



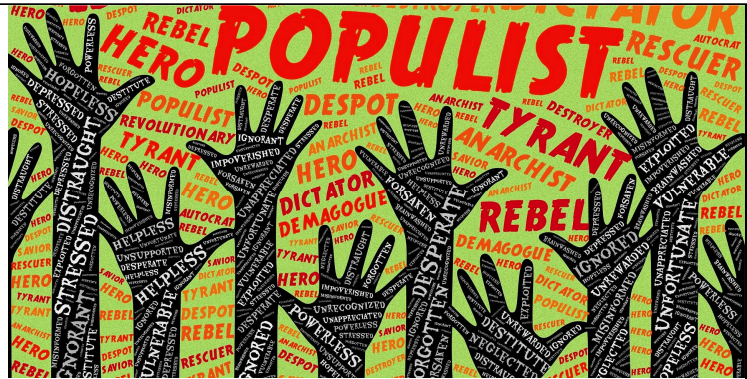
Populism in Europe

Great Decisions 2019

POPULIS

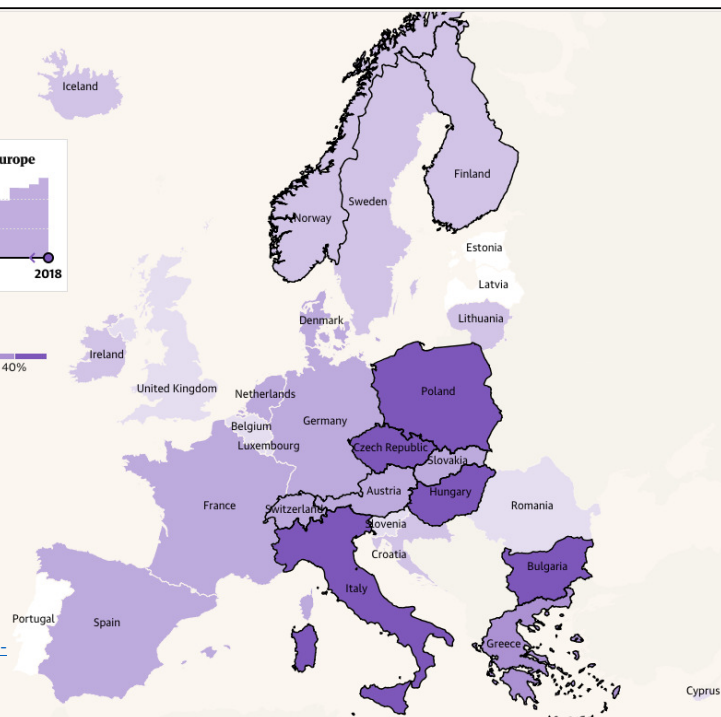
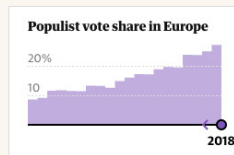
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What is Populism?



- Many changing definitions over time
- “We the people” vs. “the elite”
 - Corrupt system run by the elite establishment
- Anti-pluralist
 - Only WE represent the people; other points of view don’t represent ‘real’ people
 - Anti-democratic
- Thin ideology combined with others: nationalism, racism, etc.
- Strong Leader

Rise of Populism



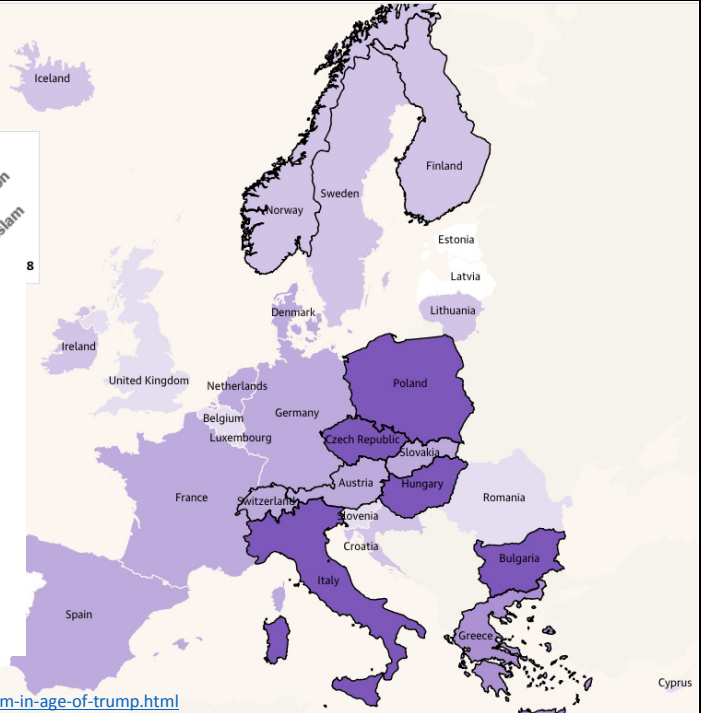
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2018/nov/20/how-populism-emerged-as-electoral-force-in-europe>

But the Czech experience shows it can be more complicated than that. Only 2.3% of the country's workforce is out of a job, the lowest rate in the EU. Last year, its economy grew by 4.3%, well above the bloc's average, and the country was untouched by the 2015 European refugee crisis. But in last year's general election populist parties won just over 40%, a tenfold increase from 1998.

Populist Parties: Many ideologies

	Anti-austerity	Anti-globalization	Anti-eurozone	Anti-establishment	Anti-European Union	Anti-immigration	Anti-Islam
Podemos Spain	✓	✓		✓			
Syriza Greece	✓	✓		✓			
Five Star Movement Italy	✓		✓	✓			
U.K. Independence Party Britain		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
National Front France		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Freedom Party The Netherlands			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Alternative for Germany Germany			✓	✓		✓	✓
Freedom Party Austria		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

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NY Times: European Populism in the Age of Donald Trump

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/12/05/world/europe/populism-in-age-of-trump.html>

**Exposing the Demagogues:
Right-wing and National
Populist Parties in Europe**

Table 2 Characteristics of right-wing populist parties

Bogeymen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) (Muslim) immigrants, asylum seekers, ethnic/religious minorities (ii) Political, economic and cultural elites (iii) EU procedures, structures and bureaucrats
'Therapy'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Stop immigration, apply stricter immigration laws and welfare state benefits, deport immigrants who have a criminal record or who are unwilling to integrate (ii) Break up the the 'elite cartel' (iii) Stop further EU integration and further financial transfers
Basic political orientation	Xenophobic, anti-immigration, anti-establishment, and anti-elitist
Communication style, including campaigning	Alarmist, vociferous, exclusionary, wildly oversimplified, taboo-breaking, deliberately misleading and opaque, subtle, opportunistic, confrontational ('us against them'), negative campaigning
Internal party organisation	Led by or tailored to one leadership figure with whom the public identifies (political entrepreneur), top-down decision making

<https://martenscentre.eu/sites/default/files/publication-files/exposing-demagogues-right-wing-and-national-populist-parties-europe.pdf>

Country	Party/parties (with founding year)	Electoral results, in per cent of votes cast (year of election in brackets)						Best result*
Poland	Law and Justice (PiS, 2001)	-	-	9.5 (‘01)	27 (‘05)	32.1 (‘07)	29.9 (‘11)	S (2006–10)
Slovakia	Slovak National Party (SNS, 1990)	5.4 (‘94)	9.1 (‘98)	- (‘02)	11.7 (‘06)	5.1 (‘10)	4.6 (‘12)	
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD, 1988)	-	-	-	-	-	5.7 (‘10)	
Switzerland	Switzerland People’s Party (SVP, 1991)	14.9 (‘95)	22.5 (‘99)	...	26.6 (‘03)	29 (‘07)	26.6 (‘11)	G, two seats (2003–08)
United Kingdom	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP, 1993)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Won 6.2% of the vote in the 2013 local elections held in England and Wales

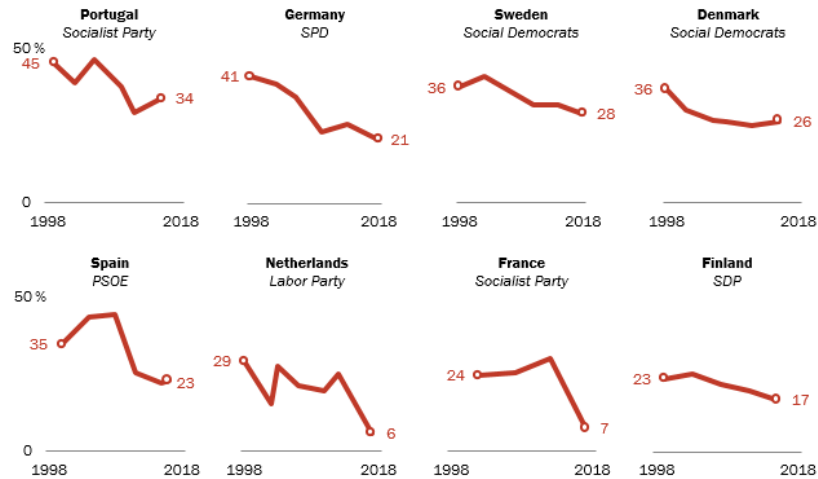
Source: Authors’ own compilation based on Nordsieck (2013) and Grabow and Hartleb (2013b, 14–15).

Table 1 Countries with relevant^a right-wing populist parties and their electoral results since the mid-1990s

Country	Party/parties (with founding year)	Electoral results, in per cent of votes cast (year of election in brackets)							Best result*
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ, 1956)	21.9 (’95)	26.9 (’99)	10 (’02)	11 (’06)	17.5 (’08)	20.6 (’13)		J (2000–05)
	Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ, 2005)	-	-	-	4.1	10.7	-		J (2005–07)
Belgium	Flemish Interest** (VB, 2004)	7.8 (’95)	9.9 (’99)	...	11.6 (’03)	12 (’07)	7.7 (’10)		
Denmark	Progress Party (FRP, 1973)	6.4 (’94)	-	-	-	-	-		
	Danish People’s Party (DF, 1995)	-	7.4 (’98)	12 (’01)	13 (’05)	13.9 (’07)	12.3 (’11)		T (2001–11)
Finland	The Finns*** (PS, 1995)	1.3 (’95)	1.0 (’99)	...	1.6 (’03)	4.1 (’07)	19 (’11)		
France	National Front (FN, 1972)	12.4 (’93)	14.9 (’97)	11.3 (’02)	...	4.3 (’07)	13.9 (’12)	Second round of presidential election (2002)	
Italy	Northern League (LN, 1989)	8.4 (’94)	10.1 (’96)	3.9 (’01)	4.6 (’06)	8.4 (’08)	4.1 (’13)		J (2000–11)
Lithuania	Order and Justice (TT, 2002)	-	-	-	-	12.7 (’08)	7.3 (’12)		J (since 2012)
The Netherlands	List Pim Fortuyn (LPF, 2002)	-	17 (’02)	5.7 (’03)	-	-	-		
	Party for Freedom (PVV, 2004)	-	-	-	5.9 (’06)	15.5 (’10)	10.1 (’12)		T
Norway	Progress Party (FRP, 1973)	6.3 (’93)	15.3 (’97)	14.6 (’01)	22.1 (’05)	22.9 (’09)	16.3 (’13)		J (since 2013)

Decades of decline for social democratic parties across Western Europe

Vote share in national legislative elections for social democratic parties



Note: SPD=Social Democratic Party; PSOE=Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; SDP=Social Democratic Party. Parties shown exhibited largest declines over this period. Italy excluded, as the Democratic Party was founded in 2007. Party list vote is used for Germany; first-round results are used for France. Results from 2018 Swedish election are provisional. All numbers have been rounded.
Source: ParlGov and Swedish Election Authority.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Austerity



GLOBALISM



WHAT WE'RE TOLD IT IS



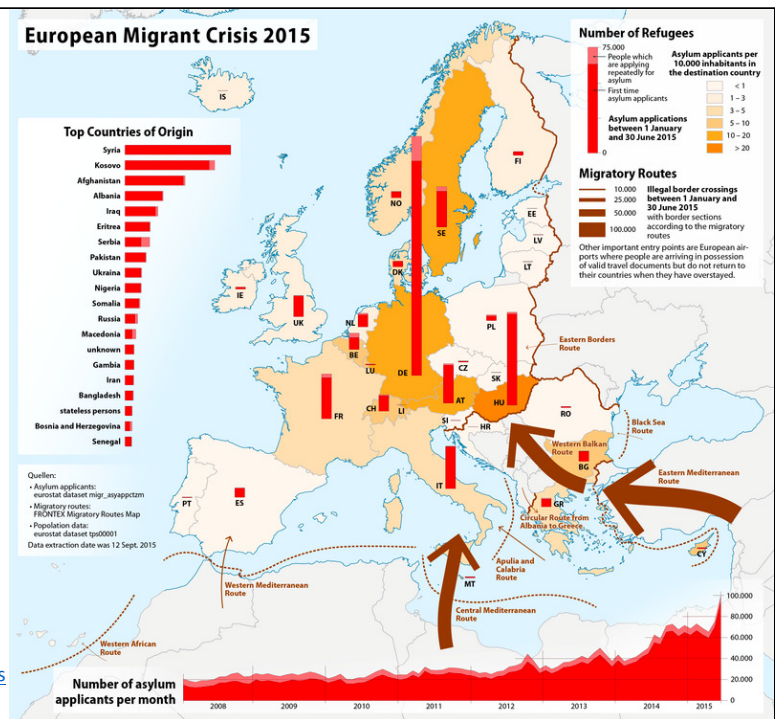
WHAT IT REALLY IS

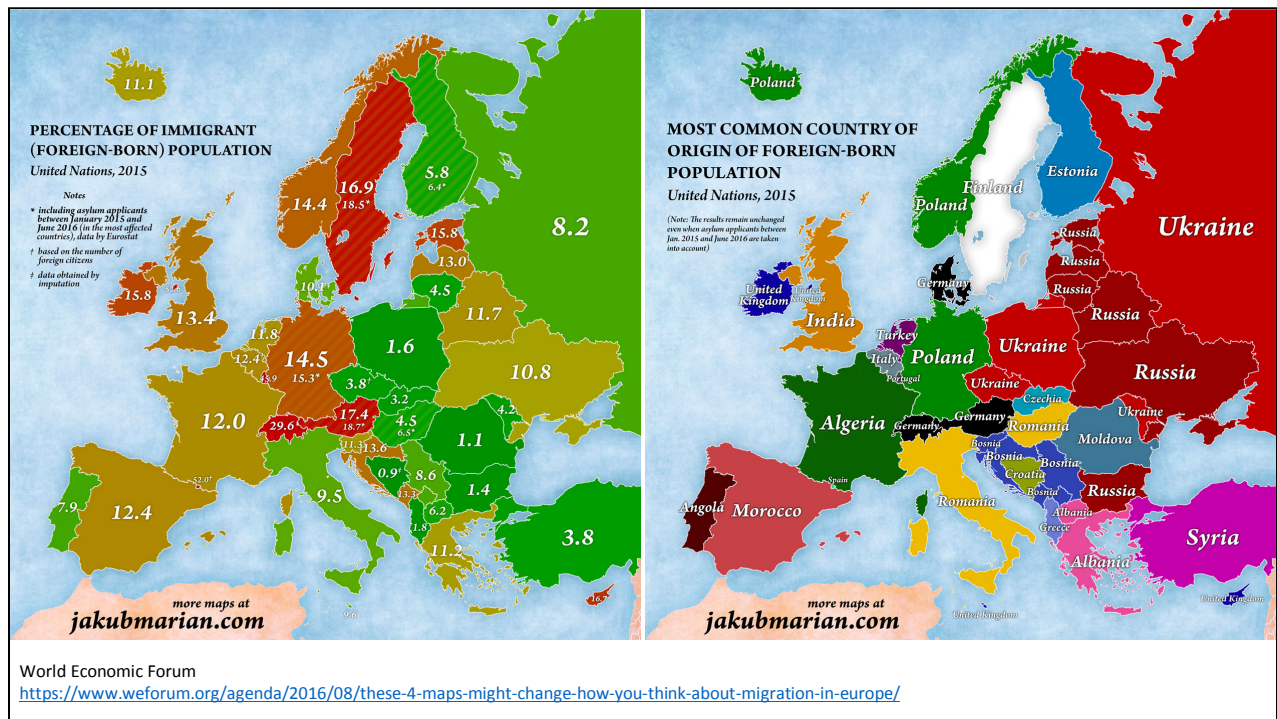
Immigration & Nationalism

- Surge in migrants to Europe from 2015
 - Syrian refugees
 - African migrants
- Movement between EU countries

EuroStat Data

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_migrant_crisis



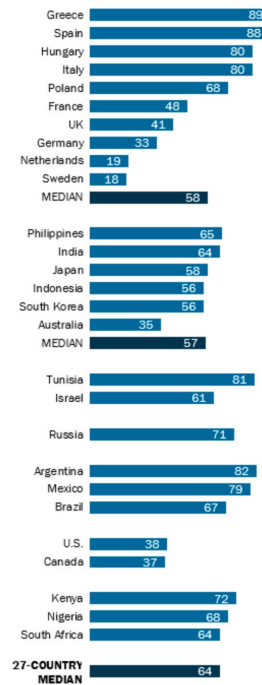


Is outmigration a problem?

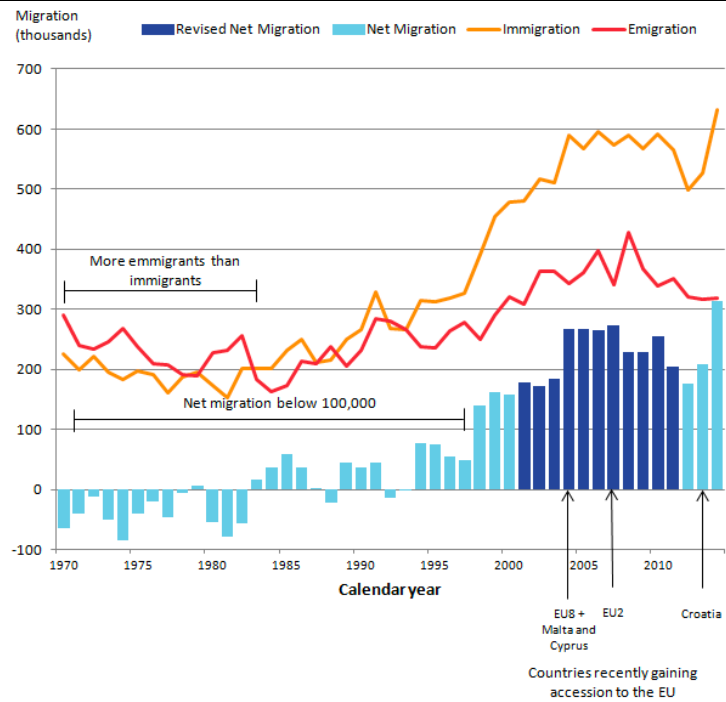
Majorities in many countries think outmigration is a big problem

% who say people leaving their country for jobs in other countries is a very or moderately big problem

Spring 2018 global attitudes survey,
Pew Research Center



UK Migration



UK Office for National Statistics

(Dis-)United Kingdom

52%

48%



- UKIP: Nigel Farage

- Fringe party won seats in EU parliament
- Populist party for "UK Independence"
- Conservative party defectors to UKIP; Major push behind Brexit referendum
- Party collapsed after referendum

The Netherlands



- Party for Freedom: Geert Wilders
 - Populist party combines conservative, liberal, right and left
 - 2017 won 20 seats (of 150)
 - 13% of vote
 - 2nd largest party
 - Not part of government
 - Anti-Immigrant
 - Anti-Islam
 - Judeo-Christian & Humanist
 - Anti-EU & Euro
 - Supports social services, LGBT rights

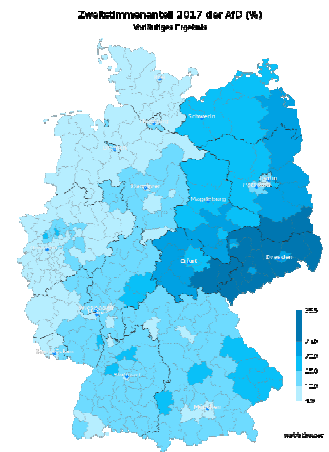


Germany



- Alternative for Germany

- Far-right party
- Initially in EU & states
- 2017: 94 (of 598) seats in Bundestag
 - 12.6% of vote
 - 3rd largest party, largest opposition
- Nationalist
- Eurosceptic
- 'Family Values', traditional gender roles
- Parts Racist, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, Xenophobic





Islam? Doesn't fit our cuisine.
Bukras? We stand with bikinis.
You dare, Germany.

France

- National Front: Marine Le Pen



- Yellow Vests

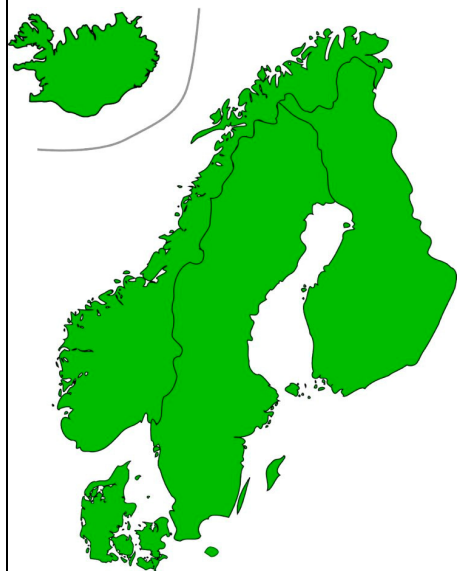


Spain

PODEMOS.



Scandinavia



Italy

- Five Star Movement



Poland



- Law & Justice Party (PiS)
 - Largest party in parliament, outright majority in 2015
 - Formed by Kaczyński twins in 2001, part of Solidarity movement
 - Free market with welfare state, shifted to protectionism
 - Socially conservative, pro-Catholic
 - Anti-abortion, anti-LGBT
 - Eurosceptic but anti-Russian
 - Proposed reforms undermining judicial independence



Groups that vote for the party are miners, farmers, shopkeepers, unskilled workers, unemployed and pensioners. With its left-wing approach toward economics, the party attracts these voters who didn't benefit from economic liberalisation and European integration [\[47\]](#) and their economic situation didn't improve significantly since 1989. The strongest voting block are older, religious people who value the conservative principles the party represents and patriotism. PiS voters are usually located in rural areas and small towns. The strongest region is southern-eastern part of the country. People without university degree prefer the party more than more educated ones. From sometime, younger voters support PiS more than in the previous years

Hungary



- Fidesz: Viktor Orbán
 - Hungarian Civic Alliance
 - Ruling political establishment corrupt
 - Landslide victory in 2010, 2014, 2018
 - Economy highly dependent on EU funds
 - New constitution concentrates power in ruling party, removes democratic checks & balances
 - Interventionist on economy
 - Public works, pension hikes, etc.
 - Socially conservative
 - Anti-immigrant



Populism around the world

- Brazil
- Philippines
- Mexico
- Ecuador
- ...





Wilfried
Martens Centre
for European Studies

The results of the study yield the following recommended strategies for mainstream parties in Europe to combat right-wing and national populist tendencies:

- Complex political issues should always be explained in a credible and understandable way.
- The benefits of European integration for citizens should be communicated clearly and comprehensibly.
- The myths created by the empty political slogans of right-wing and national populist parties should be debunked by directly addressing the issues concerned.
- Social exclusion should be combated effectively.
- A consistent approach must be taken to fighting crime, with a focus on protecting the victims.
- The legislation in force regarding the regulation of immigration and integration should be applied and enforced consistently.
- Successes in terms of euro stabilisation and the value of the required reforms should be clearly highlighted.