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Transcript

00:00:16 Speaker 1

Hello and welcome to the COG Podcast, a podcast brought to you by the quality of Government institute at the University of Gothenburg.

00:00:23

Right.

00:00:24 Speaker 1

In this show, we have conversations with well known experts to try to make sense of politics and governments around the.

00:00:31 Speaker 1

Hosting this show is Professor Victor La Puenta, and in this episode he will talk to Catherine Devries.

00:00:37 Speaker 1

Catherine is the Dean for International Affairs and professor of Political science at Bocconi University in Italy.

00:00:44 Speaker 1

In her work, Catherine examines some of the key challenges facing the European continent.

00:00:50 Speaker 1

Such as Euroscepticism, political fragmentation, migration and corruption.

00:00:56 Speaker 1

And in this episode we'll hear about exactly those topics, as Victor and Catherine dive into thinking about today's Europe in relation to the war in Ukraine.

00:01:06 Speaker 1

Generational and national differences when it comes to supporting the EU, Brexit, COVID-19 and far right parties, Catherine will also tell us about her study on the two speed Europe which she categorizes as those wanting enhanced cooperation within the European Union and those who want to opt out. If the cooperation were to be intensified.

00:01:27 Speaker 1

Finally, we'll hear a discussion on Catherine's book political entrepreneurs, the Rise of Challenger parties in Europe, which will help us answer the question what do Georgia Maloney and Elon Musk have in common? We hope you enjoyed the episode, and don't forget to like, share, and subscribe if you do.

00:01:48 Speaker 2

Welcome to the podcast of the Quality of Government Institute, where we have conversations with well known experts to try to make sense of politics and governments all over the world.

00:01:57 Speaker 2

Today in the podcast we have Professor Catherine Debris Deep for Diversity and Inclusion and professor of political science at Bocconi University in Italy.

00:02:06 Speaker 2

She is a world leading expert in the study of public opinion.

00:02:10 Speaker 2

She has published on the best outlets on all pressing issues we have been discussing in politics in the latest decade, the rise of Challenger parties in the aftermath of the financial crisis, the present and future of the European Union, the effects of COVID the war in.

00:02:26 Speaker 2

Ukraine, welcome to our podcast Catherine and honor, and a pleasure to have you here.

00:02:32 Speaker 3

Thank you so much for having me.

00:02:34 Speaker 2

Let's start with the most pressing issue the the war in Ukraine. You you are an expert on public opinion and you have explored from early on actually in the war how public opinions and attitudes in Europe have evolved since the beginning, and you conducted A2 wave survey of nearly.

00:02:52 Speaker 2

12,000 EU citizens between March and and June this year and no big news that that we more Europeans support Ukraine in the world, but up to which stand are we ready to to put the money where our mouth is? And and especially if we are ready to go through a a tough winter so where is?

00:03:12 Speaker 2

Your prognosis from now on was based on your the results of your data and then the previous.

00:03:19 Speaker 3

So I think it's a very important question, right.

00:03:21 Speaker 3

So what is the kind of ability for politicians to keep supporting Ukraine in the way that they've done at the European level?

00:03:29 Speaker 3

Of course, there's variation across Member States, but overall there's been strong support.

00:03:34 Speaker 3

And that only.

00:03:35 Speaker 3

Works when there's some backing in.

00:03:36 Speaker 3

The public for for that, especially for.

00:03:39 Speaker 3

The reasons that you outlined.

00:03:41 Speaker 3

If you cut gas, if you have to go into a recession because of that, because companies cannot produce as much anymore, etc etc.

00:03:49 Speaker 3

You know, people are also going to feel it in their in their wallets.

00:03:52 Speaker 3

So what we did together with the batsman Foundation in Germany is basically poll people on these type of questions and what is very clear.

00:04:01 Speaker 3

Is that the?

00:04:02 Speaker 3

War in Ukraine is a watershed moment that people do really think it's.

00:04:06 Speaker 3

Also Europe's.

00:04:07 Speaker 3

War, IE that they're on the side of Ukraine.

00:04:09 Speaker 3

Of course you see some differences in the way that you've also seen.

00:04:12 Speaker 3

That with political parties, so some supporters.

00:04:15 Speaker 3

Are far right parties, but also are far left parties that are usually a bit skeptical of NATO or.

00:04:21 Speaker 3

These kind of you?

00:04:22 Speaker 3

Know the use of force have. 00:04:24 Speaker 3 Been about more skeptical. 00:04:25 Speaker 3 But overall the support is high, both in March. 00:04:28 Speaker 3 You would expect that, but even now if you look at it in the summer, however, I do think that you see a little bit more wary if you start. 00:04:36 Speaker 3 Digging a little. 00:04:37 Speaker 3 Bit deeper. 00:04:38 Speaker 3 To it. 00:04:38 Speaker 3 So I think the idea is that while refugees come but they. 00:04:42 Speaker 3 Should also go home again. 00:04:43 Speaker 3 That we should support Ukraine, but not. 00:04:46 Speaker 3 At all costs. 00:04:47 Speaker 3 So I do think now. 00:04:48 Speaker 3 Now you have a time where you could also see an unraveling, so you still see support, but I think it's,

let's say there's more variation, more differences on different questions as to what Europeans think.

00:05:02 Speaker 2

Yeah, this is very interesting.

00:05:03 Speaker 2

You have pointed out a difference in terms of political ideologies with a politicization of the issue with far right and also the alternative for Deutschland is the most clear case, probably with less committed to the support of Ukraine, we can say, and also the.

00:05:16 Speaker 2

Far left, but there.

00:05:18 Speaker 2

Are also other differences and I would like to ask you about this.

00:05:21 Speaker 2

Other difference, first of all.

00:05:22 Speaker 2

Generational differences are the opinions of the young different for from the.

00:05:26 Speaker 2

Old and also.

00:05:27 Speaker 2

Our differences across countries, so there are significant, let's say, territorial differences within Europe and within Western Europe.

00:05:35 Speaker 3

So I think it's the last question.

00:05:36 Speaker 3

Let me take that course.

00:05:37 Speaker 3

So you do.

00:05:38 Speaker 3

See a very.

00:05:39 Speaker 3

Strong support for Ukraine in countries bordering Ukraine.

00:05:43 Speaker 3

So Baltic States, Poland, for example, Poland also holding a quite different position than Hungary on this issue, reflecting also what the governments have been saying.

00:05:53 Speaker 3

And interestingly, you also see some more.

00:05:56 Speaker 3

Airiness in countries like Italy and Greece, where it's much more 5050 about the sport overall, more support than not.

00:06:03 Speaker 3

But a little less in a country like the Netherlands.

00:06:05 Speaker 3

I'm Dutch, where origin very transatlanticism very US focused also in its public opinion.

00:06:11 Speaker 3

Let's say hey in UK focus you see, you know again a lot of supports, you see some of the cases where where you would suspect it so overall support but very strong I think in the countries.

00:06:24 Speaker 3

That especially feel that they might be next to be really honest and also that feel they've had a history with Russia.

00:06:32 Speaker 3

Historically, so, the imagery about Russia is, is is different across generations.

00:06:38 Speaker 3

So you see some variations and that's kind of interesting.

00:06:41 Speaker 3

But I think.

00:06:42 Speaker 3

Overall, it's also interesting that in the younger generations, it's also about the possible policy response to the.

00:06:50 Speaker 3

Crisis that if.

00:06:52 Speaker 3

You look at for example.

00:06:53 Speaker 3

Climate change support and wanting to change.

00:06:55 Speaker 3

Change policies and energy.

00:06:57 Speaker 3

Policy that's very, very let's say.

00:07:00 Speaker 3

Popular among younger generations, so I think that that that also what the war means for different generations is different depending on when you're looking looking at it.

00:07:08 Speaker 3

And for some younger people, this really fits.

00:07:11 Speaker 3

Their overall stance on climate.

00:07:12 Speaker 3

Change so it might not necessarily be that the war.

00:07:15 Speaker 3

Is the strongest.

00:07:16 Speaker 3

Thing in their heads.

00:07:17 Speaker 3

But the response is that we're providing, but I think then coming back to your first question about how long it will take.

00:07:23 Speaker 3

I mean, if it really you.

00:07:25 Speaker 3

Know if the recessions.

00:07:26 Speaker 3

Hit as strongly as are predicted.

00:07:28 Speaker 3

Of course, some of the first people that are going to lose their jobs are going to be.

00:07:31 Speaker 3

Young people, right?

00:07:32 Speaker 3

That first in first out.

00:07:33 Speaker 3

So I do think that there is also some I I suspect that we're going to see larger changes among the younger generations because some of.

00:07:41 Speaker 3

This might hit them quicker and.

00:07:43 Speaker 3

Harder than some of the older.

00:07:48 Speaker 2

Here, many of these things that you're pointing out also highlight the the role of the European Union in the sense that, OK, what can Europe do to try to keep this position together?

00:07:59 Speaker 2

It seems that the Ukrainians are fighting to become part of the West, and what W means to them is probably more.

00:08:06 Speaker 2

European Union than than NATO or NATO might be next.

00:08:09 Speaker 2

Sorry, but what is the the role of the European Union here?

00:08:13 Speaker 2

Do you think this is gonna have consequences for the European Union, both in sense of up to which extent they can keep a cohesive position with the President of the Commission?

00:08:22 Speaker 2

That at least seems quite committed to this, but also up to which extent that the European Union should try to also.

00:08:29 Speaker 2

Push this idea of OK, we need to become also a military power or on the country we should rely more on the US because.

00:08:36 Speaker 2

It's the.

00:08:37 Speaker 2

It's the safe bet.

00:08:38

Yeah. So I.

00:08:39 Speaker 3

Think in some ways the Ukrainian war happening in the wake of Brexit, which was ultimately a bit of a unifying moment for Europe, right, seeing that you know the the imagery from the from the UK politically and economically was.

00:08:53 Speaker 3

Not so good so.

00:08:55 Speaker 3

That I think helped in the initial response and.

00:08:58 Speaker 3

The legacy of Donald Trump.

00:09:00 Speaker 3

I think many people remember wow, you know, like we cannot only.

00:09:03 Speaker 3

Trust the US?

00:09:04 Speaker 3

So for the first time you actually saw.

00:09:06 Speaker 3

A quite let's.

00:09:07 Speaker 3

Say European response to it.

00:09:09 Speaker 3

In the first days, the Commission President was doing a lot of talking.

00:09:13 Speaker 3

While a lot of.

00:09:14 Speaker 3

The the leaders of national Member states were a bit behind, of course.

00:09:17 Speaker 3

That changes and you would always changes because.

00:09:20 Speaker 3

You know Michael might have something to say.

00:09:22 Speaker 3

The French President or the German Chancellor.

00:09:25 Speaker 3

Then we saw a little bit.

00:09:26 Speaker 3

Of, well, Germany said that they were going to support a lot, but then they realized the cost of it.

00:09:31 Speaker 3

And then they went back a little bit. 00:09:33 Speaker 3 So we saw a little bit this this. 00:09:34 Speaker 3 Kind of back. 00:09:35 Speaker 3 And forth. 00:09:35 Speaker 3 But overall, if we look at it historically. 00:09:38 Speaker 3 I think it's been. 00:09:38 Speaker 3 A quite unified response from Europe. 00:09:41 Speaker 3 The big exception being. 00:09:41 Speaker 3 Hungry, of course. 00:09:42 Speaker 3 But to be fair, Hungary has been the exception on many things. 00:09:46 Speaker 3 Welcomes to you lately, and it also fit actually the overall approach that you was already providing, which was a Green Deal. 00:09:53 Speaker 3 The idea that we should green our economies, and this was part of it, that also created a little bit of trouble that you not see that of course to get. 00:10:01 Speaker 3 Off Russian gas. 00:10:03 Speaker 3 I'm in Italy on Sunday. 00:10:05 Speaker 3 Or you just recently? 00:10:07 Speaker 3

That was the first day that Italy no longer bought Russian gas is next to Germany, a country that was very dependent on Russian gas.

00:10:14 Speaker 3

But for that we might not have necessarily greened right.

00:10:17 Speaker 3

Some countries have gone back to nuclear.

00:10:19 Speaker 3

Some countries have even gone back to coal.

00:10:21 Speaker 3

So there is also been a little bit of a discussion about what this that.

00:10:24 Speaker 3

Means for the EU long term.

00:10:26 Speaker 3

Goals when it comes to climate change, but I think.

00:10:28 Speaker 3

Wall on the line has been quite consistent on this issue as you say, and the EU has moved quite quickly in the areas that you already had talked about in terms of there were treaty basis was used in order to provide financial support and weapons etc.

00:10:42 Speaker 3

Of course, Member States ultimately provide that, but it was done by the EU framework, let's say, and also, you know.

00:10:49 Speaker 3

The fact that we actually have the Ukraine being an existing member where accession was kind of off the agenda for a.

00:10:55 Speaker 3

Long time right think.

00:10:56 Speaker 3

About debacles with with Turkey and and that taking a very long time, people being a bit wary about Malcolm accession and that's kind of the Ukrainian or the the war in Ukraine has also put that back on the spot.

00:11:08 Speaker 3

So overall, I think Europe has moved quite quickly.

00:11:11 Speaker 3

The question now is you know when public opinion will be maybe also less, more wary people are going to be.

00:11:17 Speaker 3

Be a bit.

00:11:18 Speaker 3

More tired of the conflicts and they're going to feel it in their wallets and you know the the economic prospects aren't good.

00:11:24 Speaker 3

How long is this unity going?

00:11:26 Speaker 3

To going to last.

00:11:28 Speaker 3

When now the former Italian Prime Minister, Mario Draghi, was kind of interviewed at the end of his days, right.

00:11:34 Speaker 3

Of course, Maloney, far right politician, took over.

00:11:38 Speaker 3

But she's, by the way, like Pro Atlanticist and quite pro Ukraine.

00:11:42 Speaker 3

So contrary to some other Italian politicians on the right.

00:11:46 Speaker 3

He was asked so, like, what do you think, how the war has played in?

00:11:50 Speaker 3

He said.

00:11:50 Speaker 3

It's fundamentally changed here because I think the idea was that we do have to do it together.

00:11:54 Speaker 3

The question is how much together.

00:11:57 Speaker 3

And I think before.

00:11:58 Speaker 3

That also especially post Brexit was we're still bit of the question of like are we going to do it at all together, right?

00:12:04 Speaker 3

Is there going to be unraveling?

00:12:05 Speaker 3

Are there more Member States going to leave?

00:12:07 Speaker 3

I mean this for discussions that we were having six years ago, right?

00:12:10 Speaker 3

So and in that way I think.

00:12:12 Speaker 3

That we've seen.

00:12:12 Speaker 3

Very different response than usual.

00:12:15 Speaker 3

Also, actually in the recovery.

00:12:17 Speaker 3

To deal with the kind of the COVID fallout.

00:12:20 Speaker 3

We've seen a more unified approach coming from Europe.

00:12:24 Speaker 3

It's by far not European integration by itself, but it is.

00:12:28 Speaker 3

It is.

00:12:28 Speaker 3

Much more.

00:12:29 Speaker 3

Together, let's say in an approach than than used to in the last decades.

00:12:34 Speaker 2

It's nice to hear that the Brexit and Trump have had good effects at some point and and to yeah, to help the European Union project, let's continue on this long term development of the European Union, which is the future of the European.

00:12:47 Speaker 2

Union we there's a lot of talk about this idea of two city Europe.

00:12:51 Speaker 2

There's a lot of talk but not so much work and not so much research.

00:12:54 Speaker 2

And you have empirically actually map in different countries the public support for these two speed Europe, although you call it more technically differentiated integration.

00:13:05 Speaker 2

So what are your your main findings?

00:13:07 Speaker 2

To people in Europe really want to Europes are a core Europe and a sort of a la carte.

00:13:14 Speaker 3

So indeed in the academic and Brussels jargon, it's called differentiation.

00:13:18 Speaker 3

Right or differentiated your in normally how we talk about it is 2 speeds.

00:13:22 Speaker 3

They're kind of two forms.

00:13:24 Speaker 3

One is what is called enhanced cooperation.

00:13:26 Speaker 3

So certain Member States really feel very strongly about something, let's say about giving more weapons to Ukraine, they would themselves.

00:13:34 Speaker 3

Collaborate together and move quickly, so then you would get some Member States behind some.

00:13:38 Speaker 3

Member States ahead.

00:13:39 Speaker 3

The eurozone.

00:13:40 Speaker 3

It's kind of like that, right?

00:13:41 Speaker 3

Some Member States have.

00:13:42 Speaker 3 Have a shared currency. 00:13:44 Speaker 3 There's don't. 00:13:45 Speaker 3 Then there's also another form of differentiation. 00:13:47 Speaker 3 Or let's say 2 speeds. 00:13:49 Speaker 3 Which can come from what we call opt outs. 00:13:51 Speaker 3 So some Member States go further and some under Member States date back, interestingly on Ukraine. 00:13:57 Speaker 3 We saw actually a reversal. 00:13:59 Speaker 3 Of an opt out, which was Denmark, Denmark. 00:14:01 Speaker 3 We didn't want to really do any foreign policy. 00:14:04 Speaker 3 Within the European Union and. 00:14:05 Speaker 3 Actually posed Ukraine in a referendum said no. 00:14:08 Speaker 3 No, no. 00:14:08 Speaker 3 We're also going to go. 00:14:09 Speaker 3

Back so you know, you see this kind of.

00:14:11 Speaker 3

This it's not.

00:14:13 Speaker 3

Maybe 1 directional.

00:14:14 Speaker 3

We're going to go to more or less.

00:14:16 Speaker 3

So the first I think response to your question is we already have a lot of differences.

00:14:20 Speaker 3

We kind of have two speeds on different matters actually.

00:14:24 Speaker 3

It's a small footnote.

00:14:25 Speaker 3

I think partly what accelerated the British.

00:14:28 Speaker 3

Criticism with the EU or the the uneasiness of.

00:14:31 Speaker 3

The Brits was the euro.

00:14:32 Speaker 3

They were not part of the euro.

00:14:34 Speaker 3

They were.

00:14:34 Speaker 3

A huge economy they didn't really have anything to say.

00:14:37 Speaker 3

In 2010, about their response.

00:14:41 Speaker 3

And I think that created some uneasiness.

00:14:43 Speaker 3

So you've seen already some differentiation in that way or or differences in that way?

00:14:47 Speaker 3

Then when it comes further now.

00:14:49 Speaker 3

Some people may realistically say, well, it's the only way forward. 00:14:52 Speaker 3 It's the. 00:14:53 Speaker 3 Only way forward because you know there's so many. 00:14:55 Speaker 3 How can you get to? 00:14:55 Speaker 3 27 Member States to, you know, agree on everything. So we do need to provide. 00:15:00 Speaker 3 Some of that. 00:15:01 Speaker 3 That is kind of pragmatic. 00:15:02 Speaker 3 Brochure will be a solution. 00:15:04 Speaker 3 To overcome the gridlock in the European. 00:15:06 Speaker 3 Union you by the way. 00:15:07 Speaker 3 Example here that very strong. 00:15:08 Speaker 3 I know you're Spanish, but from a. 00:15:10 Speaker 3 Spanish Government, like, OK, if others don't wanna go. 00:15:13 Speaker 3 Let's just go, right? 00:15:14 Speaker 3

00:15:17 Speaker 3
My clone has also.

It's very pro EU government wants to kind of move forward.

00:15:17 Speaker 3 Said similar things. 00:15:19 Speaker 3 So if you. 00:15:19 Speaker 3 Look at public opinion and you look at this kind of enhanced cooperation. 00:15:23 Speaker 3 So some Member States going forward together and others saying. 00:15:27 Speaker 3 Or opt outs. 00:15:28 Speaker 3 You know, other Member States go and you say as one member. 00:15:30 Speaker 3 I'm gonna leave behind that. 00:15:32 Speaker 3 Different people like different things. 00:15:33 Speaker 3 So what I just mentioned, the kind of more pro EU Spanish government wants to kind of do this enhanced cooperation. 00:15:39 Speaker 3 That's what you also find in. 00:15:40 Speaker 3 The public. So very. 00:15:41 Speaker 3 Pro you people are just like, what are we waiting for? 00:15:43 Speaker 3 Just go together. 00:15:44 Speaker 3 And those people? 00:15:45 Speaker 3

Are also on average more on the left.

00:15:47 Speaker 3

So there seems to be also an interaction with their political ideology.

00:15:51 Speaker 3

Maybe more pragmatic.

00:15:52 Speaker 3

Maybe they think that they can use the EU for more climate, for more social policy.

00:15:55 Speaker 3

For it it is.

00:15:56 Speaker 3

It is an expansion of their of their ideology.

00:16:00 Speaker 3

But the opt outs, it's actually more Eurosceptics that would like.

00:16:02 Speaker 3

To see that so they want differentiation but a different.

00:16:05 Speaker 3

Level of differentiation.

00:16:06 Speaker 3

They want to keep EU the way it is, but if the EU goes further, they wanna be able to opt out, right?

00:16:10 Speaker 3

So it's a different direction.

00:16:11 Speaker 3

They actually want to move a bit back and then others want to differentiate, to move lower.

00:16:16 Speaker 3

And there you also see.

00:16:17 Speaker 3

It's more accommodated with being on the right.

00:16:19 Speaker 3

So, like saying, well, maybe they want rest.

00:16:23 Speaker 3

They want to do less together.

00:16:25 Speaker 3

So the problem with that is so if we think that this 2 speed Europe is a way to deal and overcome gridlock, well, maybe it exacerbates the gridlock, right?

00:16:34 Speaker 3

If you have within countries very different constituencies that think very differently about the EU, it doesn't mean that you're gonna.

00:16:40 Speaker 3

Create a more.

00:16:42 Speaker 3

Pragmatic solution to the problem, because not everybody agrees on that so.

00:16:46 Speaker 3

I think that.

00:16:47 Speaker 3

This level of two speeds is kind of a fact that we're doing it in different policy.

00:16:52 Speaker 3

Areas, but I don't think it's necessarily the silver.

00:16:55 Speaker 3

Bullet in the way that people describe it.

00:16:56 Speaker 3

So my has said that right?

00:16:58 Speaker 3

Why don't we every time when there's a difficult negotiation, he comes up?

00:17:01 Speaker 3

Why don't we use the advanced corporation?

00:17:03 Speaker 3

Like why don't we?

00:17:04 Speaker 3

Go for it.

00:17:05 Speaker 3

And I think that there is something to.

00:17:06 Speaker 3

Say for there.

00:17:07 Speaker 3

Maybe more careful that. 00:17:08 Speaker 3 Was traditionally associated with macula, and she's also. 00:17:12 Speaker 3 Handsome, macho. 00:17:13 Speaker 3 She's also now criticized a lot. 00:17:15 Speaker 3 Because of her. 00:17:15 Speaker 3 Russia, a gas strategy. 00:17:17 Speaker 3 But she had a. 00:17:18 Speaker 3 Little bit of a different approach and said well. 00:17:19 Speaker 3 If you want the EU to. 00:17:20 Speaker 3 Stay together and to. 00:17:21 Speaker 3 Move forward. 00:17:22 Speaker 3 You have to be careful. 00:17:23 Speaker 3 With not creating 2 levels of membership. 00:17:26 Speaker 3 A lot of differentiation or where you basically get the good guys and the bad guys are the the. 00:17:31 Speaker 3 Best students in the class. 00:17:32 Speaker 3 And the less good students in the class.

00:17:34 Speaker 3

In two groups.

00:17:35 Speaker 3

So I I personally am a little bit.

00:17:37 Speaker 3

More on the.

00:17:37 Speaker 3

Side of caution that I think that some differentiation is needed in order for you.

00:17:42 Speaker 3

To move forward, but.

00:17:43 Speaker 3

Creating a General 2 speed Europe.

00:17:45 Speaker 3

III'm a bit more skeptical about the.

00:17:48 Speaker 2

Idea. Yeah. And along the lines of what you say also, Angela Merkel's push for trying to vaccinate all citizens of the European Union was also moved by this idea.

00:17:58 Speaker 2

We have to have all the citizens in Europe getting this feeling that we are on board on the same boat.

00:18:03 Speaker 2

Then the two boats here.

00:18:05 Speaker 2

I would like to ask you on on this because you have pointed out that the differences between the left people on the left and people on the right.

00:18:12 Speaker 2

But are there still differences between northern European and southern European countries on this, because it was said that that the left in the southern Europe was more pro Europe because they wanted to get the same the?

00:18:23 Speaker 2

Average level of social protection move upwards and On the contrary, in the north is worth the right because they were to go down a little bit in in social protection.

00:18:31 Speaker 2

Do we still see that on the on the on this two speed?

00:18:36 Speaker 3

So I think that's definitely not not changed.

00:18:39 Speaker 3

So my own research has also very much been even not looking differentiation but just more or less Europe that you do see that there's differences, just that you puts together economies and countries which are very different socially, politically, economically.

00:18:53 Speaker 3

And what you really do see is is differences in the extent to which you want to see more.

00:18:57 Speaker 3

So let's just take my country as an example.

00:18:59 Speaker 3

Netherlands had the leader of the frugal 4, as it's often called very often, putting a break on integration, and that illustrates very much what you were just saying with like the idea that, oh, we're all we're doing very well.

00:19:12 Speaker 3

What's the problem?

00:19:13 Speaker 3

Like we're not.

00:19:14 Speaker 3

We don't need to do anything more.

00:19:16 Speaker 3

Well, of course the analysis maybe of an.

00:19:17 Speaker 3

Academic would be well, partly.

00:19:19 Speaker 3

Why it's small open economy like the Netherlands is doing well.

00:19:22 Speaker 3

It's because of the European Union.

00:19:24 Speaker 3

Without the European Union, it would be much more difficult.

00:19:26 Speaker 3

Which you see in the UK right now in the other country.

00:19:30 Speaker 3

So that way I share kind of these two stats as in my own biography that III work and live in Italy.

00:19:36 Speaker 3

There you see, even though people are skeptical about the EU sometimes, but oftentimes the average Italian wants more Europe in order to deal with the issues will be quite, very similar in Spain.

00:19:47 Speaker 3

Example in portal.

00:19:48 Speaker 3

So France somewhere?

00:19:49 Speaker 3

In the middle, maybe a bit split, which also you show politically.

00:19:53 Speaker 3

Right, Michael sometimes goes with more Southern Member States, sometimes with more northern Member States.

00:19:57 Speaker 3

But you have this idea where that there is a lot of let's say your.

00:20:00 Speaker 3

Skepticism or critique about Europe.

00:20:02 Speaker 3

But it's often for different reasons because you look very much as to what you have and what you.

00:20:06 Speaker 3

Can get and in the north.

00:20:08 Speaker 3

It's like, oh, we're all kind.

00:20:09 Speaker 3

Of fine.

00:20:10 Speaker 3

Why are we gonna change the equilibrium?

00:20:11 Speaker 3

We're in the South as well.

00:20:12 Speaker 3

The deal here. 00:20:13 Speaker 3 Had the euro, for example, the euro has. 00:20:15 Speaker 3 Been a very. 00:20:16 Speaker 3 Expensive currency for our economy, so in order. 00:20:19 Speaker 3 For us to do better, we. 00:20:20 Speaker 3 Need to have more support for debt or? 00:20:22 Speaker 3 For other elements or for. 00:20:23 Speaker 3 Economic development, right? 00:20:25 Speaker 3 So the often the reasons are very. 00:20:26 Speaker 3 Different for people to be critical of the you, I think they're coming back to the. 00:20:30 Speaker 3 Question about Ukraine. 00:20:31 Speaker 3 And Brexit, because the alternate. 00:20:33 Speaker 3 Relative either looking east towards Russia, the head, the danger from Russia, or looking more to the north, let's say the UK, UK where you. 00:20:42 Speaker 3 See well what? 00:20:43 Speaker 3 Happens if you leave the European Union, especially for the single market, that maybe the

alternative now doesn't look so good.

00:20:49 Speaker 3

So our criticism has has maybe reduced out of it. 00:20:52 Speaker 3 It's not. 00:20:53 Speaker 3 So you're a skeptic. 00:20:55 Speaker 3 But I've called it sometimes before. 00:20:57 Speaker 3 Maybe it was exit skepticism. 00:20:58 Speaker 3 People were flirting with exit, right. 00:21:01 Speaker 3 And now it's a bit remain. 00:21:02 Speaker 3 Skepticism like we want to stay in the European. 00:21:04 Speaker 3 Union, but we. 00:21:05 Speaker 3 Want to change the European Union to what's? 00:21:07 Speaker 3 In the favor for us. 00:21:08 Speaker 3 And the issue of course is if we keep looking at the European Union to. 00:21:11 Speaker 3 Be at these national glasses. 00:21:12 Speaker 3 That's everybody's sometimes gonna win sometimes going to lose. 00:21:15 Speaker 3 In order for that to be accepted. 00:21:17 Speaker 3 You do have to kind.

00:21:19 Speaker 3

Of buy into the general idea.

00:21:20 Speaker 3

That's solidarity across borders, be it cultural, be it economic, be political, is kind of needed.

00:21:27 Speaker 3

So I think historians.

00:21:29 Speaker 3

Probably will look back.

00:21:30 Speaker 3

At this and see like what was.

00:21:31 Speaker 3

This then the time where that.

00:21:33 Speaker 3

That solidarity, developed or not.

00:21:35 Speaker 3

I mean, it's now.

00:21:35 Speaker 3

Too early to?

00:21:36 Speaker 3

Say I do think that it's very important to keep in mind that the.

00:21:40 Speaker 3

Position you have.

00:21:41 Speaker 3

As a country within the EU, also very much affects the extent to which what you want from Europe.

00:21:47 Speaker 3

So and the Netherlands looks very different than Italy and that you.

00:21:50 Speaker 3

See reflected.

00:21:51 Speaker 3

So in the in the discourse, let's say about the.

00:21:55 Speaker 2

If the EU advances with crisis, obviously now we have a great opportunity and also going back to another crisis and another paradoxical result.

00:22:04 Speaker 2

We have the the COVID an issue that you have research also quite a lot and it's one of the greatest threats we have felt in Europe for a long time, but.

00:22:16 Speaker 2

Around the world, many governments experienced a boosting in popularity during the the onset of the outbreak. So in order to explore that, you actually with your authors took advantage of a smart research design, although by accident, but very good, which is that you you look at how COVID-19 outbreak in one country affected.

00:22:36 Speaker 2

Incumbent support in other countries.

00:22:37 Speaker 2

I'm talking about Italy, which was the 1st.

00:22:40 Speaker 2

This country, with a white lockdown in Europe, in Europe in March 9, 2020, that happened while you were doing the field work of surveys in other European countries, France, Germany, Poland and Spain. So you could examine really how an event abroad that alerted the citizens in Germany, France, Poland.

00:23:00 Speaker 2

And Spain of an imminent crisis and before the governments in those countries had taken any response, although there were talks of response in all of these countries, obviously.

00:23:11 Speaker 2

So which was?

00:23:12 Speaker 2

The the main result and and do you think still that it holds afterward?

00:23:17 Speaker 3

So what you see is very similar to I think what I described to you, although I didn't research that about Ukraine.

00:23:22 Speaker 3

So oftentimes what you get and I think what we wanted to illustrate here that it doesn't.

00:23:26 Speaker 3

Even need to affect your.

00:23:27 Speaker 3

Own country? 00:23:28 Speaker 3 It might be something. 00:23:29 Speaker 3 That happens somewhere else. 00:23:31 Speaker 3 Is that basically in a time of crisis, you? 00:23:33 Speaker 3 See a little bit of a rallying around. 00:23:34 The flag and. 00:23:35 Speaker 3 We cannot really. 00:23:36 Speaker 3 Uncover the mechanism like we we. 00:23:39 Speaker 3 Don't really know why, but kind of the other literature also on war on terrorist attack. 00:23:44 Speaker 3 Kind of suggests that people are quite, you know, anxious when that happens. 00:23:48 Speaker 3 For example, virus that they don't know and a lockdown and what they want is government to deliver for them and. 00:23:54 Speaker 3 They will give. 00:23:55 Speaker 3 Let's say a a boost in. 00:23:57 Speaker 3 Confidence for the government in order for. 00:23:59 Speaker 3 The government then, to implement policies. 00:24:01 Speaker 3

But there's where the crooks. 00:24:02 Speaker 3 Is so that leads to an initial boost. 00:24:05 Speaker 3 In support. 00:24:06 Speaker 3 But across time, as the government's response becomes clear and some people might be unhappy with it, so they realize, wow, in order to deal with the crisis, you have to stay home or you have to lock up your bar. 00:24:17 Speaker 3 Or your restaurant. 00:24:18 Speaker 3 Or then you. 00:24:19 Speaker 3 After a while you see also that that. 00:24:21 Speaker 3 Support for the. 00:24:22 Speaker 3 Government slowly declines, So what we show in. 00:24:24 Speaker 3 This particular paper. 00:24:25 Speaker 3 Is that even before? 00:24:27 Speaker 3 Indeed, what you say that the lockdowns were implemented in other countries, you saw an increase in support for countries outside of Italy because of the lockdown that was implemented in Italy, which became kind of out of the loop mean I lived in Italy almost 7 from one day to the other. 00:24:41 Speaker 3 We couldn't leave the house. 00:24:42 Speaker 3 It was.

00:24:43 Speaker 3

It was a talk about the virus, but not necessarily talk about repeating what had happened in China and these kind of lockdowns, so that that creates an increase, but of course, later on when you look a year later at the level of support for the government, it did eventually.

00:24:56 Speaker 3

Decline in some countries quicker.

00:24:58 Speaker 3

Because the response was worse.

00:25:01 Speaker 3

Initially, for example in the UK.

00:25:03 Speaker 3

It went up again with the vaccines, but before that it was.

00:25:06 Speaker 3

With this lackluster Boris Johnson.

00:25:08 Speaker 3

Prime Minister Boris Johnson approach not locking down locking.

00:25:11 Speaker 3

Down kind of unclear guidance.

00:25:14 Speaker 3

But I think what happens.

00:25:15 Speaker 3

In Christ spirits is that people want decisive government.

00:25:19 Speaker 3

And they want decisive government.

00:25:20 Speaker 3

But then after.

00:25:21 Speaker 3

A while when they see the actual consequences of.

00:25:24 Speaker 3

What to help devise the?

00:25:25 Speaker 3

Divisive government then sometimes.

00:25:26 Speaker 3

They don't like everything that they see.

00:25:28 Speaker 3

So it it increases again and I think what you see a little bit with Ukraine is initially there's a.

00:25:33 Speaker 3

Lot of support.

00:25:34 Speaker 3

But then as it becomes clear that there's also costs.

00:25:38 Speaker 3

To this approach.

00:25:39 Speaker 3

Then you see public opinion becoming a little bit more wary again, and maybe support for governments going going.

00:25:44 Speaker 3

Come down.

00:25:45 Speaker 3

So it just kind of depended when you held the election, the Dutch election was held very close to this COVID price.

00:25:51 Speaker 3

So Mark Ritter actually got a boost from.

00:25:54 Speaker 3

That Prime Minister.

00:25:55 Speaker 3

Than in McCloud it was much more difficult and that, you know, like he didn't even.

00:25:59 Speaker 3

He didn't even stand for the government, but many not government parties in Italy, like Maloney's party that now won.

00:26:06 Speaker 3

Because the election was so much later than the COVID crisis, there was nothing.

00:26:09 Speaker 3

Left anymore of a boost for the government.

00:26:11 Speaker 3

Or so on.

00:26:12 Speaker 3

It was already quite gone.

00:26:13 Speaker 3

Quite the opposite.

00:26:14 Speaker 3

People wanted to have an opposition party in power that.

00:26:16 Speaker 3

Had not been part of.

00:26:17 Speaker 3

Government post COVID basically and wanted to change.

00:26:21 Speaker 3

So I think that's what you often see also in in wars also around terrorist attacks that after an initial period of supports you see waning again.

00:26:32 Speaker 2

I think it's not a a so obvious result in in the sense that we can say, yeah, we see.

00:26:38 Speaker 2

Normally, a rally around the flag, but also there are all these research showing that the governments are blamed for shark attacks well.

00:26:46 Speaker 2

That have nothing to do with government, so we could see that you have the shark attack on mechanism on the one hand and the rally around the flag.

00:26:52 Speaker 2

And it's very interesting to see.

00:26:54 Speaker 2

Which one actually can be working?

00:26:56 Speaker 2

At the very least at at short term and you have said that of course, then there are after variations in their countries and you you say that might be depending on the response.

00:27:05 Speaker 2

And my question is depends on the response to the COVID depends also on other fundamentals of of government.

00:27:12 Speaker 2

For example, the University of Gothenburg.

00:27:14 Speaker 2

The quality of Government institute, we would say, well, it depends a lot about the quality.

00:27:17 Speaker 2

Government doesn't depend.

00:27:18 Speaker 2

How much about the ideology of the government or of has a big or small government response, but depends on having impartial institutions in place that treat all citizens equally, even if it is a strict lockdown, or if it is a very relaxed or nonexistent like in Sweden for.

00:27:36 Speaker 3

Example definitely I think.

00:27:38 Speaker 3

State capacity really matters when if you're really able to lock down and then also that you're able to find the.

00:27:45 Speaker 3

Middle road, right?

00:27:46 Speaker 3

Of course, the Swedish respond was very controversial, also by virologists.

00:27:50 Speaker 3

And I think, you know, understanding was not it was not shared outside of Sweden.

00:27:56 Speaker 3

In that approach.

00:27:57 Speaker 3

It did also lead to be.

00:27:58 Speaker 3

Fair to more access.

00:27:59 Speaker 3

Deaths than in other Scandinavian countries because we cannot really compare it across.

00:28:03 Speaker 3

But that's not to say that it was wrong.

00:28:05 Speaker 3

It's say that you have to find a balance between restricting freedom of people and getting psychological issues as closing schools, which might also have kinds of effects and.

00:28:16 Speaker 3

Certain vulnerable people dying of a virus.

00:28:18 Speaker 3

It's a very difficult, you know, balance to strike.

00:28:21 Speaker 3

So I do think that in open societies you can have some of those discussions, right?

00:28:25 Speaker 3

It's very difficult to see that in China right now, very difficult to move off a 0 COVID strategy when it's been in place and when you don't really have an election or something where you can have an overturn of a government and something like that.

00:28:38 Speaker 3

So I would definitely agree that the quality of institutions, the state.

00:28:42 Speaker 3

The level of democracy really matter and some studies have definitely shown that.

00:28:46 Speaker 3

I also think what was very interesting is that you also see the level of politicization, so there's.

00:28:51 Speaker 3

Very interesting work.

00:28:52 Speaker 3

In the United States, by Tom Popinski, Sarah Goodman and Shannon Guardian, and they showed that in.

00:28:59 Speaker 3

The United States.

00:29:00 Speaker 3

Was super politicized, right?

00:29:01 Speaker 3

So wearing a mask, doing the lockdown.

00:29:04 Speaker 3

Also my piece.

00:29:06 Speaker 3

Also the same in Brazil.

00:29:08 Speaker 3

Around bolsonaro.

00:29:09 Speaker 3

But for example, in the country like Italy also, and I don't know exactly, but Sweden.

00:29:14 Speaker 3

In in Italy, the far right part is all wore masks.

00:29:18 Speaker 3

They didn't they were not anti VAX.

00:29:20 Speaker 3

So if you don't have this politicization.

00:29:22 Speaker 3

It's easier to do the public policy right?

00:29:24 Speaker 3

But in the US, it was very difficult.

00:29:26 Speaker 3

Or in most amount.

00:29:27 Speaker 3

Of Brazil that if.

00:29:28 Speaker 3

You have the.

00:29:28 Speaker 3

President, that's saying, oh, you know, it's not that bad or or you can go outside.

00:29:33 Speaker 3

Or it's just the?

00:29:34 Speaker 3

Too, right?

00:29:34 Speaker 3

Then it becomes very difficult even if you have a very good health bureaucracy or you have a very good level of institutions or, for example, according at least to international survey, the US was very well prepared for pandemic.

00:29:48 Speaker 3

But ultimately their response was not good, and that had more to do also with the politicization of political parties, especially the Republican Party around COVID and and that became a real political issue.

00:29:59 Speaker 3

And in Europe, you saw some of that in Germany also you saw some of that in the Netherlands, but you saw, for example that much less, which I was also surprised by.

00:30:08 Speaker 3

In Italy or in Spain, where I would?

00:30:11 Speaker 3

Have expected more.

00:30:12 Speaker 3

But I think because there the heat was very strong, it was very difficult for far, I thought this in in Italy to say that the virus wasn't there, right?

00:30:20 Speaker 3

Because it was so strong and the and the, you know, the first images out of Bergamo which was very high.

00:30:26 Speaker 3

Were so strong that you couldn't really deny that, but then to be fair, you know, they did still do that in a country like Brazil, right?

00:30:33 Speaker 3

So I do think that that that what you say is exactly correct.

00:30:36 Speaker 3

So the level of democracy, the state capacity, but also how political parties politicize the issue are additional to these initial rally about the flag.

00:30:46 Speaker 3

That we find, you know, are also very important factors to think about how successful.

00:30:50 Speaker 3

Policy can be in the.

00:30:51 Speaker 1

Long term.

00:30:52 Speaker 2

I think that also in Europe, I agree with you to a lesser extent this happened than in Brazil or in in the US, but in a research that we conducted with Andres Rodriguez poster and and Nicola Sharon in

European regions, we see that controlling for the usual suspects in what explains excess mortality in the first wave of the code, we found that the our proxies for politicization.

00:31:12 Speaker 2

At the regional level, also had that were associated with higher excess mortality.

00:31:17 Speaker 2

So so A to a lesser extent, but you had even if.

00:31:21 Speaker 2

If not far right, parties at national level to the very least are local or regional level.

00:31:26 Speaker 2

Yeah, they were far right politicians actually playing mini Trump's.

00:31:32 Speaker 2

I think you have something that is very interesting and also worrying that when there is a pandemic, people when decisive government and I remember to cover it at the beginning of the pandemic.

00:31:42 Speaker 2

This paper, but Frances came out and others on how the authoritarian mind, let's say, wakes up when we have a pandemic.

00:31:50 Speaker 2

And I was concerned about this issue of up to which extent COVID is a threat to democracy and then looking at your research, actually.

00:31:57 Speaker 2

You, you, you also have conducted conjoined and vignette experiments in the US and UK during the.

00:32:02 Speaker 2

1st wave of.

00:32:03 Speaker 2

Of the COVID and you find that peoples attitudes are you can manipulate them to certain extent and you shift their support depending on what your political leader says on some.

00:32:15 Speaker 2

Think if Trump told you, don't use face masks.

00:32:18 Speaker 2

You you do it, but that there are limits to that.

00:32:22 Speaker 2

We can say heart behavior or irrational behavior of the of the border which are those limits and if are those limits, that's enough for preserving democracy.

00:32:31 Speaker 2

Or you could say or your opinion.

00:32:33 Speaker 3

Yeah, it's very difficult, right.

00:32:35 Speaker 3

So to see when those limits are, So what we find there is and we try really to find the limits.

00:32:40 Speaker 3

So explicitly saying also like than a demonstration or ban an election and it will be favorable for the opposite party, right.

00:32:47 Speaker 3

the US is very partisan.

00:32:49 Speaker 3

So Democrats, these are the Republicans.

00:32:51 Speaker 3

And we still don't find that on those two issues.

00:32:54 Speaker 3

So on protests and on elections.

00:32:56 Speaker 3

And I think that makes sense to me.

00:32:59 Speaker 3

And that doesn't mean that there's no threat for democracy.

00:33:01 Speaker 3

So what you see is what a lot of populist and far right.

00:33:04 Speaker 3

Parties do is they change.

00:33:06 Speaker 3

A little bit the definition.

00:33:07 Speaker 3

And there's been some work now that of what democracy is right.

00:33:10 Speaker 3

So what they do is.

00:33:11 Speaker 3

To say well.

00:33:12 Speaker 3

Yes, you have to be able to say what you want.

00:33:15 Speaker 3

Yes, demonstrations, you know like that those key elements, but minority rights, no providing you know strong constitutional checks on on government, no.

00:33:26 Speaker 3

So what you see is basically that I think some of you know, overcoming democracy or not having free fair election is usually quite a step.

00:33:36 Speaker 3

For people who have been educated and socialized in advanced industrial democracies, in more volatile where you see recent shifts, we know that that can change quite.

00:33:47 Speaker 3

But that doesn't mean that there's not a threat for democracy, because when you ask average people about well, does that mean that a court can strike back anything that that?

00:33:56 Speaker 3

The government is.

00:33:57 Speaker 3

No, no, no.

00:33:57 Speaker 3

But that's not Democratic, but in our idea of, let's say, thicker democracy or maybe head to.

00:34:03 Speaker 3

The work of.

00:34:03 Speaker 3

Someone like Dal, right?

00:34:05 Speaker 3

Where constitutional rights.

00:34:07 Speaker 3

Are a big part.

00:34:08 Speaker 3

Of democracy and inclusion and making sure that everyone can vote so also someone who you know hasn't been in the country that long.

00:34:15 Speaker 3

But has a.

00:34:15 Speaker 3

Passport or someone who might have been convicted of a crime but is still allowed to vote according to the Constitution, that those things would be accepted and there is where I.

00:34:24 Speaker 3

Think you see quite, I mean.

00:34:25 Speaker 3

I don't have to say to people in Gothenburg we have showed quite extensively that you've seen a lot of kind of erosion of those kind of ideas.

00:34:32 Speaker 3

So I think our results are.

00:34:34 Speaker 3

Are let's say you know it depends on how you.

00:34:35 Speaker 3

Look at it. Glass is.

00:34:36 Speaker 3

Half empty or glass.

00:34:37 Speaker 3

Half hole in the sense that yeah, it's.

00:34:40 Speaker 3

Good news that people don't.

00:34:41 Speaker 3

Want to overcome elections and protests?

00:34:44 Speaker 3

But maybe.

00:34:44 Speaker 3

That bar is also a bit.

00:34:45 Speaker 3

Of a lower bar, right?

00:34:46 Speaker 3

To see that comes to, you know, surveillance.

00:34:49 Speaker 3

They might be very willing to let go of all kinds of minority rights, just in order to combat the virus.

00:34:55 Speaker 3

So I do think that you've seen that and I mean.

00:34:57 Speaker 3

Some other evidence.

00:34:57 Speaker 3

Also shows that Kim Gaviglio is one of my colleagues here, polling that's populist were very slow in responding to the guys.

00:35:04 Speaker 3

The response wasn't very good, so you do see also in the sense that there is some effect with the as you said before, with the level of democracy that you saw there and we shouldn't remember, you know.

00:35:15 Speaker 3

Hungry Israel, where we saw the crisis.

00:35:20 Speaker 3

Pretense for perhaps some laws that they wanted to introduce anyway that you know, restricted rights, especially for opposition.

00:35:29 Speaker 3

I mean, especially Hungary is a is a good example of that so.

00:35:32 Speaker 3

I do think that that Christ periods are overall very tricky and I fear and that's, you know, they become very pessimistic.

00:35:40 Speaker 3

But I fear that in the current economic crisis that we're seeing, because many people were already kind of in a difficult position post COVID and then.

00:35:48 Speaker 3

We got the.

00:35:49 Speaker 3

War over it, which, especially in Europe has created.

00:35:52 Speaker 3

A huge energy crisis and an economic crisis that work of economic historians kind of suggest that especially inflationary economic shocks that we have now, that they usually always lead to a thorough response historically across time.

00:36:06 Speaker 3

That's by traditions at all is published.

00:36:08 Speaker 3

Economics and you know they they of course cannot really provide an argument.

00:36:12 Speaker 3

They just show the empirical, let's say, regularity of this, it it you also see some increase in the far left.

00:36:18 Speaker 3

But much less.

00:36:19 Speaker 3

So much more on the far right.

00:36:20 Speaker 3

And actually I'm doing a project now to try to understand why in a time of crisis, people don't want compensation, so they.

00:36:27 Speaker 3

Don't vote for a pro.

00:36:29 Speaker 3

Party, but they actually vote for a far right party, which sometimes provides some redistribution but not at the same level as than the left is.

00:36:36 Speaker 3

Doing that for example.

00:36:38 Speaker 3

So trying to understand why in a crisis period, people go to the far right to more alternatively you say authoritarian solutions is I think, a really important question and I don't 100.

00:36:48 Speaker 3

Percent have the answer to.

00:36:49 Speaker 3

To that question yet.

00:36:51 Speaker 2

No, but looking forward to read your research and apart from the crisis, there are structural factors that are driving this population and there is this kind of, call it contest between factors that what explains population.

00:37:05 Speaker 2

But it is the economic factor versus the cultural ones is identity or is inequality.

00:37:11 Speaker 2

And you, in your research provide, let's say a third factor in in the sense of of the role of the state capacity and local services.

00:37:18 Speaker 2

In the case of Italy, and we have also heard quite a lot that the electoral support for far right parties is often linked to a specific geographies of this content.

00:37:28 Speaker 2

And so people are not happy in different regions and that's why they vote for population.

00:37:35 Speaker 2

It's always difficult to know what triggers that.

00:37:38 Speaker 2

Those grievances one thinks about the Midlands and they look like different from the states in the US or in Brazil, or in France, or Catalonia in, in Spain or or southern Italy.

00:37:49 Speaker 2

Out of your research, what?

00:37:51 Speaker 2

Why you think that the local services and the state capacity, let's say at local level might play such an important role?

00:37:58 Speaker 3

Yeah, exactly.

00:37:58 Speaker 3

So there's been very much indeed.

00:38:00 Speaker 3

When you said this horse.

00:38:01 Speaker 3

Race between is it economic or culture?

00:38:02 Speaker 3

And to be fair, I I never really understood that because and it's also in my work on your skepticism is that, for example, oftentimes people perceive an economic threat through a cultural lens.

00:38:14 Speaker 3

For example, if you think about the Brexit campaign, it.

00:38:16 Speaker 3

Was oh, we're.

00:38:17 Speaker 3

We don't want to have a.

00:38:19 Speaker 3

Certain people from the EU and then it was very often about Polish Romanian.

00:38:22 Speaker 3

You know, a lot of actual cultural differences too.

00:38:25 Speaker 3

And then I remember Nigel Farage, who was the leader of the UK Independence Party, saying, Oh well, it doesn't apply to the Commonwealth because those are bits, you know, or those who have the same values as Brits but.

00:38:36 Speaker 3

You know it applies to other people, and that was clearly also economic arguments with cultural arguments mix oftentimes.

00:38:43 Speaker 3

So it's very difficult to see that you also see parties on the on the populist left that have used language that is also quite anti immigrant now not so, so much anymore.

00:38:52 Speaker 3

But in 2018, the five Star movement in Italy definitely had sanctions that were very worried about immigration. Now they've moved really much more to the.

00:39:00 Speaker 3

So what we started basically was.

00:39:02 Speaker 3

That insight so.

00:39:03 Speaker 3

Like you have this economic and culture.

00:39:04 Speaker 3

And we've done less.

00:39:06 Speaker 3

The interaction.

00:39:07 Speaker 3

There's been some important work by very young but great scientists.

00:39:12 Speaker 3

The young below just called Colombo.

00:39:14 Speaker 3

Some people who have really thought about this and networks of grievances.

00:39:18 Speaker 3

Diane has a really good paper about pubs and where pubs decline in the UK and that it's social capital and people feel that it it's declining, so you know quite.

00:39:27 Speaker 3

Things are important in peoples lives, so kind of inspired by that research.

00:39:31 Speaker 3

We started to actually we started to kind of look at public services, this project that's trying to understand that I mentioned that's trying to understand why people go to the.

00:39:40 Speaker 3

Far right then.

00:39:41 Speaker 3

We found also that it's oftentimes not the.

00:39:43 Speaker 3

Most poor people that vote for the power, right?

00:39:46 Speaker 3

So then we thought, OK, but there are oftentimes in in certain parts of.

00:39:49 Speaker 3

Cities they can be part of cities or?

00:39:52 Speaker 3

Or rule you see all the times where it says rural versus urban, that's clear.

00:39:56 Speaker 3

But you also have quite some urban areas or let's say more deprived parts.

00:40:00 Speaker 1

Of urban areas.

00:40:01 Speaker 3

And also for for the far right.

00:40:03 Speaker 3

So we were trying to understand these geographies not fitting 100% urban, rural and and then we.

00:40:09 Speaker 3

Started to work very much on public services. 00:40:11 Speaker 3 And it actually comes from my. 00:40:13 Speaker 3 Own where I'm from. I'm. 00:40:14 Speaker 3 From a very rural part of. 00:40:15 Speaker 1 The mainland and. 00:40:16 Speaker 3 My father, who always voted, I think I can say it, he's passed away. 00:40:19 Speaker 3 So, but he always voted. 00:40:21 Speaker 3 For the Christian Democrats and at the end of. 00:40:22 Speaker 3 His life, he started to vote much. 00:40:24 Speaker 3 More for the far right. 00:40:25 Speaker 3 For more extreme parties. 00:40:26 Speaker 3 And I don't think he was. 00:40:27 Speaker 3 I mean, who knows? 00:40:28 Speaker 3 You know I. 00:40:29 Speaker 3 Didn't hear so much xenophobic language coming from him. 00:40:33 Speaker 3 But what the issue was for?

00:40:34 Speaker 3

Us for him.

00:40:35 Speaker 3

Is that the sellout of the elites in The Hague of people like?

00:40:39 Speaker 3

Him and that was basically he was a farmer.

00:40:42 Speaker 3

They closed the the like kind of the local post office and then he had to drive much further in order to get money to post things, to pay his workers.

00:40:49 Speaker 3

He was a farmer and he was very upset by that, that he had to incur costs.

00:40:54 Speaker 3

And that his village, that the.

00:40:56 Speaker 3

The school was leaving.

00:40:57 Speaker 3

The village, like the kind of this story of the climb.

00:40:59 Speaker 3

Right.

00:41:00 Speaker 3

And it used, I used to be something and and inspired by that we then got data in the Italians very different context.

00:41:06 Speaker 3

But I think it also applies in the Netherlands, but in Italy have much more variation in the country and what we basically started to work on is to try to understand.

00:41:15 Speaker 3

What the relationship is between what we call public service deprivation, so we reduce the access to public services so.

00:41:22 Speaker 3

For example, having to drive.

00:41:23 Speaker 3

Longer to a post office to a hospital having less garbage collection, having less police on the street like a whole set of public services that you can think of.

00:41:31 Speaker 3

And if you have less access to them.

00:41:33 Speaker 3

Then that might actually feel the far right.

00:41:35 Speaker 3

We also use the reform to try to get a more causal, you know, to really.

00:41:38 Speaker 3

Try to get kind of cause and effect.

00:41:41 Speaker 3

And what we kind of argue is that in these geographies that have been public service we.

00:41:45 Speaker 3

Provide people get very.

00:41:47 Speaker 3

Dissatisfied, but it's still the question why did they go to?

00:41:49 Speaker 3

The far right and what we show is that.

00:41:52 Speaker 3

These production and public services increases uncertainty and let's say, worry about migrants competing over those public services.

00:42:02 Speaker 3

And I think we show it also doesn't go to the left.

00:42:05 Speaker 3

It's probably also because if you've just experienced all these cuts, it doesn't seem super credible that you can, you know, reverse the cuts, right?

00:42:13 Speaker 3

So what is left is left kind of thing.

00:42:16 Speaker 3

So what people then the the policy package that they start to be more attracted to and which also far right parties provide is like.

00:42:22 Speaker 3

Well, we cannot increase the buy because many far right parties are actually not so pro distribution.

00:42:28 Speaker 3

Oftentimes they're also, you know, low tax parties, etc.

00:42:31 Speaker 3

But they say basically the way we're.

00:42:32 Speaker 3

Going to give you what you what?

00:42:34 Speaker 3

You deserve whatever that's in their language, of course.

00:42:38 Speaker 3

Is by just limiting immigration.

00:42:40 Speaker 3

So we reduce the demand on public services of non natives in the favor of natives, and that is a rhetoric which resonates extremely well in those areas.

00:42:51 Speaker 3

That I've seen.

00:42:51 Speaker 3

The client in my kind of own family, I think that was the type of language my father used.

00:42:56 Speaker 3

Can we say that that's still racist you?

00:42:58 Speaker 3

Know or or whatever like that of.

00:43:00 Speaker 3

But it was basically an acceptable way of saying I'm worried about immigration and I'm worried about immigration because I feel that I'm not getting my fair share of the tax base.

00:43:09 Speaker 3

I'm not getting my fair share of.

00:43:11 Speaker 3

Government and it also.

00:43:12 Speaker 3

I think fits some more ethnographic.

00:43:14 Speaker 3

Work that's been done in different areas.

00:43:16 Speaker 3

Which also suggests that.

00:43:18 Speaker 3

People are increasingly worried about being forgotten.

00:43:21 Speaker 3

Left behind by the government.

00:43:23 Speaker 3

So yeah, that's what we that's kind of the argument that we show.

00:43:25 Speaker 3

We show public service deprivation so reduced.

00:43:27 Speaker 3

Access to public services.

00:43:29 Speaker 3

Increases our rights support and the mechanism we outline is that people get more and more worried about competition over public services with migrants.

00:43:36 Speaker 2

Well, it's a fascinating work and it's good to know that hospitals seem to matter as much as perhaps and and.

00:43:43 Speaker 2

But it's true that this feeling of decay is is very difficult to get rid of once the narrative of the public services are closing down, even if it is for efficiency reasons, it's almost impossible to convince the citizens they are not in a left behind.

00:43:57 Speaker 2

Phase to conclude our discussion.

00:44:00 Speaker 2

The most important question, let's talk about your book.

00:44:03 Speaker 2

Let's say the book with Sarah.

00:44:04 Speaker 2

Hold on the the rise of the Challenger parties in Europe.

00:44:08 Speaker 2

Fascinating book like two years ago, more or less was released.

00:44:13 Speaker 2

Where you you draw these analogies between party systems and and how firms compete in the in the marketplace and.

00:44:20 Speaker 2

How this could explain this emergence of this challenging parties in in Europe, both on the far left and on the on the far right?

00:44:27 Speaker 2

Can you tell us a bit more which is the similarity between Georgia, Maloney and I don't know, Elon Musk apart from.

00:44:32 Speaker 3

And then? Well, exactly.

00:44:33 Speaker 2

Being apart from.

00:44:34 Speaker 2

Their egos.

00:44:34 Speaker 2

That probably has pretty big egos.

00:44:35 Speaker 3

Exactly, exactly, exactly.

00:44:38 Speaker 3

And also both being kind of professional entrepreneurs and she's a professional politician, unlike unlike what she says, she's never done anything else.

00:44:45 Speaker 3

What we do in the book is that you have a lot of discussion.

00:44:48 Speaker 3

As we know.

00:44:50 Speaker 3

About denaturalization and globalization, women's entry in the labour market. Educational changes. So a lot of social changes that.

00:44:57 Speaker 3

Changed political parties and that changed competition.

00:45:01 Speaker 3

Hey, you don't have as many trade unions anymore.

00:45:04 Speaker 3

You don't have people don't go to church as much anymore.

00:45:07 Speaker 3

And you see.

00:45:07 Speaker 3

Changes in the party system because of its Social Democratic parties losing Christian Democratic parties, losing, for example.

00:45:14 Speaker 3

But we see also a lot of variation across time, a lot of variation.

00:45:17 Speaker 3

Cross countries, even though let's say the level of synchronization or the level of trade union membership is similar.

00:45:23 Speaker 3

And what we try to do in the book is to say, well, that's probably is what we've not looked at enough in political science is the strategies that parties themselves employ in order to deal with the changes in demand with the fact that, you know, more voters are up for grabs, more voters change their position between one election and the other.

00:45:41 Speaker 3

So this high volatility.

00:45:43 Speaker 3

And then coming back to the question of like, what does Maloney?

00:45:45 Speaker 3

Have in common with Ella.

00:45:47 Speaker 3

Musk is in the sense that what he did is he was trying to disrupt the automobile market right through Tesla, through an electric car.

00:45:55 Speaker 3

He also used a lot of abrasive language on Twitter.

00:45:58 Speaker 3

You know, like anti Ford.

00:46:00 Speaker 3

All these old school automobile car.

00:46:03 Speaker 3

Companies they don't really understand where everything is going and it's almost the same thing.

00:46:08 Speaker 3

What you see in politics that what we say is that what successful political entrepreneurs do is they do two things.

00:46:14 Speaker 3

One, they introduce an issue or a package.

00:46:17 Speaker 3

Issues in A at least novel.

00:46:20 Speaker 3

Way for the public doesn't.

00:46:21 Speaker 3

Mean that it hasn't been.

00:46:22 Speaker 3

Done before, but in a in a what we call issue entrepreneurship.

00:46:25 Speaker 3

So for example, George Maloney did that very much on she politicized things that were less politicized in in, in Italy.

00:46:31 Speaker 3

Hey, immigration was already politicized, but she also added to class.

00:46:35 Speaker 3

She always talked about LGBTQ plus ideology.

00:46:38 Speaker 3

It comes from abroad.

00:46:39 Speaker 3

That was actually something that was not very common in Italian politics.

00:46:43 Speaker 3

A very different way of doing politics.

00:46:44 Speaker 3

And she would be consistent, right Italian politicians.

00:46:48 Speaker 3

Are real.

00:46:49 Speaker 3

Wheel and deal makers that change from 1 government to the other.

00:46:52 Speaker 3

So she was going to be very consistent.

00:46:54 Speaker 3

So she provides.

00:46:55 Speaker 3

That, on the other hand, what?

00:46:56 Speaker 3

She does, is she?

00:46:57 Speaker 3

Uses a lot of anti establishment rhetoric.

00:46:59 Speaker 3

So and that was also what we see that these kind of entrepreneurs do.

00:47:04 Speaker 3

So in her case, she was the only party that did not sit in the unity government on the Draghi.

00:47:09 Speaker 3

She was you.

00:47:10 Speaker 3

Know always kind of talking about this cast of politicians that was not really governing in the interest of Italians.

00:47:18 Speaker 3

And that's the combination of issue, entrepreneurship and anti establishment rhetoric that makes these political parties very successful.

00:47:26 Speaker 3

So you've seen that also in other countries.

00:47:27 Speaker 3

I mean this idea of of the cast.

00:47:29 Speaker 3

It's very much associated with Podemos.

00:47:31 Speaker 3

In in Spain, right?

00:47:33 Speaker 3

Lacosta that.

00:47:34 Speaker 3

Was the the the thing that they wanted to very different way of organizing the party's anti corruption. You know a lot of different issues that now actually have been a bit coopted by the Social Democrats but was traditionally very much socially.

00:47:47 Speaker 3

But they must they do really well and I think.

00:47:49 Speaker 3

What we're trying to.

00:47:50 Speaker 3

Explain in the book.

00:47:51 Speaker 3

Is what could explain how long they are able to do well?

00:47:54 Speaker 3

And I think in the case of taking.

00:47:55 Speaker 3

Then, once again in the gates of Spain, you really very well saw that the big competitor.

00:48:00 Speaker 3

The Left Co opted a lot of things that Podemos did.

00:48:04 Speaker 3

Sanchez really kind of took a different approach.

00:48:07 Speaker 3

Much more pro gender, much more pro was cooperating, at least not everything.

00:48:11 Speaker 3

But a couple of things of.

00:48:13 Speaker 3

Of of for them, and that became very successful.

00:48:15 Speaker 3

Ultimately corrupting the party.

00:48:17 Speaker 3

In government, and then they're less successful with Maloney.

00:48:20 Speaker 3

She was able to get such a big.

00:48:22 Speaker 3

She was able to kind of do better than her right wing competitors and is now setting the government.

00:48:28 Speaker 3

The question will be with her.

00:48:29 Speaker 3

You know how this government.

00:48:31 Speaker 3

Ultimately it's difficult to be a challenger.

00:48:34

When you're in.

00:48:34 Speaker 3

Government, right.

00:48:35 Speaker 3

So that's what we are.

00:48:36 Speaker 3

What we try to explain in the book is is under which conditions are these challenges successful and and and how does it affect government and how can we understand the success of the long term?

00:48:46 Speaker 2

And as you are now pointing out with this examples, it looks like the mainstream parties on the left have been more successful than the mainstream parties on the center right in in order.

00:48:57 Speaker 2

To Co opt.

00:48:58 Speaker 2

So it can be the result of, of course, personally extraordinary candidates on on the center left politicians like.

00:49:06 Speaker 2

Sanchez, who are very skillful in space.

00:49:08 Speaker 2

And and others.

00:49:09 Speaker 2

But I think you see it all over in Europe and and it disconnects with actually what you have said before in times of crisis, we see actually the far right not the far left who in principle we should think they would be the main winners of this contest for the votes of of the people who are unsatisfied with the workings of the.

00:49:30 Speaker 2

But for that product, for your next book based.

00:49:32 Speaker 2

On your on.

00:49:33 Speaker 2

Your research and Catherine, thank you very much for a fantastic conversation.

00:49:38 Speaker 2

We have learned a lot about your research and also about the trends of how we are evolving in public opinion and how we are moving in in Europe.

00:49:48 Speaker 2

To be honest, the the direction is.

00:49:50 Speaker 2

More optimistic, actually.

00:49:52 Speaker 2

What that what?

00:49:53 Speaker 2

The data at or the media impression one might have when looking at the nuances of your research.

00:49:59 Speaker 2

So thank you very much, Catherine.

00:50:01 Speaker 3

Thank you.

00:50:02 Speaker 3

I really enjoyed the conversation.