

# Političko ponašanje

Nedelja IV

# „How Populist are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters“

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**Cilj:** Popuniti prazninu u istraživanju populizma mjerenjem populističkih stavova u korelaciji sa partijskim preferencijama.



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# Uvod

- Neočekivan uspon populističkih partija od 90tih.
- Veći dio istraživanja o populizmu se fokusira na definisanje populizma, objašnjavanje rasta i uspjeha populističkih partija i na procjenjivanje njegovog uticaja na političke sisteme.
- Akkerman et al nalaze mjeru populističkih stavova i pokušavaju pronaći vezu između tih stavova sa partijskim preferencijama.



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## Hipoteza:

- Birači koji su visoko pozicionirani na populističkoj skali imaju značajno veće preferencije za Holandske populističke stranke.

## Struktura članka:

1. Minimalna definicija populizma
2. Konstruisanje mjere populizma
3. Izvođenje „principal component analysis“ (PCA)
4. Zaključak



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# Definicija:

- Populizam je „thin-centered“ (tanko centrisana) ideologija koja smatra da je društvo podijeljeno na dvije homogene i protivničke grupe; moralan (pure=čisti) narod protiv korupirane elite, i koje smatra da politika treba biti izražaj *volonté générale* (generalne volje) naroda. (Mudde, 2007, pp 23)
- Populizam prelazi preko ideoloških linija, uklapajući svoju glavnu poruku sa desnom i lijevom političkom orijentacijom. (Rooduijin, 2014)
- Dimenzije:
  - Anti-elitizam
  - Ljudski centrizam
  - Homogenost i virtuoznost naroda



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- Populizam vs Pluralizam i Elitizam
- Populisti skeptični na strukturne institucije pluralizma koje obezbjeđuju kompromise i manjinska prava
- Elitizam čista suprotnost od populizma. Spaja ih samo Manihejanska podjela društva; narod i elita.

# Mjerenje populizma: Podaci i metode

- Važne studije koje prethode Akkerman et al:
  - Axelrod (1967) The structure of public opinion on policy issues.
  - Stanley (2011) Populism, nationalism, or national populism? An analysis of Slovak voting behavior at the 2010 parliamentary election.
  - Elchardus & Spruyt (2012) Populisme en de zorg over de samenleving [Populism and the concerns over the society].
  - Hawkins et al (2012) Measuring populist attitudes.

## Poboljšavaju prethodne studije:

1. Bolje definisanje i operacionalizacija sve 3 dimenzije (populizam, pluralizam, elitizam)
2. Mjerenje populizma u potpunosti na osnovu populističkih karakteristika da ne bi pomiješali sa anti-establishment stavovima
3. Holandski slučaj je bolji test validnosti varijable populizma





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# Podaci

- Profesionalna kompanija za sprovođenje anketa MWM2 je odradila anketu (finansirana od strane mutlidisciplinarnе istraživačke grupe Discon na Radboud Univerzitetu)
- Elektronski upitnik poslat 981 Holandskih članova postojeće panel grupe
- 631 ispitanika su popunili anketu (64.3%)
- Prosječno vrijeme za popunjavanje upitnika je 25 min. Autori su isključili ispitanike kojima je trebalo 10 minuta ili manje da popune upitnik. Ostatak 586 ispitanika.
- N=589



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# Varijable

- Populistički stavovi
  - Suverenost naroda
  - Protivljenje elite
  - Manihejanska podjela između „dobra“ i „zla“
- Pluralistički stavovi
  - Kompromis
  - Različite tačke gledišta
  - Potreba da se svako mišljenje vrednuje
- Elitistički stavovi
  - Snažno i odlučno vođstvo
  - Prezir za političare
- Preferencije glasanja
  - Za koju stranku biste glasali da su parlamentarni izbori danas?

Ispitanici su koristili Likert skalu od 1 (U potpunosti se ne slažem) do 5 (U potpunosti se slažem)

**Table 1.** Items Measuring Populist, Pluralist, and Elitist Attitudes.

POP1 *The politicians in the Dutch parliament need to follow the will of the people.*

POP2 *The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.*

POP3 *The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people.*

POP4 *I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician.*

POP5 *Elected officials talk too much and take too little action.*

POP6 *Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil.*

POP7 *What people call "compromise" in politics is really just selling out on one's principles.*

POP8 *Interest groups have too much influence over political decisions.*

PLU1 *In a democracy it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints.*

PLU2 *It is important to listen to the opinion of other groups.*

PLU3 *Diversity limits my freedom.<sup>a</sup>*

E1 *Politicians should lead rather than follow the people.*

E2 *Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to successful business people.*

E3 *Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to independent experts.*

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<sup>a</sup>Formulate in reverse of the original statement.



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# Principal Component Analysis

- Ukoliko su podaci skupljeni na osnovu velikog broja varijabli od jedne populacije teško je odrediti korelaciju i protumačiti pravilno.
- S toga, obavezno je smanjiti broj varijabli na nekoliko linearnih kombinacija dostupnih podataka. Svaka linearna kombinacija predstavlja principal component.



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# Rezultati

- Autori su izvršili PCA na 14 stavki i dobili 3 faktora sa Eigenvalue  $\geq 1$  koji objašnjava više od 50% ukupne varijanse.
- Prva dimenzija: 6 populističkih izjava su visoko pozicionirani u populističkoj dimenziji (POP 1 do POP 5 i POP 7) POP 6 je izostavljen u populističkoj dimenziji.
- Druga dimenzija: PLU 1 i PLU 2 visoko pozicionirani u pluralističkoj dimenziji. PLU 3 ne pokazuje značaj u plural. dimenziji.
- Treća dimenzija: E1, E2 se ponašaju kao i očekivano. E3 se pokazuje značajno u populističkoj dimenziji

**Table 2.** Results of Factor and Reliability Analysis.

	Factor I Eigenvalue 4.21	Factor II Eigenvalue 1.67	Factor III Eigenvalue 1.27
Items:			
% squared loadings (after rotation) Cum.51.05%	30%	11.9%	9.1%
POP1 The politicians in the Dutch Parliament need to follow the will of the people.	.760	.179	.035
POP2 The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	.762	-.061	.206
POP3 The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people.	.674	.219	.292
POP4 I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician. <sup>c</sup>	.643	-.029	.547
POP5 Elected officials talk too much and take too little action. <sup>b</sup>	.680	.241	.353
POP7 What people call "compromise" in politics is really just selling out on one's principles. <sup>c</sup>	.696	-.003	.523
PLU1 In a democracy it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints.	.051	.831	-.032
PLU2 It is important to listen to the opinion of other groups.	.342	.696	.083

Populist Attitude scale  
(Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.82$ )

Pluralist  
Attitude scale  
(Cronbach's  
 $\alpha = 0.60$ )

(continued)

**Table 2. (continued)**

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	
	Eigenvalue 4.21	Eigenvalue 1.67	Eigenvalue 1.27	
<b>E1</b> Politicians should lead rather than follow the people.	.018	.423	<b>.661</b>	Elitist Attitude scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .48$ )
<b>E2</b> Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to successful business people. <sup>b</sup>	.251	.042	<b>.593</b>	
<b>E3</b> Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to independent experts. <sup>b,c</sup>	<b>.525</b>	.272	.403	
<b>POP6</b> Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil.	.315	-.140	<b>.497</b>	
<b>PLU3</b> Diversity limits my freedom. <sup>a</sup>	.354	-.262	.654	Not in analysis
<b>POP8</b> Interest groups have too much influence over political decisions. <sup>d</sup>	.256	.395	.366	Not in analysis

<sup>a</sup>Original item reversed.

<sup>b</sup>Slight adjustment of the original for translation purposes.

<sup>c</sup>Allocated to elitist scale for substantive and statistical reasons.

<sup>d</sup>Left out of the analysis due to insufficient loading.



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# Preferencije glasanja

- Uključili su sve političke partije u Holandiji uključujući i Proud of Netherlands (TON) i 50Plus.
- Takođe su dali izbor da ispitanici odgovore na sledeći način:
  - Napravila/io bih tiket nevezecim
  - Ne zelim da Kazem
  - Ne bih glasala
  - Druga stranka po imenu....



**Table 3.** Percentage of the Vote Obtained by a Populist Party in the National Elections for the Dutch Parliament (Tweede Kamer), 2002-2012.

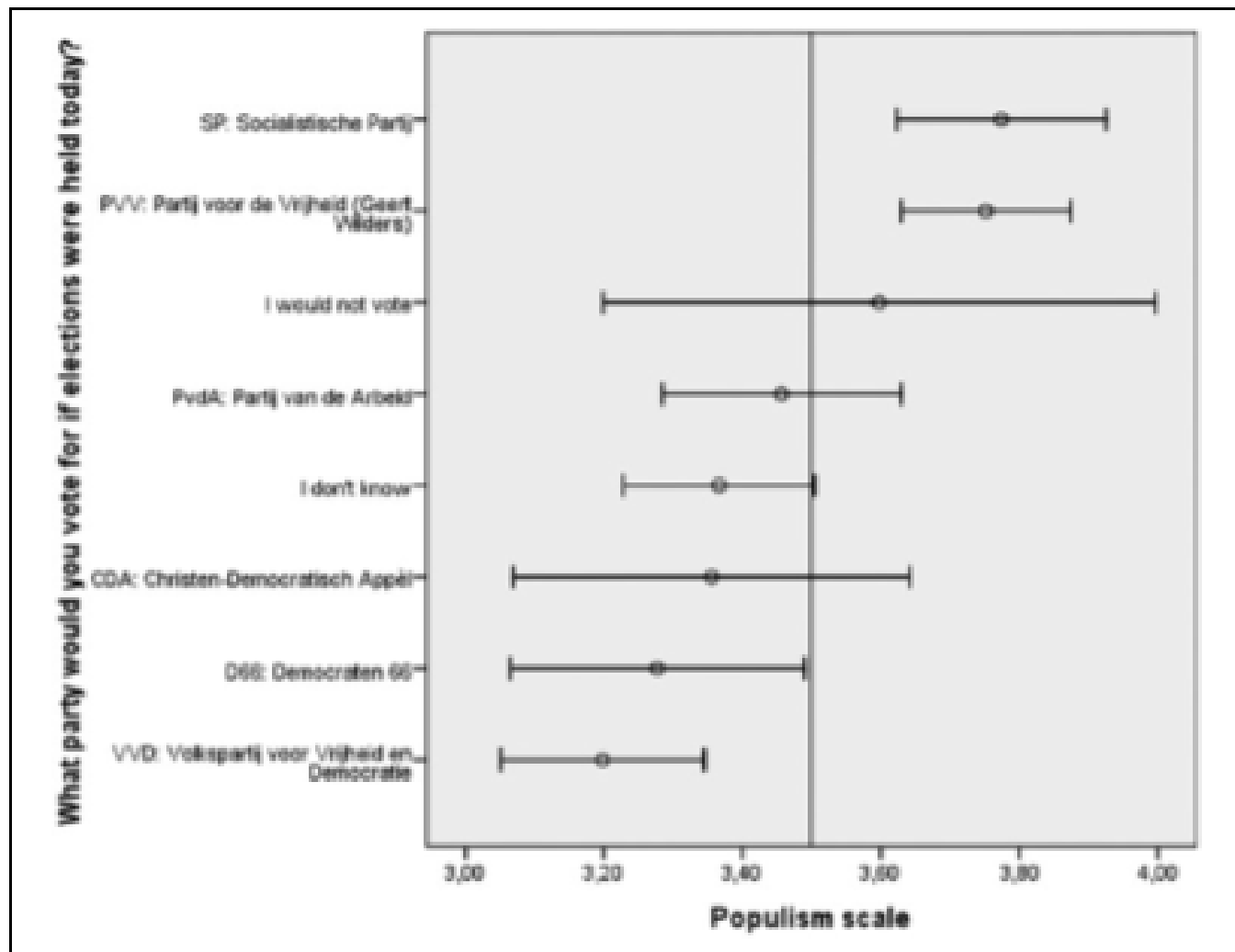
Party	2002	2003	2006	2010	2012
List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)	17	5.7	0.2	—	—
Proud of the Netherlands (TON)	—	—	—	0.6	—
Party for Freedom (PVV)	—	—	5.9	15.5	10.1
Socialist Party (SP)	5.9	6.3	16.6	9.8	9.7
Total % populist vote	22.9	12.0	22.7	25.9	19.8

Source: Kiesraad (<http://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/>).

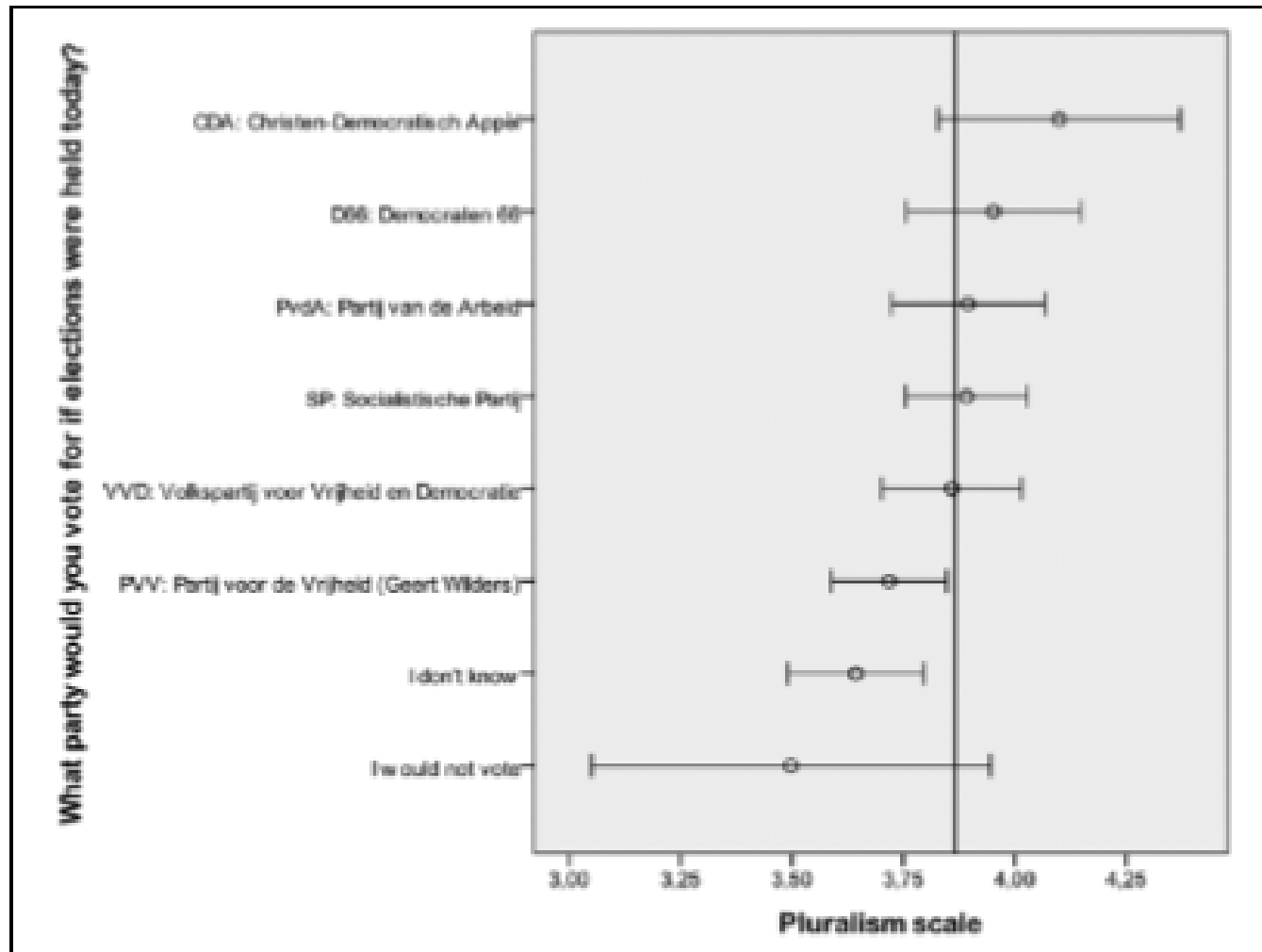
# Politički stavovi i partijske preferencije

Holandija je idealna za testiranje mjere populizma:

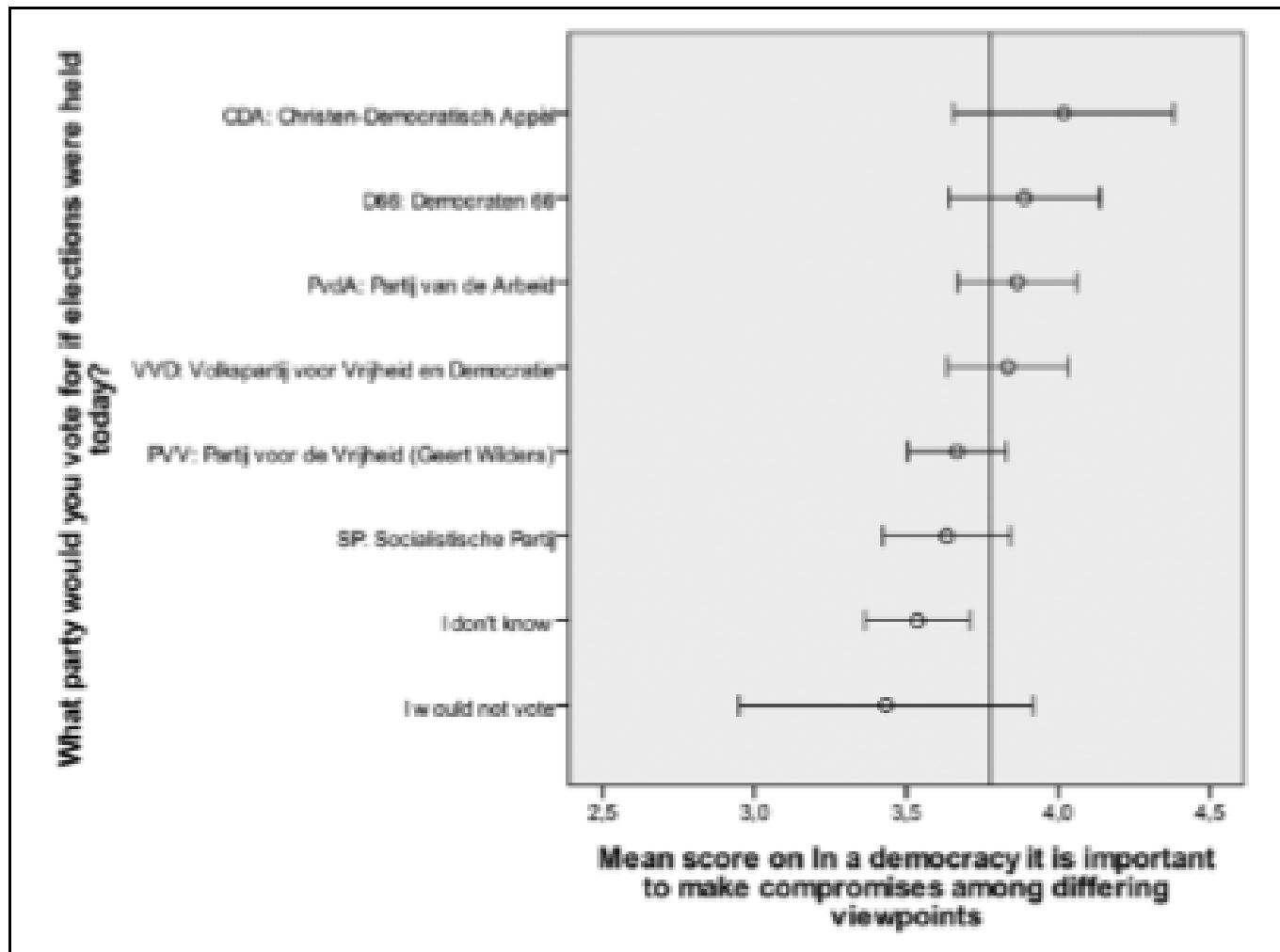
1. Jako prisustvo populističkih partija
2. Višestranački sistem daje frustriranim biračima više izbora
3. Jedna od rijetkih zemalja u kojoj je ljevičarska (SP) i desničarska (PVV) stranka bila uspješna u isto vrijeme
4. Holandski politički sistem je sklon populističkom ponavljanju



**Figure 1.** Populist attitude by party preference (reference line is total mean).

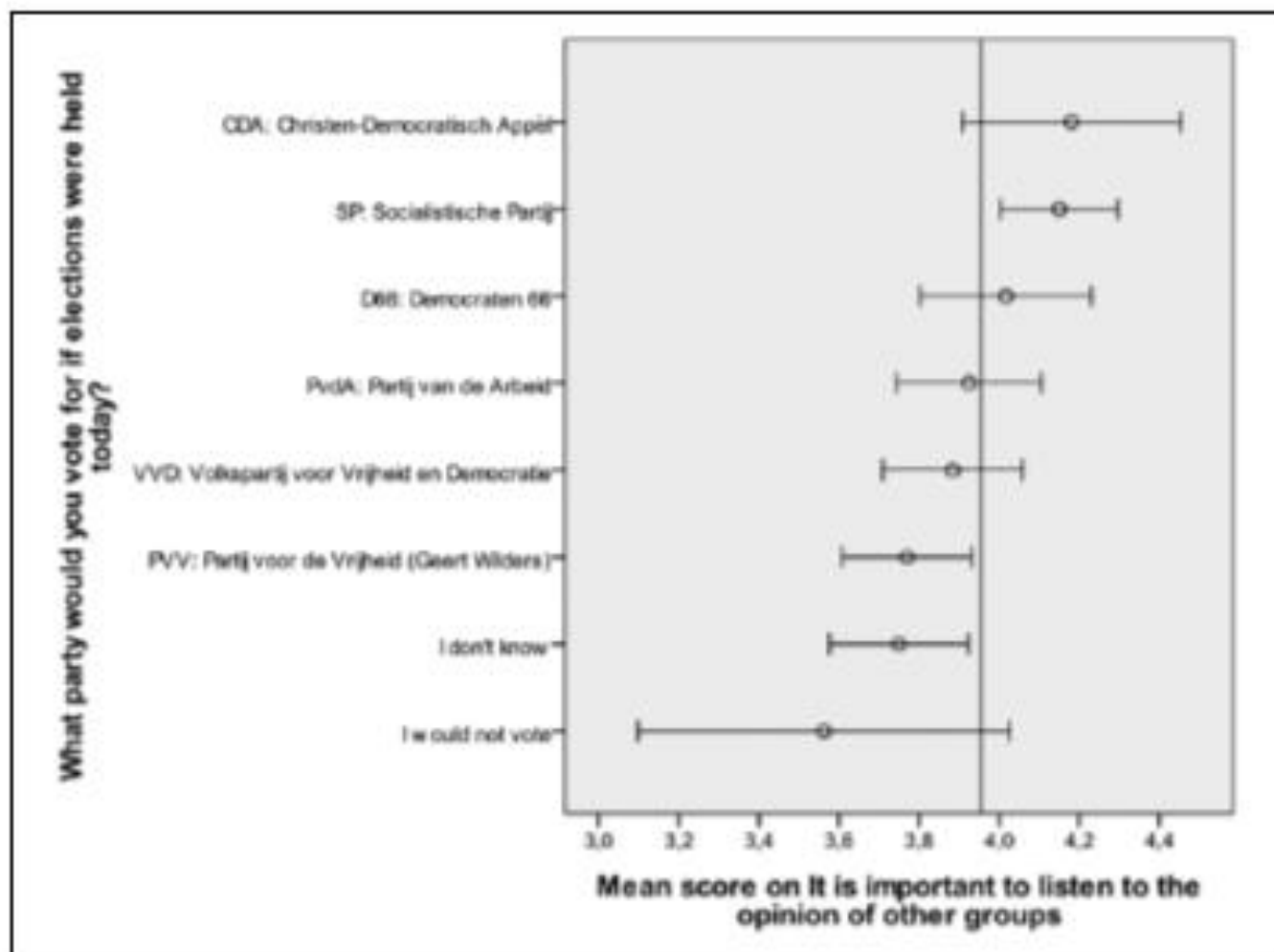


**Figure 2.** Pluralist attitude by party preference (reference line is total mean).



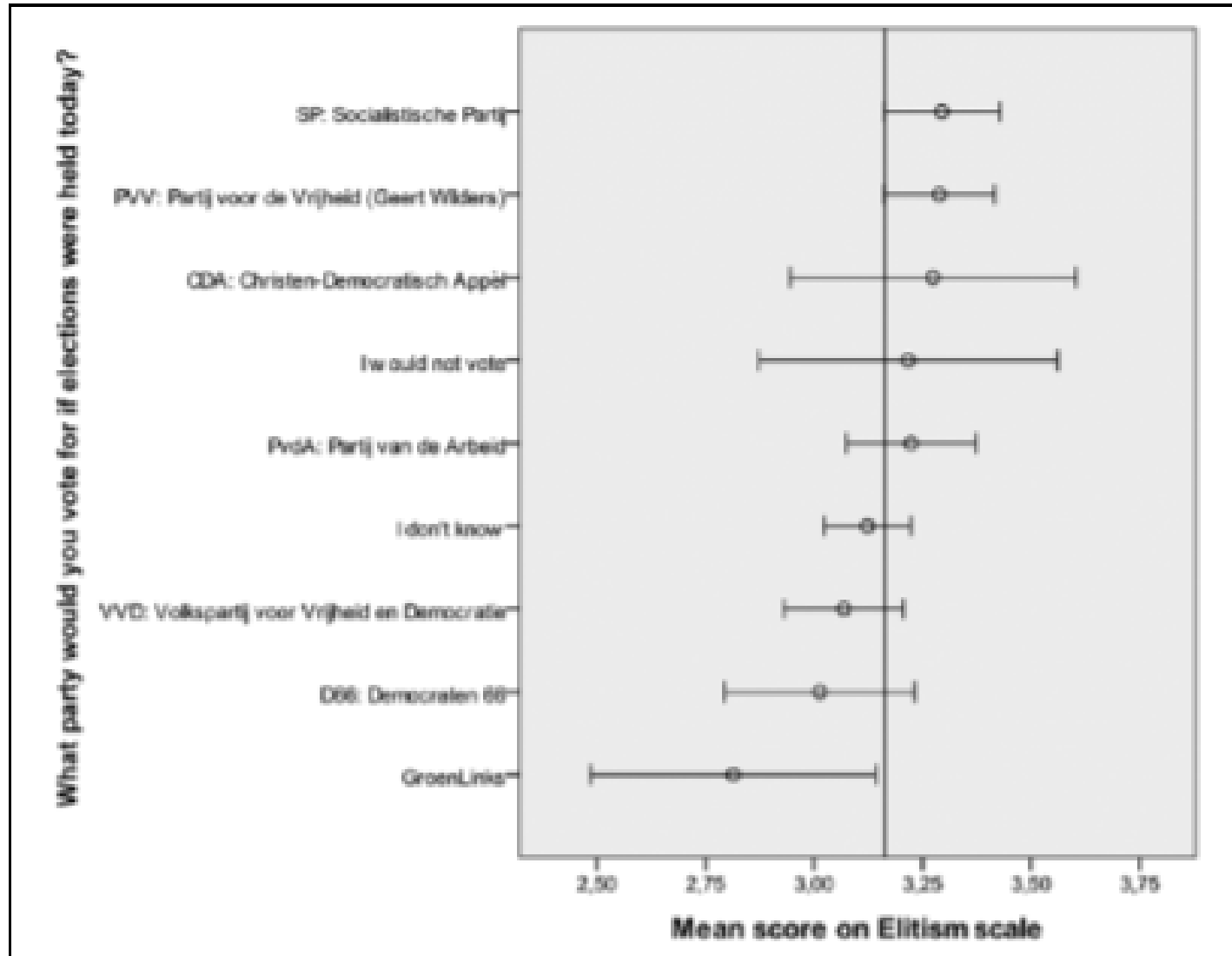
**Figure 3.** Mean scores on item "In a democracy it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints" by party preference.

Reference line is the total mean.

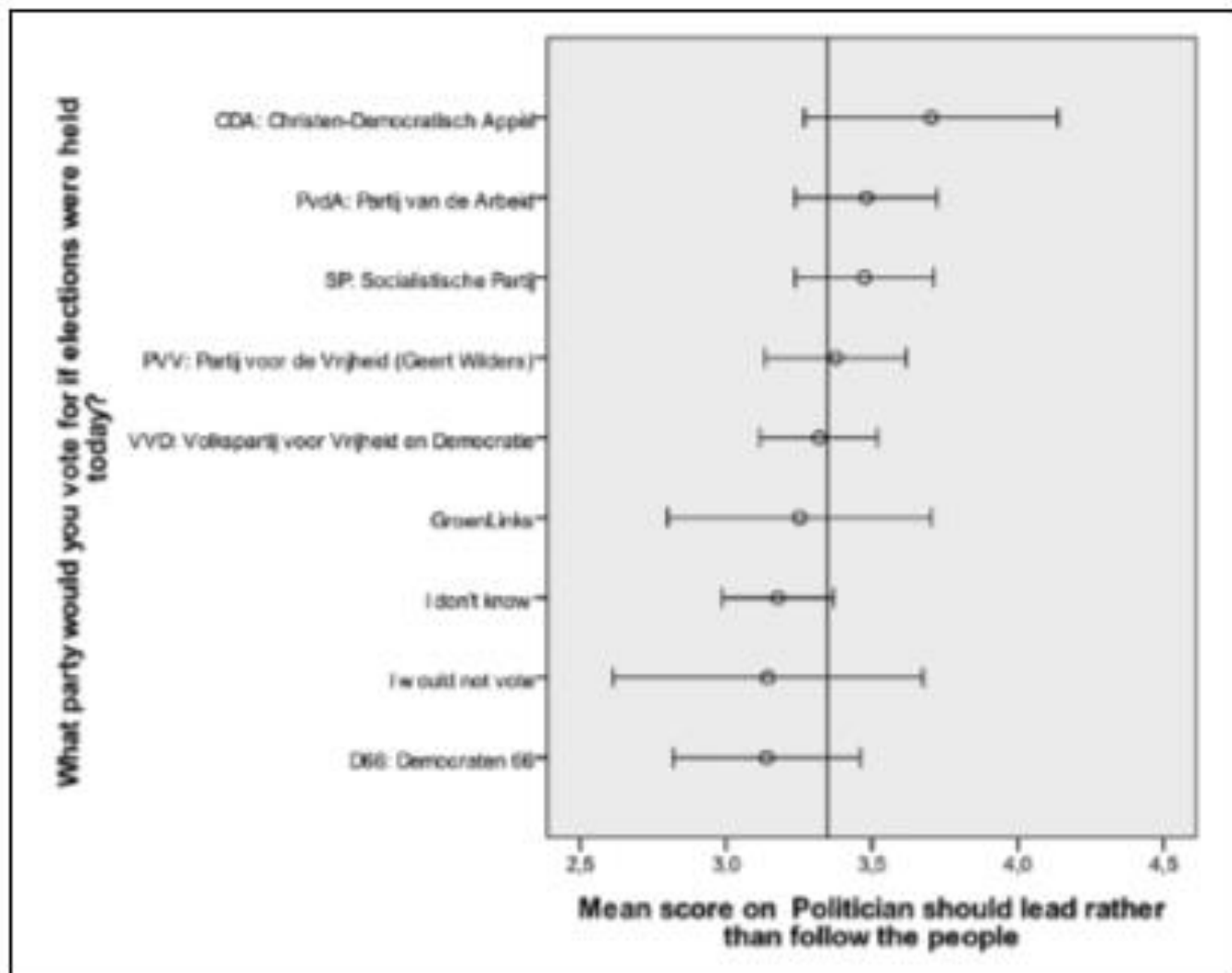


**Figure 4.** Mean scores on item "It is important to listen to the opinion of other groups" by party preference. Reference line is the total mean.

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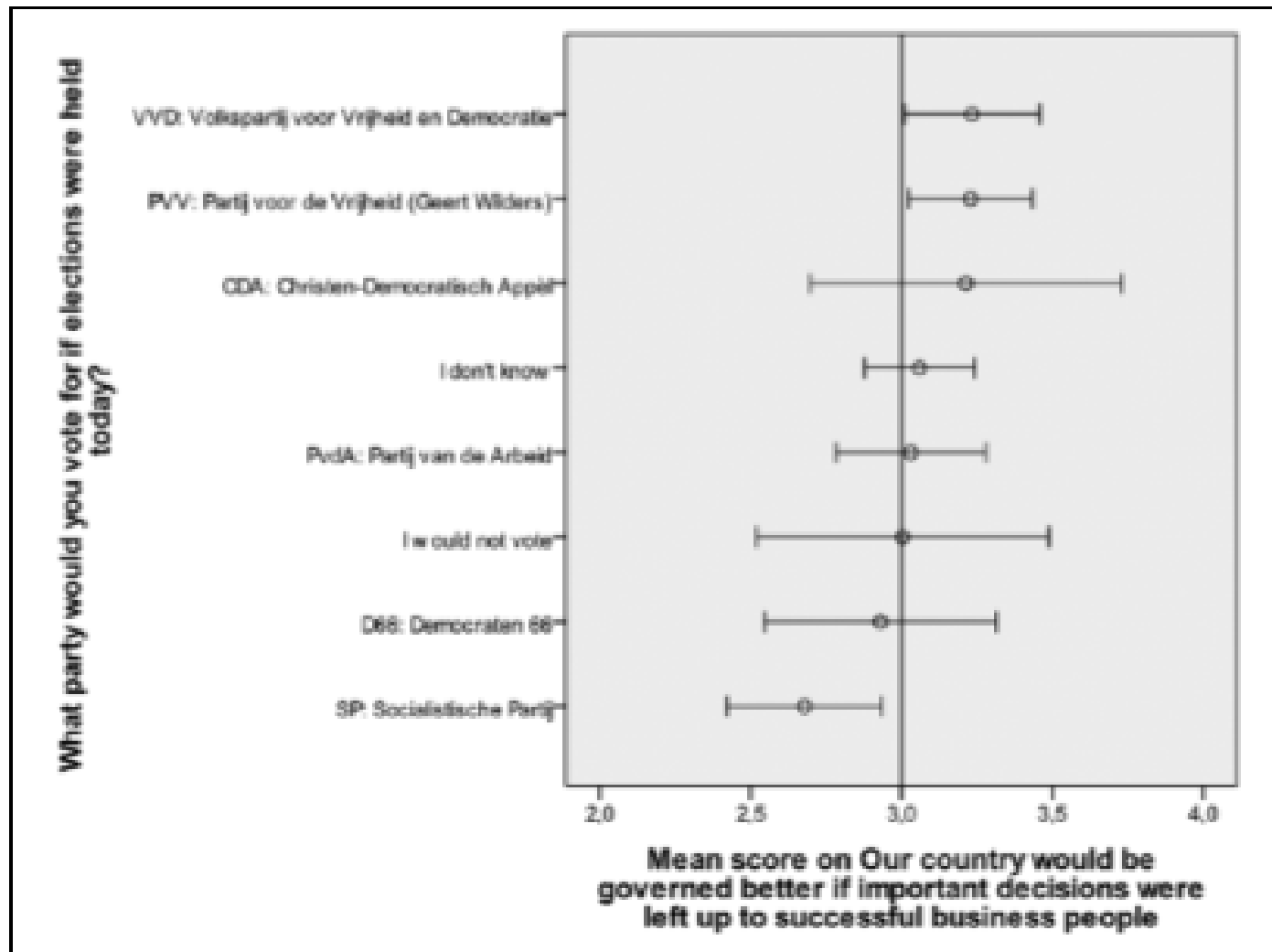
**Figure 5.** Elitist attitude by party preference.  
Reference line is the total mean.



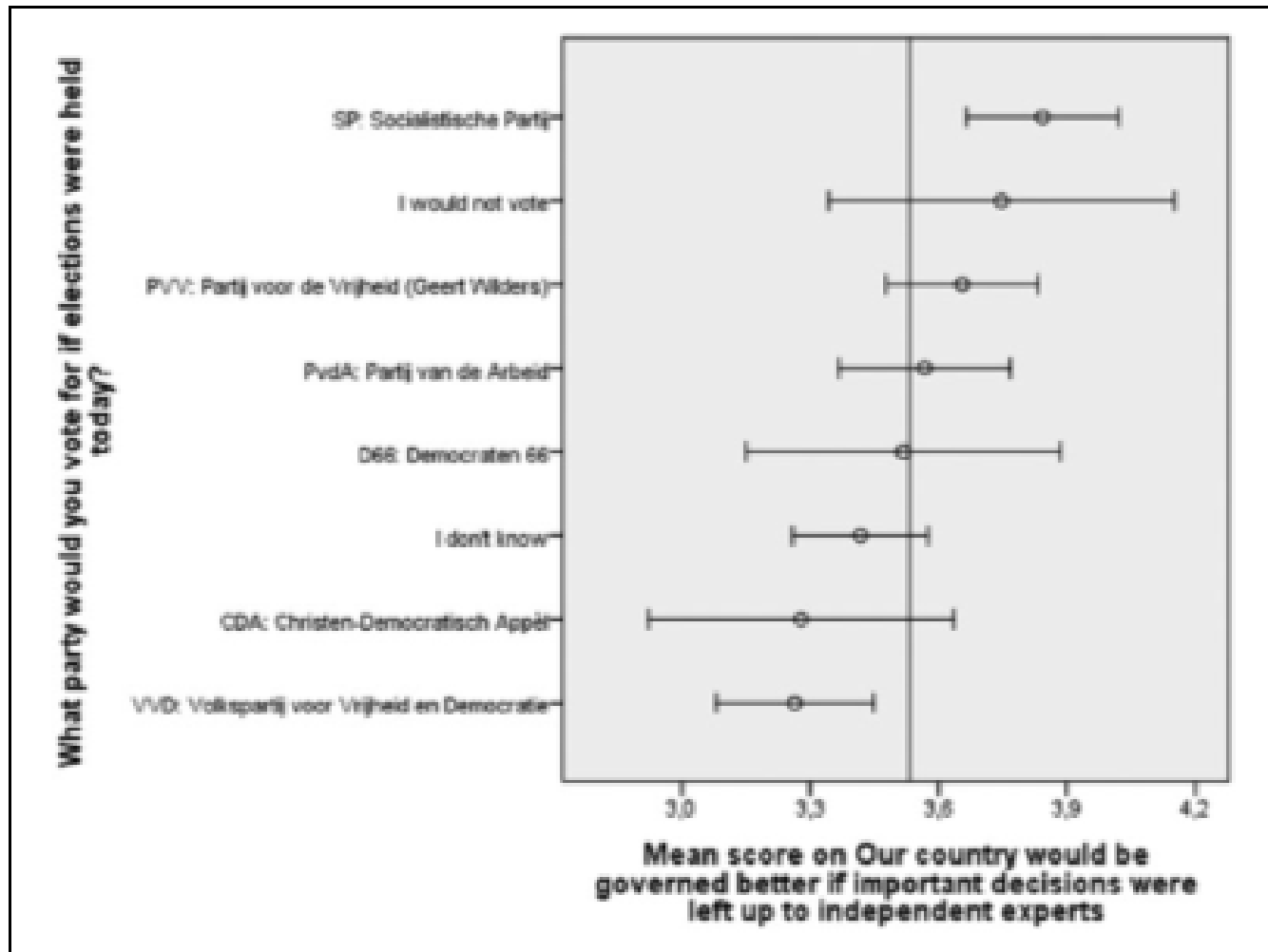
**Figure 6.** Mean scores on item “Politicians should lead rather than follow the people” by party preference.

Reference line is the total mean.



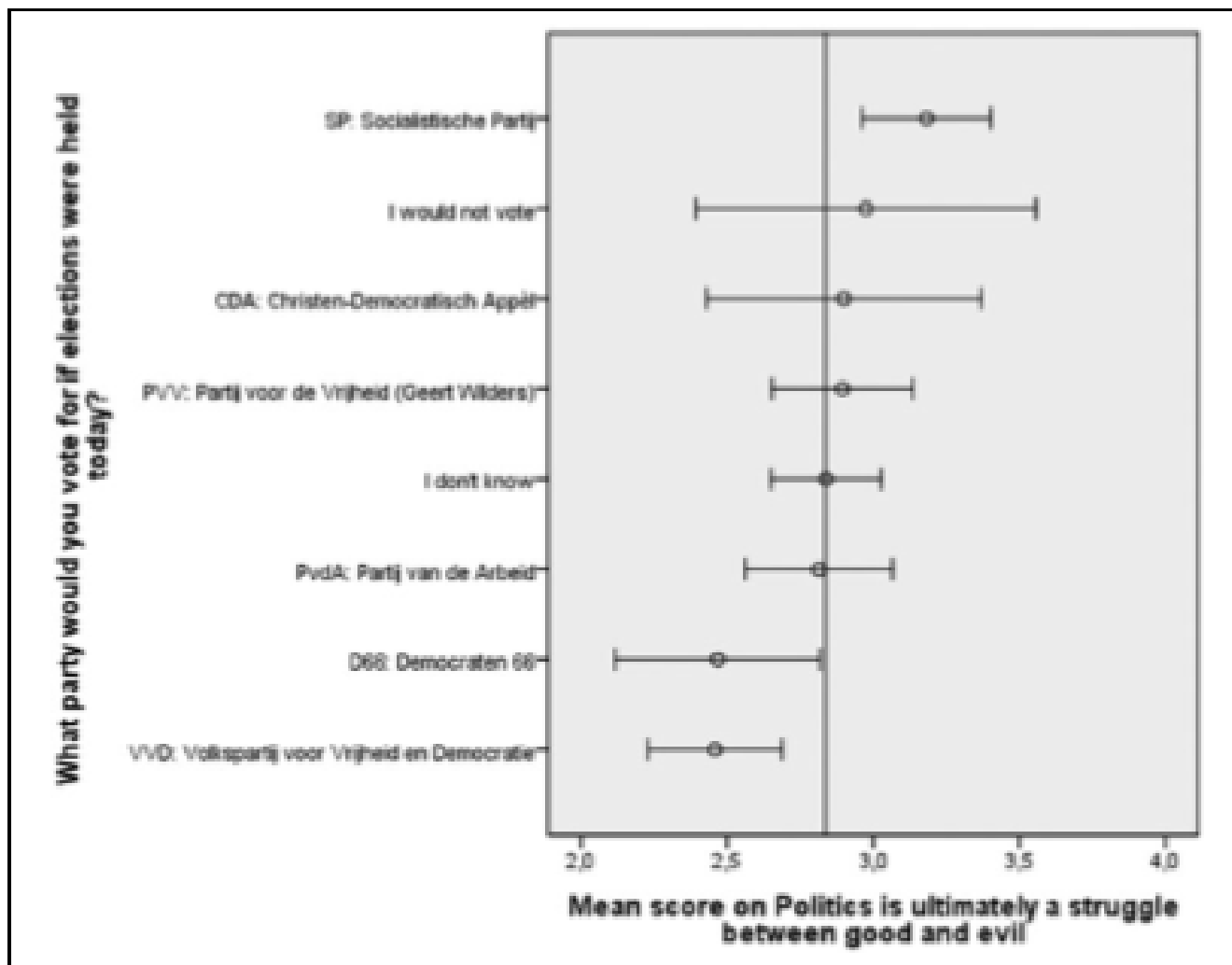


**Figure 7.** Mean scores on item “Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to successful business people” by party preference. Reference line is the total mean.



**Figure 8.** Mean scores on item “Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to independent experts” by party preference. Reference line is the total mean.

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**Figure 9.** Mean scores on item “Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil” by party preference.

Reference line is the total mean.

# Zaključak

- Članak demonstrira da je moguće da se mjere populistički stavovi na individualnom nivou
- PCA demonstrira konzistentnost podataka
- Povezuje populističke stavove sa partijskim preferencijama
- Pokazuje značajnu pozitivnu korelaciju između populističke i elitističke dimenzije
- Dalja istraživanja su potrebna