

When political supply creates its own demand: The case of anti-EU politics in Visegrad countries

B. Najman
Y. Zanko

CASE 25th Anniversary Conference

**“The Future of Europe – Central and Eastern Europe
in a Comparative Perspective”**

November 17-18, 2016

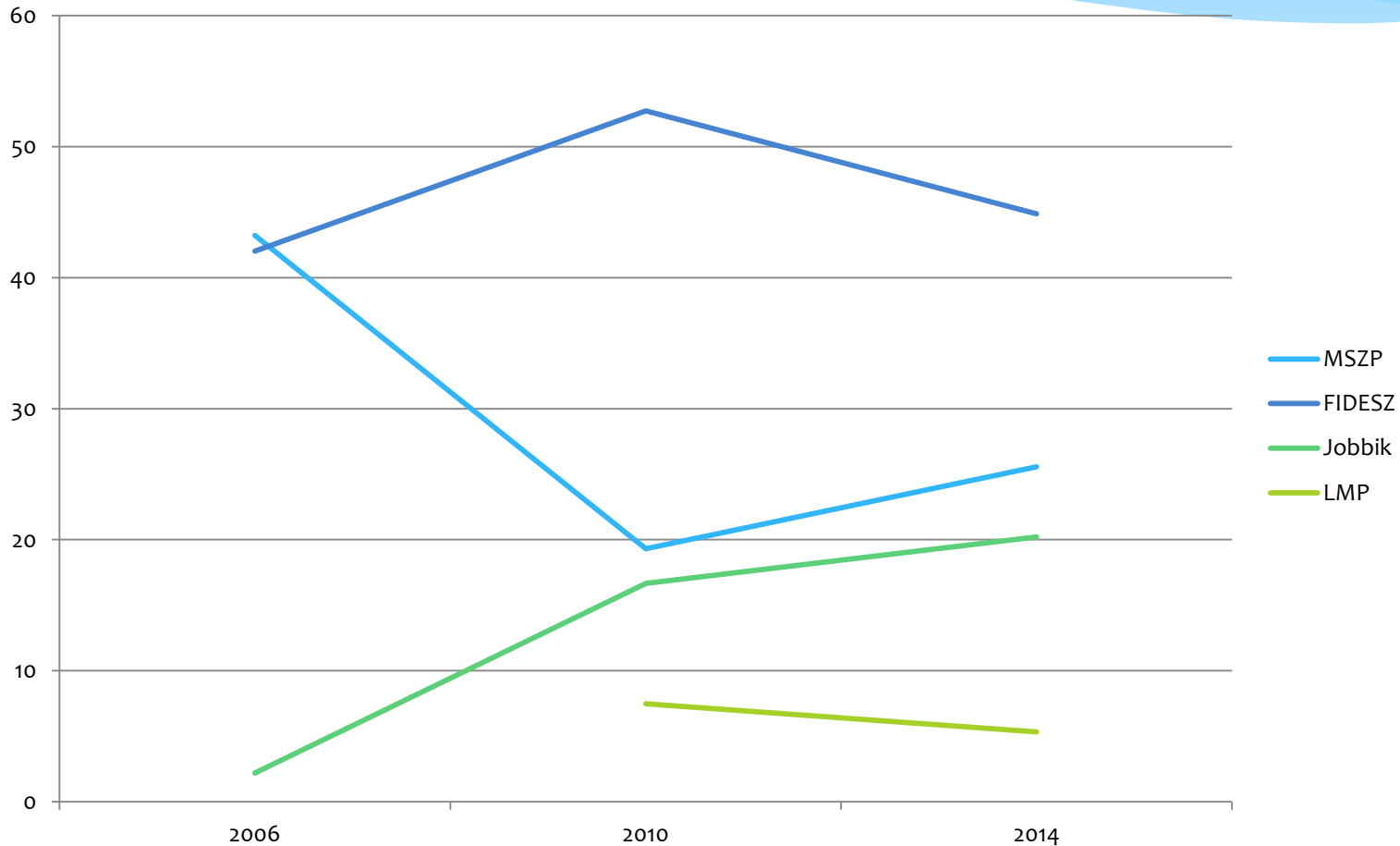
Motivations

- * For if the future European order does not emerge from a broadening European Union, based on the best European values and willing to defend and transmit them, it could well happen that the organization of this future will fall into the hands of a cast of fools, fanatics, populists and demagogues waiting for their chance and determined to promote the worst European traditions. And there are, unfortunately, more than enough of those.”
- * Vaclav Havel Speech to European Parliament, March 1994

Motivations - Context

- * Clear political radicalization / populism in the EU and in Visegrad countries
- * Wars in Ukraine and Syria
- * Disagreement within the EU: refugees
- * What did we learned from the US elections
- * Reforms of the Democratic Governance. How citizens voice

Election results in Hungary



Literature Review

- * *Euroscepticism Spectrum*
- * *Economic conditions and Euroscepticism*
- * *Political institutions and Euroscepticism*
- * *Media and Euroscepticism*

Our understanding

- * We assume that political supply, especially the extreme one, creates its own demand
- * Populist parties create a political environment allowing their re-election
- * Manipulation of feelings

Methodology - Data

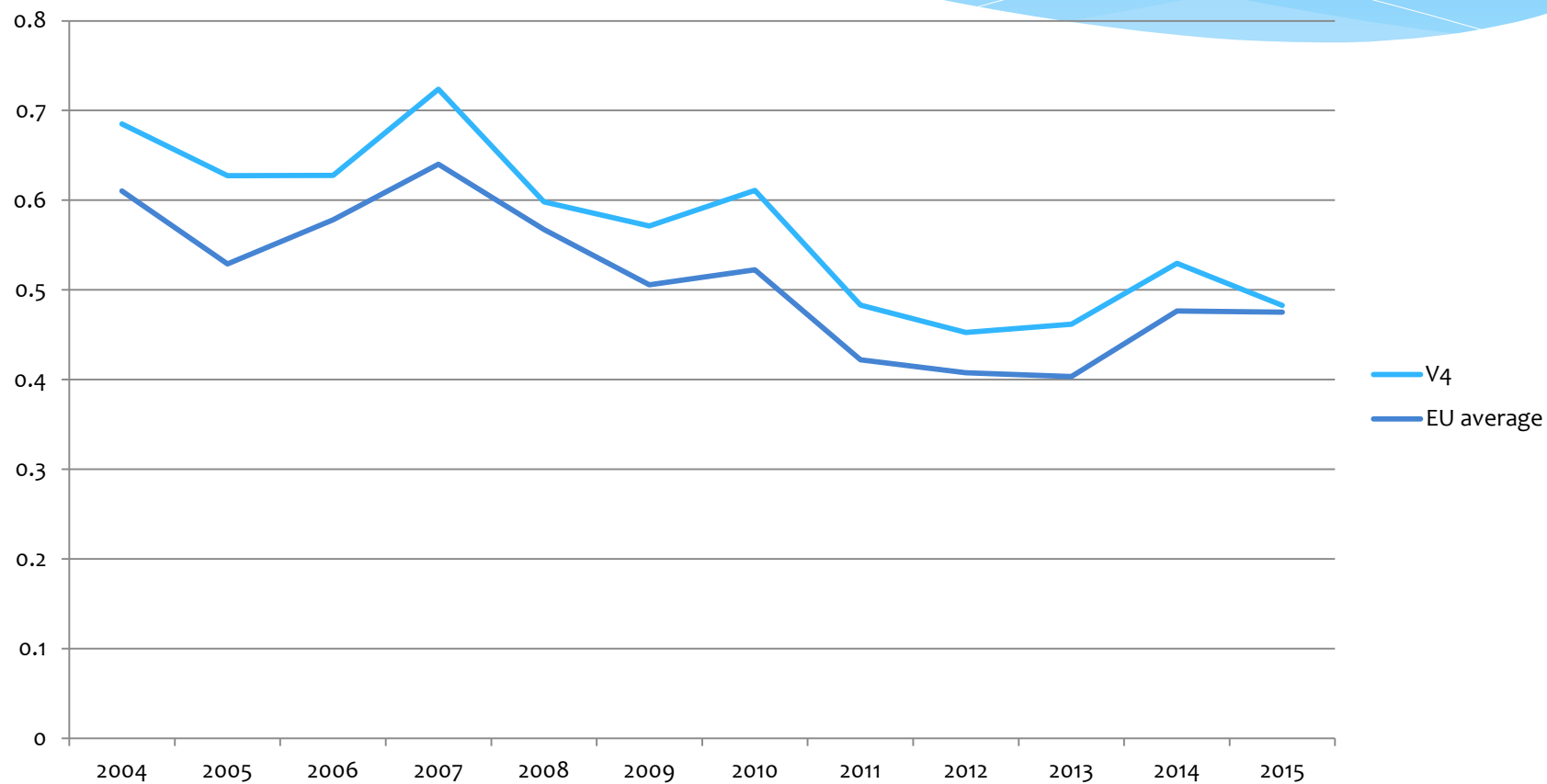
- * We use the Eurobarometer dataset, 2004-2016
- * Almost 300000 obs. 28 countries
- * Econometric analysis (still preliminary) of perceptions on the EU future and trust
- * We control for gender, age, education, settlement, prof. status, country and year...

Two dependent variables

- * Trust (1/0): « Please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust *The European Union*? ». It is a subjective question and difficult to analyse. (Probit)
- * Future outside EU (1,2,3, 4) « Could better face the future outside the EU » (Ordered Probit)

totally disagree/ tend to disagree/tend to agree/ totally agree

TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS: EUROPEAN UNION



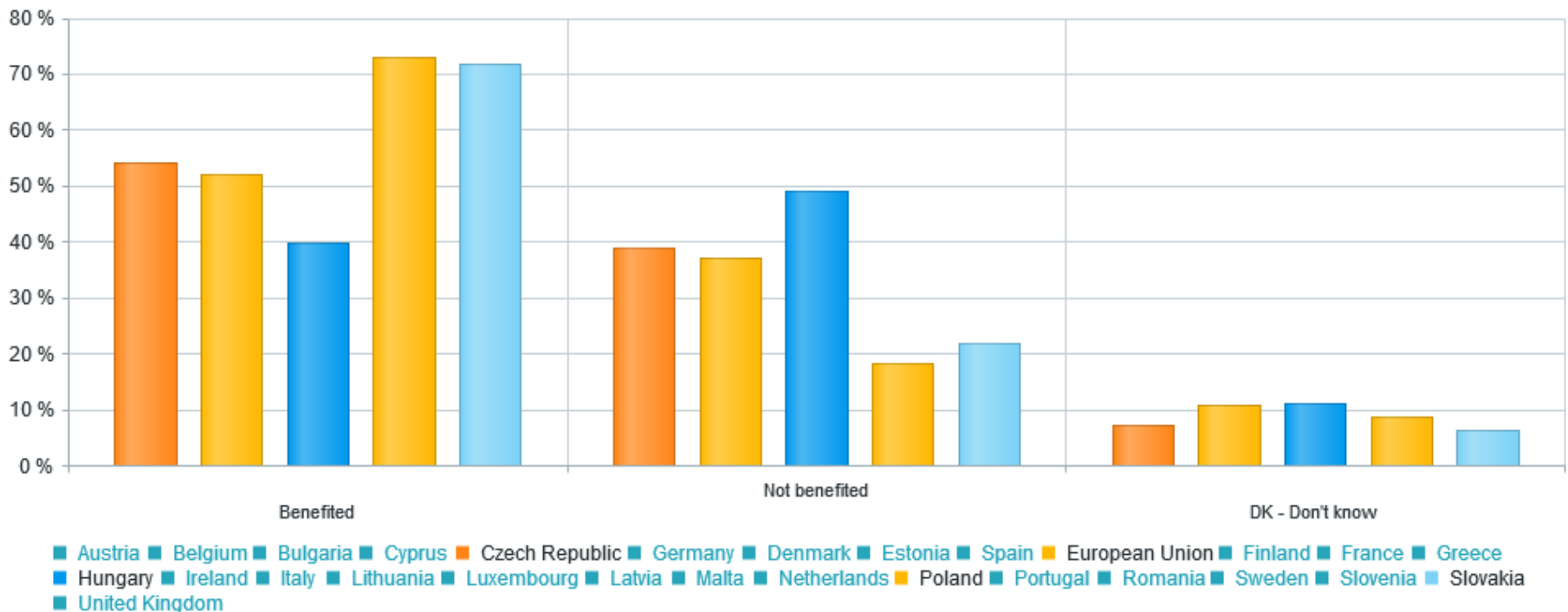
Similarities

- * V4 political patterns follows the other EU countries
- * Main breaks : 2008, 2011
- * Causes of lack of confidences
- * Heterogeity among V4 countries : Poland & Slovakia vs. Czech Republic & Hungary ?

Benefits from being member of the EU in 2011, across V4 countries

Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) "has on balance benefited" or "would benefit" or not from being a member of the EU?

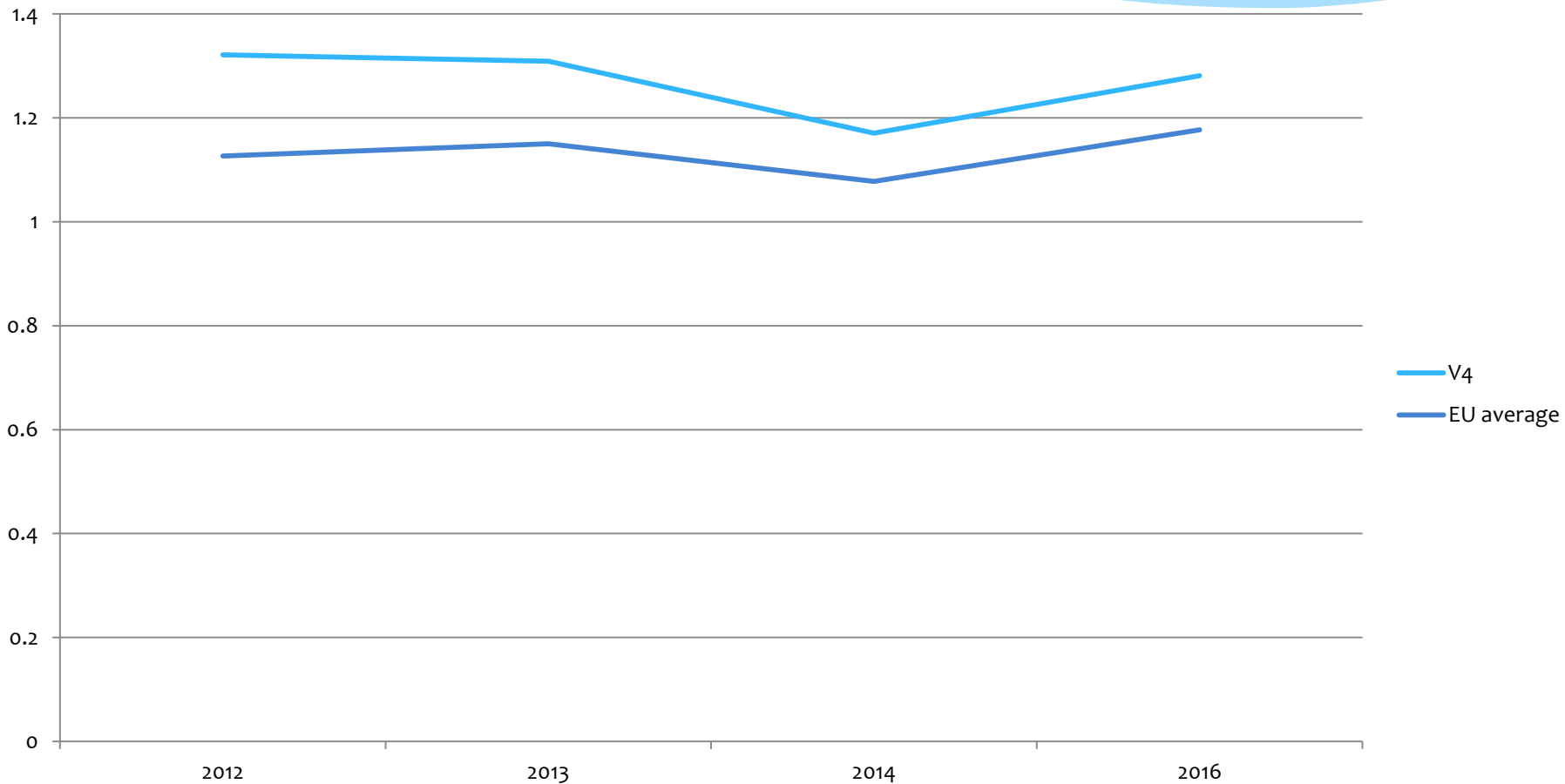
Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?
(05/2011)



Differences

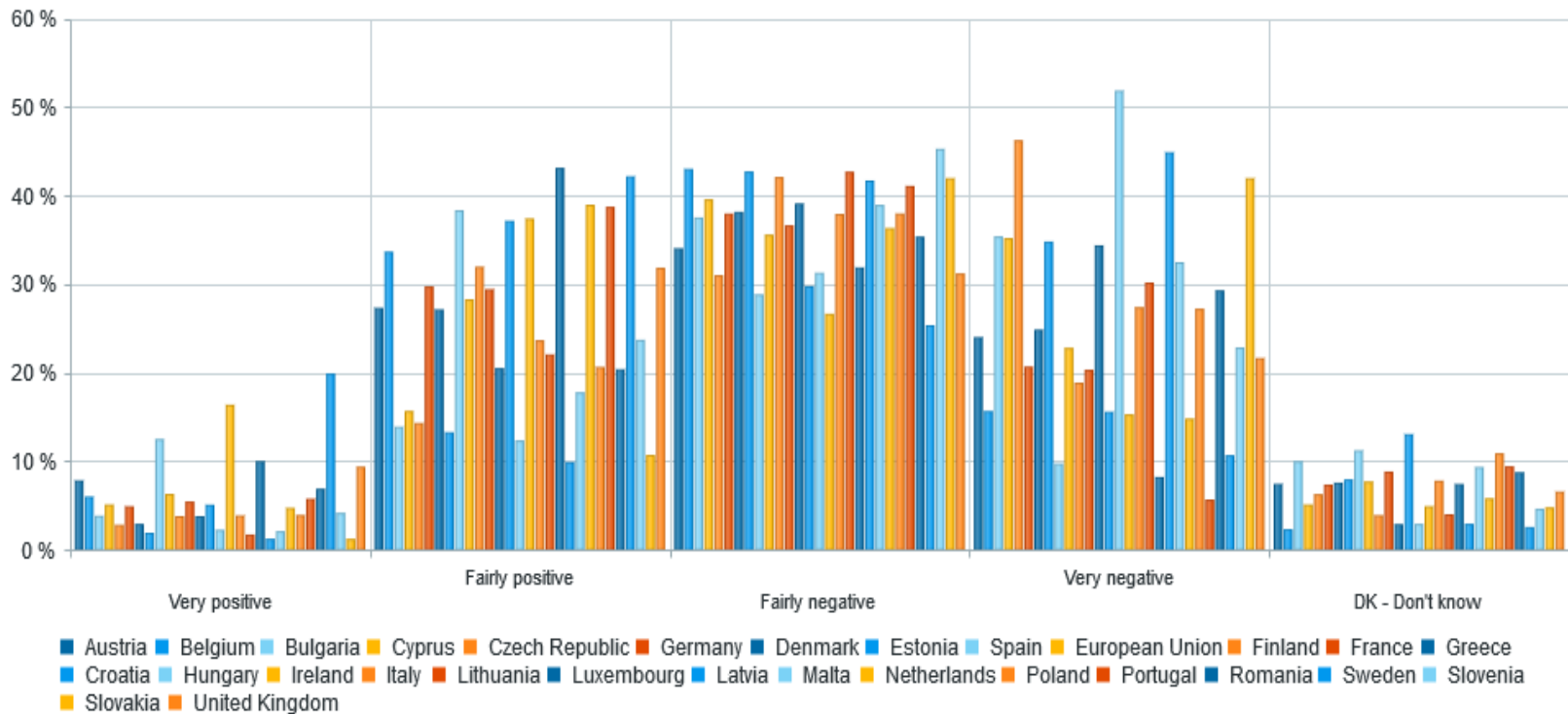
- * Visexit ? Is there a strong dynamic toward an exit of the EU?
- * Migrations and refugees policies / discriminations
- * The migrants are a real stress test of the Rule of Law
- * Checks and Balances institutions
- * Example: the judiciary system is perceived as not very independent in NMC compared with EU12 (Feb. 2016)

EU STATEMENTS: BETTER FUTURE OUTSIDE THE EU



Immigration

Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you.
Immigration of people
from outside the EU
(05/2016)



Econometric Results

- * V4 are anticipating a possible EU exit
- * Young, Women, Educated, Large cities are pro-EU
- * Internet users and people discussing political issues also
- * Economic Crisis and HH Financial problems reinforce the anti-EU