Prof. Dr. André Bächtiger Institute for Social Sciences Department of Political Theory and Empirical Research of Democracy



## Seminar Paper

# Rise of Populism

A Cross-National Examination of the Support for Populism in 25 European countries

Author: Fabio Votta, B.A. Email: fabio.votta@gmail.com Student ID: 2876533 Author: Marlon Schumacher, B.A. Email: M.C.Schumacher@live.de Student ID: xxxxxxx

Author: Quynh Nga Nguyen, B.A. Email: qynga.n@gmail.com Student ID: 2949965

Date of Submission: 30.03.2018

#### Abstract

This seminar paper seeks to investigate deliberation and its relationship to regime support across the world. This is accomplished by exploring the relevant literature and deriving hypotheses from it, which are subsequently tested by using survey data covering 113 countries and 306,047 individual respondents. Given that self-reported regime support is expected to be biased, a weight is applied to account for possible distortions of the data, though results are also reported for the unweighted variable due to the experimental nature of this weight. As this paper is the first known to the authors that examines the effect of deliberation on regime support in a cross-country design, the used deliberation measurement, the Deliberative Component Index from the "Varieties of Democracy"-Project, is examined in a thorough manner and analyses are conducted for its components as well. The analysis finds contradictory evidence for the proposed hypotheses. Deliberation seems to increase regime support first and foremost in democracies, the results in non-democracies and the complete sample are ambiguous and less robust. Furthermore, an exploratory mediation analysis is conducted, to test whether the macro-effect of deliberation on regime support is mediated through democratic performance evaluation on the individual level. The findings of the analysis suggest that further studies in the field should investigate the relationship between deliberation and regime support as well as democratic performance evaluation in greater detail and find possible methods to remedy bias in self-reported regime support. Moreover, more sensible ways to measure deliberation on the country level are necessary, as it is highly correlated with democracy, although some interesting deviations could be found within the subsamples as well as in regards to the individual components.

Seminar: Transformation of representative democracy

## Contents

1	Introduction			
	1.1	Subcaption 1	4	
	1.2		4	
2	Theory			
	2.1	Populism as we understand it	5	
		2.1.1 Liberal Populism	5	
			5	
	2.2		5	
	2.3		5	
3	Met	thodological and Empirical Section	5	
_	3.1	T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T	5	
	0.1	1	5	
			6	
	3.2		6	
	3.3	S.√	6	
	3.4	1	6	
	9.4	Withfillian Logistic regression	U	
4	Ana		6	
	4.1	Results	6	
	4.2	Discussions	6	
5	Cor	nclusions	6	
	5.1	Limitations	6	
	5.2		6	
Re	efere	nces	7	

2 LIST OF FIGURES

## List of Figures

3 LIST OF TABLES

## List of Tables

4 2 THEORY

### 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 Subcaption 1

#### 1.2 Subcaption 2

This is a great way to test whether 1233.34 really works in the way it is intended to work. This is different though becasue 34.876 might be better actually. Or how about  $4.4864 \times 10^4$ .

1233.34

1233.34

1233.34

The following subsection will conceptualize regime support and introduce possible explanatory frameworks that were gathered from the relevant literature (Section 2.1). In this section, the concept of deliberation is clarified (Section 2.2) and a link between deliberation and regime support is established, from which research hypotheses are subsequently derived (Section 2.3).

### 2 Theory

#### **Some Citations**

This is an example introduction. Let's cite someone here (Easton 1965). And in text as well: Habermas (1994) says that we can cite people in text. Or we can write the name, and than use the citation thingy to print the year: Blabla states something about something (1975). Or how about multiple citations (Habermas 1994; Habermas 1994). Or we citation with a little of text around it (for example see Habermas 1994: 92-93).

ALLE Zitierweisen von Zotero gibts HIER.

#### **More Citations**

Blah blah (cf. Easton 1965: 33–5; also Easton 1975: 2).

Blah blah (Easton 1975: 33–5, 38–9).

Blah blah (Easton 1975; Habermas 1994).

Smith says blah (1975).

Easton (1975) says blah.

Habermas (1994: 33) says blah.

#### 2.1 Populism as we understand it

#### 2.1.1 Liberal Populism

#### 2.1.2 Illiberal Populism

#### 2.2 Cultural Backlash

#### 2.3 Economic Deprivation

## 3 Methodological and Empirical Section

The following section will introduce the data and its sources. We use CHES Data in order to construct our dependent variable of Support for Populist Parties (i.e. Support for Progressive or Traditionalist Populist parties) along with individual level data from European Social Survey (Section 3.1). The following subsection operationalizes our hypotheses (cultural and economic explanations for populism) and subsequently a description of the used control variables is given (Section 3.2). Following this, the statistical methodology is explained (Section 3.3) and a short examination of descriptive statistics takes place (Section 3.4). Lastly, the results of estimated multinomial logistic regression models are reported and examined for their implications regarding the research hypotheses (Section 3.5).

#### 3.1 Data & Operationalization

The CHES data is such and such.

- from when to when
- · which countries
- how many parties

The European Social Survey data is such and such.

- from when to when
- which countries
- how many parties

#### 3.1.1 Dependent Variable: Support for Populist Parties

In order to construct our dependent variable of Support for Populist Parties we will be using the CHES data.

5 CONCLUSIONS

• actual operationalization

#### Clustering Methodology

K Nearest Neighbor Gerätschaft

-> Nice Visualization of Cluster Method here!

Merging the CHES data with European Social Survey

#### 3.1.2 Independent Variables: Cultural and Economic Explanations

Measuring this or that (just check Inglehart on how hey have done it)

#### 3.2 Statistical Methodology

Here comes a description of the multinominal model (might need to change the name of the title)

#### 3.3 Descriptives

Descriptive Statistics and Exploratory Evaluation of the Hypotheses

#### 3.4 Multinomial Logistic Regression

Here comes the Analysis Part

## 4 Analysis

- 4.1 Results
- 4.2 Discussions
- 5 Conclusions
- 5.1 Limitations
- 5.2 Implications

5 CONCLUSIONS

## References

Easton, David 1975: A re-assessment of the concept of political support, *British journal of political science* 5, pp. 435–57.

Easton, David 1965: A systems analysis of political life. New York: John Wiley.

Habermas, Jürgen 1994: Three normative models of democracy, Constellations 1, pp. 1–10.