## Trajectories of Populist Parties in Europe

Dr. Julian Bernauer

Data and Methods Unit Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) julian.bernauer@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

9 September 2017 11th ECPR General Conference, Oslo 2017

## Puzzle/RQ

#### Puzzle

Cas Mudde: "'Populists are attractive at the moment because they shake up the world but, after a while, populists are no longer that interesting."'

Source: https://www.ceu.edu/article/2017-06-15/happy-people-rarely-vote-populists-mudde-says

#### Mechanisms

- Context of original citation: Media attention
- Here: Interplay of general wave-shaped trajectories of populist parties with external "shock" of "refugee crisis"
- Potentially also: Boredom, pressure valve, realization of limited impact, corruption or disenchantment due to government participation

#### Disclaimer

### Sparse data

- Despite the attention they get, populist parties have generally not successfully contested a whole lot of elections
- Here, 16 parties in 12 western European countries at 50 elections since 2000 are studied → N=66
- Also quite old-fashioned RQ and data, trend towards e.g. intra-party analysis or impact of populism (Mudde 2016; C-REX working paper)
- Goal: Conceptual and statistical framework for analyzing trajectories of populist parties

### **Theory**

- Populism as an increasingly salient dimension of political competition (cultural backlash/economic inequality)
- Working definition of populism: Core of antagonistic relationship between "the people" and "the elites"
- Often involves nativism and authoritarianism
  - → Populist radical right
- Anti-immigration stances fit perfectly with "we" against "the others"
- After a while, populism falters

### Hypothesis 1

Populism occurs in waves.

### Hypothesis 2

External "shocks" can spark temporary support for populist parties.

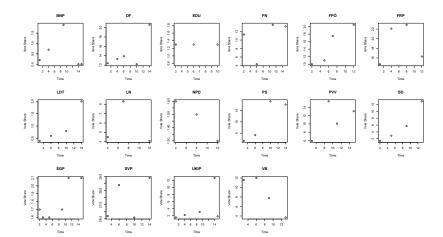
### Design

- N=66 (16 parties in 12 western European countries at 50 elections since 2000)
- Dependent variable: Log of vote share of populist party at election
- Controls: Random intercepts for parties, elections and countries; district magnitude

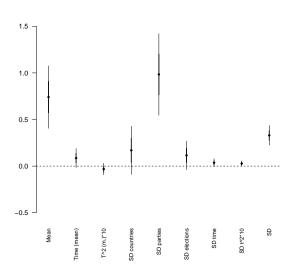
#### Model implementing trajectories

- Latent curves multilevel model: Time (T) and time squared (T2) since 2000 as independent variables
- T and T2 are allowed to vary by party
- Immigration rates and "shock" of "refugee crisis" expected to explain deviations from "wave"-shaped trajectories
- Bayesian framework for estimation to cope with sparse data

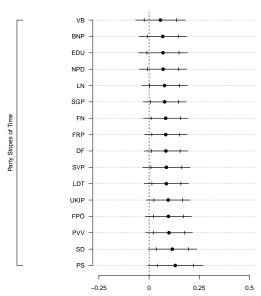
### **Electoral Results**



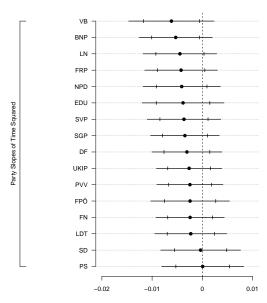
## Model of Trajectories



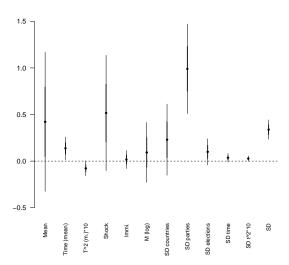
## Party Slopes: Time



## Party Slopes: Time Squared



### Model of Electoral Trajectories with Covariates



#### Conclusions

#### Llike

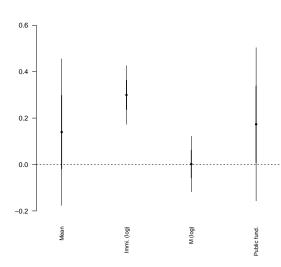
- Conceptual and statistical framework for analyzing the trajectories of populist parties
- Hints at potential fourth wave of populism

#### I dislike

- N
- Length of waves; hypothetical character of prediction
- Exclusion of mechanisms such as government participation
- → Go for regional-level election results?

#### Thank you for your attention!

# Model of Entry



### Residual vs. Fitted

