

Populism in Europe: from the Left and the Right?

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I. Populism and Political Ideology

- Progression of populist parties in elections in Europe: PiS (Poland), FPÖ (Austria), Podemos (Spain), Syriza (Greece), ANO (Czech Republic), Five Stars Movement and the League (Italy), La France Insoumise and Rassemblement National (France), Fidesz (Hungary).
- Alignment of populist parties across Europe? Examples from 2019 European elections:
 - **European People's Party:** Fidesz
 - **European Conservatives and Reformists:** PiS
 - **Renew Europe:** ANO
 - **European United Left-Nordic Green Left:** Syriza, LFI, Podemos
 - **Identity and Democracy:** FPÖ, RN, League
 - **Non Attached:** M5S

I. Populism and Political Ideology

- Populism on the Right and the Left? Intersection of two axes: populist values and Left/Right ideological spectrum.

Research questions:

- Are populist voters in Europe from the Left, the Right, and the Centre?
- Are populist themes helping parties attract voters from the Left and the Right equally?

II. Data and Countries

Eurobarometer 90.3 November 2018: 27424 respondents in total.

List of Countries – EU Member States

Austria	Latvia
Belgium	Lithuania
Bulgaria	Luxembourg
Croatia	Malta
Cyprus	Netherlands
Czech Republic	Poland
Denmark	Portugal
Estonia	Romania
Finland	Slovakia
France	Slovenia
Germany	Spain
Greece	Sweden
Hungary	United Kingdom
Ireland	
Italy	

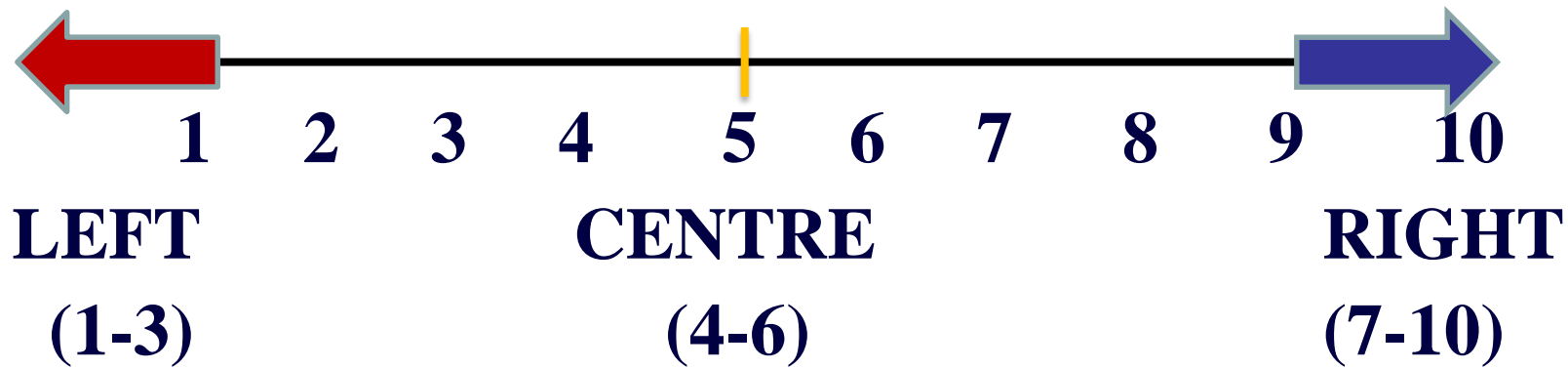
III. Left-Right Dimension

What is the Left and what is the Right across nations?

LEFT	RIGHT
Welfare state	Business friendly
Social spending	Fiscal responsibility
Equality protections	Market economy
Public education	Defense spending
Nationalisation of companies	Privatisation of national companies

- Issues of concept identification and validity across countries.
- Measures of Left and Right and reliability.
- Comparative Left/Right Scale: 1 (Left) – 10 (Right):
 - Meaning
 - Distance

III. Left-Right Dimension



- Recoding: **LEFT** (1-3) **CENTRE** (4-6) **RIGHT** (7-10)

III. Left-Right Dimension

The Historical Perspective:

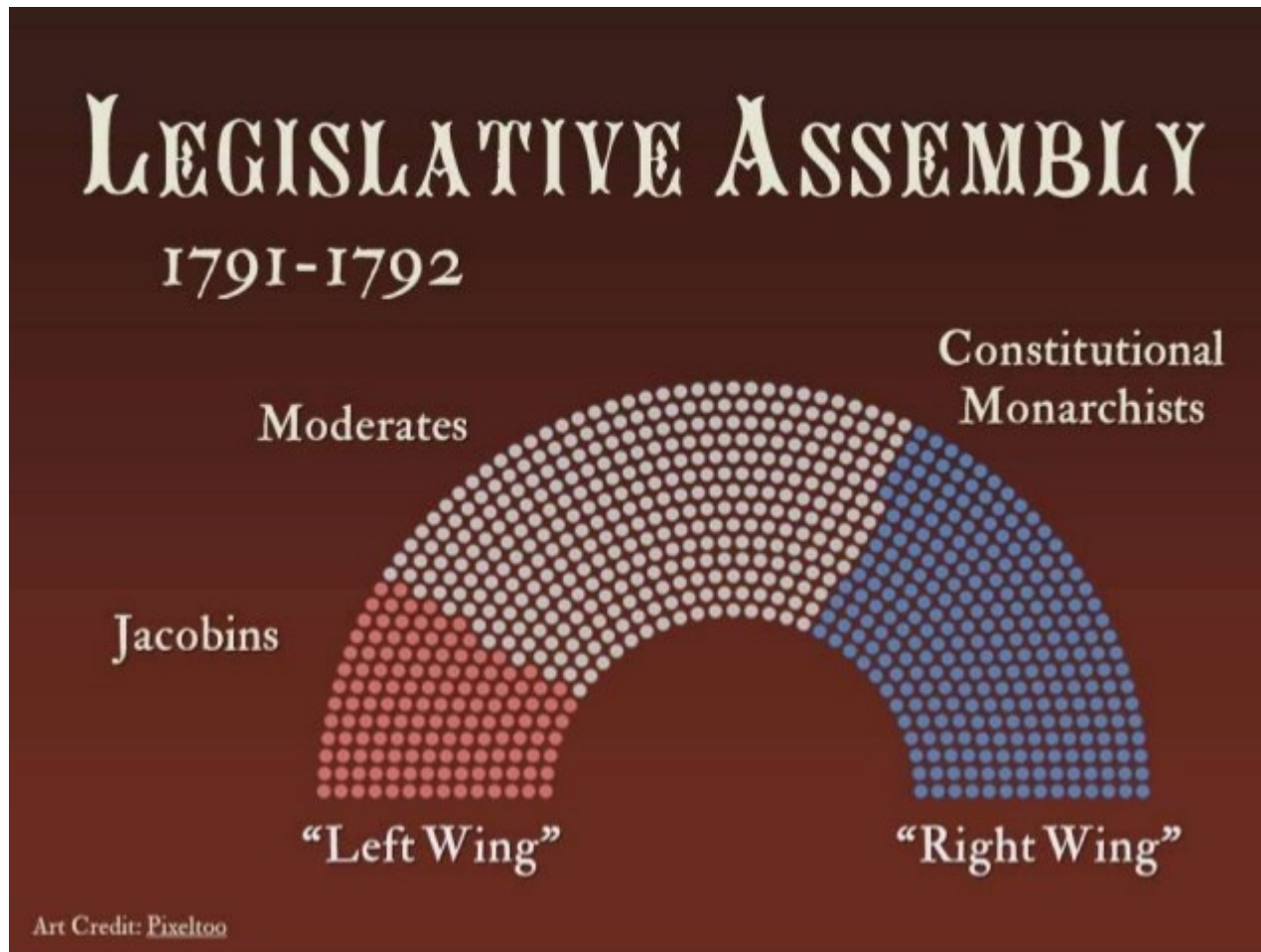


FIG. 1 Full Left-Right Placement – European Union

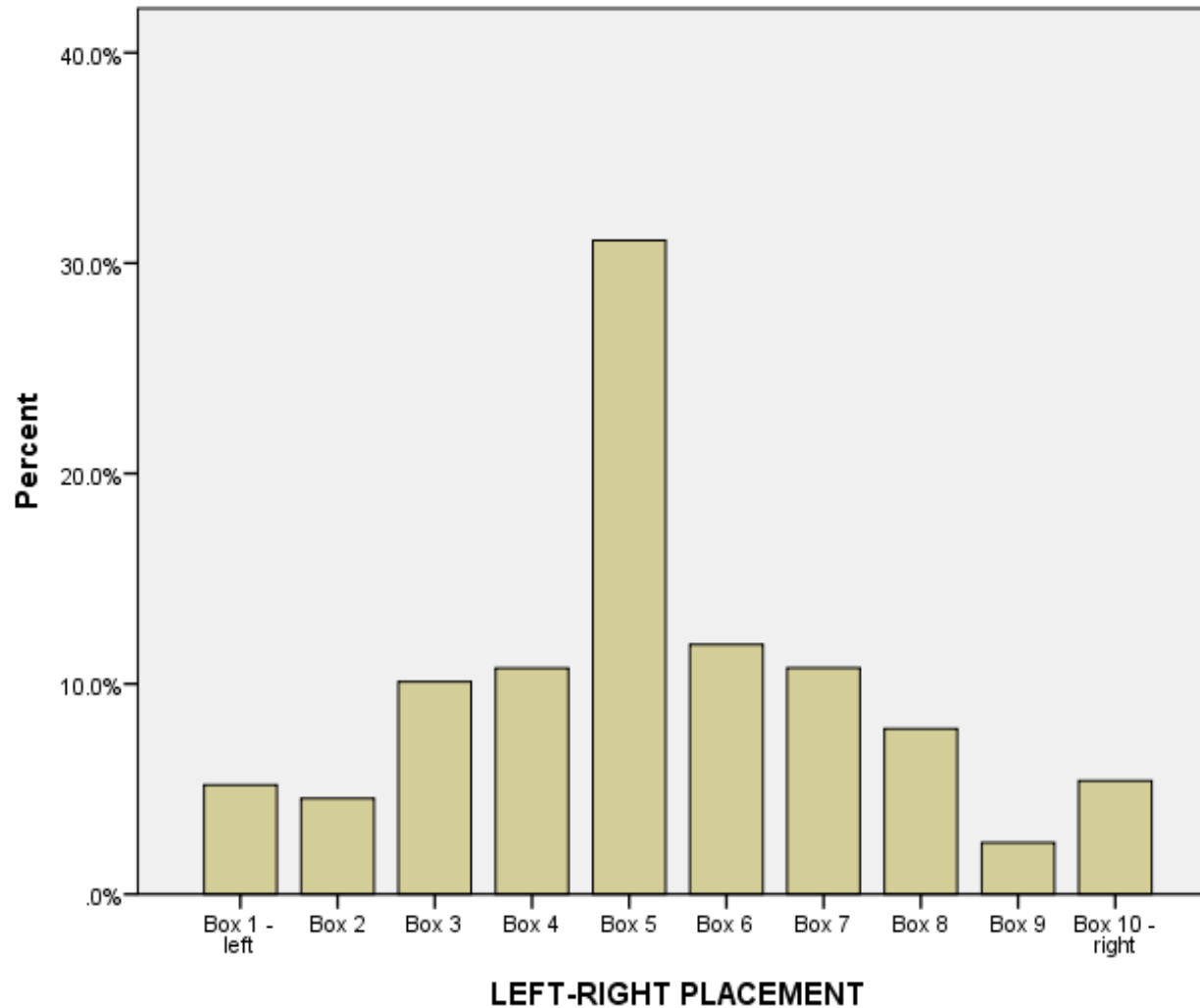


FIG. 2 Left-Right Placement Recoded – European Union

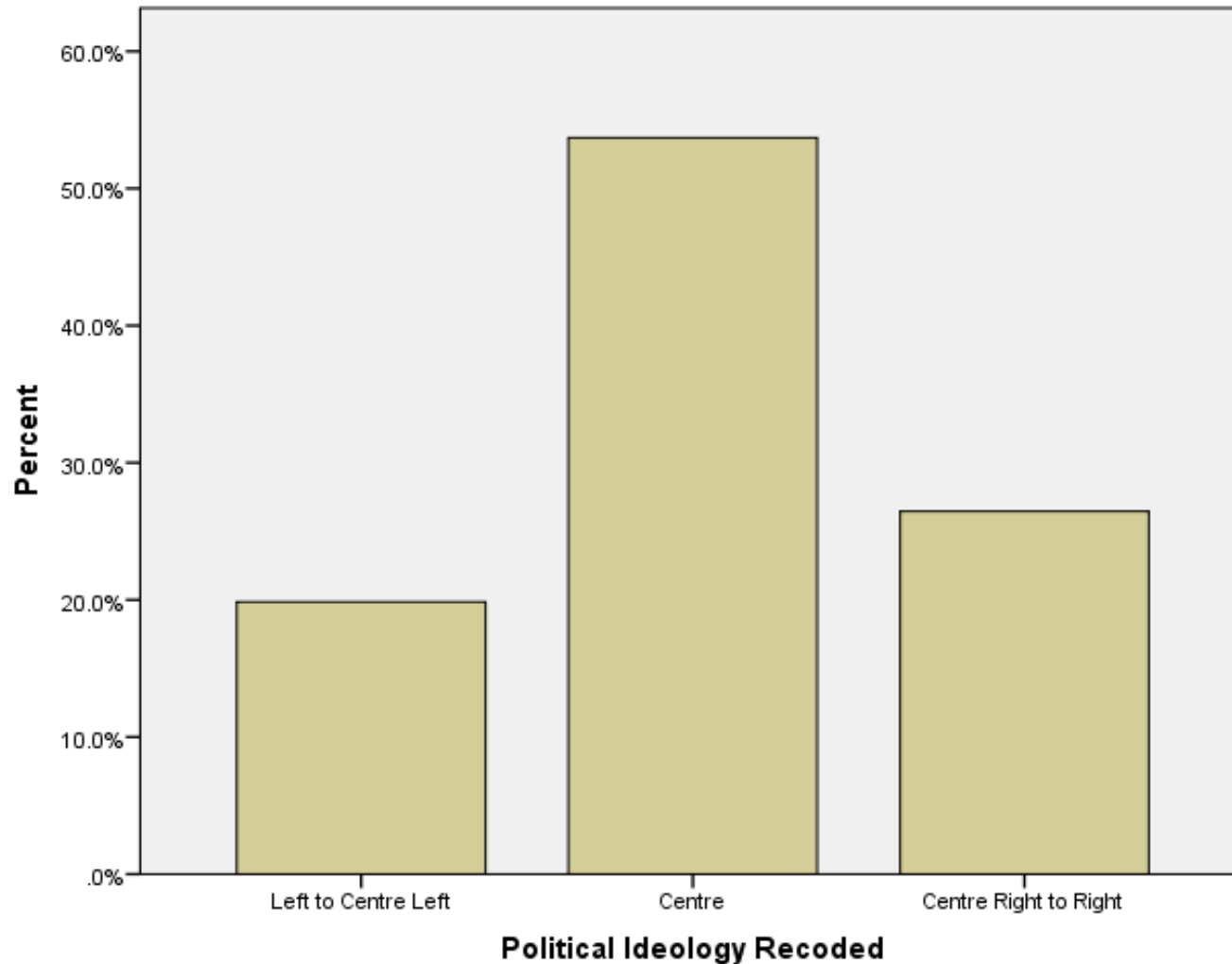


FIG. 3 Country Average Ideological Position

L/R National Score

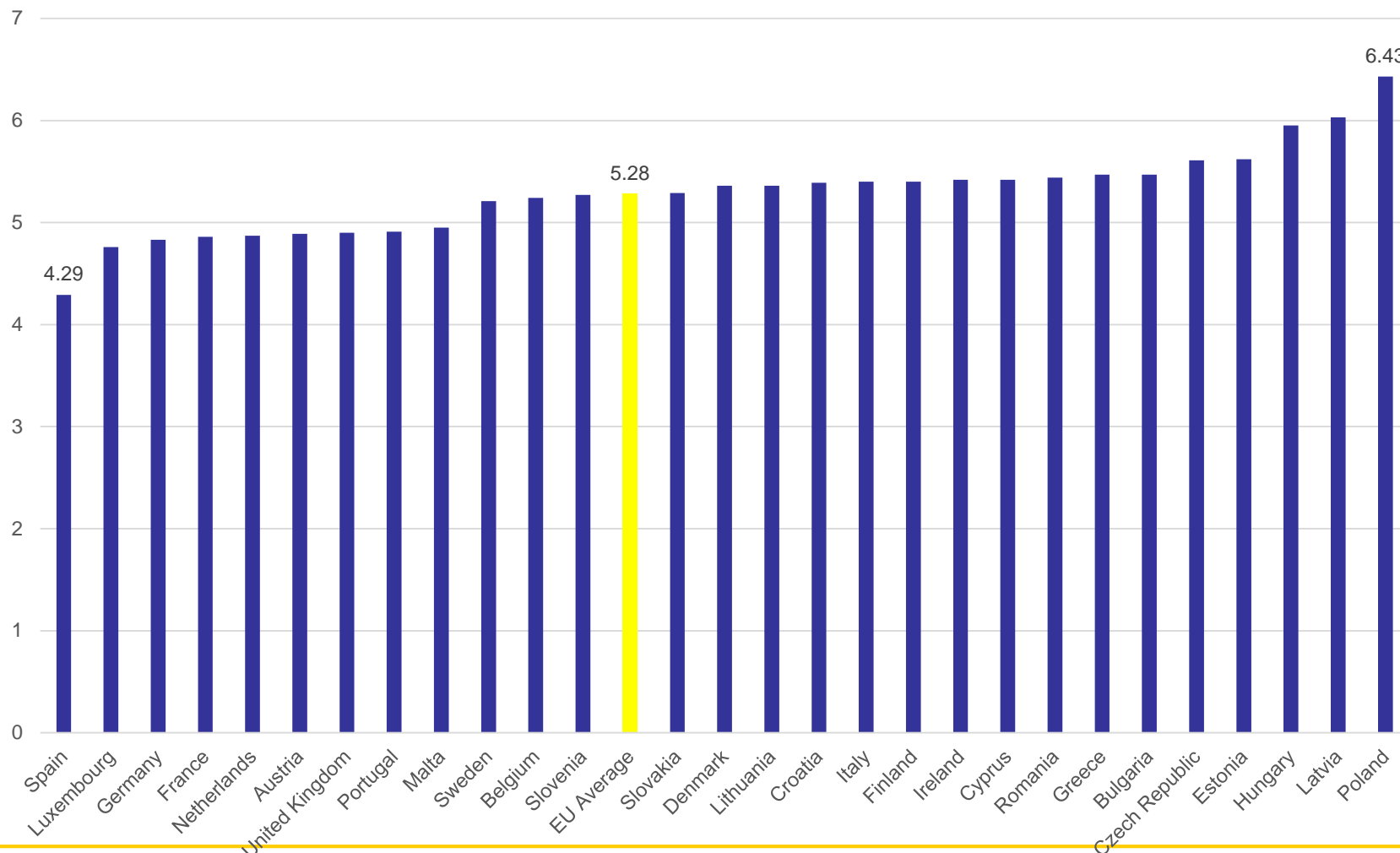


FIG. 4A Left Voters – European Union Member States

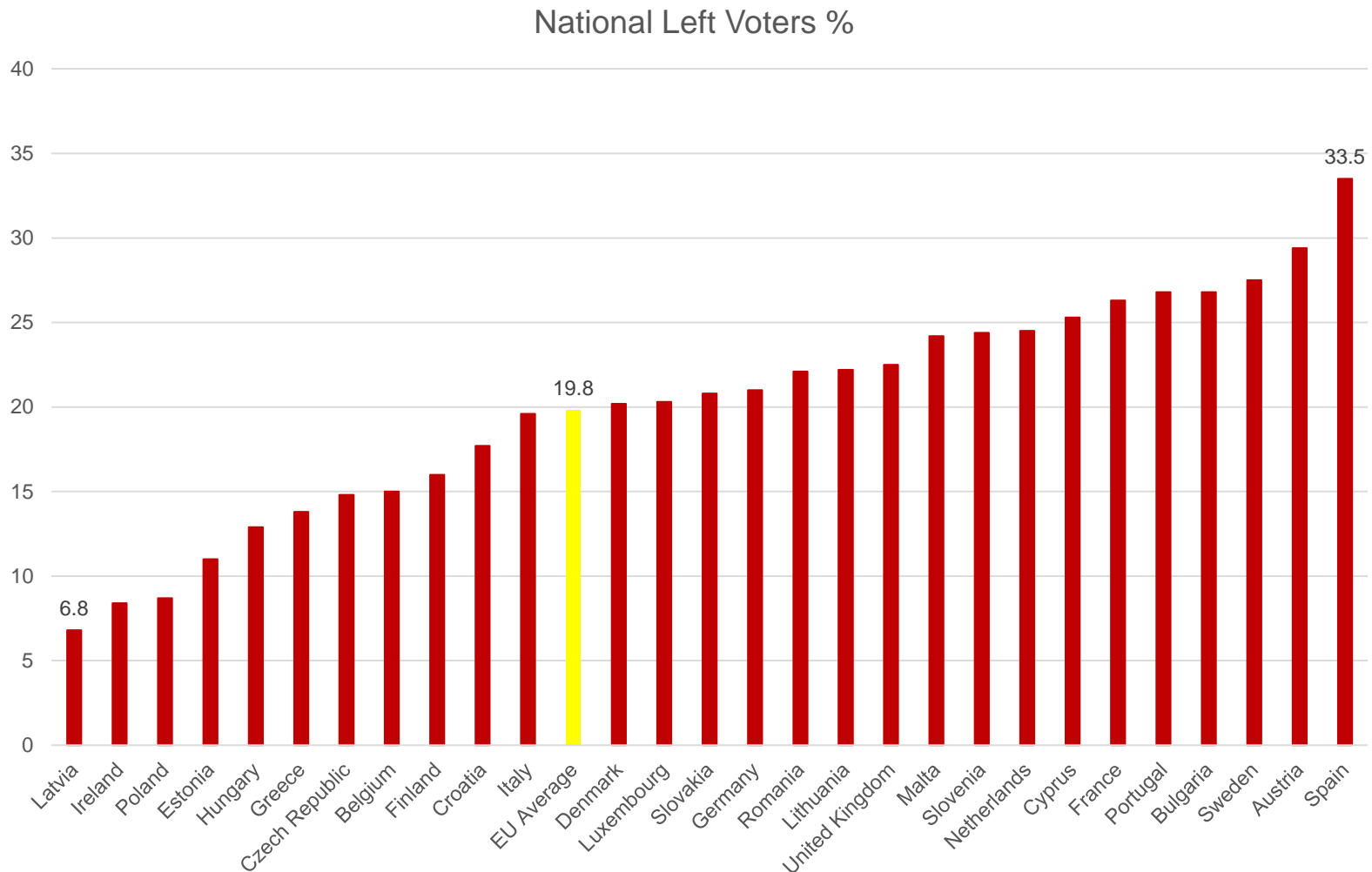


FIG. 4B Right Voters – European Union Member States

National Right Voters %

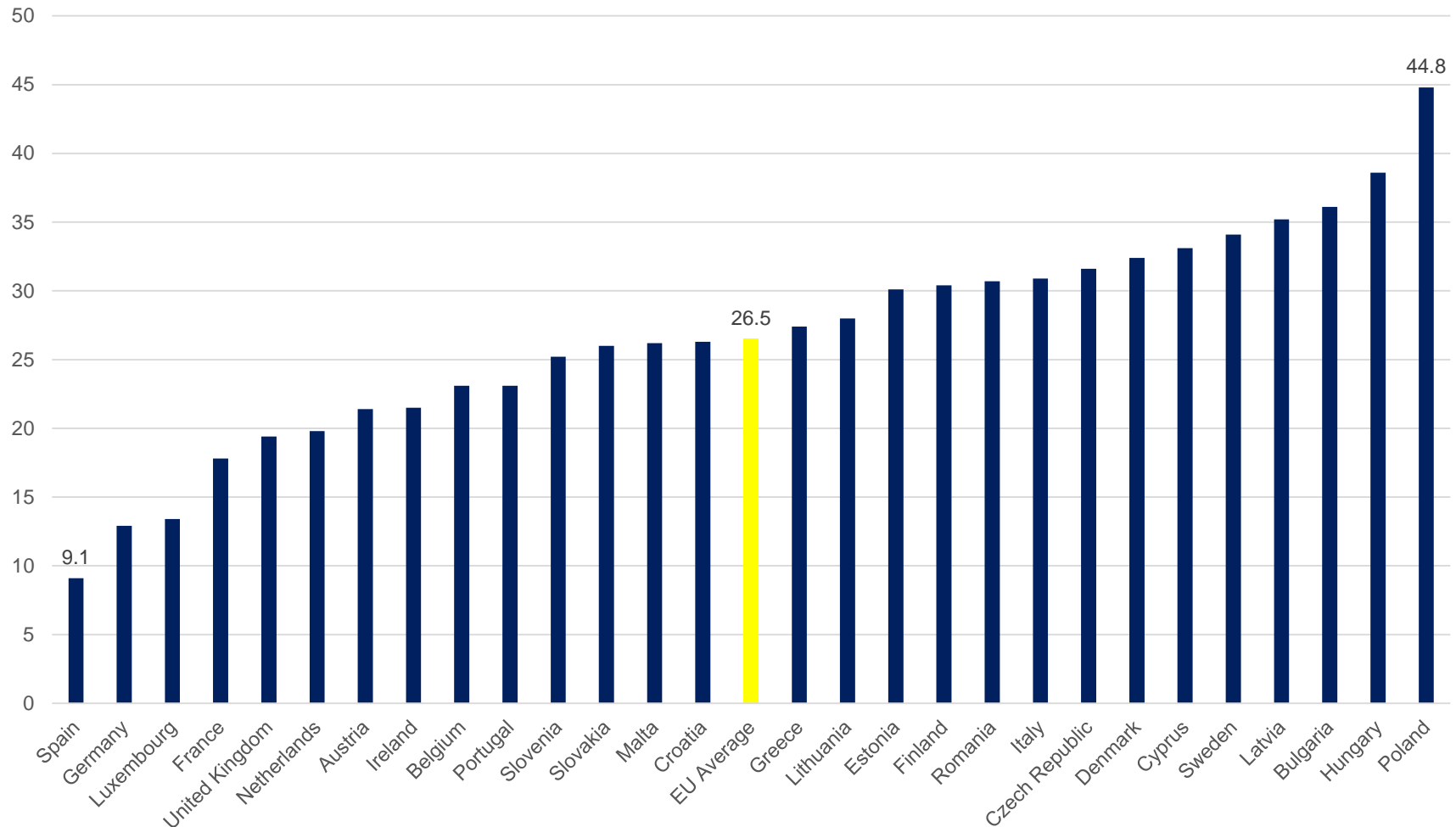
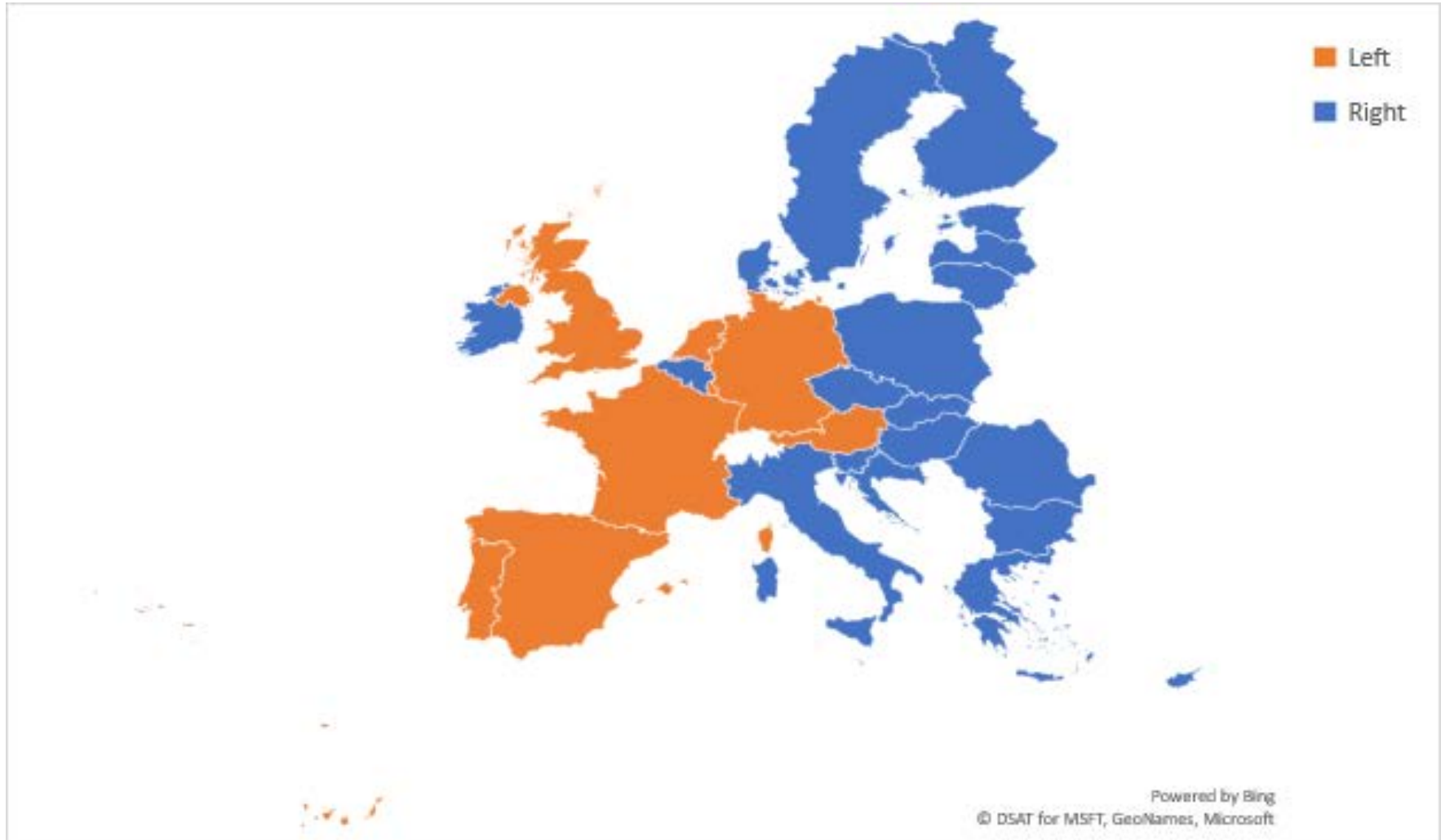


FIG. 4C Europe Map: Left vs. Right



III. Populism Factors and Ideological Groups

Examples of FACTOR 1: No Trust in Political Parties (Anti-Elites Position)

FIG. 5A No Trust in Political Parties (%) – European Union Members

No Trust in Political Parties (%)

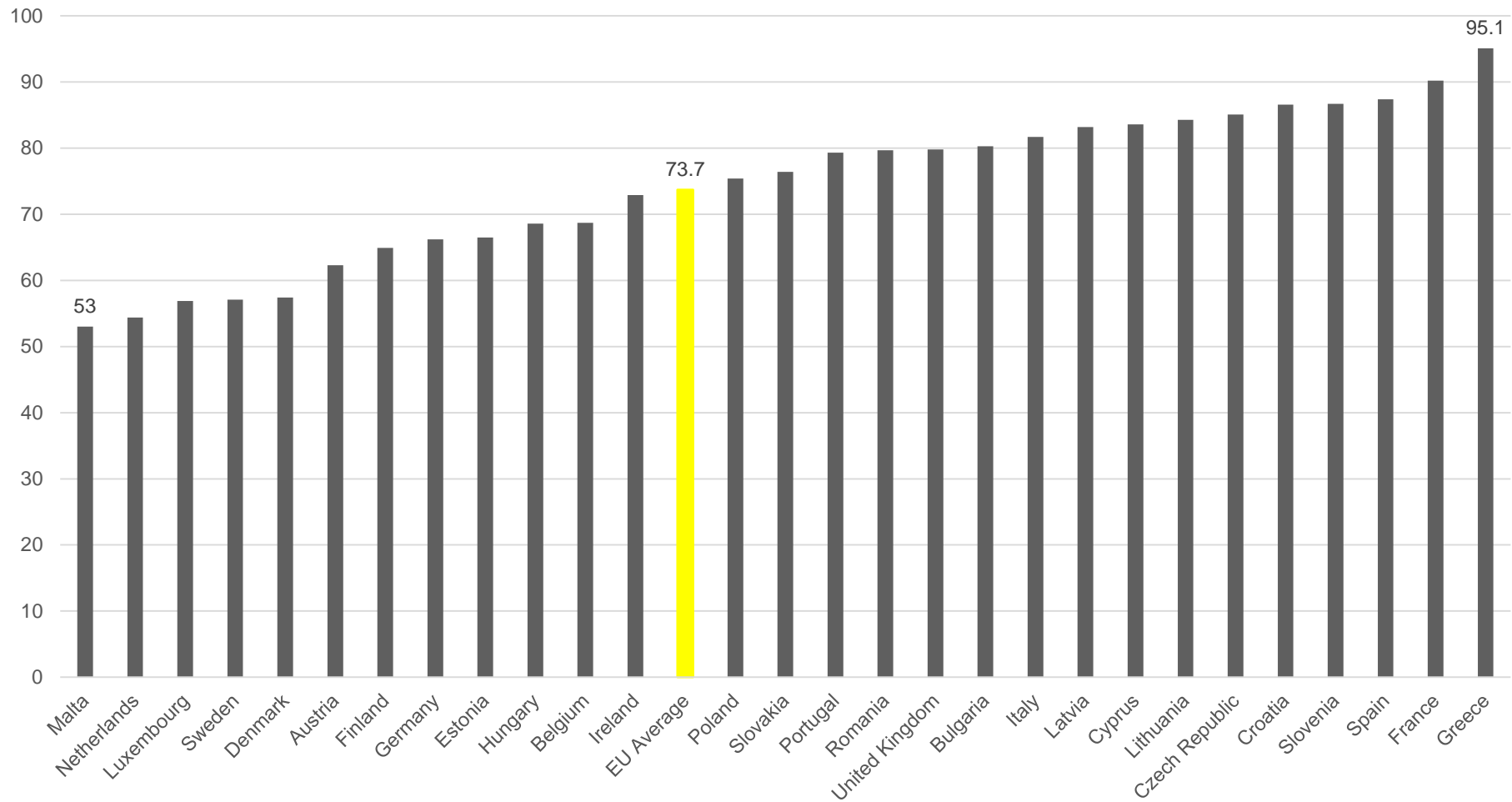
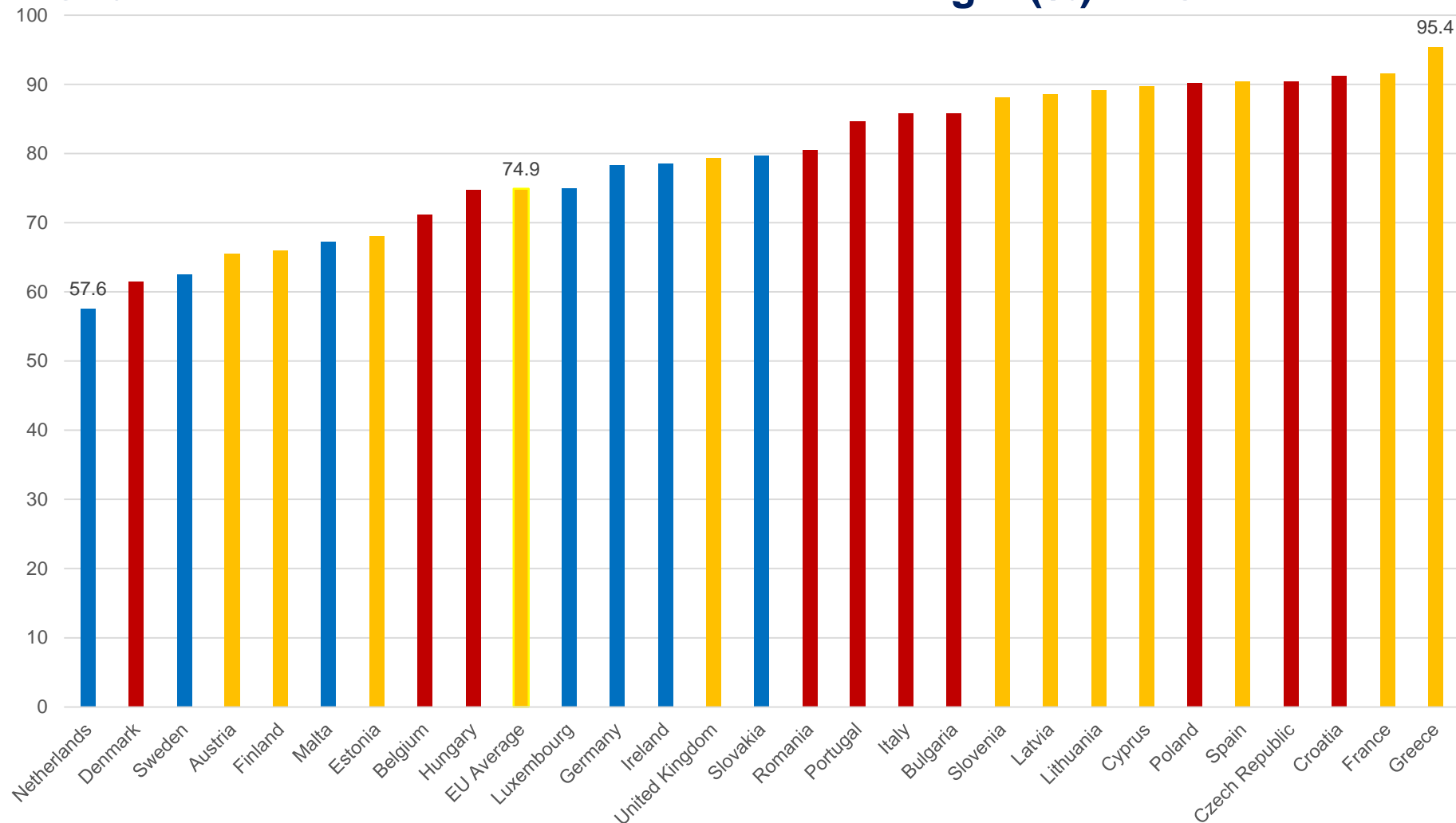


FIG. 5B No Trust in Political Parties: Left vs. Right (%) – EU Members



III. Measures of Populism

Examples of FACTOR 2:

Nationalistic/Patriotic Protection of National/Cultural Identity (Anti-Diversity Position)

**FIG. 6A Immigrants Contribute a Lot – Average Score (1-4) –
European Union Member States**

Immigrants' Contribution

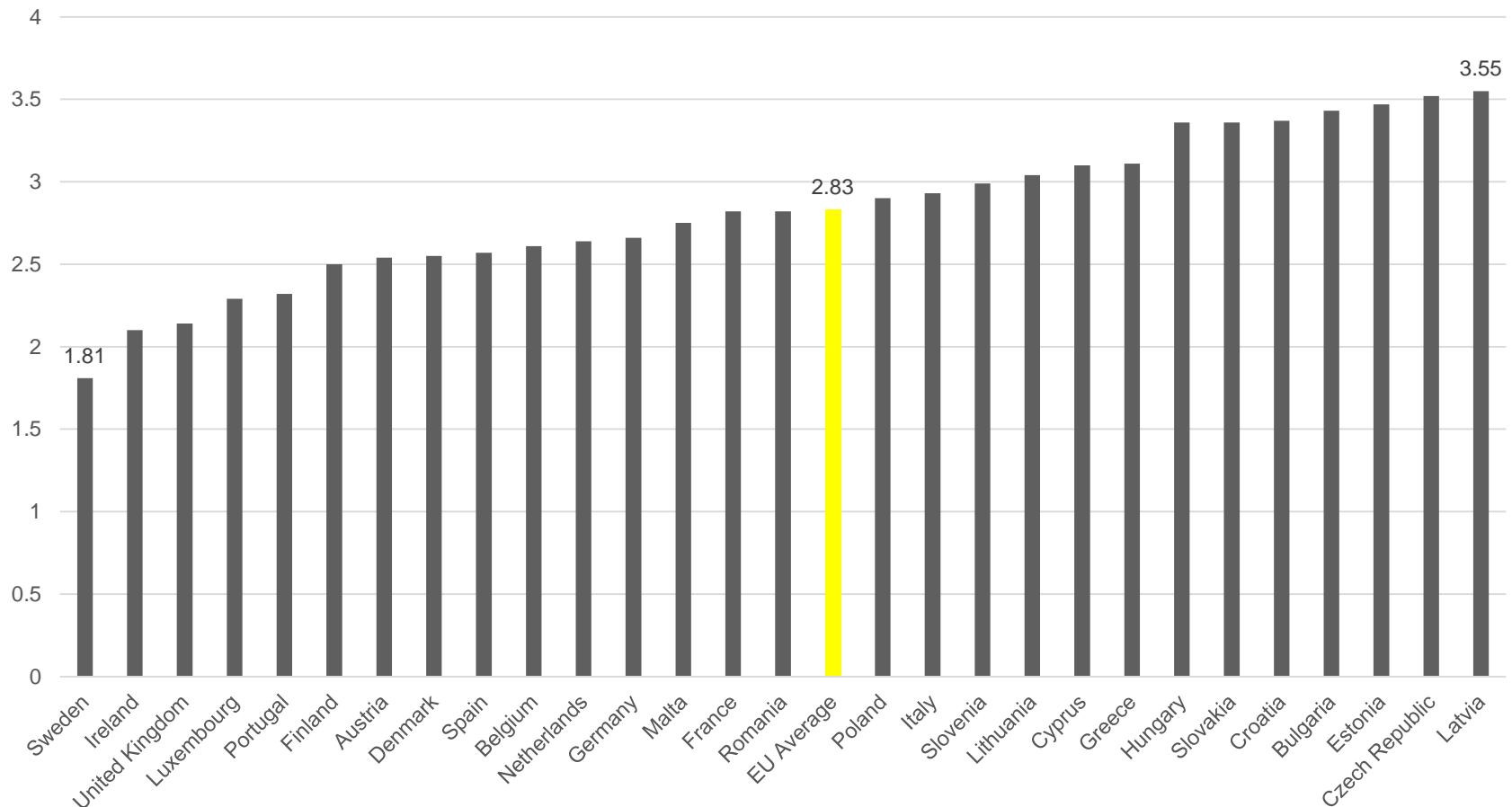
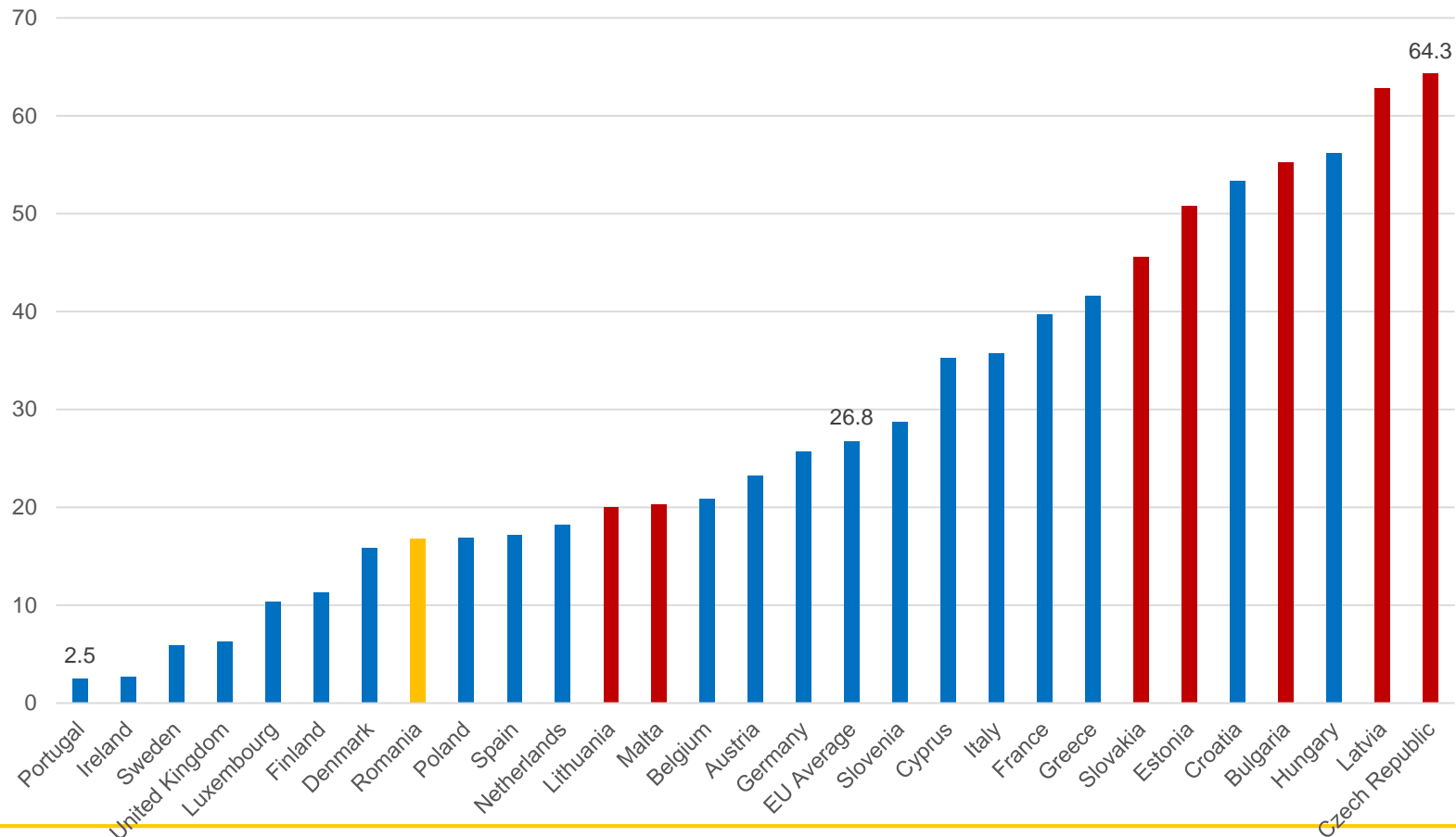


FIG. 6B Immigrants Contribute a Lot – Totally Disagree and Ideology (%) – EU Member States

Totally Disagree (%)



**FIG. 7A Country Should Help Refugees – Average Score (1-4)–
European Union Member States**

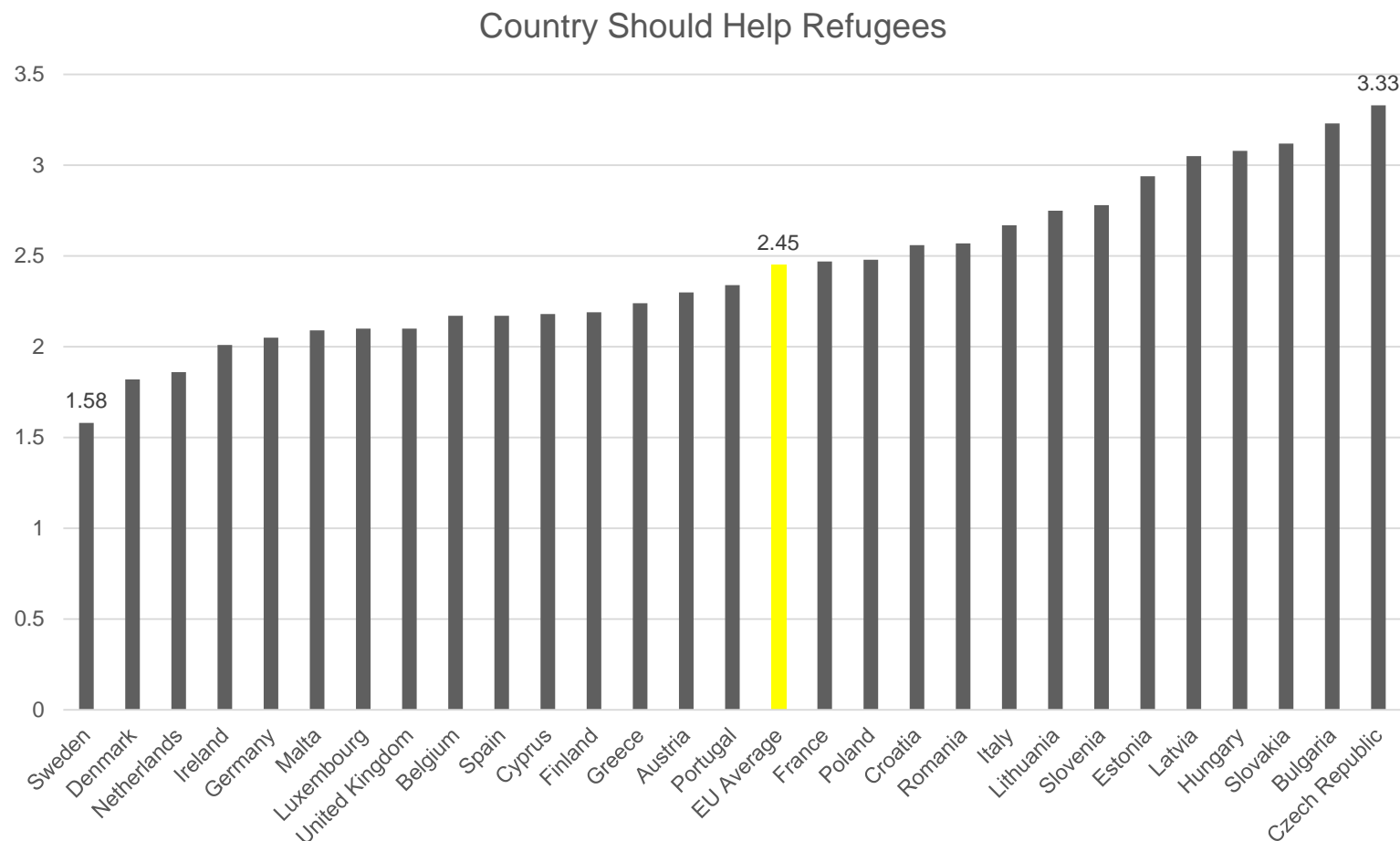
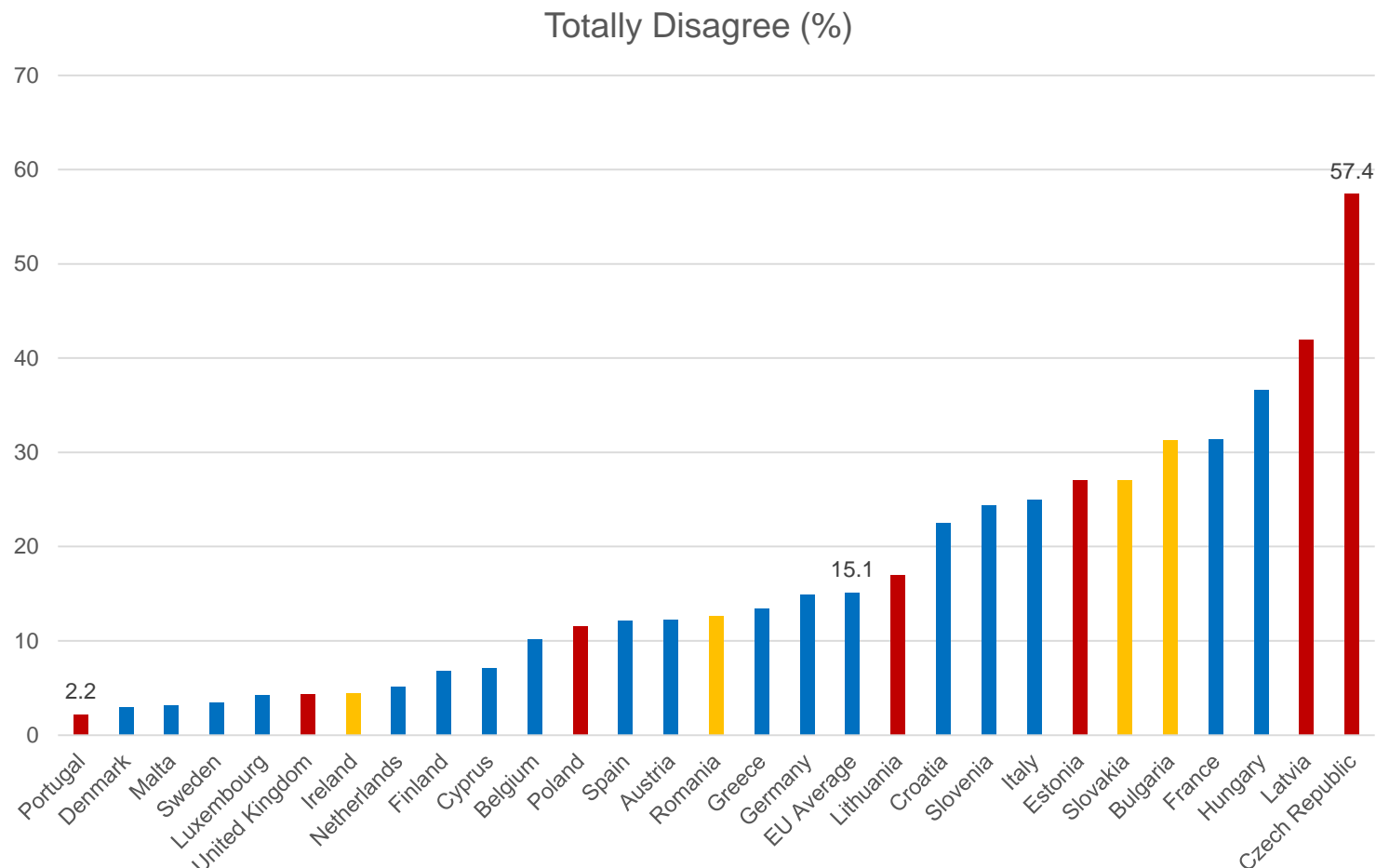


FIG. 7B Country Should Help Refugees – Totally Disagree and Ideology (%) – EU Member States



III. Measures of Populism

Examples of FACTOR 3: Opposition to Economic and Cultural Globalisation (Anti-Globalisation/Homogenization of National Economy and Culture Position)

FIG. 8A View on Globalisation – Average Score (1-4)– European Union Member States

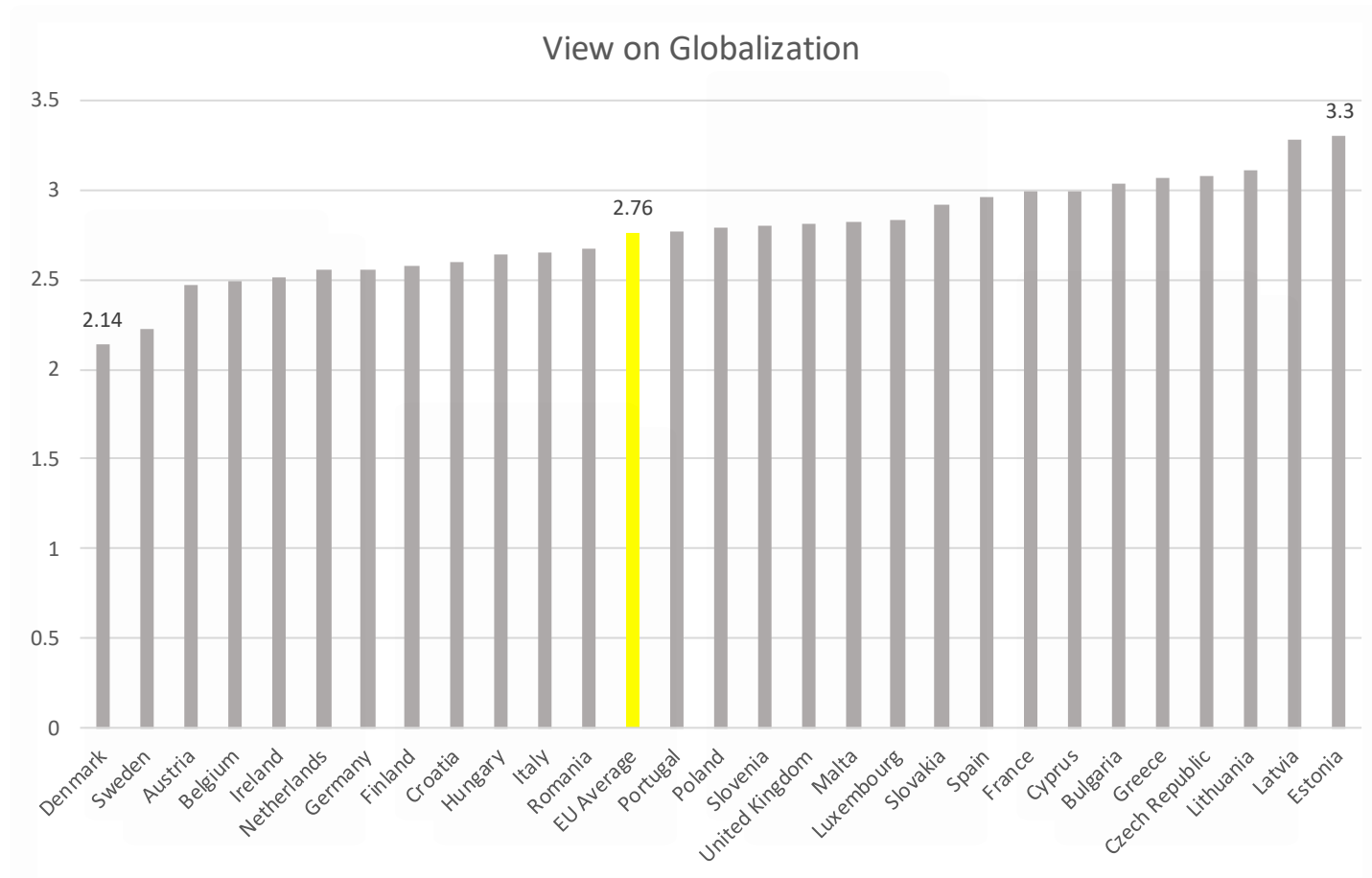


FIG. 8B View on Globalization – Very Negative and Ideology (%) – EU Member States

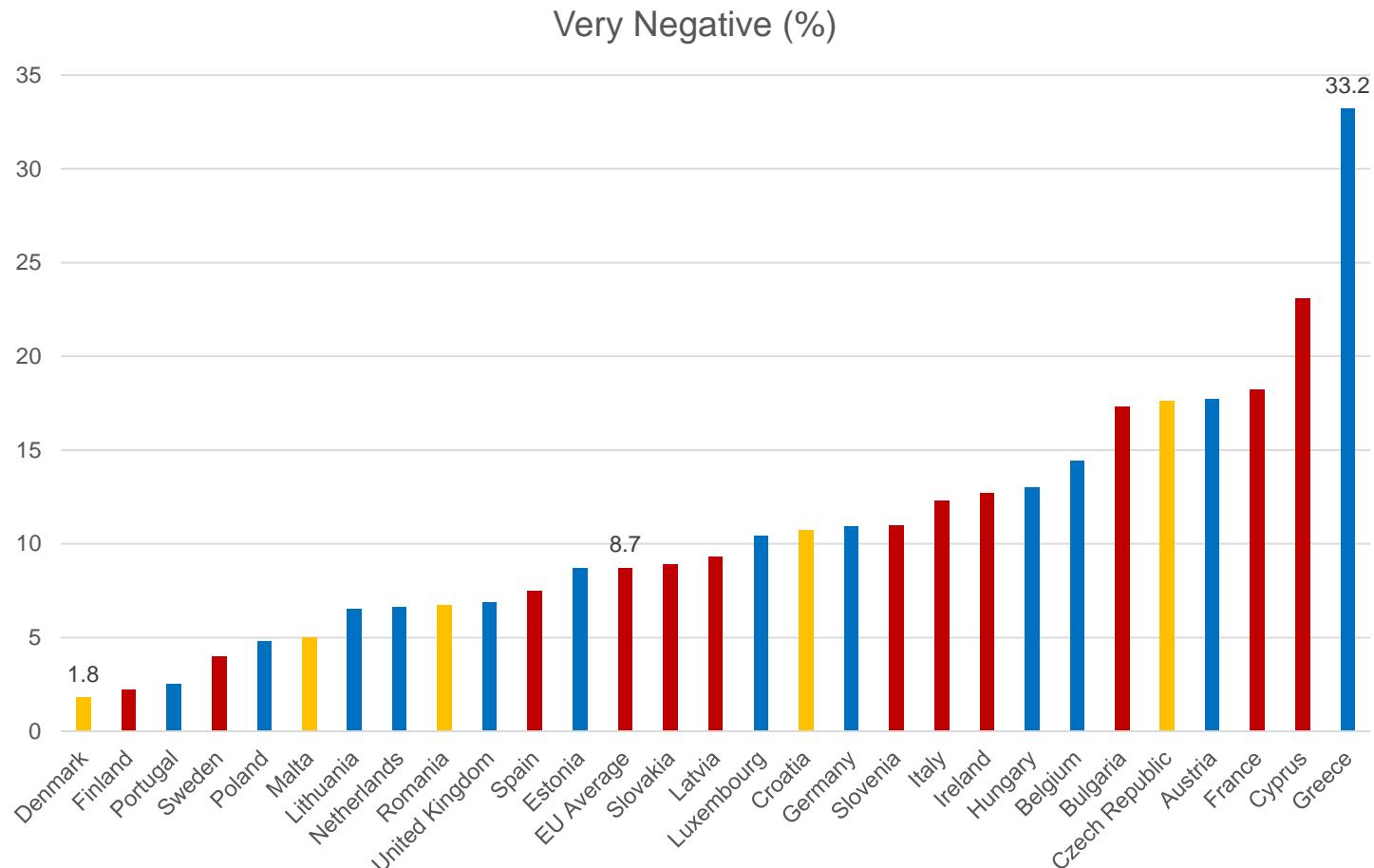


FIG. 8C Map on Globalization View – Very Negative and Ideology (%) – EU Member States

Very Negative View on Globalisation (%)

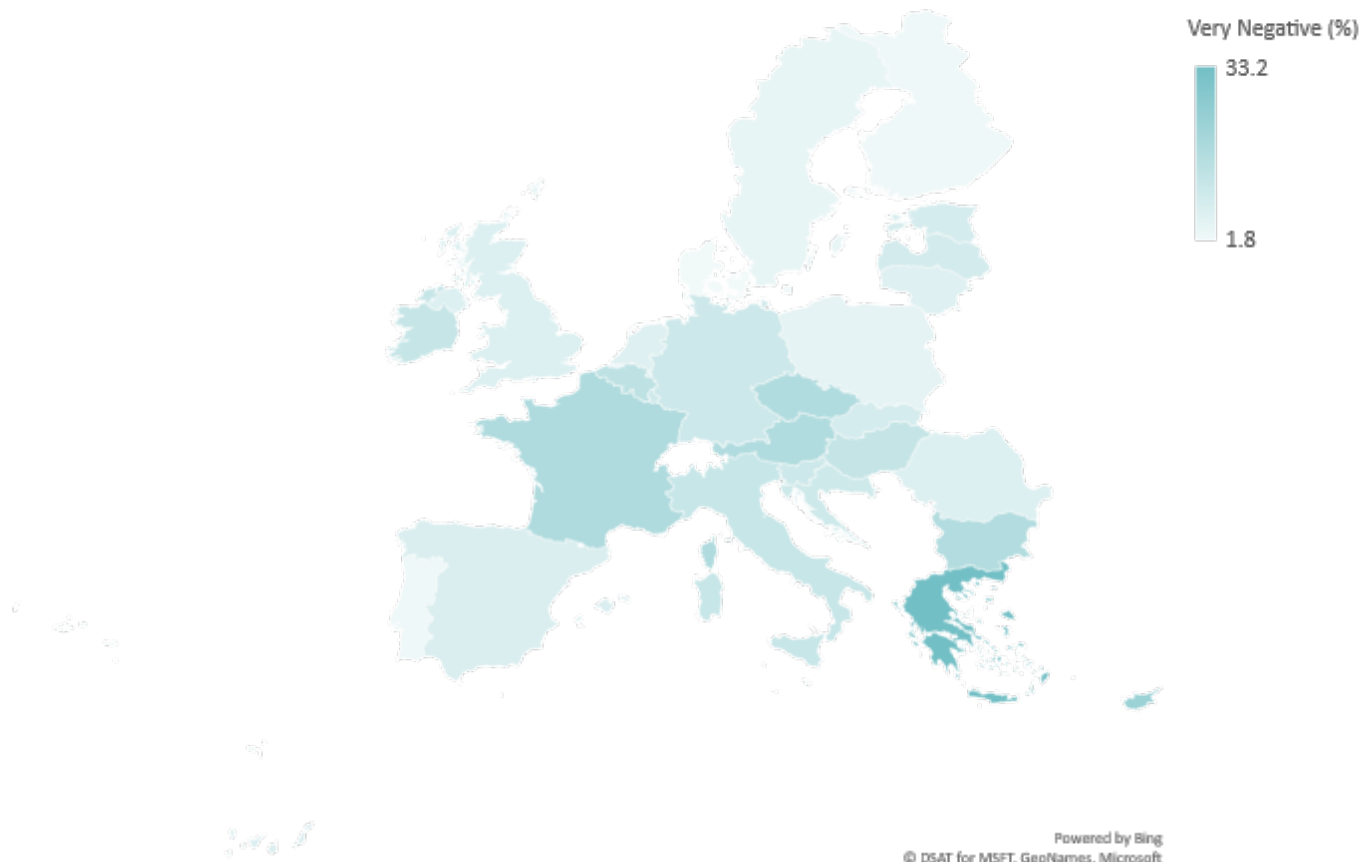


FIG. 9A View on Protectionism – Average Score (1-4)– European Union Member States

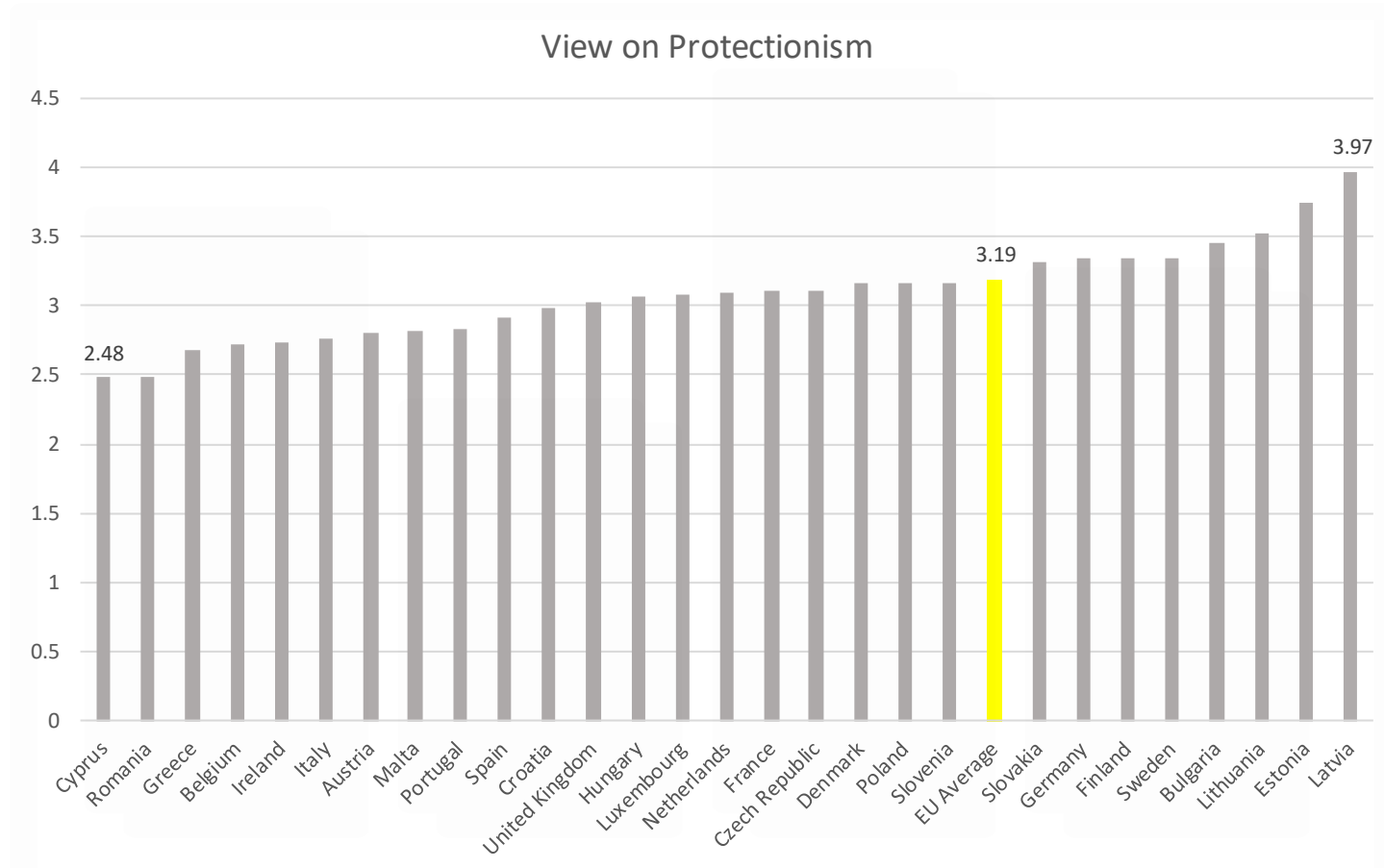
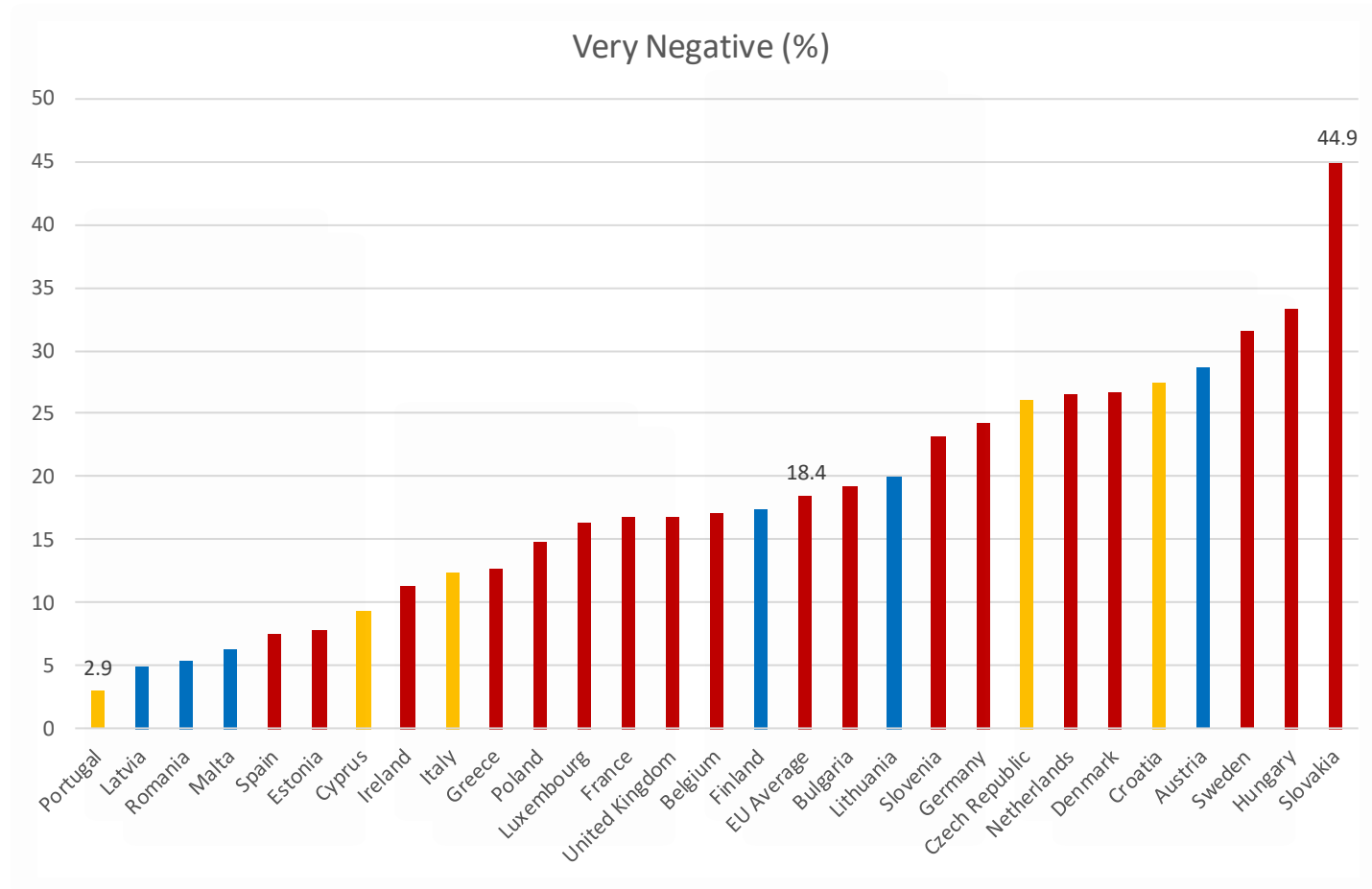


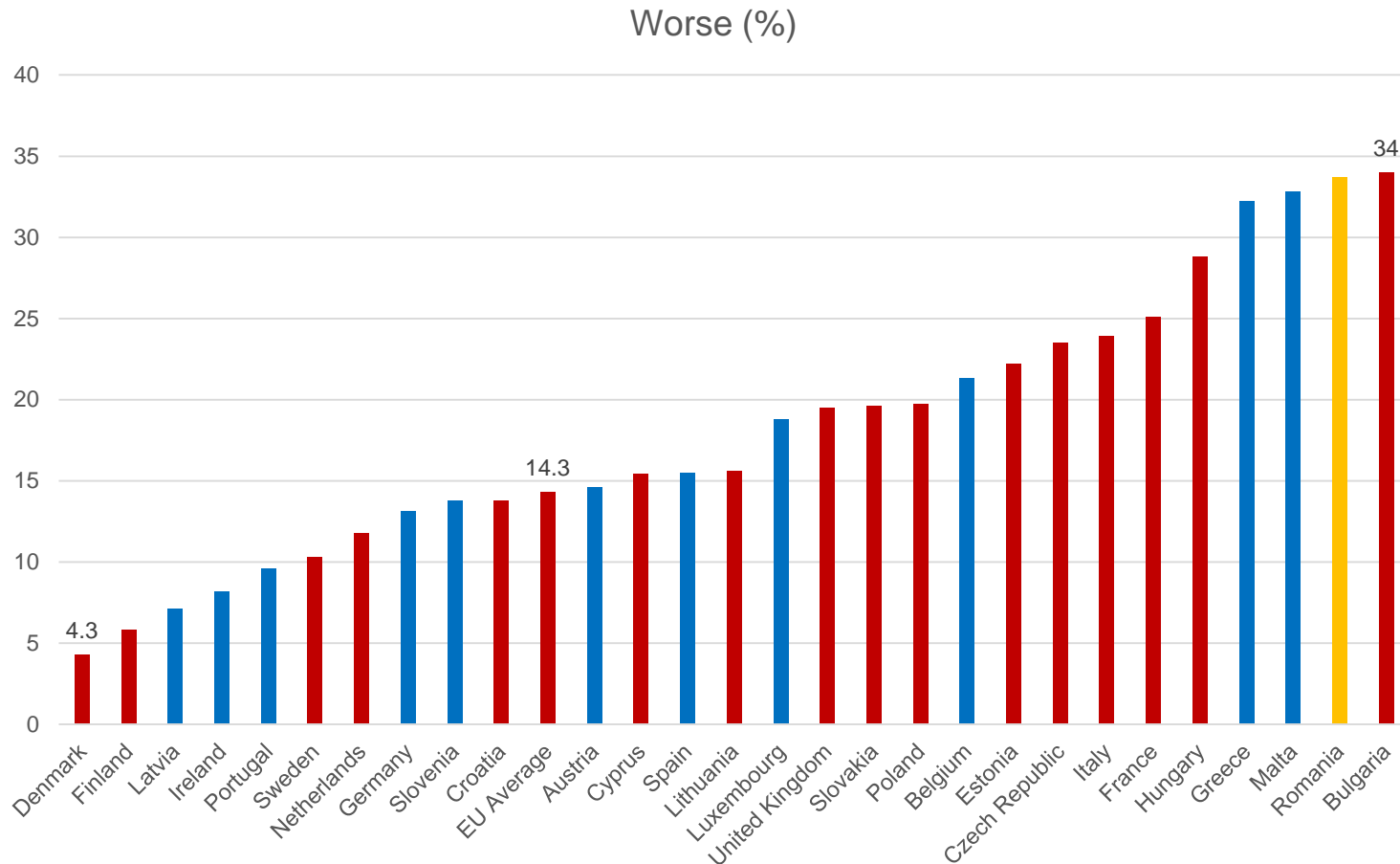
FIG. 9B View on Protectionism – Very Negative and Ideology (%) – EU Member States



III. Measures of Populism

Examples of FACTOR 4: Economic Anxiety (Anti-austerity positions).

FIG. 10A Expectations on Household Financial Situation - Worse and Ideology (%) – EU Member States



IV. The Big Picture

- It pays off to embrace populist views in Europe. More than an electoral victory for some parties in Europe.
- Voters on the Left and the Right support populist positions across countries.
- Similar populist themes attract voters from different ideological positions in different ways in different countries. For instance:
 - Anti-Elites position is strong and works well among Left-wing and Centrist voters in Europe
 - Anti-Diversity position works better among Right-wing voters (except in some Eastern European countries)
 - Anti-Globalisation position overall weak and all over the place ideologically (except Greece)
 - Anti-Austerity position relevant, works better among Leftist voters and in Eastern Europe

V. Conclusion

- Parties on the Left and the Right pay the price against populist parties as they are likely to lose voters regardless of their ideological position.
- A possible dealignment from the Left/Right ideological dimension may be more appealing to parties in the future as loyal voters on the left and right are tempted by populist positions.
- Knowledge of the ideological position of the national electorate can allow populist parties to select the best populist positions to present.

Thank you!

Questions?