely to be answered by the serious questions raised about British entry. The subsequent they had called for had not been obtained.

The official secretary was not launched in time for the appointed hour of drinking. The Government's failure for the first time in which some other

Also in the headlines

By PETER BARBERS, 29, lives a crowded a estate. Her past surrounded others, and while family were busy a housewife, I nearly sleep hours of Paul. But Barbara died for two days when in Saturday night step into a 1 the doorstep, moments. A to turn of 21 voice moved away without months and a in Liverpool five they four Mary McCay, McCay had a last three no to death on September 1 food and her past of each

Surr  
Back to P  
Eighteen but workers lost home—last it Miss Naggar's the body of it

# First Referendum of Britain Remaining in EC

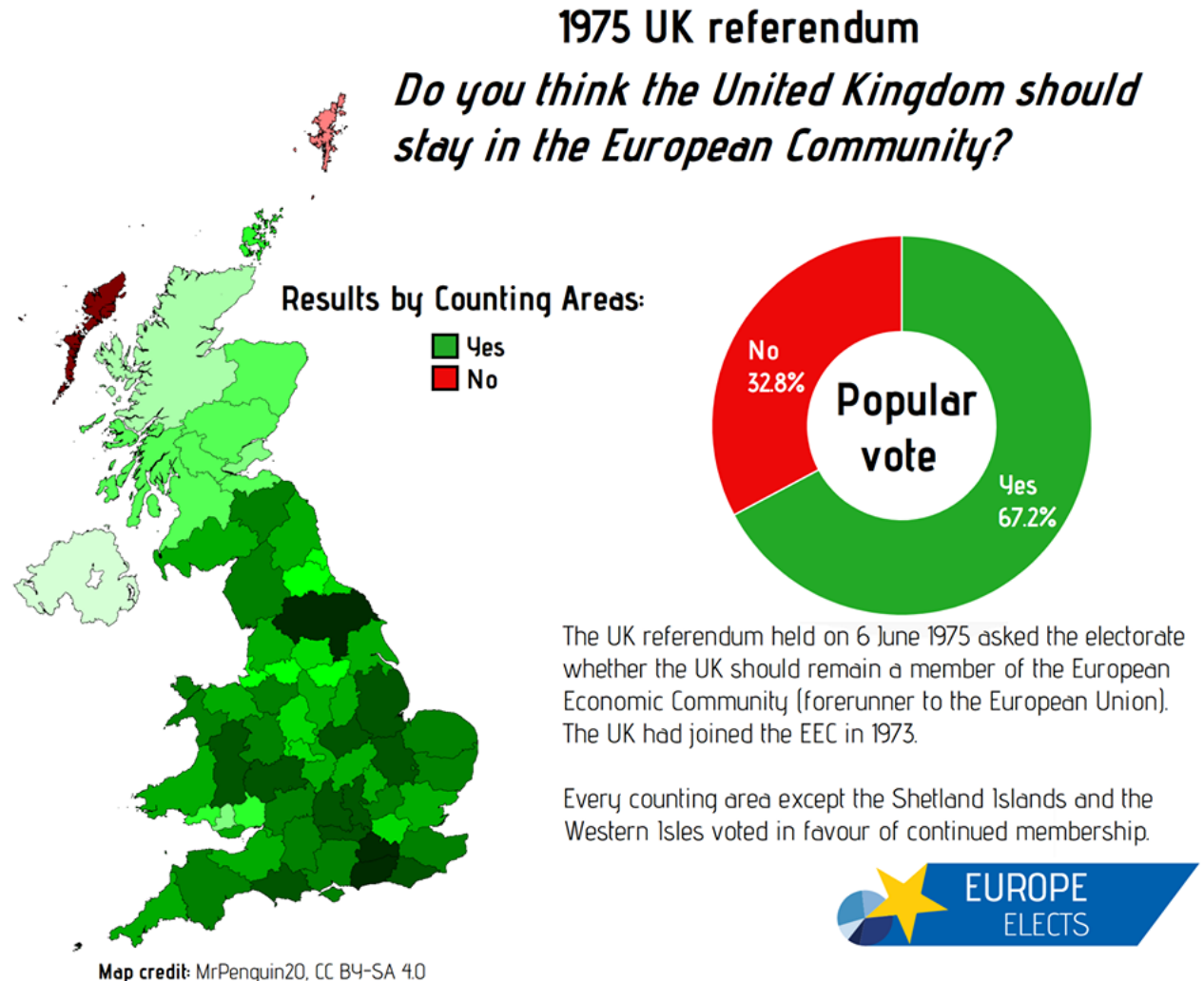
- 1974 – Labour wins a plurality in elections, establishes a minority government
- Labour had been split, but most against, the accession to the EC
  - Agriculture would be affected
  - Sovereignty would be eroded
  - Workers feared they would be undercut
- Conservatives also split concerning the sovereignty question





# First Referendum (1975)

- Put to a referendum on June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1975
  - First national referendum ever in Britain
- “Do you think that the United Kingdom should stay in the European Community (the Common Market)?”
- 67% to 32% voted Yes
  - 64% of eligible population voted



# Since the First Referendum

- Britain remained out of the European Monetary System until 1990
  - And then the pound crashed from speculation
- As signatory to Maastricht, UK became part of EU on November 1, 1993
- Referendum Party formed in 1994
  - Single-issue party – did the UK want to be part of a federated political union, or simply a free-trade bloc
  - Gained 2.6% of the vote in 1997





# Part II. UKIP and the Campaign to Leave the EU



# UKIP

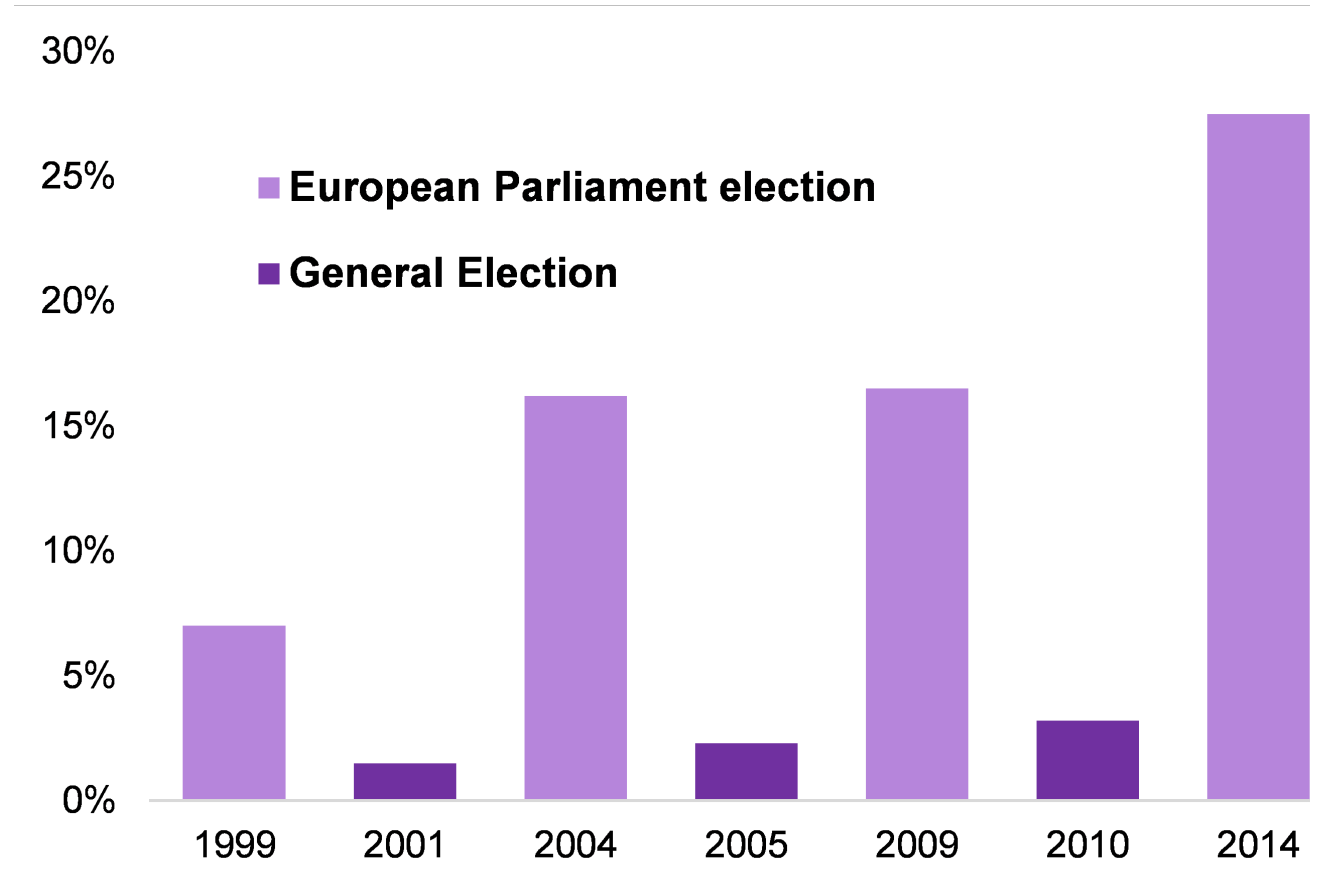
- UK Independence Party – formed in 1993
  - Initially behind Referendum Party, but once they dissolved, most members joined UKIP
  - Pushed the Eurosceptic movement to the right – drawing in members of the BNP
- Won seats to the European Parliament in 1999 (3)





# Growing Popularity of UKIP

- 2004 – UKIP, with more funding, receives 16% of EUP election votes, wins 12 seats
- Started to lose ground to BNP, but rejected a pact with them
- Nigel Farage becomes leader in 2006, moves UKIP away from single-issue stance



# Nigel Farage and UKIP

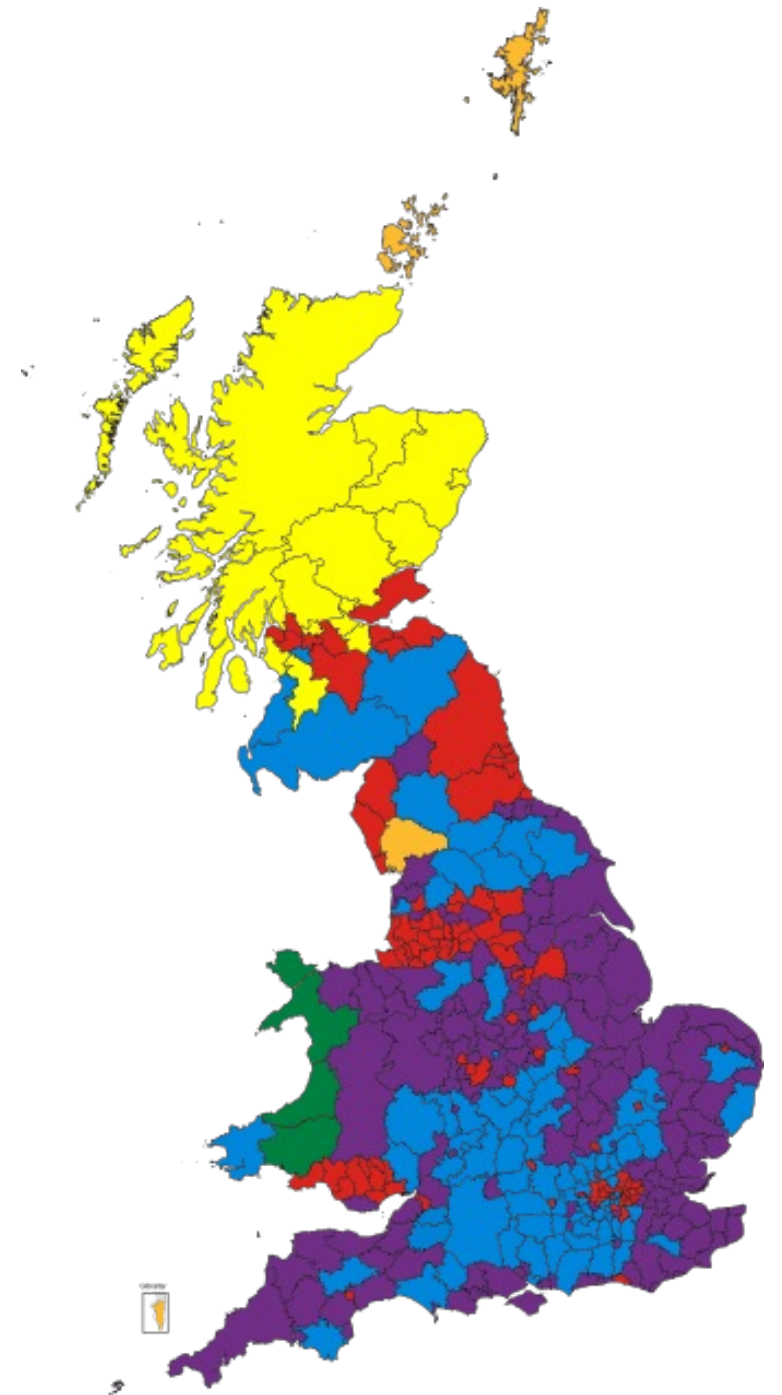
- Introduced socially conservative policies to UKIP
  - Reducing immigration
  - Tax cuts
  - Restoring grammar schools
  - Climate change denial
- Began drawing away Conservative Party members who felt Cameron was too liberal
- Won 13 seats in EUP 2009, becoming second largest party behind Tories





# Farage and UKIP Again

- Farage resigned as leader, but UKIP did poorly in the next election
- Farage stood again for UKIP leadership and won in 2010
- Refocused UKIP efforts on places they had done well in previous elections
  - White working-class areas with low educational attainment
- 2013 local elections – from 4 to 147 councilors
  - Best outside big 3
- 2014 EUP elections – gained 24 seats



# In Parliament and the Referendum

- Won 2 seats in Westminster in 2014
- Became third most popular party by vote, but only retained one seat in 2015
- Began focusing on the Leave movement once the referendum was announced





# The Referendum

- Originally floated as an idea by David Cameron in relation to the Lisbon treaty
  - While running for PM
- After he became PM, in 2010, kept the idea of a referendum on Europe alive in order to energize Eurosceptic conservatives
  - Deflating UKIP's base, helping Tories win election
- Promised in 2013 to, if the Tories won a majority, renegotiate terms with the EU, then hold an in-out referendum



# The Negotiations

- Conservatives did win a majority in 2015
- Aims of renegotiation were:
  - Additional immigration controls, especially for citizens of new EU member states
  - Tougher immigration rules for present EU citizens
  - New powers for national parliaments collectively to veto proposed EU laws
  - New free-trade agreements and a reduction in bureaucracy for businesses
  - Lessening of the influence of the European Court of Human Rights on British police and courts
  - More power for individual member states
  - Abandonment of the EU notion of "ever closer union"





# The Negotiations

- **The Results**
- Limited changes to work benefits for EU immigrants
  - The Emergency Brake
- UK would not be forced to participate in the “ever closer union”
- National parliaments could collectively object to EU laws, and Council would then review
- Limitations on the rights on non-EU migrants



# The Referendum Vote

- Announced on May 27, 2015
- European Union Referendum Act approved by all parties except the SNP
- Vote to take place on June 23, 2016
- The question:
  - “Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?”
- Potential responses:
  - “Remain a member of the European Union”
  - “Leave the European Union”

*Form 1 – Form of ballot paper*

**Front of ballot paper**

<b>Referendum on the United Kingdom’s membership of the European Union</b>	
<b>Vote only once</b> by putting a cross <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice	
Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?	
<b>Remain a member of the European Union</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Leave the European Union</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>



# In Welsh

- A ddylai'r Deyrnas Unedig aros yn aelod o'r Undeb Ewropeaidd neu adael yr Undeb Ewropeaidd?
- Aros yn aelod o'r Undeb Ewropeaidd
- Gadael yr Undeb Ewropeaidd



# The Campaigns

- Leave
- Vote Leave
  - Leave.eu
- Campaigned on
  - Costs of EU membership outweigh benefits \$41 billion to \$37 billion
  - Limits on EU migration
  - Let's take back control



# The Campaigns

- Remain
- Britain Stronger in Europe
  - [strongerin.co.uk](http://strongerin.co.uk)
- Campaigned on
  - British influence in Europe
  - Peace
  - Stability
  - Better job prospects





# British attitudes to Brexit

Poll of polls since February on whether to stay in the EU or leave



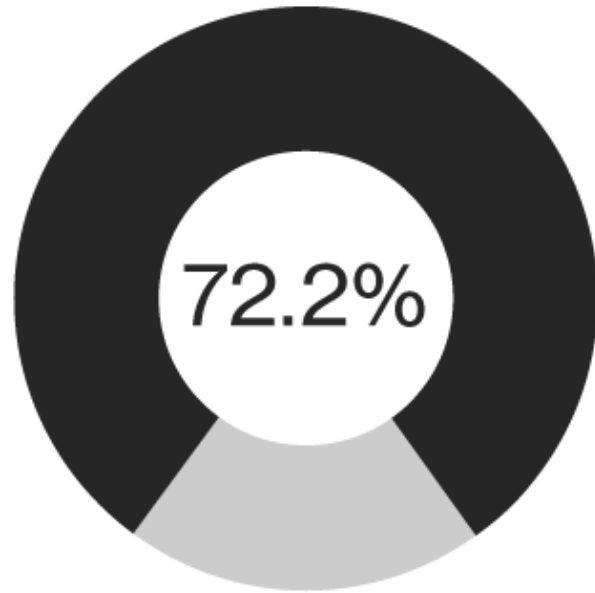
Source: [WhatUkThinks.org](http://WhatUkThinks.org)

© AFP

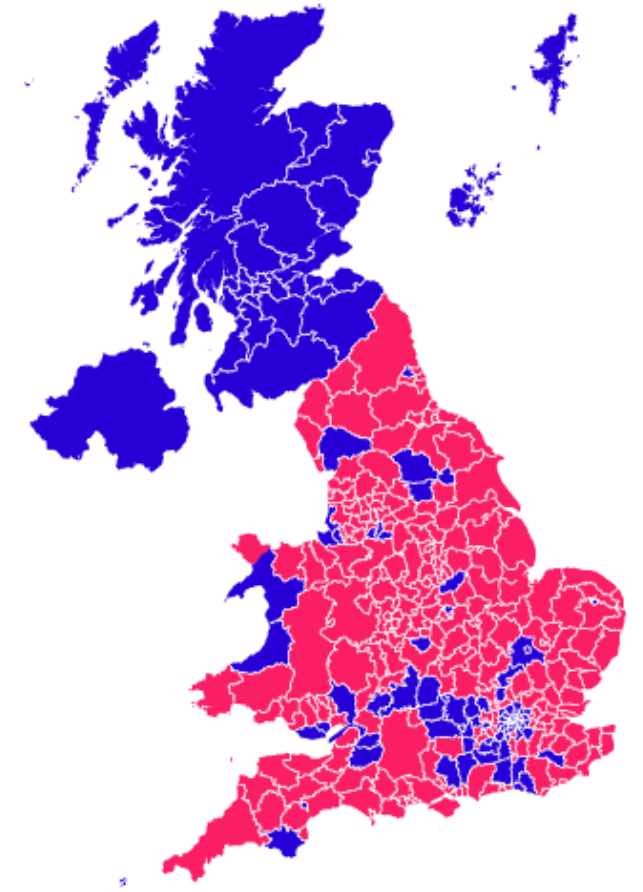
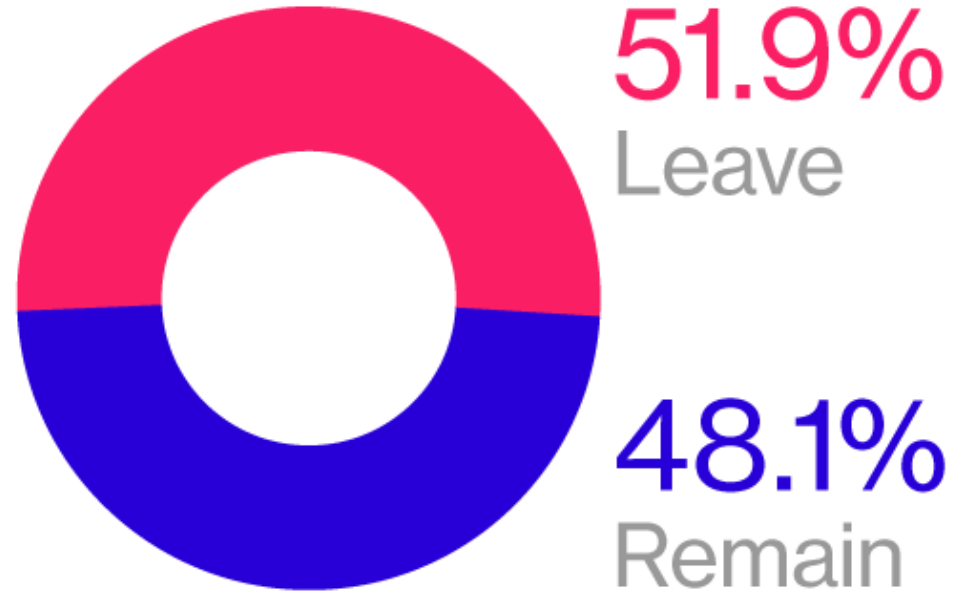
# Britain Votes to Leave

U.K. votes to quit European Union after more than four decades

Turnout



Result



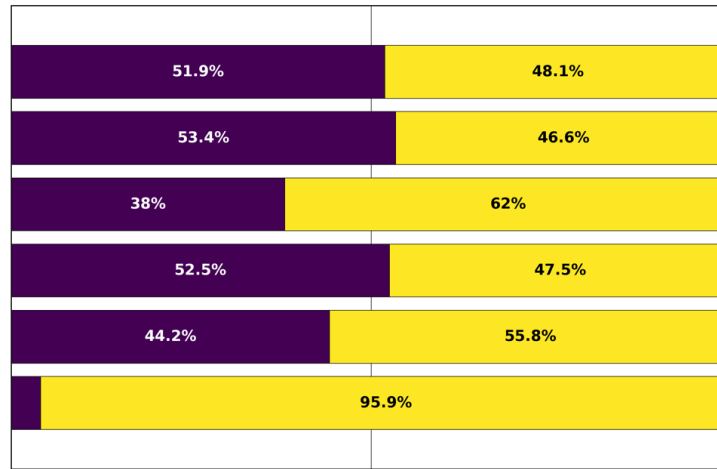




# Part III. Who Voted for Brexit?



### Voter distribution



**UK**

**England**

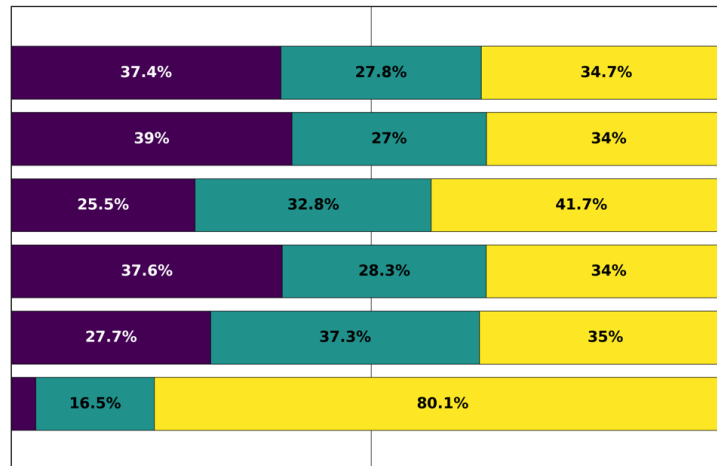
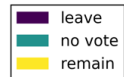
**Scotland**

**Wales**

**N. Ireland**

**Gibraltar**

### Electorate distribution



**UK**

**England**

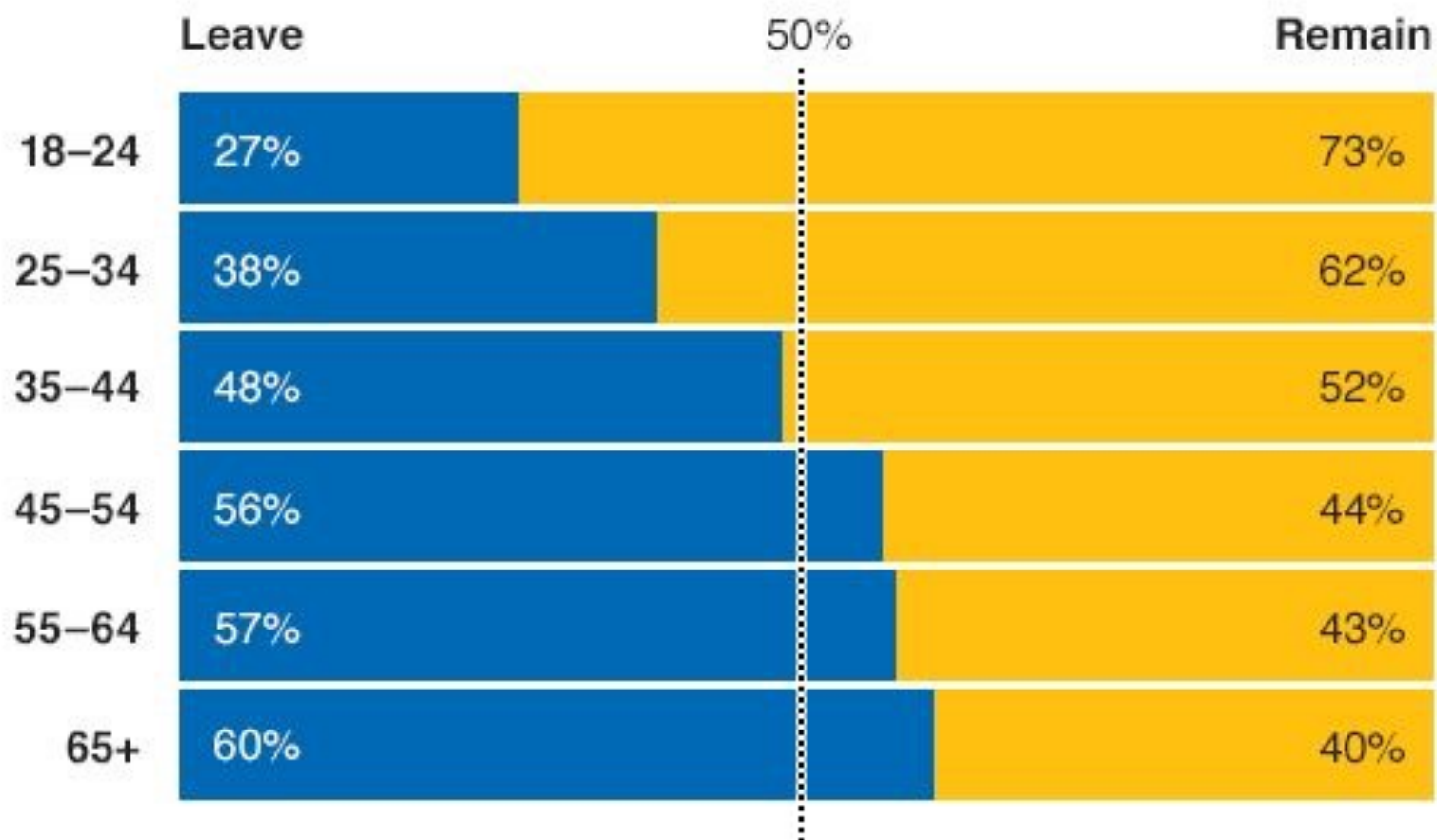
**Scotland**

**Wales**

**N. Ireland**

**Gibraltar**

## How different age groups voted



Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls

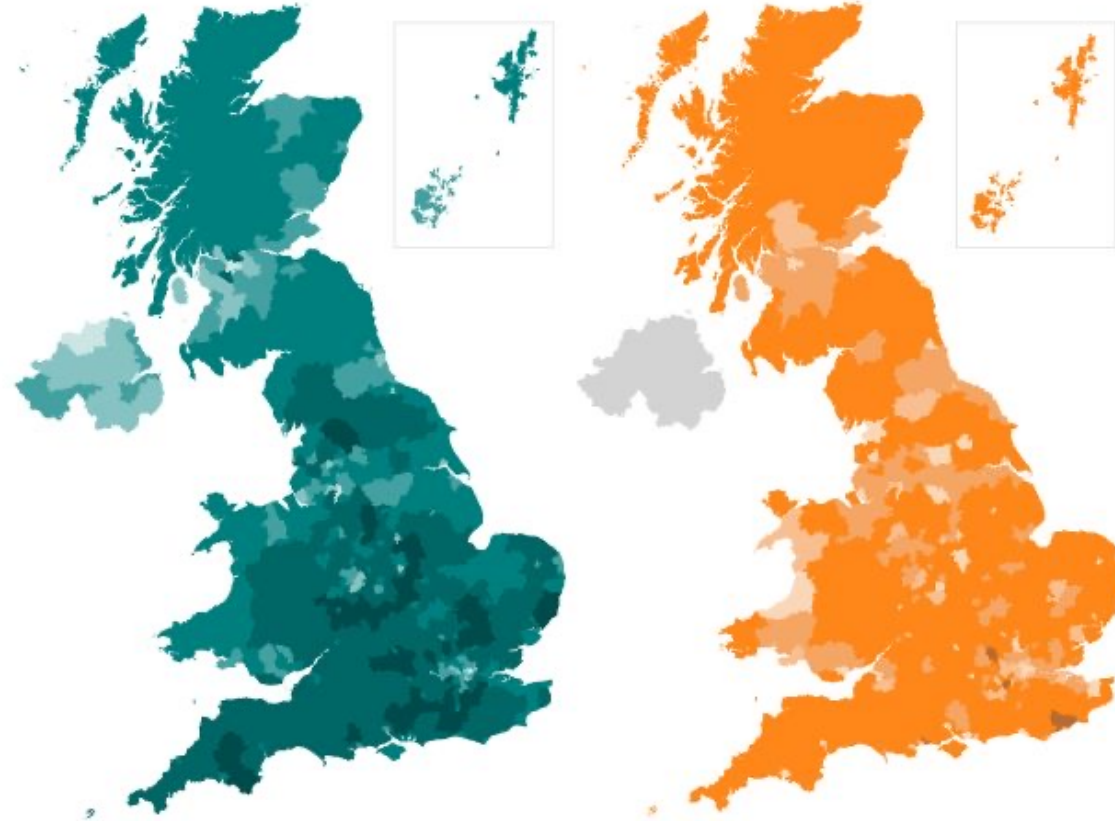
BBC

## Turnout was low in areas with more young people

Turnout %



18-24-year-olds, % of population



Source: Census 2011

BBC

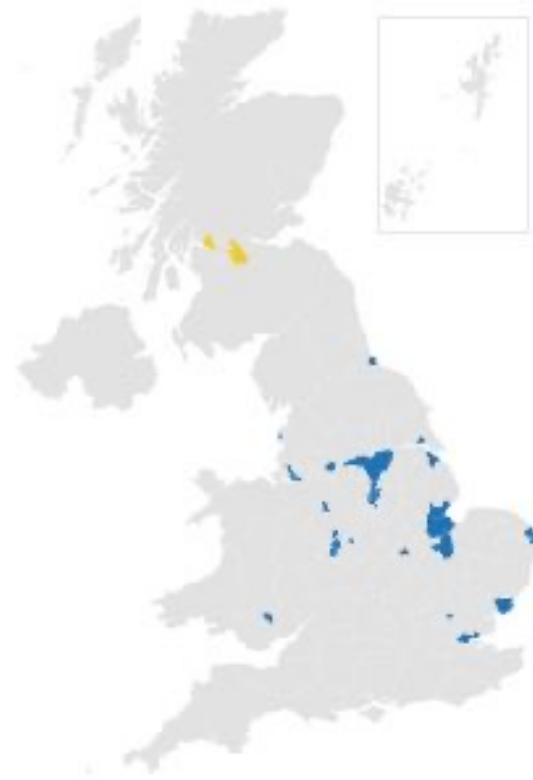


## Of the 30 areas with the...

**most elderly people,**  
27 voted Leave



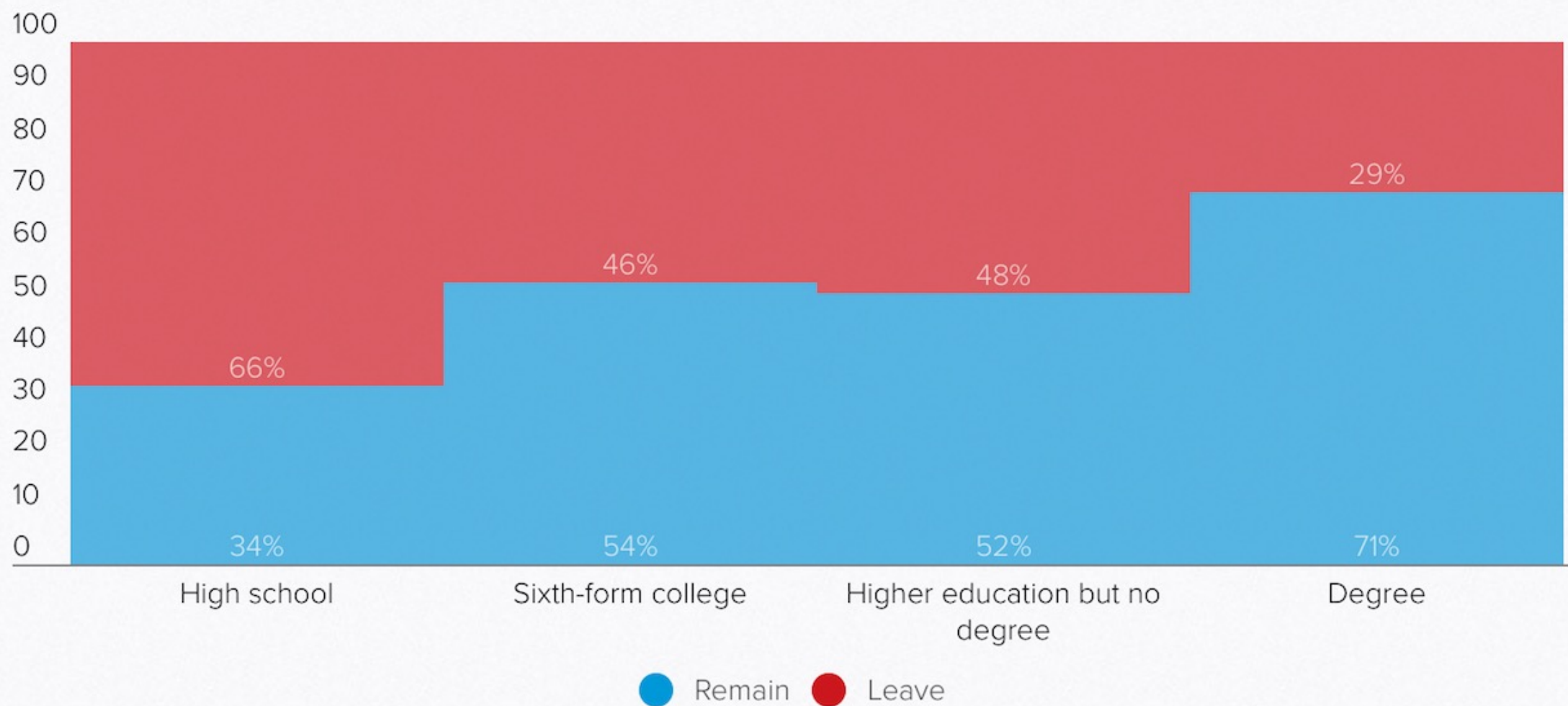
**fewest graduates,**  
28 voted Leave



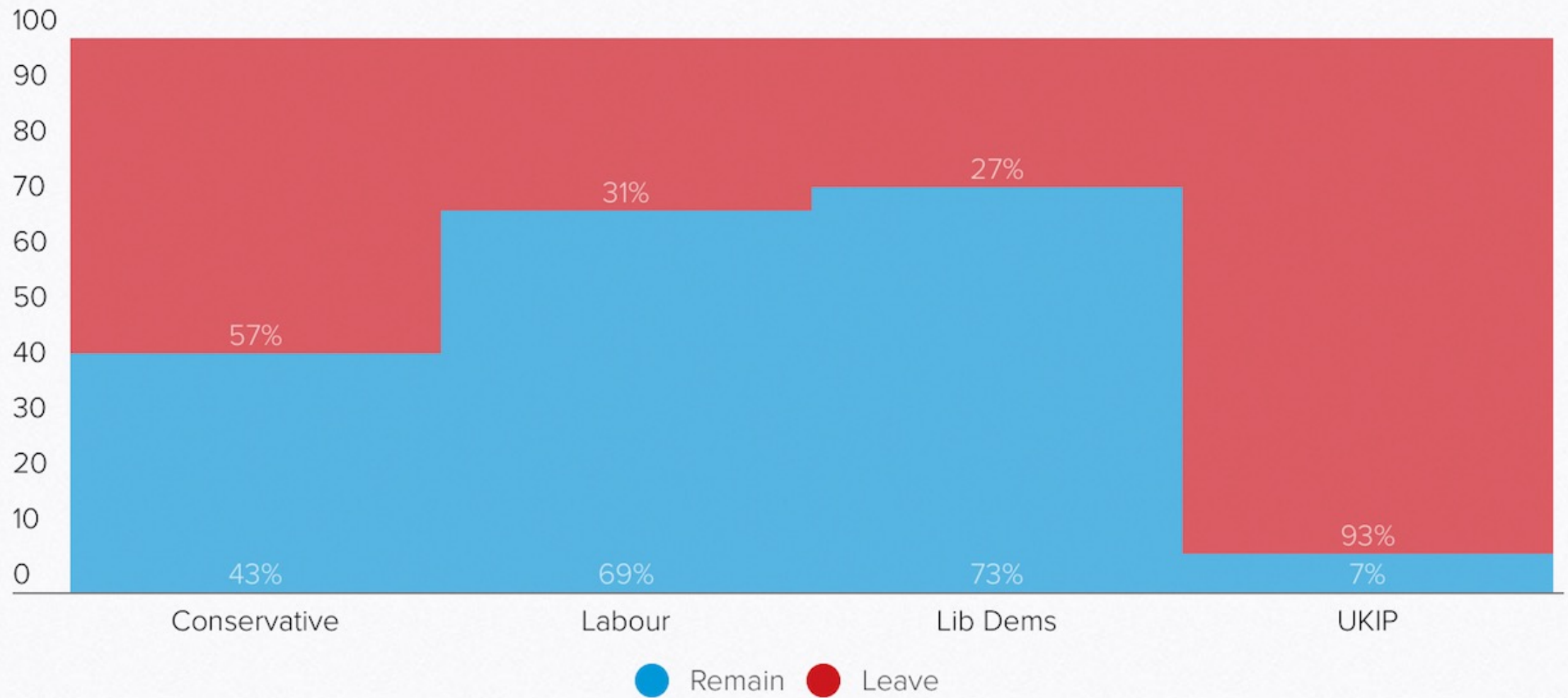
**most people  
identifying as English,**  
all 30 voted Leave



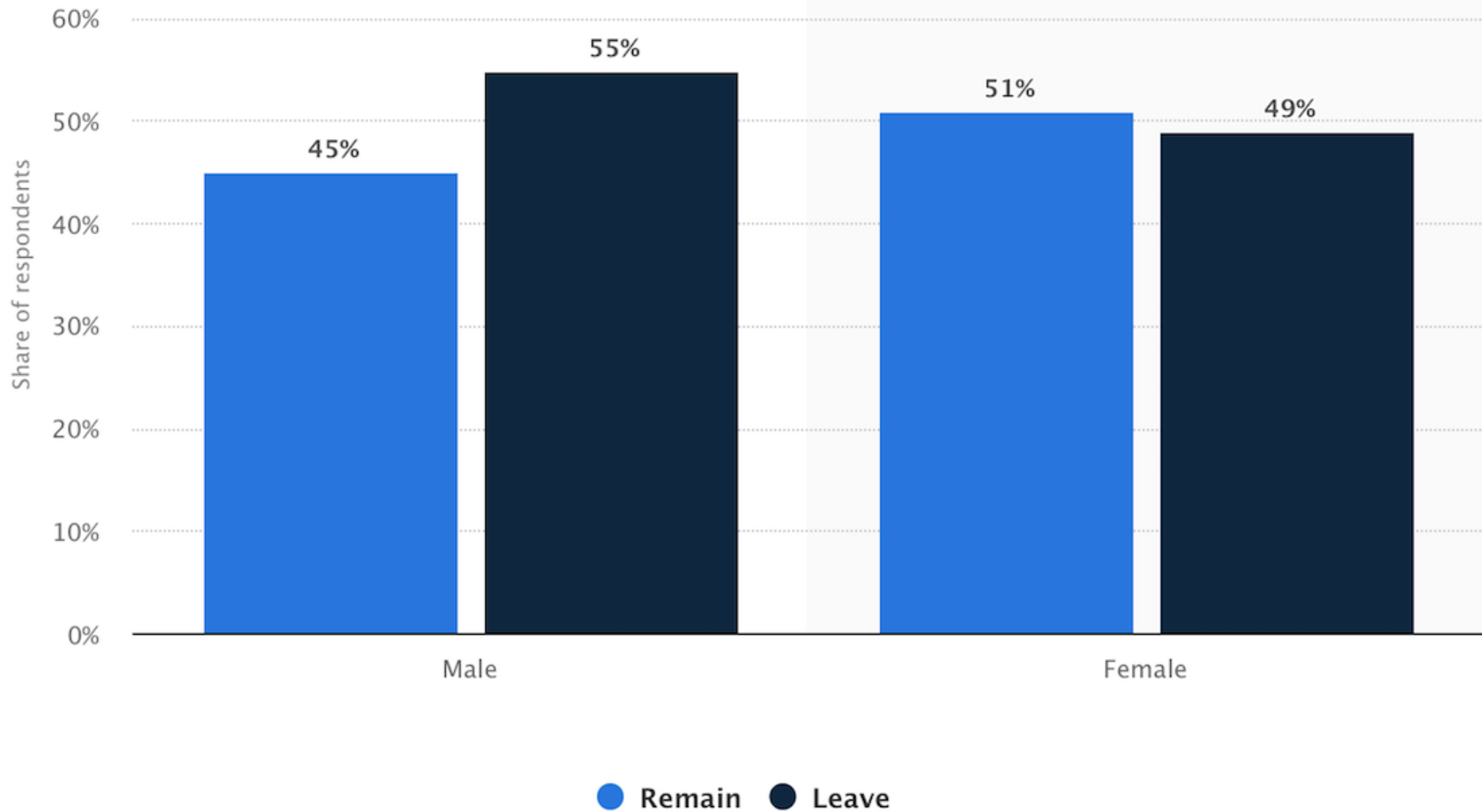
## — BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

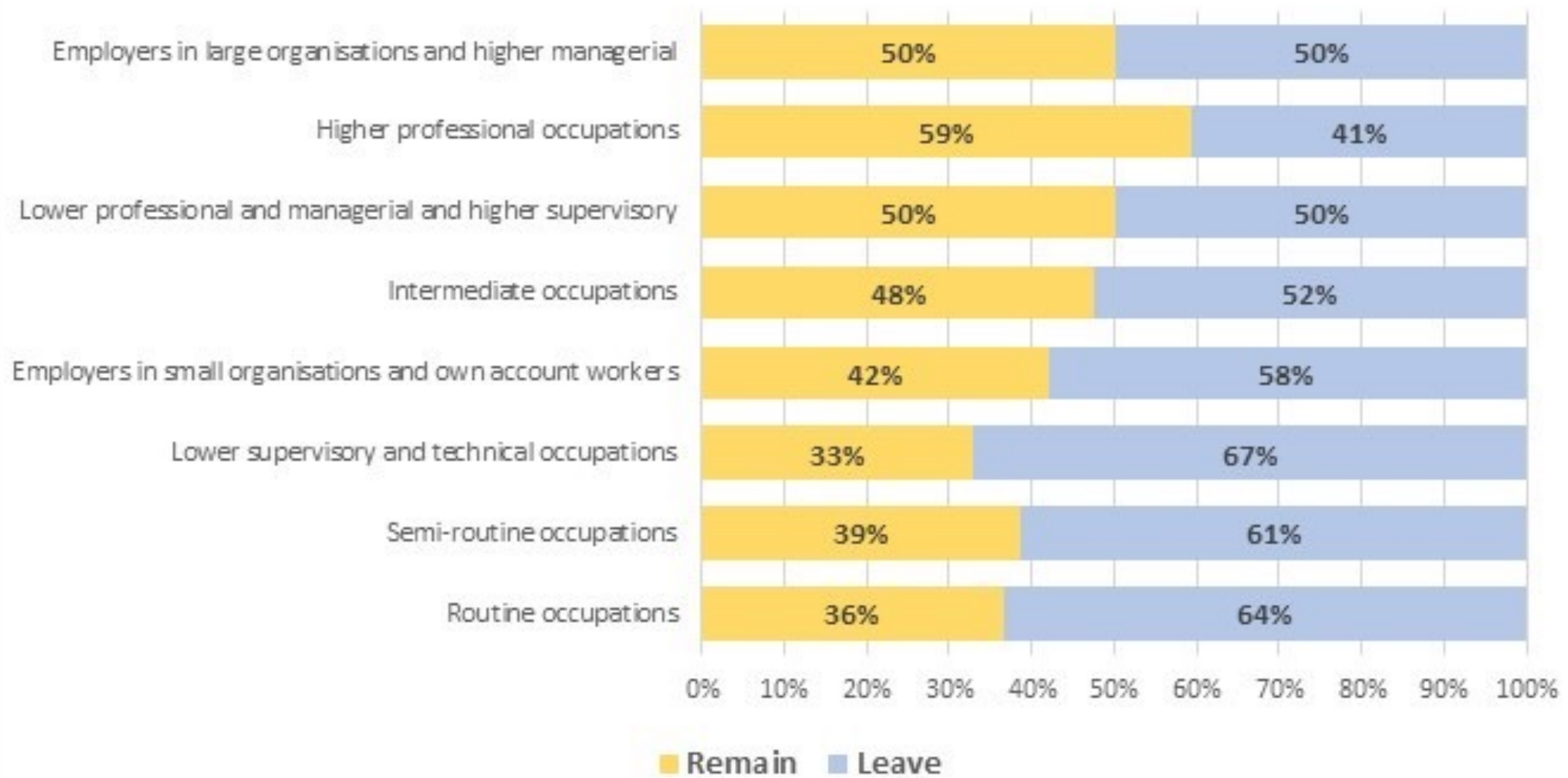


## — BY PARTY VOTED IN THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTION

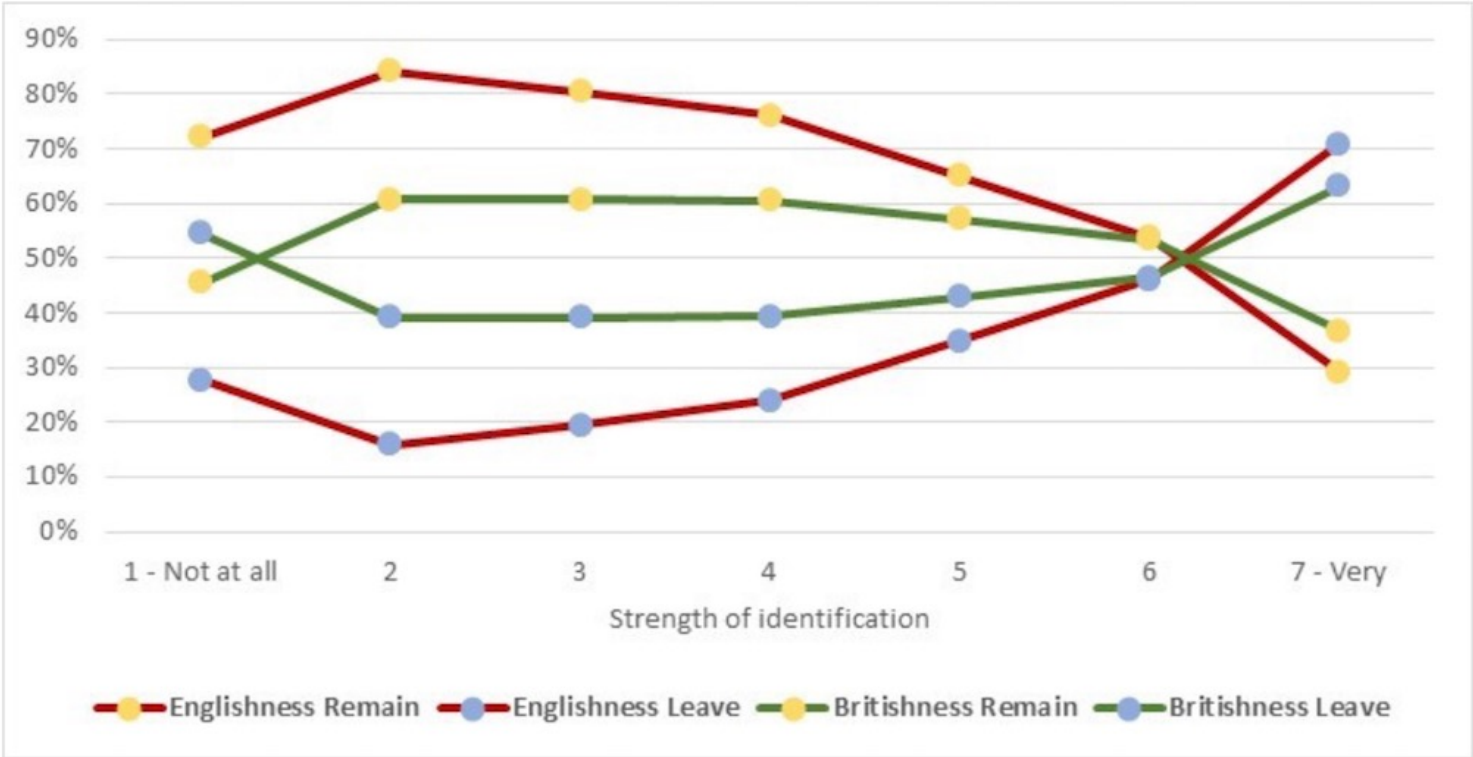








**Figure 3: Identification with Englishness and Britishness by Brexit attitudes (BES 2016) – only voters in England included**



People in England who feel strongly attached to their English national identity are much more likely to support Brexit than those who do not. Of those who chose the highest value for English identity on a 7-point scale, over 70 per cent voted to leave the UK. Conversely, over 80 per cent amongst those who only emphasise their Englishness slightly (2 on a 7-point scale) voted to remain. National identity mattered strongly in this referendum, but is rarely talked about to the same extent as questions of class or even age, although the divide is much more dramatic and cuts across different socio-economic groups in the population.