



Globalisation, Inequality and the Rise of Populism

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**Populism in Ireland; far left, far right or
just anti-system!**

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Outline

- Global rise of populism
 - Competing explanations (cultural, economic, political crisis)
- How do we measure populism?
- Do we have an Irish variant?
- Who is the populist Irish voter?



Table 1. Characteristics of the three approaches to populism research.

	Definition of populism	Unit of analysis	Relevant methods	Exemplars
Political ideology	A set of inter-related ideas about the nature of politics and society	Parties and party leaders	Qualitative or automated texts analysis, mostly of partisan literature	Mudde (2004, 2007), Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012)
Political style	A way of making claims about politics; characteristics of discourse.	Texts, speeches, public discourse about politics	Interpretive textual analysis	Kazin (1995), Laclau (2005), Panizza (2005)
Political strategy	A form of mobilization and organization	Parties (with a focus on structures), social movements, leaders	Comparative historical analysis, case studies	Roberts (2006), Wayland (2001), Jansen (2011)

Source: Gidron and Bonikowski, 2013



Populism – thin ideology

Two homogenous groups (people, elite)

Antagonistic relationship

Popular sovereignty

(Canovan, 1993; Mudde, 2004; Kriesi and Pappas, 2015)

Ideological component: Leftist, centrist, rightist,
nationalist

Context dependent

Populism rising?



Measuring Populism

Focus has been on the supply side

- Party platforms, manifestoes, campaign strategies (especially social media), leaders (Rooduijn and Pauwels, 2011; Engesser et al, 2016)

Demand side has only recently been receiving attention (Mudde 2012; Akkerman et al 2013)

- Election studies
- CSES Module 2016 - 2021

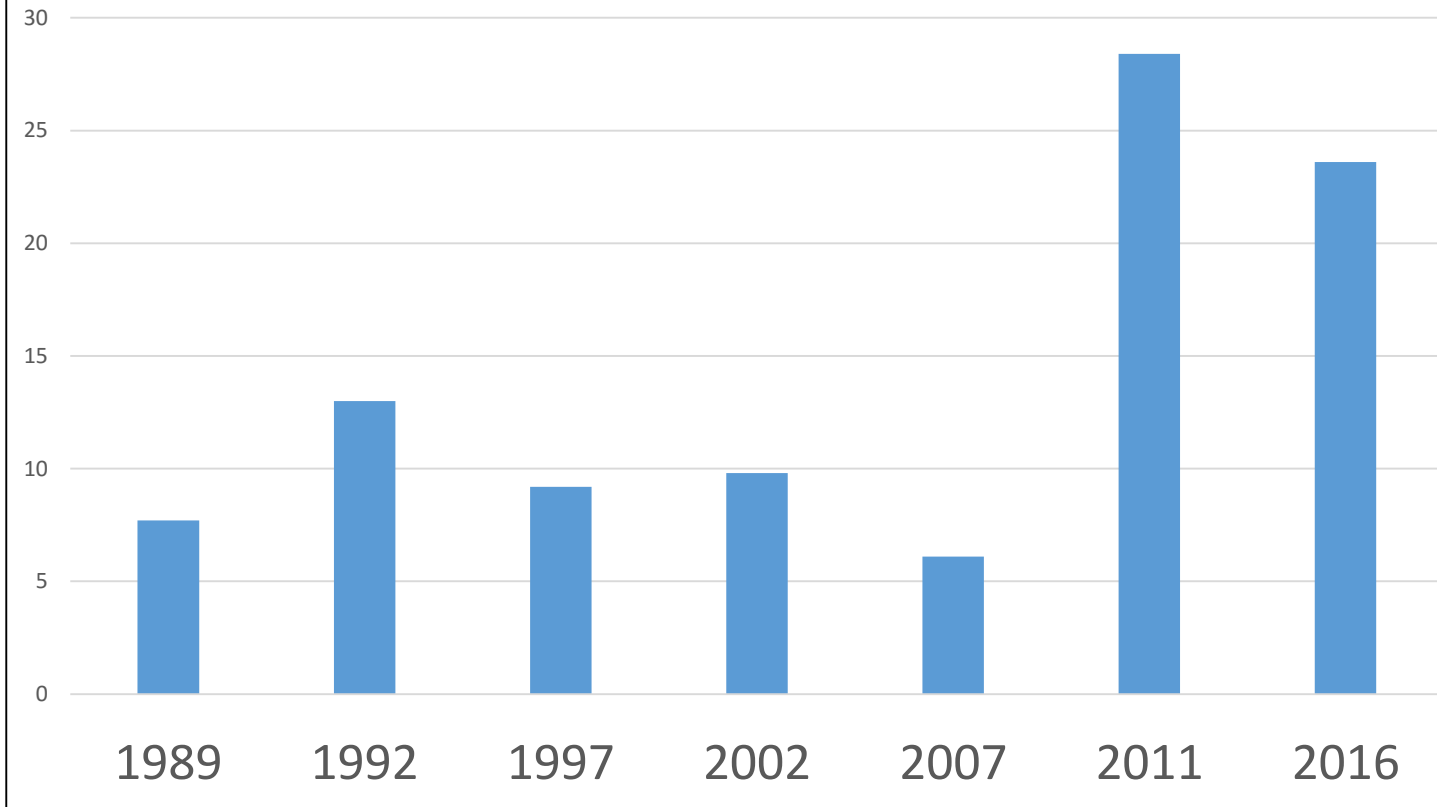


Why would we expect populism in Ireland

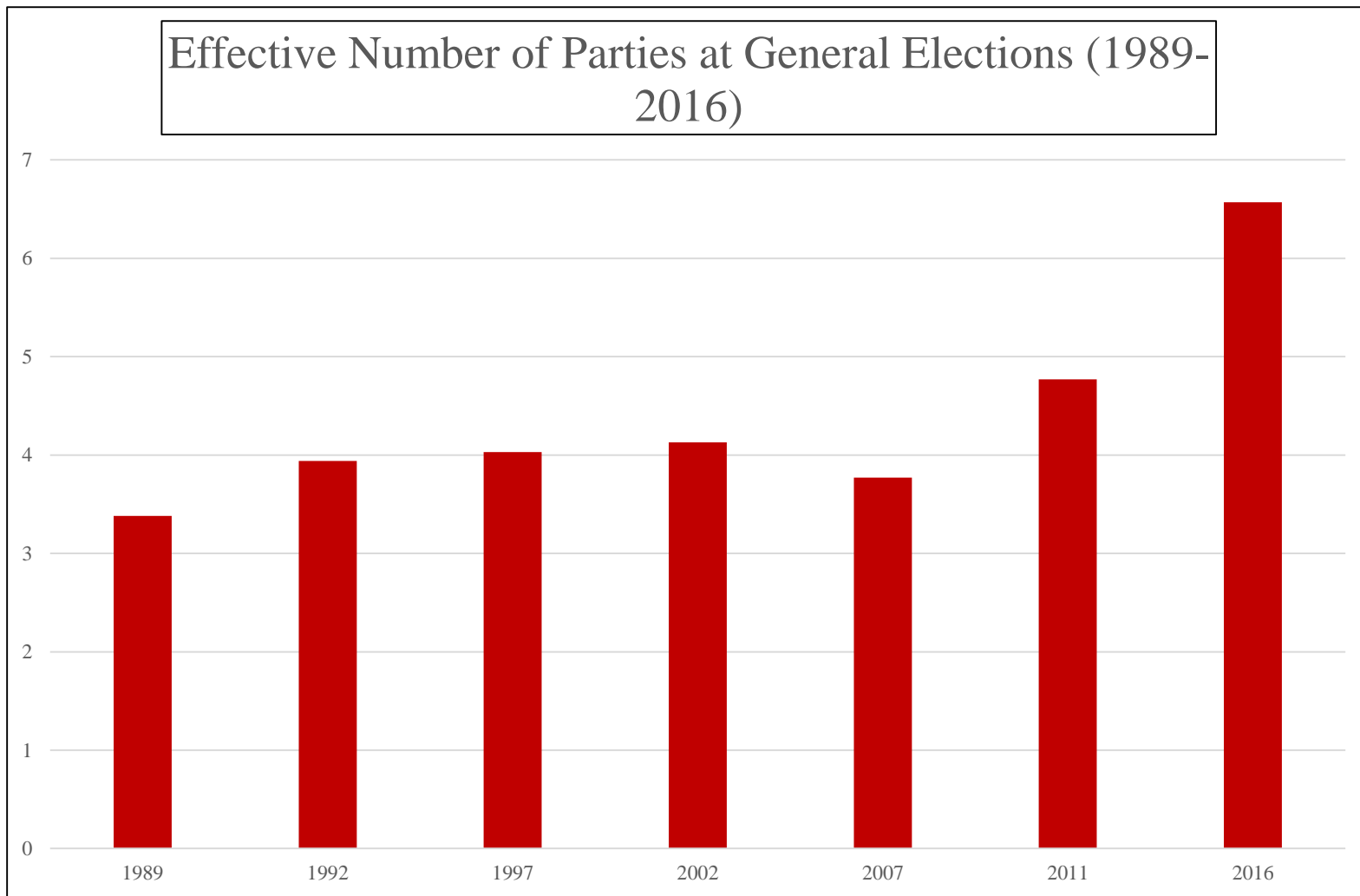
- Some history of populism (O'Malley and Fitzgibbon, 2015; Suiter, 2017)
- Political and economic crisis (Kriesi and Pappas, 2015)
- Multi-party system – permeability/opportunity for party entry
- Party system rupture (Mair, 2011)
- Political fragmentation (Marsh et al, 2017)
- But no substantial new entrant



Pedersen Index at General Elections (1989-2016)



Data Source: Michael Gallagher Election Indices http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/EISystems/ and Dassonneville, Ruth (2015). *Net Volatility in Western Europe: 1950-2014*. Dataset. KU Leuven: Centre for Citizenship and Democracy.



Data Source: Michael Gallagher Election Indices

http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/staff/michael_gallagher/ElSystems/





Irish National Election Study

4 Point Populism Scale

Following O'Malley and Fitzgibbon (2015)

3 sets of attitudes

Elites, Migrants, Redistribution

10 variables

Cronbach's Alpha – 0.7

Data from the 2016 Irish National Election Study



Elites

In a democracy it is important to seek compromise among different viewpoints

Most politicians do not care about the people

Most politicians are trustworthy

Politicians are the main problem in Ireland

Having a strong leader in government is good for Ireland event if the leader bends the rules to get things done

The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions



Out-Group Attitudes

Ethnic minorities should adapt to Ireland's way of life

Ireland's culture is generally harmed by immigrants

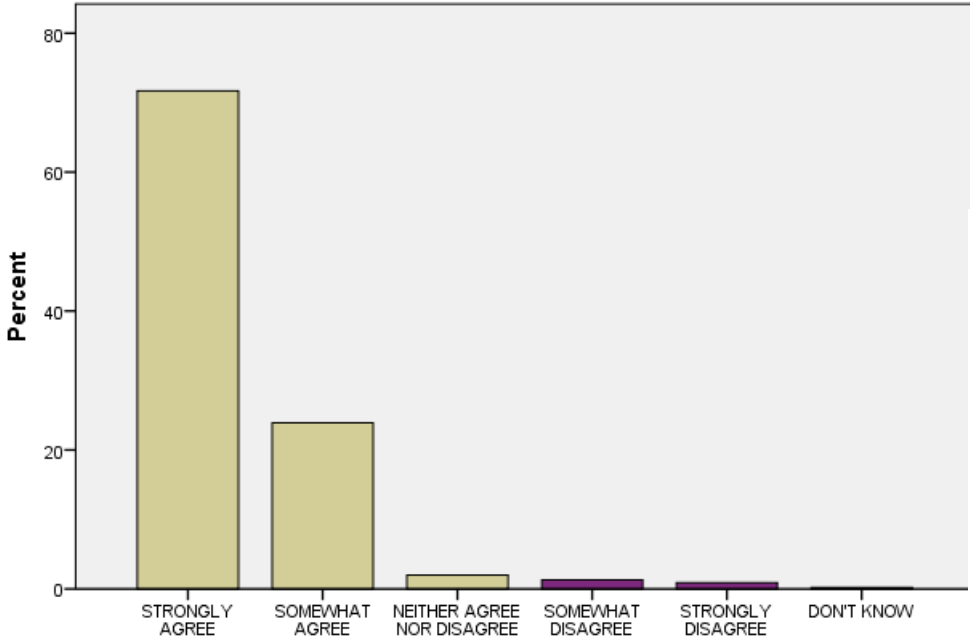
Redistribution

Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful

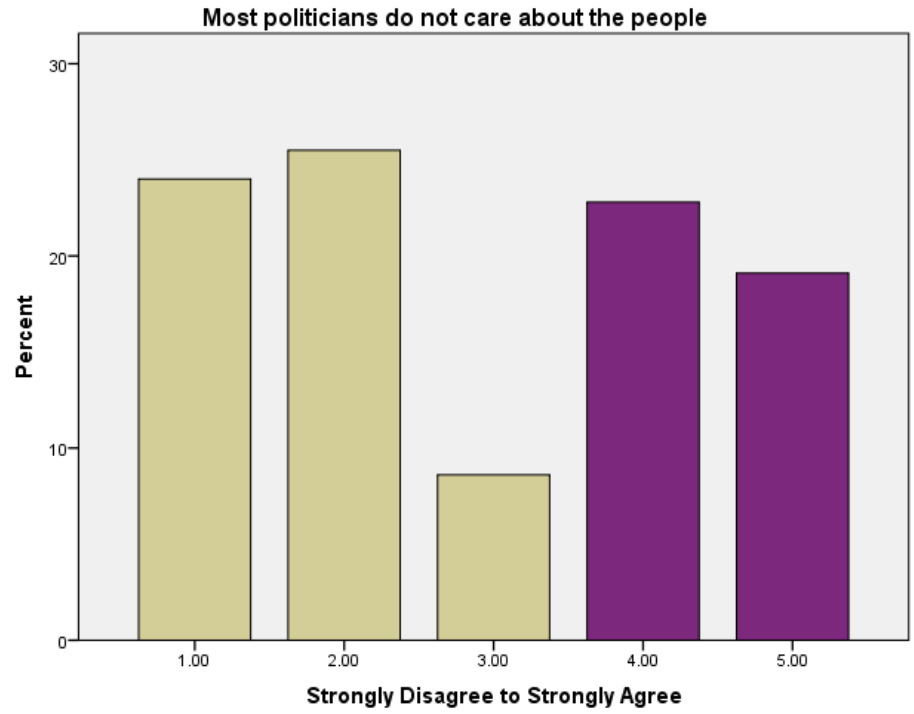
Poor people should have a greater voice in politics



Q04: IN A DEMOCRACY IT IS IMPORTANT TO SEEK COMPROMISE AMONG DIFFERENT VIEWPOINT

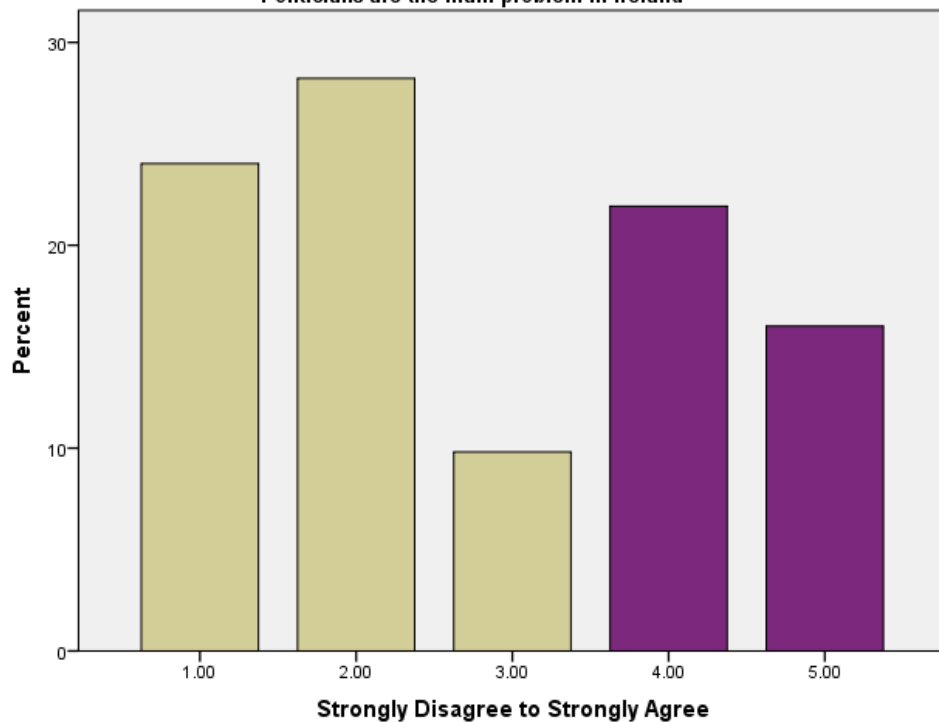


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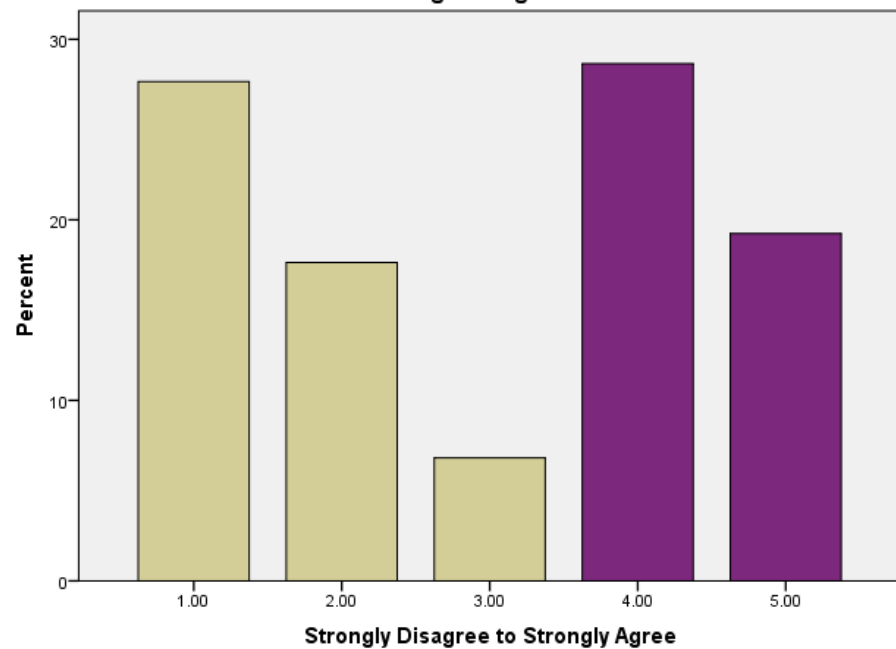




Politicians are the main problem in Ireland

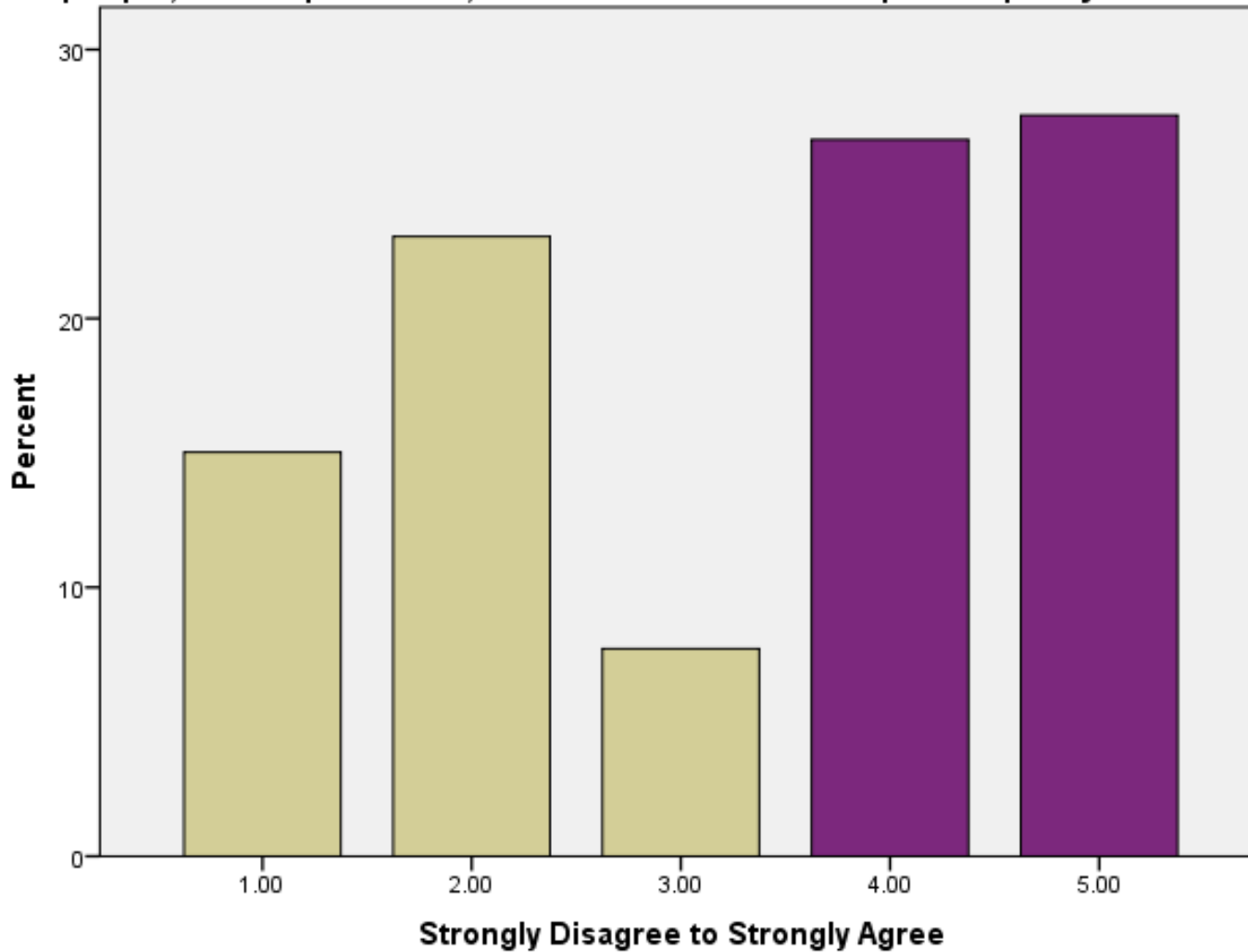


Having a strong leader in government is good for Ireland even if the leader bends the rules to get things done



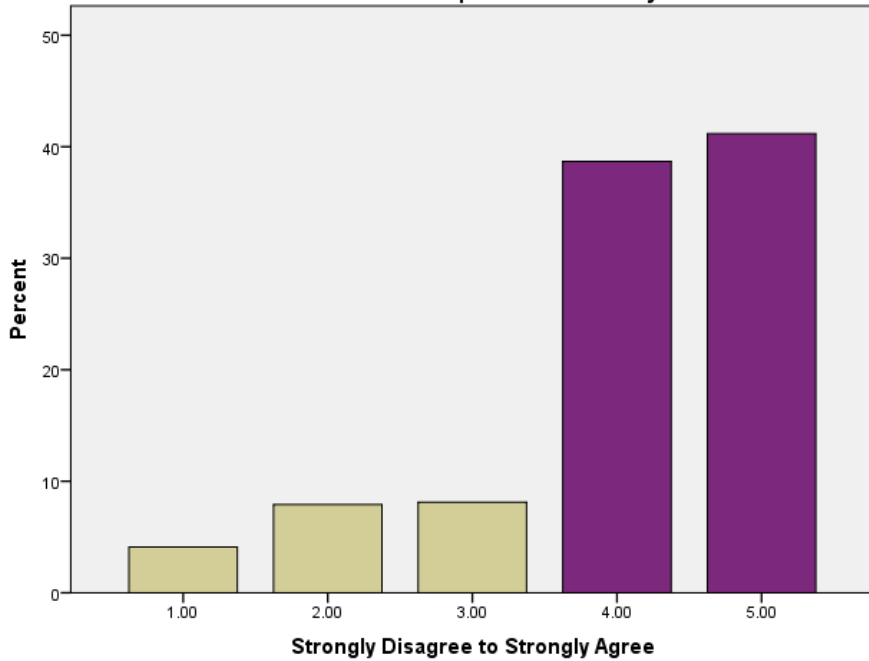


The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions

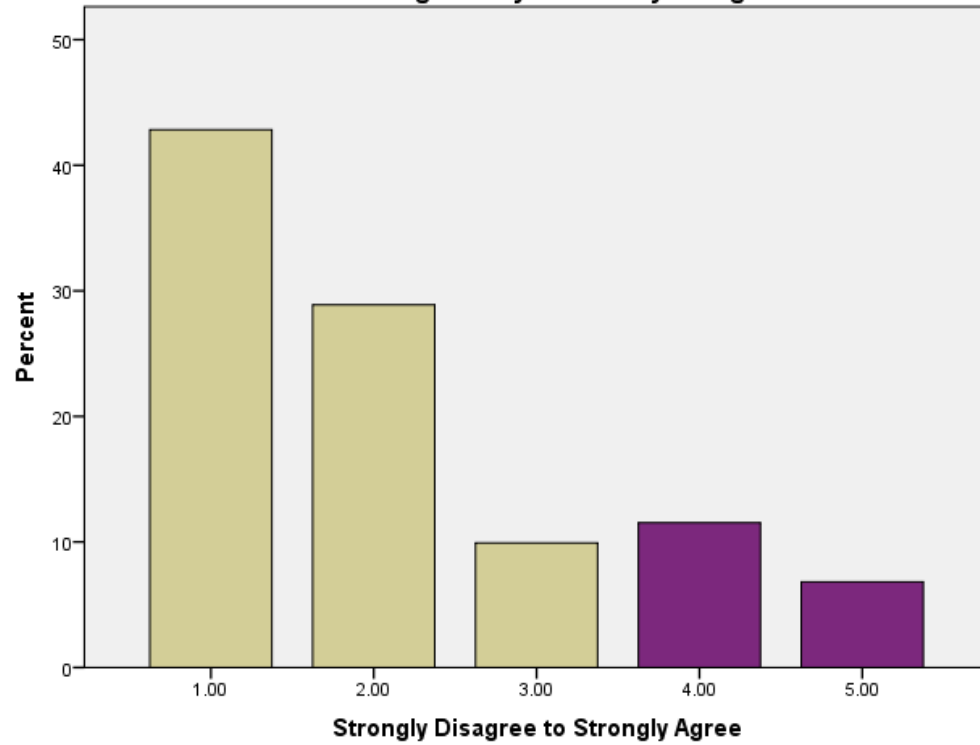




Ethnic minorities should adapt to Ireland's way of life

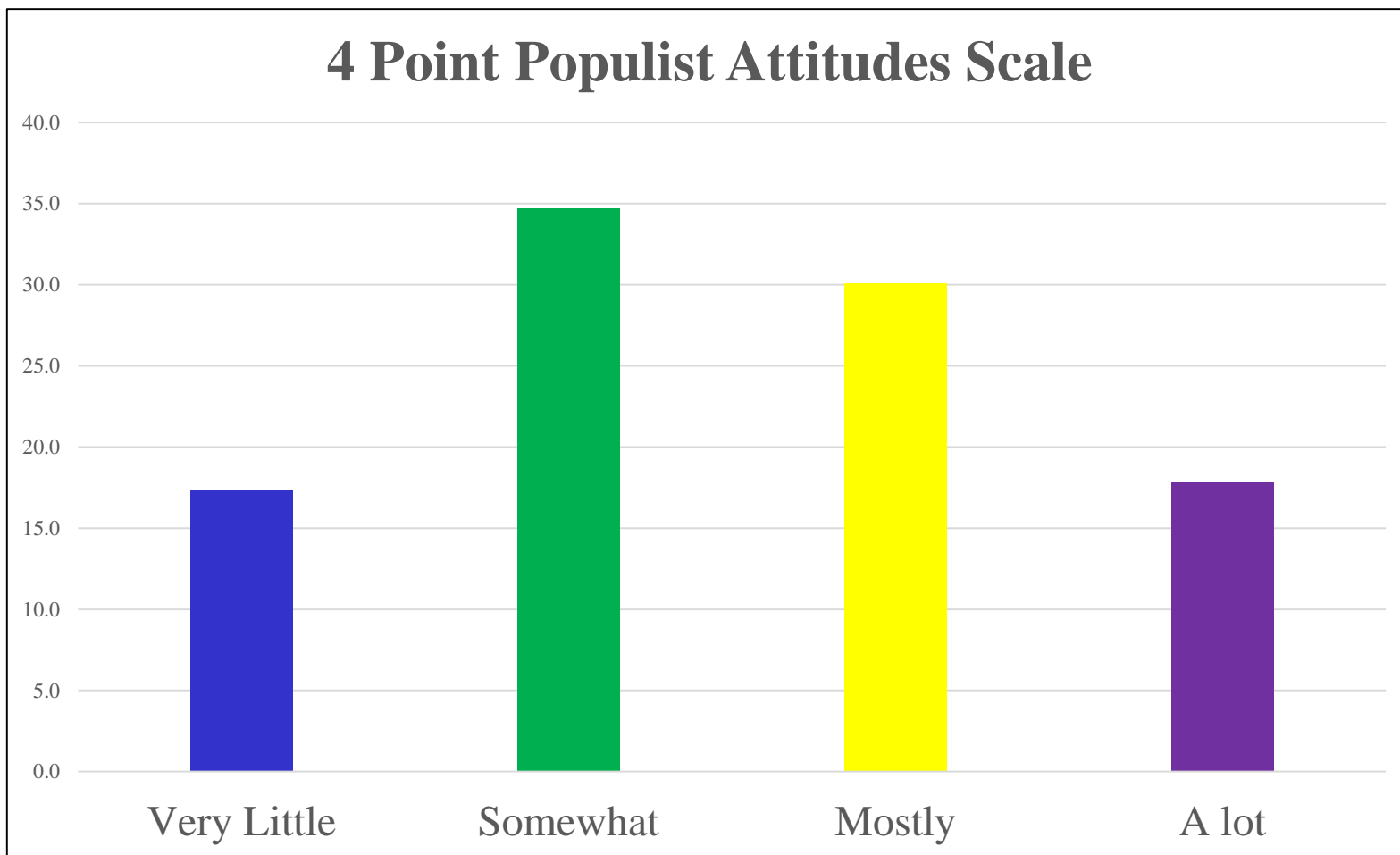


Ireland's culture is generally harmed by immigrants



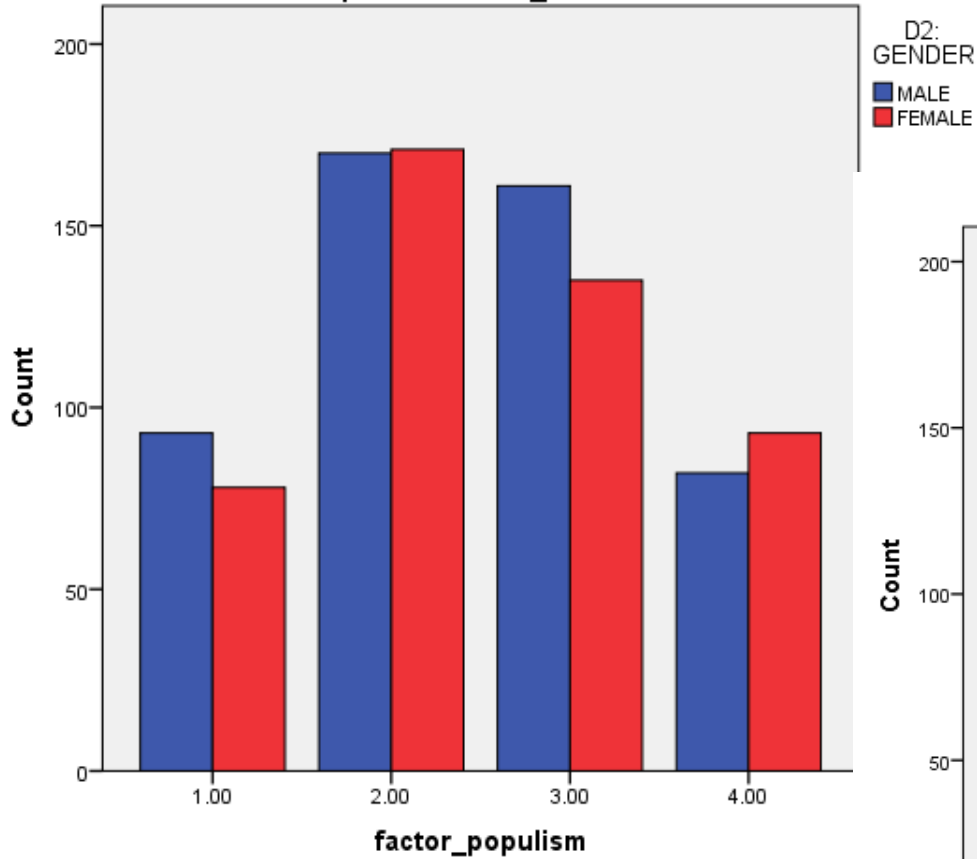


4 Point Populist Attitudes Scale

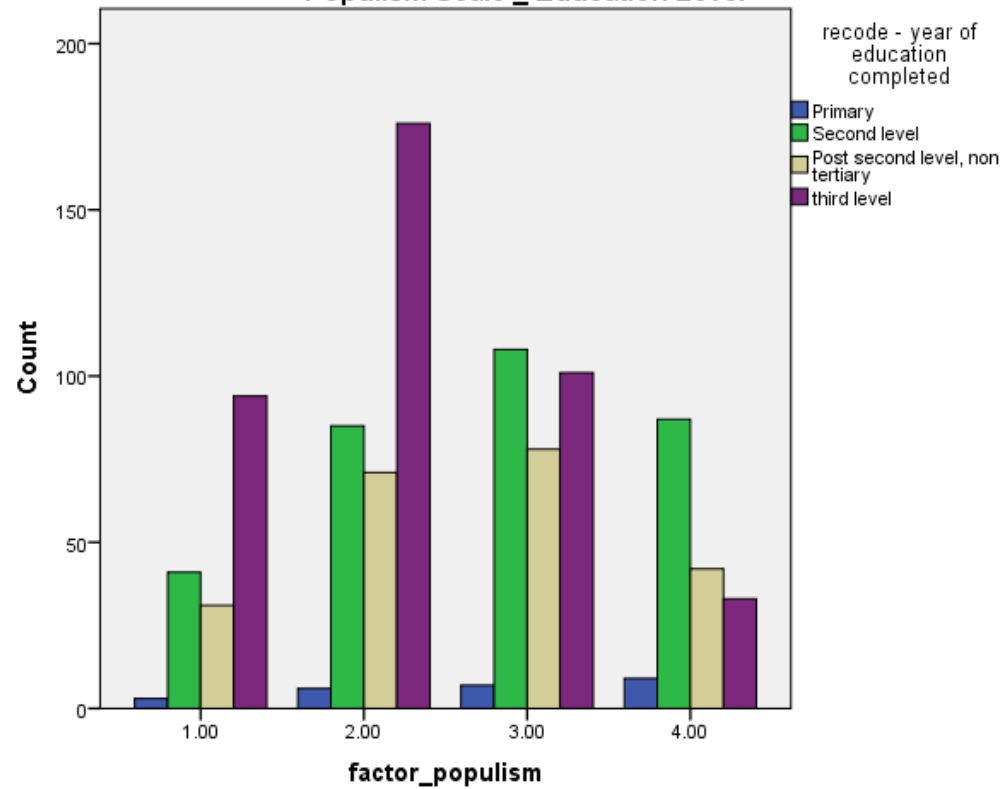


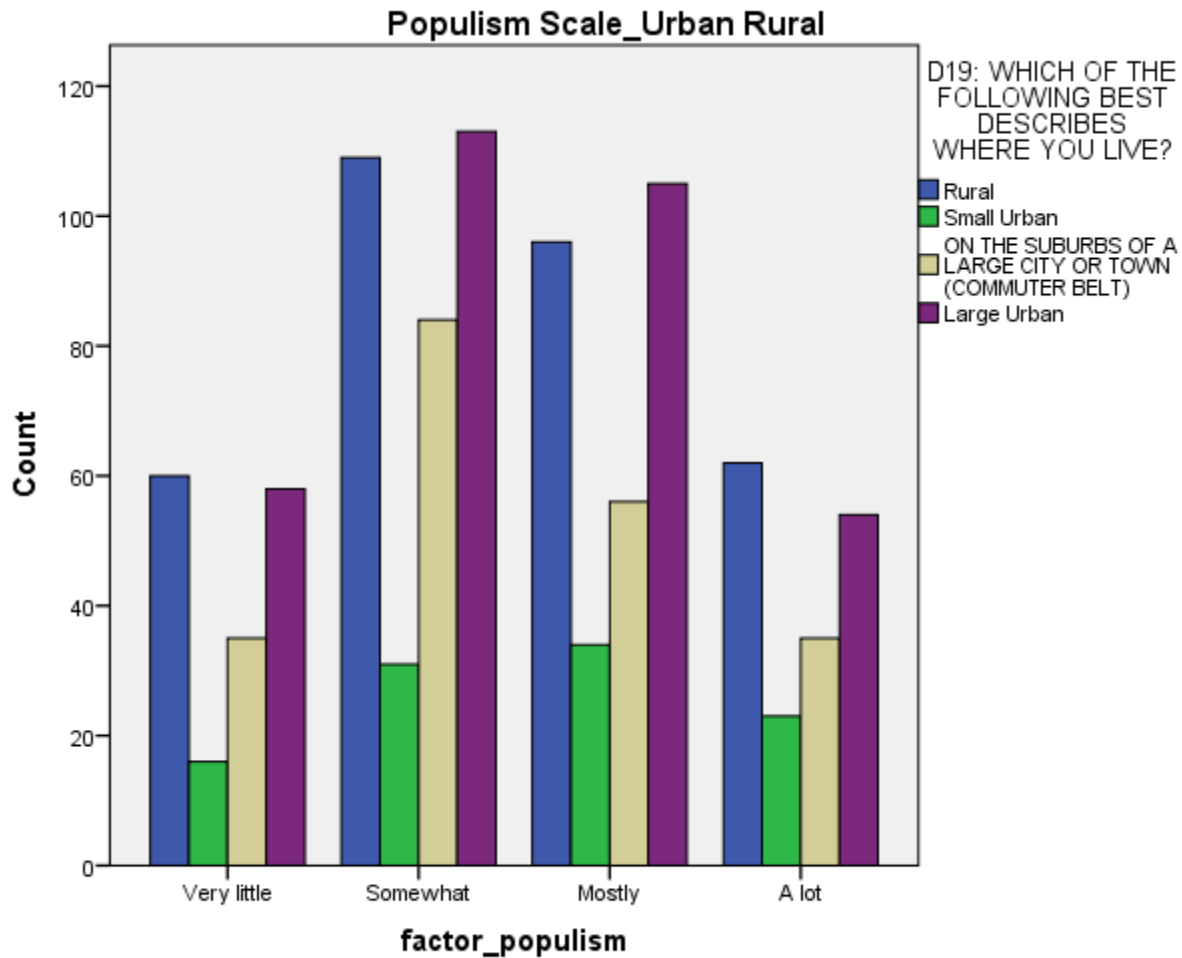


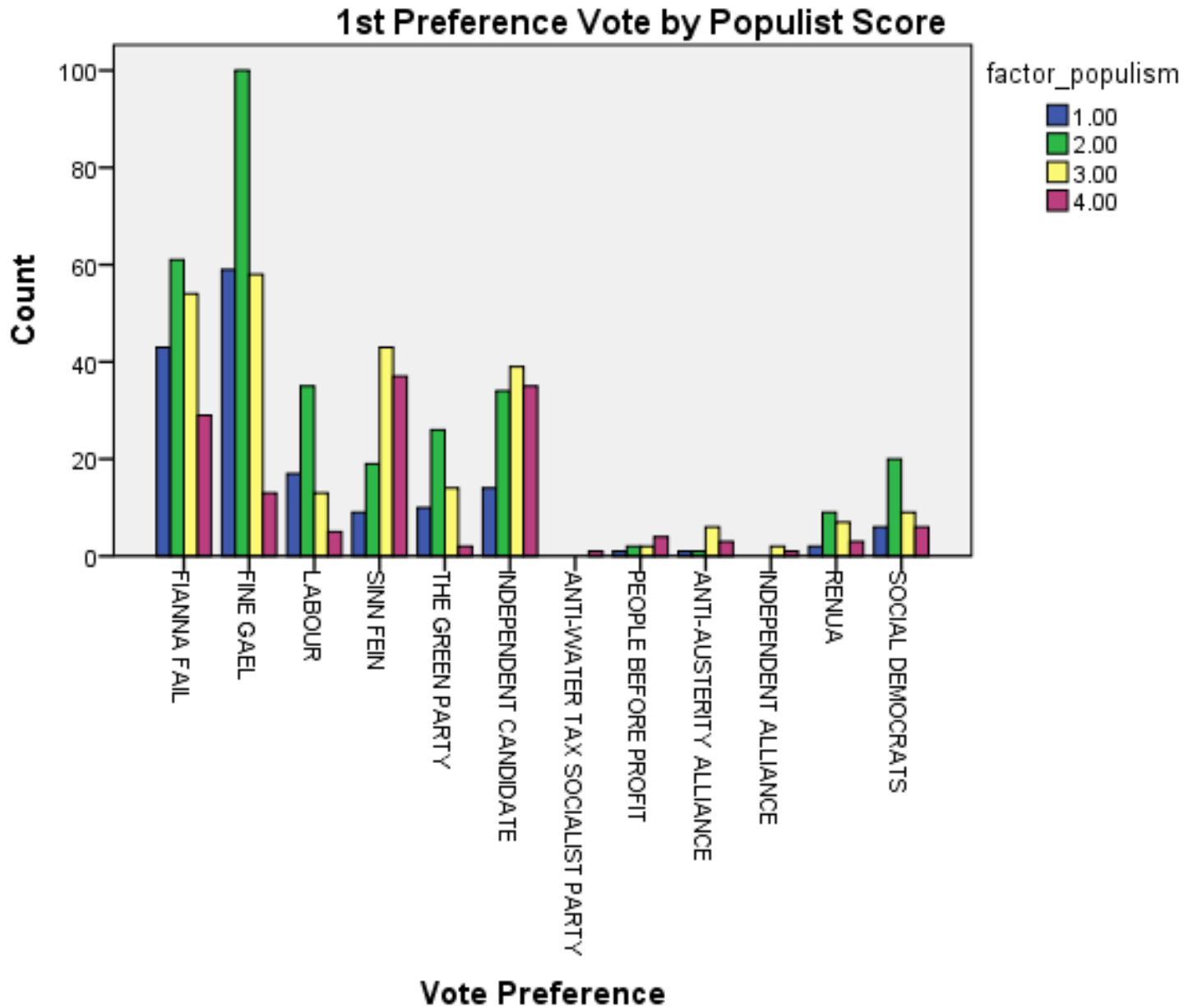
Populism Scale _ Gender Breakdown



Populism Scale _ Education Level

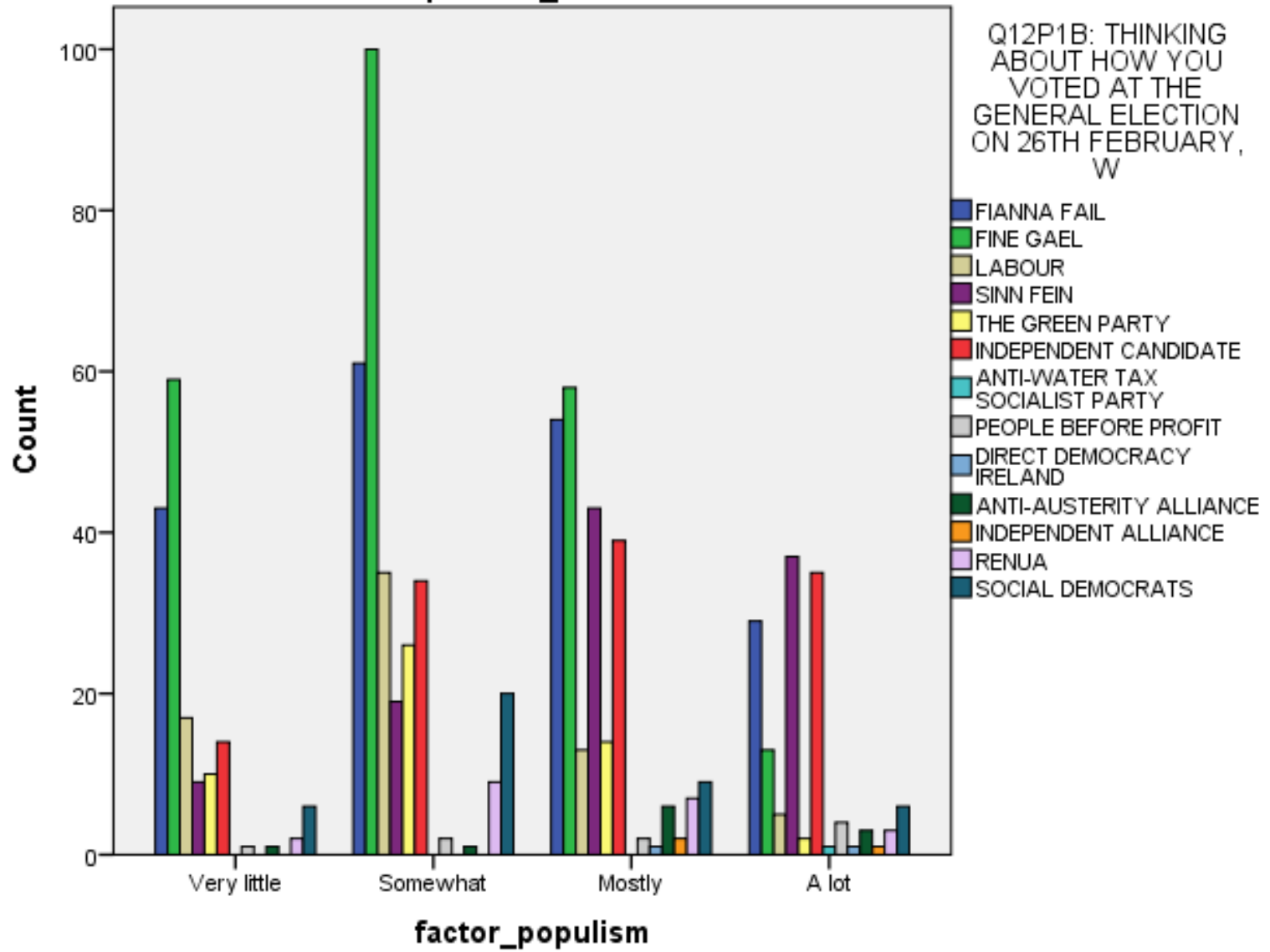








Populism _ 1st Preference Vote





Concluding Remarks

We can measure populism and almost 20 per cent of Irish voters display high levels of populist attitudes on a scale which includes attitudes to elites, out-groups and redistribution

Populist voters are more likely to vote for Sinn Fein and Independent candidates

Of the large parties, Fine Gael is much less likely to be supported by populist voters