

MINI-CONFERENCE ON POPULISM

PANEL 1: The politics and policies of insecurity: Populism in comparative perspective

Chair: Cecilia Bruzelius (University of Tübingen) cecilia.bruzelius@uni-tuebingen.de

Discussant: Justin Gest (George Mason University) justin.gest@gmail.com

Discussant: Daphne Halikiopoulou (University of Reading) d.halikiopoulou@reading.ac.uk

1. Do Policies Matter? Insecurity, Welfare, and the Populist Right in Europe -Daphne Halikiopoulou (University of Reading), Timothee Vlandas (University of Reading)
2. Insecurities of Brexit Through the Lens of EU27 Citizens' Claims to Citizenship - Eleanor Knott (London School of Economics)
3. Free Movement and Social Assistance Rights in (Con)Federal States - Cecilia Bruzelius (University of Tübingen), Martin Seeleib-Kaiser (University of Oxford)
4. Majority Minority: A Comparative Analysis of Demographic Transformation - Justin Gest (George Mason University)

Session Description

Various forms of insecurity have in the last decade become dominant political themes in liberal democracies, within and beyond Europe. Cultural, economic and security threats now dominate political agendas across European states as well as on the EU level. Common culprits are immigration, political and economic elites, welfare restructuring, European integration, globalisation, and demographic change. Certain political actors profit from political climates of fear. Populist and radical right parties, which both fuel and feed on citizens' sense of insecurity, do particularly well. Other political actors are pushed to respond to popular perceptions of insecurity. Who feels insecure and why? What policies result from different insecurities and what policies mediate their impact on voting behaviour? Finally, how do different institutional contexts shape these dynamics?

The panel papers address these questions by examining various political and policy responses to insecurities and how they relate to the rise of right-wing populism. They do so in temporally and geographically comparative fashions. The paper by Vlandas and Halikiopoulou addresses sources of populist right-wing party support in Europe, and asks how various public policies mitigate voters' sense of insecurity and consequent support for such political parties. Using European Social Survey data, the paper shows that the extent to which economic insecurity is relevant for populist right-wing party support depends on existing labour market and social policies. The paper by Knott considers how policy outcomes of insecurities fabricate additional insecurities. Using survey data, it looks at how the Brexit referendum has impacted perceptions of insecurity of EU citizens living in the UK. The paper by Bruzelius and Seeleib-Kaiser turns to anxieties arising from immigration and welfare provision, with specific focus on internal migration in (con)federal states with devolved welfare responsibilities. Against the background of current EU tensions around free movement of persons, the paper uses comparative historical analysis to explore how sub-

federal resistance to extending non-contributory social rights to internal migrants has been circumvented in different (con)federal territories. Finally, the paper by Gest, adopts a broader perspective exploring insecurities stemming from demographic change beyond the European context. Specifically, the paper explores the ways in which governments have historically responded to actual processes of “ethnic takeover”, i.e. situations in which the native population has lost its numerical supremacy. Drawing on political psychology research, the paper compares subsequent governance in six historical cases.

PANEL 2: Economic Conditions, Authoritarian Attitudes and Populist Radical Right Support

Chair: Ellen M. Immergut (European University Institute)

Discussant: Brian Burgoon (University of Amsterdam)

1. Downward Class Mobility and Reactionary Populism - Alan M. Jacobs (University of British Columbia), Mark A. Kayser (Hertie School of Governance, Berlin)
2. Economic Hardship and the Demand for Socially Conservative Policies - Catherine E. De Vries (Free University Amsterdam), Margit Tavits (Washington University in St. Louis), Hector Solaz (University of Oxford)
3. Economic Risks Within Households and Voting for the Radical Right - Tarik Abou-Chadi (University of Zurich), Thomas Kurer
4. The Impact of Macro-Economic Performance on Populist Anti-Immigrant Success- Sergi Pardos (University of Oxford, Merton College)

Session Description

This panel investigates the effect of micro- and macro-economic conditions on the formation and development of right-wing authoritarian and reactionary populist attitudes as well as radical right voting. Economic explanations have long been one of the major avenues in analyzing the success of populist radical right parties and the underlying attitudinal structures. However, empirical findings on the relationship between economic conditions and radical right voting have been at best mixed, leading some scholars to proclaim “It’s not the economy, stupid.” This panel, in contrast, brings together 4 papers that analyze how micro- and macro-economic developments affect voting behavior and right-wing authoritarian attitudes. Crucially, they all depart from assuming a simple relationship between individual economic perceptions and a propensity to support the radical right and analyze the more complex interaction of individuals, households and macro-economic conditions. Methodologically, they all go beyond analyses of cross-sectional observational data and rely on experimental as well as panel data evidence. Jacobs and Kayser in their study take a generational perspective on the formation and development of attitudes that sustain right-wing populism. Reactionary populist attitudes, they argue, are the product of a mismatch of economic expectations and economic attainments and the key benchmark that individuals use to assess this achievement is the economic status of their parents. Similarly, de Vries et al. in their contribution demonstrate how economic hardship and changes in economic circumstances lead to more right-wing authoritarian attitudes and an increasing demand in socially conservative policies. Abou-Chadi and Kurer focus on how economic risks within households affect voting for the radical right. While the distribution of risks within

households has been shown to be a crucial determinant of perceptions of economic circumstances and policy preferences more generally, very little work exists to date that investigates how household risks affect electoral behavior. Finally, Pardos-Prado's contribution adds a crucial macro-economic perspective to the analysis of radical right support focusing on how political opportunity structures arise from the dimensionality of the political space. When high immigration levels and bad economic performance come together then this limits the mobilization capacity of populist issue entrepreneurs.

PANEL 3: Niche parties and the transformation of West European Party Systems

Chair: Inaki Sagarzazu (Texas Tech University)

Discussant: Zeynep Somer-Topcu (University of Texas at Austin)

1. Taking on the Establishment: Analyzing Challenger Party Rhetoric - Sara B Hobolt (London School of Economics), Catherine E. De Vries (Free University Amsterdam), Mariken van der Velden
2. Why Do Voters Switch from Mainstream to Niche Parties and Back? -Marc van de Wardt (University of Ghent / Tilburg University), Matthijs Rooduijn
3. Fuzzy or Veering? Radical Right Parties in Western Europe- Jan Rovny (Sciences Po), Jonathan Polk (University of Gothenburg)
4. Government Agendas and Niche Party Success- Tarik Abou-Chadi (University of Zurich), Christoffer Green-Pedersen (University of Aarhus)

Session Description

One of the most remarkable developments in West European politics in recent years is the growing electoral strength of various niche or challenger parties on the left and especially the right. The growth of the AFD in Germany, the PVV in the Netherlands and the Sweden Democrats in Sweden are prominent examples of this development. The growing electoral strength of these parties raise a series of important questions about these parties themselves and the reasons for their electoral success. This panel includes papers that answer some of the more important ones. The paper by Hobolt, de Vries and van der Velden analyses the anti-establishment rhetoric of these parties, which often seen as a key element in their electoral success. The paper by Rovny and Polk studies the economic stance of these parties. As they have grown in electoral strength and are moving closer to political influence, including government participation, understanding and explaining their stances on broader policy issues become increasingly important. Though there is already a quite extensive literature on these insurgent parties, these are questions that have rarely been addressed. The papers by van der Wardt and Rooduijn and by Abou-Chadi and Green-Pedersen then focus on explaining the growing electoral strength of these parties. Whereas existing studies of this topic focus very much on these parties themselves, both papers focus on what mainstream parties do and how this affects the electoral strength of these rising parties. Van der Wardt and Rooduijn focus on overlap in policy positions among mainstream parties, and Abou-Chadi and Green-Pedersen focus on whether mainstream parties are willing to focus on the issues like immigration that the rising parties prefer.

PANEL 4: Populist Parties in the Global Economy

Chair Erik Jones

Discussant TBD

1. Globalization, Institutions of Social Solidarity, and Right-Wing Populism, *Duane H. Swank, Marquette University
2. Explaining Business Responses to the New Nationalism and Populism, *Daniel Phillip Kinderman, University of Delaware
3. Political Change, Capital Mobility, and the Populist Threat to Democracy, *Erik Jones, Johns Hopkins University
4. Populist Polarization in the Age of Globalization, *Marc Helbling, University of Bamberg; *Sebastian Jungkunz, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

This panel is constructed from four related papers submitted the section, three of which examining the effects of global economic integration on populist appeals, and one of which examines domestic business organizations.

PANEL 5: Populist Voters: Who are they?

Chair Jane Gingrich

Discussant TBD

1. Votes from women: women's support and the gender gap In far right politics, *Trevor J Allen, University of California, Irvine; *Sara Wallace Goodman, University of California, Irvine
2. Comparing the Class Bases of Left-wing and Right-wing Populist Parties, *Takeshi Hieda, Osaka City University
3. Left and right wings of the same bird: Radical voter attitudes in the EU and US, *Anna Brigevich
4. Authoritarianism and the Propensity to Vote for the Radical Right in Ireland, *Erik R. Tillman, DePaul University

This panel examines how work in the US on authoritarian attitudes and the class orientation of populist voters travels to European elections, using micro-data. These four papers are diverse, but highly related, in examining the underlying motivations at of individual voters in Europe for populist parties.

MINI CONFERENCE ON POPULISM IN EUROPE

Saturday, September 1, 8AM – 5:30PM

I. The Politics and Policies of Insecurity: Populism in Comparative Perspective

8:00 - 9:30AM

Chair: Cecilia Bruzelius

Discussant: Justin Gest, Daphne Halikiopoulou

1. Daphne Halikiopoulou, Timothee Vlandas; *Do Policies Matter? Insecurity, Welfare, and the Populist Right in Europe*
2. Eleanor Knott; *Insecurities of Brexit Through the Lens of EU27 Citizens' Claims to Citizenship*

3. Cecilia Bruzelius, Martin Seeleib-Kaiser; *Free Movement and Social Assistance Rights in (Con)Federal States*
4. Justin Gest; *Majority Minority: A Comparative Analysis of Demographic Transformation*

II. Economic Conditions, Authoritarian Attitudes and Populist Radical Right Support 10:00 - 11:30AM

Chair: Ellen M. Immergut

Discussant: Brian Burgoon

1. Alan M. Jacobs, Mark A. Kayser; *Downward Class Mobility and Reactionary Populism*
2. Catherine E. De Vries, Margit Tavits, Hector Solaz; *Economic Hardship and the Demand for Socially Conservative Policies*
3. Tarik Abou-Chadi; Thomas Kurer; *Economic Risks Within Households and Voting for the Radical Right*
4. Sergi Pardos; *The Impact of Macro-Economic Performance on Populist Anti-Immigrant Success*

III. Niche parties and the transformation of West European Party Systems 12:00 – 1:30PM

Chair: Inaki Sagarzazu

Discussant: Zeynep Somer-Topcu

1. Sara B. Hobolt, Catherine E. De Vries, Mariken van der Velden; *Taking on the Establishment: Analyzing Challenger Party Rhetoric*
2. Marc van de Wardt, Matthijs Rooduijn; *Why Do Voters Switch from Mainstream to Niche Parties and Back*
3. Jan Rovny, Jonathan Polk; *Fuzzy or Veering? Radical Right Parties in Western Europe*
4. Tarik Abou-Chadi, Christoffer Green-Pedersen; *Government Agendas and Niche Party Success*

IV. Populist Parties in the Global Economy 2:00 - 3:30PM

Chair: Erik Jones

1. Duane H. Swank; *Globalization, Institutions of Social Solidarity, and Right-Wing Populism*
2. Daniel Philip Kinderman; *Explaining Business Responses to the New Nationalism and Populism*
3. Erik Jones; *Political Change, Capital Mobility, and the Populist Threat to Democracy*
4. Marc Hebling, Sebastian Jungkunz; *Populist Polarization in the Age of Globalization*

V. Populist Voters: Who are they?

4:00 - 5:30PM

Chair: Jane Gingrich

1. Trevor J Allen, Sara Wallace Goodman; *Votes from women: women's support and the gender gap In far right politics*

2. Takeshi Hieda; *Comparing the Class Bases of Left-wing and Right-wing Populist Parties*
3. Anna Brigevich; *Left and right wings of the same bird: Radical voter attitudes in the EU and US*
4. Erik R. Tillman; *Authoritarianism and the Propensity to Vote for the Radical Right in Ireland*