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Elizabeth Beasley
Daniel Cohen
Martial Foucault**

Les origines du populisme

Enquête sur un schisme
politique et social

LA REPUBLIQUE DES IDEES

Seuil

Populism and Public Policy

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Controversy :

« Cultural backlash versus economic factors »

- Origins of the rise of populism?

Norris & Inglehart (2019, Cultural backlash, OUP)

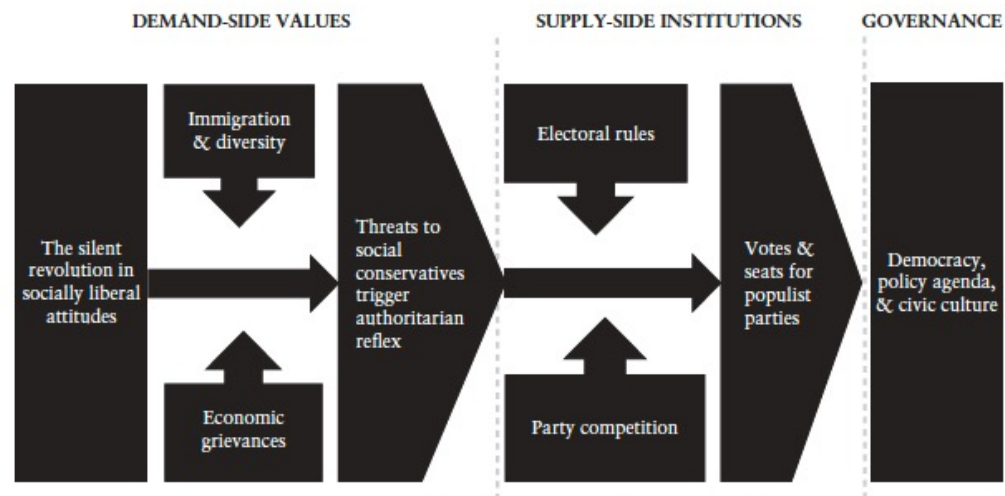
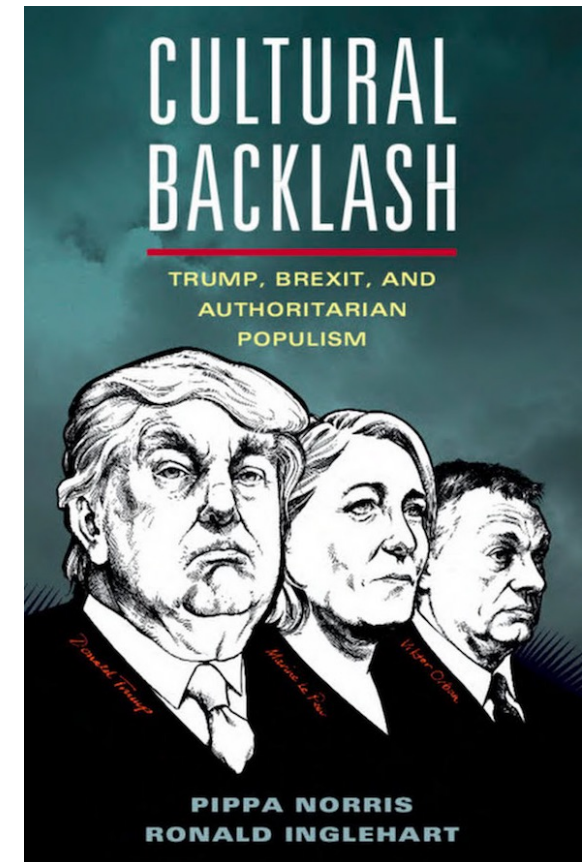
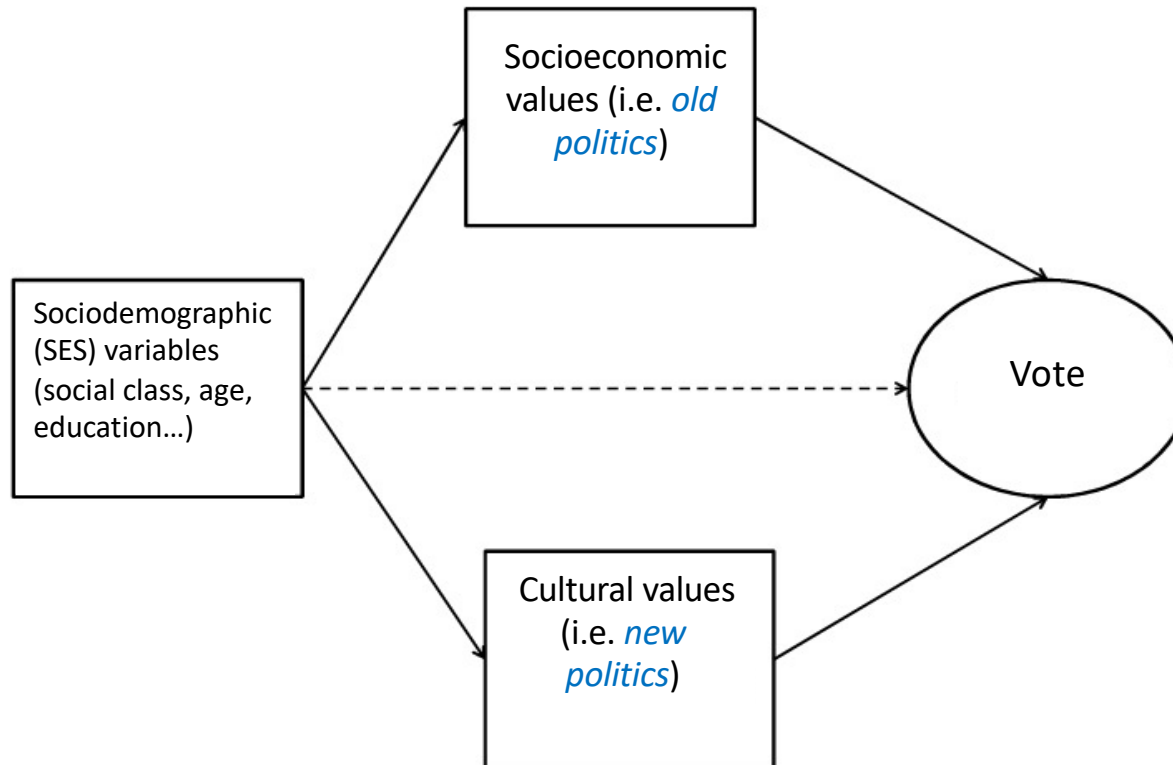


FIGURE 2.1. *The theoretical framework*

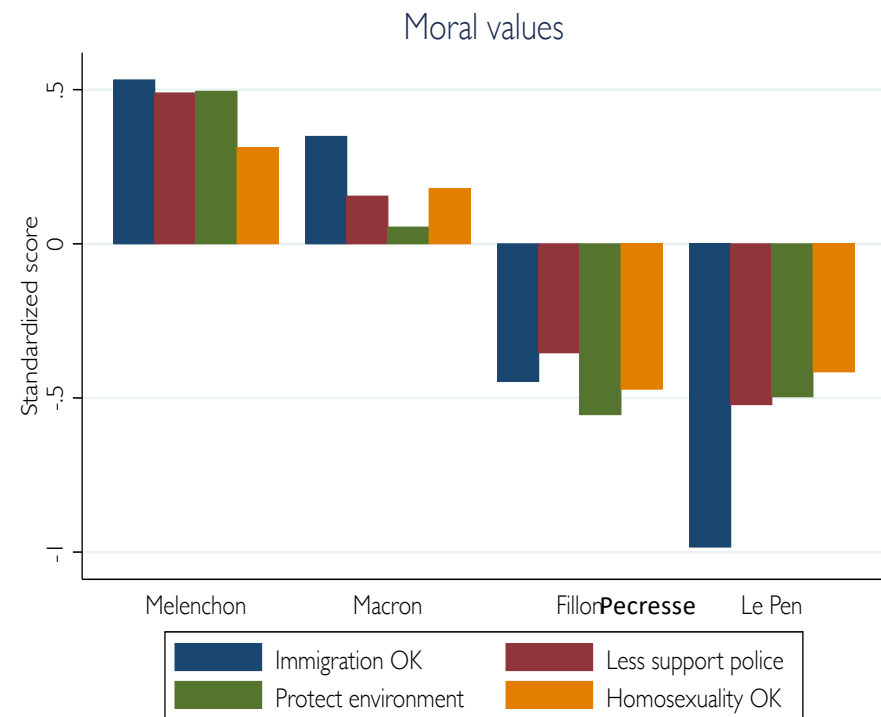
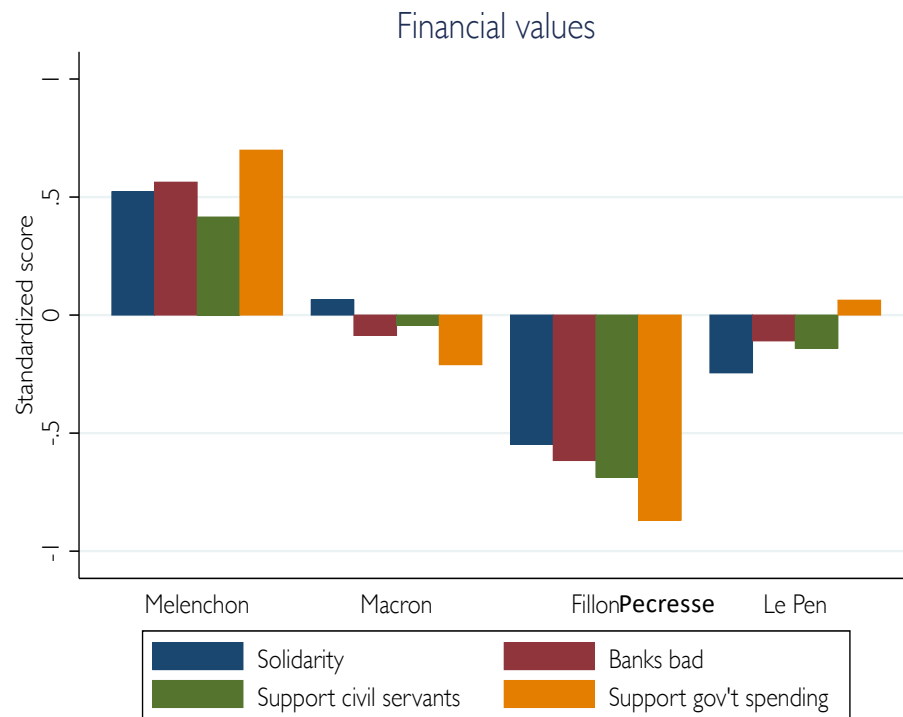


Vote choice model (objective) – 2 axis



Politics of two-axis

Economic vs. cultural divide

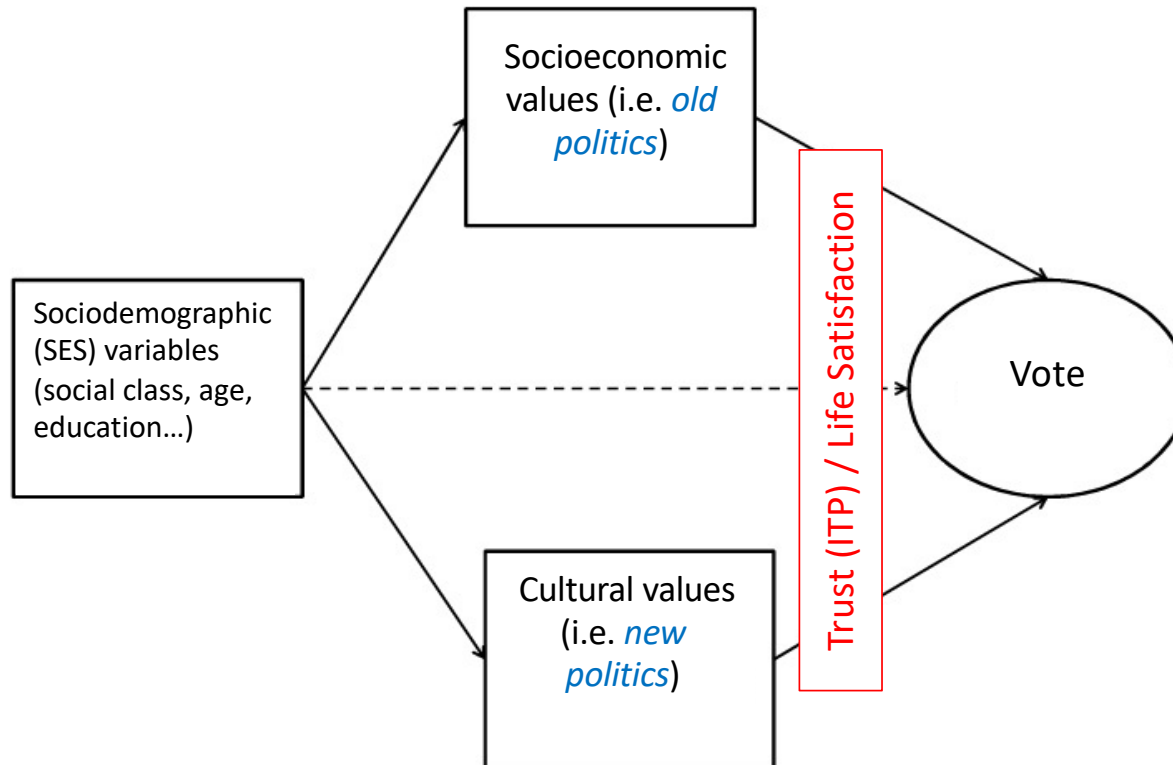


Puzzles

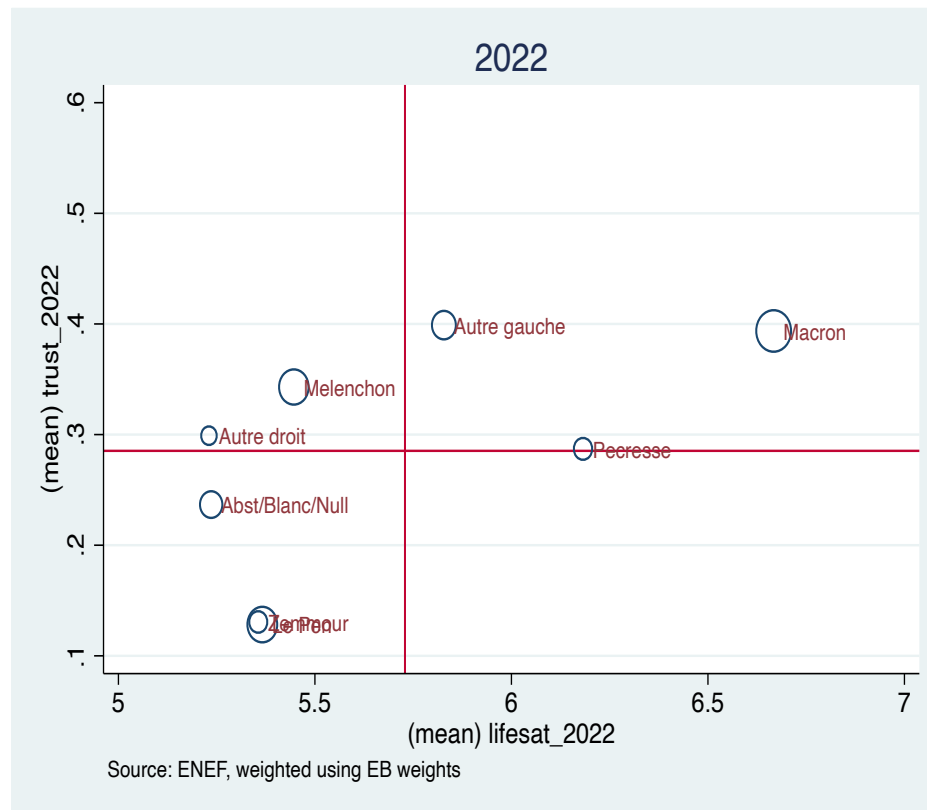
- The traditional L-R scale no longer explains voting behavior:
 - 33% of the vote in 2012 against 10% in 2022
 - Ideology and socio-demographics explain 14% of the vote in 2022
- How can we explain that the poor do not vote for redistributive policies ?
- What is the key difference in the anti-system votes for the left and the right ?

Vote choice model (NEW) – 2 axis

Importance of subjective variables (trust and life satisfaction) for understanding voting behavior in post-industrial society of individuals



A new framework for understanding political choice: social trust and well-being



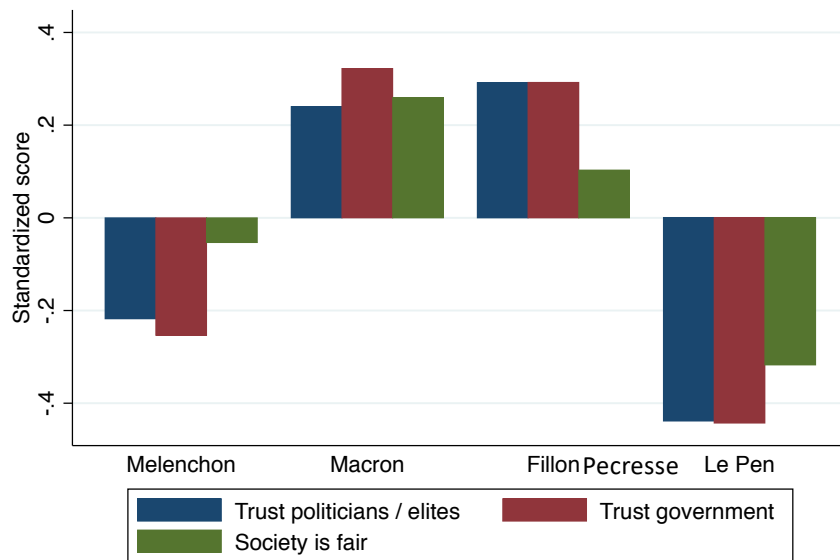
Graph shows average responses to life satisfaction and trust, grouped by who respondents voted for.

Life satisfaction : On a scale of 0-10, how satisfied are you with your life today?

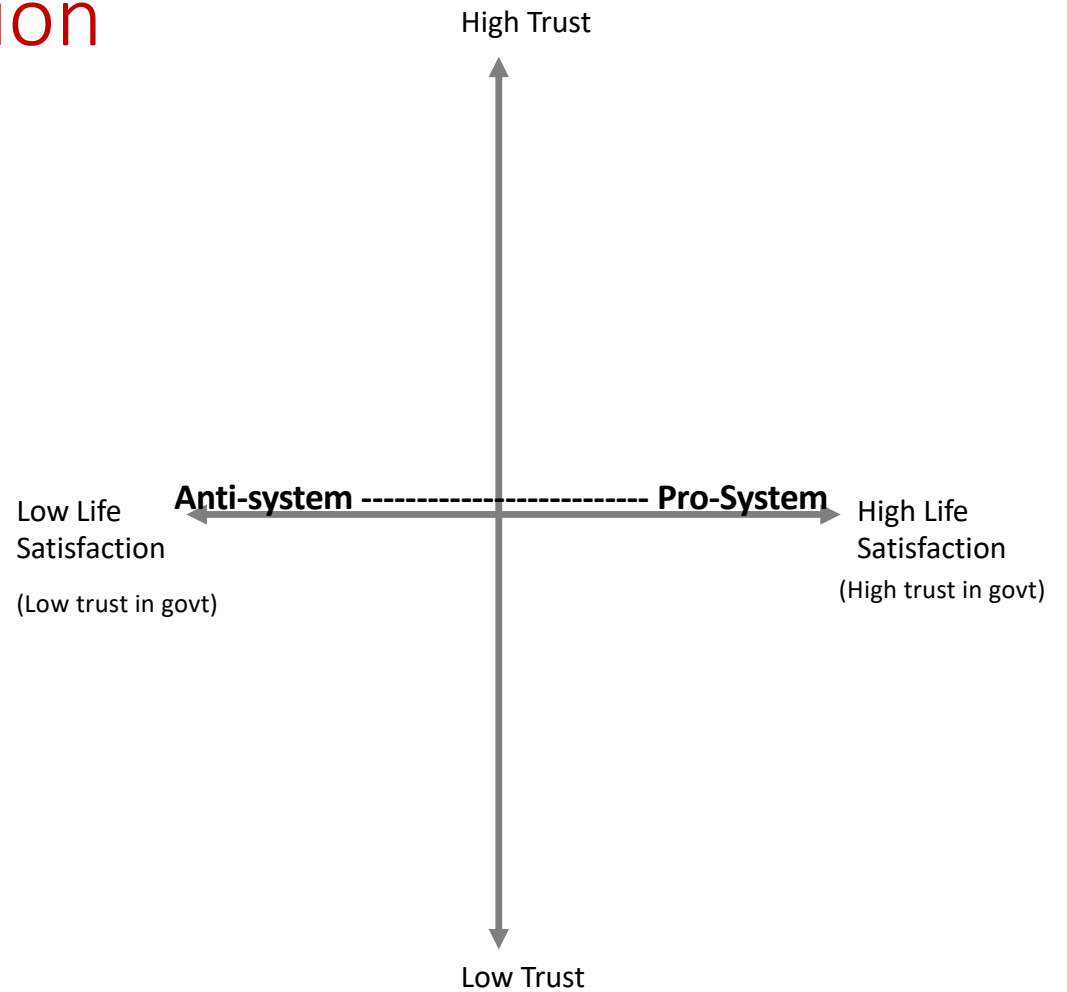
Interpersonal trust : Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Holds when controlling for a wide variety of SD variables, explanatory power largest for Macron and Le Pen

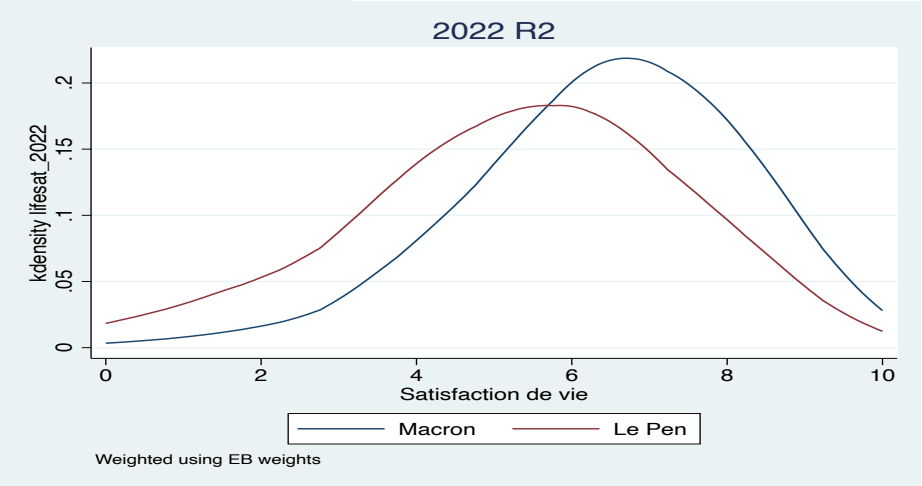
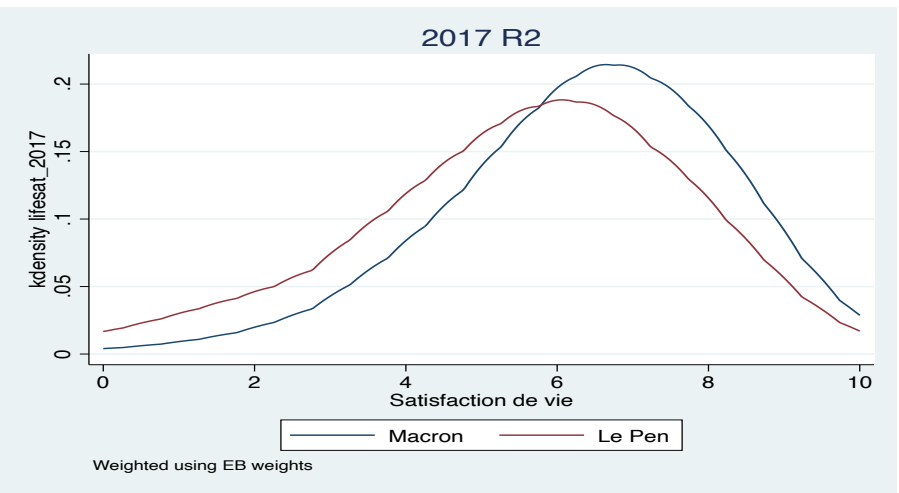
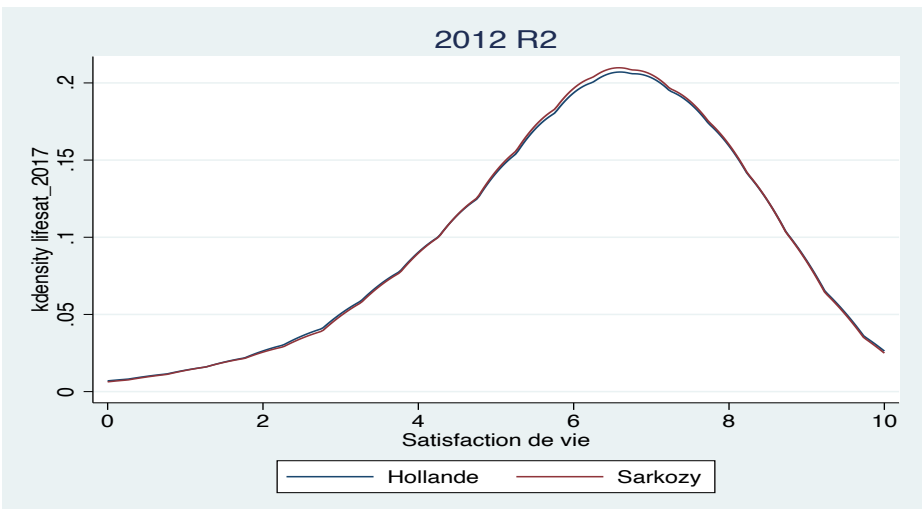
Trust in system: lines up with life satisfaction Economic factors



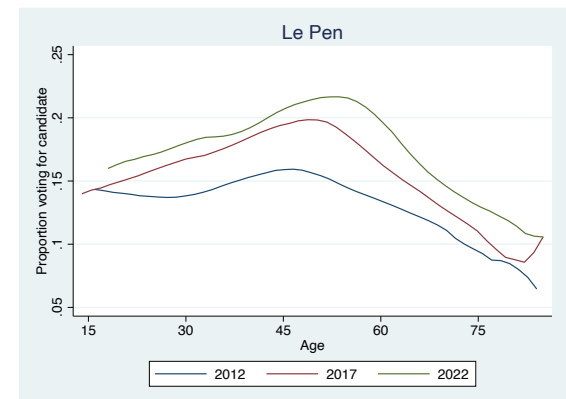
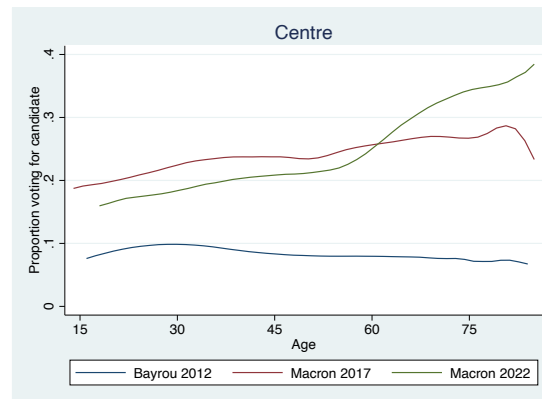
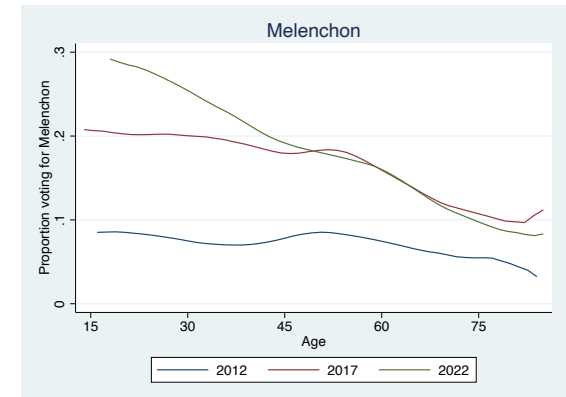
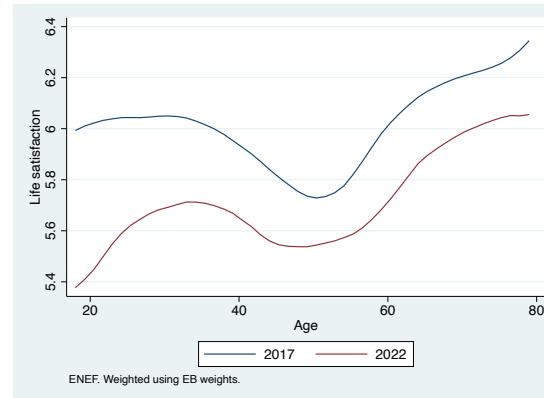
Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017.



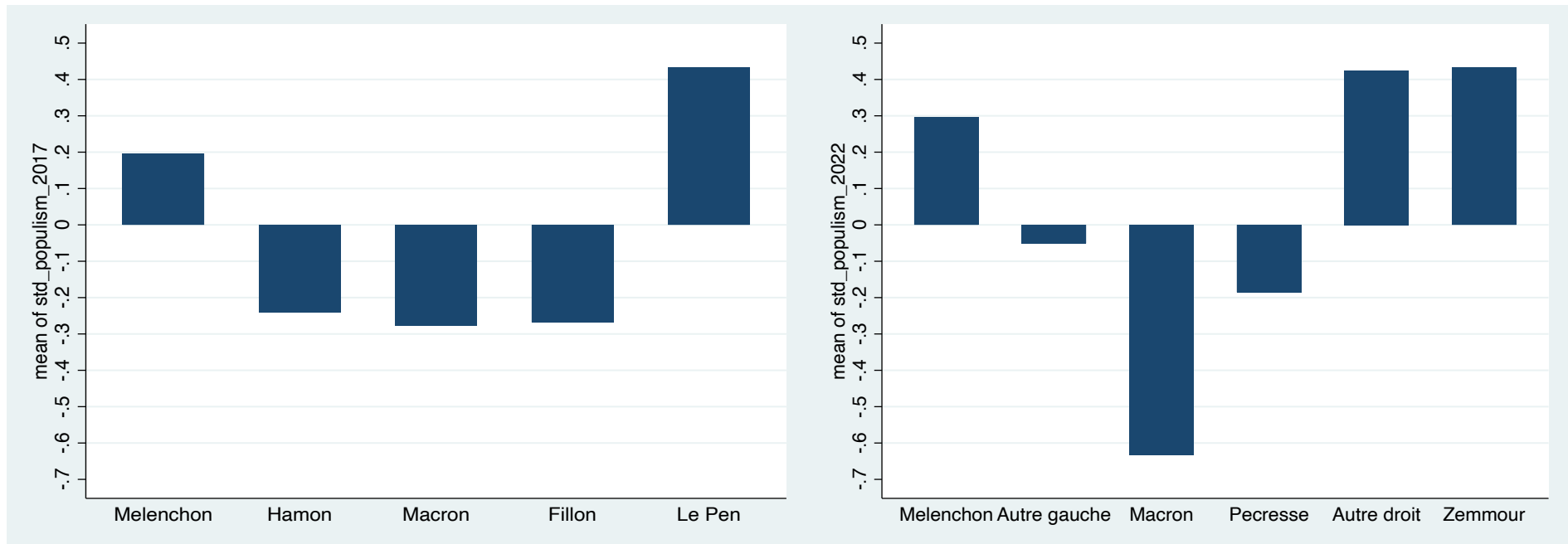
Increasing role of life satisfaction



Ex: polarization of votes by generation and LS



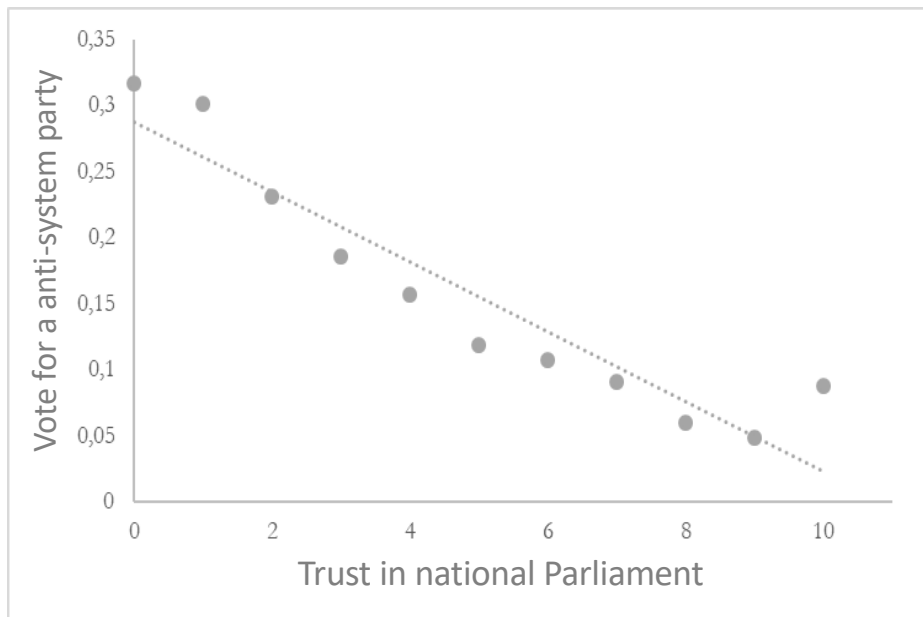
Polarization in terms of populism/distrust the government



Distrust in institutions common to all anti-system electors

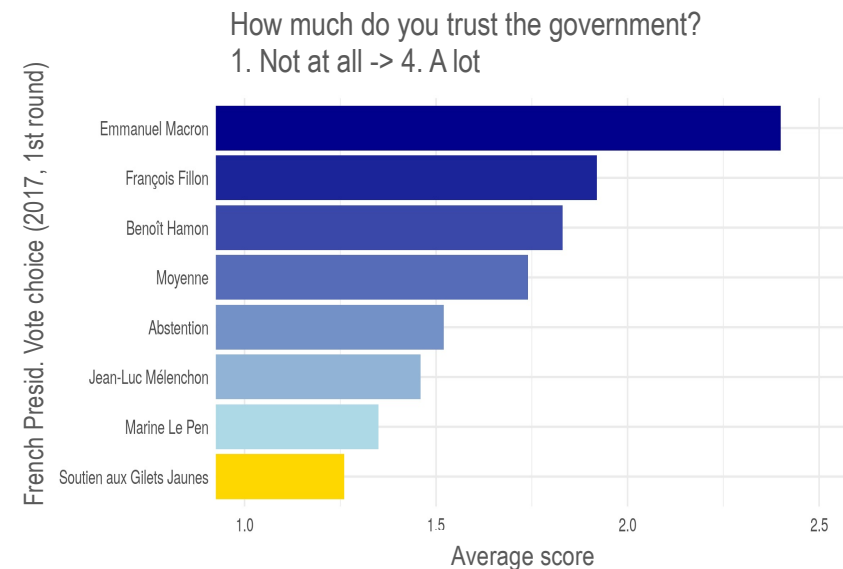
All voters of anti-system parties share a high level of distrust towards institutions.

Distrust in national institutions in Europe



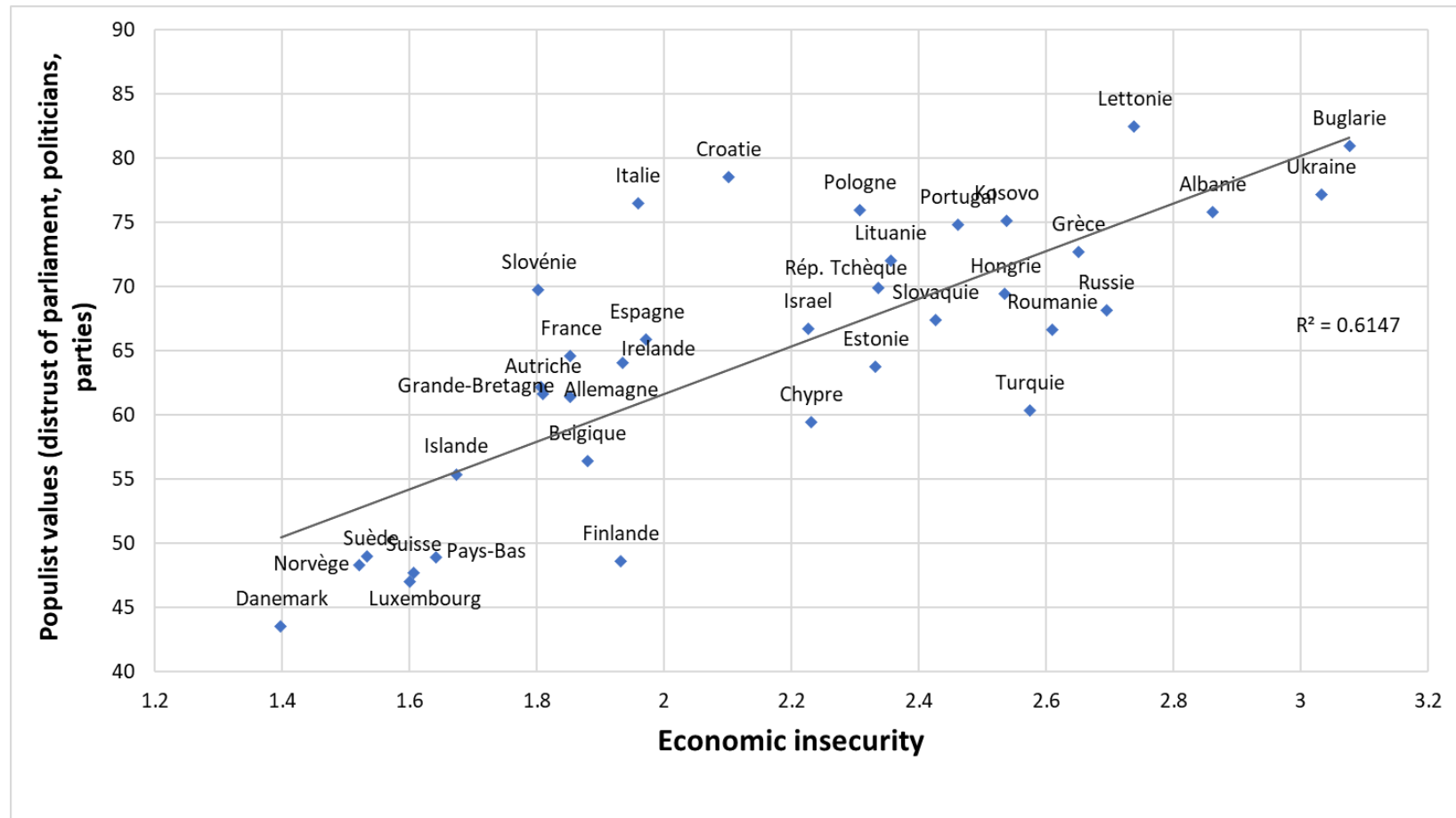
Source: Algan, Beasley, Cohen, Foucault (2019) - ESS

Yellow vests movement



Données : Baromètre de la confiance, Cevipof, SciencesPo, vague 10
Source : Algan et al. (2018), données de l'Enquête électorale française (EnEF), Cevipof, SciencesPo

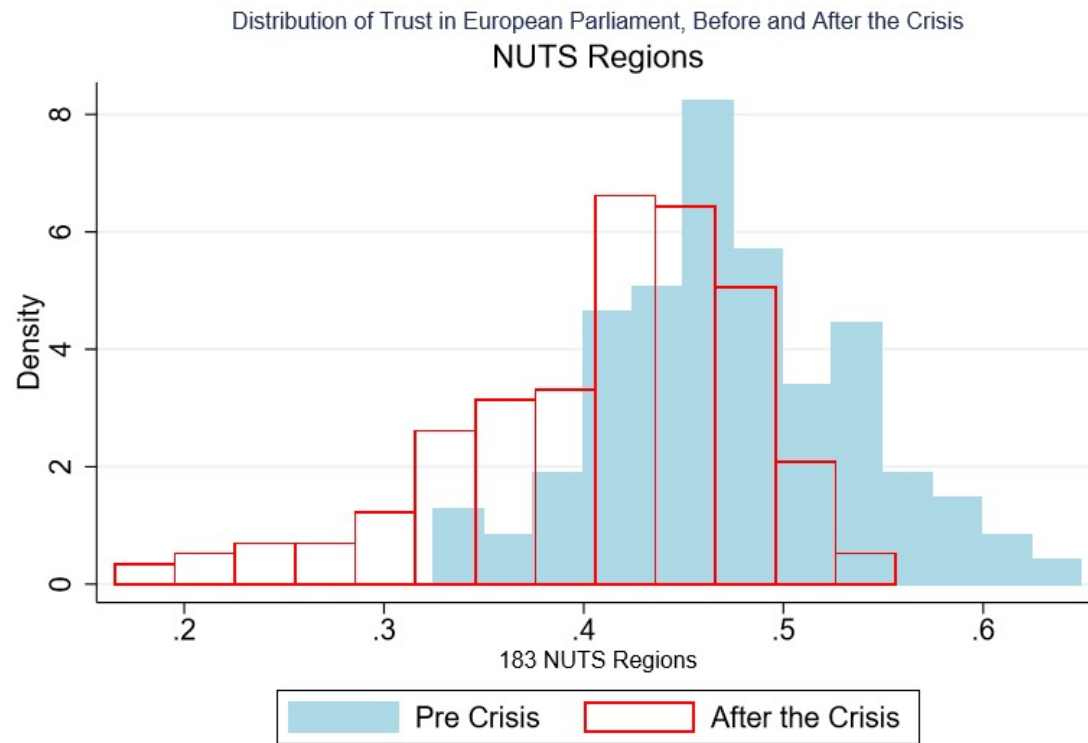
Distrust in institutions / Life satisfaction - Economic factors



Various candidates for economic factors

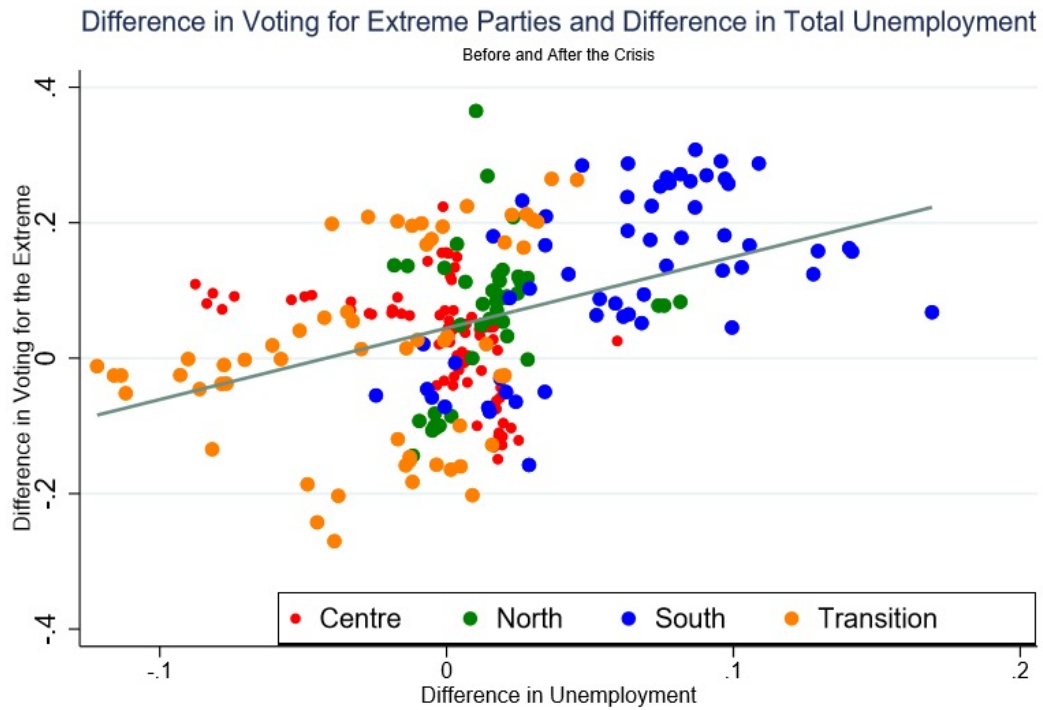
- Financial crisis : ex. Algan, Guriev, Papaioannou, Passari, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2017; Eichengreen (2018)
- Globalization: Autor, Dorn, Hanson : QJE (2014), NBER (2016)
- Job polarization : Zhen Jie Im, Mayer, Palier & Rovny (2019)
- Inequality: Piketty (2019)

Financial crisis and Trust in Institutions

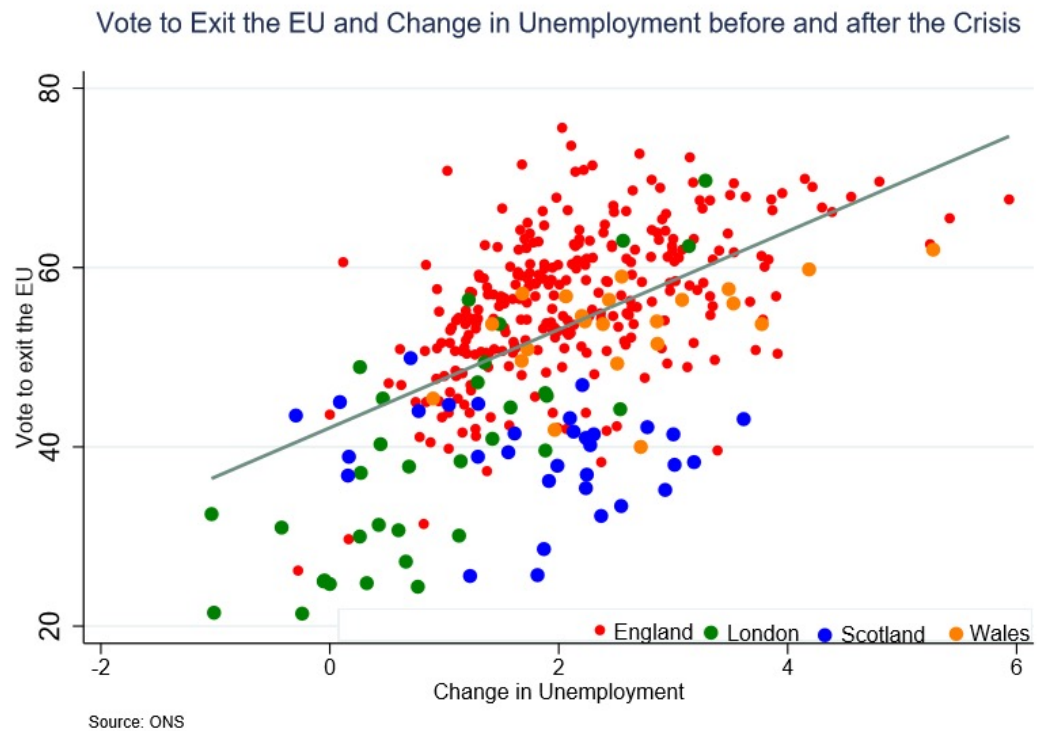


Source: European Social Survey

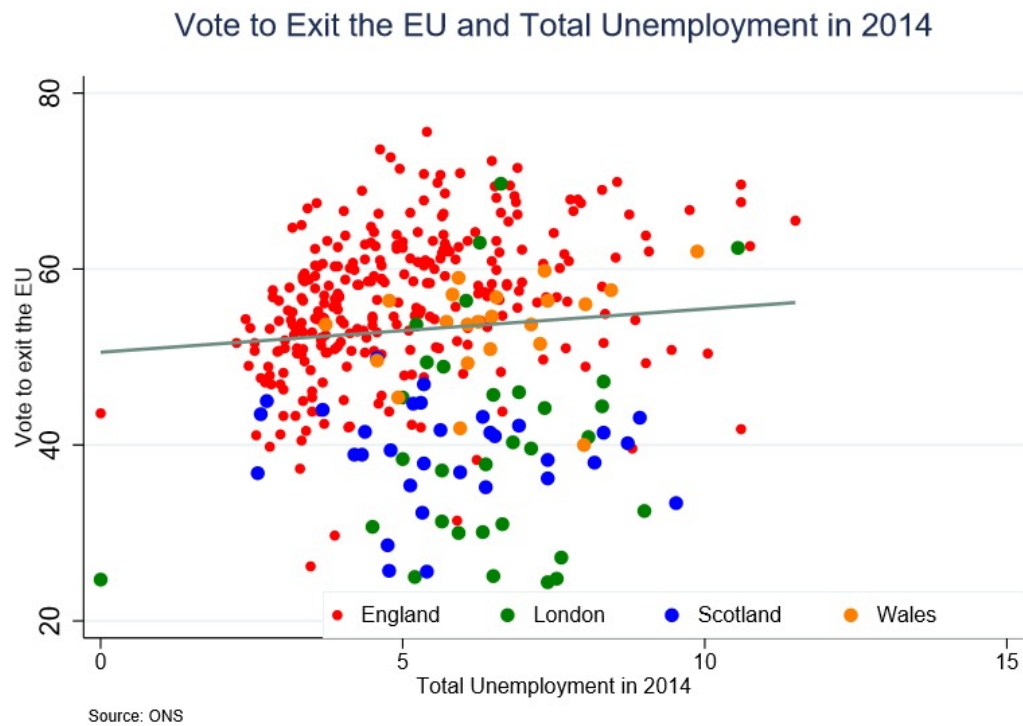
Unemployment and Extremist Voting. Before-After the Crisis



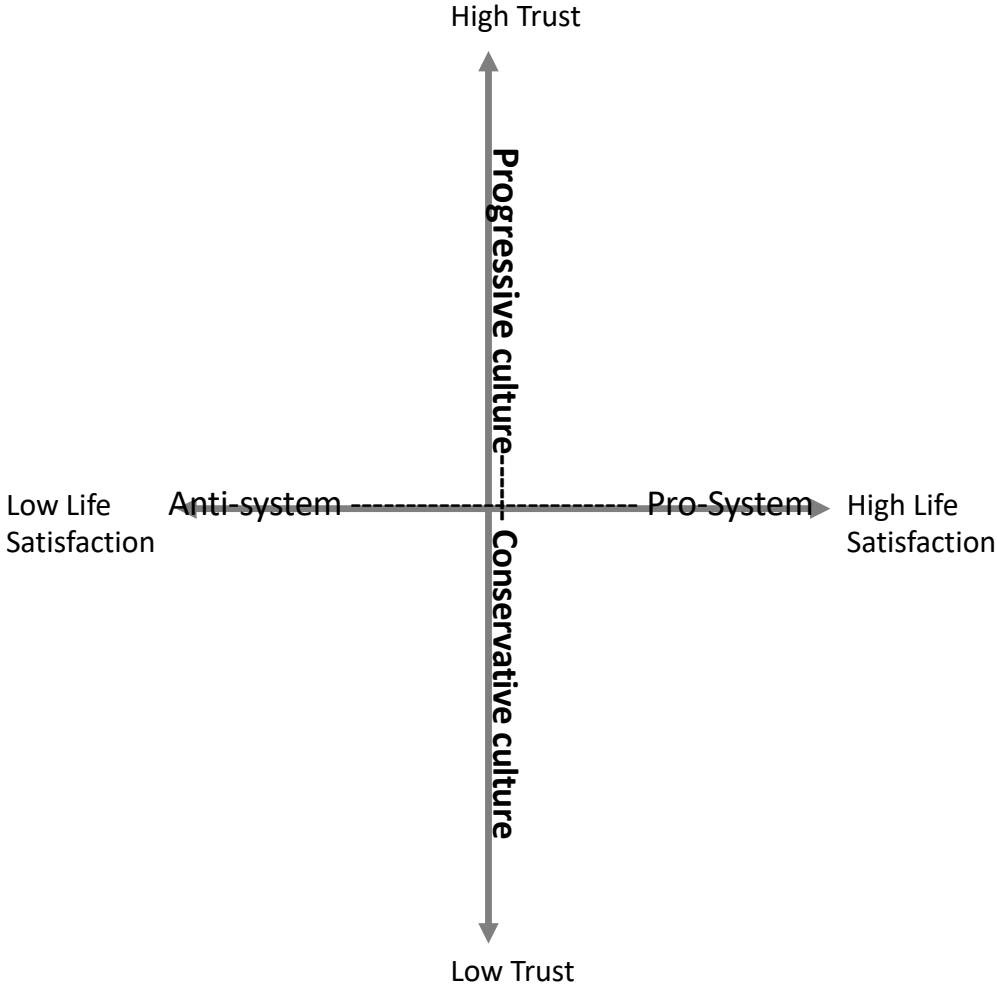
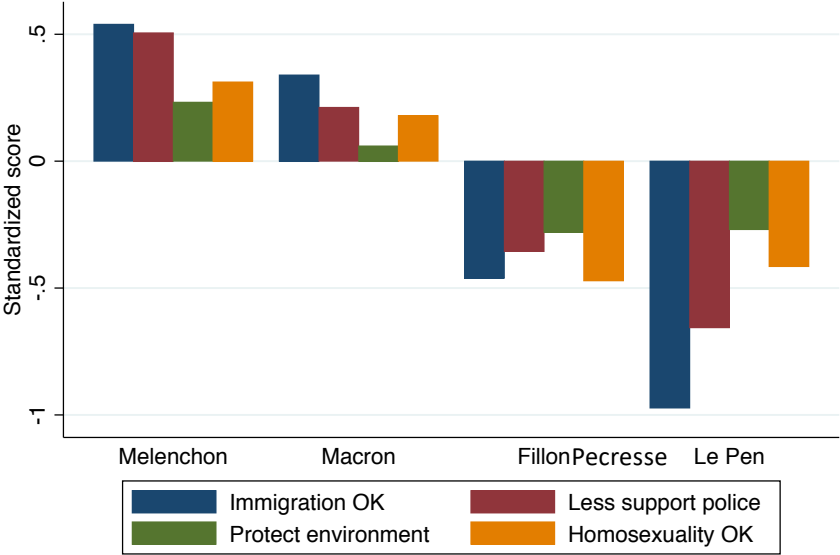
Changes in Unemployment (2014-2007) and Leave Vote



Unemployment (2014) and Vote to Leave the EU

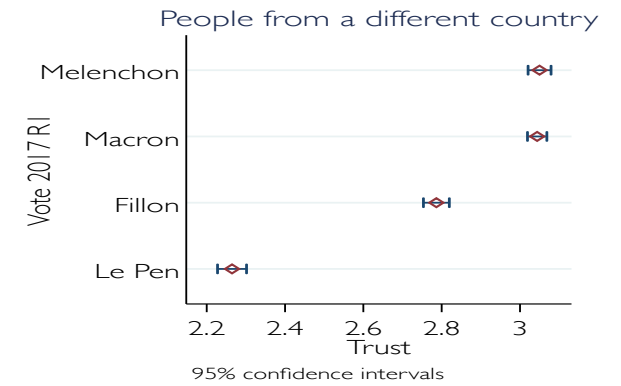
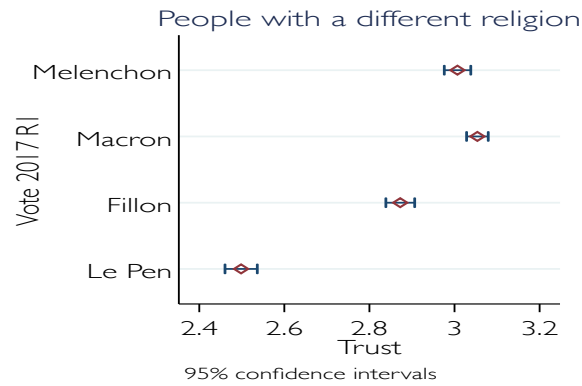
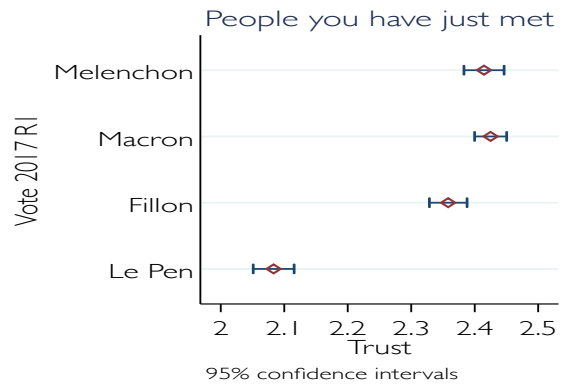
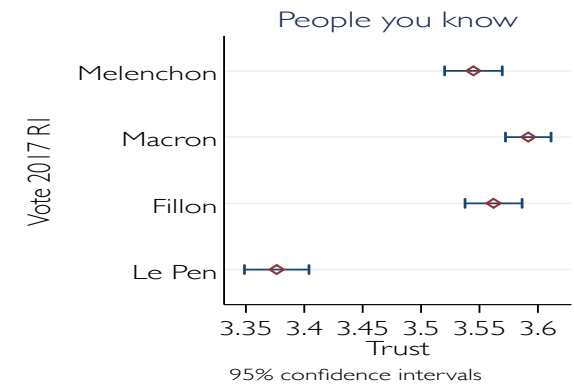
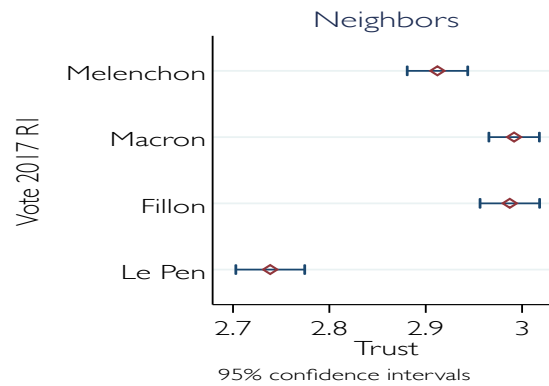
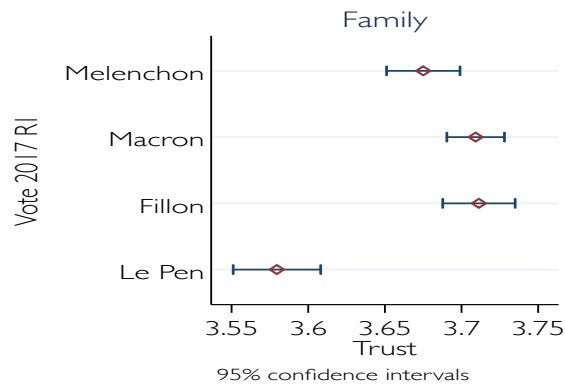


Cultural values : line up with trust

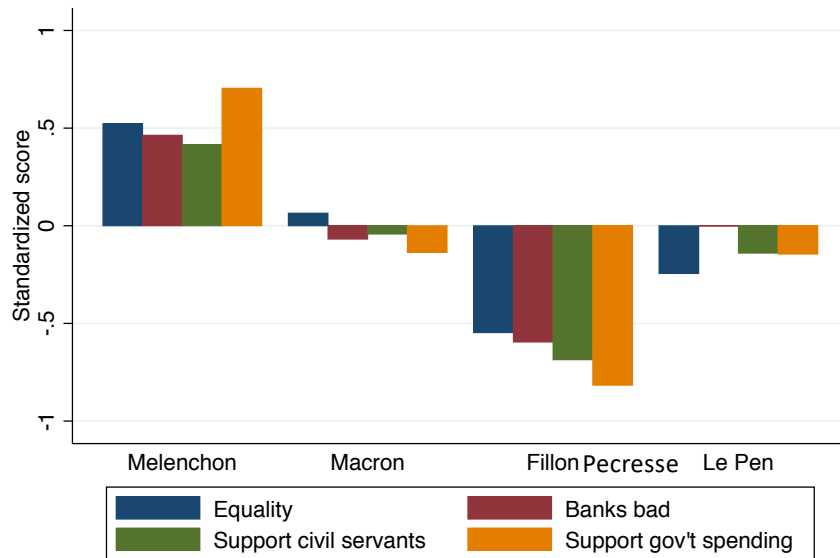


Interpersonal trust...

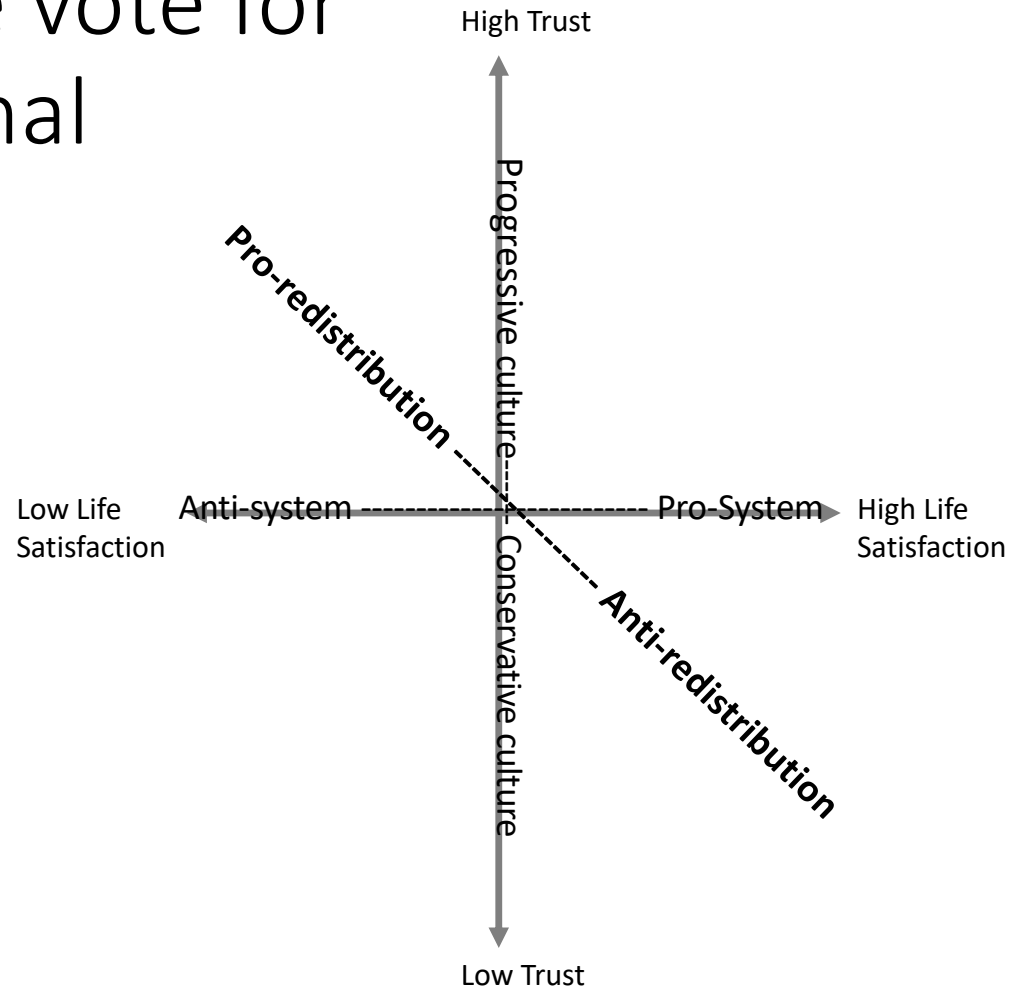
...explains the split between the radical left and radical right



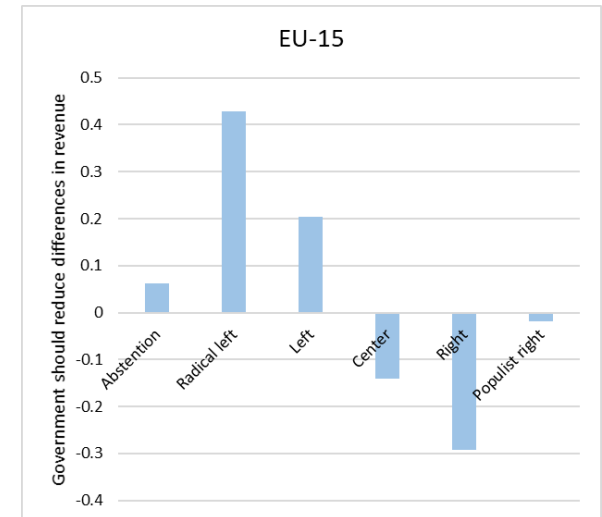
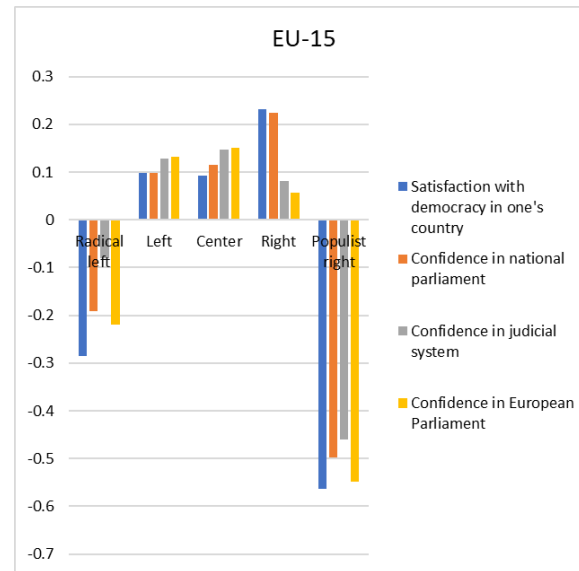
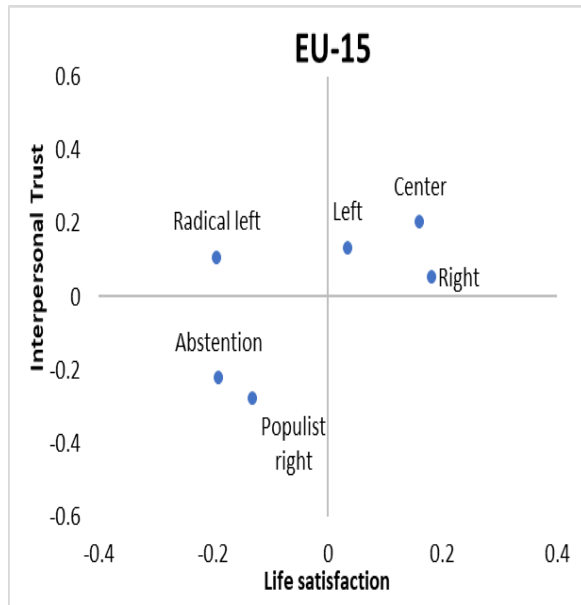
Why don't poor people vote for redistribution? : Diagonal



Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017.

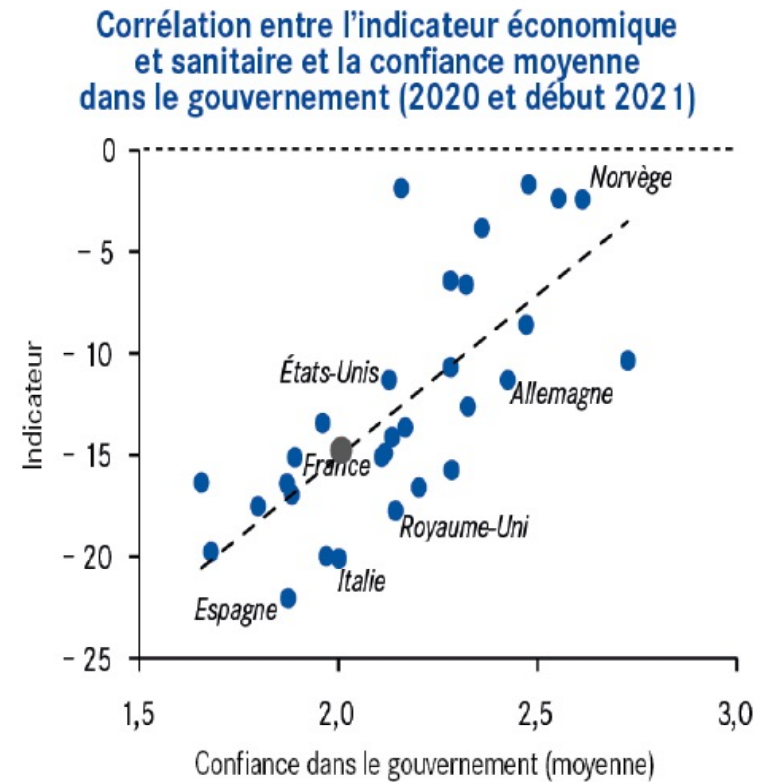
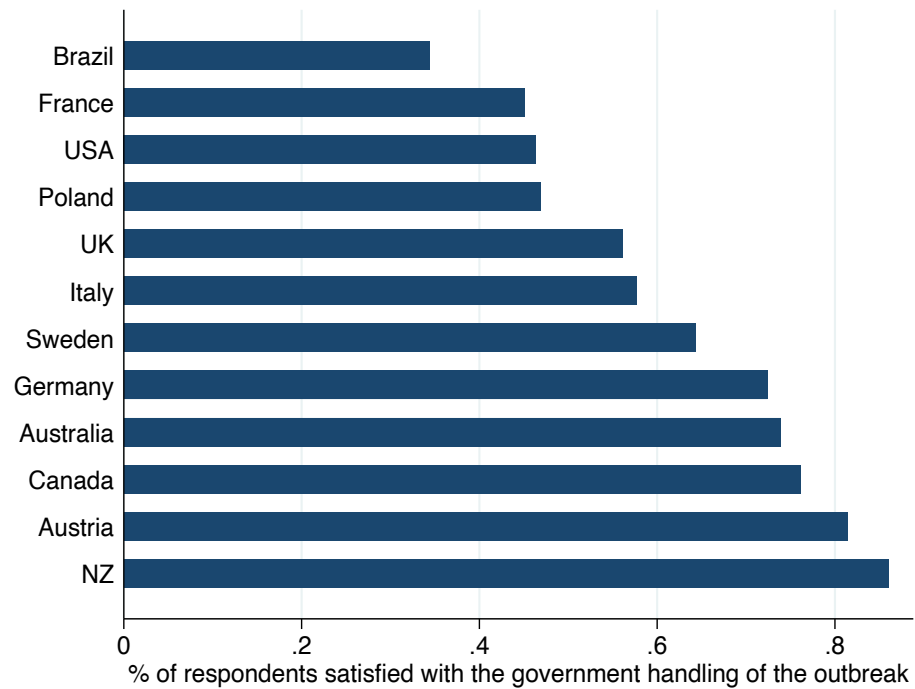


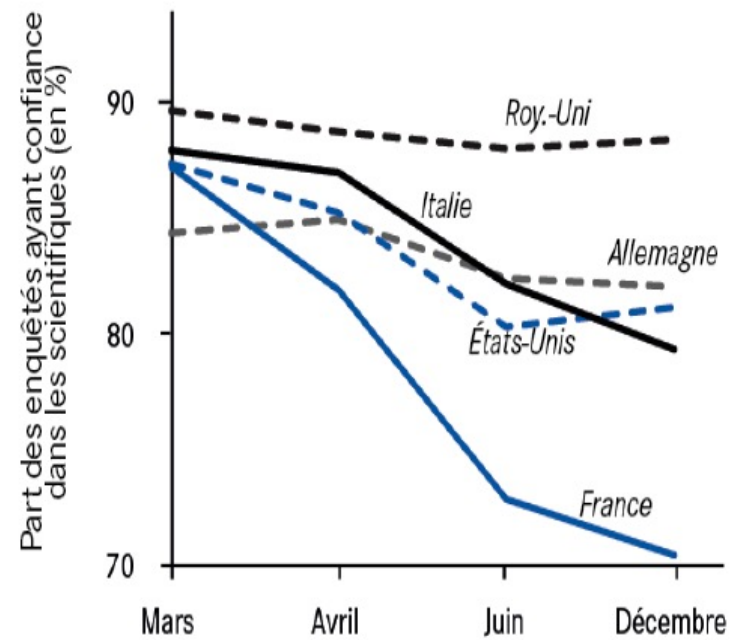
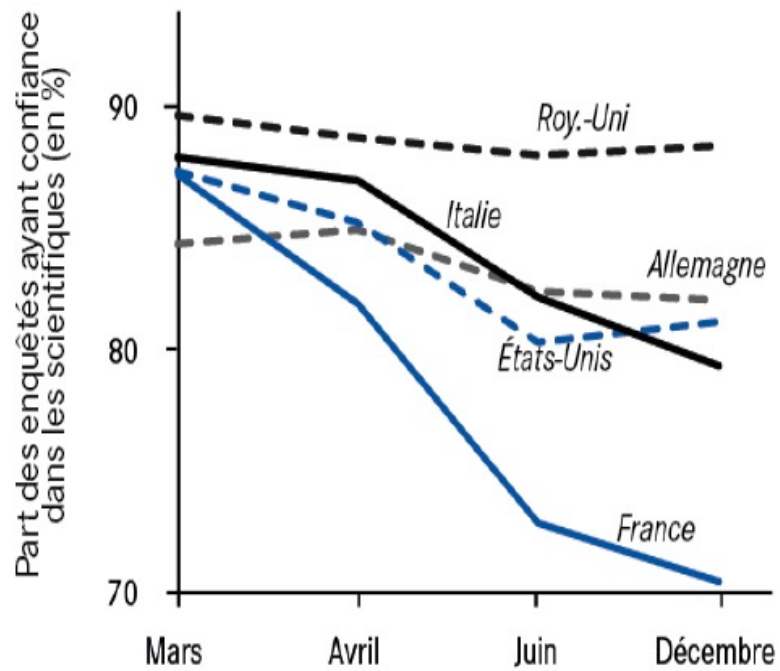
Europe



Resilience of democracy in times of crisis

The role of distrust and populism in times of crisis : ex COVID-19





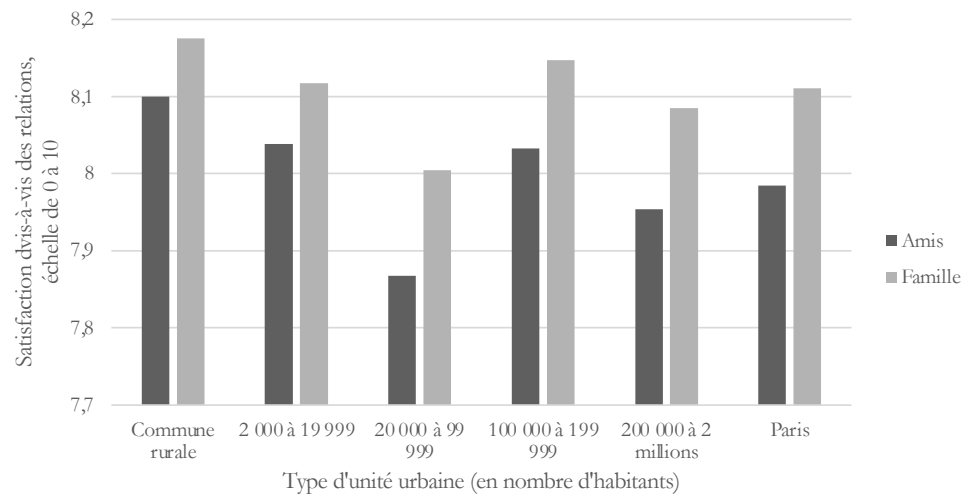
Algan A., D. Cohen, E. Davoine, M. Foucault et S. Stantcheva (2021) : « Trust in Scientists in Times of Pandemic: Panel Evidence from 12 Countries », *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 118, n° 40.

Policy implications in society of solitude

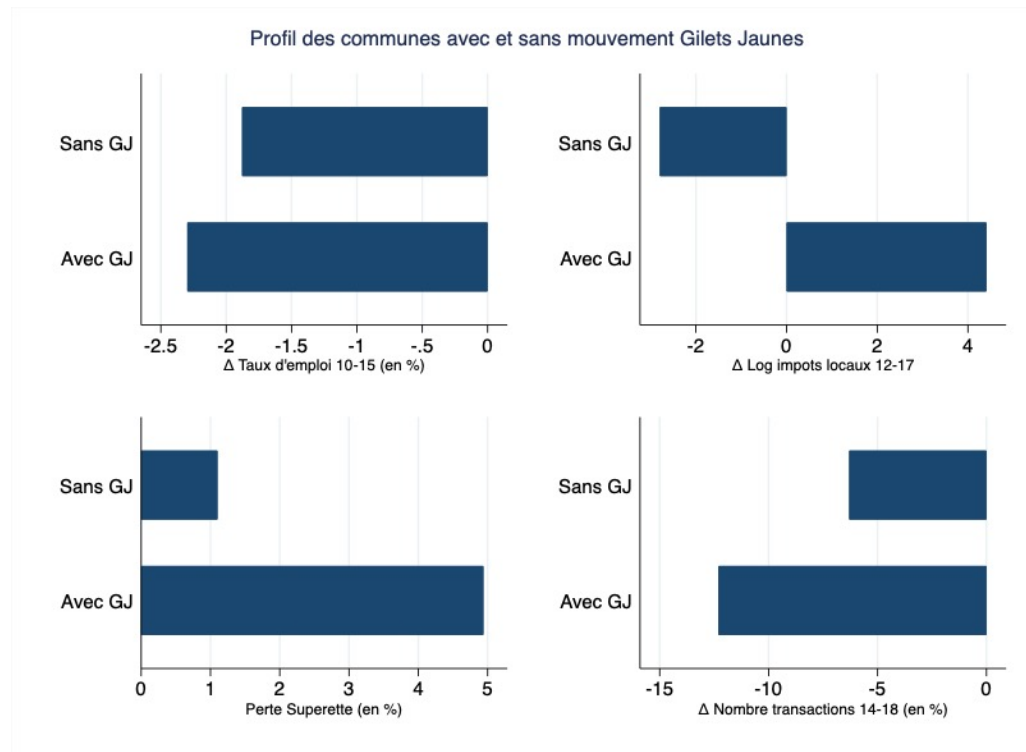
Policy implications in society of solitude

Loneliness in Post-Industrial societies

- Yellow vest movement: mainly **workers in isolated jobs/services**: truckers, social care, single mothers
- Loneliness in territories:



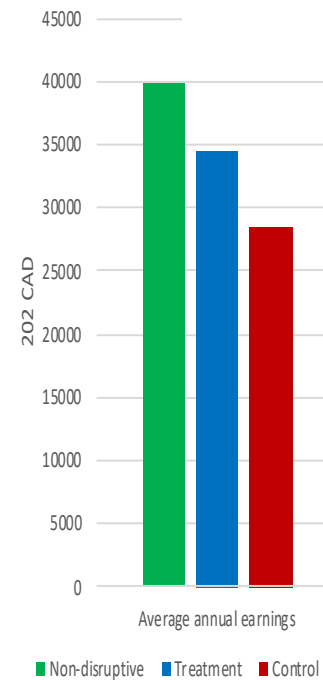
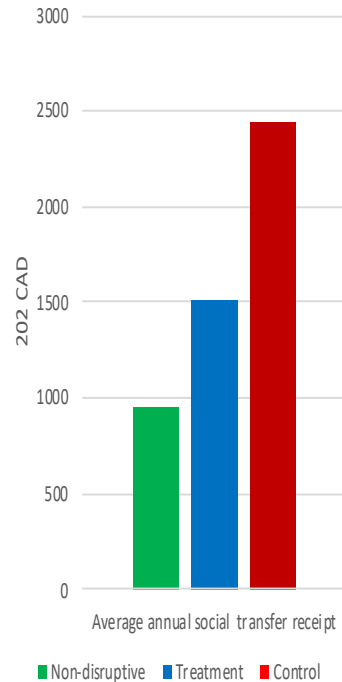
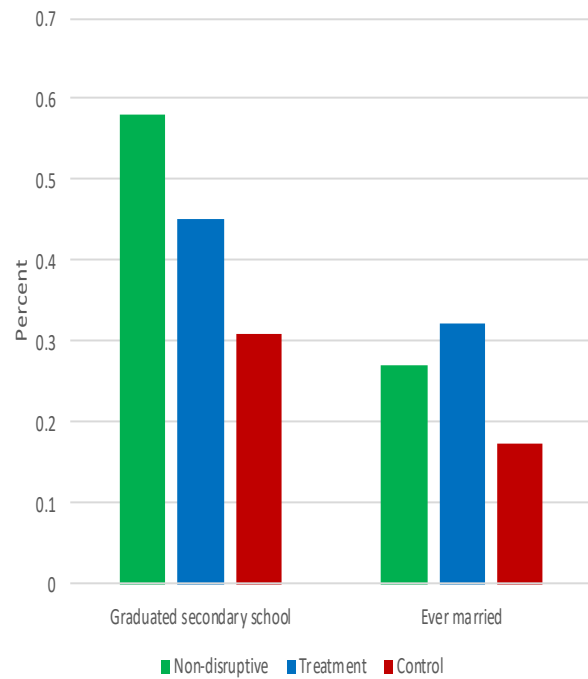
Public services / Social relationship



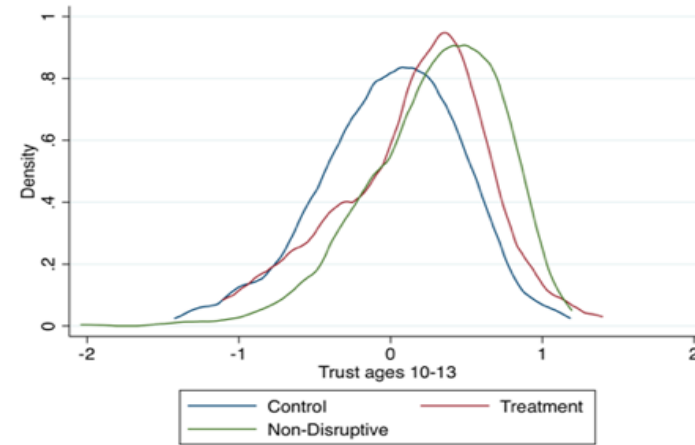
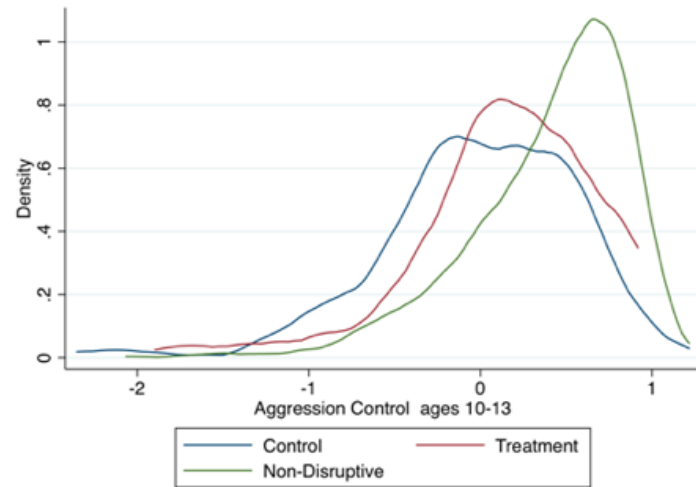
Education policy

The Impact of Childhood Social Skills and Self-Control Training on Economic and Noneconomic Outcomes: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment Using Administrative Data[†]

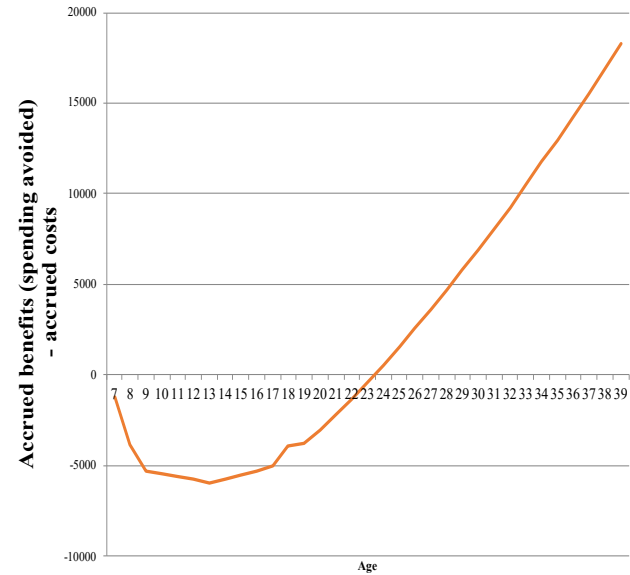
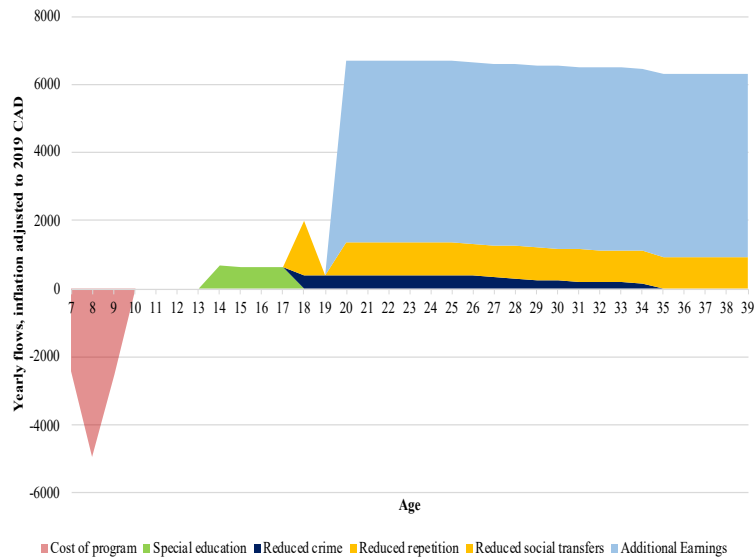
By YANN ALGAN, ELIZABETH BEASLEY, SYLVANA CÔTÉ, JUNGWEE PARK, RICHARD E. TREMBLAY, AND FRANK VITARO*



Impacts on self-control (Aggression and Attention) and school performance



Return: 1 dollar at age 8 leads to a 11 dollar pay-off at age 39, with an internal rate of return of 17%



Conclusion

- Politics of 2 new axes provide a comprehensive framework to understand anti-system forces in France , Europe and the USA:
 - Low life satisfaction and distrust in institutions are common to anti-system votes
 - Interpersonal trust : split between radical left/right votes
- Determinants:
 - Life satisfaction and distrust in institutions: highly correlated with economic insecurity
 - Interpersonal trust: Mobility and loneliness in post-industrial societies
- Policy consequences :
 - Redistribution and inequality (Piketty, 2018).
 - But part of the poor vote for anti-redistributive platforms
 - Policies to boost generalized trust and fight loneliness at work and in remote territories (post Yellow vests recommendations)