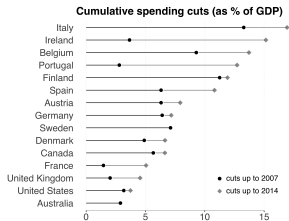


WHAT DO VOTERS EXPECT FROM POPULIST PARTIES?

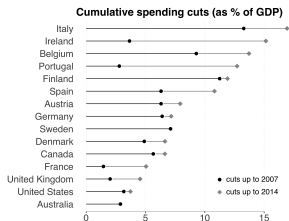
Evelyne Hübscher, Central European University
Thomas Sattler, University of Geneva

Conference of the *International Political Economy Society*
Georgetown University, October 27, 2023

MOTIVATION



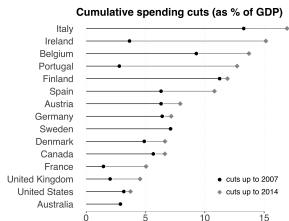
MOTIVATION



EFFECTS OF AUSTERITY

- Mainstream party convergence on austerity platform increases radical vote share (IPES 2019)

MOTIVATION



EFFECTS OF AUSTERITY

- Mainstream party convergence on austerity platform increases radical vote share (IPES 2019)
- Economically vulnerable voters turn to populist parties after austerity (IPES 2021)

QUESTION

Why? What do voters expect from populist / radical parties?

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

LEFT: clear anti-austerity position;
variation over trade

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

LEFT: clear anti-austerity position;
variation over trade

RIGHT:

- (*earlier lit.*) focus on non-economic issues; fuzzy on economy

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

LEFT: clear anti-austerity position;
variation over trade

RIGHT:

- (*earlier lit.*) focus on non-economic issues; fuzzy on economy
- (*newer lit.*) strategic and sharpening of economic positions; welfare chauvinism

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

LEFT: clear anti-austerity position;
variation over trade

RIGHT:

- (*earlier lit.*) focus on non-economic issues; fuzzy on economy
- (*newer lit.*) strategic and sharpening of economic positions; welfare chauvinism

MOTIVATIONS

DIRECT POLICY EFFECT: reverse austerity, redistribute towards losers; roll back globalization, protect domestic jobs

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

LEFT: clear anti-austerity position;
variation over trade

RIGHT:

- (*earlier lit.*) focus on non-economic issues; fuzzy on economy
- (*newer lit.*) strategic and sharpening of economic positions; welfare chauvinism

MOTIVATIONS

DIRECT POLICY EFFECT: reverse austerity, redistribute towards losers; roll back globalization, protect domestic jobs

INDIRECT POLICY EFFECT: repositioning of mainstream parties

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

POPULIST PARTY POSITIONS

LEFT: clear anti-austerity position;
variation over trade

RIGHT:

- (*earlier lit.*) focus on non-economic issues; fuzzy on economy
- (*newer lit.*) strategic and sharpening of economic positions; welfare chauvinism

MOTIVATIONS

DIRECT POLICY EFFECT: reverse austerity, redistribute towards losers; roll back globalization, protect domestic jobs

INDIRECT POLICY EFFECT: repositioning of mainstream parties

UNRELATED TO POLICY: 2nd dimension voting, protest, anger ...

SURVEY

GOAL: assess perceptions and policy expectations about parties

SURVEY

GOAL: assess perceptions and policy expectations about parties

COUNTRIES: Germany, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom

SURVEY

- GOAL:** assess perceptions and policy expectations about parties
- COUNTRIES:** Germany, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom
- SAMPLE:** $N = 2000$ per country

SURVEY

GOAL: assess perceptions and policy expectations about parties

COUNTRIES: Germany, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom

SAMPLE: $N = 2000$ per country

EXAMPLE: Germany

Party	Left-Right	Economy	GAL-TAN	Populism	Classification
Die Linke	1.43	1.29 (1.58)	2.81 (2.33)	5.67	radical left
Die Grünen	3.24	3.81 (2.64)	1.10 (1.65)	2.31	left
SPD	3.62	3.71 (3.43)	5.48 (3.78)	2.57	center-left
FDP	6.43	7.90 (8.00)	3.43 (3.43)	3.38	liberal
CDU/CSU	5.86	5.90 (6.91)	5.86 (7.50)	2.62	center-right
AfD	9.24	7.00 (6.88)	9.52 (8.78)	9.47	radical right

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; spending (overall, towards me / others); immigration; trade

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me / others**); immigration; trade

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me / others**); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me** / others); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions
- Importance for vote

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me / others**); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions
- Importance for vote

PARTY IMPACT

- Likelihood in Government

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me** / others); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions
- Importance for vote

PARTY IMPACT

- Likelihood in Government
- Impact on Centrist Parties

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me / others**); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions
- Importance for vote

PARTY IMPACT

- Likelihood in Government
- Impact on Centrist Parties

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

OWN POSITIONS: left-right; spending (overall); immigration

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me** / others); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions
- Importance for vote

PARTY IMPACT

- Likelihood in Government
- Impact on Centrist Parties

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

OWN POSITIONS: left-right; spending (overall); immigration

SOCIO-ECONOMIC: education; (actual / perceived) income

KEY VARIABLES

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

PARTY POSITIONS

- left-right; **spending** (overall, **towards me** / others); immigration; trade
- Certainty about positions
- Importance for vote

PARTY IMPACT

- Likelihood in Government
- Impact on Centrist Parties

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

OWN POSITIONS: left-right; spending (overall); immigration

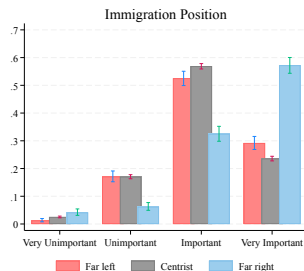
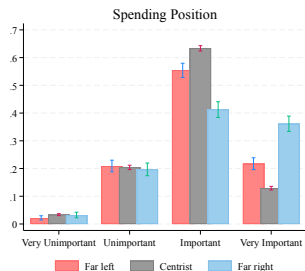
SOCIO-ECONOMIC: education; (actual / perceived) income

DISTRICT: net emigration; income per capita; foreigners

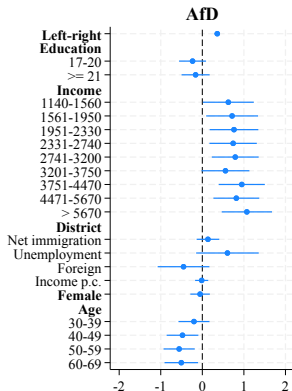
IMPORTANCE OF PARTY POSITION FOR VOTE



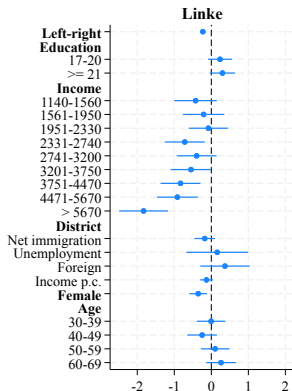
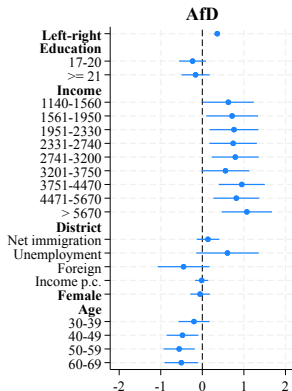
IMPORTANCE OF PARTY POSITION FOR VOTE



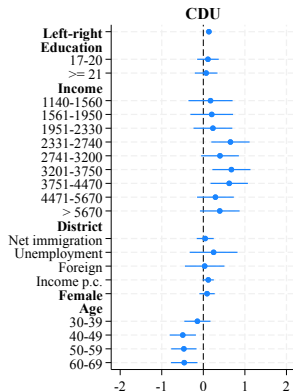
SPENDING TOWARDS RESPONDENT (I)



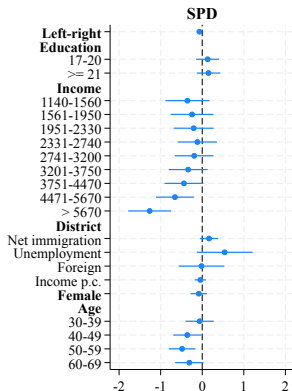
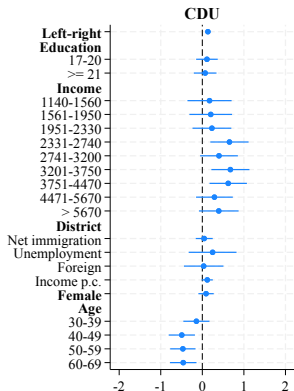
SPENDING TOWARDS RESPONDENT (I)



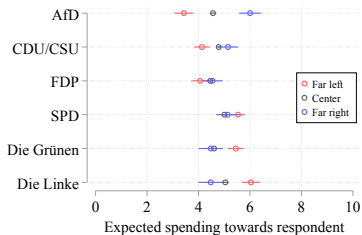
SPENDING TOWARDS RESPONDENT (II)



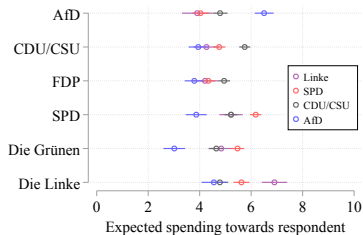
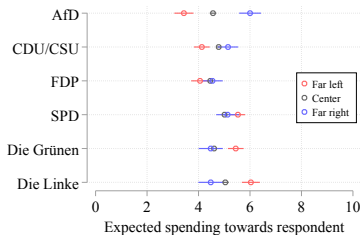
SPENDING TOWARDS RESPONDENT (II)



SPENDING EXPECTATIONS, BY LEFT-RIGHT



SPENDING EXPECTATIONS, BY LEFT-RIGHT



CONCLUSION

FINDINGS

- Spending important for vote, also for radical right voters
- Vulnerable voters expect little support, and the least from radical right party
- No effect of community-level vulnerability measures
- Expectations vary between left and right voters

CONCLUSION

FINDINGS

- Spending important for vote, also for radical right voters
- Vulnerable voters expect little support, and the least from radical right party
- No effect of community-level vulnerability measures
- Expectations vary between left and right voters

IMPLICATIONS

- Turn to radical parties is motivated by economic policy considerations
- Political cleavage by ideology, not socio-economic characteristics

MANY THANKS!