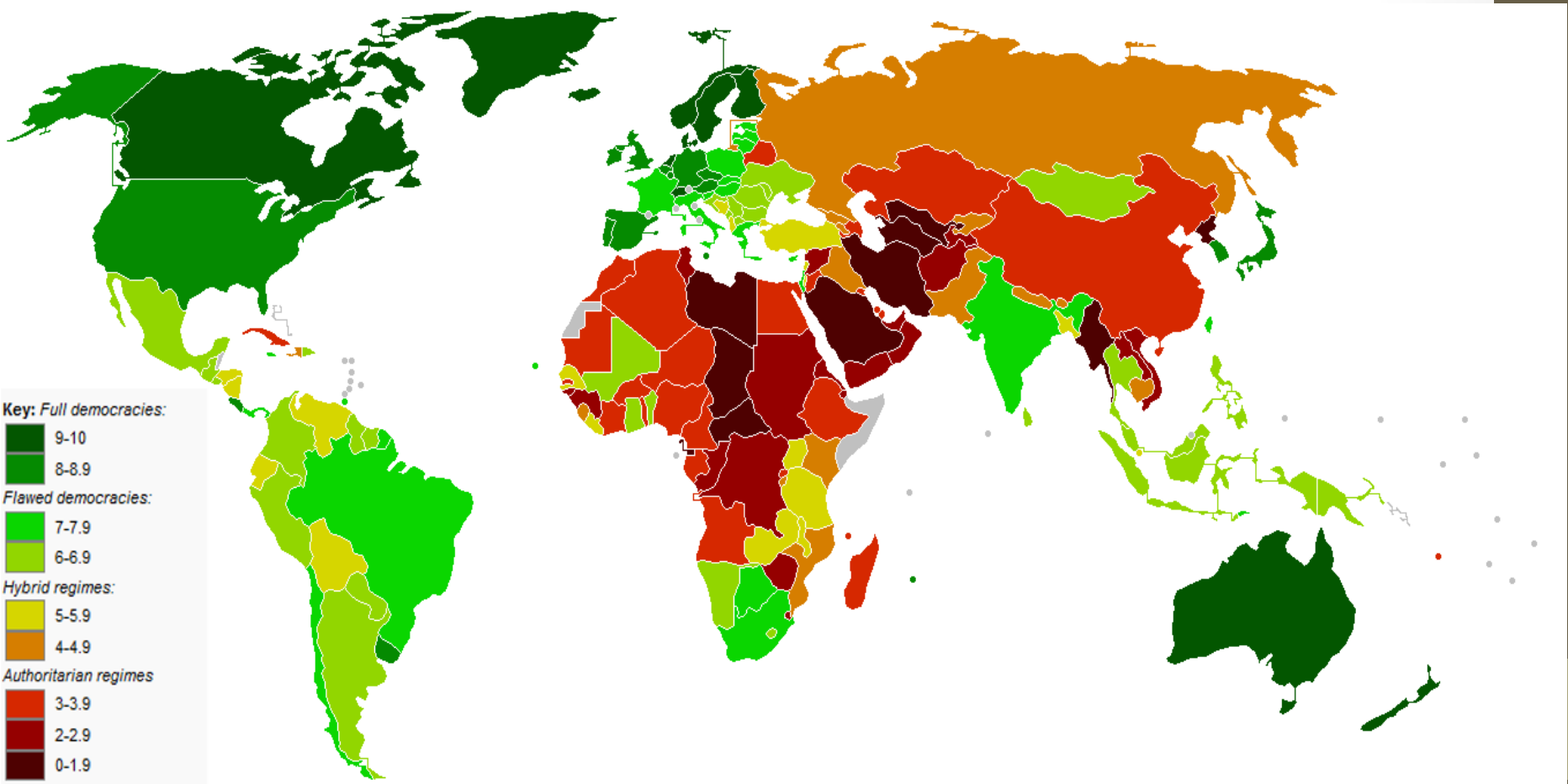


Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies in Central and Eastern Europe: The Spectre of Populism

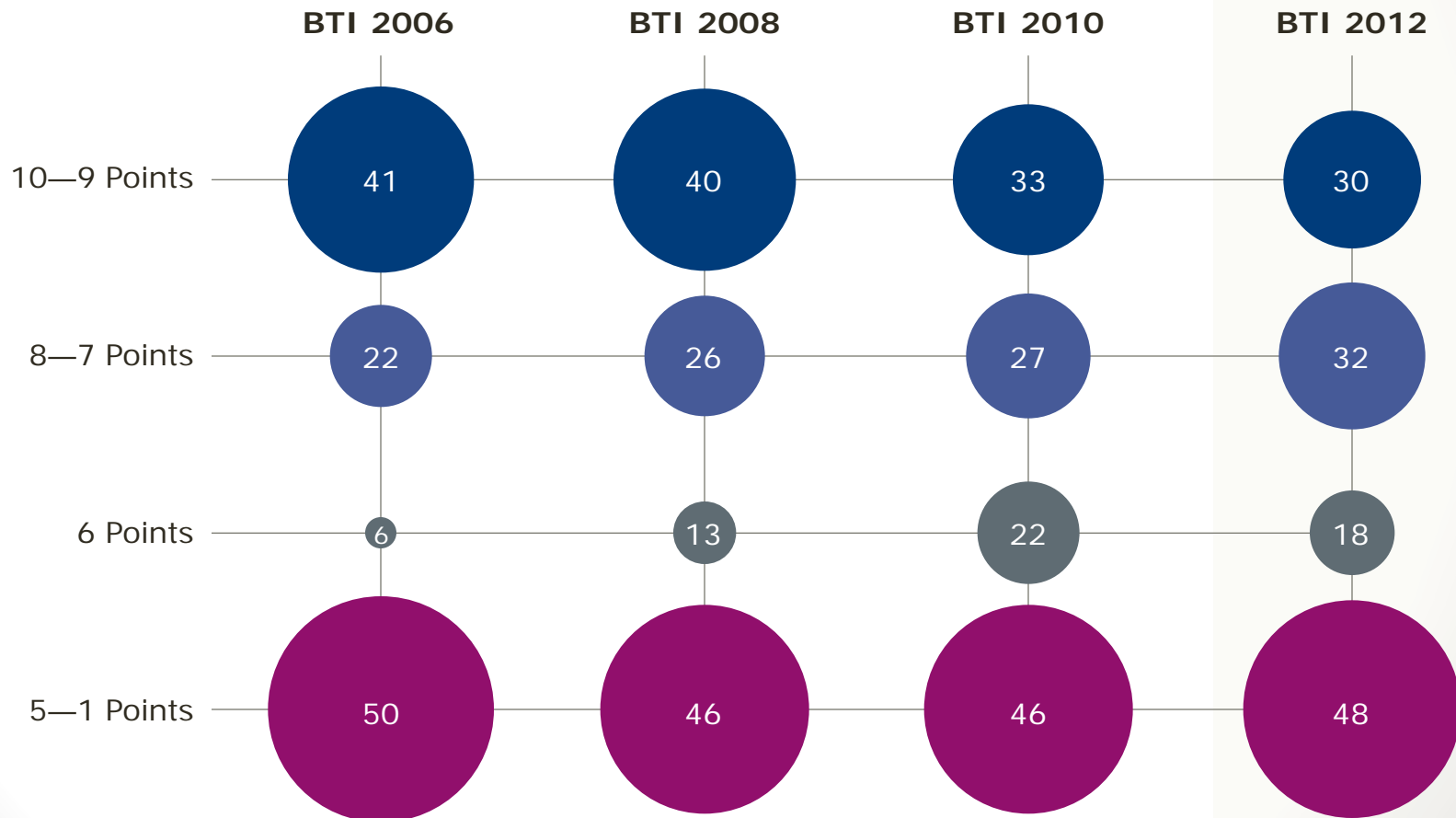
Dr. Oliver Schmidtke

The Age of Democracy (?)

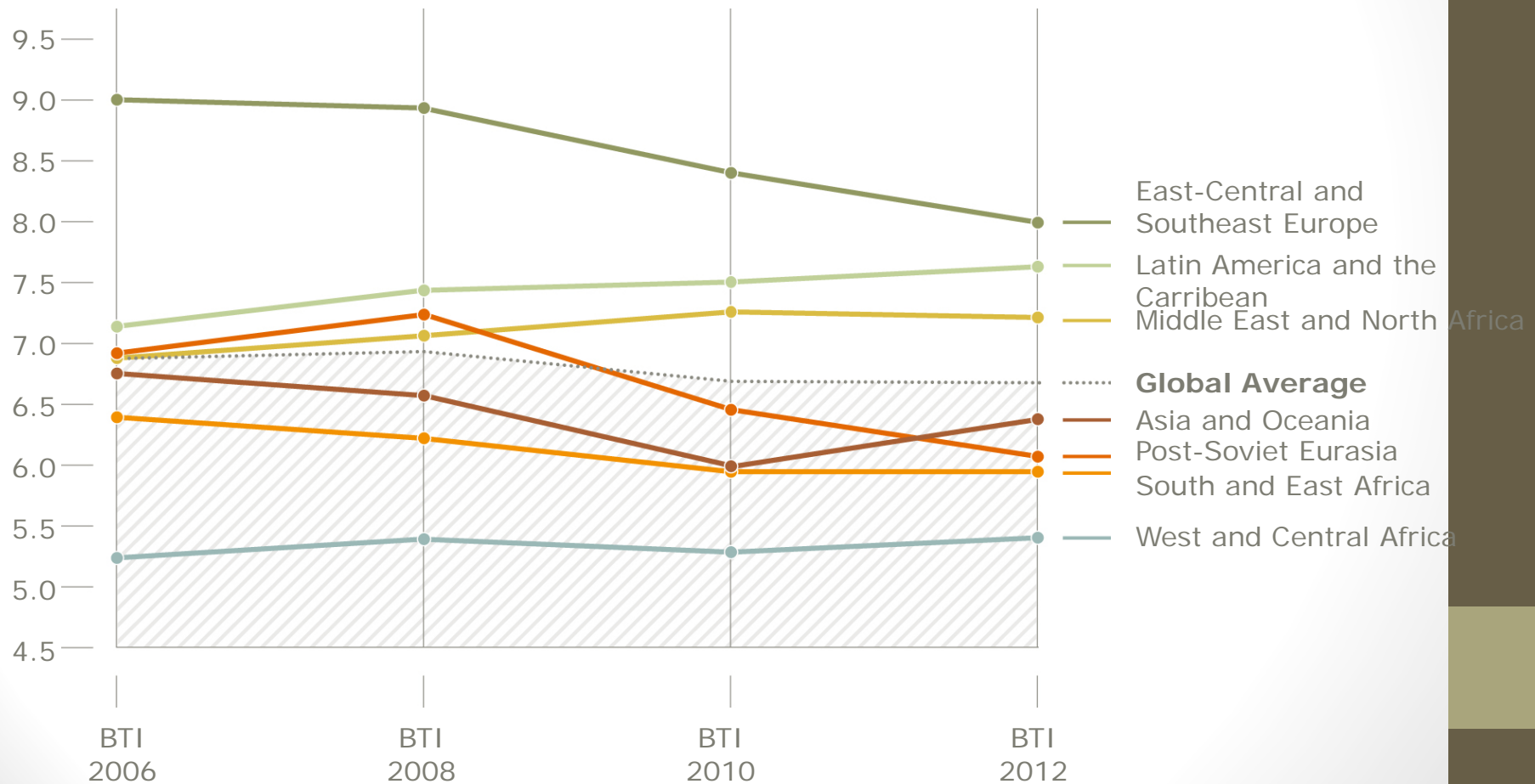


Free and Fair Elections

- Number of Countries per Level, BTI 2006—2012

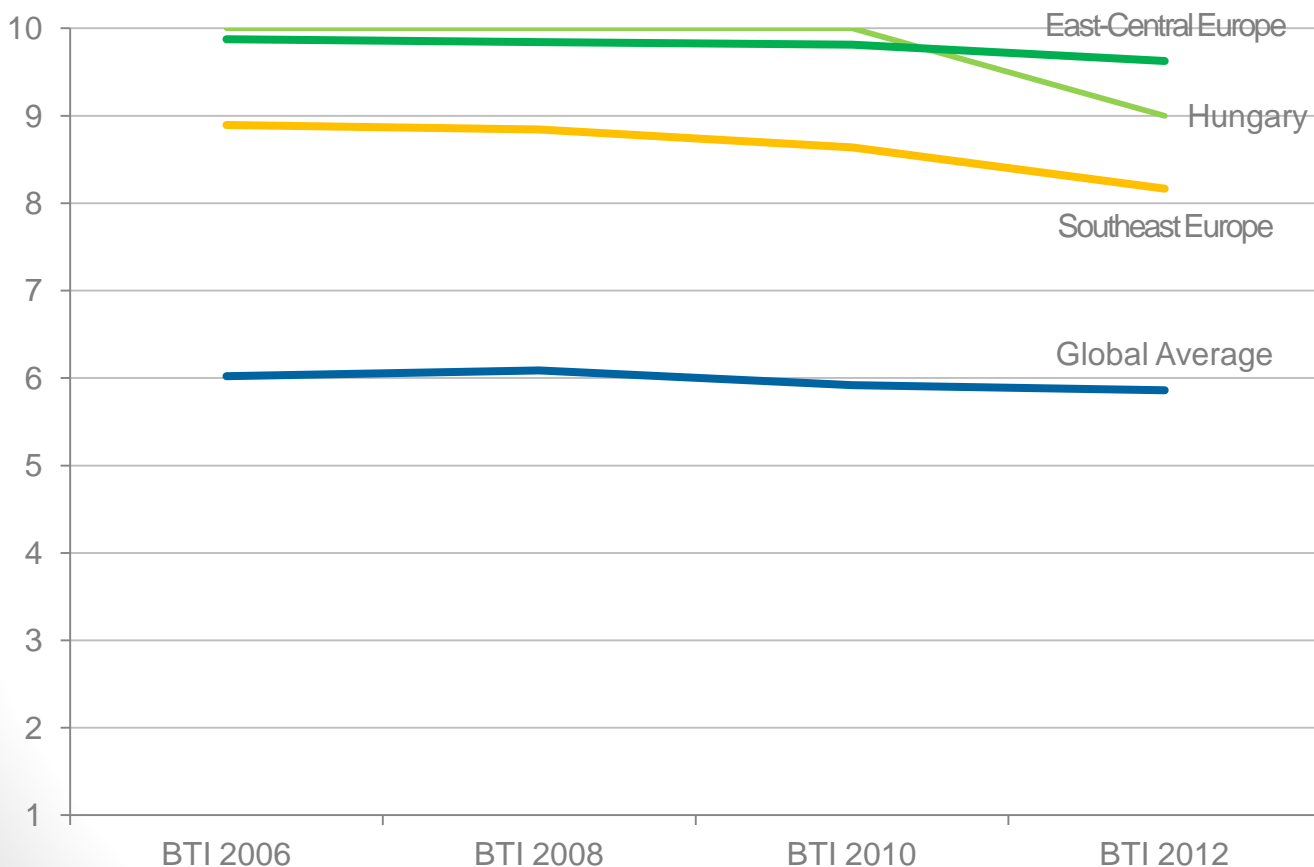


Democratic Stability by Region, BTI 2006—2012



Criterion “Political Participation”

- Hungary in International Comparison, BTI 2006—2012



Changes 2010—2012 East-Central Europe

Free and Fair Elections

Hungary **-1**

Effective Power to Govern

Association/Assembly Rights

Hungary **-1**

Freedom of Expression

Hungary **-2**

Latvia **-1**

Slovakia **-1**

Populist centre-right Hungarian political party: Fidesz

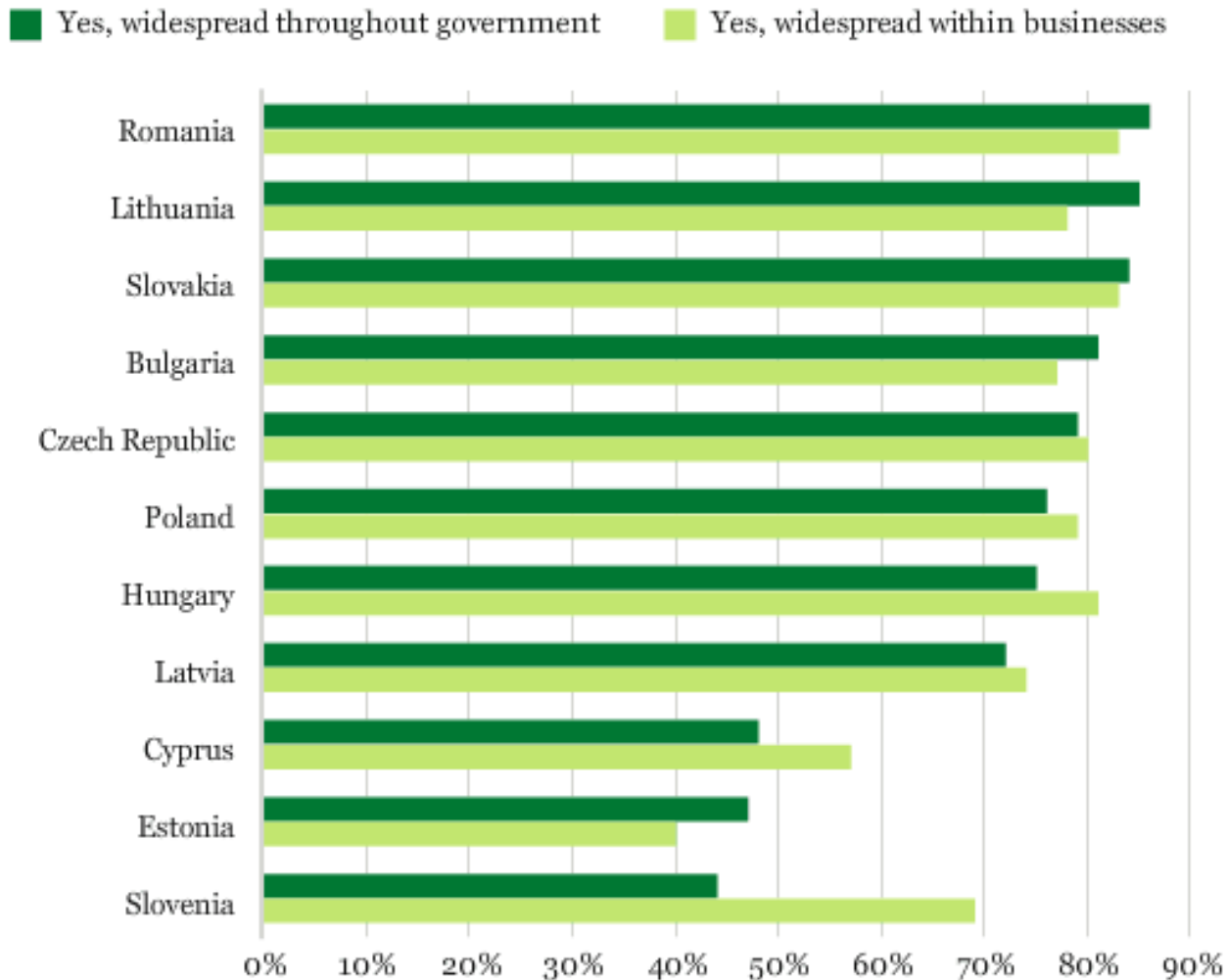
- With its 2/3 majority the Fidesz government under Viktor Orban introduced significant changes to the constitution that:
 - Were hardly debated, lacked transparency
 - Curtail checks and balances in parliamentary democracy
 - Restrict fundamental rights; limit freedom of press
 - Commit citizens to loyalty to the nation/ fatherland and Christian faith
- Council of Europe:
"the principle of democracy is at risk"



Structural impediments to democratic transformation of former Communist states

- Challenge of 'institutionalizing' the democratic impetus of civil society actors during 'revolutionary' change
- Widespread corruption and reproduction of old power elite
- Economic re-structuring has generated deep social frictions and political cleavages (accentuated by the current economic crisis) that prove to be the breeding ground for populist mobilization.

Is corruption widespread within businesses located in your country, or not?
Is corruption widespread throughout the government in your country, or not?

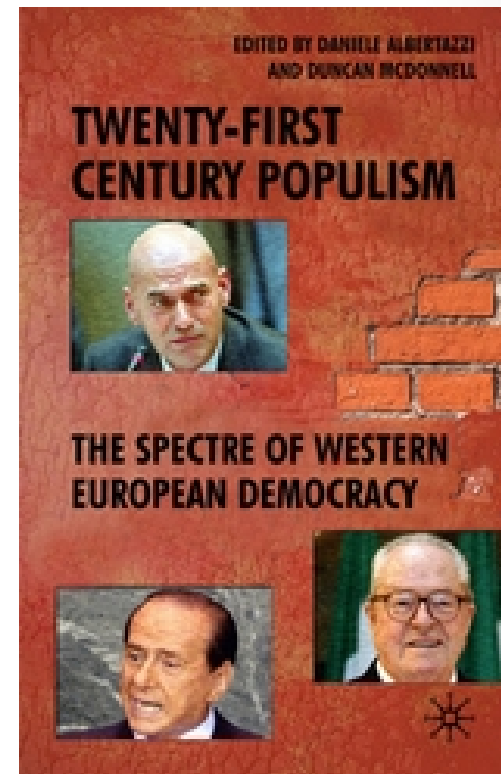






Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell *Twenty-First Century Populism*, 2008


- They define populism as "an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice"



Europe's Right Turn

Right-wing populists in national parliaments

 in government

 currently taking part in coalition negotiations

 **FRANCE:**
The National Front is a significant political force despite not being represented in parliament



Number of seats in the respective parliament, in %

PARTY	%	PARTY	%
SWEDEN		HUNGARY	
Sweden Democrats (SD)	5.7	Jobbik	12.2
NORWAY		BULGARIA	
Progress Party (FrP)	22.9	Ataka	10.1
FINLAND		GREECE	
True Finns (PS)	4.1	Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	5.6
LATVIA		DENMARK	
Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK	5.0	Danish People's Party (DF)*	13.9
LITHUANIA		SWITZERLAND	
Order and Justice (TT)	12.7	Swiss People's Party (SVP)	31.0
BELGIUM		ITALY	
Flemish Interest Vlaams Belang	7.8	Northern League	8.3
AUSTRIA		NETHERLANDS	
Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	17.5	Freedom Party (PVV)	15.5
Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)	9.2		
SLOVAKIA			
Slovak National Party (SNS)	5.1		
SLOVENIA			
Slovenian National Party (SNS)	5.4		

DER SPIEGEL

* tolerates the minority government

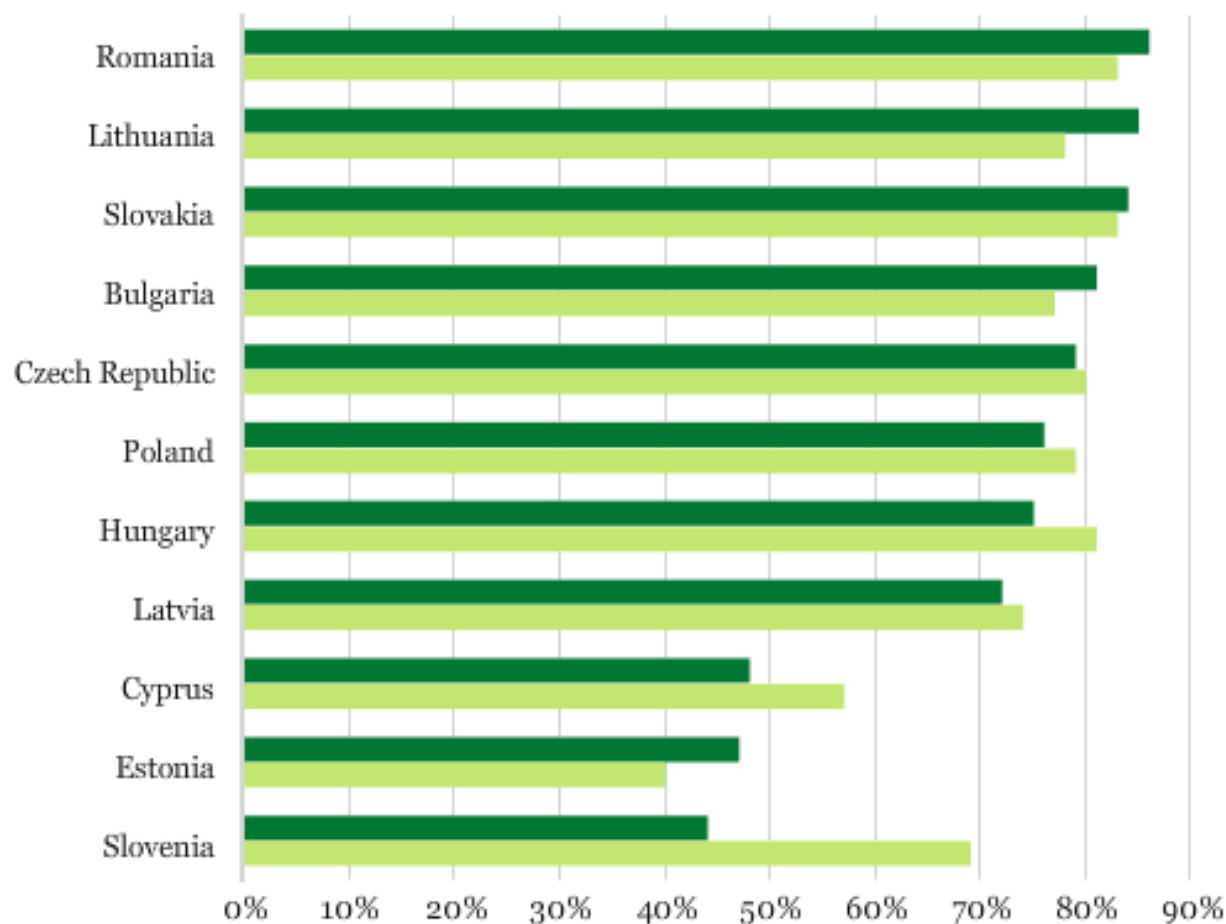




Is corruption widespread within businesses located in your country, or not?
Is corruption widespread throughout the government in your country, or not?

■ Yes, widespread throughout government

■ Yes, widespread within businesses



GALLUP POLL



Factors driving the rise of populism

- Diminishing trust in established political institutions and actors
- Crisis of the structures of political intermediation and communication
- Personalization of political power
- Pronounced role of the media in political life

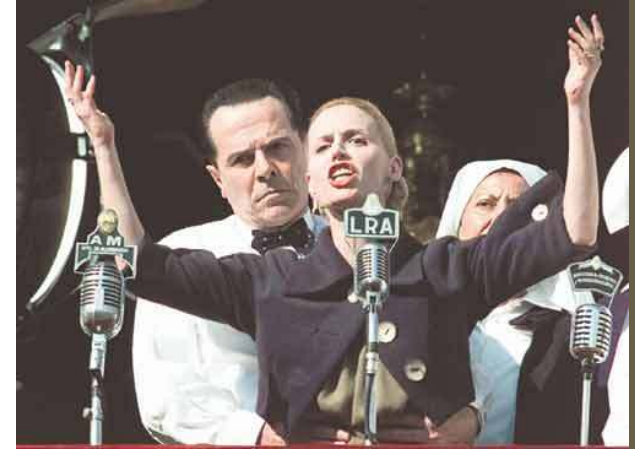
Populism

- Populism is a political discourse that focuses on the contrast between "the people" with "the elites."
- The Cambridge dictionary defines populism as "political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary people's needs and wishes"
- Populism often develops an ideology urging social and political system changes and/or a rhetorical style opposing the political establishment.

Populism and democracy

Populism as:

- “a deviation of democracy in the standard path from traditional to modern society in some countries of the developing world” (e.g. Germani 1969)
- “alternative road to modernize traditional societies” (e.g. Lash 1995)
- “a radical alternative to politics and a construction of ‘the people’ as a political force” (e.g. Laclau 2005a; 2005b)
- “populist mobilization that follows democracy like a shadow” (Canovan 1999: 7)



Explanations of resurgence of extreme right in Europe

- There are sociological explanation for the formation of an extreme-right electorate (individualization, insecurity, socio-economic risk, etc.)
- Explanations relating to reactions to processes of globalization, modernization, secularizations
- Explanations relating to ethnic rivalry particularly with reference to shrinking resources of the welfare state in an age of hollowed out states
- Explanations relating to the operation of the political systems (competitive party politics, 'crisis of politics')