

The Populist Supply: System Outsiders and Issue Entrepreneurs

Julia Schulte-Cloos

European University Institute

julia.schulte-cloos@eui.eu

jschultecloos.github.io

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Recap of Yesterday - How to Study Populist Demand?

- Voting for a populist party is possibly **socially undesirable**
 - Voters might be dishonest in surveys about their partisan ties to a populist party
 - This might be particularly an issue for **populist radical right** voting and anti-immigrant sentiments

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- **Possible research methods:**
 - Study aggregate electoral outcomes (e.g. districts, neighbourhoods) as a function of e.g. socio-economic characteristics (unemployment, number of immigrants, etc.) in that district. **But: ecological fallacy**
 - List experiments (see our small list experiment yesterday). Read more [here](#).
 - Rely on survey methods despite the shortcomings

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Recap of Yesterday - Explanations for Populist Support

- **Two explanations for populist demand**

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- **Are they mutually exclusive?**

- In reality, attributes defining the “left behinds” and the “cultural counter-backlasheds” might be closely associated on the individual level
- The distinction may be artificial

Recap of Yesterday - Party Competition along the “New Cleavage”

■ New political cleavage:

- parties take positions on the “cultural dimension” of political conflict
- GALTAN cleavage (Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson 2002): GAL: green, alternative, libertarian; TAN: tradition, authority, nationalistic
- Demarcation-integration cleavage (Kriesi et al. 2006)
- Universalistic - traditionalist / communitarian cleavage (Bornschieer 2010, 2015)
- (Different authors prefer different names)

Follow-Up of Yesterday: The Social-Democratic Dilemma

Group Exercise

- Read the following LSE EUROPP blog post by Sheri Berman.
- Discuss why the centre-left risks irrelevance according to the author? Is this a recent risk to social democracy?

Recap of Yesterday - Populist Voters' Populist Attributes

- Akkerman, Mudde, and Zaslove (2014): How to measure populist attitudes?
 - Index of populist attitudes, pluralist attitudes and elitist attitudes
 - Predicts voting for populist left and populist right parties in the Netherlands
 - More cross-country evidence necessary
 - Not yet a standard item in cross-national surveys
- **Research avenue:** test the predictive power of populist attitudes for voting for a populist party in your country!

What Makes a Party Issue Entrepreneur?

■ **Theory of issue evolution** (Carmines and Stimson 1993)

- In systems of two party competition (US): party in the minority has an incentive to change the basis of party competition
- May try to “upset the dominant party alignment” (Carmines and Stimson 1993, 154)
- Issue evolution as the struggle among rival parties or candidates which issues dominate the agenda and receive public attention for issues
- Parties and candidates as **strategic actors**

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■ Definition of an issue entrepreneur:

Issue entrepreneurship refers to a strategy by which parties mobilize issues that have been largely ignored in party competition and adopt a policy position on the issue that is substantially different from the mainstream status quo. (Hobolt and De Vries 2015, 3)

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→ Issue entrepreneurs emphasize issues that have been previously ignored by mainstream parties

What Makes an Issue Entrepreneur?

■ How to measure issue entrepreneurship?

- Definition proposed by Hobolt and De Vries (2015) combines issue salience (the importance that a party attaches to the issue) and issue position (relative to the mean party position).
- Party's EU salience score with their distance to the mean party position on the EU dimension

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- Three components of “political loss” that make parties more likely to engage in issue entrepreneurship
 1. lack of government experience
 2. a non-mainstream position on the main dimension of political conflict
 3. electoral defeat

Party Competition and Issue Salience

■ Group Exercise

- Why do mainstream parties ignore certain issues according to Hobolt and De Vries (2015)?
- Can you think of other reasons why mainstream parties ignore certain issues that are not mentioned by the authors?
- The EU issue has traditionally been “de-politicised” by mainstream parties, i.e. mainstream parties have not been making the issue central parts of their campaigns. How does this potentially relate to the findings of the author?

Getting Ready for Tomorrow!

- Please install RStudio and R on the computers in the lab

Eurosceptic Party Positions Compared

- Taggart and Szczerbiak (2018): recent data on party positions of parties **across 31 countries**
- Expert surveys conducted in 2015 and in 2017, examining the impact of the Eurozone crisis, the migration crisis and Brexit on Euroscepticism on party politics across Europe

Eurosceptic Party Positions Compared

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- Euroscepticism spans the ideological range (Hooghe, Marks, and Wilson 2002; Taggart 1998)
 - We already spoke about the inverted U-curve
 - Taggart and Szczerbiak (2018): unevenly, exists in parties on the left and right and in established as well as by new political parties
 - *“Euroscepticism has come in from being an exclusively insurgent peripheral phenomenon to one that is expressed by parties of government and not only by smaller and non-governmental parties”* (Taggart 1998, 1203)

Eurosceptic Party Positions Compared

■ Framing of the European Union

- **Economic failings** framing of Euroscepticism as a critique of economic failings of European integration (extremely prevalent in the 2015 survey)
- **Immigration issue**: particular resonance as the migration crisis grew in 2015. **BUT**: importance of immigration issue for radical right parties preceded this in Western Europe
- **Concerns about democracy and sovereignty**: loss of national sovereignty through EU membership

Table 2. The impact of Eurozone crisis, migration crisis and Brexit on party-based Euroscepticism in European states.

	EZ Crisis Impact	Migration Crisis Impact	Brexit Impact
Belgium	Low	Low	Low
Bulgaria	Low	High	Low/Medium
Croatia	Low	Low	Low
Cyprus	Medium	Medium	Low/Medium
Czech Republic	Medium	Medium	Low
Denmark	Low/ Medium	Low	Medium
Estonia	Low	Low/Medium	Low
Finland	Medium	Low	Low
France	Medium	Medium	Medium
Germany	Medium	Low	Low
Greece	High	High	Medium
Hungary	Low	High	Low
Ireland	High	Low	High
Italy	Medium	Medium	Low
Latvia	Low	Low	Low
Lithuania	Low	-	-

Issue Entrepreneurs, Niche Parties, Challenger Parties

- When speaking about **challenger parties**, we broadly think of **non-mainstream** parties
 - Works well for North-Western Europe, more difficult for Southern and Central/Eastern Europe
 - Variation in the party system institutionalization within those countries
 - Volatile environment, many new parties are founded that are weakly embedded in society
 - Party splinters, party mergers, pre- and post-electoral coalition formations

The Impact of Challenger Party Success on Mainstream Parties' Position

■ Different ways to measure party positions

- Expert surveys (e.g. Chapel Hill Expert Survey)
- Manifesto data (e.g. Comparative Manifesto Project)
- Party positions as reported in the media (e.g. election campaign analyses, Kriesi)

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- **Different ways to measure party positions**
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- **Advantages and disadvantages** of the respective approaches?

The Impact of Challenger Party Success on Mainstream Parties' Position

- **Puzzle:** Do challenger parties' success leave an impact on the mainstream parties' party positions?
- ... and the other way around: Christopher Williams *"At the same time, discussing Europe can be dangerous for mainstream parties. Maurits Meijers and I have a piece that finds when mainstream parties, particularly center-right mainstream parties talk more about Europe, far-right niche parties see an increased vote share because the mainstream parties are increasing the salience of the issue"*
- **Difficulty:** The direction of causality cannot be established. **What is the counterfactual?**

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