# Analyzing populism: Agendas for research

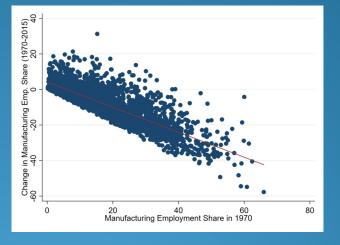
Jeffry Frieden Harvard University

# Themes

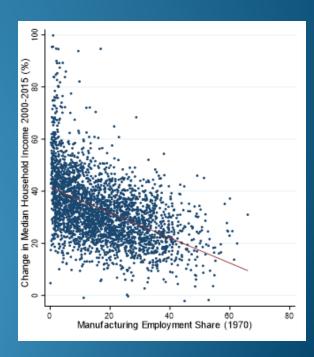
- Time and Place
- Demand and Supply

#### Time

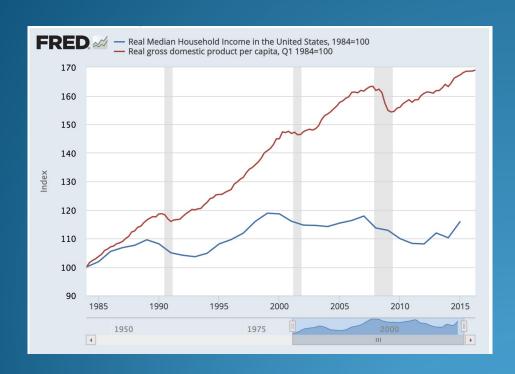
- Major decline of manufacturing employment began early 1970s
- Persistent de-industrialization

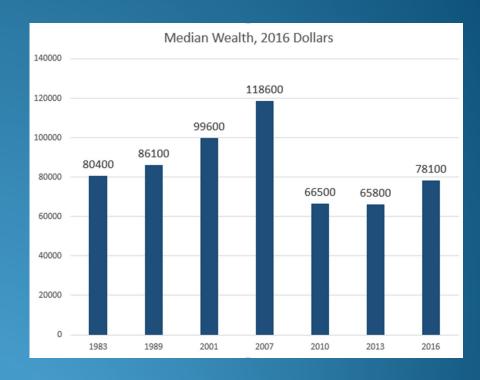


 Deindustrializing areas lag in median household income



#### Long-term trends, short-term shocks





Questions: Socio-econ and political impact of l-t trend? Socio-econ and political impact of crisis shock(s)

#### Place

- Puzzle: Disconnect between strong impact of economic factors on regional political behavior, weaker impact on individuals
- Possible answer: Downward spiral in small cities and towns (i.e. in the Industrial Belt)
  - Jobs and wages decline
  - Local property values, taxes decline, local public goods suffer
  - China shock → larger classes, less LE, more crime, more "deaths of despair"
- Impact on broad *communities*. Helps square circle between regional and individual impact.
- Question: What mechanism connects regional impact to individual political beliefs and behavior?

#### Demand

• Major variations among populist movements, in motivations of populist supporters. However, all share central opposition to international forces – globalization, the EU – overriding national decisions: **sovereignty** 

#### Common theme: sovereignty

- Donald Trump: "America is governed by Americans. We reject the ideology of globalism.... [R]esponsible nations must defend against threats to sovereignty...from global governance....We will never surrender America's sovereignty to an unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy."
- Marine Le Pen: "The European Union has become a prison of peoples. Each of the 28 countries that constitute it has slowly lost its democratic prerogatives to commissions and councils with no popular mandate....I will be Madame Frexit if the European Union doesn't give us back our monetary, legislative, territorial, and budget sovereignty
- Matteo Salvini: "We envision a different Europe where every E.U. country should have the freedom to decide its own economic policies....We need a strong country that is not subordinate to Europe."

#### FACT

EU law is supreme over UK law. This stops the British public from being able to vote out those who make our laws



Our 'Supreme Court' is the
European Court of Justice. We've
lost control of trade, human rights,
and migration



The Eurozone has a permanent voting majority and can always outvote the UK



Losing control costs a fortune - if you vote 'remain' you'll be paying for euro bailouts















In the EU, decisions are made by three key bodies; the European Commission (which is unelected), the Council of Ministers (where the UK is outvoted) and the European Parliament. This system is deliberately designed to concentrate power into the hands of a small number of unelected people and undermines democratic government.

#### THE EUROZONE DECIDES WHICH LAWS WE HAVE TO OBEY

#### Demand

- Major variations among populist movements, in motivations of populist supporters. However, all share central opposition to international forces – globalization, the EU – overriding national decisions: sovereignty
- Some due to ideological/cultural factors: nationalism, racial/ethnic animosity, parochialism
- Some due to rational (spatial) expectation that supra-nationally determined policies are/will be "too far" from national (or group) preferences to justify any advantages of scale
- Question: what portion of populist sentiment is driven by policy preferences vs. protest, or preferences over process

## Supply

- Political entrepreneurs
  - Reading public opinion
  - Finding the right enemies
- Political institutions
  - Frustration with existing political institutions, parties, leaders
  - Available opportunities and constraints depend on electoral, legislative, other institutions
- Question: To what extent do political entrepreneurs and institutions stimulate/provoke demand?

### Conclusion

- Actually more of a prologue
- Populism however defined is not going away.
  - Bannon: socialist populism or nationalist populism
  - Roots are long-term and deep
  - Mainstream parties have not found an answer
  - Historical precedent indicates lasting attraction
- Bright side: lots of wonderful research opportunities