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Cultural backlash



Structure

1. Conceptual and theoretical framework
 - The meaning of 'authoritarian-populism'
 - The cultural backlash theory
2. Classifying European parties
3. European evidence
4. US evidence
5. Conclusions and implications





Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Authoritarian-Populism

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018

Preface and acknowledgments

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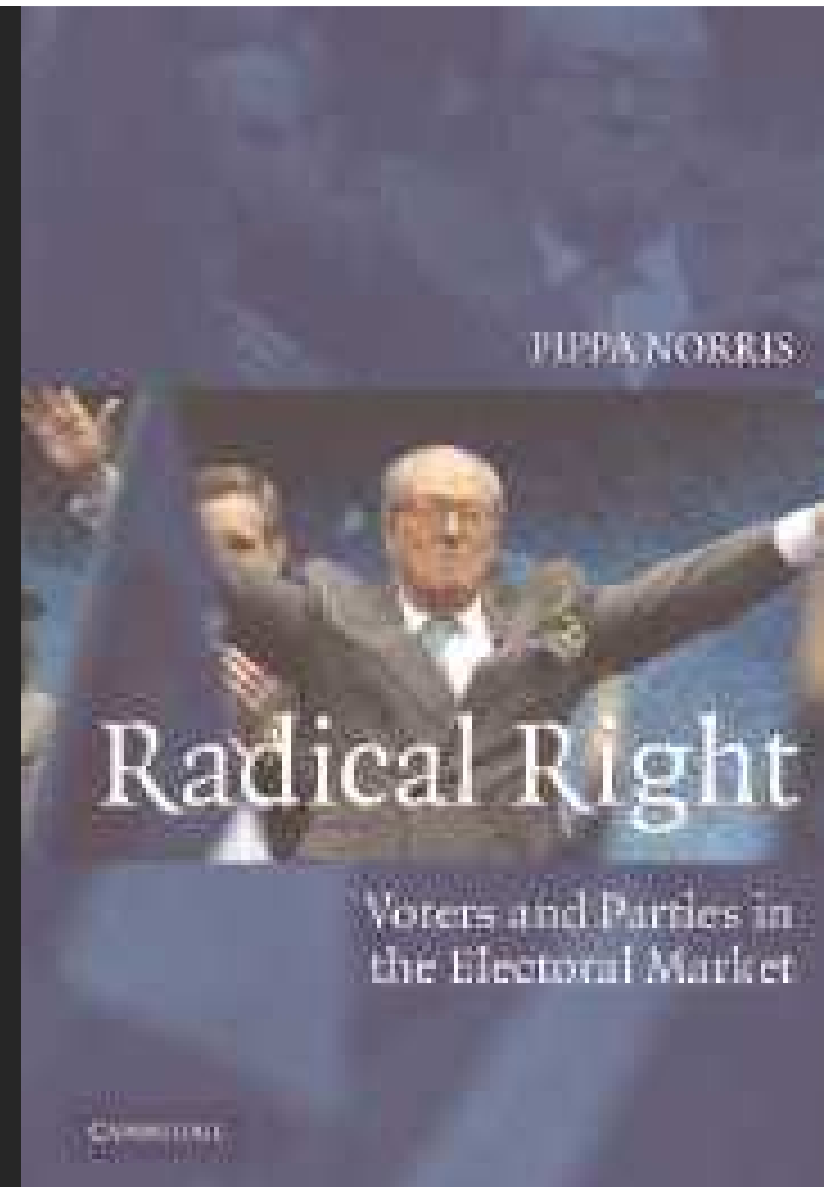
12. Eroding the civic culture?
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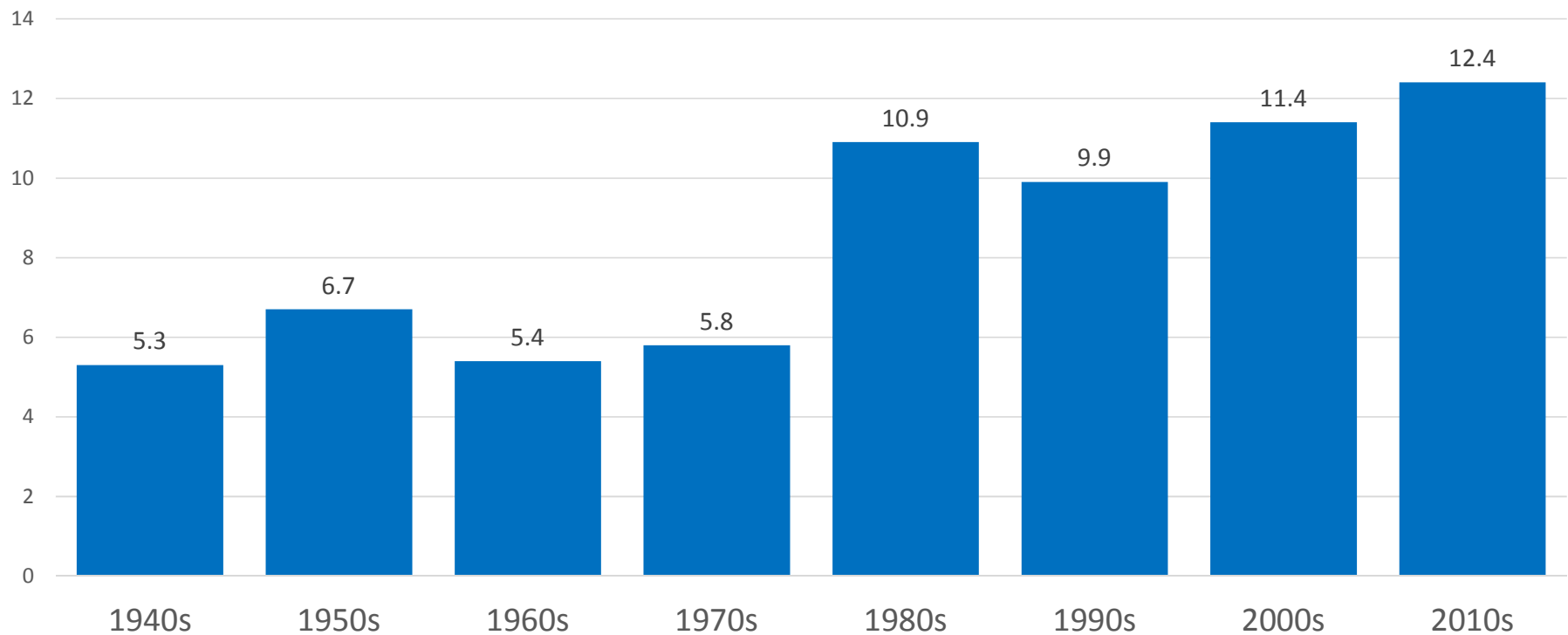
1. Concepts and theory |

I: The populist-authoritarian challenge

- Donald Trump in the US
- UKIP and Brexit
- Part of a broader phenomenon disrupting party competition
 - French National Front,
 - Swiss People's Party,
 - Austrian Freedom Party,
 - Swedish Democrats,
 - Greece's Golden Dawn,
 - Italy's Lega Nord,
 - Dutch Party for Freedom



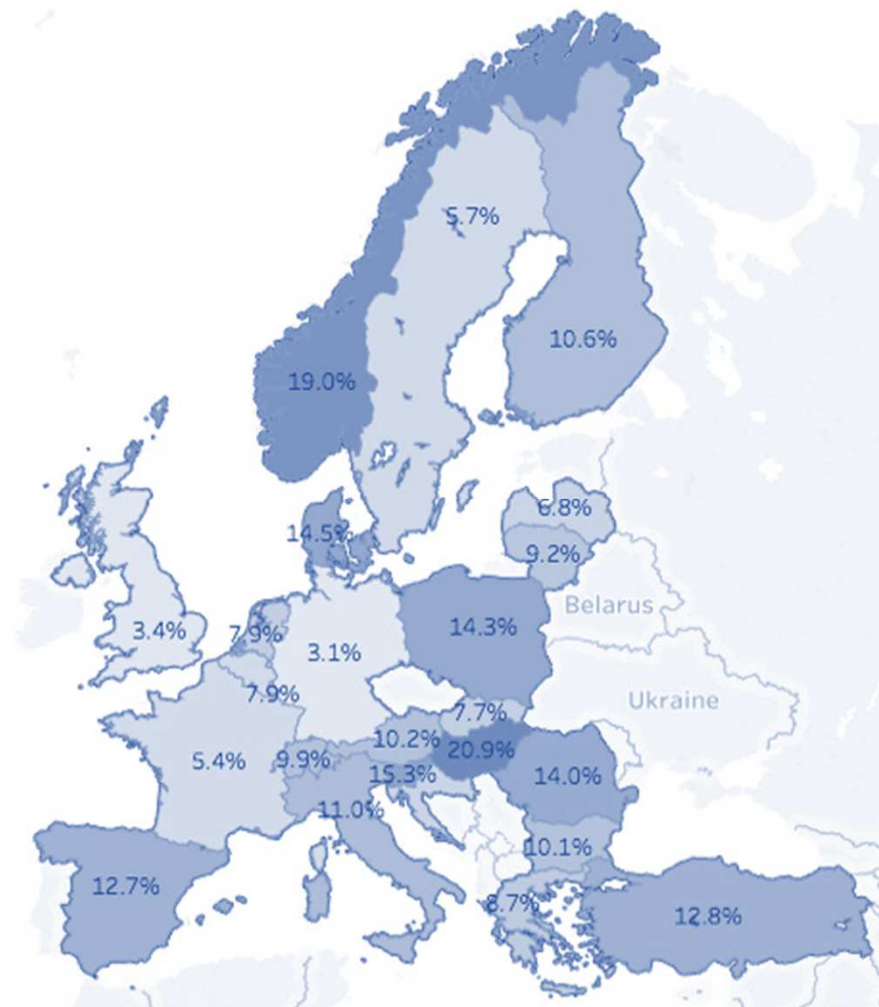
% Vote for Authoritarian-Populist parties



Notes: The mean vote share for populist parties in national elections for the lower (or single) house of parliament from 1945 to 2017 in 32 Western societies containing at least one such party. For the classification of parties, see Chapter 7.

Sources: Holger Döring and Philip Manow. 2016. *Parliaments and governments database* (ParlGov): <http://www.parlgov.org/>; IFES Elections Guide. <http://www.electionguide.org/>

% Vote Authoritarian- Populist parties, Europe 2000- 2017



What is populist rhetoric?

Anti-establishment

- Populism challenges the legitimate authority of the establishment
- Elected politicians, parties, government officials, intellectuals and experts, privileged rich and powerful, multinational corporations, media, judges.

Vox populi - Popular sovereignty

- Populists emphasize that rightful political authority is based in popular sovereignty and majority rule.
- Favors direct voice of the people through majoritarian elections, polls, referenda, rallies

What are authoritarian values?

Security

- The importance of tribal protection against perceived risks of instability and disorder

Conventionism

- Hostility to 'outsiders' threats to group norms-- racial/ ethnic minorities, Islamophobia, misogyny, homophobia & anti-Semitism

Loyalty

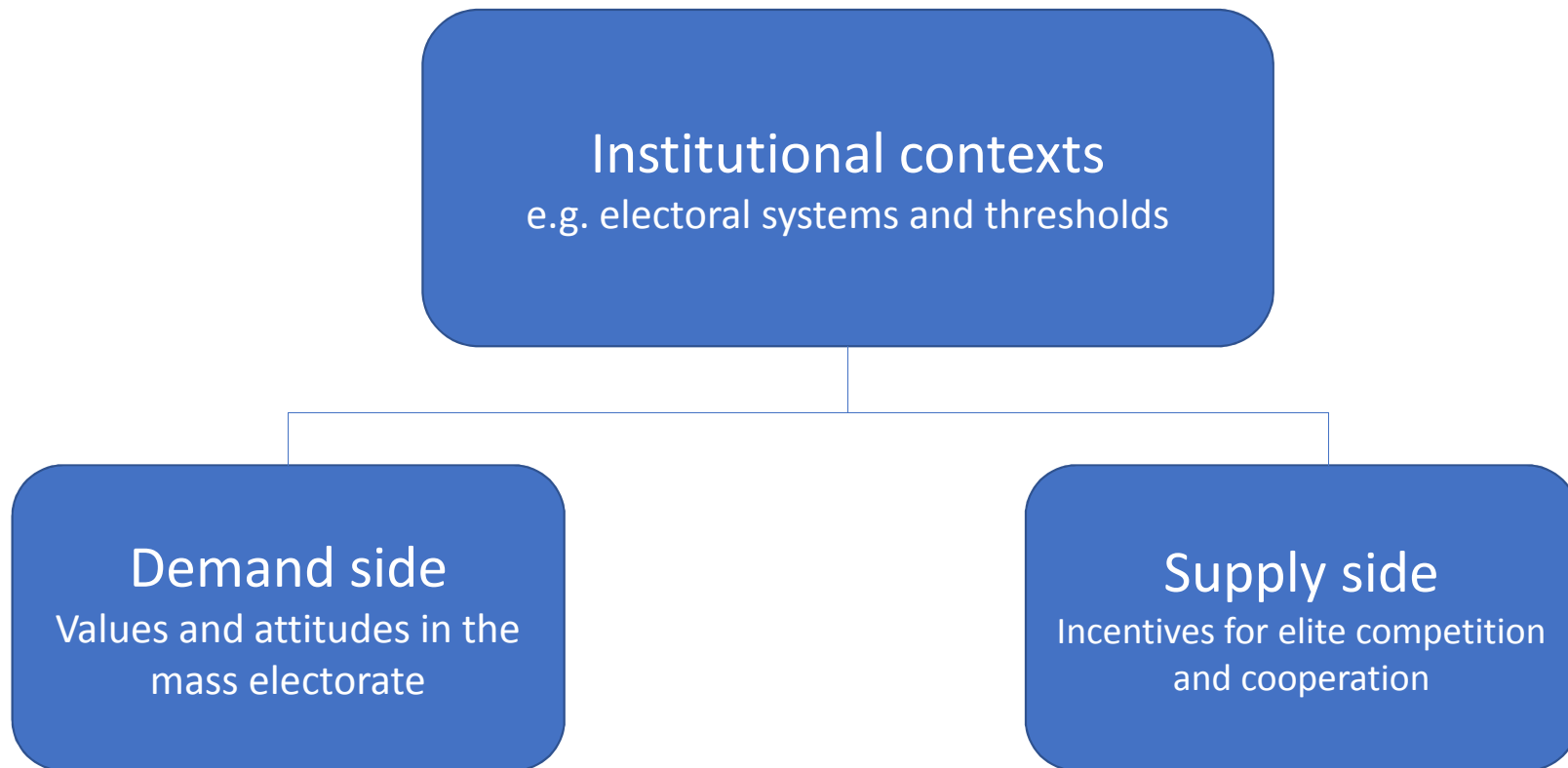
- Towards leaders protecting the tribe

Authoritarian values + populist rhetoric

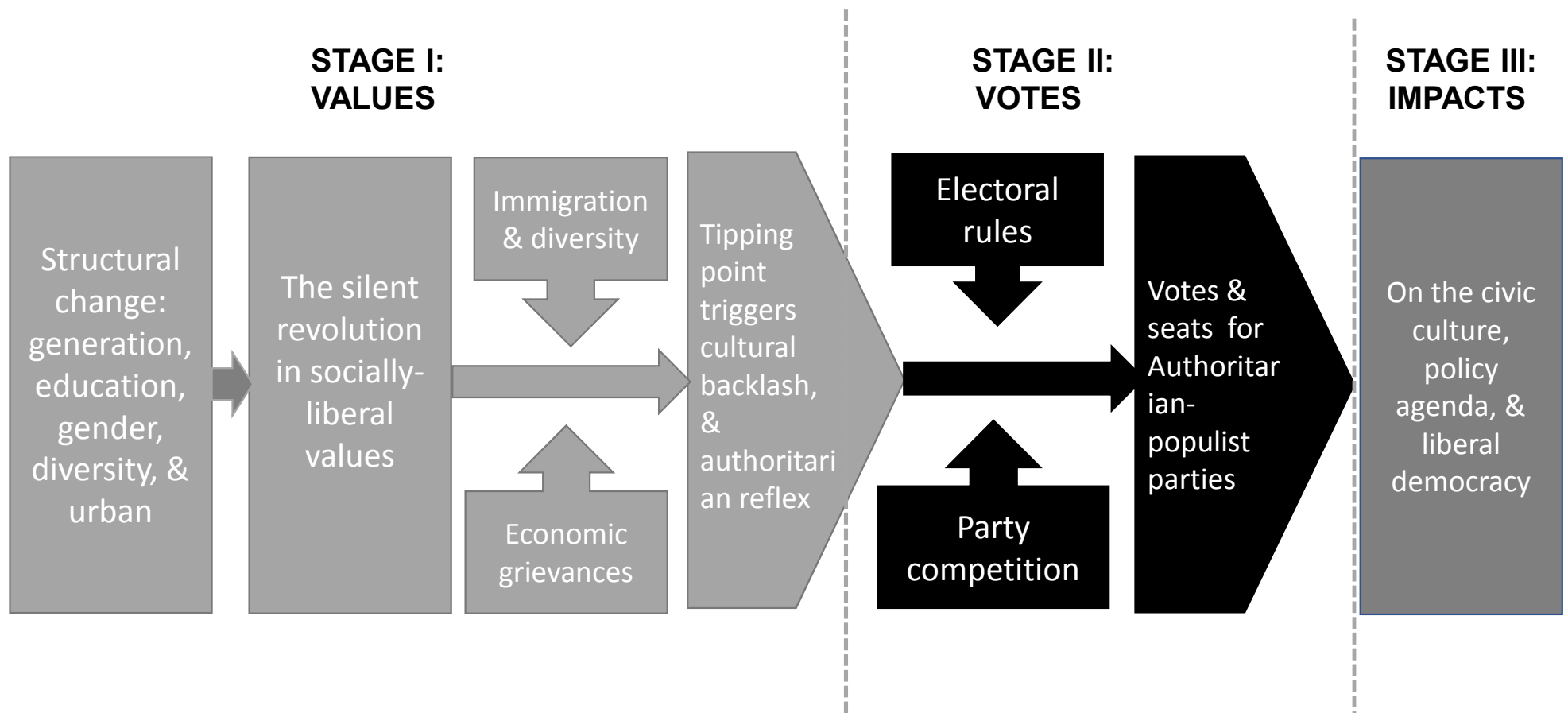
The danger is that populism unlocks the door for strongman leaders to claim sweeping powers unhampered by conventional safeguards in liberal democracy, promoting authoritarian values.

- Not just 'anti-democratic' or 'illiberal'
- Yet...
- Not all populists are authoritarian, also libertarian-populists
- Not all authoritarians are populist

Comprehensive explanations



Cultural backlash framework



Source: Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart *Cultural Backlash* Cambridge University Press, Fall 2018

The cultural backlash thesis

- Rise of progressive and post-materialist values during the 1970s in Western societies
- Value diverse forms of sexuality and gender identities, LGBT rights, same sex marriage, secular, cosmopolitan, open-mindedness towards diversity of lifestyles and peoples, support for international cooperation but skeptical towards political institutions
- Catalyzes a cultural backlash among social conservatives
- If so, **authoritarian populist values and votes should be predicted by generation, college education, urbanization, religiosity, race/ethnicity, and sex – as well as by socially-conservative attitudes and authoritarian values**

Alternative economic insecurity thesis

- 1950s and 1960s Seymour Martin Lipset and Daniel Bell
- Fascism in Weimar Germany, Poujadism in France, McCarthyism in the US
- Authoritarian reaction against modernity by petite bourgeoisie fearing downward mobility squeezed between big business and organized labor
- Today emergence of new under-class in global markets, low-skilled, low-wages, benefit-dependent, poor job security, vulnerable to social risks
- If so, **authoritarian-populism should be concentrated among economically marginalized - unskilled workers, those lacking college degrees, unemployed, living in inner cities, welfare dependent, and subjective feelings of economic insecurity and lack of social mobility**



2. Classifying parties

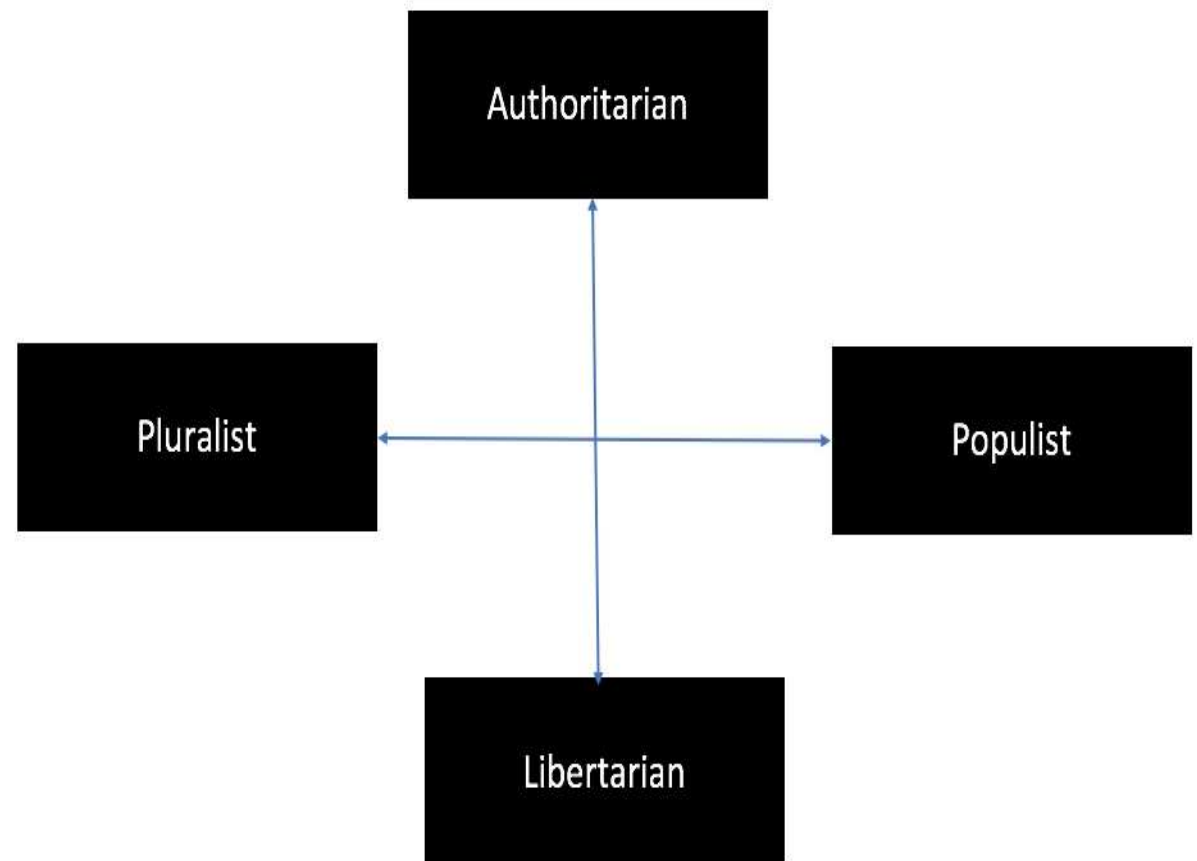
Parties & voters

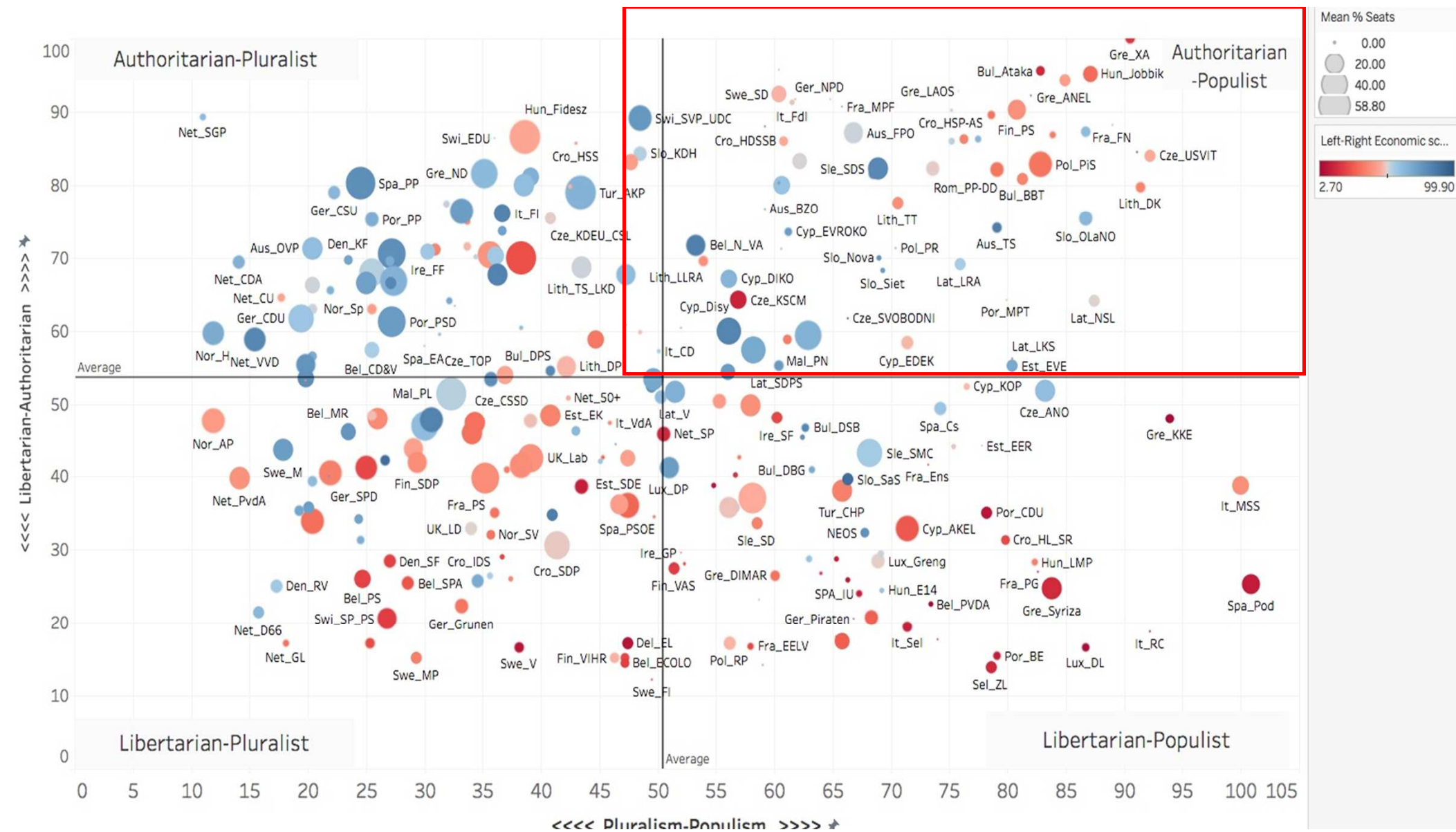
3 Dimensions of party competition

CHES Variable name	Description	Cultural cleavage	Populist rhetoric	Economic cleavage
AUTHORITARIAN VALUES				
<u>Galtan</u>	Party positions towards democratic freedoms and rights; libertarian parties favor expanding personal freedoms; authoritarian parties value order, tradition, and stability.	.935		
Nationalism	Pro-nationalism	.923		
<u>Civlib_laworder</u>	Favors tough measures to fight crime rather than the protection of civil liberties	.921		
Multiculturalism	Against multiculturalism and the integration of immigrants and asylum seekers	.911		
<u>Sociallifestyle</u>	Opposes liberal social lifestyles (e.g. homosexuality)	.904		
<u>Immigrate_policy</u>	Favors restrictive policy on immigration	.894		
<u>Ethnic_minorities</u>	Opposes rights for ethnic minorities	.876		
POPULIST RHETORIC				
Anti-corrupt salience	Salience of anti-corruption		.712	
<u>Anti-elite_salience</u>	Salience of anti-elite and anti-establishment rhetoric		.932	
LEFT-RIGHT ECONOMIC VALUES				
Deregulation	Favors market regulation or deregulation			.965
<u>Econ_interven</u>	Favors or opposed to state intervention on the economy			.954
Redistribution	Favors or opposed to redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor			.928
<u>Spendvtax</u>	Favor or opposes cutting taxes and public services			.911

Notes: CHES 2014 expert survey of political party positions in 31 countries, including all EU member states plus Norway, Switzerland and Turkey, Dec 2014-Feb 2015. Factor analysis with rotated varimax and Kaiser normalization.

Cleavages in party competition





Authoritarian-populist parties, Western Europe, 2000-2015

	Party Name (English)	Abr.	% Vote	N. elec
MAJOR (7)				
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party	SVP-UDC	27.9	4
Norway	Progress Party	Fr	19.0	4
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria	FPÖ	14.8	4
Denmark	Danish Peoples Party	DF	14.5	5
Netherlands	Pim Fortuyn List	LPF	11.4	2
Finland	Finnish Party -- True Finns	SP-P	10.6	4
Netherlands	Party for Freedom	PVV	10.5	3
MINOR (10)				
France	National Front	FN	9.7	3
Belgium	Flemish Block	VB	8.8	4
Luxembourg	Action Comm. Pensions Alt. Demo Ref	AR ADR	7.9	3
Greece	Peoples Association -- Golden Dawn	XA	6.8	4
Greece	Independent Greeks	AE	6.6	4
Sweden	Sweden Democrats	SD	5.7	4
Austria	Team Stronach	TS	5.7	1
Italy	Northern League	LN	5.6	3
UK	United Kingdom Independence Party	UKIP	4.9	4
Germany	Alternative for Germany	AfD	4.7	1

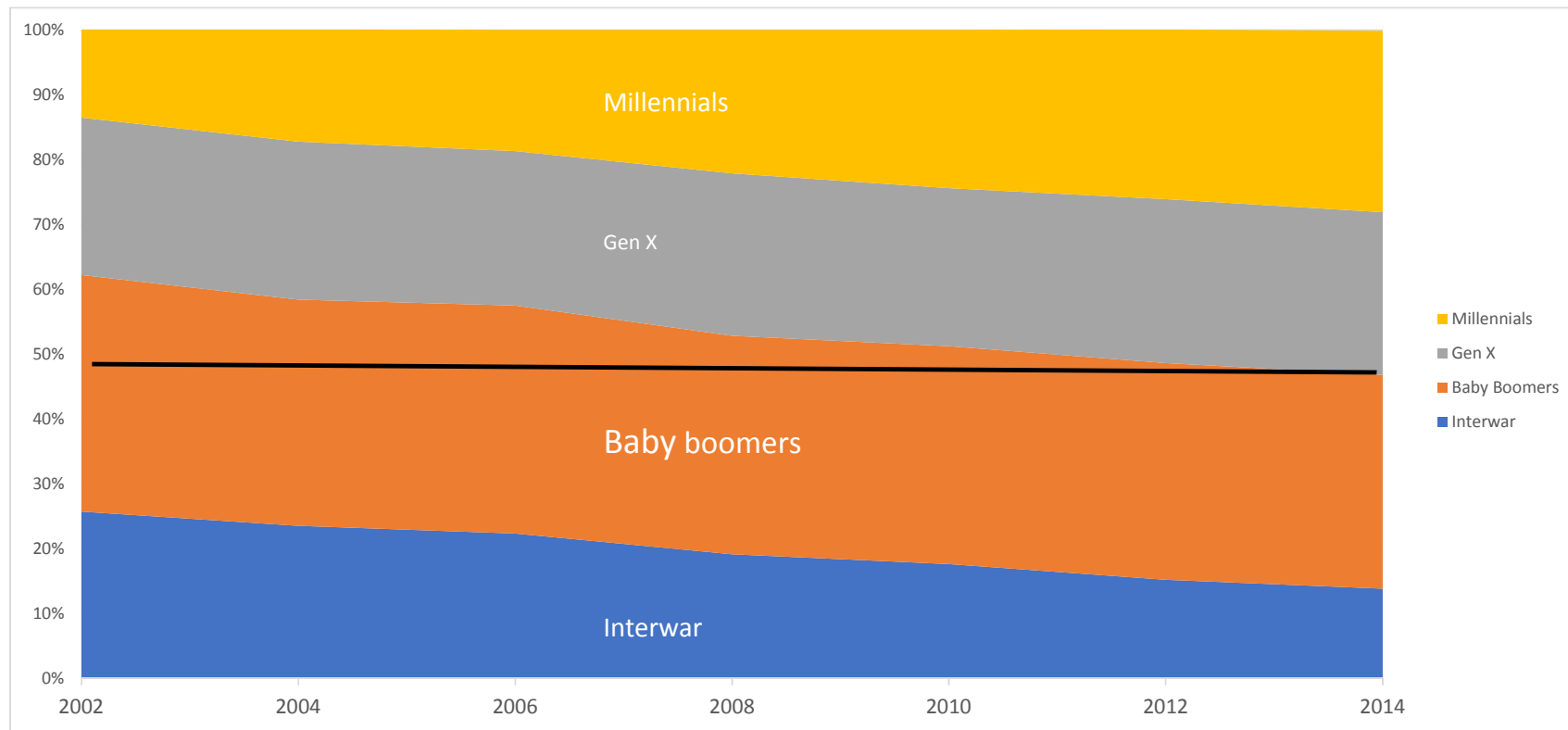
Authoritarian-populist parties, Eastern Europe 2000-2015

	Party	Abr.	% Vote	N. elec
MAJOR (9)				
Hungary	Fidesz -- Hungarian Civic Union	Fi-MPSz	41.1	1
Croatia	Croatian Democratic Union	HDZ	29.9	5
Poland	Law and Justice	PiS	27.2	5
Slovenia	Slovenian Democratic Party	SDS	24.2	5
Bulgaria	National Movement Simeon II	NDSV	21.9	3
Hungary	Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary	Jobbik	18.4	2
Romania	People's Party -- Dan Diaconescu	PP-DD	14.0	1
Turkey	National Action Party	MHP	12.8	5
Lithuania	Order and Justice -- Liberal Democratic	TT-LDP	10.5	3
MINOR (13)				
Slovakia	Ordinary People and Independent	OLaNO	8.6	1
Slovakia	Christian Democratic Movement	KDH	8.5	4
Lithuania	The Way of Courage	DK	8.0	1
Croatia	Croatian Peasant Party	HSS	7.5	4
Bulgaria	Attack	Ataka	7.3	4
Latvia	For Latvia from the Heart	NsL	6.9	1
Latvia	Latvian Association of Regions	LRa	6.7	1
Slovenia	New Slovenia -- Christian People's Party	NSI	6.3	5
Slovakia	Slovak National Party	SNS	6.2	4
Bulgaria	Bulgaria Without Censorship	BBZ	5.7	1
Bulgaria	National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria	NFSB	5.5	2
Croatia	Croatian Party of Rights	HSP	4.6	4
Hungary	Hungarian Justice and Life Party	MIEP	3.3	2



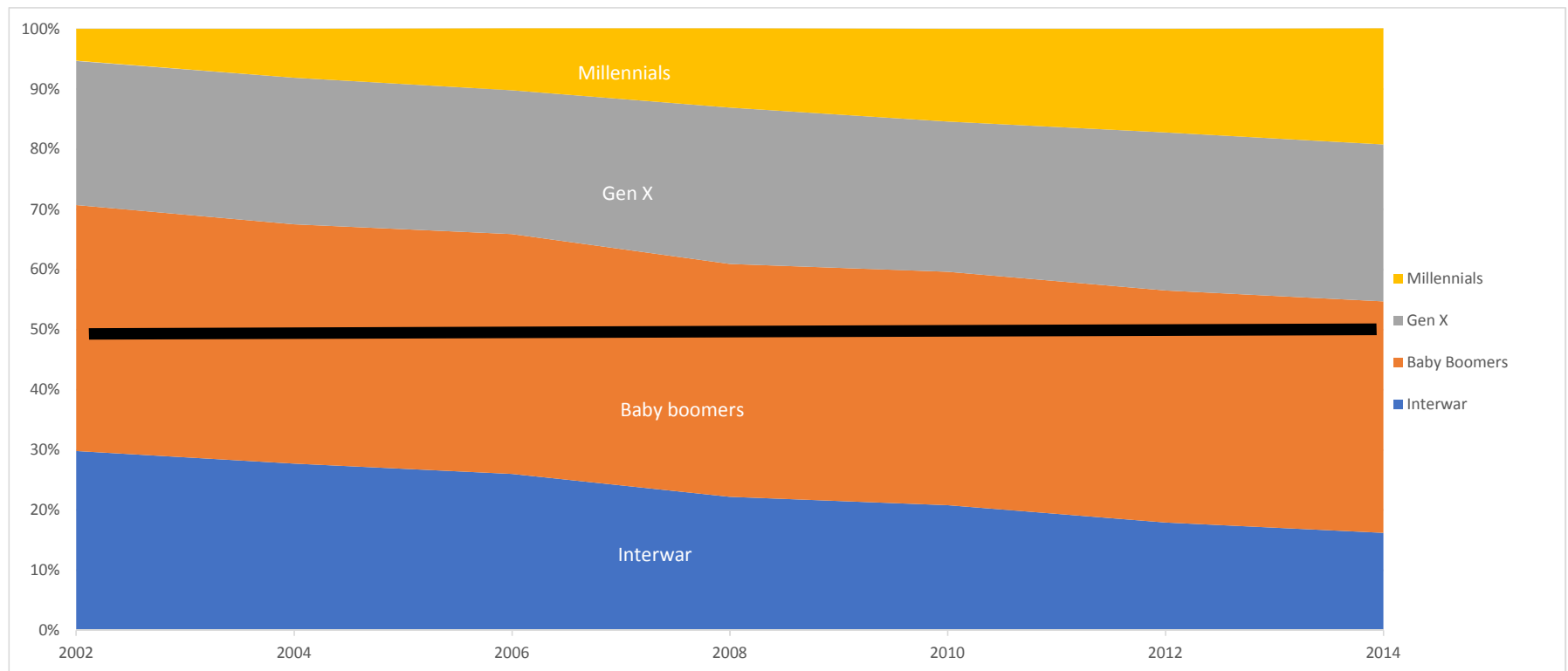
3. European Evidence |

Generational turnover in the electorate



Source: The European Social Survey, pooled 2002-2016

But older generations still majority of voters

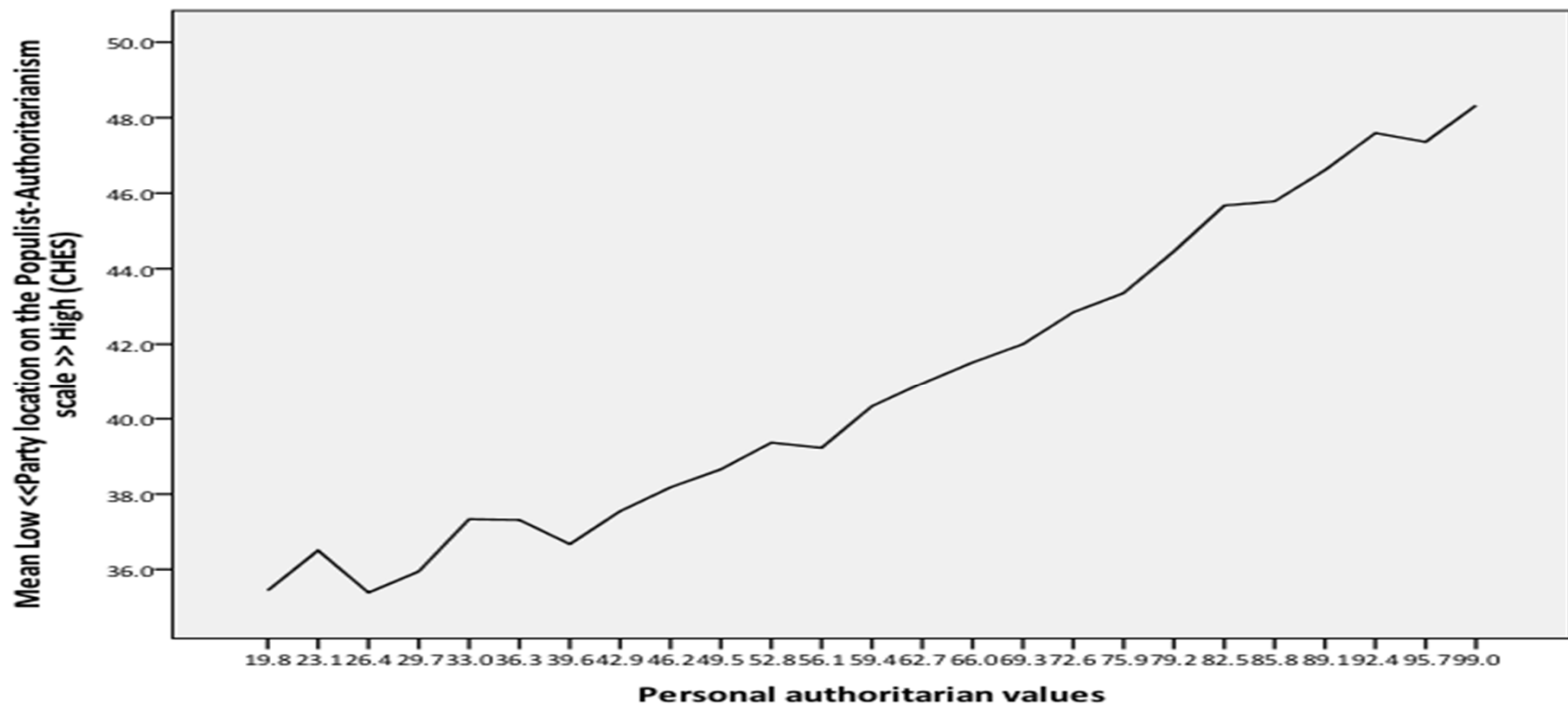


Measuring voter's authoritarian values

Description	Authoritarian values	Libertarian values
It is important to her/him always to behave properly. She/he wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	.728	
It is important to her/him to live in secure surroundings. She/he avoids anything that might endanger her/his safety.	.711	
It is important to her/him that the government ensures her/his safety against all threats. She/he wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	.704	
Tradition is important to her/him. She/he tries to follow the customs handed down by her/his religion or her/his family.	.652	
She/he believes that people should do what they're told. She/he thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.	.652	
She/he likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. She/he thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life."		.783
She/he looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She/he wants to have an exciting life.		.710
Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to her/him. She/he likes to do things in her/his own original way		.700
It is important to her/him to make her/his own decisions about what she/he does. She/he likes to be free and not depend on others.		.601
It is important to her/him to listen to people who are different from her/him. Even when she/he disagrees with them, she/he still wants to understand them.		

Note: The Schwartz value scales in the ESS use the following question: *"Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you. Use this card for your answer."* Response categories to the above questions in 6-point scales range from 1 'Not very much like me' to 6 'Very much like me at all.' The coefficients in the table are generated by principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation and kaiser normalization. **Source:** European Social Survey 1-7

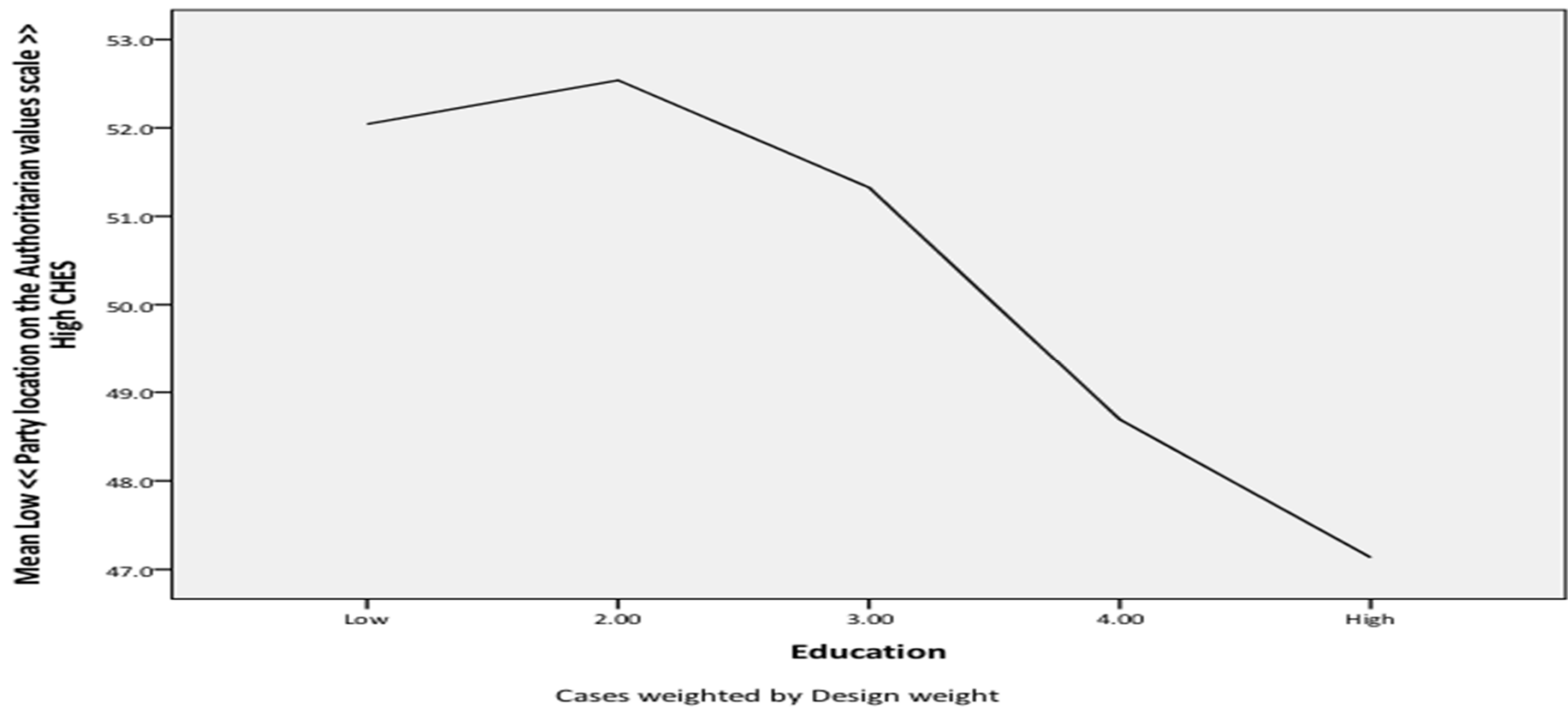
Authoritarian values among voters predict support for parties with authoritarian policies



Cases weighted by Design weight

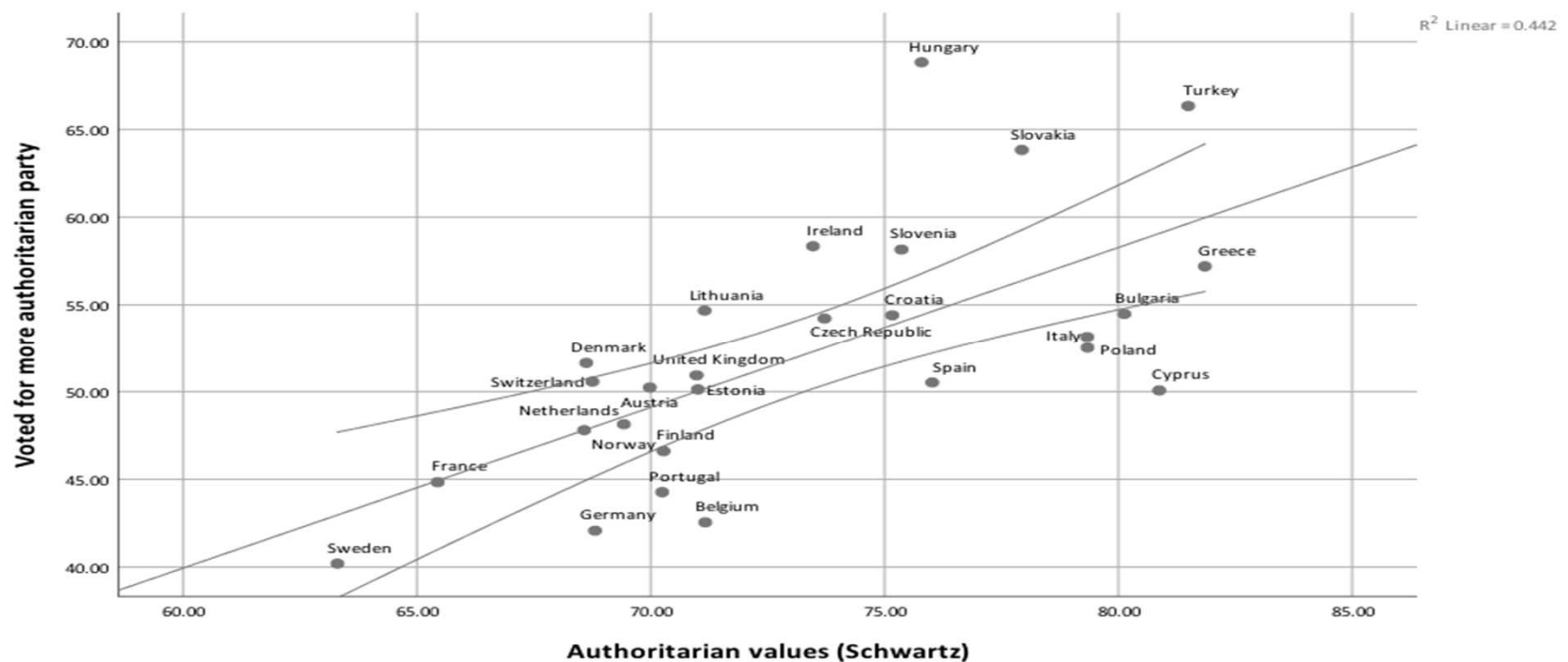
Source: European Social Survey (Pooled Waves 1-7)

Education predicts authoritarian votes



Source: European Social Survey (Pooled Waves 1-7)

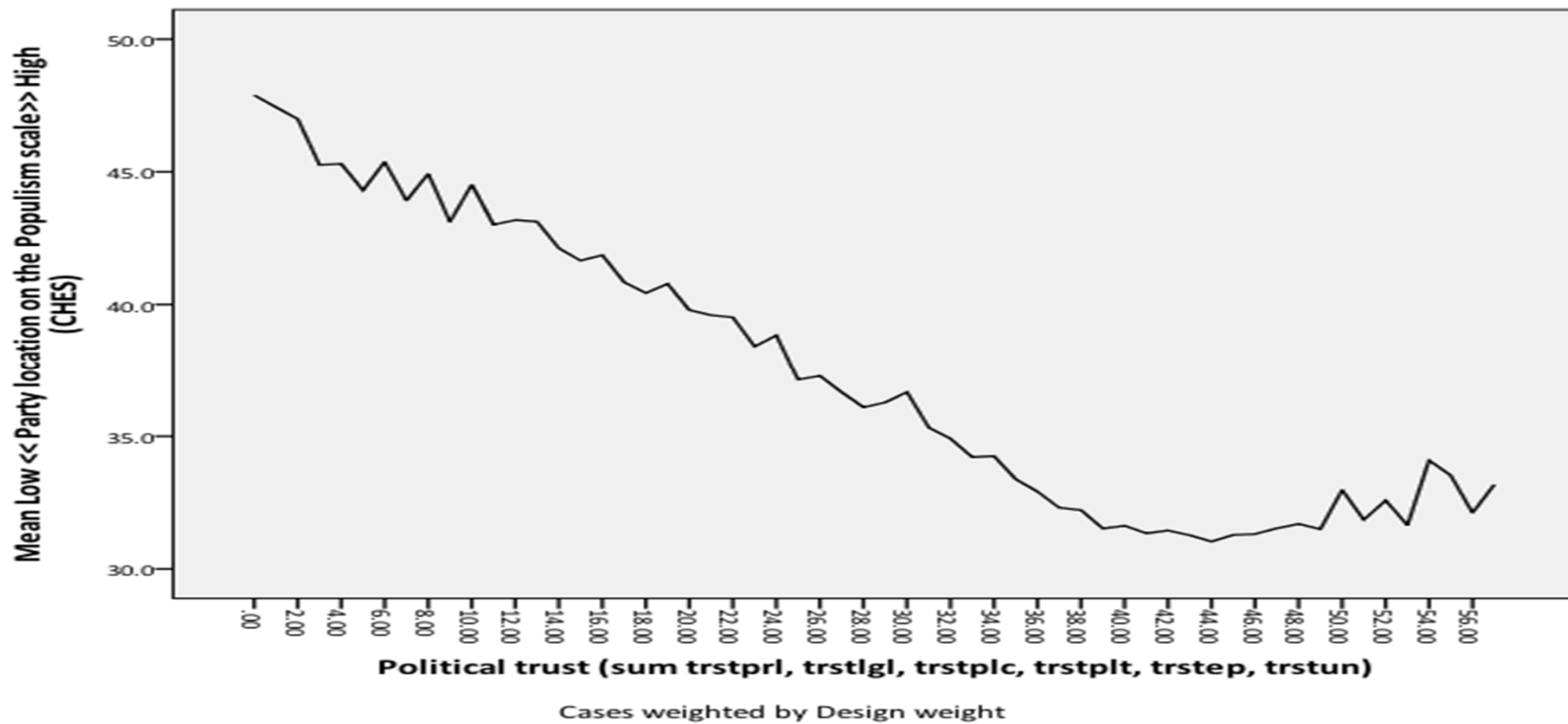
Authoritarian values predict % vote for authoritarian parties



Notes: Political parties are classified according to their score on the authoritarian scale in CHES data. Authoritarian values in the electorate are measured by the Schwartz items in the ESS concerning the importance of security, social conformity and deference, described in Table 4.3.

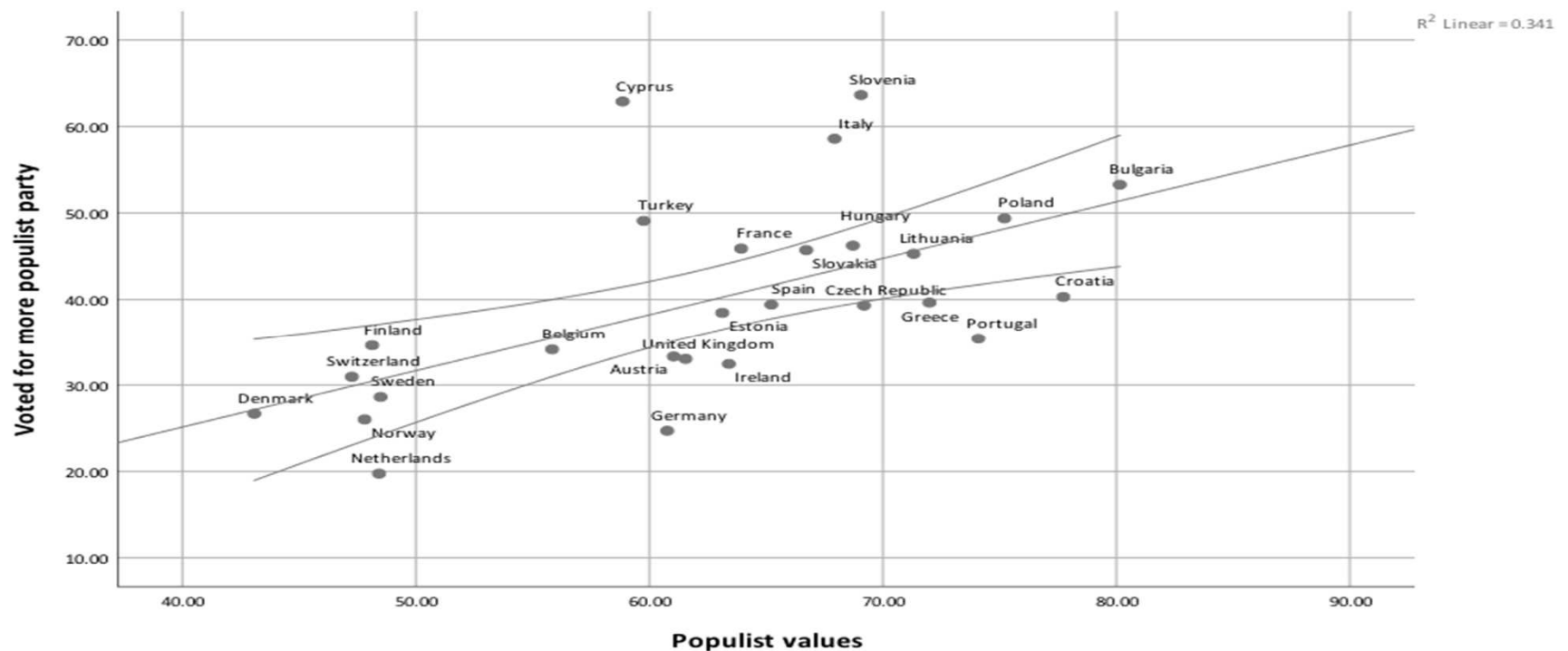
Source: ESS1-7, European Social Survey Cumulative File Rounds 1-7

Mistrust predicts populist voting



Source: European Social Survey (Pooled Waves 1-7)

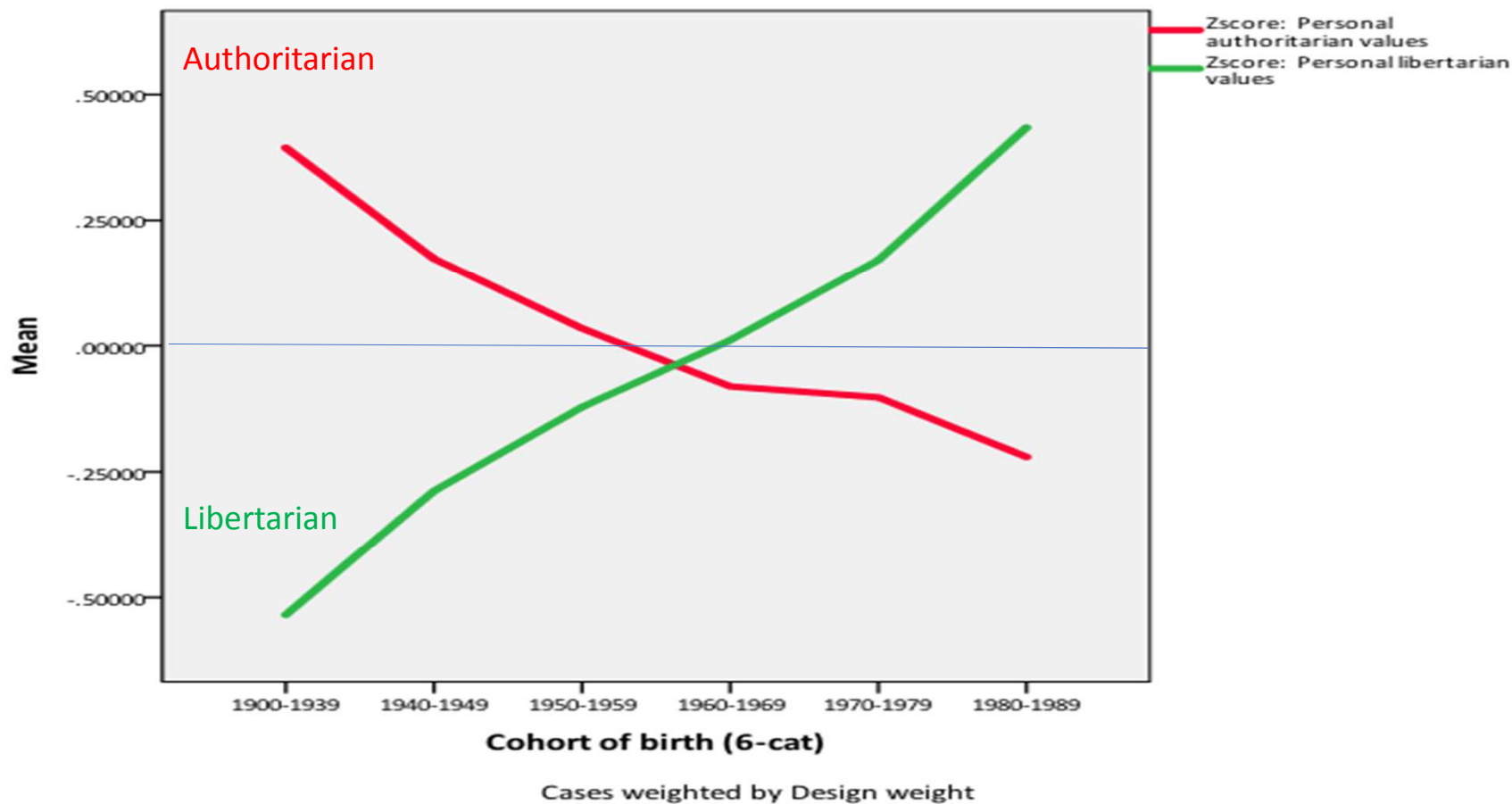
Populist values predict % votes for more populist parties



Notes: Political parties are classified according to their score on the populism scale in CHES data. Populist values in the electorate are measured by the items in the ESS concerning trust in parliaments, parties and politicians.

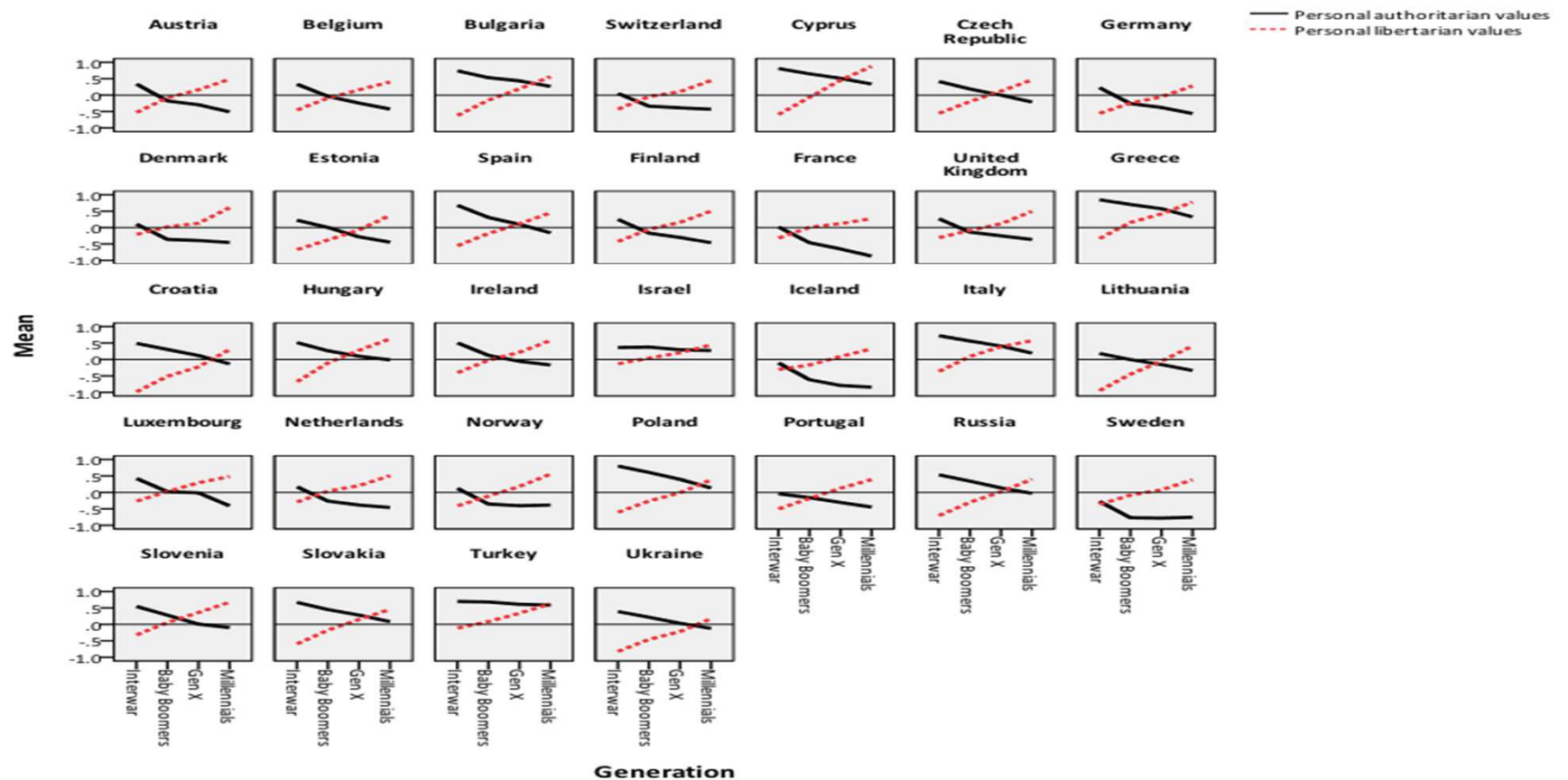
Source: ESS1-7, European Social Survey Cumulative File Rounds 1-7

Tipping points in values by cohort, Europe



Source: European Social Survey (Pooled Waves 1-7)

Tipping points in values by European nation

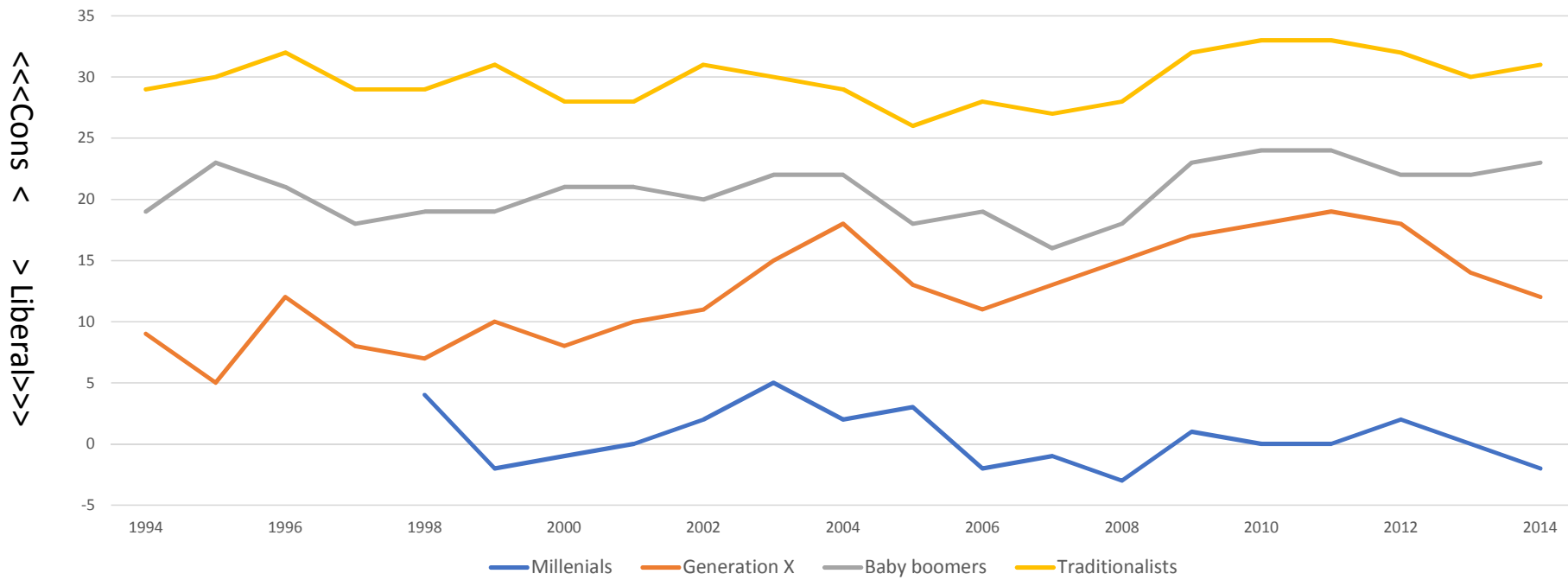


Source: European Social Survey (Pooled Waves 1-7)



4.US Evidence |

Trends in social liberal and conservative self-identification, US 1994-2014 (Gallup)



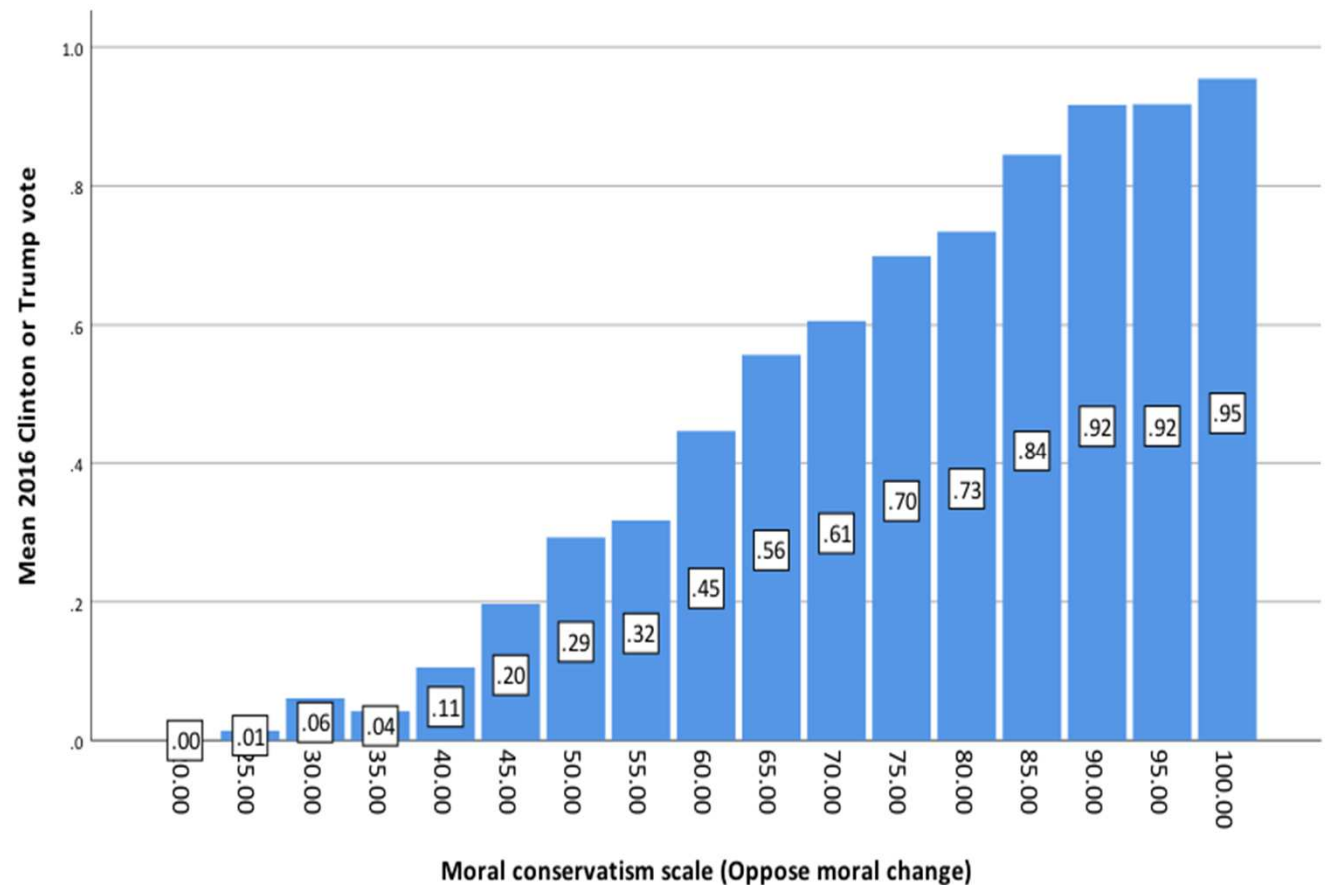
Note: The figures are the percentage identifying as conservative minus the percentage identifying as liberal in each year. Positive scores indicate a conservative advantage. Millennials born 1980-1996; Generation X born 1965-1979; Baby boomers born 1946-1964; Traditionalists born 1900-1945. Source: Gallup 2015

Liberals or conservative identities, US,

Generation	Birth years	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Conservative-Liberal gap
Millennials	1980-1996	28	40	30	-2
Generation X	1965-1979	35	39	23	+12
Baby boomers	1946-1964	44	33	21	+23
Interwar	1900-1945	48	33	17	+31
All		38	36	24	+14

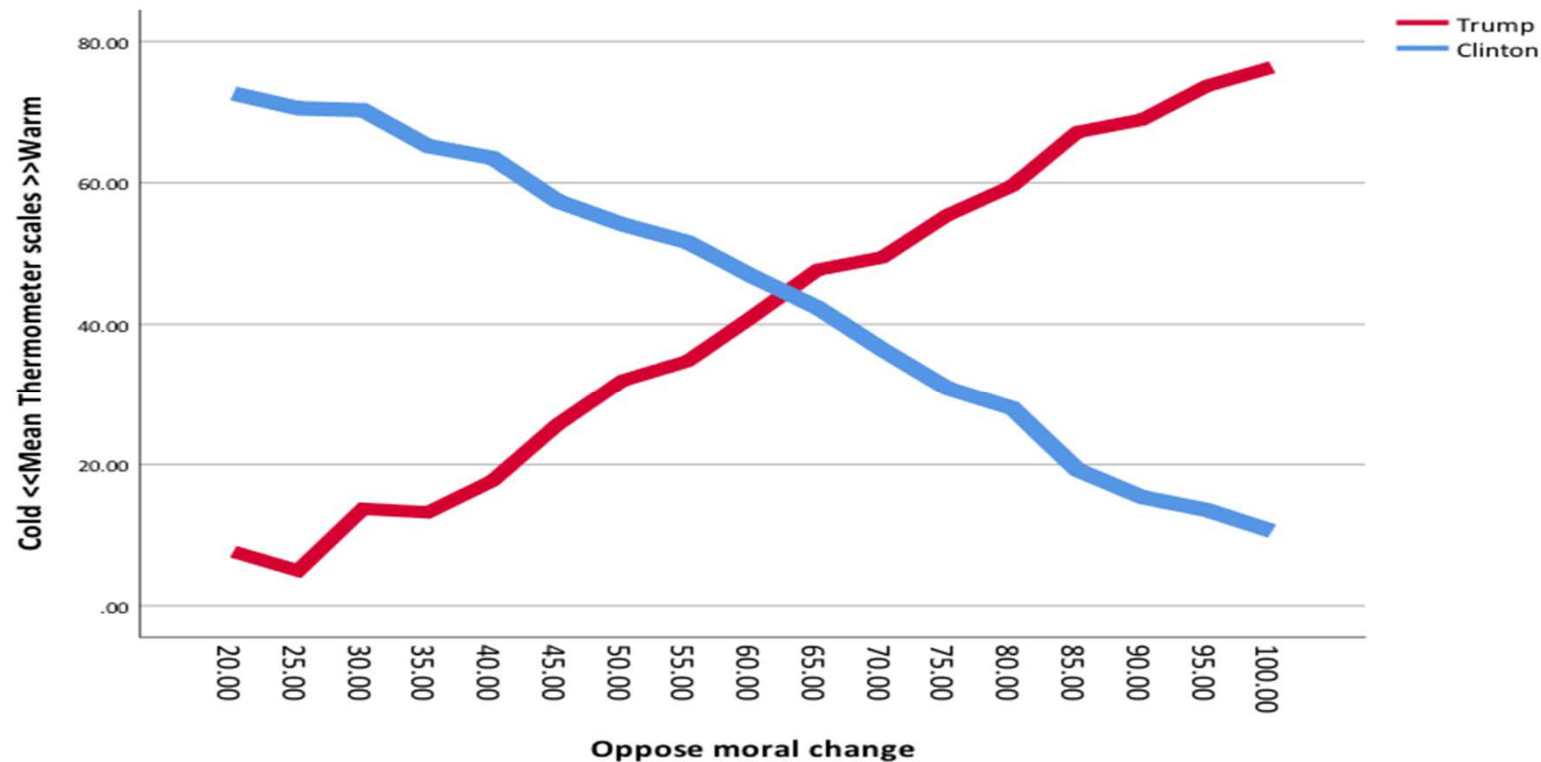
Q: "How do you usually see yourself?" Source: US Gallup poll 2017

% Trump vote by moral conservatism scale



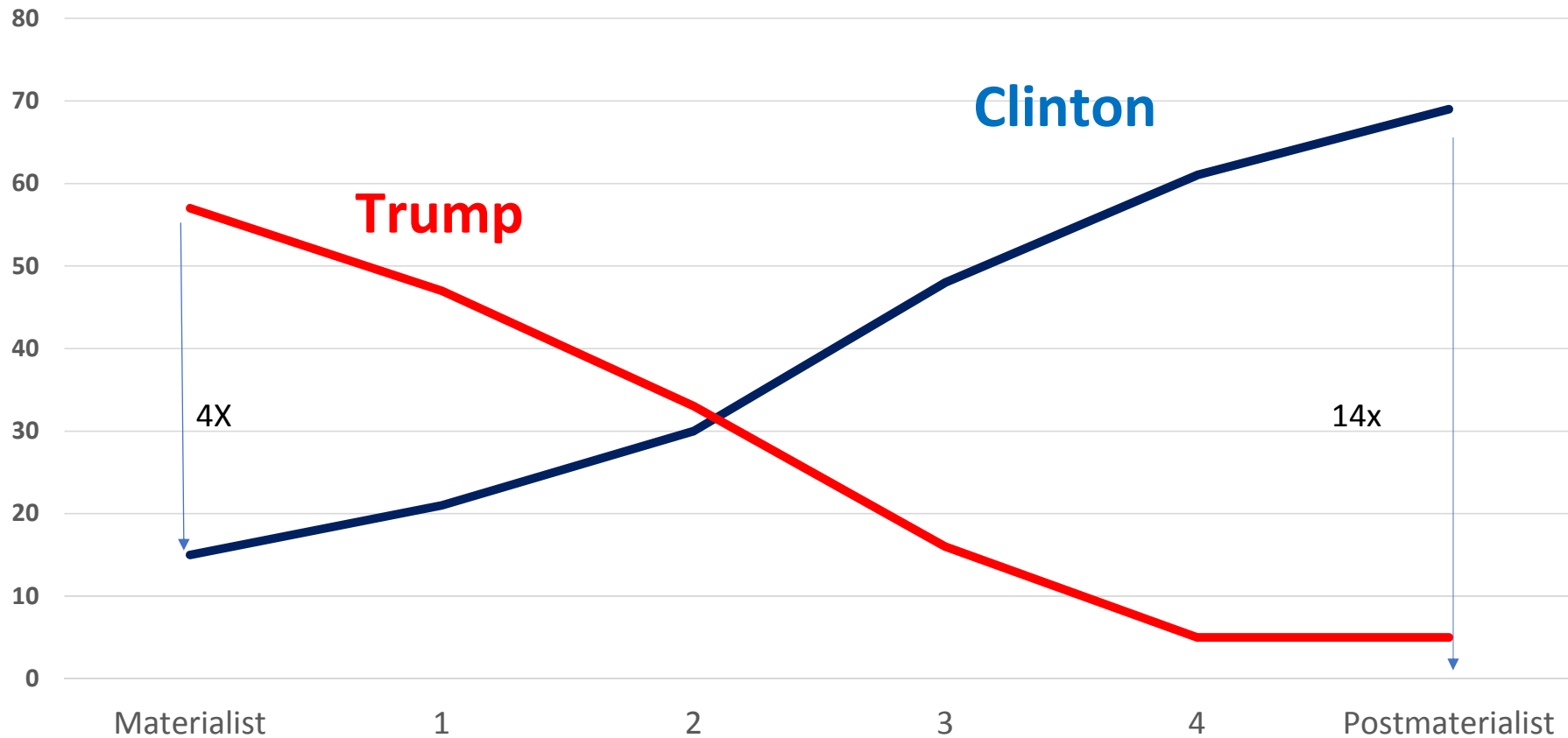
Note: Moral conservatism is measured by a standardized 100 point summing agreement/disagreement about four statements: “There should be more emphasis on traditional family values” (agree); “Newer lifestyles are breaking down society” (agree); “The world is always changing & we should adjust our view of moral behavior to that change” (disagree); and “We should be more tolerant of other moral standards.”(disagree) See Table 10.2 for details. Support for the two major candidates are measured by 100-point thermometer scores.**Source:** 2016 American National Election Study. Source: NES 2016

Moral conservatism predicts Trump vote



Note: Moral conservatism is measured by a standardized 100 point summing agreement/disagreement about four statements: “*There should be more emphasis on traditional family values*” (agree); “*Newer lifestyles are breaking down society*” (agree); “*The world is always changing & we should adjust our view of moral behavior to that change*” (disagree); and “*We should be more tolerant of other moral standards.*”(disagree) See Table 10.2 for details. Support for the two major candidates are measured by 100-point thermometer scores.**Source:** 2016 American National Election Study.

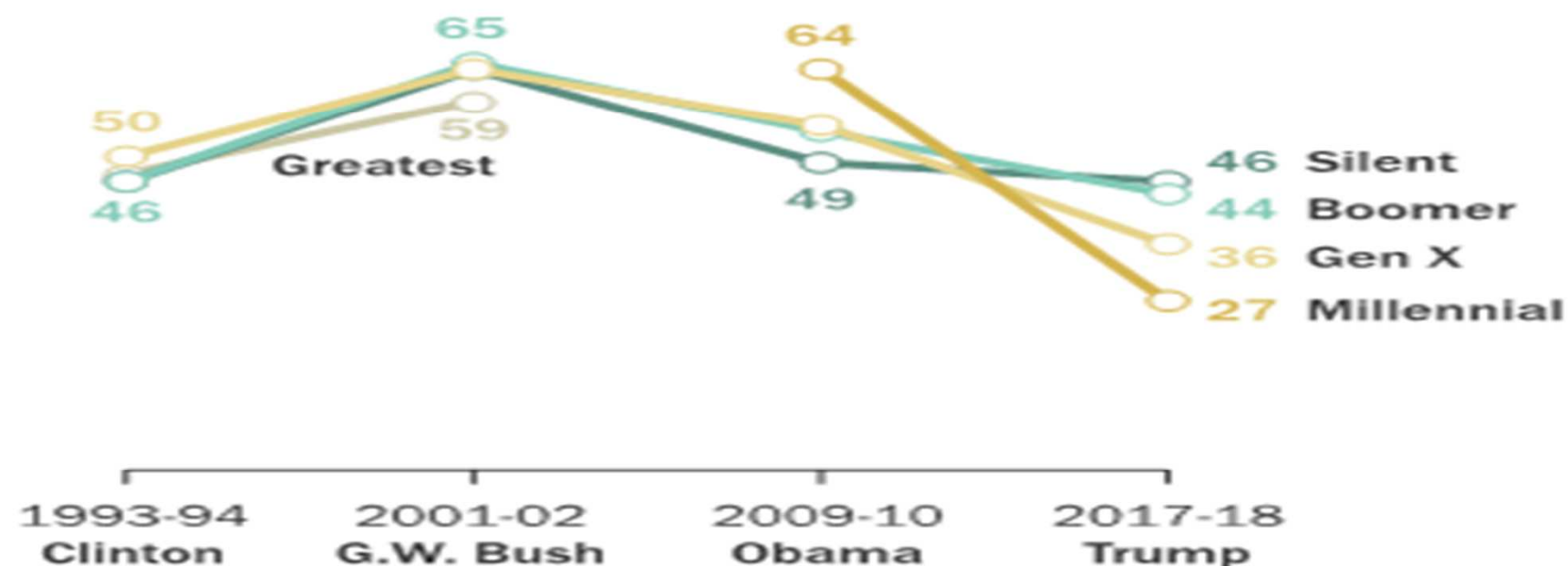
2016 U.S. Presidential vote by Materialist vs Postmaterialist values



Source: WVS-7 US-2017

Generational differences in job approval much wider for both Obama and Trump

% approving of president's job during first year in office

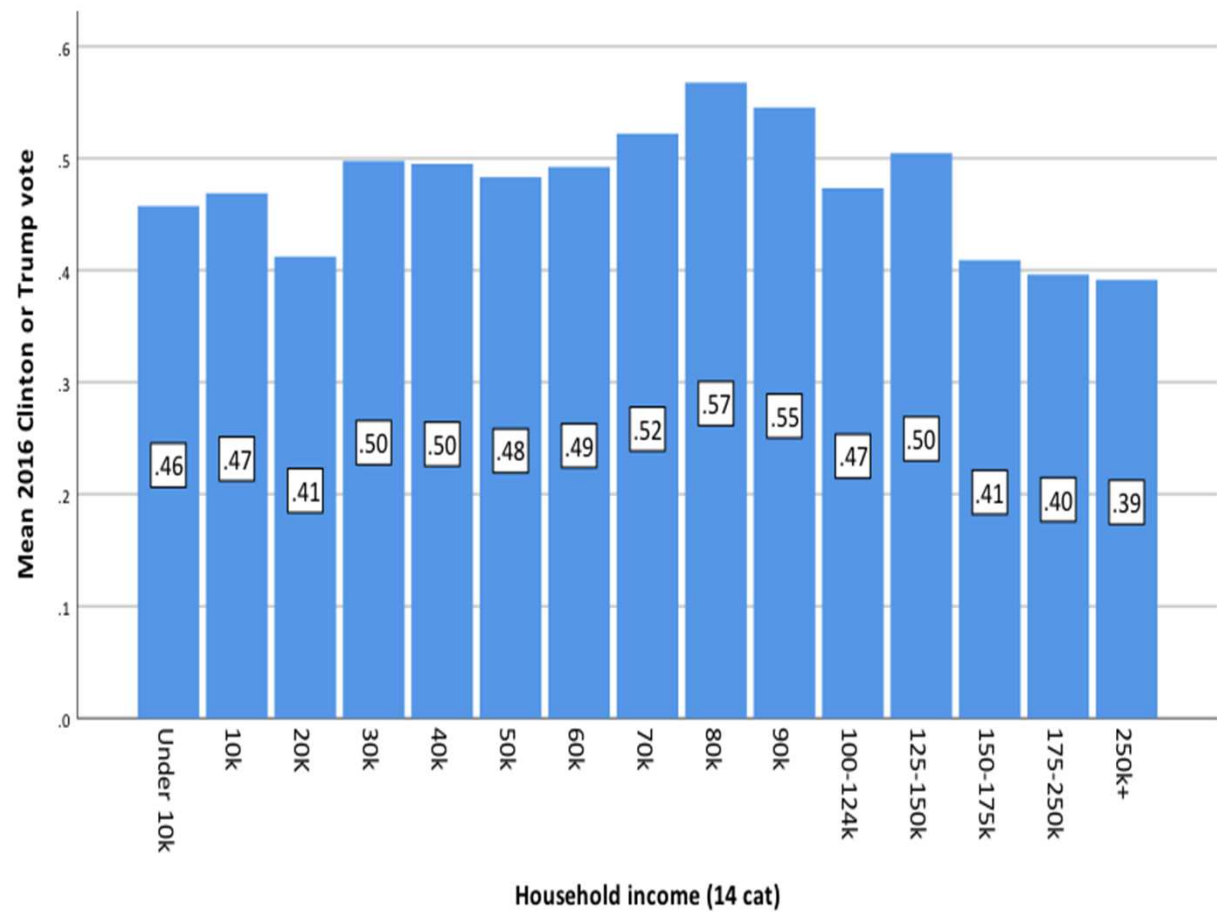


Note: Data include all surveys asking job approval in first year of first term.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults.

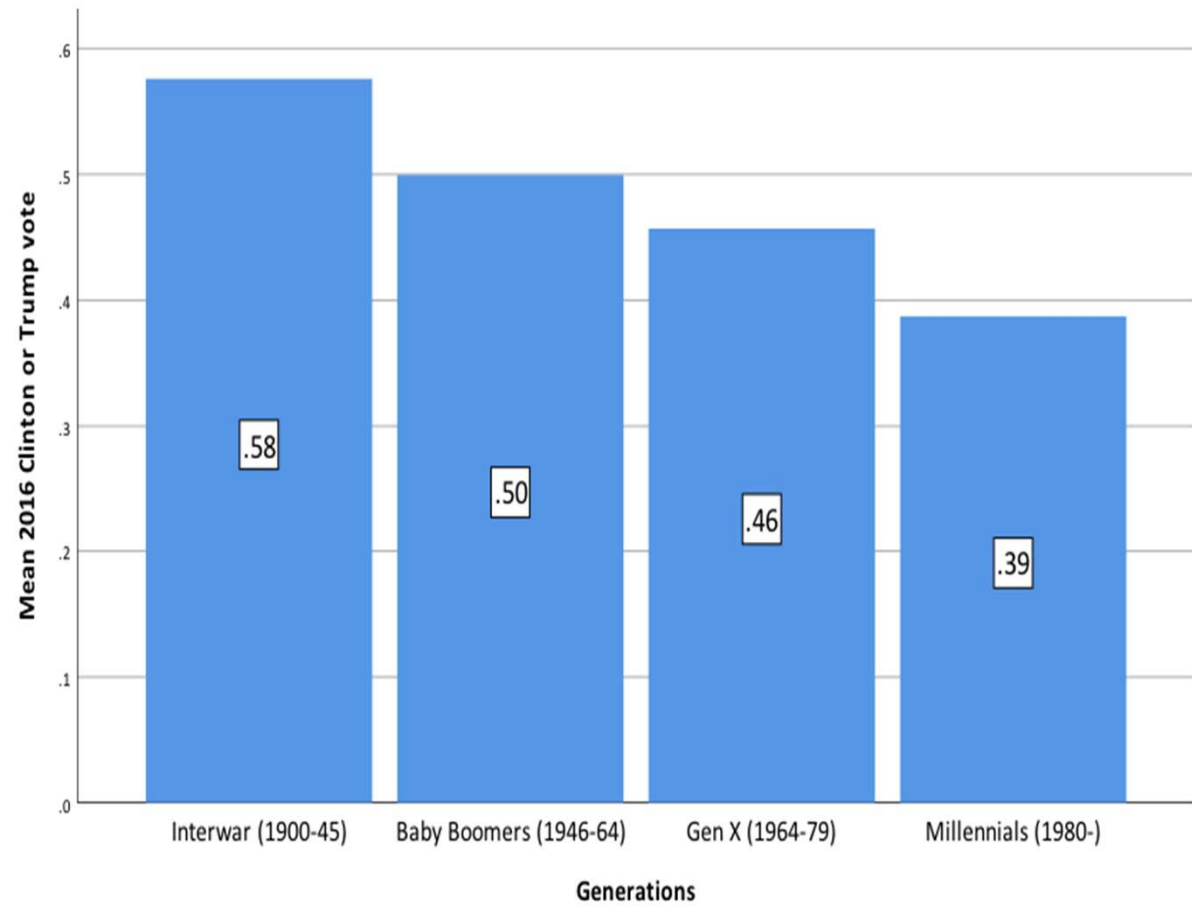
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% Trump vote by income



Source: NES 2016

% Trump
vote by
generation



Source: NES 2016



4. Conclusions & implications

Conclusions

1. Age, education, urbanization & cultural values predict vote for authoritarian-populist parties in Europe
2. Older, non-college educated, rural areas with most authoritarian values drive European voting for populist-authoritarian parties
3. Why the change? Tipping point thesis –rising tide of social liberalism in the population (but slower shift in the electorate) threatens socially conservative authoritarian voters – identities around faith, family, nation
4. Period effects of economic conditions and social diversity reinforces these threats
5. Parties and leaders respond by heightening and reinforcing cultural threat perceptions to mobilize support



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