

FATIGUE

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A pendulum swung back? Populist fever in the CEE
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A PENDULUM SWUNG BACK?

Populist fever in Central and Eastern Europe

Paulina Lenik

Presentation for BASEES 2019



POPULAR POPULISM ?

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- CANOVAN
- IONESCU
- MUDDE
- KALTWASSER

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- DORNBUSCH EDWARDS
- RODRIK
- GUISO ET AL.
- INGLEHART AND NORRIS

ECONOMIC CRISIS OR CULTURAL BACKLASH ?

- GUIISO ET AL.
- INGLEHART AND NORRIS

ECONOMIC (IN)SECURITY

- Macro-measures (discussed Stiglitz, Kuznets) – GDP vs. HHI, HDI, GPI
- Subjective Well-Being Measures (SWB) (post-Easterlin)

Individual's experiences of happiness, life-satisfaction of positive and negative effects on their being in a given time-point (Stutzer & Frey, 2010, p. 670).

individual *utility* i.e. relative satisfaction derived from pursuing one course of action rather than another (Frey & Stutzer, 2013, p. 432).

(McGregor, 2008): *wellbeing is a state of being with others, which arises where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one can enjoy a satisfactory quality of life.*

Macro vs. micro study?

CULTURAL BACKLASH

- POPULIST SUPPORT MAY BE EXPLAINED IN THE LARGE PART NOT BY PURELY ECONOMIC PHENOMENON BUT AS A **REACTION** AGAINST PROGRESSIVE CULTURAL CHANGE (Inglehart&Norris)
- *Post-materialist values change in the West generated a counter-revolution (Inglehart)*

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE A DIFFERENT FACE OF POPULISM?

- Quantitative study
- Logistic regression
- Dummy for CEE based on Johnson's definition
- Dummy for Populist Vote based on CHS

Data source: ESS 1-6



CONTROL MODEL

- AGE
- SEX
- EDUCATION
- ETHNIC MINORITY
- RELIGIOSITY

CBM



MISTRUST
NATIONAL
GOVERNANCE



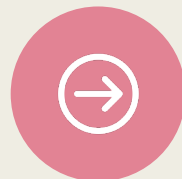
MISTRUST GLOBAL
GOVERNANCE



ANTI-IMMIGRATION
SENTIMENTS



AUTHORITARIAN
VALUES



RIGHT-WING LEFT-
WING DIVIDE (SELF-
PLACEMENT)

CBM ESS Variable codes

Anti-Immigration sentiments	National Mistrust
Imbgeco: Immigration good or bad for economy	Trstplt: Trust in politicians
Imueclt : Country's cultural life undermined by immigrants	Stfgov: How satisfied with the national government
Imwbcnt : Immigrants make country worse or better place to live	Stfdem: How satisfied with the way democracy works in country

Right-left wing self-placement

Lrscale: Self-placement on right /left scale

CBM ESS Variable codes cnted.

Authoritharian values	Mistrust in global governance
Impsafe: Important to life in secure and safe surroundings	Trstun: Trust in the UN
Ipfrule: Important to do what is told and follow rules	Trstep: Trust in the EP
Impbhprp: Important to behave properly	
Impstrgv: Important that government is strong and ensures safety	
Imptrad: Important to follow traditions and customs	

CONTROL MODEL

- AGE ✓
- SEX ✓
- EDUCATION ✓
- ETHNIC MINORITY ✓
- RELIGIOSITY ✓

CBM IN CEE

MISTRUST NATIONAL GOVERNANCE

MISTRUST GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENTS

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CBM IN CEE

MISTRUST NATIONAL GOVERNANCE

~~MISTRUST GLOBAL GOVERNANCE~~

ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENTS

~~AUTHORITARIAN VALUES~~

~~RIGHT-WING LEFT-WING DIVIDE (SELF-PLACEMENT)~~

Dependent: Populist vote	Control Model	CBM National Mistrust	CBM Anti-Immigrant sentiments	CBM CEE	CBM Interaction Term CEE National Mistrust	CBM Interaction Term CEE Anti-Immigrant Sentiments
Level of Education	-.028*** (-2.69)	-.018 (-1.2)	.002* (0.28)	.0104 (1.36)	-.0372*** (-2.9)	-.0316*** (-2.57)
Age	.007*** (13.65)	.007*** (9.3)	.005*** (6.37)	.007*** (7.86)	.0074*** (13.10)	.0075*** (13.19)
Religiosity	.085*** (22.66)	.080*** (13.72)	.069*** (11.43)	.017*** (27.55)	.0829*** (21.43)	.0838*** (21.37)
Gender	.299*** (15.14)	.311*** (9.79)	.349*** (10.54)	.018*** (5.61)	.289*** (14.13)	.310*** (15.08)
Ethnicity	-.770*** (-2.73)	-.454*** (-4.88)	-.379*** (-3.94)	-.028*** (-3.05)	-.737*** (-11.66)	-.753*** (-11.69)
National Mistrust		-.008*** (-10.44)				
Anti-Immigrant Sentiments			-.018*** (-21.49)			
CEE Dummy				.0058*** (7.4)		
CEE*National Mistrust					.0067*** (8.63)	
CEE*Antiimmigrant Sentiments						-.00396*** (-4.98)
Beta	-4.48 (-46.07)	-4.009*** (-32.86)	-3.44*** (-29.84)	-5.66*** (-40.74)	-4.724*** (-42.17)	-4.225*** (-37.53)

Conclusion

- POPULISM – A re-occurring national affair? (lit)
- CEE populism
 - *Less anti-immigrant more anti-elites*
 - mistrust national governance
 - ~~mistrust global governance~~
 - anti-immigration sentiments
 - ~~authoritarian values~~
 - ~~right wing left wing divide (self placement)~~
 - *Post-transitional fatigue*
 - *Materialistic vs. ideological*

FURTHER RESEARCH

Further investigation of the economic thesis vs. cultural backlash

Economic populism vs. economic determinants of populism

Supply side differentiations between CEE and the West

THANK YOU

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