UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE EFFECTS OF POPULISM ON DEMOCRATIC QUALITY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, POLAND, AND UKRAINE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

MAKSYM KOVALOV
Norman, Oklahoma
2013

THE EFFECTS OF POPULISM ON DEMOCRATIC QUALITY
IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, POLAND, AND UKRAINE

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

_____
Dr. Mitchell P. Smith, Chair

_____
Dr. Charles D. Kenney

_____
Dr. Ronald K. Gaddie

_____
Dr. Suzette R. Grillot

_____
Dr. Daniel L. Hicks

Моим дорогим родителям за их безусловную поддержку, любовь и веру, что у меня все получится.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am very grateful to my advisor, Dr. Mitchell Smith, for his help and guidance. During these long years of taking classes and writing papers he has been a tremendous source of inspiration, ideas and encouragement. I am thankful for his detailed feedback on numerous drafts of this dissertation. I would also like to thank the members of my dissertation committee – Dr. Charles Kenney, Dr. Suzette Grillot, Dr. Keith Gaddie and Dr. Daniel Hicks – for their valuable comments, discussions and suggestions.

My six months of dissertation research would not have been possible without financial support from the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Oklahoma, the Robberson Research Grant awarded by the Graduate College and the John Halvor Leek Memorial Scholarship awarded by the Department of Political Science. These grants and scholarships provided travel funding for my fieldwork in the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine.

I am thankful for my communication with Kevin Deegan-Krause who graciously shared his contacts in the Czech Republic which allowed me to start my interviews there. I am also thankful for his suggestions and comments on the early drafts of the dissertation when I struggled with conceptual issues of defining populism. I thank Anna Matušková who invited me to join the workshop on political marketing held at the Masaryk University, Brno, where I did some of my interviews. I greatly appreciate the help of Maria Winclawska and Michal Kotnarowski who assisted me with many organizational issues – letters of invitation, housing in Torun and Warsaw, and initial contacts to start my interviews. Their friendly and engaging company was extremely

helpful. Maria Winclawska organized a number of interviews with members of Sejm and Senate and a focus group in Torun, Poland and I am grateful for her assistances and support during my stay in Torun.

I thank Martin Vávra at Czech Academy of Sociological Research and Mikołaj Cześnik and Radoslaw Markowski at the Institute for Public Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences for helping me get access to public opinion data.

My friends have always been encouraging during these long years and helped me make this time more enjoyable. I am grateful for their support, friendship and high academic standards of scholarship they set for me to follow. I am especially thankful to Dr. Walter Wilson, Dr. Cyrus Contractor and Dr. Curtis Ellis.

Throughout all these years, I have been fortunate to work with wonderful people at the Graduate College. They hired me when I needed a job and soon became my second family. Thank you for all the smiles, good vibes, words of encouragement and positive energy. It is not easy to find amazing colleagues and I have been fortunate to have found such a great group of people. A special thanks to Diana Beal, Dr. Janis Paul, Dr. Lee Williams, Laura Springer, Ginger Dossey and Dan Bye.

I am thankful to my wonderful wife, Dr. Beatriz Maldonado. Her love, enthusiasm, joy, support, and encouragement brightened my days and helped me endure through the tough times. She helped with the statistical analysis, proofreading of seemingly endless chapter drafts, and general comments. I love you very much.

Finally, quite often, my parents and my brother were more certain about my successful completion of the degree than I was. No matter what, they have unconditionally supported me, and I am immensely grateful to them.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

This dissertation examines the impact of populism on democratic quality in post-Communist Europe. It focuses on three dimensions of democratic quality evaluating the effect of populism on responsiveness in the Czech Republic, on participation in Poland, and on protest mobilization in Ukraine. It finds that populism's impact on democratic quality ranges from positive to negative and may also be indistinguishable from that of other parties, depending on populism's type – radical right/left populism or centrist populism – and its relationship to government – populism in government or in opposition.

Although populism in opposition has little leverage to influence the policy agenda, it shows high levels of impact on political participation, inclusion and protest mobilization. Polish populist parties in opposition were successful at expanding the presence in politics of provincial politicians, farmers and blue-collar workers. Ukrainian populist party Svoboda had an impressive record of mobilizing citizens to participate in protest activities and showing higher ability to increase the level of political engagement among citizens. Along with positive effects, populism in opposition contributed to retrogressions of democratic quality because of the large share of violent protests fueling discord among various social groups instead of creating a constructive challenge to the ruling party.

Populism in government demonstrated mixed results based on the evidence from Poland and the Czech Republic. The Polish case shows unintended consequences of populism's negative discourse. High level of conflict and radical policies exhibited by the populist government compromised the institutions of horizontal accountability and

led to a dramatic increase in voter turnout. Citizens mobilized at higher numbers to defend liberal democratic institutions voting two radical populist parties out from the parliament.

Finally, the Czech case demonstrates that centrist populism in government has been successful at raising important questions ignored by the elites. The Czech populists politicized the issue of corruption showing higher degree of mandate responsiveness. Their ability to stick to their central electoral promise of addressing corruption indicates positive record of populism on policy responsiveness. Additionally, the Czech case shows positive externalities from populism's anti-corruption campaign on discourse of other parties. Corruption became a more prominent issue following the election campaign in response to a continued emphasis on the issue by populists.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation examines the impact of populist parties on democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). In a seminal work on party development, Herbert Kitschelt argued that socio-economic cleavages influenced by historical legacies of the communist past would be primary determinants of party development in CEE. He has suggested that the social bases of party competition would be reinforced over time, as "marketization proceeds" (Kitschelt 1992, 7). Two decades after the breakdown of communism, the transition did not produce strong, what Kitschelt called, "programmatic" political parties. Instead, a number of non-programmatic parties emerged – hostile to representative politics, ideologically amorphous, chameleonic in nature, and often described by negation (anti-Western, anti-democratic, anti-liberal). These political parties have been analyzed in the literature as diminished forms of programmatic, Western-style politics and analyzed under the labels non-programmatic, clientelist, populist, anti-establishment, unorthodox, anti-system, radical challengers, *etc*. (Kitschelt *et al*. 1999; Abedi 2004; Mudde 2007; Ucen 2007; Pop-Eleches 2010). It is clear that programmatic parties that serve the fundamental purpose of interest aggregation and representation in democratic polities are not inevitable. At the same time, the literature describes political parties as an indispensible element of the performance, stability and quality of democracy; they are one of the core institutions of democracy (Diamond and Gunther 2001).

Research Questions

If parties are an essential component of democratic quality, what is the relationship between populist parties and democracy? What are the consequences of weak ideological and programmatic linkages for the quality of democracy? Specifically, what are the effects of party populism on various dimensions of democratic quality? Is populism's impact uniform across countries and across dimensions of democratic quality?

The Puzzle: Populism's Dual Nature

There are ample reasons to analyze the connection between populism and democracy. Previous scholarship has demonstrated that populism and democracy are closely tied together, as analyses of populist discourse, rhetoric and policies are accompanied by how it relates to democracy – in normative or positive terms. The puzzle surrounding populism is related to the dual nature of populism (Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde 2012). On the one hand, populism is a means to fix the shortcomings of the representative democracy by giving voice to marginal groups that feel left out from the political process. By claiming to eradicate corruption and rent-seeking by the elites, populist parties and politicians are expected to strengthen the legitimacy of the political system (Canovan 1999, Hayward 1996, Meny and Surel 2002, Taggart 2002). On the other hand, populism is seen as "pathology of democracy" (Mény and Surel 2002, 3) and therefore, a threat to liberal democratic institutions (Jones 2007, Mair 2002, Urbinati 1998). Having little experience with institutions of representative democracy, populists are often unwilling to compromise and tend to

elevate the level of conflict in politics, undermining horizontal accountability (Levitsky and Loxton 2012).

The impact and development of populist parties over time is instructive of the relative resilience of the democratic systems to populist impact. Polish populism, where populist parties have gone through a full life cycle of development, is a case in point: they came to prominence and passed the electoral threshold in 2001, became a part of coalition government in 2005, and finally, failed to return to parliament in a snap 2007 election. The radical discourse used by Polish populists did not withstand the test of time. Other cases of populism, such as Meciar's Slovakia, show more continuity and endurance of populism effects. Meciar's ability to change the framing of political debate along a national dimension had a profound impact on the nature of governing coalitions; leftist and rightist parties alternated in government without crossing the party line for over a decade (Deegan-Krause 2012).

In one of the most recent assessments of the relationship between populism and democracy, Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012) find evidence that populism can be both a threat to and a corrective of democracy depending on degree of democracy's consolidation and the actual power of populist forces: its impact is more pronounced when populism is present in government but even presence in government has little impact on democracy when the democratic regime is consolidated.

Like these scholars, I argue that populism's dual nature results in the double-edged impact on democracy, contributing to both desirable and undesirable outcomes, depending on the type and strength of populist parties. This dissertation shows that the effects of populism vary – and may be indistinguishable from other parties, positive or

negative – even when we disaggregate democratic quality into individual dimensions. The evidence suggests that in Poland, populism in opposition positively effected *participation* by mobilizing new voters at higher rates compared to other political parties; by opening up space to politicians representing marginalized groups of the Polish society, particularly, blue-collar workers and farmers. Populism in government also contributed to higher participation in the 2007 election, albeit due to unintended consequences, as citizens rallied to vote against radical populist partners because of negativism, radical discourse and disregard of democratic norms and institutions displayed by populists.

Similarly positive was the impact of centrist populism in government on *mandate responsiveness* in the Czech Republic: populist party Public Affairs featured corruption-related press releases with higher intensity than other parties.[1] Furthermore, Czech populists positively affected *policy responsiveness* by putting corruption firmly on the policy agenda by introducing a number of anti-corruption initiatives and by prompting other political parties to address corruption more prominently through oral questions on the floor of the parliament than parliamentary parties did in the past.

The Ukrainian case of radical right populism in opposition demonstrates both positive and negative impact on another dimension of democratic quality - *protest mobilization*. Constructively, populists organized protests more frequently than other major political parties becoming a strong tool of accountability channeling public dissatisfaction with governing parties, and being an outlet of unvoiced attitudes related to Ukrainian language, national history and identity. Destructively, the number of

[1] Mandate responsiveness captures a party's capacity to "make… clear campaign promises and fulfill… these promises once in office" Roberts (2010, 37). This aspect of mandate responsiveness includese press releases published on party websites.

violent protests organized by populist Svoboda was also the highest among major parties.

Most research emphasizes direct effects of populism: the discourse used by populists is expected to mobilize previously passive citizens (Schmitter 2007, in Krastev 2007), who will support populist candidates based on common economic status or ethnicity.[2] Often, these citizens are referred to as "have-nots", or, in the context of post-Communist politics, they represent the "losers" of democratic transition. I also argue that populism has a direct impact on mobilizing citizens. In Poland, for example, I show how populist parties brought to the polls citizens who were disenchanted with the political process and were thus likely to disengage politically if not for the populist mobilization. However, this dissertation shows that populism can create backlash and serve as a mobilization tool in opposition to *and* in support for populist parties. Chapter 4 demonstrates how higher participation in the snap 2007 election in Poland was related to higher degree of negativism and disregard of liberal democratic procedures exhibited by populist governing coalition. Negativism became a mobilizing factor for citizens who viewed as illegitimate government's encroachment on the institutions of horizontal accountability. A 30% increase in the turnout in the 2007 election became detrimental to the success of radical populist parties.

Importance of the Research Question

The question of populism's impact on the quality of democracy is important for a number of reasons. First, it is a good opportunity to reaffirm the assumption that

[2] In terms of economic status, Jasiewicz (2008) describes the activities of Self Defense in Poland in early 1990s. The party, transformed from the labor union, supported and mobilized the farmers who lost their money in 1992. In terms of ethnicity, Vladimir Meciar of Slovakia represented unvoiced attitudes contributing to high politicization of national ethnicity issues (Deegan-Krause 2012).

political parties are central to the concept of democracy despite populism's frequent assertion to the contrary. Most academic literature agrees with the assessment of E. E. Schattschneider (1942, 1) that democracy is unthinkable without political parties. A growing number of studies on regions, such as Latin America, Eastern Europe and on established democracies suggest that political parties remain essential for the performance, stability, and quality of democracy. Historically, political parties have served as vehicles of representation and articulation of societal interests, being indispensible elements of democratic institutions. However, the relevance of parties and their ability to perform traditional functions of representation has declined over the last decades.[3] The growing disaffection of citizens with many institutions of democracy – especially political parties – is troubling.[4] Even in established democracies, confidence in governments, parties, and individual politicians and partisan attachments are in decline. In many parts of Central and Eastern Europe, where party systems are only two decades old, political parties are among the least trusted democratic institutions (Webb and White 2007). For populist parties, low levels of internal and external political efficacy represent a window of opportunity. By focusing on leaders' personality and direct unrestricted rule, they de-emphasize the importance of compromise and avoid partisan obligations and political responsibility, possibly contributing to a further decline of institutionalized party politics. Studying populism is important to emphasize the continuing usefulness of political parties that remain a central and indispensible

[3] See for example, Diamond and Gunther (2001).
[4] Gamson (1968, 45-46) argues that public confidence is necessary for governments to operate effectively without resorting to coercion. Trust is also important for development of civil society, which fosters links between citizens and their governments (Almond and Verba 1963). However, a healthy skepticism of government is important. Gamson warns about excessive trust leading to political apathy and low control over government.

ingredient of democratic quality; to understand alternative and sometimes contentious ways of citizen mobilization; to establish which elements and subtypes of populism are constructive and which are destructive for democracy; to identify policy solutions in order to minimize populism's harmful effects and maximize its positive effects.

Second, the literature posits that political parties are a necessary condition for democratic stability because they serve as constraints against potential abuse by social forces. Samuel Huntington suggests that parties perform a stabilizing function tying social forces together and creating "regularized procedures for leadership succession…[and] assimilation of new groups" (Huntington 68, 405). Whereas parties are seen as safeguards of democratic stability, they "themselves must be constrained" (Bermeo 2003, 18). Giovanni Sartori identifies polarization as the main challenge to democracy: polarized political forces are likely to contribute to the loss of the votes to the extreme ends of the political spectrum (Sartori 1976).

Polarization is not the only challenge that arises from unrestrained parties. Abuse of power, low responsiveness, and lack of accountability by the elites produces cynicism among citizens limiting electoral turnout and political engagement and creating a danger of protest and extreme politics, which can result in defections from democracy. Bermeo (2003), for instance, attributes breakdowns of democratic regimes to the elites. Bermeo's argument is consistent with Huntington (1968) who warned that future challenges to democracy would come from the elites. Given that populist parties challenge democratic institutions, understanding the dangers and opportunities of these challenges is imperative.

This research is motivated by the problems of governance in Ukraine occurring in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution. Following the 2004 events, public enthusiasm about positive changes in democratic institutions was replaced by disappointment of disorganized and dysfunctional Orange coalition. The media and academic experts labeled the coalition government as populist because of its tendency to use oversimplified, exaggerated and unrealistic promises (Maksymiuk 2005). In fact, all major political parties running in the 2006 and the snap 2007 parliamentary elections participated in what became labeled the "race of electoral promises" using catchy campaign slogans such as "Ten Steps Towards the People" (Yuschenko in 2004), "Improvement of Life Today" (Party of Regions in 2006), "Ukrainian Breakthrough" (Tymoshenko's Bloc in 2007).[5] Because most political parties use elements of populism, it is easy to conflate any direct appeal to the people by the elites with populism. However, using a clear-cut example of populism helps avoid this problem. In the Ukrainian case, I evaluate populism's impact on democratic quality, specifically on protest mobilization, examining the case of radical right party Svoboda (Freedom). Svoboda's case demonstrates the impact of populism on the sub-national level. The party has been mobilizing higher levels of support nationally since 2004 but it received high prominence in regional (*oblast*) and municipal elections since 2009. Svoboda's full impact on democracy is yet to be seen but the Ukrainian case is insightful because it shows the impact of populism on protest mobilization at earlier stages of populist party development.

The experience of other Central and Eastern European countries with parties featuring populist characteristics is illustrative of the variety of potential outcomes

[5] Field Research, Kiev, Ukraine, 2009.

which affect different dimensions of democratic quality. The case of Poland is a paradigmatic example of populism, where populist parties have gone through a full life cycle of development – from getting into parliament in 2001 to failing to clear the electoral threshold in 2007. Not only does the Polish case show variation over time, but it also shows differences among populist parties that include the radical right, xenophobic League of Polish Families (LPR), radical agrarian Self Defense (SO) and center-right Law and Justice (PiS), which obtained populist features over time.

The Czech Republic represents a more benevolent example of populism. Populist party Public Affairs (*Veci Verejne*, or VV) exhibited strong anti-establishment stance in its opposition to rampant corruption and fiscal irresponsibility as well as by advocating measures of direct democracy. However, Czech populists are non-radical challengers to the establishment; they do not display xenophobic features or advocate violence; rather, they channel disillusionment among citizens with the political process, lack of responsiveness and accountability among the elites in ways consistent with liberal democratic values and norms. The presence of the populist party in government since 2010 helps trace its impact on public policies.

Studying Democratic Quality

Democratic quality is a relatively new subfield in the study of democratization. The studies on the "third wave of democratization" have dealt with the questions concerning transitions and the consolidation of new democracies, as well as institutional designs, historical legacies and their implications for newly created regimes (Huntington 1991). The recent switch in focus to analyze the quality of democracy – which has preoccupied the scholarly interest over the last decade – is in large part due to

the varied nature of democratic advances of transitional regimes and the belief that democracy is "the only game in town" (Linz 1990, 143–164). This new agenda aims to move beyond the dichotomous notions of consolidated versus non-consolidated democracies and offer possible avenues for improvement and strengthening of democracy.[6]

One of the fundamental challenges faced by the studies on the quality of democracy has to do with conceptualization and ambiguity about which dimensions should be included in the concept. Marc Plattner notes that the inherent complications with studying democracies prevent from identifying dimensions of democratic quality that would not be controversial. For instance, the literature is not always specific on the definition of democratic quality. Many authors conflate the concept of democratic quality with that of democracy, using the two terms interchangeably and simply associating democratic quality with good governance and normative assessment of "all the good things about the society" (Roberts 2010, 24). Roberts (2010) correctly points out the need to distinguish the two conceptually and identify distinct measures for both democracy and democratic quality.

Rather than assess the general impact of populism on democracy, I disaggregate democratic quality into individual dimensions to establish conditions under which populist parties affect each dimension. In this dissertation, I analyze three dimensions of democratic quality – political participation, democratic responsiveness, and protest mobilization – using a case study approach. I identified these dimensions using elite interviews with political party representatives and academic experts during my fieldwork in Poland, the Czech Republic and Ukraine. The Polish interviews helped

[6] See, for instance, Schedler (1998, 91–107).

establish how populism impacted mobilization of new voters supporting populist parties; and later, how radical discourse and policies exhibited by populist parties led to higher electoral turnout in the 2007 parliamentary election. I therefore focus on electoral participation and mobilization of new voters and politicians in the Polish case. In the Czech case, I analyze democratic responsiveness following the electoral promises by the Czech populists to be responsive to popular concerns about corruption. Finally, in the Ukrainian case, I examine protest mobilization by Ukrainian populists who being a relatively small opposition party showed an exceptional ability to organize protests.

These three dimensions are not the only criteria of democratic quality affected by political parties. Political parties also affect such dimension as accountability and competition. Further research is needed to determine populism's impact on these dimensions in a broader comparative perspective.

Findings

This dissertation evaluates the relationship between populism and democratic quality. The effect of populism on individual dimensions is examined through a case study analysis. I evaluate the effect of populism on responsiveness in the Czech Republic, on participation in Poland, and on protest mobilization in Ukraine. The central findings of this causal analysis suggest that populism's impact on different dimensions of democratic quality is mixed and varies from positive and negative to indistinguishable from that of other parties. Centrist populism in government (the Czech case) has largely positive impact on policy responsiveness, whereas its impact on mandate responsiveness is mixed. It shows lower degree of mandate responsiveness compared to other Czech parties based on voter perceptions of parties' left-right

ideological positioning. At the same time, populist Public Affairs used web communication as a tool of mandate responsiveness more intensely than other parties when addressing its core campaign issue, namely corruption. Radical populism in opposition may have positive and negative impact on democratic quality dimensions, for example, on participation and protest mobilization, like the Polish and Ukrainian case studies indicate.

The analysis of democratic responsiveness in the Czech Republic suggests that populist party Public Affairs displayed higher degree of ideological incoherence compared to other Czech parties, signaling its lower *mandate responsiveness.*[7] Turning to specific campaign promises, the concerted effort by Public Affairs to focus on anti-corruption rhetoric politicized the issue of corruption, drawing both public and elite attention to the problem, thus indicating high degree of mandate responsiveness. Public Affairs also exhibited higher mandate responsiveness by showing higher intensity of featuring corruption in its web press releases.

Populism had largely positive effect on *policy responsiveness*. The legislative record suggests that Public Affairs stuck to its central electoral promise, namely combatting corruption. Numerous anti-corruption initiatives introduced by Public Affairs serve as a useful example of policy responsiveness even though the party's credibility was damaged by corruption scandals within the government coalition and reached as high as the leadership of Public Affairs. Based on the frequency of corruption-related questions as the overall share of oral questions asked from the floor

[7] Mandate responsiveness reflects clarity of electoral programs according to voter perceptions. A mandate responsive party would offer a clear and distinctive electoral message to the electorate. It is measured as standard deviations of voters' left-right ideological self-positioning. Higher standard deviation indicates lower agreement among voters (party constituents or all voters) on what a party stands for and signals weaker-defined ideological profile. Chapter 5 discusses this aspect of democratic quality in detail.

of the parliament, members of parliament affiliated with Public Affairs displayed higher degree of policy responsiveness, compared to other parties, even though the deputies of the populist party used this channel of policy responsiveness less frequently in reference to issues other than corruption. I also find positive externalities from Public Affairs' anti-corruption campaign on other political parties. Specifically, the populist rhetoric focused on corruption prompted mainstream parties to address the issue of corruption more prominently than parties did in the past.

The examination of the Polish case study finds a largely positive impact of populism on electoral participation. I show that populism has had a positive effect on the inclusion and mobilization of disenchanted voters. Following corruption scandals among mainstream parties in 2001, the populist Self Defense and League of Polish Families mobilized close to a third of their voters from citizens who previously did not participate in elections. Despite the fact that *both* populist and mainstream parties mobilized new voters, the survey data indicates that it was populist parties that mobilized a larger share of new voters. Populist parties also had positive impact on expanding the presence of marginal groups (farmers, in particular) in politics: Self Defense, for instance, brought a larger share of provincial politicians, farmers and blue-collar workers to the parliament, compared to other parties. Overall, citizen participation increased as a sign of *support* of populist parties.

Additionally, high level of negativism displayed by the populist governing coalition between 2005 and 2007 had unintended consequences: I show that negativism worked as a mobilizing factor, bringing to the polls citizens who perceived that the populist government showed disrespect for liberal democratic procedures, institutions

and rule of law. In other words, participation increased *in opposition to*, rather than *in support* of populism. The increase of participation was largely the result of higher degree of negativity brought by populists into political life. By launching an attack on institutions of horizontal accountability, the populist coalition created a backlash against an illiberal style of government.[8] Thus, the positive impact of populism on participation was an indirect result of populism's negativism and high level of conflict brought by populists to political life.

The findings from the Ukrainian case study suggest that radical right populism in opposition has a strong potential to affect protest mobilization and participation. First, I find strong positive correlation between the support for populist party Svoboda on the one hand and higher electoral turnout and contacts with politicians, on the other hand. Second, populism's ability to mobilize protest activities are particularly impressive, especially given the small size of the populist party and its limited electoral success at the national stage. The data suggests that in regions where populism's electoral support was higher, the frequency of participation in demonstrations was also higher. Citizens who feel closer to populist Svoboda are 12.5% more likely to participate in lawful public demonstrations than other parties' constituents, on average. Being cautious about spurious nature of this relationship, I analyzed the data on protest activities in Ukraine in 2009-2011. I find that populist Svoboda organized protests more frequently than other political parties, opposing policy proposals of pro-presidential coalition government. Svoboda's collaboration during protests with other mainstream parties and organizations sends voters an important signal that even radical right

[8] O'Donnell (199, 117) argues that in addition to vertical accountability, when elected officials are held answerable to the ballot box, horizontal accountability implies that "state agencies must stay within their own boundaries, and not encroach into other agencies' areas of operation."

populism may be a viable partner for mainstream parties to challenge the uncontrolled power of the political establishment using unvoiced nationalist attitudes related to language, identity, and national history. Whereas these protests are valuable, their largely symbolic nature is secondary to socioeconomic or power struggle protests which are more constructive and critical of concrete actions of the authorities.

Populism's engagement in political protest has a largely positive impact on democratic quality. This type of political participation gives citizens and social groups an opportunity to express collective grievances and hold their governments accountable. Yet, the violent nature of protest has been negatively viewed in the literature. The Ukrainian case study shows that populist Svoboda engaged in violent protests more frequently than other parties. The majority of Svoboda's violent protests were ideological, focusing on issues of Soviet legacy, World War II and the role of Communism. These issues are quite controversial in the Ukrainian society today and they reflect a deep regional, or civilizational, according to Huntington (1996), divide. These kinds of political protests may fuel discord, deny certain groups from effectively practicing their rights subverting democratic rules and norms.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 engages in the review of literature on democratic quality, political parties and populism. Chapter 3 describes the research design, case selection criteria, the methodology and the data sources used in the study. In addition to analysis of existing data and secondary literature, this research incorporates several different types and sources of data that include the semi-structured elite interviews conducted during the six-month fieldwork

in the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine, the data from the European Social Survey, the Polish National Election Study, the Czech National Election Study, and Protest and Coercion data collected by the Ukrainian Center for Society Research. Chapter 3 also describes the justification of the case selection as well as the selection of three dimensions of democratic quality.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 offer case studies of populism's impact on three dimensions of democratic quality – electoral participation, democratic responsiveness, and protest mobilization. Chapter 4 explores causal mechanisms linking populism and participation in Poland combining within-case analysis with qualitative data from elite interviews; Chapter 5 evaluates the effect of populism on three dimensions of responsiveness in the Czech Republic; Chapter 6 examines populism's impact on protest mobilization in Ukraine. Chapter 7 draws conclusions linking the results from the case studies and addresses the implications of the findings for the future study of populism.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter looks at the current state of the literature on populism and democratic quality. Analysis of the relationship between these two variables requires bridging together several bodies of literature and addresses works on political parties, democracy, and populism. The literature on populism can be broadly divided into conceptual and causal. Conceptual literature deals with definitional clarity of populism and applies chosen definitions to individual case studies or in the comparative context. The causal literature analyzes the causes of populism and its outcomes for society. As far as the effects are concerned, it has been viewed as a threat to democratic procedures and institutions, as well as a remedy of democracy's shortcomings. Scholars emphasizing populism's positive impact focus on populism's ability to raise previously unvoiced attitudes, to mobilize constituencies and to be highly inclusionary by engaging politically marginal groups. Engagement can take the form of encouraging them to contest office positions and bringing to the polls disenchanted voters (Roberts 1995, 2012, Levitsky and Loxton 2012, Hanley 2012).

Scholars describing negative consequences of populism, point to institutional encroachment, marginalization of the role of the opposition, and undermined independence of the media, the courts, and the police. For instance, Vladimir Meciar attempted to eliminate institutional restraints using national appeals in Slovakia (Deegan-Krause 2012). Hugo Chavez used state spending to reward loyalists and punish opponents "crowding out the opposition" in Venezuela whereas Alberto Fujimori launched an *autogolpe* shutting down regional governments and the legislature (Corrales and Penfold 2007; Roberts 2000). These accounts share an underlying

condition: to have such an effect, populists must be either a governing party, be represented in coalition government or hold the executive office. Overall, the existing tension in assessments of populism's positive or negative role in the literature implies a need for further study and new case analyses, which this examination aims to accomplish.

Populism and Democratic Quality

Throughout the 1990s, significant attention among students of democratization was focused on questions of democratic transition and consolidation.[9] More recently, a number of scholars have questioned the usefulness of the "transition paradigm," which categorized the democratizing regimes of the third wave as transitions to democracy, and called for turning attention to new concepts and debates.[10] Studies of democratization turned to questions of democratic deepening and democratic quality.[11] In these studies, democracy has been analyzed as something normatively good, a regime type that is preferable to authoritarian regimes. The democratization literature has also developed causal arguments demonstrating empirically the benefits of democratic form of governance. Taking a normative preference for democracy as a given naturally makes the concept of democratic quality an important dimension of analysis and highly value-laden concept for policymakers. As a result, empirical methods aimed at identifying objective factors that explain the quality of democracy have become active avenues of research.

[9] O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986; Diamond 1999; Schedler 1998.
[10] See Carothers (2002) critique of the "transition paradigm". See O'Donnell (2002) offering a counter-argument.
[11] Altman and Pérez-Liñán (2002); Diamond and Morlino (2005); O'Donnell (2004); Roberts (2010)

Democracy

In order to analyze the relationship between populist parties and the quality of democracy, we first need to establish a clear definition of democracy. I define democracy following Robert Dahl's definition of polyarchy (Dahl 1971, 3). Dahl's minimal definition is commonly used in the literature to distinguish democracies from non-democracies.[12] Dahl writes in *Polyarchy* that "a key characteristic of a democracy is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens" (Dahl 1971, 1). Dahl's understanding of democracy follows procedural minimal conditions: democracy is seen as a set of procedural norms that need to be followed to allow citizens to select their representatives in competitive elections. According to Dahl, polyarchy is defined along 8 dimensions: 1) freedom to form and join organizations; 2) freedom of expression; 3) right to vote; 4) eligibility for public office; 5) right of political leaders to compete for support; 6) alternative sources of information; 7) free and fair elections, and 8) institutions for making government policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference. These eight conditions are mutually necessary. Individually, they are not sufficient to call a regime a polyarchy. If one or more of the eight dimensions are not met, a regime is not characterized as polyarchy.

Democratic Quality

There is no generally accepted metric for the quality of democracy available in the literature. Democratic quality became an important area of scholarly interest over the last decade, after the slowing down of the "third wave of democratization" described by Huntington (1991). The notion of democratic quality came to prominence partially

[12] See, for instance, Collier and Levitsky (1997); Altman and Pérez-Linan (2002); O'Donnell (1996).

due to the emergence of diminished subtypes of democracy - "gray zones," hybrid regimes, competitive authoritarianism and other "democracies with adjectives" (Collier and Levitsky 1997; Diamond 2002). Often these regimes did not even meet the minimal democracy criteria but they were still considered democracies. However, some scholars and practitioners have argued against the assumption that these diminished types of regimes are moving towards democratic consolidation (Carothers 2002; Levitsky and Way 2002). Studies focusing on the quality of democracy offered a useful avenue of inquiry examining these diminished subtypes of democracy focusing on quality in terms of procedure, content and results (Morlino 2004).

As it exists, the concept of democratic quality suffers from a large amount of ambiguity in the literature, and research on democratic quality has found several resulting limitations. The first group of limitations impacts studies that discuss democratic quality as an extension of democracy and therefore use such concepts as democracy, democratization, democratic quality, institutionalized democracy, and good governance interchangeably.[13] Berg-Schlosser (2004), for instance, chooses not to define the concept of democratic quality but instead uses a wide array of indicators – including institutional, social, and economic dimensions – to measure it. In her assessment of the quality of democracy in Belarus and Ukraine, Korosteleva (2006) acknowledges democratic deficiencies of two countries and describes them as "'quasi-democracy,' offering a democratic façade accompanied by less democratic practices, or, using Aristotle's words, a 'demagogical democracy'."[14] Korosteleva's argument, after all, fits better with studies explaining the presence and persistence of "democracies with

[13] Berg-Schlosser (2004); Korosteleva (2006).
[14] Korosteleva (2006, 140).

adjectives", rather than in the "democratic quality" framework.[15] Roberts (2010) and Altman and Pérez-Liñán (2002) correctly point out that we need to distinguish the concept of democracy from that of democratic quality. "Every analysis of the quality of democracy," write Altman and Pérez-Liñán, "should share a minimum degree of democratization, namely Dahl's procedural minimum."[16] For example, if the concept of democracy, as defined by Dahl, requires the *right* to participate in free and fair elections, the concept of democratic quality should be characterized by the *rate,* or *intensity* of citizen participation – electoral turnouts, memberships in voluntary organizations or participation in protests and demonstrations.

If a given country does not meet the criteria of democracy, it does not mean this country has poor democratic quality. In other words, a country has to meet the minimum criteria of democracy if we want to analyze its democratic quality. Therefore, while the scales and minimum thresholds for democracy used by various indices can show which countries are more democratic, they are of less value when studying democratic quality.[17] As Altman and Pérez-Liñán (2002) suggest, by addressing the quality of democracy, "we are analyzing in which countries democracy performs better given some normative standards", rather than asking which countries are more democratic.[18]

The existing literature of the quality of democracy discusses a variety of individual dimensions of quality and sometimes offers specific measures. Lijphart (1999) includes four indicators of democratic quality – female representation, electoral

[15] Collier and Levitsky (1997).
[16] Altman and Pérez-Liñán (2002, 87).
[17] Berg-Schlosser (2004) discusses various aggregate indices of democracy.
[18] Altman and Pérez-Linan (2002, 87).

participation, satisfaction with democracy, and corruption. Altman and Pérez-Linan (2002) use three elements – civil rights, participation, and competition – which represent a degree of polyarchy to measure the quality of democracy in Latin America. Using the panel data, Altman and Pérez-Linan compare democracies in 18 Latin American countries during the Third Wave. Diamond and Morlino (2005) identify eight dimensions to measure democratic quality: the rule of law, vertical and horizontal accountability, responsiveness, freedom, equality, participation, and competition. These dimensions "provide citizens a high degree of freedom, political equality, and popular control over public policies and policy makers" (Diamond and Morlino 2005, xi).

In the most recent study of democratic quality in post-communist Europe, Roberts (2010) conceptualizes democratic quality as a set of linkages between citizens and rulers. Roberts suggests that three linkages characterize this relationship best – accountability (the ability to punish or reward office holders), mandate responsiveness (politicians should present distinctive and recognizable programs in their campaigns) and policy responsiveness (when elected governments follow people's preferences). Robert's argument offers a definite advancement for our understanding of democratic linkages in new democracies in a systematic and coherent way. His measures of democratic quality are a useful point of reference because he clearly differentiates what constitutes democracy on one hand, and democratic quality, on the other hand, and in his measurements of the latter he remains faithful to his conceptualization of democratic quality as linkages between citizens and elites.

Other research discusses democratic quality in more general terms using it interchangeably with democracy and associating it with other positive characteristics,

such as quality of governance or level of democratization (Korosteleva *et al.* 2006). The value of these studies cannot be denied but given their less clear conceptualization of the quality of democracy, there is a danger to equate democratic quality with all positive outcomes in a country, which may be desirable, thus not accurately reflect the nature of democratic quality. Additionally, some undesirable outcomes may not necessarily produce clear signals about poor democratic quality.

Populism

It is not a novelty to state that populism is a highly contested, illusive and ambiguous concept. The term is often used in daily language by ordinary people and elected officials to describe a highly emotional and simplistic discourse by politicians targeted towards the "ordinary people", aiming at invoking "gut feelings" of the people.[19] Populism describes simplistic and often unrealistic policies that include but are not limited to economic redistribution policies, direct or indirect payments prior to elections aiming to buy support of the voters. While these policies benefit some voters, they are seen as irresponsible and inefficient from an economic perspective. The meaning of populism is more complex in the academic literature, as the concept is contingent on the historical period (Popular Party in the US in the 1860s, Import Substitution Industrialization in Latin America of the 1960s-70s), on the domain (political, economic, social populism), geographical region (the US, Latin America, Western Europe, or Eastern Europe).[20]

[19] Mudde (2004, 542).
[20] On the US agrarian populism see Ostler (1993); McMath (1995); Miller (1987). Cunningham (1968). On populism in Latin America see Weyland (1999; Roberts (1995). On populism in Western Europe see Taggart (2004); Mudde (2010).

Since one of the earlier attempts to clarify the term by Ionescu and Gellner (1969), populism has received a lot of academic attention. Often carrying a negative connotation, populism seems to be a poorly defined concept for social science scholars seeking to conceptualize it in a normatively neutral way. Scholars have taken many approaches to define populism framing it in political, economic, and social terms, or a combination of those.[21]

One of the central conceptual disagreements in the literature on populism has to do with debates on whether populism constitutes an ideology, strategy, discourse and political style, or an organizational form.[22] Mudde (2004, 544) treats populism as a "thin-centered ideology" that borrows from and "can be easily combined with very different (thin and full) other ideologies", such as liberalism, nationalism, or socialism. Stanley (2008, 95-96) writes that populism should be seen as a distinct but thin ideology because it is "unable to stand alone as a practical political ideology… [and] it lacks the capacity to put forward a wide-ranging and coherent programme for the solution to crucial political questions…[it therefore] inflects with contextually hospitable 'full' ideologies." Other scholars have shown that populism can be combined with nationalism (Deegan-Krause 2012), with neoliberalism (Weyland 1999), and even with socialism (Sachs 1990).

Canovan (1999) suggests three reasons not to treat populism as a distinct ideology: 1) populists lack comprehensive ideology; 2) populist movements are merely reactive and do not constitute positive vision; 3) populism is better treated as discourse (kind of language, rhetoric, or strategy). She claims that the strength of populist

[21] Roberts (1995); Weyland (1999).
[22] Deegan-Krause and Haughton (2009); Mudde (2007), Stanley (2008).

discourse lies in its lack of content, as it is ready to use different context at different times. Others argue that populism is largely characterized by empty ideology. Populist parties and candidates lack core values and can be found in a wide "span [between] the radical left of the anti-globalization movement to the far right."[23] Linden (2008) associates populism with empty ideology, linking it with the necessary presence of charismatic leadership: "the ideological empty set at the core of populism, the need for a human embodiment of the heartland, and especially the desire for simple solutions and distrust of the ambiguities of 'politics' make a charismatic leader almost a necessity."[24]

Similar to Canovan (1999), another group of scholars defines populism as a strategy, discourse or political style. Deegan-Krause and Haughton (2009, 822) argue that using populism as a "characteristic rather than an identity" is preferable because doing so allows researchers to apply the concept to a variety of political parties, as all parties to some extent exhibit populist characteristics. Meny and Surel (2002) write that mainstream parties often "borrow the political rhetoric of populism for electoral opportunism…[however] it is ironic to listen to Jacques Chirac criticizing the French elites of whom he is the epitome."[25] By defining populism as a political strategy, scholars bring under the populist umbrella a wide variety of political parties and politicians, including outsiders, challenger candidates, mainstream parties, parties of government and parties in opposition. In this dissertation, I follow this group of researchers and define populism using family resemblance structure of concept formation viewing populism as a strategy that can be used by centrist, radical right, or

[23] Taggart (2004, 280).
[24] Linden (2008, 4).
[25] Meny and Surel (2002), 13.

radical left parties.[26] In other words, in the following analysis populism is a matter of degree.

It seems that despite disagreements over precise definition, there is general agreement in the literature that populism represents "an appeal to the people, against the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values of the society."[27] Building on this core Manichaean feature of the people-versus-elite distinction, scholars have attempted to identify common features of populism to "build a universally applicable approach to populism."[28] Using this approach, Taggart (2004) outlines five defining features characterizing populism.[29] Taggart's definition is built using the necessary and sufficient structure of concept formation, which makes the concept a dichotomy: a party either meets all the criteria to be called populist or not (Goertz 2006). The difficulties of applying these features in a cross-country or cross-regional context has brought major criticism of the concept.

An important methodological innovation offered by Collier and Mahon (1993) allows researchers to deal successfully with those cases of populism that do not meet all the conditions identified in previous research. Collier and Mahon suggest to use "radial categories" when dealing with problematic concepts.[30] Weyland (2001, 10), for instance, explains the radial category in the following way: "While simultaneous presence of all … attributes characterize full populism, the presence of some but not all of them yields diminished subtypes that fall under the general rubric of populism." If a

[26] See, for example, Deegan-Krause (2007).
[27] Canovan (1999, 3).
[28] Taggart (2004, 273).
[29] Taggart (2004). Taggart's five feature defining populism are: hostility to representative politics; creating the heartland – commitment to "the people"; empty heart – lack of core values, chameleonic features; sense of crisis; reluctantly political.
[30] Goertz (2006) calls them "family resemblance" structure of concept formation.

party fulfills all the criteria, it is an exemplar of full populism; if a party meets one or more criteria, it is also an exemplar of populism of a less rigorous form, or diminished type of populism. Other researchers followed Collier and Mahon's (1993) lead. For instance, Roberts (1995) defines populism following Collier and Mahon's suggestion to use radial categories. Similarly, Pop-Eleches (2010) uses family resemblance structure to identify "unorthodox" parties.[31]

Populism has been seen as a negative phenomenon both in academic literature and by policymakers.[32] Because of a strong negative meaning attached to populism, some scholars have suggested completely abandoning the concept (Roxborough 1984). It seems that populism is "forever on the verge of losing its meaning" but the cyclical nature of populism – populism periodically goes through the phases of (re)emergence and decline – has prompted scholars to revisit the central arguments, disagreeing again on the concept's definition, causes and consequences.

Based on the literature, three components characterize populist parties:

1) Lack of coherent ideology

Populism can be a defining feature of parties on both sides of the political spectrum. The earlier examples of Latin American populism are closely related to the redistributive policies and fiscal indiscipline.[33] Other scholars have shown that populist socioeconomic policies can be compatible with neoliberalism (Roberts 1995, Weyland 1999). These authors demonstrated how presidents Alberto Fujimori in Peru, Carlos

[31] Pop-Eleches' (2010) definition of "unorthodox" parties is closely related to the definition of populism used in this dissertation. Pop-Eleches argues that unorthodox parties: (1) act as political vehicles for their leaders, (2) use electoral appeals based on extremist rhetoric rather than on moderate platform and (3) sidestep ideology.
[32] Field Research in the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine, 2009. Most, if not all, interview respondents attached negative meaning to populism.
[33] Sachs (1990); Cardoso and Helwege (1991).

Menem in Argentina and Fernando Collor in Brazil enacted neoliberal reforms after having won elections using populist discourse.[34] While redistributive economic policies are one of the central elements of Latin American literature on populism, populism in Western Europe is associated primarily with radical right parties and movements.[35] Radical left populism, however, also exists in Western Europe; left wing populists combine socialist ideology with populist discourse (Mudde 2002, Abedi 2004).

Finally, some parties in Central and Eastern European countries have displayed less extreme elements of populism and been labeled as a new family of populist parties – the "centrist" populism. Ucen (2007) defines centrist populist parties as parties that "channel… [their] anti-establishment zeal into party platforms of government transparency and accountability. New populism … is an ideology in the service of a power-seeking political strategy."[36] Similarly, Pop-Eleches (2010), argues that the new centrist populist parties do not use nationalist, anti-western, or anti-capitalist discourse. They prefer vague ideological appeals to extremist programs and "promise weary electorates they will square the transition circle by pursuing western integration and punishing mainstream elites widely associated with declining living standards and rampant corruption."[37] In short, the threshold of negativism and anti-establishment stance is considerably relaxed for centrist populists, as they do not need to be political outcasts to fit the centrist populism category.

2) People-centric promises and appeals to the common sense of the people

[34] It is important to note that a large body of literature does not limit populist politics to policies of redistribution and fiscal irresponsibility. For example, Knight (1998), Weyland (2001) focus on political dimension of populism in their definitions. Roberts (1995) uses family resemblance structure of concept formation and only one of his "core properties" comprises an economic element.
[35] Mudde (2007); Kitschelt and McGann (1995).
[36] Ucen (2007, 50).
[37] Pop-Eleches (2010, 232).

Canovan (1999) defines populism as "an appeal to the people, against the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values of the society."[38] Weyland's (1999) definition focuses on the populist leader's "appeal to a heterogeneous mass of followers…[rallying against] established politicians and government bureaucrats."[39] The definitions of populism outlined above are closely related to the ones used by Meny and Surel (2002) and Mudde (2004) who suggest that society is separated into two groups - the people and the elites who are viewed highly corrupt. Building on the people-elite antagonism, Deegan-Krause (2007) evaluates party populism based on two questions: "how deeply does the party opposes elites (in opposition to the united "people") and for what reason."[40]

3) Anti-establishment stance

When it comes to substantive characteristics, the literature focuses on antagonistic nature of populism. In a seminal study, Ionescu and Gellner (1969) argue that populist parties share two common features: 1) supremacy of the will of the people versus special interest groups and political establishment and 2) negativism – populists define themselves by what they are against, rather than by what they are for. The latter is closely related to the ideological emptiness of populism; populist parties and candidates lack strongly defined ideological platform and find it easier to juxtapose themselves to their opponents (the established elites), rather than to offer programmatic programs and policy solutions. Canovan (2002) comments that "a very large part of the populist message is negative and critical", as populists attack mainstream parties for

[38] Canovan (1999, 3).
[39] Weyland (1999, 381-2).
[40] Deegan-Krause (2007).

unresponsiveness, corruption, and lack of accountability.[41] Populists are often critical of membership in international institutions, such as the IMF, WTO, EU, NATO, portraying these institutions as a threat to the national identity, culture, and economic security of ordinary people. In other words, populist parties and politicians are quite reactive, and hence do not carry significant ideological content (Canovan 2002, 33) and defensive against external and internal threats (Taggart 1996).

Common to these definitions is the appeal to the people against the established power of the elite using vaguely defined programs. Often, the cited reasons for criticizing the elite may be country or region specific. Deegan-Krause (2007) writes that populist leaders in Latin America criticized the elites based on their opposition to economic redistribution. As a result, populism in Latin America is known for and often associated with economic redistribution (clientelism). However, Weyland (1999) succinctly points out that the economic definition of populism, while relevant, is of limited use: irresponsible economic policies emphasizing "expansionary economic policies and programs that distribute benefits to the poor…thus undermining budget equilibrium and fueling inflation…have been adopted by a wide range of presidents, from the nationalist Juan Peron to the socialist Salvador Allende and the conservative Jose Sarney."[42]

Whereas anti-establishment criticism in Latin America is built on the elites' resistance to distribution, populists in Western Europe opposed the elites' pro-immigrant policies and mobilized support by relying on xenophobic attitudes. In Eastern Europe, populism largely opposed corrupt practices among the establishment

[41] Canovan (2002, 32).
[42] Weyland (2001, 379)

(Deegan-Krause 2007). Overall, what is important to the definition of populism and its significance across cases and regions is anti-elite stance regardless of the origin of these sentiments.

Similar to Mudde (2004), Ucen (2007), and Haughton and Deegan-Krause (2009), I define populism as an antagonistic relationship between the people and the elites. I follow Ionsescu and Gellner (1969) and Taggart (2004) and treat populism as a chameleonic movement; populism changes its hue depending on the environment and regularly shifts its positions on primary issues. Like Deegan-Krause (2007), I measure populism as a degree, rather than as a dichotomy, employing the family resemblance structure of concept formation (Goertz 2006).

The literature on populist and protest parties uses a variety of terms to describe seemingly diverse group of parties – from far right to far left, including some parties in the middle of the political spectrum. However, a feature common to these parties is their juxtaposition to mainstream, or programmatic parties. Abedi (2004) refers to the challenger parties as anti-political establishment (APE) parties and identifies two broad types of APE parties - opposition and populist parties. Abedi builds on Andreas Schedler who introduced the term "anti-political establishment party" to describe parties emphasizing a) divisions between the people and the establishment and b) distinguishing themselves from the political establishment.[43] Both Abedi (2004) and Schedler (1996) agree on including into this category parties regardless of their ideological position.

Another group of party family closely related to the phenomenon studied in this dissertation is what Kitschelt (2000) calls clientelist and charismatic parties. He

[43] Schedler (1996).

contrasts these two groups with programmatic parties: programmatic linkages are "built on politicians' investments in both procedures of programmatic conflict resolution and organizational infrastructure" (Kitschelt 2000, 850). Unlike clientelist parties that generate practices of rent seeking, market distortion, and corruption, programmatic parties identify programs of policies that they will pursue if elected to office. Kitschelt further argues that post-communist states are more likely to develop clientelist parties because of their lack of history of political mobilization based on programmatic linkages, rigidity of current institutions, and partial economic reforms resulting in rent-seeking behavior.

Kitschelt's two residual categories – clientelist and charismatic – are often found as essential ingredients of populism. The Latin American literature has a long tradition of associating populism with clientelist payments and charismatic leadership. Stokes (2005) describes how populist parties, such the Peronists in Argentina, used direct handouts to the poor and uneducated voters.[44] Roberts (1995, 88) includes in his definition of populism clientelist payments that "create a material foundation for popular sector support."[45]

Personalistic and charismatic leadership is included in definitions of populism in regional contexts. Drake (1978), Weyland (1999), Knight (1998), Kenney (2009), Levitsky and Loxton (2012), Roberts (2012) among others, have analyzed charismatic and personalistic appeals in Peron's Argentina, Chavez's Venezuela, Fujimori's Peru as paradigmatic cases of populism. The literature on European cases of populism also

[44] Stokes (2005, 315).
[45] As has already been mentioned, some authors warn against using irresponsible redistributive policies as a defining feature of populism because many political candidates use these policies, which makes it difficult to distinguish populist from popular leaders (Weyland 1999).

emphasizes the importance of direct, personalistic appeals by leaders bypassing institutionalized channels of representational politics to mobilize the citizens. Vladimir Meciar in Slovakia, Jorg Haider in Austria, Pim Fortuyn in Holland, Jean Marie La Pen in France, King Simeon II in Bulgaria – these leaders among others used their personality to appeal to people bypassing representative institutions or using them as an electoral vehicle for getting to power.

Pop-Eleches (2010) uses the term "unorthodox" to label parties whose electoral appeal is not based on "a recognizable and moderate ideological platform rather than on the personality of its leader and/or extremist rhetoric."[46] The category of unorthodox parties is closely related to other types of protest parties – populist, anti-establishment (Abedi 2004; Schedler 1996), anti-party (Mudde 1996), discontent (Lane and Ersson 1994) or radical right populist parties (Mudde 2007). Common to these works is their emphasis on anti-elite appeals of political parties, ambiguities of their electoral programs and messages, and reliance on personalistic leadership. By emphasizing similarities in these scholarly works, this dissertation operates on the premise that non-mainstream, non-programmatic parties with seemingly different names largely represent the same phenomenon. It is critical for us to understand the impact of this pervasive political phenomenon on political systems and institutions, especially on democracy.

Populism as a Dependent Variable

Whereas one strand of literature on postcommunist parties analyzes populism in conceptual terms, another broad body of literature follows a causal line of inquiry. Its primary focus is on the origin of populist parties, analyzing possible explanations for their rise, their instability or their decline. These studies estimate the average effect of

[46] Pop-Eleches (2010, 225).

particular independent variables on populism. For example, Pacek (1994) and Tucker (2006) estimate the importance of economic voting suggesting that economic factors explain poor performance of mainstream parties and electoral success of "the extremist challengers." The challengers to the political establishment generate support from the voters who are became the losers of the transition period.

Other studies analyzing ethnically diverse societies have shown how the electoral support of political parties depends on ethnic composition of the state (Evans and Whitefield 1993). However, it is not clear whether ethnic cleavages are conducive to the emergence of populist parties. Populists often use ethnicity as a mobilization tool but there is no evidence that populist appeals are a useful predictor of the rise of populist parties. Some scholars stress the importance of political factors, such as the collusive practices and interactions of mainstream established parties with anti-establishment parties (Abedi 2004). In some cases, the rises of a populist challenger have been associated with collusive practices but it has also been shown how collusion among mainstream parties was followed by higher popularity of another ideologically strong party. Deegan-Krause documents how collusion between two mainstream parties in the Czech Republic in late 1990s – Civic Democrats and Social Democrats – generated a backlash against them during the 2002 election. But it was the Communist Party (KSCM) rather than a new protest party that generated larger electoral support at the polls.

Finally, several recent works attempt to explain the popularity of protest parties by looking at the role of successive generations of post-communist elections. Pop-Eleches (2010) shows that citizens revert to vote for protest and unorthodox parties in

order to punish mainstream parties rather than to programmatically support protest parties. This assumption suggests that the support for protest parties may be highly volatile but their discourse and policies may serve as an important mechanism of accountability and better responsiveness in the political system.

The commonality of these studies lies in their treatment of non-programmatic parties as a dependent variable. However, the literature does not share a consensus on which factors explain the rise or decline of populist movements. Structural factors seem to affect the performance of mainstream parties in consecutive elections: deterioration of economic conditions does no favor to the governing mainstream parties in their bid for returning to power, whereas institutional factors, such as high electoral threshold is an effective mechanism preventing small challenger parties from generating enough votes for the parliament bid. However, it is not clear that economic decline is a useful predictor of the rise of protest parties; nor is it certain that lower electoral threshold would automatically produce successful protest parties. Whereas these questions are not of direct concern in this study, it is important to know what types of grievances bring populists to prominence because the impact of populism on democracy and democratic quality may depend on the type of populist parties, their strength and regional context.

Populism in Comparative Perspective

Studies of populism have rich traditions in Latin America. Earlier scholarship linked populism to import substitution industrialization and redistributive policies used by personalistic leaders to mobilize broad group of supporters. These studies are associated with personalistic leadership of Juan Peron in Argentina, Getulio Vargas in Brazil and Lazaro Cardenas in Mexico (Panizza 2005, 2-4). As a result, earlier

definitions of populism built on expansionary economic policies that provided economic support to broad social groups, leading to economic crisis (Weyland 1996, 4). Drake (1978) identifies three features describing populism in Latin America - paternalistic, personalistic and charismatic leadership and mobilization from top-down, multi-class appeal, and redistributive economic policies. Neoliberal policies embraced by Latin American countries since 1980s seem to be incompatible with this definition of populism because they require fiscal discipline. However, scholarship in the 1990s identifies new forms of populism that are used together with neoliberal reforms. Leaders like Carlos Menem, Fernando Collor and Alberto Fujimori were described as typical examples of neopopulism which was associated with breakdown of representative institutions during economic and social turmoil (Roberts 1995).

In Western Europe populist movements focused on anti-immigrant appeals and the term "populism" was often accompanied by such additions as "radical right" labels (Mudde 2004). Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, Jorg Haider's Freedom Party, Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia and Pim Fortuyn's LPF are among the most notable examples of populism in Western Europe. Existing research indicates that populist parties mobilize disenchanted constituencies. Ivarsflaten (2008), for example, demonstrates how radical right populist parties in Western Europe mobilized grievances over the issue of immigration. Populism in Eastern Europe is a relatively new phenomenon and scholarship on the subject has been inspired by the cases of Vladimir Meciar and Robert Fico of Slovakia, populist parties in government coalition in Poland and populist challengers in Hungary and Bulgaria. It is reasonable to expect similar impact of populism on higher mobilization and participation of new or disenchanted

voters in Eastern European context. Therefore, chapter 4 focuses on populism's impact on participation in Poland.

Ukraine has not received much academic attention when it comes to research on populism. Kuzio (2010) is one of the few analyses of Ukrainian populism. Kuzio's analysis deserves attention because it places the concept often used in daily political life on the scholarly agenda. This is an important first step towards identifying the characteristics of populism in Ukraine setting the foundation for further research on populism's impact.

Kuzio's study belongs to the conceptual group of studies that attempt to identify populist appeals based on a minimal definition. Kuzio analyzes political party platforms and rhetoric of their leaders to outline the defining features of Ukrainian populism testing the Western European conceptualization of populism. By looking at ten attributes of populism Kuzio shows that several mainstream Ukrainian parties exhibit populist components: Party of Regions, BYT and Our Ukraine meet three to four criteria established by Krastev (2006), while Svoboda (Freedom) meets all ten criteria.[47]

Kuzio correctly captures the negative connotation attached to the concept, as party leaders and the media associate populism with a "pack of lies" and engage in blame politics criticizing others for "ideological amorphousness and populism" (2010, 9). Kuzio is also succinct about the ambiguous meaning of the concept that ranges from social redistributive policies to economic nationalism, simplistic electoral promises and appeal to heterogeneous and often incompatible policies.

[47] Svoboda has won popularity in Western Ukrainian regions, especially following the 2009 regional elections in Ternopil, where it obtained 34.7% of the votes (50 out of 120 seats) in the regional council. The party has not won any seats in the national elections as of 2012.

Following Krastev (2006), Kuzio suggests that charismatic leadership is an essential feature of populism. However, most Ukrainian party leaders lack charisma. Populist movements in Latin America and Western Europe do exhibit a particular type of leadership, but I find it more useful to use the concept of personalistic rather than charismatic leadership. Personalistic leader does not necessarily have to be charismatic (Roberts 1995). The essence of personalistic leadership is concentration of power in the hands of an individual rather than party, while charismatic leadership is better described by his or her individual abilities to appeal to citizens. Charismatic leaders are indeed in short supply in Ukraine but their leadership style can be called personalistic. The names of parties and political blocs often reflect their leaders' ability to control and use them as personal electoral vehicles.

The definition of populism used in this dissertation is not incompatible with that of Kuzio, but it differs in two respects. First, I use family resemblance structure of concept formation rather than necessary/sufficient criteria to define the concept. Second, I use three elements of populism, grouping similar elements into larger categories. For instance, five elements in Kuzio's definition – anti-elite and anti-establishment, anti-corruption, anti-American, anti-NATO, and anti-EU – are collapsed into a larger *anti-establishment* category. Despite the fact that I use a different definition of populism, I agree with Kuzio's classification of Svoboda as a populist party and thus, chapter 6 focuses on populism's impact on protest mobilization using the case of Ukrainian Svoboda. In sum, the inclusion of the Ukrainian case in the study provides an opportunity to examine how radical right populism in opposition may affect democratic quality when populism does not have strong nation-wide electoral support. This case is

also instructive in showing populism's impact on protest mobilization in the country where the party system is seemingly infused with populism, but only Svoboda meets the academic definition of populism.

Populism and Democracy

While political parties play an essential role for democratic quality, the relationship between populist parties and democracy is less straightforward. "It is an uneasy partnership," according to Papadopoulos (2002, 45), and "it is reductionist to consider populism as either a pathology of, or a threat to, democracy." The uncertainty about affinity between the two has to do with one of the contradictions of the modern democracy, i.e. its uneasy relationship between the popular (majority) and representative elements. The rhetoric of populist parties presumes that democracy means exclusively the power of the people. Meny and Surel (2002, 9) call such definition a "reductionist definition of democracy" when populist parties present democracy as the "pure expression of popular view." The representative dimension that helped make democracy workable is rejected by populists. However, as Meny and Surel note, in the course of the last centuries, democracy has been a regime combining the principles of representation and majority rule. The source of populism, accordingly, lies in this disconnect. As long as the contradiction between popular and representative dimensions exists, the debate on how to reconcile the demand for popular rule and representation principle will continue.

On the one hand, populism is viewed in the literature having a positive impact on democracy. Populist parties, portraying themselves as agents of change and expression of popular will, seek to address the contradiction of modern democracy

between representative and popular dimensions. Some authors see populism as a means to fix the shortcomings of representative democracy by giving voice to new social groups (Hayward 1996; Taggart 2002; Canovan 1999; Mény and Surel 2002). They argue that populist politics may help strengthen the legitimacy of a political system by reducing rent seeking and corruption, and mobilize citizens who feel left out of the political process. Philippe Schmitter suggests that the impact of populist parties on new democracies in post-communist Europe is largely positive. While admitting the shortcomings of populist parties, he argues that they mobilize citizens who have previously been passive in the political process, promote the development of previously suppressed demands, expose collusive practices among the elites, raise ignored political issues, and question "exploitative dependencies upon foreign powers" (Schmitter 2007). Using the public opinion survey data, Ghodsee (2008) shows that populist party Ataka mobilized new voters in the 2005 Bulgarian election "giving voice to a political agenda hitherto ignored by Bulgaria's political elite."[48] A quarter of Ataka's 2005 electorate represented new voters who did not participate in the previous election.

The mobilizing impact of populism was also emphasized by others (Levitsky and Loxton 2012; Roberts 2012). Levitsky and Loxton argue that by appealing to marginal sectors, Alberto Fujimori was able to open political space to *mestizo*, provincial politicians, and women. Fujimori increased the number of evangelical Christians in Congress representing the only political party to elect this previously unrepresented group in 1992 and 1995 (Lopez Rodriguez 2008 in Levitsky and Loxton 2012). Fujimori also increased the presence of women in positions of power: his electoral bloc had twice the number of women in the Chamber of Deputies compared to

[48] Ghodsee (2008, 31).

other parties. Similar to Fujimori, Hugo Chavez's populist discourse contributed to higher popular mobilization of civic, community-based groups by creating mechanisms for grassroots participation (Roberts 2012). Created by Chavez grassroots "Bolivarian committees" were active participants in the debates on constitutional reform, as well as on economic and social programs (Hawkins 2010, 177).

Populism's positive impact is not limited to its mobilization capacities. Jasiewicz (2008) sees populism as a potential corrective mechanism for democracy rather than an alternative to it.[49] By addressing previously silenced political and social problems, populism challenges mainstream parties to pay more attention to these problems. However, raising silenced questions may carry neither positive nor negative impact. Taking such a middle ground approach, Panizza (2005) describes populism neither as a threat nor as a benefit but as a "mirror of democracy":

> By raising awkward questions about modern forms of democracy, and often representing the ugly face of the people, populism is neither the highest form of democracy nor its enemy, but a mirror in which democracy can contemplate itself and find out what it is about and what it is lacking."[50]

Poland is a case in hand of how this corrective mechanism operates. The populist government coalition collapsed after four months leading to the early parliamentary election of 2007. Although the populist Law and Justice (PiS) received more seats in the 2007 election compared with 2005, the other two parties (the agrarian populist Self Defense and the extreme right League of Polish Families) that had been part of the populist coalition government failed in the 2007 polls. The result was what Jasiewicz

[49] Roberts (2000, 20), for instance, argues that populism "is an informal alternative to institutionalized forms of political representation." As political parties rely less on social cleavages to generate support and citizens are less inclined to remain loyal to parties based on their own social status, populism may be viewed as an alternative to democracy.
[50] Panizza (2005).

calls the "ultimate victory of the liberal Poland over its social solidarity counterpart" (Jasiewicz 2008, 24). Several important issues articulated by populist parties – such as corruption, lack of accountability, unresponsiveness – received more attention from programmatic parties, thus suggesting support for the populism-as-corrective-mechanism hypothesis.

On the other hand, populism is viewed in the literature as a threat to democratic institutions and procedures. Some studies recognize that democratic institutions often fail to be responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens, but they nevertheless treat populist politics as a threat to democracy (Urbinati 1998, Jones 2007, Mair 2002). According to this view, the danger of populism is its anti-democratic, anti-liberal stance and its propensity to polarize political discourse. Meny and Surel (2002, 4) suggest that because populism is often associated with extreme right parties known questioning the legitimacy of democracy, populism is viewed as "pathology of democracy," despite the authors' claim that populists challenge a specific form of democracy – representative democracy – rather than democracy as a form of government. Populist parties criticize the existing democratic elites that ignore the needs of the people and they promise to return the power to the people. According to Schedler, populists try to make clear that they portray themselves as the only democrats rather than oppose liberal democracy.[51]

The studies analyzing populism as a threat link populism's negative impact to the specific subtype of populism - radical right. Mungiu-Poppidi (2005) refers to election of xenophobic leader Haider in Austria, assassination of Pim Fortuyn in Holland, as well as growth of popularity of right-wing parties as deteriorations of

[51] Schedler (1996, 302).

democracies.[52] The presence of populists elevates the level of conflict in politics, undermines the power of representative institutions and threatens democratic norms of benefiting majorities at the expense of minorities. For example, Fujimori's populist policies have largely had negative impact on democracy. As an outsider, Fujimori brought high level of conflict into political life, downplayed opportunities to form legislative alliances, undermining the importance of compromise, launched an attack on Peru's political elites, judicial authorities and the media, eventually bringing the breakdown of democracy (Kenney 2004). Similarly, Hugo Chavez and Vladimir Meciar challenged the institutions of horizontal accountability in Venezuela and Slovakia, respectively. Both leaders brought high level of intensity and conflict into political discourse, marginalizing the rights of the opposition, the judiciary and parliaments.

The effect of populism varies, according to Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012), depending on populism's relationship with government: when in opposition populism is expected to display positive effect by criticizing the government and "keeping it on its toes", whereas its effect will be negative when populists become a governing party or a part of the coalition government. Their mere presence in government is troubling, according to Jones (2007), because "they challenge the underlying conception of society by attacking vulnerable minorities and by legitimating political differentiation and social exclusion."[53] Take the already mentioned example of Fujimori's Peru. After election, Fujimori's government gained control over the media, as well as over the judicial and electoral authorities replacing 80% of the judges by provisional appointees who were at the mercy of the executive (Roberts 2012).

[52] Mungiu-Pippidi (2005).
[53] Jones (2007, 45).

Conclusions about positive impact on public policies of mainstream parties are often used to make arguments about negative impact played by their populist counterparts, even though the latter conclusions are not supported by the data. Keefer (2005) argues that programmatic parties have significant positive effects on public policy – by providing more public goods and engaging less in rent-seeking or corruption, while populist parties have the opposite effect. Analyzing the significance of programmatic linkages to democratic quality, Herbert Kitschelt, argues that normatively, clientelist or charismatic linkages are treated by analysts and citizens as deficient because they "stifle… political freedom and perpetuate… profound inequalities" (Kitschelt 2000, 872). However, he suggests that the literature often suffers from a misconception about the essential goodness of programmatic politics that can be as hostile to democracy as clientelist or charismatic politics. Kitschelt posits that empirically, programmatic party competition leads to "greater depersonalization of politics, more collective goods provision, and more institutionalization than clientelist politics" (Kitschelt 2000, 853).

Finally, the third broad group of studies finds both positive and negative impact in the relationship between populism and democracy. Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012) offer arguably the most nuanced and rich account of the relationship between populism and democracy bringing together case studies from North America, Latin America, Western and Eastern Europe. They suggest that populism can be both corrective and a threat for liberal democracy at the same time. By trying to identify the circumstances under which populism becomes a corrective or a threat, Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde hypothesize that (1) populists are more effective when they are

strong while democracy is weakly consolidated and (2) populists will exhibit positive effects in opposition and negative effects in government. The authors bring into discussion eight cases of populism grouping them into a two-by-two cell table depending on whether populism is in opposition or in government and whether democracy is consolidated or unconsolidated. The contributors to the volume demonstrate that the most important factor for populism's impact on democracy is the power of populism – in opposition, populism's impact is limited to advancing themes and agendas that are of little priority for mainstream parties and therefore are ignored by them. In other words, populism in opposition does not have much power to effectively impact democracy, whereas populist forces in government are more capable to affect both the discourse and policies.

However, in each of the studied cases, populism exhibits both positive and negative effect on democracy. Evaluating the effect of Chavez's populism in Peru, Levitsky and Loxton find that populism can only be democratizing under conditions of strong liberal democratic institutions but when these institutions are discredited by the elites, populism further undermines them pushing weak democratic regimes into competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky and Way 2002, 2010). Populism may have a positive impact on democracy by mobilizing marginalized sectors of society against the establishment elites and negative effect by elevating the level of conflict and usurping the relationship between political branches. Overall, according to Levitsky and Loxton, "populism tends to be inclusionary but is rarely democratizing…[it is] more of a threat than a corrective to democracy" (Levitsky and Loxton 2012).

Roberts (2012) arrives at similar conclusions evaluating populism's effect on democracy in Chavez's Venezuela. According to Roberts, Chavez's positive record on the participatory dimension and his ability to mobilize grassroots organizations was accompanied by erosion of the democratic contestation dimension which was negatively affected by concentration of power in the hands of the executive. Chavez moved to control the executive, legislative and judicial power. Roberts reminds us about frequent but not inevitable tradeoff between democracy's principles that are affected differently by populism; populism, as a result, may be a corrective to democracy and a threat at the same time. In the case of Venezuela, higher democratic inclusiveness as populism's corrective was achieved at the expense of democratic contestation.

Vladimir Meciar's populism in Slovakia had similar effect on the level of conflict and political competition and inclusion described by Roberts (2012) and Levitsky and Loxton (2012). Meciar polarized politics elevating the level of intensity and conflict in political life mobilizing both supporters and opponents (Deegan-Krause 2012). Similar to Chavez and Fujimori, Meciar "pursued the systematic elimination of institutional restraints," marginalizing the role of the opposition, undermining the institutions of horizontal accountability, and having a detrimental effect on consensus building. Whereas Meciar's impact on inclusion is questionable (it is unclear whether he mobilizing particular demographic groups), he did contribute to reframing of the national political debate along nationalist issues (Deegan-Krause 2012).

Conclusion

In sum, current literature contains an unresolved puzzle about the effects of populism on democracy. Partially this can be attributed to disagreements in the literature on the conceptualization of populism, as authors focusing on individual countries present core dimensions based on their own definitions, even though these definitions are built on the literature.

As far as the causal analysis is concerned, the literature tends to generalize about the relationship between populism and democracy because it lacks clearly measurable empirical indicators to examine populism as a dependent or independent variable and does not specify the effects of populism on democracy's individual dimensions. Moreover, normatively negative assessments of populist politics are often juxtaposed with positive empirical records. Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser's (2012) edited volume is the first attempt to evaluate this relationship in a more systematic way using case study analysis in an integrated theoretical framework. The authors identify a set of hypotheses concerning populism's impact. The argument advanced in this dissertation is closely related to the one developed by Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser (2012) and the contributors to their volume. The authors use the concepts of democracy and democratic quality interchangeably and seem open to consider any consequences of populism on a regime whether or not it constitutes a democracy. In this dissertation, I make an effort to clearly separate between definitions of democracy and democratic quality and focus on three individual dimensions of democratic quality – electoral participation, democratic responsiveness and protest mobilization. I develop a detailed account of how populist parties affect participation in Poland, responsiveness in the Czech Republic, and protest

mobilization in Ukraine. Moreover, by further disaggregating participation and responsiveness into lower-level concepts, this study seeks to give a more nuanced analysis of how populism relates to inclusiveness, electoral participation, mandate responsiveness, and policy responsiveness. Finally, the dissertation also contributes to the literature on populism by incorporating into discussion the case of Ukraine.

Chapter 3 – Research Design

The goal of this study is to evaluate the impact of populism on democratic quality in post-communist countries. I focus on populist parties in three countries – the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine analyzing the impact of populism on participation in Poland, on responsiveness in the Czech Republic, and on mobilization in Ukraine. Chapter 2 reviewed the existing literature on populism showing that populism has the potential to impact democracy in both positive and negative ways. This chapter outlines the research design for the study, presenting the case selection criteria, variables and their measures, methods and data used. The chapter also outlines hypotheses about the relationship between populism and democratic quality and conditions under which populism's effect is more or less pronounced. The chapter concludes with brief overview of the cases under investigation.

Variables

Most studies on populism identify populist parties as the most common residual type of political parties; they seek to explain populist programs, rhetoric and mobilization[54], distinguish between different types of populism (Canovan 1981) or identify common features of populism to come up with workable and normatively neutral definition of the term theoretically. These studies use populism as a dependent variable and briefly discuss larger implications of populism for representative democracy. However, few analyses use populism as an explanatory factor for individual components of democracy and democratic quality. Unlike the studies explaining populism as an outcome, this dissertation uses populism as an explanatory variable.

[54] Ionescu and Gellner (1969); Roberts (1995); Taggart and Szczerbiak (2004); Jasiewicz (2008).

The dependent variable is democratic quality, disaggregated into three dimensions – democratic responsiveness, political participation and mobilization. I examine separately the effect of populism on a single dimension for each of the three cases because the available data which gives me maximal leverage to assess the components of democratic quality on a case-by-case basis. The first component of democratic quality – responsiveness – reflects the ability of elected representatives to act in the interest of the public. I look at responsiveness as a multidimensional concept.[55] Political parties may exhibit responsiveness by presenting clear programs, policy proposals, and web communication with their constituencies (mandate responsiveness); or via legislative activities by enacting policies favored by the constituencies (policy responsiveness).

Political participation includes voting in elections, contacts with politicians, and running for office. Populist parties may induce citizens to participate in these and other political activities, or may have a demobilizing effect. They may boost citizen participation by emphasizing corrupt and unresponsive practices of the elites and their own novelty and "purity", bringing new or disenchanted voters to the polls. They mobilize activists from previously inactive and marginal groups of the population. On the other hand, populism may have marginal effect on participation if it fails to mobilize voters or if its mobilization efforts are indistinguishable from those of mainstream parties. They may offer vague and un-productive criticism of government just for the sake of criticism (as often populist parties do). The effect of populism may also be negative if voters become disaffected due to a sense of continuing corruption scandals and incompetent governance by populists.

[55] See Eulau and Karps (1977).

Participation and mobilization are closely linked dimensions. Political parties mobilize citizens to increase the likelihood of participation.[56] It is the mobilization efforts of political parties that create opportunities for people to participate and therefore, I consider mobilization as a separate dimension sequentially linked to the act of participation. Specifically, I focus on mobilization via protest activities to understand how populist parties use political protest to mobilize citizens and how populist mobilization differs from mobilization of mainstream parties. Populism may challenge governments by focusing their criticism on concrete practices, thus highlighting protest mobilization as a constructive dimension of democratic quality. Alternatively, they may elevate violence during protests, which results in destructive consequences for democratic quality.

The independent variable is populism. I suggest three elements that should be included in the definition of populism following the family resemblance structure of concept formation.[57] This definition is closely related to the definition of unorthodox parties used by Pop-Eleches (2010). Populist parties can be distinguished by three identifying characteristics:

First, they show lack of coherent ideology and often build their appeal on leader personality. These parties are not constrained by ideological positions on various issues and "tell the voters what they want to hear" (Pop-Eleches 2010, 210). Less populist parties are expected to fit the ideological spectrum of mainstream established Western

[56] See Tilly (1978).
[57] Collier and Mahon (1993).

democracies, while more populist parties "sidestep… ideology,"[58] and display ideological "empty heart" (Taggart 2000).

Second, they use people-centric promises and appeal to the common sense of the people, using simplistic, direct language often bordering on demagoguery. This element of populism is difficult to operationalize but the empirical reality is the reason to include it in definition of populism. Among people-centric promises offered by populists are appeals to address corruption, and increase responsiveness and accountability. Populist parties appeal to deficiencies in these issue areas and promise quick fixes. However, it is difficult to say that they constitute the core of the populist appeal. As salience of these issues changes from one election to another, populists change their positions. They use their appeals in an instrumental way as long as they serve their political needs.

Third, populist parties demonstrate anti-establishment stance, criticizing the elites – whether domestic or international – using appeals by negation. The core element of ant-establishment appeals used by populists is negation. Rather than using positive appeals outlining views on policy positions, populists reject others' proposals, describing what they are opposed to; they denounce the elites for poor economic conditions, moral crisis, or for ignoring the needs of the ordinary people. While negation defines populist parties and candidates, the object of negative attitudes varies depending on the context. In Western Europe, for example, negation is associated with anti-immigrant stance and xenophobic discourse. Populist candidates and parties in CEE countries demonstrate attitudes against immigrants, homosexuals, foreign companies, international institutions, communists, and the corrupt establishment.

[58] Pop-Eleches (2010, 226).

Populist parties rely primarily on the anti-elite appeals captured through negativism and anti-elite stance in party programs and speeches. Scholars of populism focusing on the demand side of the phenomenon expect populist party constituencies to show higher levels of cynicism in representative institutions, political processes, the elites, and performance of democracy in general.

Populist parties should be viewed as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. In other words, populism is a matter of degree. While Sartori (1984) warned against using "degreeism," Goertz (2006) strongly advocates building a concept continuum, suggesting that the biggest advantage of continuous concepts is the ability to avoid "grey zones".[59] These are sufficient rather than necessary conditions: two of three populist characteristics – *incoherent ideology*, *anti-establishment stance,* and *people-centric appeals* – are sufficient conditions to label a party populist.

I define populism using family resemblance structure of concept formation displaying populism as a continuum, rather than a dichotomy. To reiterate, because all political parties display certain populist characteristics, populism is a matter of degree. If a party fulfills all three criteria, it is an exemplar of populism of high intensity; if a party meets one or two criterion, it is also an exemplar of populism of a less intensive form, or diminished type of populism. For measuring the impact of populism, this study analyzes more intensive forms of populism – the ones meeting two of three populist characteristics.[60]

[59] Goertz (2006, 35).
[60] Hicks *et al*. (1995) use similar technique for arriving at their definition of a welfare state. The authors define a country a welfare state if it meets three out of four classic welfare programs: health insurance, workman's compensation, old age pensions, and unemployment compensation. The presence of three conditions is thus sufficient for labeling a country as a welfare state.

Following Deegan-Krause (2007), I conceptualize populism as a political strategy rather than ideology, thus bringing a wide variety of parties and politicians under the populist umbrella. Using this definition, any mainstream political party may qualify as populist because most parties make appeals using populism as a strategy. If populism is defined as a political strategy, it is no longer seen as a residual category and can be applied to most, if not all political parties or candidates.

In order to better show how the definition of populism adopted in this dissertation is used to identify populist elements I offer examples of five parties representing more intensive forms of populism. The next section includes discussion of case selection criteria and illustrates how three definitional criteria described above help identify parties with populist characteristics.

Case Selection

I assess my argument using case studies of populism in the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine. These countries share a common legacy of communism. Institutionally, the Czech Republic and Poland are parliamentary systems with strong prime ministers and weak presidents who have some prerogative powers. These two states have "fairly well-institutionalized party structures and coherent patterns of party interaction between left and right" (Webb and White 2007, 7). The party system of Ukraine is characterized by individualistic and personalistic presidential rule. The political legitimacy in Ukraine in the 1990s has rested on presidency rather than on party politics. Nevertheless, all three countries epitomize lower levels of party membership, weaker social cleavages, and lower party system institutionalization than

other regions in the world. These three countries with populist parties are a good representation of the post-communist region.

All three countries have experienced populism's rise at different times since their transition from communism. Polish Self Defense (SO) and League of Polish Families (LPR) came to the national prominence in 2001, whereas Law and Justice (PiS) acquired populist characteristics over time, since 2005. The Czech Public Affairs (VV) emerged just before the 2010 parliamentary election, and Ukrainian Svoboda has been coming into prominence since 2007. Party populism differs in three cases and ranges from radical right and radical left characterized by higher intensity (Poland and Ukraine) to centrist populism characterized by lower intensity (the Czech Republic). These countries also offer a variation in populism's relation to government. Three Polish parties at different times have been *in government* and *in opposition*; Ukrainian populist party is a party *in opposition,* whereas the Czech populist party is a party *in government.*

I select my cases to account for variation in populist party types and their presence in government, slightly altering the framework offered by Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012). Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde posit an important question of conditions under which populism is a corrective rather than a threat for liberal democracy. They choose their cases placing them into a two-by-two table based on the strength of democracy (consolidated-unconsolidated) and populism (in government-in opposition). Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde's categorization of the Czech Republic and Slovakia as unconsolidated democracies is controversial, even though they are using

limited minimal definition of consolidated democracy offered by Schedler (1998).[61] Based on Schedler's definition, all three cases examined in this study – the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine – are cases of consolidated democracy. Nations in Transit study by Freedom House also classifies Poland and the Czech Republic as consolidated regime, whereas Ukraine is classified as transitional government or hybrid regime. Following Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012), I use a slightly altered grouping of cases for this study, dividing the cases based on populism's types and its relationship to government. Table 3.1 presents the variation of populism's type, strength and relationship to government.

Table 3-1 Populism's Type, Strength and Relationship to Government

Populism strength / Populism type	Opposition	Government
Radical right/radical left populism	Svoboda (since 2007) LPR (2001-2005) SO (2001-2005)	LPR (2006) SO (2006)
Centrist populism	PiS (2001-2005)	PiS (2006) Public Affairs (since 2010)

The radical right category is characterized by a combination of populist, nationalist, xenophobic, and authoritarian features (Učeň 2007, 51), and is represented by the League of Polish Families (LPR) and Svoboda (Freedom). LPR, for example, criticized the political establishment for downplaying traditional Catholic values, showed anti-liberal attitudes by actively campaigning against NATO and EU membership, and demonstrated xenophobic characteristics through anti-German and anti-Russian attitudes. Furthermore, the LPR expressed its authoritarian features during the 2005 parliamentary campaign by advocating for strong state control of the economy.

[61] Schedler suggests that consolidated democracies should be expected to "last well into the future" (Schedler 1998, 102).

Svoboda is another example of a xenophobic party using slogans such as "Ukraine for Ukrainians" and appealing against "foreign occupation" in political, social and economic areas. The party offers an alternative electoral option that, as its program suggests, is not based on the choice of the less evil, opposing to pro-Yanukovych's Party of Regions, on the one hand, and to Yulia Tymoshenko and Victor Yuschenko, the betrayers of the Orange Revolution, on the other hand. Overall, Svoboda criticizes the establishment – the "oligarchic clans" – that usurped power and deny people any possibility to influence democratic decision making. Its program combines nationalist appeals to limit the power of foreigners in Ukraine with anti-establishment statements calling for lustration of politicians and a ban on communist ideology. Svoboda's radical appeals are based on ethnic nationalism and Russophobia, although the party also exhibited strong anti-immigrant stance criticizing the inflow of Asians into the country.

The radical left parties represent traditional agrarian populism, such as Self Defense (Samoobrona) in Poland. Self Defense is known for violence and radical protest in the early 1990s. Its leader, Andrzej Lepper led the hunger strike of the farmers who were on the brink of extinction after failing to repay loans following disastrous years of draught. Self Defense organized protests blocking the roads to attract media attention. The party's program called for increase of social programs and subsidies to agriculture. One of the anecdotal indicators of simplistic appeals used by Self Defense was an appeal to fund social programs using foreign currency reserves.

Law and Justice (PiS) and Public Affairs (VV) are cases of centrist populism. Peter Učeň uses a category "new centrist populism" to describe populist parties that are "non-radical challengers mobilizing disappointed electorates against under-performing

and morally failing established parties" (Učeň 2007, 54). Anti-establishment stance and vague ideological promises are central defining characteristics of this category. Centrist populist parties refuse ideological labels such as "right" or "left" on the political spectrum. Rather, they justify their policies as based on common-sense decisions benefiting ordinary citizens. Being a part of the ruling elites and having broad popular support, the party leaders distance themselves from other elites, accusing them of corruption, and lack of responsiveness and accountability. PiS has undergone a dramatic transformation since 2001 and moved from center-right to the right of the political spectrum. After a short experience in a government coalition with Self Defense and the League of Polish Families in 2006, and snap parliamentary election of 2007, PiS took over a large portion of the SO and LPR's electorate and started using radical populist rhetoric that had previously characterized its coalition partners. The central appeals used by PiS have been anti-corruption, social solidarity, and criticism against lack of accountability of the political establishment. PiS also has a history of mobilizing constituencies based on nationalist appeals, and therefore xenophobia and protests have been somewhat present in its program, rhetoric, and policies.

Public Affairs (*Veci Verejne*, or VV) participated in the 2010 parliamentary election as an outsider, criticizing the establishment for endemic corruption and lack of transparency and responsibility. Although Public Affairs was founded in early 2000s, until 2009 it has been active only in Prague's local politics. Public Affairs demonstrated its tough approach to establish law and order by organizing "social intervention patrols," – a type of neighborhood watch brigades – to confront criminals and hand over suspicious individuals to the police (Mares 2011, 292). The party received more

prominence with arrival of Radek John as its leader, an investigative journalist who became famous in the Czech households for his anti-corruption stories. Its image as a populist anti-establishment party is quite controversial. On one hand, the party criticized political establishment for corrupt practices encouraging to "leave the dinosaurs out of politics." On the other hand, following 2010 election, it joined Civic Democrats and TOP09 in a government coalition, effectively joining the establishment it denounced before. Public Affairs did not exhibit racist or extremist views but its anti-corruption stance allowed the party to become an avenue for protest voters to express their frustration with the elites. These characteristics help classify Public Affairs as a centrist, rather than an extreme populist party.

These three countries show presence of wide range of populist parties and offer variation of populism's intensity *over time* and *across* cases. In Poland, political parties with populist features have gone through the full life cycle. Self Defense (SO) and League of Polish Families (LPR) cleared the electoral threshold and obtained seats in the lower house in 2001. They repeated their success in 2005 following corruption scandals within the governing (at the time) Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). SO and LPR formed a government coalition with Law and Justice (PiS) in 2006 but were eliminated from the parliamentary picture having failed to pass the electoral threshold in the snap 2007 election. This dynamic change in the fortune of populist parties offers a useful example of evaluating populism's effect (a) outside the governing coalition, when populist parties were in opposition and (b) when populists became part of the governing coalition. The Polish case represents a useful testing ground for evaluating populism's impact on *political participation*: How inclusive is populism? Does

populism bring new voters to the polls? How do populism's discourse and policies affect citizen's desire to vote?

Aside from short experience with populist Republican Party (SPR-RSC) in the 1990s, the Czech Republic has been largely immune to populism. The literature suggests that the presence of communist parties represents an alternative channel for protest attitudes among citizens. The strength of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) was seen as protest vote against collusion among the largest mainstream parties (Deegan-Krause 2006). Whereas populist tendencies were not present in the Czech Republic until 2010, the 2010 parliamentary election brought new political parties to the lower house, one of which – Public Affairs – exhibited populist characteristics. Small opposition parties rarely have an impact on responsiveness of the political system, given their marginal role in the political process. However, the potential for having an impact increases once a party becomes part of the coalition government, even though the behavior of a party may be restrained by participation in government.[62] Shortly after election, Public Affairs joined the governing coalition as a junior partner running on anti-corruption platform. Public Affairs focused on anti-corruption appeals and promises to be responsive to voters' concerns in addressing corruption. By politicizing corruption Public Affairs was seeking to increase responsiveness of the political system. A strong concerted effort by Public Affairs to address corruption, offers an opportunity to analyze its impact on *responsiveness*: How

[62] Jasiewicz (2008, 23) argues that the decision to include radical populist parties – Self Defense and League of Polish Families – into the government coalition can be interpreted as a "noble – and effective – way to domesticate populism, to move it away from street demonstrations and road blockades into the halls of parliament." The case of the Czech Public Affairs is different though, because Public Affairs was never a radical challenger to the establishment, as its label – centrist populism – suggests.

responsive are populist parties in addressing the problems which they criticized the establishment for?

The Ukrainian case of populism is represented by the radical right party Svoboda (Freedom). Svoboda came to prominence in 2004 after its charismatic leader Oleg Tyahnybok was expelled from Yuschenko's bloc Our Ukraine following Tyahnybok's racial comments during one of the political rallies. Svoboda represents the views of ethnic Ukrainians who have been "repressed" for centuries by the imperialist and Bolshevik Russia.[63] Kuzio (2010) argues that Svoboda "most closely resembles European populist parties", as it meets all ten criteria identifying populism.[64] The party's strongest support comes from Western Ukrainian regions; in 2010 regional election Svoboda received seats in municipal and regional councils in 10 out of 24 regions, while its leader obtained 1.43% of the vote in the 2010 presidential election. Svoboda has been quite successful in regional elections but has not yet achieved national prominence. Given the party's recent limited success in local elections and presence at the sub-national level, the impact of populism on democracy is limited. However, Svoboda offers a useful case for exploring populism's impact at early stages of *protest mobilization*. Are populist parties more successful at mobilizing citizens to vote than mainstream parties? How successful is populism at mobilizing citizens to express their protest against government? Does political protest represent a constructive or destructive strategy resulting in improvements or deteriorations of democratic quality?

[63] Svoboda's electoral program, "Protection of Ukrainians Program," August 5, 2007, available at the website of Central Election Committee of Ukraine www.cvk.gov, accessed on July 20, 2011.
[64] Kuzio (2010, 4).

Approach, Hypotheses, and Measurements

This dissertation is a comparative study focusing on three cases of populism in Eastern and Central Europe. In order to examine the impact of populist parties on the quality of democracy, I use comparative study of populism in three countries – the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine. Building on recent scholarship by Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012), who view populism as a corrective and a threat to democracy, I examine the conditions and the scope of populism's impact on individual dimensions of democratic quality. Each case study is analyzed individually using within-case analysis. This approach allows me to focus on cases of populism which vary in each national context and analyze the impact of populism on individual dimensions of democratic quality. The case study approach also helps to examine distinct cases of populism, which do not seem to belong to the same analytical category at first glance. This approach has been criticized for its focus on small number of cases and lack of external validity. However, based on the findings, we can draw contingent generalizations that populism in government will have stronger yet positive impact on democratic quality, while populism in opposition will have weaker but negative impact. Centrist populism has higher potential of having positive impact on democratic quality and responsiveness, in particular, as the Czech case shows. Extreme right or extreme left populism is likely to produce positive impact on participation, but it can also create backlash against populist type of discourse and incompetence of populist parties in government, as the Polish case demonstrates. The Ukrainian case shows a mixed effect of radical right populism in opposition on mobilization and participation.

The case study approach allowed me to use a variety of methods and data collection techniques to offer a more detailed understanding of populist party strategies, the tools used to generate electoral support and context within which populism emerged and persisted. The interviews were essential to understanding the motivation for the discourse used by political parties during electoral campaigns. I analyzed the interview transcripts and made continuous comparisons to grasp the objectives pursued by political parties, how parties appeal to the voters and whether their programs change depending on criticism expressed by their competitors, the media and citizens. I also tried to establish how parties with populist features differ in their approach to campaign activities and legislative behavior. The interviews provided a useful starting point for identifying general effects of populism. I asked open-ended questions on whether the presence of populism in politics had any effect on policies, citizens, or other political parties; how and why populism's appeals differed from those of mainstream parties; whether populism was necessary for party system to be more responsive and accountable.[65] Through questions like these I was able to establish that populism is seen both positively and negatively and identify dimensions of democratic quality where populism's effect was most pronounced.

The Polish respondents discussed populism's mobilizing effect linking it to dramatic increase of electoral turnout in 2007. The Czech respondents commented that populism was not necessary for political system to be more responsive because populist appeals focusing on anti-corruption strategies are part of mainstream party programs; yet, four months later, populist Public Affairs received 10.9% of the vote obtaining 24 seats in the lower chamber running on anti-corruption platform and promising higher

[65] See Appendix A for the list of interview questions.

responsiveness in fight against corruption. The mobilization activity of the populist Svoboda in Ukraine is unprecedented given the party's limited regional success. Specific comments by Polish respondents linking populism and participation, the emphasis of Public Affairs in the Czech Republic on responsiveness in addressing corruption, and mobilization activities by Svoboda prompted me to examine populism's impact on these three individual dimensions on democratic quality.

Table 3-2 Three-Level Concept of Democratic Quality

Basic level	Secondary level	Indicator/data level
Democratic quality	Participation	Electoral turnout
		Level of inclusion of marginalized groups and newly mobilized voters
		Mobilization of politicians representing unprivileged groups
	Mandate responsiveness	Citizen perceptions about positioning on the left-right scale
		Clarity of electoral promises
		Press releases on the parties' websites related to corruption (its presence or efforts to combat it)
	Policy Responsiveness	Questions asked from the parliament floor
		Policy record on corruption
	Protest Mobilization	Electoral turnout
		Contacts with politicians
		Participation in protests and demonstrations

Table 3.2 presents the three-level framework of the concept of democratic quality. Each dimension of democratic quality is further disaggregated into lower-level measures, following Goertz (2006, 50). Democratic quality is the basic-level concept, while participation, responsiveness and protest mobilization are the secondary-level concepts. The indicator-level reflects a more proximate element of concept formation – these are the variables often used in quantitative analyses as proxies for more abstract concepts. As Goertz (2006, 53) suggests, the abstractness of the basic-level concept

necessitates the introduction of the secondary level that serves as a "theoretical linkage between the abstract basic level and the concrete indicator/data level."

Poland

The elite interview respondents commented that populism mobilized new and protest voters and brought new candidates to office – people who never participated in politics before. Other respondents suggested that populism brought high level of conflict to political life and citizens turned out to vote to return to "normalcy." Sifting through the secondary literatures – newspaper articles and special reports[66] – I established that in the Polish context respondents discussed populism's impact in two different contexts. First, during early 2000s, when populist parties initially came to power, their impact was largely characterized as positive, as they mobilized constituencies that were not represented or disenchanted by "politics as usual." This helped identify the *inclusion mechanism* during the 2001 election. I further analyzed the survey data from the Polish National Election Study (PGSW) to identify the level of

[66] A special report by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) prepared and published in 2006 followed the creation of the coalition government between populist Law and Justice, Self Defense and the League of Polish Families. The ADL was highly critical of the coalition denouncing xenophobic and anti-Semitic appeals expressed by two extremist parties (Self Defense and the League of Polish Families) and the right-wing Catholic radio station, Radio Maryja, affiliated with Law and Justice and Self Defense. The report contained the information on anti-Semitism, xenophobia and intolerance in Poland in the aftermath of 1989 transition from communism; it provided a profile of populist extremist parties and individual members of government, specifically, Roman Giertych, Minister of Education and Andrzej Lepper, Deputy Prime Minister. The report included a detailed account of Radio Maryja, focusing on anti-Semitic content presented by the radio station; conspiracy theories about Jewish responsibility for communist repressions; and the radio's inspirational leader Father Rydzyk known for his instigative hate speech.
Another report, *Populist Politics and Liberal Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe,* was published in collaboration between four East-European institutions in a case study format that included a section on Poland along with sections on Bulgaria, Slovakia and Hungary. The report primarily focused on dangers of populism for liberal democracy and rule of law. The Polish section presented information on specific characteristics of Polish populist parties, on corruption and anti-corruption activities by the populist government, on relationship between populist parties on the one hand and the media, the judiciary, the Central Bank, and the Anti-Corruption Bureau.
Another special report *Democracy in Poland 2005-2007* was funded by Open Society Institute and prepared by the Institute of Public Affairs in Warsaw, Poland. This study included a rich description of the party system, the judiciary, the rule of law, the anti-corruption institutions, and citizen activism in 2005-2007, while the populist parties were in government.

engagement in politics among constituencies of populist parties. In other words, the survey data helped establish whether populist parties had been a novel avenue of interest representation. The first hypothesis reflects the relationships between populism and the degree of inclusion:

Hypothesis 1. Populism in opposition brings higher level of inclusion into politics, expanding participation to those groups that were marginalized and not represented in the past.

The level of inclusion is measured by the share of newly mobilized voters by populist parties, as well as the share of newly elected politicians representing unprivileged groups. I examine the electoral data from the Polish National Election Study (PGSW) following 2001, 2005 and 2007 elections. I trace the origins of populist party voters to understand whether they were previously engaged in politics, mobilized and represented by other parties or whether populist parties were primarily responsible for voter mobilization. I begin by looking at the data from the 2001 National Election Study, because it was in 2001 when Self Defense and League of Polish Families cleared the electoral threshold for the first time. I further examine the data from the 2005 National Election Study on the first-time voters to see whether they were mainly mobilized by populist parties. Finally, I assess whether populist parties opened up political space for politicians representing marginal and unprivileged groups. The literature on populism in Latin America suggests that populism is inclusionary because it mobilizes individuals and groups who were previously excluded – or perceived being excluded – from political life. Moreover, as Levitsky and Loxton (2012) show, populism's inclusiveness includes appointment of representatives of marginalized groups – indigenous peoples,

women, and evangelical Christians - to positions in power. Using secondary sources I examine the changing demographics of the Polish lower chamber in terms of gender, age, education and occupation to establish whether populist parties were able to expand the presence of marginal groups in government.

Second, the interviews helped identify the second causal mechanism in play during the 2007 election and detect a key intervening variable – high level of conflict and negativity – that was associated with populism in Poland. The second hypothesis has to do with the level of negativism epitomized by populist parties.

Hypothesis 2. Negativism exhibited by populist discourse and policies elevates citizen anxiety about politics. Citizens showing high level of awareness of political problems are more likely to participate in elections.

Negativism is measured by citizens' awareness of political problems, while participation is measured by voter turnout. Following Martin (2004), I assume that voters who are more exposed to negative discourse are more likely to express awareness with political problems. As citizens become more aware of political problems they experience anxiety about the future of the country, which leads to higher participation rates. I use problem awareness as a proxy for exposure to negativism expresses by politicians. To test the hypothesis linking negativism and participation, I relied on newspaper articles and special reports compiled by the Polish Academy of Sciences and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to identify main aspects of confrontational discourse and policies pursued by populist parties. Among those were interventions in the content of news and accusations of belonging to *uklad* of those media who criticized the government; interference with the independence of the judiciary system and attacks

against the Constitutional Court under pretext to fight corruption, radical push of the lustration legislation and other extra-Constitutional measures to fight corruption. I describe how radical and confrontational policies contributed to higher activity of the Polish civil society. These data sources helped create an account how radical discourse and encroachment on the independence of the media, the judiciary, and other institutions of horizontal accountability by populists mobilized collective grievances and contributed to higher electoral participation. A crucial task in developing the argument is to establish (a) that populism produced high level of conflict in political life; (b) how widespread conflict was by providing evidence of the spheres of life impact by the populist discourse and legislation; (c) that conflict contributed to urgency among citizens (through statistical analysis showing awareness of political problems by citizens); (d) that these development contributed to higher participation.

The Czech Republic

When I conducted the interviews in the Czech Republic, Public Affairs – a party strongly exhibiting populist characteristics – had not yet announced its participation in the 2010 election. Therefore, given the absence of nation-wide populist parties, the interviewees commented on the limited impact of populism in the Czech context. Even though the Czech respondents perceived that populism was not present in the country, they commented on its desirable effect on democracy. The central insight from the Czech interviews is that populism helps identify social and political problems politicizing and attracting public attention to them. The announcement by Public Affairs to contest the 2010 national parliamentary election provided me with valuable opportunity to incorporate it in this dissertation. Based on examination of the party's

electoral program, I established that uncovering and attacking corruption was its central appeal, which prompted me to evaluate the impact of Public Affairs on democratic responsiveness in the realm of anti-corruption policies. Given the contested and ambiguous notion of democratic responsiveness, I disaggregated the concept into individual components – mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness.

a) Mandate responsiveness helps establish whether parties make clear and recognizable electoral promises. Clear campaign promises send important cues to constituents telling them what parties will do once in office. Moreover, voters will show higher coherence in ideological positions, if parties of their choice display a clear platform.

Hypothesis 3a. Populism will display a higher degree of mandate responsiveness by detecting problematic areas in the functioning of democracy, such as corruption.

To identify populism's impact on mandate responsiveness, I examine ideological positioning among Czech voters; ideological vagueness in voter perceptions signals low mandate responsiveness. I compare standard deviations of voters' left-right ideological self-positioning with left-right positioning of parties expressed by all respondents, using the results of the Czech National Election Study conducted in June 2010. Higher standard deviation indicates lower homogeneity of support for each party and may suggest a weaker-defined ideological profile of the party. This measure of mandate responsiveness shows an ideological component of populism.

Location of a party on the ideological extreme combined with low standard deviation indicates a well-defined ideological profile of the party, while high deviation

combined with location of the mean in the middle of ideological spectrum signals weak ideological profile.

In addition to examining ideological positions of the voters, I also look as parties' communication with constituencies via their websites. Both serve as measures of mandate responsiveness. Higher intensity and frequency of featuring corruption indicates higher rate of mandate responsiveness.

Hypothesis 3b. Populism will show higher mandate responsiveness on its central campaign issues via website presence.

To measure this aspect of mandate responsiveness, I analyze website communication related to corruption among Czech political parties. Specifically, I review press releases published by political parties on their websites. Because I evaluate party responsiveness related to a specific issue of corruption, I look for frequencies of references to corruption in press releases between May 2010 and December 2011. Mandate responsiveness is measured as frequency and intensity of featuring corruption in press releases published on parties' websites.

I examine the websites of five Czech parties with parliamentary seats in the lower chamber having analyzed 3,497 press releases, 14.9% of which contained a reference to corruption. The articles were divided into three groups that indicate a degree of intensity of referencing corruption in press releases. Higher intensity of featuring corruption is a proxy for high mandate responsiveness. Articles mentioned only once or twice were coded as 1; articles where corruption is mentioned several times were coded as 2; articles which main theme is corruption were coded as 3. A

useful cue for coding the article as 3 was whether it contained the word "corruption" in the title.

b) Policy Responsiveness

Policy responsiveness reflects legislative behavior of political parties. I evaluate the degree of policy responsiveness by analyzing oral questions on corruption-related issues by members of parliament. The examination of oral questions asked during parliamentary session of the lower Chamber, I seek to establish whether populist Public Affairs exhibits higher policy responsiveness since taking office in 2010. I also compare the frequency of questions related to corruption among all parliamentary parties during the previous parliamentary session (2006-2010) to determine whether populism has an effect of responsiveness of other political parties.

H4a: Populism will exhibit higher, compared to other parties, degree of policy responsiveness via speeches and inquiries made by its members of parliament (MPs).

Finally, I look at legislative initiatives by the coalition government, which is a good indicator of government's policy responsiveness, although it is difficult to clearly isolate the individual role of Public Affairs using this measure.

H4b: Through its legislative initiatives, populist parties in government will demonstrate higher policy responsiveness on corruption-related issues than other parties.

Ukraine

In the Ukrainian case, the interviews suggest that all Ukrainian political parties share populist features. However, based on the definition of populism established in this dissertation, I focus on the case of Svoboda – radical right populist party – and evaluate its impact on participation. Whereas the Polish case focuses on the demand side

dimension of participation, the Ukrainian case examines the supply side of participation, or populism's capacity to mobilize constituents through political protest.

Hypothesis 6. Political participation will be higher in regions where populist support is stronger.

Political participation is measured by voter turnouts, contacts with politicians and participation in lawful demonstrations using the European Social Survey data. I use bivariate correlation analysis to examine the relationship between Svoboda's electoral support and these several forms of political participation.

I further assess the data on protest activities in Ukraine comparing populism's mobilization capacity with that of other political parties. This hypothesis is tested with data on the frequency of protests organized by parties alone or in collaboration with other social actors.

Hypothesis 7. Populist parties are likely to mobilize citizens to participate in political protests more frequently than other parties.

Political mobilization and participation largely represents a positive element of democratic quality. However, when mobilization leads to political violence, its positive impact becomes disputed. The last hypothesis addresses explanations that emphasize the use of negative discourse by populism to draw attention to their cause. The literature suggests that populism's critical stance may often be combined with higher levels of violence.

Hypothesis 8. Populism exhibits higher level of violence during political protests compared to mainstream parties, having negative consequences for democratic quality.

The presence of violence in political protests is measured by the type of protest the mobilizing actor was engaged in and whether the protest involved physical abuse, attack, break in, a fight, acts of vandalism, etc.

In sum, even though I examine populism's impact on participation in Poland, on responsiveness in the Czech Republic, and on mobilization in Ukraine, these cases contribute to the overarching argument about populism's impact on democratic quality. Disaggregation of democratic quality into individual dimensions in each country helps construct a more detailed account and moves the argument on populism beyond desirable/undesirable effects. This helps identify conditions under which populism is likely to have positive, negative or mixed effect on democracy.

Data and Sources

In this study, I am relying on comparative case study approach using within-case study analysis and process tracing as well as multiple methods of data collection. The semi-structured elite interviews were my departing point serving as an exploratory analysis, guiding the case study approach. Each empirical chapter is an individual case study where I combine primary and secondary data sources. As I described in the previous section, elite interviews served at early stages of the research to point to general effects of populism. After the fieldwork was finished, I extensively used the data from the European Social Survey, the Polish National Election Study, the Czech National Election Study, and Protest and Coercion data collected by the Ukrainian Center for Society Research.

Process Tracing

I use the method of process tracing to establish the causal link between populism and various components of democratic quality. The method of process tracing has received wide recognition among qualitative researchers even though it is often used without specific reference to the method or under different names (Tilly 1997, Hall 2000, Checkel 2005, George and Bennett 2005).[67] George and Bennett (2005) offer a strong argument for using process tracing method in qualitative research, and within-case research in particular. The authors' central concern is developing or testing theories focusing on causal mechanisms which are essential for causal explanation. This method is helpful to identify intervening causal processes, obtain explanations for deviant cases, or gain insight into causal mechanisms. Process tracing is used both for theory testing and theory development complementing other research methods and can be used methods and approaches (George and Bennett 2005, 208).

For example, I use process tracing to identify a causal chain linking populism and participation in the Polish case. Specifically, the elite interviews helped establish that populism had led to higher level of negativism in political life: the populist government and the ministries controlled by them were accused of attacks on the judiciary, on the opposition parties and on the media. The short tenure of the populist government was described as "politics of warfare" featuring "radical politics, permanent crisis, and accusations."[68] I further studied newspaper articles and special reports to find evidence of confrontational discourse exhibited by populists and

[67] Collier (2011) lists a number of alternative methods that have much in common with process-tracing, e.g. Lazarsfeld's (1940) "discerning," Bates et al.'s (1998) "analytic narratives," or Hall's (2003) "systematic process analysis."
[68] Field Research, 2009. A detailed description of the field research is below.

backlash against the government. Having documented populism's attacks against the media, the judiciary system, radical push of the lustration legislation and extra-Constitutional measures to fight corruption, I turned to regression analysis to show how high level of citizen awareness with political problems (as a proxy for negativism exhibited by populism) is positively associated with higher participation levels; higher awareness of political problems among citizens increases the likelihood of voting.

What makes these steps process tracing? First, as Mahoney (2010) explains, careful description is a foundation of process tracing.[69] In the Polish chapter, I pay particular attention to the description of discourse and policies of populist parties – their anti-establishment stance against *uklad,* the emphasis on primacy of political expediency over rule of law, marginalization of the role of opposition, subordination of the judiciary and the Constitutional Court to the governing coalition, and one of the central appeals of the populist government which focused on "moral revolution."[70] The detailed description of these events is an essential building block in analyzing the processes.

The second essential element of process tracing is the sequence of variables. I seek to establish (a) that populism produced conflict in daily life involving not only politicians but also ordinary citizens; (b) the large scope of the conflict in the political life. It covered many spheres of daily life including the populist attacks against the legal system, attacks against specific professions as a pretext to combat corruption, critical stance against *uklad*, lustration legislation, incriminations, illegal prosecutions by Anti-

[69] Mahoney (2010, 125).
[70] *Uklad* in translation from Polish means network. Polish populists use this term to describe the network of "secret connections between institutions, politics, business and other informal groups, which dominated the transition period" (Meseznikov *et al*. 2008).

Corruption Bureau; (c) that conflicts and negativism contributed to urgency among citizens. The Polish chapter suggests that negativism exhibited by populist parties during their government tenure in 2005-2007. This type of negativism directed against democratic institutions – mainstream political parties, the Constitutional Court, and the media – differs from negative campaigning in the pre-election period, as it rests at the core of what constitutes populism; (d) the elements of this conflict contributed to higher popular mobilization and participation in the snap 2007 election.

For the purpose of this dissertation, process tracing is important because it represents an "alternative method for making causal inferences when it is not possible to do so through the method of controlled comparison" (George and Bennett 2005, 214). Three cases used in this dissertation do not represent the perfect combination of cases, similar in every aspect but one, which is essential for controlled comparison. Therefore, I evaluate the impact of populist parties using within-case study analysis.

Process tracing is defined as "the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator."[71] This method requires a detailed description of the phenomenon, and close attention to the sequence of variables.[72] Collier (2011) explains that when using process tracing method "we must be able to characterize key steps in the process…taking good snapshots at a series of specific moments."[73] For example, chapter 5 evaluates the effect of populist parties in Poland on participation by exploring causal mechanisms. It documents how populist rhetoric and policies elevated the level of conflict in political life producing higher level of anxiety among citizens. Negativism

[71] Collier (2011, 823).
[72] Mahoney (2010).
[73] Collier (2011).

displayed by populist parties led to unintended consequences working as a mobilizing factor against populists who showed disrespect for liberal democratic procedures, institutions and rule of law. The chapter captures the key snapshots at specific moments – confrontational election of 2005, hardline foreign policy exhibited by populists, assaults on the institutions of horizontal accountability and the media, illegal prosecutions – to show the unfolding of events over time. These developments contributed to the atmosphere of suspicion and anxiety among citizens and higher turnout against populist policies and negative discourse.

Secondary Sources

The process tracing method requires a detailed description of pieces of evidence. It focuses on the unfolding of events over time and requires close engagement with case knowledge. I conducted a thorough work reviewing secondary sources and the existing body of literature bringing together the literature on populism in Latin America, Western and Eastern Europe. This dissertation investigates the development of populist parties during the second decade following the post-communist transitions of Eastern European countries. Populism is a recurring phenomenon (Roberts 1995) and at times its effects spill over the borders, as populist leaders and parties successfully emulate their neighbors' success (Rydgren 2005, Mungiu-Pippidi 2007, Krastev 2008).

Because of the high profile case of the Polish populism since 2001 - and especially between 2005-2007, when populist parties formed the government coalition, the newspapers and academic journals dedicated a significant amount of attention to analyzing Polish populism. I studied specialized reports published by the Polish Academy of Sciences on developments of political parties, the media, the judiciary and

civil society (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, Kolarska-Bobinska et al. 2008, Mesežnikov et al. 2008).

The Czech newspapers provided a useful description of events related to re-emergence of populism in the Czech Republic. Their continued references to anti-corruption activities by the populist party prompted me to look at the survey data to establish whether the populist program corresponding to the newspaper coverage also reflected the sentiment among the citizens. Triangulation of these data sources helped create a more complete account of how an issue such as corruption could be politicized by populism and used succinctly to demonstrate higher degree of responsiveness. I used the survey data on citizen ideological perceptions to establish how populism affects mandate responsiveness. I analyzed press releases on party websites to identify differences in non-legislative mandate responsiveness, between populist and mainstream parties. Using transcripts from legislative sessions of the Czech parliament I explored policy responsiveness exhibited by populism.

I reviewed the newspaper articles in Ukrainian and Russian to keep in touch with the rise of radical right populist Svoboda in Ukraine. I also used the data on protest activities from Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project to assess populist capacity to mobilize citizens through political protest. Using this data allowed me to systematically compare mobilization tools used by Ukrainian political parties and evaluate how populist mobilization differs from that of other political parties.

I read most of the secondary source material in English, Ukrainian and Russian. Availability of newspapers on the Internet and advances in translation tools helped me

when searching for non-English sources and with translation from Czech and Polish, when it was necessary.

Academic journals were a useful source for addressing the ambiguities related to the concept of populism. The majority of conceptual literature uses the cases of Latin America and Western Europe for testing definitions but the emergence of high profile populist cases in post-communist Europe prompted scholars to start developing research using the concepts tailored to the post-communist region.

Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

Elite interviews are an essential technique for data collection in qualitative research (Odendahl and Shaw 2002, Tansey 2006). The benefits of elite interviews are difficult to overestimate. When conducting elite interviews, I was able to get access to participants who had first-hand knowledge of the processes under investigation. My interviews with journalists, political analysts, party strategists, press secretaries and party representatives and members of parliament allowed me to identify and refine the research questions because the empirical reality often differs from academic research. The interviews with members of parliament, for instance, were useful to uncover limited yet positive ability of populism to help identify acute problems which are ignored by mainstream parties. Later, I was able to link this evidence to the speeches from the floor of the parliament and press releases on political party websites, in the Czech case. The richest evidence was collected from the Polish interviews because of high prominence of populism first in opposition, and then in government.

Apart from these advantages, the interviews have shortcomings, such as reliability of information (Kramer 1990). Sometimes respondents misrepresent their

perspectives on particular questions, especially if questions have personal significance to them. For example, during my interviews with ex-representative of populist parties in Poland it was difficult to avoid perceptions of negativity connected to populism because of the value-laden nature of the concept. Respondents aware of populism's negative connotation appeared defensive seeking to justify their parties' policies possibly minimizing their negative impact.

Despite these shortcomings, elite interviews are an incredibly useful tool, as it helped me better understand the cases, revise the research questions, and point to appropriate follow-up data. For this dissertation, I conducted 49 elite interviews in the Czech Republic (16), Poland (16) and Ukraine (17) between May and November 2009. Among respondents were party representatives, members of parliament, professors of political science and sociology, practicing sociologists and political commentators.

The interviews were semi-structured, with open-ended questions aiming to get a fully articulated response by participants. I asked broad questions about party strategies, programs, perceptions about populism, populist parties and politicians.[74] Depending on the anticipated length of the interviews, and depth of responses, I adjusted the sequence of questions and follow-up questions. The selection of semi-structured open-ended question interviews when conducting elite interviews has been recognized in the literature (Aberbach and Rockman 2002). Each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, although there were several aberrations.

I used the method of snowball sampling to identify respondents. Snowball sampling is commonly used in qualitative sociological research (Biernacki and Waldorf

[74] See Appendix A for interview protocol and Appendix C and D for IRB approval memo and IRB inactivation memo.

1981). The study sample was identified through personal referrals after each interview. Using this technique in post-Communist states has complications unique to the region, which are related to lack of trust among citizens (Howard 2003). It is very difficult for researchers to meet public officials in unofficial settings for a brief discussion. For example, in Ukraine, most public officials holding office actively engage in business relations. Therefore, a personal referral from a colleague was extremely useful to set up meetings with public officials.

Another potential methodological problem with using the snowball sampling approach has to do with finding initial respondents and starting referral chain. I started by identifying several academic researchers and political commentators with high public visibility. At the end of each interview, I asked the interviewees to suggest potential respondents. Following these interviews, I obtained further referrals. I also continued meeting and receiving references from academic experts who were more accessible and willing to have a personal meeting. Several times, I received harsh rejections to meet both from the experts and politicians. For instance, the director of one of the political research centers suggested that I met one of his employees after I introduced myself and mentioned the name of the reference who had suggested to contact him: "This is insufficient referral to use my personal time to meet you. If I were meeting all doctoral students from the University of Oklahoma, I would not have time for anything else." Fortunately, most of the potential respondents that I contacted agreed to meet me.

Elite interviews are often used with other research methods, such as archival research, statistical methods, or public opinion surveys. In this dissertation I use elite

interviews as a departing point for the argument. From the interviews I sought to learn how the elites – party representatives and academic experts – viewed populism, whether they perceived is as a positive or negative phenomenon; whether, in respondents' views, populist parties were more attentive to certain issues, such as corruption; how political parties responded to citizens' concerns and whether respondents viewed populism as something necessary for party systems to be more responsive and accountable.

Whereas the secondary literature researched prior to conducting fieldwork was essential for formulating initial hypotheses and outlining the general direction for research, the elite interviews helped me identify the future direction for developing the argument and look for further data. The interviews have advanced my understanding of populism in three cases in several important ways. First, conceptually, they show important differences in how populism is understood in different regional contexts. In the Czech case, populism was associated with negative campaigning and criticism, simplified solutions and direct appeals to the people, irresponsible social payments, personalistic leadership and incompetent decisions and empty appeals. The interviews were conducted in fall 2009, when the snap election scheduled for October was canceled and the regular election was re-scheduled for May 2010. Public Affairs (VV), the typical case of populism,[75] had not yet announced its participation in the election. Therefore, most Czech respondents answering the question about populism and its potential effects replied without identifying any particular Czech party as populist. As one of the respondents explained:

> There are no populist parties in the Czech Republic. Even the Communists who are a protest party cannot be portrayed as populist. It is very well defined in ideological terms, perhaps even better than ODS or CSSD. Historically, there

[75] Mareš (2011).

> was one populist extreme right party – the Republican Party [SPR-RSC]. It was without strong ideological alignment, without strong identification in terms of social and economic policy. Criticism of other parties was their main tool for voter mobilization.[76]

The Czech respondents were making comparisons to populism in Poland, Slovakia, and Bulgaria suggesting that such problems with protest parties do not exist in the Czech Republic. In fact, many respondents argued that populism was not necessary for a political system to be more responsive to citizen needs and concerns; nor was it necessary to address the problems with endemic corruption, because anti-corruption appeals were present in programs of mainstream parties.

The Ukrainian respondents associated populism with simplified solutions and electoral promises of redistributive social payments made by political parties. "It's the ability to catch the mood of the people and be responsive to their demands," according to one of the Ukrainian commentators, "public request for a miracle, a fairytale, as people want to receive everything at once."[77] Whereas Czech and Polish respondents articulated their perceptions about populism in terms of parties' strategies, a quarter of Ukrainian respondents emphasized the demand side of populism. According to these views, populism is a "response to social expectations of voters,"[78] "a response to the mood of the crowd…a drug-type addiction to promises."[79]

Second, in terms of attribution of the causal effects, the interview respondents in three cases helped identify several types of impact by populist parties. One group of respondents suggested that protest parties help identify problems that are not addressed by mainstream parties. Populists represent a "positive threat to the establishment by

[76] Field Research, Interview #10, the Czech Republic.
[77] Field Research, Interview #4, Ukraine.
[78] Field Research, Interview #9, Ukraine.
[79] Field Research, Interview #17, Ukraine.

raising questions about corruption", according to one of the Czech respondents.[80] Chapter 5 finds support for this argument by analyzing the impact of populism on various forms of responsiveness in the Czech Republic. Populist Public Affairs focused its electoral campaign on corruption – an issue that has been largely ignored by mainstream parties. Even though the evidence about the impact of Public Affairs on democratic responsiveness is mixed, Chapter 5 finds general support for the argument about populism's ability to identify problems downplayed or ignored by the establishment, consistently with elite interviews.

Overall, despite different understanding of populism, respondents in all three countries addressed the question about populist suspects critically, attaching negative connotation to the concept and attributing largely negative impact brought by populist parties.

Quantitative Tools

I used European Social Survey data along with the data from the Czech and Polish National Election Studies to complement the evidence collected through the interviews and secondary sources. Specifically, the Polish survey data was helpful to identify populist constituencies and establish whether populist parties represented the interests of unprivileged groups, whether they mobilized new voters. I used linear regressions to link awareness with political conflicts among citizens to voter turnout.

The Czech surveys provided useful data on the most politicized problems in the country and showing how, in citizen perceptions, populism was positioned to deal with these problems. The survey data on the left-right self-positioning of party constituencies allowed me to test the hypothesis on ideological profile of political parties, or their

[80] Field Research, Interview #13, the Czech Republic.

mandate responsiveness. Following previous research, I looked at standard deviations of party constituencies indicating well-defined or weak ideological profiles, which in turn, indicated the higher or lower mandate responsiveness of populism.

The *Protest and Coercion Project* data collected by the *Ukrainian Center for Society Research* was helpful to gauge the level of protest activity in Ukraine to see how populist mobilization differed from that of other parties. Using descriptive statistics I analyzed the share of populist protest as well as the share of violent/confrontational protests organized by populists. I coded the dataset by central protest themes to examine which protests – ideological, socioeconomic, power struggle or civil rights – are predominantly used by populism. Populism's impact on different types of participation was measured using cross-tabulations. Cross-tabulations allowed me to see in the table format whether populist vote share in Ukrainian regions was positively associated with voter turnout, participation in demonstrations, and contacts with politicians.

Conclusion

To reiterate, this dissertation examines the relationship between populist parties and individual dimensions of democratic quality using the case study approach. It seeks to answer the research question *What are the effects of party populism on participation, responsiveness and mobilization in Poland, the Czech Republic and Ukraine, respectively?* This chapter outlined the research design for the study justifying the selection of cases, describing the variables and the data sources, laying the foundation for the empirical case study analysis.

The next three chapters focus on individual cases on populism in three countries. Chapter 4 analyzes populism's impact on participation in Poland; chapter 5 examines

the relationship between populism and mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness in the Czech Republic; chapter 6 focuses on populism's ability to mobilize citizens, specifically focusing on protest mobilization.

Chapter 4 Populism and Participation in Poland

In late September 2006, when the coalition government of Law and Justice, Self-Defense and League of Polish Families collapsed following the dismissal of Andrzej Lepper from the post of deputy prime minister and ejection of Self-Defense from the government coalition, Bartosz Weglarczyk, a political analyst of *Gazeta Wyborcza* warned that an early election would have a disastrously low turnout: "It's a total mess…Poles are totally fed up with the [political] process. If we have new elections in November or December, I would expect no more than 20 percent of the voters to actually go vote."[81] A year later, when an early election was indeed held, it resulted in the record-high turnout of 54%. While being quite low for European established and new democracies, this turnout was an increase of almost 30% from the 2005 election. The record-high turnout does not seem to make sense from Weglarczyk's perspective, according to which, frustration with political conflicts, negative discourse and perpetual political government infighting were to suppress the level of citizen participation. How to explain such a rapid spike of civilian electoral activism?

This chapter explores causal mechanisms linking populism and participation in Poland between 2001 and 2007. It discusses two types of mobilization. First, it looks at how populist appeals contributed to the level of political inclusion of marginalized and previously disengaged citizens during the 2001 and 2005 parliamentary elections. Second, it analyzes how populist policies and rhetoric elevated the level of conflict in political life, contributing to higher levels of negativism and anxiety among citizens and consequently, to higher participation. The central argument of the chapter is that

[81] Sikorski and Komorovsky (2006).

participation of new voters and new groups of politicians increased in 2001 and 2005 due to populist mobilization efforts, or *in support* of populism; however, participation in the 2007 election increased *in opposition*, rather than *in support* of populism. During their short government tenure, populist parties experienced a dramatic decline in support despite growing economy. They undermined the institutions of horizontal accountability by implementing policies viewed by the civic groups as threatening to liberal democratic procedures. The lustration legislation, attacks against the media, the Constitutional Tribunal and the judiciary mobilized professional groups becoming the impetus for protest based on values, rather than economic interests. Higher electoral turnout is thus interpreted as a mandate against policies and confrontational discourse of populist government.

The chapter combines within-case analysis with qualitative data based on elite interviews with party officials and academic experts. Populist parties contributed to higher inclusion among voters when they first came to power in 2001. While I find that negativism is associated with higher participation rates, higher turnout was one of the unintended consequences of populist discourse. The combination of within-case analysis and elite interviews seek to show:

(1) the ability of populism to mobilize previously marginalized groups;

(2) how anti-establishment stance, negative discourse and confrontational style exhibited by populist parties contributed to higher level of anxiety among citizens and resulted in higher mobilization against populism. While the literature on negative campaigning attributes increase or decline of turnout to candidates' conscious efforts

directed against their competitors, this chapter emphasizes the unintended consequences that negativism had on participation increase.

Populism's negative discourse had unintended consequences for electoral turnout and populist party electoral success, as negativism mobilized more voters in the 2007 election than any previous election in Polish democratic history. "Abnormality" and negativism in daily political life created a lot of discontent between the government and the opposition, on the one hand, and between citizens and the government, on the other hand. Poles who have been quite apolitical since the founding elections in 1989, distrusting democratic institutions, and whose election turnout levels have been dramatically lower compared to the rest of CEE, came to the polls to end abnormality and negativism. Anxiety triggered by political conflicts resulted in changes in citizen behavior, mobilizing anxious and disenchanted voters. I find that populist rhetoric and policies have had a mobilizing effect on election turnout as populist parties discredited themselves by contentious rhetoric of "moral revolution", negative discourse and confrontational policies.

Importance of Political Participation

Several conditions are important to assure broad citizen participation generally. Among them are basic education, knowledge about the system of government, tolerance of political differences, and the rule of law protecting the rights and freedoms.[82] When one or several of these conditions are violated, political participation and democratic quality is compromised.

High levels of participation in political life by citizens have been seen by political theorists as a important element of effective and legitimate government. For

[82] Diamond and Morlino (2005).

Rousseau, "no government, however, efficient, was morally justified unless is rested on the active participation of all it citizens."[83] Rousseau viewed participation as a "solvent of social conflicts" as a learning process in a democratic polity.[84] Others, however, were more cautious about involvement of the ordinary people in politics. Aristotle's was suspicious about prudence of the poor and Samuel Huntington warned about "excess of democracy" that may have a negative impact on government's capacity to deal with important issues.[85] Almond and Verba's study emphasizes the importance of balance in participation: the "civic culture" is a mixture of activity and passivity, when "there is political activity, but not so much as to destroy governmental authority; there is involvement and commitment, but they are moderate."[86] Overall, however, the literature agrees that high level of electoral participation is a sign of a higher quality democracy, while low participation indicates its deficiency. Higher level of participation provides higher inclusion in the political process, especially for minorities, have-nots, and marginal groups that find it difficult to get access to the positions of power. Lower levels of participation indicate citizen frustration with the political process, political actors or the environment in which they operate. High numbers of disenchanted voters may be especially harmful for democracy, because that may open the door to extreme parties and politicians who would find it harder to become electorally relevant under higher turnouts.

Factors influencing the willingness of citizens to vote in elections have been widely debated. In one of the earlier studies of election turnout, Tingsten (1937) found

[83] Rousseau, Edited and translated by Frederick Watkins (1986, XXV).
[84] Salisbury (1975, 323–341).
[85] Huntington (1968, 430-431).
[86] Almond and Verba (1963, 360).

that the level of participation in elections increases as social standards improve. Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978) show that better off citizens are more likely to engage in such political activities as working in election campaigns, contacting government officials, or working in communities. Socio-economic factors do not always determine the level of citizen political engagement. In post-Communist Europe, after a lengthy period when voluntary political participation had been suppressed, the rates of citizen engagement were quite high despite relatively low socio-economic standards. As newly democratized countries moved from one election to another, skepticism and frustration with liberal democratic governance had a strong effect on citizen participation rates. Political apathy became a strong impediment for higher democratic quality.

Diamond and Morlino (2005) suggest that political apathy among citizens is one of the most common subversions of political participation. However, they make an important caveat that the same factors that contribute to growing apathy and, as a result, to lower participation, may under certain conditions increase participation. For example, corruption scandals, abuses of power, unresponsive or incompetent government, may either increase or decrease citizen's apathy and, consequently, the level of participation. Similarly, perceptions about government stability, negativity and the level of conflict among major political actors may also have either positive or negative effect on participation. Overall, political apathy, frustration with the political process and democratic institutions may be either a demobilizing or mobilizing factor for the voter decision to participate in elections.

Political Participation as a Dimension of Democratic Quality

Political participation is a necessary but not sufficient element of democratic societies. It allows citizens to be a part of the political process and influence it through voting or by means of communication with officials and fellow citizens. Low participation leads to unequal political influence and disproportionally harms less well-to-do citizens.[87] The concept of participation seems to be easy to define. Robert Dahl, for example, conceptualized participation as the *right* to participate – to vote or join organizations.[88] However, the right to participate differs from the *rate* of participation.[89] Dahl's right to participate is a part of his definition of polyarchy and it separates democracies (polyarchies) from autocratic regimes. The rate of participation reflects the qualitative dimension of democracy.

Political participation is often associated with voting in elections but the latter is only one aspect of participation. High democratic quality is attained when people's participation is not limited to voting in elections but includes other forms of participation – membership in political parties, civil society organizations and social movements, participation in spontaneous demonstrations and protests, communication with elected officials, involvement in discussions on public policies, contributing money to parties and candidates or working in election campaigns (Diamond and Morlino 2005).

Participation is closely related to the concept of political efficacy, or citizen's belief in affecting the political system. Internal political efficacy indicates citizen perceptions about their impact on the political process, while external efficacy shows

[87] Lijphart (1997).
[88] Dahl (1971).
[89] Altman and Pérez-Linan (2002, 88).

the responsiveness of political institutions to citizen actions. The interconnectedness of democratic quality dimensions also implies that participation is closely related to *equality* (the state has to protect the rights of all individuals to ensure that they can exercise their rights), *responsiveness* (unresponsive government renders participation ineffective and reduces people role to that of observers), *the rule of law* (violence can threaten the aspiration of citizens to organize and participate politically), and *accountability* (citizens engage elected officials in the dialogue and demand accountability) (Diamond and Morlino 2005).

In Chapter 3, I outlined the defining characteristics of populism arguing that three elements should be included in its definition. Parties (1) showing lack of coherent ideology and therefore building its appeal on leader personality; (2) using people-centric messages appealing to the common sense of ordinary people; and (3) displaying anti-establishment stance and appeals by negation – belong to the family of populist parties.

Table 4-1 Populist Characteristics of Polish Parties

Populist suspects	Anti-establishment stance	Ideological incoherence/ vagueness	People-centric appeals	Degree of populism (0-low, 0.5-medium, 1-high)
League of Polish Families (LPR)	high	low	high	0.67
Self Defense (SO)	high	medium	high	0.83
Law and Justice (PiS)	medium-high	low	high	0.58

Note: The scores are based on author's personal interviews with academic experts and party officials conducted during the fieldwork in Poland in 2009 and on the analysis of secondary sources, primarily, Jasiewicz (2008), Kolarska-Bobiñska et al. (2008), Markowski (2008), Mesežnikov et al. (2008).

Table 4.1 summarizes populist characteristics exhibited by Polish populist parties. Self Defense (SO) meets all three characteristics of populism established above and should be positioned on the populist extreme. League of Polish Families (LPR)

should be positioned closer to the mainstream side of the continuum, as the party meets two of populist criteria, based on its electoral appeals. Finally, Law and Justice (PiS) meets two criteria of populism suggesting that PiS exemplifies a case of the new-centrist populism (Pop-Eleches 2010). The existing literature also suggests that PiS started as a moderate conservative party and obtained populist features over time after joining SO and LPR in a government coalition following the 2005 election (Jasiewicz 2008).

Negative Campaigning and Populism's Appeals by Negation

The question about the relationship between populist strategies and participation is closely related to studies analyzing the effects of negative campaigning. It is necessary to elaborate on this linkage. One of the central characteristics of populist parties is negativism and appeals by negation as it is closely related to the anti-establishment appeals used by populist parties and is used by other populism scholars. Negativism is one of two necessary conditions identified by Ionescu and Gellner (1969) defining populism, as populism "defined itself more by what it is against than by what it is for."[90] Taggart uses a "them-vs-us" dichotomy which is closely related to appeals by negation. While populists are vague about their own positions on issues, they clearly position themselves against "them", or the object of negativism. Negativism exhibited by populist parties includes anti-liberal, anti-western, and anti-immigrant stances, among others.

Negative appeals used by populists are not universal and they are contingent on the regional and national context. For instance, populist candidates in Latin America appeal to their core constituencies by opposing elites because of their opposition to

[90] Quoted in Abedi (2004, 7).

distributional policies;[91] the central appeal of most Western European populist movements has been anti-immigration,[92] while Eastern European populists have built their negative appeals on anti-EU and anti-NATO sentiments.[93] Among differences exhibited by populist movements in these appeals, there is a main similarity, which is populist affinity to criticize "the other" and structure their message based on negation. Appeals by negation are closely related to populism's orientation towards process rather than outcome, as their program says nothing about what should be done once they succeed in displacing the elites.[94] As a result, populist candidates and movements can outline any outcome in the ad-hoc style because of what Taggart (2000) calls an "empty ideological heart."

The analysis of populist appeals by negation fits well into the framework of studies that focus on negative campaigning. The literature on negative campaigning does not offer conclusive evidence on the effects of negative campaigns on participation. The effects of negativism range from demobilization (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, and Valentino 1994) to mobilization (Kahn and Kenney 1999; Lau and Pomper 2001, 69). There are also studies showing no significant relationship of negativism on turnout (Brooks 2006; Lau *et al.* 1999), as well as studies demonstrating different effect of negativism depending on its intensity. For example, Lau and Pomper (2008) find that negative campaigning in the US Senate elections depresses voter turnout only at extremely high levels of negativism; partisan voters tend to be encouraged by negativism, while the effect on independents is the opposite.

[91] Weyland (2001).
[92] Taggart (2005).
[93] Taggart and Szczerbiak (2004); Mudde (2003).
[94] Deegan-Krause (2010).

This literature focuses primarily on American voting behavior in a two-party system and uses exposure to negative campaigns, ads and information as independent variable. This chapter looks at the effect of negativism indirectly. It suggests that negativism in the Polish case was exhibited by populist parties during their short government tenure in 2005-2007. This type of negativism directed against established democratic institutions – mainstream political parties, the Constitutional Court, the media – differs from negative campaigning in the pre-election period, as it rests at the core of what constitutes populism. This aspect of negativism has not been addressed by the literature.

Given the low levels of party identification and large number of undecided voters in each election, negative campaigning should be expected to suppress voter turnout. However, Matušková, Eibl, and Braun (2009) argue that the negative campaign of the Czech Social Democrats (ČSSD) "created a sense of urgency among voters" and resulted in increased voter turnout in the 2006 Czech parliamentary election compared to the 2002 election.

Hypotheses, Method and Data

In this chapter I assess the relationship between two variables – populism and participation, following "causes-of-effects" approach.[95] This approach allows me to explore the causal mechanisms linking populism and participation. I employ the method of process tracing to identify a causal chain linking independent variable (populism) and the outcome (participation).[96]

[95] Mahoney (2010, 120–147, 141).
[96] George and Bennett (2005, 206-207).

While the main leverage sought by statistical methods is aggregate causal effect of independent on dependent variables *across cases*, the method of process tracing focuses on identifying causal processes and causal mechanisms linking causes to effects *within cases*. Once we uncover the causal mechanism in play within a particular case, we can hypothesize about the work of similar mechanisms in other cases. I identify causal mechanisms between populist discourse and the level of citizen participation in Poland between 2001 and 2007 in Poland, which represents a paradigmatic case of populism. Two populist parties – Self Defense (SO) and League of Polish Families (LPR) – became electorally relevant in 2001, joined the government coalition with Law and Justice (PiS) in 2006 and were eliminated from the parliament in 2007 having failed to pass electoral threshold. PiS was a moderate conservative party that entered the parliament in 2001 and gained prominence after 2005 election. Its policies and discourse obtained populist character since 2005, especially after its partnership with SO and LPR.

Studies seeking to explain the level of participation across cases focus on a number of factors – socio-economic, demographic, institutional, or temporal (Jackman 1987; Blais 2006, 111). Scholars also emphasized a variety of factors to explain voter turnout in post-communist countries (Kostadinova 2003; Kostadinova and Power 2007; Pacek, Pop-Eleches, and Tucker 2009). Yet, the effect of anti-establishment discourse, negativism, ideological coherence or electoral promises on voter turnout is an understudied subject. The analysis of populist politics allows us to uncover the mechanism linking populist characteristics with higher voter turnout in Poland in mid-2000s. Analyzing the discourse and policies of populist parties does not discount above-

mentioned factors. I do not claim that populism is the only and most important factor explaining changes in participation but the causal link between the two is often overlooked in the literature. Therefore, I focus on the mechanisms linking populism and participation rather than trying to identify the most powerful factor explaining higher or lower participation. Two main mechanisms linking populist strategies and participation that can be presented as hypotheses are adduced in this chapter:

Inclusion mechanism

By exhibiting the anti-establishment stance and criticizing the elites for corruption, unresponsiveness and lack of accountability, populists appeal to marginal groups and those voters who become disenchanted with electoral democracy. These appeals by negation positively affect participation because when voters feel marginalized and betrayed by existing power relations, they are drawn to parties that validate their critique. Populism positively affects participation by expanding the presence of marginal groups in national politics. Once populist parties become part of the government coalition, they have to recreate themselves – to abandon their critical stance and engage in constructive policymaking. However, they are often unable to transform themselves into mainstream parties with programmatic appeals because populist strategies focus on the process rather than the outcome and they simply do not have an agenda beyond criticism (Deegan-Krause and Haughton 2009). A number of studies analyzed populist politics outlining the populist ability for inclusion (Roberts 2000; Levitsky and Loxton 2012). Roberts (2000), for example, argues that the appeal for inclusion from citizens acts as an engine for populist impetus; when organizing the masses against the elite rule, populist movements use the promises of political

inclusion, social organization and economic benefits for marginalized or disadvantaged groups.

Hypothesis 1. Populism in opposition brings higher level of inclusion into politics, expanding participation to those groups that were marginalized and not represented in the past.

I measure the level of inclusion as a share of newly mobilized voters during the 2001 and 2005 elections. I also measure the level of inclusion by looking at the origins of populist party voters to establish whether populist constituencies were largely marginal in the political process or had been represented by mainstream parties prior to the 2001 election.

Using the data from Polish National Election Study (PGSW) for 2001, 2005, and 2007.[97] I compare the shares of the first-time voters and electoral choice during previous election cycles among populist party constituencies using cross-tabulation analysis. The secondary sources help examine the demographics of the Polish parliament and compare the composition of Sejm by gender, age, education and occupation.

Disenchanted mobilization mechanism

Some studies suggest that voters may be repulsed by negativism "because of the business of politics as usual," and because of a loss of sense of efficacy among citizens (Ansolabehere *et al.* 1994, 835). These arguments rely on cultural tastes of the mass public: as citizens experience negativity, they disengage from politics (Robinson 1976).

[97] I am thankful to Radoslaw Markowski and Michal Kotnarowski for granting me access to PGSW 2007 data.

Other authors argue that as citizens are exposed to high levels of conflicts by parties and politicians, they feel anxious and threatened about the future. High level of anxiety leads to higher mobilization. This mechanism is based on findings that "negativity stimulates attention to the electoral campaign" and the argument relies on psychology of negative information.[98] Negative information is more interesting, exciting, memorable and attracts higher popular attention because "it is induced by the perception of threat," as people show higher levels of attention when they experience negative messages and images (Martin 2004, 548).

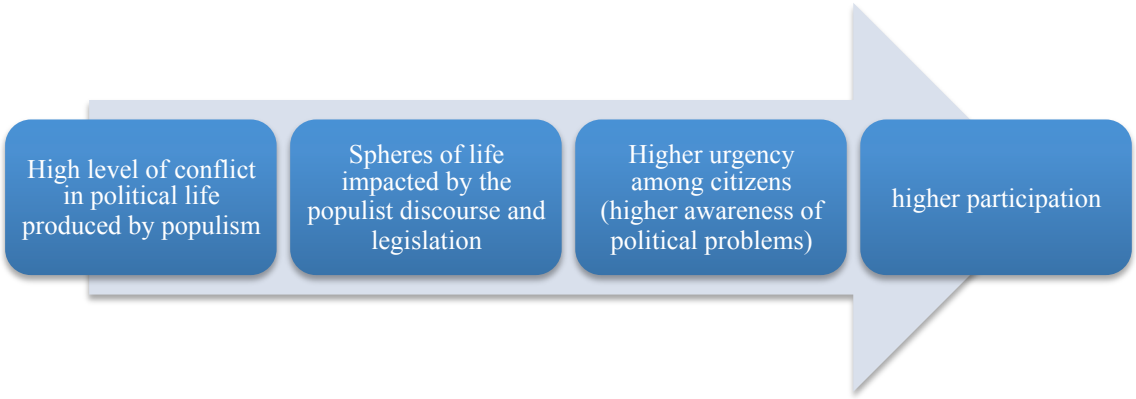
I find useful the framework used by Martin (2004), who explores the impact of negativity on turnout. He argues that "campaign negativity may be apt to stimulate the kind of attention that could translate to mobilization" and suggests three sub-mechanisms (paths) linking negative campaigns to higher citizen participation in elections.[99] Negative ads: a) stimulate problem awareness, b) highlight threats about candidates and c) indicate closeness of races. It is therefore plausible that similar mechanisms are in play not only during election campaign period but also after elections, especially when political parties pursue similar type of negative discourse strategies. Populist parties may have a mobilizing effect on participation when they maintain high level of negativity by criticizing mainstream politicians and parties and are unwilling to compromise; when citizens experience negativity exhibited by populist parties, they are willing to return to "normalcy" and show higher participation rates.

[98] Martin (2004, 547). On psychology of negative information, see Lau (1985).
[99] Ibid., 548-9.

H2: Negativism exhibited by populist discourse and policies elevates citizen anxiety about politics. Citizens showing high level of awareness of political problems are more likely to participate in elections.

I use citizens' awareness of political problems as a measure of negativism. Assuming that voters who are exposed to negative discourse are more likely to show higher awareness of political problems, I use a logit regression to see how higher awareness is linked to electoral participation. Electoral participation is measured by voter turnout. The secondary sources along with elite interviews help create a rich account of confrontational discourse exhibited by populist parties. The causal mechanism may be presented as a diagram (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4-1 Negativity and Electoral Participation

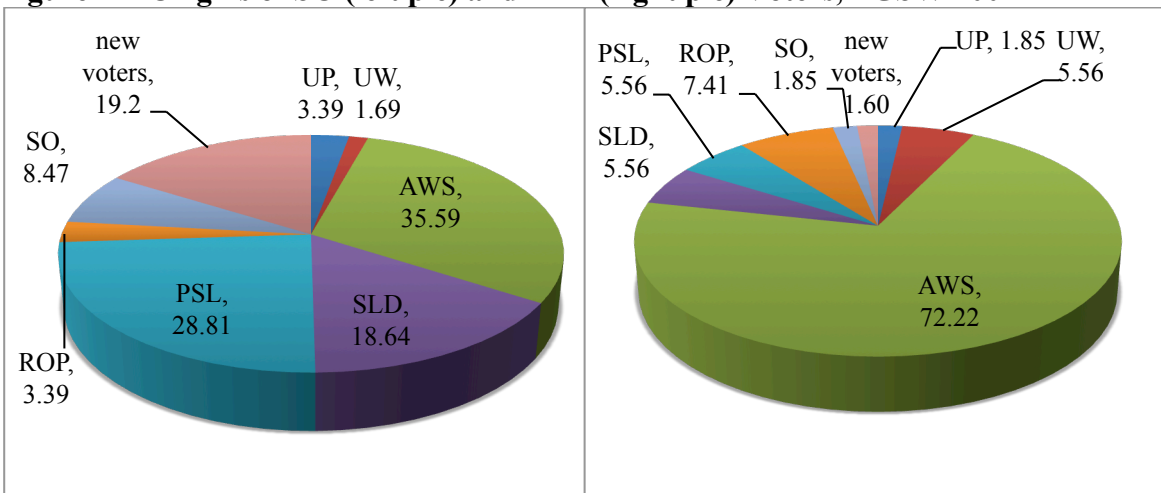


Inclusion Mechanism

The existing literature on Polish populism suggests that two populist parties – Self Defense (SO) and League of Polish Families (LPR) and later Law and Justice (PiS) – represented the interests of unprivileged groups, "the losers" of the transitional period. Among the losers were farmers previously engaged in civic disobedience actions and groups of Catholic and nationalist activists dissatisfied with post-Solidarity's "insufficient commitment to Polish national interests and Catholic values" (Jasiewicz

2008, 15). To understand the impact of populist parties on political mobilization and inclusion, it is important to analyze when populist constituencies initially emerged and whether they were previously mobilized and engaged in politics. In other words, we need to establish whether voting for two populist parties (SO and LPR) in 2001 gave voters a novel avenue of interest representation.

Figure 4-2 Origins of SO (left pie) and LPR (right pie) Voters, PGSW 2001



Note: SO-Self Defense; LPR-League of Polish Families; AWS – Solidarity Electoral Action; SLD – Democratic Left Alliance; PSL – Polish People's Party; ROP – Movement for Reconstruction of Poland; UP – Labor Union; UW – Freedom Union.
Source: Polish National Election Study (PGSW) 2001. The data is based on cross-tabulation of questions C21. Which party did respondent vote for in 1997 Sejm election?, and C11. Which party respondent voted for in 2001 Sejm election? Data is available on the website of Polish Social Data Archive (ADS) at http://www.ads.org.pl/.

Figure 4.2 shows the origins of voters supporting populist parties in 2001 with SO voters displayed on the left pie and LPR voters on the right pie. The cross-tabulations from the 2001 Polish National Election Survey (PGSW) show the share of votes cast for electorally relevant parties in 1997 and 2001 consecutive parliamentary elections. The PGSW2001 data are based on self-reporting by respondents and can therefore be confabulated. But the official shares of votes received by SO and LPR in the 2001 election differ insignificantly in comparison to the survey data.

The analysis of PGSW2001 suggests that 72.1% of 2001 SO constituencies also voted in the 1997 parliamentary election, whereas 19.2% did not vote and were mobilized for the first time by Self Defense.[100] As for LPR constituencies, 98.4% of those who voted for LPR in 2001 also participated in the 1997 election.[101] Overall, according to both pies, the overwhelming majority of populist constituencies (SO and LPR) was represented by the mainstream parties prior to the 2001 parliamentary election. In 2001, Self Defense mostly generated its support from the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Polish People's Party (PSL) and Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS), while the League of Polish Families constituencies came overwhelmingly from AWS. Self Defense generated a fifth of its 2001 support from new voters but under 2% of LPR constituencies came from new voters. Overall, SO and LPR voters do not constitute a large proportion of the electorate (11.2% and 7% respectively) but their vote shares according to the survey correspond to the official share of votes received by these parties (10.2% and 7.9% respectively).

These numbers partially answer the question about the impact of populism on political inclusion. There is no evidence that populist parties mobilized groups that were previously marginal in the political process, thus expanding the presence and influence of these groups in politics. On the contrary, many of the 2001 populist voters were part of the Solidarity generation supporting the Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) – a broad coalition of organizations actively involved in politics during the underground activities

[100] Among 2001 SO constituencies, 8.7% were not eligible to vote. The numbers are based on cross-tabulation analysis of PGSW2001. Pearson's Chi-Square=16.574 ($p<.001$), df=2, N=955.
[101] The numbers are based on cross-tabulation analysis of PGSW2001. Pearson's Chi-Square=11.665 ($p<.01$), df=2, N=954.

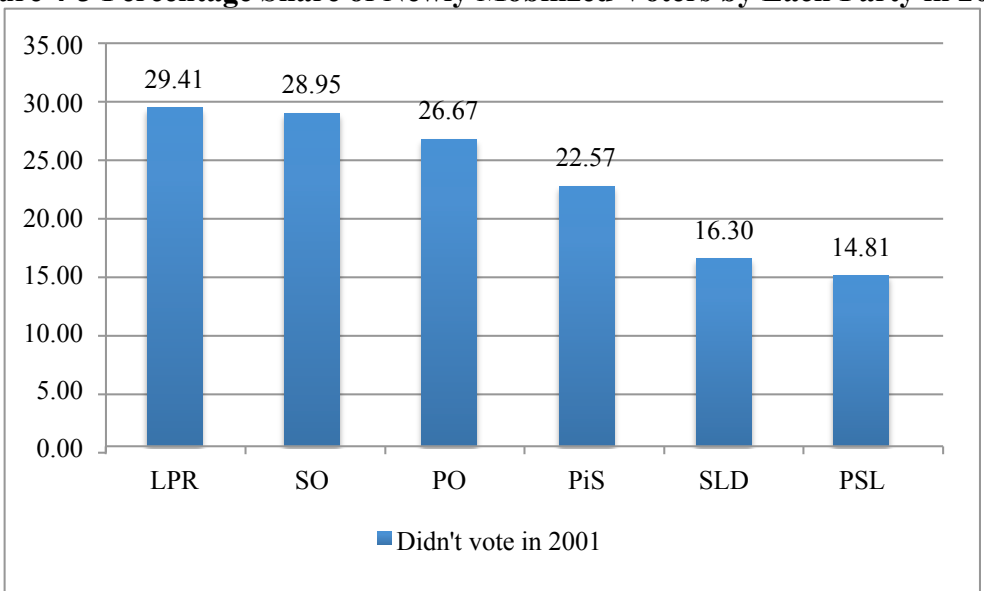
of Solidarity in the 1980s as well as during the early transition period of the 1990s. To call these groups marginal would not be entirely correct.

The comparison of the data on newly mobilized voters in the 2005 election reveals that *both* populist and mainstream parties contributed to higher political inclusion, although the impact of populist parties on mobilization of new voters is more pronounced (Figure 4-3). On the one hand, the 2005 election showed higher mobilization of new voters by SO and LPR; about a third of 2005 SO and LPR voters (and almost a quarter of PiS voters) were newly mobilized, as they did not participate in the 2001 election. Participation of these voters in the 2005 election is a positive evidence of the populism's mobilization effect. There is a possibility that these voters, newly mobilized by SO and LPR did not participate in the 2001 election because they were not eligible to vote based on their age. However, it is unlikely that age ineligibility was a significant factor explaining such a large influx of voters. The exit poll data indicates that voters of age 18-24 constituted a small share of party total vote (Markowski 2008, 1063)[102]. So, about 1/3 of newly mobilized voters supported populist parties in 2005. Most likely, these newly mobilized voters were motivated by the series of corruption scandals inside the SLD-PSL coalition. The SLD-PSL government collapse changed the opportunity structure of the Polish political landscape, "creating an unexpected political vacuum" and opened up space for more radical and critical parties (Wasilewski 2010, 185). Political discourse directed against SLD was used by SO, LPR, and more importantly by PiS to motivate disenchanted voters. In this regard, populists

[102] Voters of this age group could have been ineligible to vote in 2001. However, only 8.3% and 6.9% of the 18-24 age cohort voted for SO and LPR respectively.

deserve credit for bringing to the polls voters who otherwise would have probably stayed at home.

Figure 4-3 Percentage Share of Newly Mobilized Voters by Each Party in 2005



Source: Polish National Election Study (PGSW) 2005.
Note: The data is based on cross-tabulation of questions Q31. Which party did respondent vote in the Sejm 2005 election?, and Q39. Which party did respondent vote for in2001 Sejm election? Data is available on the website of Polish Social Data Archive (ADS) at http://www.ads.org.pl/.

On the other hand, the share of newly mobilized voters by each party does not indicate that *only* populist parties mobilized new voters. In 2005, Self Defense and League of Polish Families did mobilize around a third of their voters from those who did not vote in the previous election but mainstream PO, SLD and PSL mobilized 27%, 16% and 15% of their support from new voters respectively. Therefore, the impact of populism on political mobilization is largely positive, yet limited: they bring new voters to the polls but so do mainstream parties.

Another element of mobilizing effect of populist parties – their ability to open up political space for previously marginalized politicians – deserves attention. This record is also mixed as it is not clear whether populist parties opened up political space for a substantial number of politicians representing unprivileged groups. Comparison of

the Sejm composition does not reveal significant differences between newcoming members of parliament between 2001 and 2005 elections. The 2005 newcomers did not differ in their level of education, gender, or the number of deputies living in their constituencies compared to the old deputies or the newcomers in the 2001 Sejm (Wasilewski 2010, 186). The age differences however existed, as the 2005 Sejm newcomers were on average three years younger than 2001 Sejm newcomers (47.2 - 44.1 ratio) and the percentage of deputies under the age of 40 grew from 17% in 2001 to 31% in 2005. While age differences are a significant indicator of changing demographics of the national parliament, we cannot attribute this change to the stronger appeal of populist parties and their ability to include a more diverse – younger, in this case – population. Rather, the age differences can be explained by generational changes in Polish politics – the change from the "Round Table generation" (those politicians who were actively involved in democratic transition process) to the "younger right-wing and populist" generation (Wasilewski 2010, 191).

The breakdown of the 2005 Sejm newcomers by political parties does not indicate significant differences among composition of various parties in terms of their political backgrounds (see Table 4.2). The majority of newcomers was involved in local politics and held leading party positions or government office, although the share of SO and LPR new members of parliament involved in local politics was slightly lower compared to the mainstream parties, indicating that they were new to politics compared to the mainstream parties. As far as occupational backgrounds are concerned, significant differences exist between newcomers of Self Defense and other parties.

Table 4-2 Political and Occupational Backgrounds of the 2005 Sejm Newcomers

Party	Political activity during democratic period			Occupational backgrounds				
	No activity	Local politics	Leading party positions or government office	Teachers, journalists & other intelligentsia	Managers & business-men	Higher/ medium party & state bureaucrats	Higher/ medium local/ regional self-government officials	Farmers, blue collars, craftsmen & merchants
Law and Justice (PiS)	10	70	66	38	14	9	17	4
League of Polish Families (LPR)	10	62	76	37	-	26	5	11
Self Defense (SO)	31	53	47	9	31	6	3	34
Civic Platform (PO)	18	70	59	32	29	3	19	4

Source: Wasilewski (2010, 189-90)(combined Table 10.5 and Table 10.6)

Wasilewski (2010, 190) shows that Self Defense 2005 newcomers in Sejm were primarily represented by farmers, blue-collar workers, craftsmen and merchants, while the LPR, PiS and SO primarily were represented by the intelligentsia. Overall, the data on political and occupational backgrounds of the 2005 new members of Sejm is quite mixed. What stands out is Self Defense's representation in 2005 Sejm; compared to other parliamentary parties it brought to national politics a large share of provincial politicians, farmers and blue-collar workers, thus signaling the ability of populism to expand the presence of marginal groups – farmers, in particular.

Disenchanted Mobilization Hypothesis

Polish parliamentary elections are not known for high electoral participation (Table 4.3). In fact, Markowski (2008, 41) posits that the turnout in Polish elections is so low "that it is casting of one's vote should be treated as deviation and not, as in other countries, abstaining from voting." Despite historically low participation rates in recent history of Polish democracy, the turnout during the 2007 election increased by 31% from 40.6% to 53.9%, compared to 2005. The increase in turnout is even more puzzling given a strong negative influence of the frequency of elections on participation rate (Boyd 1989). Jackman and Miller (1995, 482) attribute this negative relationship to voter fatigue. Between 2004 and 2007 Poland held an election to the European Parliament (2004), two rounds of Presidential election (2005), parliamentary election (2005), local election (2006), and a snap parliamentary election (2007).

Table 4-3 Voter Turnout in Elections to the Lower Chamber (Poland)

Year	1991	1993	1997	2001	2005	2007
Voter turnout, %	43.2	52.1	47.9	46.3	40.6	53.9

Source: National Electoral Commission (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza), available at http://pkw.gov.pl/.

Existing explanations of the increase in turnout are not abundant in the Polish literature. Czesnik (2009) argues that the 2007 turnout increased on average due to higher mobilization of better educated, urban and religiously active voters. While demographic characteristics of newly mobilized voters are important, they are not determinants of voting behavior. In other words, they do not explain *why* these new voters were mobilized in 2007 while they were disengaged in the 2005 election. I argue that negativity exhibited by populist parties contributed to the high level of conflict in political life, which served as a mobilizing factor for citizens.

There are ample reasons for linking political conflicts, negativism, and populist discourse, on the one hand, to citizen calculations about participation, on the other hand. The data from Polish Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) indicates that for the Poles, political conflicts among parties and politicians are one of the most salient concerns. Responding to the question "What are you worried most in matters of the country" in the January 2006 survey, the Poles are mostly concerned about the acts of terrorism followed by political conflicts among politicians or parties (Table 4.4).

Table 4-4 What are You Worried Most in Matters of the Country?

Responses	% of respondents
Hard to say	15.97
Terrorist attacks	10.71
Conflicts among politicians and parties, destabilization	7.62
Collapse of government or presidential power	6.17
Conflict with Russia, worsening of relations with neighbors	6.17
Unemployment	5.99
Collapse of the economy	5.99
Bad government, bad political situation, incompetence of politicians	4.17

Source: Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS), January 2006.
Q: P24_D_2. What are you worried most in what's going on in Poland this year? Data available on the website of Polish Social Data Archive (ADS) at http://www.ads.org.pl/.

This issue is more salient for the Poles than conflict with Russia or economic problems, such as unemployment. Political conflicts are considered as something negative by Polish citizens, a perception shared by respondents to face-to-face interviews[103].

Negativism and Populist Discourse

The vote share gained by Law and Justice in the 2005 parliamentary election (27%) suggested that the party's break from the moderate and "cohabitation" politics was appealing to the voters. As Wasilewski (2010) argues, the anti-corruption appeal, the promises to fix the legal system, and ongoing calls for decommunization attracted a large number of poorly educated, rural and provincial citizens having strong Catholic and nationalist values. PiS mobilized "much of the discontent among people who saw themselves as losers in post-communist Poland" (Wasilewski 2010, 176). Along with its coalition partners, PiS promised a "radical institutional overhaul of the political system" aimed primarily at the fight with corruption and hoping to restore public trust with democratic institutions (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 7). Law and Justice headed by Jaroslaw Kaczynski "trafficked in a plebiscitary and warlike political discourse" serving as a classical example of populism – portraying Poland divided into the two camps (people versus elites, or us-versus-them division commonly used during the communist times), creating an ideological "heartland" of Poland (the 4th Republic), appealing to the conditions of crisis of moral and Catholic values.[104] It is important to note that both the PiS election campaign and after-election rhetoric and policies have been highly negative, confrontational and marked by perpetual scandals. Some scholars suggest that while some of the accusations did have some substance, many claims by PiS were

[103] Field research, Poland, September 2009.
[104] For a more detailed account of PiS program and slogans see Jasiewicz (2008); Wasilewski (2010).

exaggerated and negativity became the everyday reality of political life (Wasilewski 2010, 178).

The level of conflict in political life became a particular concern after three populist parties formed a government coalition following the 2005 election. According to evaluations by various observers, the two-year term between 2005 and 2007 was "the most turbulent period of Polish party politics" marked by "fierce conflicts" within the governing coalition (Markowski 2008, 1055). The government used security services against its political opponents, initiated "spectacular arrests of suspects" and leaked information from secret services about scandals to the media (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 11). The final scandal that brought down the coalition government resulted from controversial actions by the Central Anti-Corruption Office (CBA) that set a provocation instead of starting an investigation on officials of the agricultural ministry (including Deputy PM Andrzej Lepper) who had been allegedly bribed to re-zone agricultural land.

The policies of the government coalition towards major democratic institutions were one of the sources contributing to the backlash against the government. The following aspects of confrontational discourse and policies pursued by the populist parties are of particular importance:

1) Central appeal to "moral revolution" and radical break with politics of normalization. This appeal by the populist coalition was a "crusade against the Third Republic, the post 1989 Poland" initiated by Law and Justice (PiS) after they formed the government. PiS described the Polish Third Republic as the "uklad" – a network of former secret services, communist collaborators, big business, the media, and

opposition. Both Civic Platform (PO) and PiS campaigned on strong anti-corruption promises, emphasizing radical break with the past practices, promising to cleanse the public life (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008). However, PiS showed a more radical break with politics of normalization, while PO embraced it. The moral revolution initiated by PiS extended beyond political discourse and encompassed the controversial policies of the new government including attacks against the judiciary system (Constitutional Tribunal), the media regulatory agency, civil service and experienced managers in state-owned companies.

2) Attacks against the media. Polish media are characterized by liberal bias and as a result, they have been highly critical of populist negative discourse during the electoral campaign and during their short government life. The media themselves have been exposed to political attacks from the governing coalition under the pretense of "purging the media of post-communists" (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 81). Commercial TV stations were attacked by the PiS government for connections with the "uklad". Adam Michnik, the editor of one of the largest dailies *Gazeta Wyborcza,* was also confronted by Law and Justice and the League of Polish Families for being one of the fathers of the "uklad". One of the first legislative initiatives of the new government was introduction of the new media legislation – the Act of December 2005. The Act shortened the term of office for the members of the Council governing the media relations (KRRiT), subordinated the Council's members to the ruling government coalition, and changed the procedure of appointing the chairperson of the Council. While the old legislation mandated that the chairperson was to be elected by the members of the Council, the new proposal gave the mandate to the President to appoint

the chairperson and "determine standards of professional ethics for journalists" (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 88).[105] Since its establishment in 1992, the Council was subordinated to and represented the interests of all parliamentary parties, but the new changes limited the role of all parties except for those in governing coalition. These legislative changes challenge and compromise horizontal accountability, measured by Altman and Pérez-Linan (2002) by the presence of balanced opposition in the parliament. The Constitutional Tribunal announced that legislation contradicted the Constitution, as the role of the Council is explicitly outlined in Constitution and cannot be changed by legislative decision. This ruling became yet another point of criticism by the populist coalition. In sum, the independence of the media was compromised by the government attempts to control the content of publications and broadcast: "the everyday language of politics has become one of confrontation, recrimination and accusations" (Michnik 2007).

3) Attacks on the judiciary system and anti-corruption campaign. Low public confidence in the judiciary in early 2000s was related to the high levels of corruption in the judiciary. Kucharczyk and Wysocka (2008, 88) report that 64% of the Poles assessed the judiciary negatively in 2001 (CBOS January 2001 data). The reforms introduced by the PiS government included changes in legislation to simplify commercial cases and attempts to undermine independence of the judges. To demonstrate government's commitment to anti-corruption campaign, the Minister of

[105] It is important to note that the 2005 presidential election was held a few weeks prior to the parliamentary election. Lech Kaczynski, the previous leader of Law and Justice, was elected president. The government coalition was also controlled by Law and Justice and Lech's twin brother, Jaroslaw. The political appointment of the media Council's chairperson can be interpreted as a significant compromise of horizontal accountability. In particular, the chairperson's subordination to the president challenges the "free alternative media" dimension of democracy.

Justice Zbigniew Ziobro publicly launched a number of high profile cases against Polish medical elites. In one of these attacks, Ziobro accused a leading cardiac surgeon of corruption. The arrest was performed in the hospital and the doctor was taken away handcuffed. The scene was videotaped and broadcast on national TV later (Cienski 2007). The way in which the government handled this case and other corruption cases was particularly striking. In a Hollywood-style press-conference Ziobro announced the "shocking charges" against the doctor promising that "no one else will lose life because of this man" (Cienski 2007). These charges implying the doctor's guilt *before* the trial received a lot of negative publicity in the media, while the Constitutional Court denounced the actions as illegal.

The Constitutional Court (Constitutional Tribunal) became a core of criticism by populists. The Tribunal has been heavily criticized since its inception by various political forces but most vicious attacks against the Tribunal were launched in 2005 when the Jaroslaw Kaczynski tried to change the process of nomination of justices. PiS coalition headed by Kaczynski challenged the Tribunal decisions on numerous occasions criticizing justices as "members of the uklad…disgusting, opportunistic cowards…engaged in legal circus-tricks" (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 87). For instance, the Ministry of Justice introduced legislation aiming at restricting the independence of prosecutors, attorneys and judges. Between 2005 and 2007, PiS frequently questioned the role of the Constitution and the Constitutional Court, bending parliamentary procedures and trying to marginalize the role of the opposition (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008).

4) The lustration legislation. In an attempt to purge Poland of Communist secret collaborators, the PiS government passed a law on lustration, which mandated 700,000 Poles to complete a form declaring whether they had collaborated with the secret services. The legislation implied that politicians, teachers, lawyers, journalists, and other public and private sector employees had to comply under a threat of being forbidden to practice their professions or to hold public office for ten years, in the case of false information or refusal (Michnik 2007).[106] The Constitutional Tribunal ruled that many of the lustration law provisions were unconstitutional: "Governments are not above the constitution…If they are then that is the way of a dictatorship…The law should not be retroactive….there must be a guarantee of a legal defense…the aim of lustration should not be revenge".[107] The blogger journalist reporting on the Tribunal's decision wrote: "The law…has created an atmosphere of suspicion, and for many people, fear."[108]

5) Central Anticorruption Bureau: The Central Anticorruption Bureau (CBA) became the symbol of the Law and Justice governance as its focus on anticorruption activities was in the center of the party's electoral program. Critics posit that CBA has enjoyed powers extending beyond its legally prescribed mandate. The CBA was criticized from its inception by legal experts and NGOs "for its lack of accountability and excessive concentration of 'hard power' rather than on the prevention of corruption" (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 12). A number of high-profile corruption scandals revealed in 2005-2007 actually contributed to a more positive assessment of

[106] Michnik, Adam. "The Polish Witch-Hunt," June 28, 2007.
[107] "Fiasco! Polish Lustration Law – Not Constitutional," Politics and Current Affairs of Poland and Central Europe, entry posted May 11, 2007, http://beatroot.blogspot.com/2007/05/polish-lustration-law-not.html (accessed May 7, 2011).
[108] Ibid.

the government's anti-corruption activities. Two professional groups – doctors and lawyers – appeared at the center of scandals manufactured by CBA[109]. CBA was also instrumental in removing PiS coalition partner (Self-Defense) and Deputy PM Andrzej Lepper from power that consequently contributed to breaking down of the populist government coalition after the corruption scandal. The activities by CBA were quite controversial and it is difficult to assess their impact on democratic practices. On the one hand, public perception about CBA's anti-corruption success was rather high. Over 41% of respondents to the National Election Study (PGSW) agreed in 2007 that CBA fights corruption, while 27% disagreed.[110] On the other hand, the confrontational way CBA operated also contributed to the negative perception of the political discourse among citizens, which I argue, contributed to higher voter mobilization as a backlash against the ruling coalition and consequently higher electoral turnout.

6) Foreign policy controversies: Even though foreign policy played secondary role for the PiS government, a series of pronouncements and actions regarding European partners created a backlash against the Kazynski government. What the PiS government presented as a defense of the Polish national interest was interpreted as arrogance toward other countries, leaders, and projects. The "hard line foreign policy" declared by the PiS government was seen as anti-European (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 91).

---

[109] A high-profile arrest of the head of the cardio-surgery region in the Hospital of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration and the subsequent charges in receiving bribes is an often-cited case. The arrest created a lot of resonance in the media and the governing coalition was accused of using the CBO for political purposes. This and other scandals, however, resulted in a shift of public perception about the most corrupted spheres in Poland. 35% of the respondents considered *politics* to be the most corrupt area in 2007, a decrease from 61% in 2006. At the same time, 53% saw healthcare services to be the most corrupt public areas during the PiS governance (Roguska 2008, 70).

[110] Polish National Election Study (PGSW) 2007.

Overall, the institutions, policies and discourse created or supported by the populist government contributed to high politicization of corruption and relations between the governing coalition, on the one hand and the media, the Constitutional Tribunal, the judiciary, and the Central Anticorruption Bureau, on the other hand. The lustration legislation that was supposed to affect the daily lives of hundreds of thousands of citizens created an atmosphere of suspicion and fear; the independence of the media and other democratic institutions was compromised; the judiciary, as an important element of horizontal accountability was challenged too. By politicizing these issues, populist parties brought a high level of negativism into the daily political discourse challenging institutions of horizontal accountability. The PiS government's policies of "confrontation, recrimination, and accusations" turned out to be dangerous for democratic consolidation. As Wasilewski (2010) argues, "developments in Poland under the Kaczynski-led government amounted to a dramatic retrogression from liberal to illiberal democratic politics" (185). This experience with illiberal democracy "led to the electoral tsunami of 2007 when voters turned out en masse to vote against the government" (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 12).

While some of my interviews (next section) indicate that high politicization of corruption was necessary for dealing with this problem, the level of negativity expressed through the media and public policies created a sense of apprehension among ordinary people. The government's war on corruption turned out to be limited to a few high-profile purges of doctors. The result of politicization of corruption was a change in public opinion about medicine as the most corrupt realm of public life. Public opinion about performance and support for government was also indicative of the policies

pursued by PiS. The support for the Kaczynski government declined over the two year time period even though the Polish economy grew at the rate of 6% annually and unemployment decreased (Kucharczyk and Wysocka 2008, 94). Higher rates of electoral turnout can thus be interpreted as a mandate against populist policies and negative discourse towards more positive and peaceful political relations among institutions of the state.

Other Forms of Participation

This chapter primarily deals with electoral participation and captures the effect of populism on voter turnout. The problem with using other dimensions of participation, such as membership in political parties, civil society organizations, and participation in protests is that a number of studies have shown low levels of civil participation in post-communist countries (Howard 2003). The levels of membership in political parties in CEE remain extremely low and do not exceed 3% (Webb and White 2007). At the same time, the dramatic events in Serbia in 2000, Georgia in 2003, Ukraine in 2004 and Kyrgyzstan in 2005 have shown surges in mass mobilization against autocratic elite practices. Therefore, it is important to look at alternative ways of citizen participation in politics and the effects of populist party discourse on the levels of participation.

In *Democracy in Poland 2005-2007 Report,* Lena Kolarska-Bobinska provides evidence that during the governance of Law and Justice between 2005 and 2007, Poland experienced the intensification of protest activity by the middle class. She argues that unlike the earlier periods of the 1990s, when the most salient issues were economic in nature, the protest activity in 2005-2007 was related to values and ideology. Different groups that mobilized to express their grievances objected to the "confrontational style

of practicing politics" used by the governing coalition (Kolarska-Bobiñska, Kucharczyk, and Zbieranek 2008, 73). For example, the governing coalition's division of interests into "haves-versus-have-nots" dichotomy was directed against the so-called "cheat-elites" – better educated Poles who "benefited from the political transformation, disregarding the needs of the rest of the society" (Kolarska-Bobiñska, Kucharczyk, and Zbieranek 2008, 74). The government coalition's rhetoric was built around the values of traditionalism, Euro-skepticism and distrust towards society, while the values shared by the middle class and intelligentsia focused on democracy, free market values and European integration. The intelligentsia and the middle class, according to the *Report,* opposed to the "authoritarian practices" of the governing coalition and mobilized to "defend the freedom of speech and the freedom to express their own views" because the attacks were directed against their interests and values as a group (74). *The Report* lists a number of pickets, demonstrations, and other types of peaceful protest activities that were used by the civil society groups against political attacks of the government. Protests included environmental initiatives (against the construction of a road crossing in the Rospuda Valley); demonstrations by teachers and student groups expressing fears that Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Roman Giertych, would impose nationalist ideology on the school system[111]; actions against the attempts to centralize state decisions regarding European structural funds; against the actions initiated by authorities in the public sector.[112] Between 2005 and 2007 a number of initiatives were

[111] According to the Special Report by the Anti-Defamation League *Poland: Democracy and the Challenge of Extremism,* a number of NGOs expressed their concern about the appointment of Roman Giertych as Minister of Education. The Israeli embassy in Warsaw called The League of Polish Families headed by Giertych as "a vehicle for anti-Semitism." In late May 2007, approximately 3,000 teachers and students went on strike in Warsaw (Foxman, Abraham. *Poland: Democracy and the Challenge of Extremism*. Anti-Defamation League, 2006.)
[112] Ekiert and Kubik (2009).

organized for or against particular public officials. For instance, 138,000 people signed a petition to remove Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Roman Giertych from his ministerial position. 20,000 people signed a petition defending the author of Polish economic reforms, Leszek Balcerowicz.

In sum, the negative and confrontational rhetoric and radical policies of the governing coalition contributed to higher activity of the Polish civil society; various professional groups mobilized to defend their interests against encroachment by the state. While economic interests were the primary driving forces of protest activities in the past (Ekiert and Kubik 2009), protests and demonstrations in 2005-2007 are characterized by Kolarska-Bobiñska, Kucharczyk, and Zbieranek (2008) as value-driven: when various civic groups felt threatened by the populist and radical discourse they mobilized to express their collective grievances.

Elite Interviews

My interviews with party officials and academic experts support the claim about the confrontational nature of Polish politics in 2005-2007. For instance, a PO party official from Torun discussed how frustration with scandals was related to the higher voter turnout in the 2007 election:

> In 2005-2007 we had a strange [government] coalition. Our [electoral] program was easy. It was enough for us to say 'we won't do anything they [coalition of PiS, SO and LPR] did. Every home talked about politics and everyone was concerned and frightened… People are tired of scandals and [confrontational] politics. In the last 10 years, people didn't want to participate. In 2007 higher turnout showed that voters feel they've had enough. They voted to demonstrate their frustration with radical politics, permanent crisis, and accusations.[113]

In other words, he views scandalous politics as damaging to citizen perceptions about the political process and relates the increase of turnout to the growing citizen frustration

[113] Field research, interview #10 with Civic Platform (PO) party official, Torun, Poland.

about negativity. Another Civic Platform party official shows similar reaction to abnormality in political life during the populist government: "We showed voters that we are a normal political party that can offer people more quiet political life, unlike PiS."[114] Academic experts share this view about re-established normalcy in political life and return to less scandalous politics. The perception about return to normalcy is important because in respondents' minds abnormality was clearly associated with negative campaigning by Law and Justice, Self Defense and League of Polish Families. The populist coalition has been in power for only six months between May and October 2007 but this short time has been marked by highly controversial government actions and divisive rhetoric. Adam Michnik, the former dissident comparing this coalition as a fusion of conservative rhetoric of George W. Bush and authoritarian practices of Vladimir Putin, wrote:

> …numerous civil servants have been summarily replaced by unqualified but loyal newcomers. The independence of the mass media – especially of public radio and television – was curtailed by changes in personnel instigated by the government and by pressures to control the content of what was published and broadcast. The Kaczynski administration's efforts to centralize power have limited both the activities of the independent groups that form civil society and the autonomy of local and regional government. The everyday language of politics has become one of confrontation, recrimination, and accusations.[115]

In essence, the 2007 election became a referendum on the PiS government. Law and Justice appealed to their constituents to support the party effort to establish the Fourth Republic, thus describing the election as plebiscite *for* Law and Justice. At the same time, Civic Platform portrayed the election as plebiscite *against* Law and Justice. One of the PO officials explained that the PO campaign was based on a simple but subtle

[114] Field research, interview #4 with a PO party official, Warsaw, Poland
[115] Cited in Krastev (2007, 56).

"we won't do anything they did". The plebiscite *for* and *against* the PiS government contributed to the high stakes election and higher electoral turnout. The higher support won by the PO can be interpreted as general dissatisfaction with confrontational politics and conspiracy tactics used by the PiS government. Even the Self-Defense officials suggested that higher voter support for PO was related to its non-confrontational politics:

> The PO doesn't like conflicts and people like that about them. People are indifferent [about politics] because they know that parties don't represent their interests. They like parties without conflicts. For example, Kwasniewski was a disaster president but was supported because he was a conflict-free president. If people see there is a mess in government they think it's wrong. Therefore, we have low election turnout.[116]

Public opinion polls prior to the 2007 election showed that many Poles were critical about the PiS electoral campaign that had an "aggressive [and] condemnatory" style compared to a more moderate, future-oriented campaign by PO that appealed to democratic and liberal values (Markowski 2008, 1056). Using the data from the 2007 exit poll, Jasiewicz (2009) supports the claim that the election was marked by mobilization of voters opposed to PiS policies. The greatest voter mobilization was observed in large cities that strongly supported Civic Platform. In Warsaw, the turnout was 74% of eligible voters (54% voted for PO), in Poznan – 67% (58% voted for PO), in Lodz and Krakow the turnout was 62% (almost half voted for PO)[117]. Wasilewski (2010) posits that Civic Platform won thanks to the higher turnout but reminding that many votes were cast against PiS rather than for Civic Platform because voters "did not

[116] Field research, interview #8 with a former Self-Defense party official, Warsaw, Poland.
[117] Data from the website of the National Electoral Commission, available at http://wybory2007.pkw.gov.pl/SJM/EN/WYN/W/.

like the methods that PiS used to pursue its goals" (195). These policies resulted in higher polarization of Polish society.

Although the data on new voters does not allow us to make a clear conclusion that new voters were mobilized *only* by mainstream parties, the exit polls show that two biggest parties drew to the polls almost 4.5 million of new voters; PiS mobilized almost two million new voters, while PO attracted over 2.5 million new voters. The fact that both of these parties contributed to the mobilization of new voters means that populist politics has had a mobilizing effect by drawing to the polls supporters of both populist and mainstream parties. Whether voters support liberal democratic parties or do not, higher turnout rates can be assessed as having a positive effect on the participation dimension.

In support of the inclusion mechanism, one of the Self Defense party officials argued that SO was "the most open party representing the electorate of losers."[118] He mentioned a case of the legislature sponsored by the party representatives that prevented the spread of supermarkets in Poland as an example of the party's successful effort of addressing the interests of small shop owners. Responding to the question about the effect of populist policies and discourse, the respondent suggested that Self Defense had a strong indirect effect: on the platform of Law and Justice (the anti-corruption and anti-establishment stances were allegedly imitated by PiS) and on the participation level.

> PiS took a lot of ideas from Self Defense. For example, anti-corruption and anti-establishment stance was borrowed from SO. SO had an indirect positive effect on politics by expanding participation and increasing trust in political parties. Some members of our party have never participated in politics before 2005 and being involved in party politics gave them this opportunity. SO also brought new voters to the polls. Since 1989 Poland had 10-15% of the protest electorate. They had 2 choices – either to stay at home, because no one represented their

[118] Field research, interview #16 with Self Defense party official.

> interests or to vote for SO, because we were the voice of protest. We must distinguish between protest and anti-system parties. Protest parties like SO are not a danger for democracy.[119]

This response supports the inclusion mechanism hypothesis suggesting that populist parties expanded the level of involvement of new politicians in power – those who have not participated in politics before. Similarly, populist protest stance encouraged participation of ordinary people whose alternative was not to vote.

Statistical Tests

Following the definition of populism that includes three elements (anti-establishment stance, ideological vagueness, and appeals to the common sense of the people), elite interviews and within-case analysis I test the mechanism of *disenchanted mobilization* that links populism and electoral turnout.

In previous sections, I have demonstrated how negative discourse and confrontational policies exhibited by populist parties – both in domestic and foreign areas – had elevated the level of conflict in political life, contributing to higher levels of negativism and anxiety among citizens. In this section, I operate under the assumption that citizens will exhibit higher levels of awareness with political problems related to *conflict* rather than to *economic factors* when they experience negativism and confrontational style of politics. Survey respondents who identified conflict to be the most important issue during the 2005 and 2007 campaigns were likely to associate conflict with the ruling populist coalition. Therefore, awareness of conflict is used as a proxy for exposure to populism.

[119] Field research, interview #16 with Self Defense party official.

I look at the level of citizen awareness of political conflict and its association with participation. To capture *political conflict awareness*, I created a series of dichotomous variables using the question *What is the most important problem facing Poland today?* from the Polish National Election Study 2005 (PGSW2005) and Polish National Election Study 2007 (PGSW2007).[120] The resulting three dichotomous variables are: *awareness of political conflict*, *awareness of economic problems* and *awareness of other problems*. Because this is a series of dichotomous variables created from the survey questions, I exclude the variable *awareness of economic problems.* The results will demonstrate the effect of *awareness with political conflict* in comparison to *awareness with economic problems.*

I use a number of variables to control for demographic factors, such as age, gender, education and household income and two variables controlling for political efficacy. External political efficacy is captured by the degree of respondents' trust in members of the Polish parliament (MPs), whereas internal political efficacy is measured by respondents' beliefs that "people like me have a say in what government does."[121]

Tables 4-5 and 4-6 report the descriptive statistics for variables in two models. The tables show that there are slightly more females than males in the samples and the average age of the respondents is 45 years old with standard deviations of 18.641 and

[120] A selection of the following closed-ended questions in PGSW2005 was coded as *conflict awareness*: 31-bad government, conflicts, quarrels, bad political culture; 33-Corruption, theft, bribery, political scandals; 79-elections, democracy. For the PGSW2007: 31- Restoration of peace in politics, conflicts and quarrels; 33-Corruption, theft, bribery, scandals; 39 – lustration; 70 – confrontation between parties; 71-removal of PiS from power. All responses related to economic factors were coded as *economic awareness* variable. All other responses that did not fit in the first two categories were coded as *awareness of other problems*.

[121] PGSW2007 had no questions about trust in MPs and believe that "people like me have a say in government" and therefore I used the questions "Satisfaction with the way democracy works" as a measure of external efficacy and "For people like me it doesn't matter if the government if democratic" as a measure of internal efficacy.

17.671 for the 2005 and 2007 models respectively. There are more people trusting members of parliament in the 2005 survey (the mean is 3.156 on a 1-4 scale) and those who are satisfied with the way democracy works (the mean is 2.411 on a 1-4 scale).

Table 4-5 Descriptive Statistics, PGSW2005

Variable	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age	18	94	45.863	18.641
Sex (Male = 1)	0	1	.488	.500
Education[122]	1	11	5.347	2.512
Household income (monthly)	43	12,000	1,630.980	1,110.727
Participated in 2005 election-dummy	0	1	.503	.500
Awareness of conflict (PROBCONFLICT)	0	1	.122	.327
Awareness of economic problems (PROBECON)	0	1	.790	.407
Awareness of other problems (PROBOTHER)	0	1	.082	.274
Level of trust in members of parliament (MPs)[123]	1	4	3.156	.711
Perception that people have no say in government[124]	1	4	1.422	.720

Note: N=681
Source: Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2005)

Table 4-6 Descriptive Statistics, PGSW2007

Variable	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age	18	92	45.701	17.671
Sex (Male =1)	0	1	.477	.500
Education	1	11	2.370	1.043
Household income (monthly)	0	20,000	1972.540	1,644.870
Participated in 2007 election-dummy	0	1	.668	.471
Awareness of conflict (PROBCONFLICT)	0	1	.148	.355
Awareness of economic problems (PROBECON)	0	1	.498	.500
Awareness of other problems (PROBOTHER)	0	1	.218	.413
Satisfaction with democracy [125]	1	4	2.411	.685
It doesn't matter if government is democratic[126]	1	4	2.697	.933

Note: N=693
Source: Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2007)

The data includes the first wave of the 2005 survey and the only wave of the 2007 survey. Both were conducted prior to the election. The voter turnouts according to the surveys are 50.3% and 66.8% for the 2005 and 2007 elections respectively. According to the Polish Election Commission, the actual turnouts were 40.6% and

[122] On a 1-11 scale (1 means no education, 11 means university education)
[123] On a 1-4 scale (1 means a lot of trust, 4 means a lot of distrust)
[124] On a 1-4 scale (1 means completely agree with the statement, 4 means completely disagree)
[125] On a 1-4 scale (1 means completely satisfies, 4 means completely dissatisfied)
[126] On a 1-4 scale (1 means completely agree with the statement, 4 means completely disagree)

53.8% for the 2005 and 2007 elections respectively. Previous studies have shown that surveys usually overestimate the electoral turnout and therefore, the difference between the official turnout and the numbers reported in the survey is not surprising.

I use a weighted least square regression (WLS) weighting the sample for demographic and regional differences. A logit regression would be preferable for this analysis because I am using a dichotomous dependent variable. However, running the logit regression in SPSS did not allow me to weight it by demographic differences. I did run the models in a logit regression and the results turned out consistent with the weighted least square regression in terms of the direction and significance of the coefficients.

Table 4-7 shows the regression results demonstrating how voter turnout is affected by citizen awareness of political conflicts, as the most important problem facing the country.[127] The primary independent variables of interest are awareness of political conflicts, awareness of economic problems, and awareness of other problems. The model controls for differences in income, age, education and gender as well as for internal and external political efficacy. The results demonstrate that in comparison with people who are aware of *economic problems*, people aware of *political conflicts* are more likely to vote. *Awareness of conflict* is statistically significant at the 10% level and is positively related to electoral participation in comparison to *awareness of economic problems*. Respondents who identify conflict to be the most important problem in the country are more likely to vote in the 2005 election. Whereas *awareness of other*

[127] A logit regression would be preferable for this analysis because I am using a dichotomous dependent variable. However, running the logit regression in SPSS did not allow me to weight it by the demographic differences. I did run the models in a logit regression and the results turned out consistent with the weighted least square regression (WLS) in terms of the direction and significance of the coefficients.

problems also has a positive sign, it is not statistically significant. Overall, *awareness of conflict* variable is significantly different from the other two variables – *awareness of economic problems* and *awareness of other problems* – in its impact on electoral participation. All control variables with the exception of gender are significant and have the expected signs: older citizens, with higher income levels and those who are better educated were more likely to vote.

Table 4-7 Awareness of Conflict and Voter Turnout, 2005

Awareness of conflict (PROBCONFLICT)	.108(.059)*
Awareness of other problems (PROBOTHER)	.035(.069)
Age	.005(.001)***
Sex (Male=1)	.059(.038)
Education	.018(.008)**
Household income	.000(.000)*
Trust Members of Parliament (MPs)	-.072(.027)**
Belief that people have no say in government	.097(.029)***
Constant	.164(.137)
Number of observations	681
Adjusted R square	.076

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Standard errors are in parenthesis.*
Source: Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2005)
a. Predictors: (Constant), Age, Sex, Education, Trust MPs, People Have No Say, Awareness of Conflict, Awareness of other problems, Awareness of economic problems. The excluded variable is Awareness of economic problems.
b. Dependent Variable: Participated in 2005 election. Dependent variable is coded 1 if the responded voted in election and 0 if not.
c. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by Sample/demographic weight for 1st wave
d. Trust MPs is coded using the survey question q92e *Do you trust Polish members of parliament* (MPs), 1-4 scale (1-trust a lot, 4-no trust at all).
e. People have no say is coded using the survey question q72e *Do you agree with the statement: people like me don't have any say in what government does*, 1-4 scale (1-definitely agree, 4-definitely disagree).

The data from the 2007 National Election Study (PGSW2007) show similar results (Table 4-8). In comparison to *awareness of economic problems*, *awareness of political conflict*, has a strong positive and statistically significant effect on voting. The coefficient of interest is statistically significant at the 1% level. Because the sample sizes of 2005 and 2007 surveys differ, it would be inappropriate to compare the shares of explained variance. However, the 2007 model shows a dramatically larger adjusted R square (0.245). The effect of conflict awareness is more pronounced in the 2007 model.

This can be explained by higher degree of confrontational discourse and policies exhibited by populist parties in government between 2005 and 2007. These results are also consistent with findings of within-case analysis and elite interviews; the negative discourse of populist parties is an important factor to contribute to citizens' awareness of political conflicts, and the latter is a statistically significant predictor of higher voter turnout.

Table 4-8 Awareness of Conflict and Voter Turnout, 2007

Awareness of conflict (PROBCONFLICT)	.189(.044)***
Awareness of other problems (PROBOTHER)	.045(.042)
Age	.007(.001)***
Sex (Male=1)	.071(.033)**
Education	.168(.008)***
Household income	.000(.000)
Satisfaction with democracy	-.160(.024)***
Doesn't matter if government democratic	.032(.019)*
Constant	.215(.105)**
Number of observations	693
Adjusted R square	.245

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Standard errors in parenthesis.*
Source: Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2007)
a. Predictors: (Constant), Age, Sex, Education, Trust MPs, People Have No Say, Awareness of Conflict, Awareness of other problems, Awareness of economic problems. The excluded variable is Awareness of economic problems.
b. Dependent Variable: Participated in 2005 election. Dependent variable is coded 1 if the responded voted in election and 0 if not.
c. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by Sample/demographic weight (Waga)
d. Satisfaction with democracy is coded using the survey question c21 Are you satisfied with the way democracy works in Poland?, 1-4 scale (1-completely satisfied, 4-completely dissatisfied).
e. Doesn't matter if government democratic is coded using the survey question x68e For people like me it doesn't matter if government is democratic, 1-4 scale (1-strongly agree, 4-stronly disagree).

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the relationship between populism and political participation seeking to identify causal mechanisms linking populist discourse and participation in Poland. The evidence suggests partial confirmation to Hypothesis 1. On the one hand, there is little evidence that populist parties – SO and LPR – mobilized groups that were previously marginal in the political process, as only 19% of SO supporters were new voters in 2001. Many voters who supported populist SO and LPR

in 2001 had been a part of the Solidarity generation and voted for the Solidarity Electoral Action in the previous election cycle. It is therefore difficult to call these groups marginal. On the other hand, a series of corruption scandals within SLD created a power vacuum prior to the 2005 election which was used by populist parties. About a third of populist support – SO, LPR and Self Defense – was generated from new voters and populists deserve credit for bringing to the polls disenchanted voters who did not participate in the previous election. Other political parties also mobilized new voters but at a lower rate. In sum, the impact of populist mobilization is positive, yet limited.

Hypothesis 2 suggests that higher participation in 2007 was related to the level of negativism displayed by populist governing coalition between 2005 and 2007. Negativism exhibited by populist parties led to unintended consequences: it worked as mobilizing factor to bring to the polls citizens who perceived that the populist government showed disrespect for liberal democratic procedures, institutions, and for the rule of law. Higher voter turnout had a detrimental effect on populist electoral fortunes, as populist Self Defense and League of Polish Families failed to pass the electoral threshold. It is more difficult to interpret the higher share of votes received by populist Law and Justice compared to 2005 but the election also became a plebiscite on the Law and Justice government.

Among interesting findings of the analysis are the results of the statistical tests. Using the National Election Study data, I show that in comparison to awareness of economic problems, awareness of political conflict has a strong positive and statistically significant effect on voter turnout. Moreover, the results are consistent for the 2005 and 2007 survey data and the coefficients are stronger in 2007. Those respondents who are

aware of political conflicts were 10.8% more likely to vote than respondents aware of economic problems in 2005. In the 2007 model, respondents aware of political conflicts were 18.9% more likely to vote that respondents aware of economic problems. Combining the findings from the statistical tests, within-case analysis and elite interviews, I conclude that negative discourse exhibited by populism was an important factor for increasing citizen awareness of political conflicts and the latter was a statistically significant predictor of higher electoral turnout.

While populist discourse and tactics affected participation, its effects are indirect as voters mobilized by negative discourse are not radical; rather, they rejected confrontational style politics and chose to participate in order to keep populists from returning to office by voting overwhelmingly for mainstream parties. These findings are consistent with Markowski's (2008) conclusion that voters mobilize to protect democracy when they realize democratic institutions are threatened. The conclusion that negativism displayed by populist parties brings anxiety and elevates the election stakes are also consistent with Kostadinova (2003) and Pacek, Pop-Eleches, and Tucker (2009) who suggest that citizens are more likely to vote in high stakes elections. I show that citizen perceptions about high-stakes elections are a consequence of populist policies and discourse.

The policy record of the populist coalition indicates that populism in government has a negative impact on democratic quality when populists challenge democratic norms and procedures and compromise the independence of the media, the judiciary and other institutions of horizontal accountability. The Polish case suggests that populists are likely to be held accountable for negative discourse and illiberal

practices, as the elimination of radical left and radical right populist partners (SO and LPR) from the electoral field shows.

Chapter 5 Populism and Responsiveness in the Czech Republic

Populism's claim to be more inclusionary and more responsive to citizen interests is based on appeals to individuals and groups that feel excluded from the political process or choose not to participate in it out of frustration and distrust of the elites. In chapter 4, I documented how populist parties in Poland succeeded in mobilizing new and disenchanted voters against the elites. The record of populism's effect on participation in Poland is mixed because it wasn't marginalized groups that were mobilized by the populists; rather, the populists brought to the polls disenchanted voters who did not participate in the previous election and mostly likely would have ignored the election, if not for the populist parties.[128] Overall, populist parties contributed to higher rates of participation either directly – by mobilizing disenchanted citizens who voted *for* populist challengers, or indirectly – by creating a backlash against populist discourse and tactics which mobilized citizens *against* populist parties.

The goal of this chapter is to evaluate populism's effect on responsiveness.[129] When populists come to power, they partially replace the existing elites bringing the expectations to carry out policy reforms, to create new channels of access to power, and to appoint representatives who would bring changes to the political process. Do populists exhibit a higher rate of responsiveness than mainstream parties who use similar programmatic discourse from one election to another?

---

[128] Marginalized are considered voters who feel excluded from the political process. Populist leaders win support among marginal groups of voters by promising to address *their* needs and concerns by combatting the corrupt elites, privileged groups, and special interests. Weyland (2001, 14), for example, suggests that support from marginalized groups is an essential characteristic of winning support by populist politicians.

[129] The measures of two components of responsiveness used in this chapter – mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness – are discussed below.

One of the academic experts I interviewed in the Czech Republic commented on the ability of populist parties to draw attention to societal problems:

> Populist appeals can have a positive effect. In some cases, populists can identify what the problem is and show the importance of the problem when no other parties bring up the problem. Meanwhile, mainstream parties need to accept the existence of the problem and need to start working on solutions.[130]

This largely optimistic view about populism's impact on responsiveness has been shared by other respondents – both academic experts and party representatives. The alternative perspective, describing the role of populism as marginal, identifies the limits of populist parties' abilities to offer constructive solutions to problems and be truly responsive to citizen needs and concerns: "They open marginal questions and offer scare tactics."[131]

These opposing views are an impetus for this chapter focused on the relationship between populism and responsiveness. Does populism contribute to higher responsiveness in the political system? Do populist parties exhibit higher degree of responsiveness on such issue as corruption?

I assess my argument through an examination of the case of *Veci Verejne*, a newcomer to Czech national-level politics. *Veci Verejne* (VV or Public Affairs) has been described as a typical case of party populism (Mares, 2011). The party is built on personalistic leadership of Vit Barta, the party's informal leader and main financier, and Radek John, the official "face" of the party. An outsider, Public Affairs has used anti-establishment and people-centric appeals. Its campaign was built on strong anti-corruption rhetoric, support of direct democracy, fiscal responsibility and personalistic leadership. The core message of the populist campaign was to "leave the dinosaurs out

[130] Field research, interview #6 with an academic expert, the Czech Republic
[131] Field research, interview #15 with an academic expert, the Czech Republic

of politics" implying that the current political elites are corrupt, inert, and unresponsive to the needs and interests of the people.

Having received 13% of the vote in the 2010 election, Public Affairs received 25 seats in the 200-seat lower chamber. On the Czech political landscape dominated by five stable parties since early 1990s, the vote for two smaller parties – Public Affairs and TOP09 – was seen as a protest vote by disenchanted voters. The anti-establishment image exhibited by Public Affairs was somewhat undermined once the party joined coalition government with Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and TOP09. However, VV's participation in government allows us to evaluate the relationship between populism in government and responsiveness. More specifically, I focus on whether and how Public Affairs' commitment to citizen demands to combat corruption, as one of the most important problems at the time of the election, had an effect on mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness.

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter proceeds as follows. I begin with brief overview of my interviews conducted with academic experts and party representatives in the Czech Republic in 2009. Public Affairs started a nation-wide campaign only in 2010 and therefore, my respondents did not comment on the populist features and impact of Public Affairs on democratic quality. However, the interviews outline variations in elite outlooks on various effects of populism suggesting mixed and sometimes conflicting outcomes.

Given the central claim by Public Affairs to combat corruption, I examine how VV's rhetoric, strategies and legislative behavior affect responsiveness in the area of anti-corruption campaign. I look at two components of responsiveness. First, I examine

mandate responsiveness expanding on the measure used by Roberts (2010). Mandate responsiveness captures a party's capacity to "make… clear campaign promises and fulfill… these promises once in office" Roberts (2010, 37). Clear campaign promises made by parties send a useful cue to the voters. If voters are well informed about their party's promises and its electoral platform, they are likely to display higher degree of coherence in ideological positions. To identify the degree of mandate responsiveness among parties, I examine (a) ideological positioning of Public Affairs' voters and compare those with positions of voters of mainstream parties. Ideological vagueness (or clarity) of voter perceptions is a rough measure of mandate responsiveness and has been criticized as a "flawed instrument [of party ideology] at best" (Deegan-Krause 2010, 3). Party elite perceptions would serve as a better measure of party ideology and mandate responsiveness but in the absence of these data, I will use party supporter beliefs as a proxy for mandate responsiveness.

In addition to using electoral platforms, political parties use other tools of communication to inform their constituencies of their mandates. I therefore analyze (b) web press releases related to corruption published on parties' websites between May 2010 and January 2012 to evaluate differences in communication maintained by different parties. Websites are becoming an increasingly important channel for individual representatives and parties to maintain communication with their constituents. Realizing enormous possibilities of web communication, politicians use websites to complement traditional ways of communication. Website communication is an important tool of mandate responsiveness because parties can use it both before and after the election providing important information on party platforms, goals, policy

proposals, and services. Surveys show that more and more Czechs use the Internet as an information outlet and individual politicians and parties providing the information and various services through their websites create an image of dynamic, engaged, and responsive representatives. For example, the 2010 Czech National Election Study indicates that more than 50% of respondents use the Internet at least once a week, while almost 30% of respondents use the Internet three or more times a week.[132]

Current research also indicates the increasing role of electronic communication between representatives and constituents. Golbeck, Grimes, and Rogers (2010) show how US members of Congress increasingly use twitter as a direct communication tool with constituents to disseminate information about their daily activities, while Jarvis and Wilkerson (2005) examine communication via congressional websites. Others studies examine the use of websites as a communication tool between representatives and constituents in European parliaments (Vicente-Merino 2007; Leston-Bandeira 2011). These studies suggest that electronic communication – via the websites, email, twitter or online social networks – are becoming one of the most important tools for communication between representatives and citizens. The research on electronic communication with elected representatives in Eastern Europe is scarce.

Using websites as a tool of mandate responsiveness yields a number of benefits for political parties. These services are easily available at all times for a wide range of citizens who have Internet access; they are not limited geographically; finally, at a relatively low cost parties can reach a large number of constituencies. Overall, websites are positioned as a useful tool of mandate responsiveness.

[132] Czech National Election Study, 2010 available at *http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/*.

Second, I assess policy responsiveness focusing on a specific issue of corruption, given the high salience of corruption in the recent Czech electoral campaign. I look at cabinet appointments of the new coalition government. Having received four ministerial portfolios, including Ministry of the Interior – one of the main tools of combatting corruption – Public Affairs was well positioned to influence the anti-corruption agenda. To measure policy responsiveness, I analyze oral questions referred to the cabinet to examine the extent to which populist party politicians use the parliament floor to inquire about corruption. Public Affairs used corruption as a key tool to mobilize its constituencies and it is reasonable to expect VV's members of parliament to use the oral question section of the parliamentary debate more prominently that the MPs of other parties to inquire about government's anti-corruption policies. I conclude by looking at government's policy achievements in addressing the problem of corruption.

Components of Responsiveness

Democratic responsiveness is a complex and multidimensional concept which cannot be limited to policy responsiveness defined as congruence between interests of the public and actions of representatives (Eulau and Karps 1977). Political parties respond to voters' needs and concerns in more than one way. I use two components of responsiveness - mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness – and evaluate populism's effect on each type of responsiveness. Mandate responsiveness is important because it allows for ex-ante control of elected representatives by the citizens (Roberts 2010). Knowing the mandates of competing parties gives voters a cue about their choice prior to elections: a party with clear promises and easily recognized electoral platform is

expected to be more mandate responsive than a party with an opaque platform. Additionally, a party that addresses various issues more prominently in its web communication also exhibits higher degree of mandate responsiveness. Do populist parties show higher rates of mandate responsiveness in their web communication?

Finally, policy responsiveness is most commonly used indicator of responsiveness in the literature on representation. Policy responsiveness is defined by Eulau and Karps (1977, 238) as "the presence of a meaningful connection between constituent policy preferences or demands and the representative's official behavior." As long as representatives and their constituencies agree on particular policies, the representatives are seen responsible to their constituencies (Eulau and Karps 1977, 242).

The issue of policy responsiveness defined in this way is complicated because it depends on citizen competence about public policies. Zaller (1992), for example, is skeptical about citizens' interest and knowledge of political systems. He argues that public opinion is a result of elite discourse. If that is the case, it may be challenging to distinguish true citizens' demands, or "what people want", from policy options supplied by the elites. Another difficulty with measuring policy responsiveness is related to whether we adhere to the "trustee" or the "delegate" model of representation and the role of leadership in the democratic process (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000, 298). The "trustee" model suggests low responsiveness and decisive leadership, while the "delegate" model implies minimal leadership and strong responsiveness. Jacobson and Shapiro (2000, 303) agree with Pitkin (1967) that representative democracy requires both responsiveness and independent initiative. They insist that the choice of either

responsiveness or direction "is a false one" and offer an alternative model of "responsible leadership."[133] Additionally, variations in the types of electoral systems may also be an important determinant of responsiveness among political parties. For example, single-member districts provide incentives for representatives to demonstrate more active legislative behavior than proportional representation systems.

In its 2010 electoral campaign Public Affairs focused on corruption, inducing a high degree of public awareness with corruption problems. I assess the degree of responsiveness on corruption exhibited by Public Affairs, compared to other parties, given the high prominence of anti-corruption appeals in the populist party's campaign. I test the following hypotheses about the relationship between populism and two types of responsiveness:

Hypothesis 3a. Populism will display a higher degree of mandate responsiveness by detecting problematic areas in the functioning of democracy, such as corruption.

I measure mandate responsiveness through ideological positioning among Czech voters on the left-right scale and compare standard deviations of voters' self-positioning with left-right self-positioning of parties expressed by all respondents. High standard deviations are likely to show weaker ideological party profiles, whereas low standard deviations will indicate stronger ideological profile.

Hypothesis 3b. Populism will show higher mandate responsiveness on its central campaign issues via website presence.

This aspect of mandate responsiveness is measured as frequency and intensity of press releases related to corruption, published by political parties on their websites. Higher intensity and high frequency of press releases related to corruption indicates higher

[133] See Jacobs and Shapiro (2000, 298) for extensive literature review on these models of representation.

mandate responsiveness and therefore a gain for democratic quality, whereas lower intensity and frequency shows lower mandate responsiveness.

H4: Populism will exhibit higher degree of policy responsiveness via speeches and inquiries made by its members of parliament signaling higher democratic quality.

I measure policy responsiveness by examining the speeches and inquiries related to corruption made by the members of parliament (MPs) between May 2010 and December 2011. I also compare the frequency of corruption-related inquiries during the previous parliamentary session (2006-2010) to assess the impact of populist rhetoric on anti-corruption campaign of other parties.

Populism and Responsiveness in Elite interviews

One of the questions I asked during my interviews with representative of Czech parties and academic experts was whether, in their opinion, populism helped increase responsiveness among political parties. The answers can be broadly divided into two categories. The first group of respondents commented on the relative weakness of populist appeals in the Czech Republic, bringing up the stability of the Czech party system, the presence of the Communist Party as a outlet for protest attitudes serving as a replacement of full-fledged populist parties, or the absence of large minority or common enemy as a mobilization tool for populists. This group also suggested that populism had marginal effect on responsiveness in the political system. One of the academic experts explained:

> I think that the absence of populist parties is replaced to some extent by the protest role of the Communist party and the use of populism by mainstream parties. The attacks of mainstream party politicians are more frequent. The general assessment of political rivals is more critical than it used to be. And maybe these elements are strong enough that they are able to channel the

> populist tendencies of the Czech electorate and there is no need for a real, full-fledged populist party.[134]

The low prominence of populism was therefore explained by lack of political space available for populist challengers; the presence of populist features among mainstream parties was seen as a replacement mechanism for a nationally strong populist party. Some respondents also suggested that populism was not necessary in the political system because of its potential threat to democracy:

> I don't think populist parties are necessary. When they are not strong, they can't change the system and they are not a threat to democracy. When they are a part of the system they become problematic. There are only small populist parties which are not relevant nationally, for example, Public Affairs. They criticize all other parties and do not represent a threat to our democracy.[135]

In a similar statement, an ODS representative commented on the low prominence and the potential threat of populism:

> Maybe the absence of populists makes politics less confrontational. Populists bring conflict and tensions – this is dangerous for the party system, and society. It's for our good that populist parties are not very strong in the Czech Republic. But we understand that every bad policy or decision – including those made by our party – is an advantage for extremism. [136]

Several other respondents offered an alternative reason for why populism is not essential for better responsiveness on corruption, for instance, explaining that there is nothing new about anti-corruption appeals because they are already articulated by mainstream parties:

> Anti-corruption discourse exists in the programs of mainstream parties. Mainstream parties can discuss openly in society questions and problems about corruption. You don't need populist parties for that. There is no space for anti-corruption discourse in populist party programs.[137]

[134] Field research, interview #10, the Czech Republic
[135] Field research, interview #12, the Czech Republic
[136] Field research, interview #12, the Czech Republic
[137] Field research, interview #8, the Czech Republic

Another broad group of respondents claimed that populism had a positive, although limited impact. A professor of political science at the University of Economics in Prague explained that the ability of populist parties to draw attention to societal problems was one of the positive aspects of populism:

> Populist appeals can have a positive effect. In some cases, populists can identify what the problem is and show the importance of the problem when no other parties bring up the problem. Meanwhile, mainstream parties need to accept the existence of the problem and need to start working on solutions.[138]

This observation is insightful, as the respondent suggested a degree of usefulness for populism – its ability to bring attention to important social problems that are ignored by mainstream parties. Two other respondents echoed the view about the limited impact of populism:

> Populism is a positive threat for political establishment. They can mobilize but are unable to offer solutions to real problems and have weak organization to implement their solutions. Raising questions about corruption can be positive for the system but extreme parties are problematic for democratic system.[139]

The comments about the weakness of populist appeals in the Czech Republic merit some explanation, especially in the light of the argument assessing the impact of populism on responsiveness. I conducted the interviews in the fall of 2009, before Public Affairs entered the electoral campaign. My respondents were almost unanimous in their claim that the Czech Republic lacked populist parties bringing up the stability of the Czech party system, the presence of the Communist Party as a outlet for protest attitudes serving as a replacement of full-fledged populist parties, or the absence of large minority or common enemy as a mobilization tool for populists. The rise to prominence of Public Affairs marked the reemergence of populism in the Czech

[138] Field research, interview #6, the Czech Republic
[139] Field research, interview #13, the Czech Republic

Republic albeit in a more benign form. Public Affairs is a typical example of populism exhibiting a personalistic leadership style, an anti-establishment stance criticizing the elites for their corrupt practices, emphasizing the importance of measures of direct democracy such as referenda (Mares, 2011). Had I conducted the interviews when Public Affairs emerged as a national political force, it is likely that my respondents would have identified VV's populist features. Overall, the interviews offer mixed and conflicting perspectives on the potential effects of populism in the Czech Republic but they are a useful starting point to explore the impact of Public Affairs on responsiveness.

Importance of Corruption in the 2010 campaign

In evaluation of responsiveness, I focus on corruption given high salience of the issue in the Czech Republic.[140] Prior to evaluating the relationship between populism and different components of responsiveness in the area corruption, it is important to establish the importance of corruption in the course of the 2010 Czech campaign and more specifically, in the campaign of Public Affairs.

Corruption in the Czech Republic has been a problem emphasized by international agencies for quite a while. Transparency International Corruption Perception Index of the Czech Republic has been deteriorating slowly but steadily since 2008 (Table 5-1).

What Grzymala-Busse (2007) describes as "state capture" is elite's exploitation of public resources which has its roots in power alternation between Czech largest political rivals – Social Democrats (CSSD) and Civic Democrats (ODS).

[140] The 2010 election was not only about corruption, as other issues, such as budget deficit, unemployment and economic reforms were emphasized. Future research can include other salient issue areas in assessment of populism's effects.

Table 5-1 Corruption Perception Index, (CPI) Among 12 New EU Members

Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	CPI rank in 2011
Estonia	6.6	6.6	6.5	6.4	29th
Cyprus	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.3	30th
Slovenia	6.7	6.6	6.4	5.9	35th
Malta	5.8	5.2	5.6	5.6	39th
Poland	4.6	5	5.3	5.5	41st
Lithuania	4.6	4.9	5	4.8	50th
Hungary	5.1	5.1	4.7	4.6	54th
Czech Republic	5.2	4.9	4.6	4.4	57th
Latvia	5	4.5	4.3	4.2	61st
Slovakia	5	4.5	4.3	4	66th
Romania	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.6	75th
Bulgaria	3.6	3.8	3.6	3.3	86th

Source: Transparency International website available at http://www.transparency.org/cpi2011), accessed on January 27, 2012. Corruption Perception Index is a composite index combined from public opinion surveys about perceptions of corruption, ranking countries on a scale 0-10 (where 0 indicates a highly corrupt country).

Both parties have been ascribed the blame for voter disaffection and frustration with the political process. Following the 2006 election, the lower chamber was split in half between center-right and center-left parties and only 7 months later, the center-right ODS created coalition government. In 1999, ODS and CSSD joined efforts to introduce constitutional changes to limit the role of smaller parties in the political system which was largely seen by citizens as an act of collusion among corrupt establishment (Deegan-Krause 2006).

A decade later, the record of corrupt practices has not improved. In 2011, for example, a study by doctoral students at Charles University found evidence of opaque practices in public tenders, as none of the tenders between 2006 and 2010 met international standards. The researchers came up with "zIndex" of public procurement that shows no official government record of 67% of the $19 billion spent in that time

period for public procurement, while 11% of the tenders had only one bidder.[141] Negative public perception about corruption (80% of respondents in the public opinion poll in March 2011 considered corruption as the most important problem requiring urgent attention) and negative international agency reports (the Czech Republic was ranked 22nd among 27 European Union members on Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International) were used by anti-establishment challengers during parliamentary elections. The election of two newly established parties – Public Affairs and TOP09 – in 2010 was seen as a signal of voter frustration with "political dinosaurs".[142]

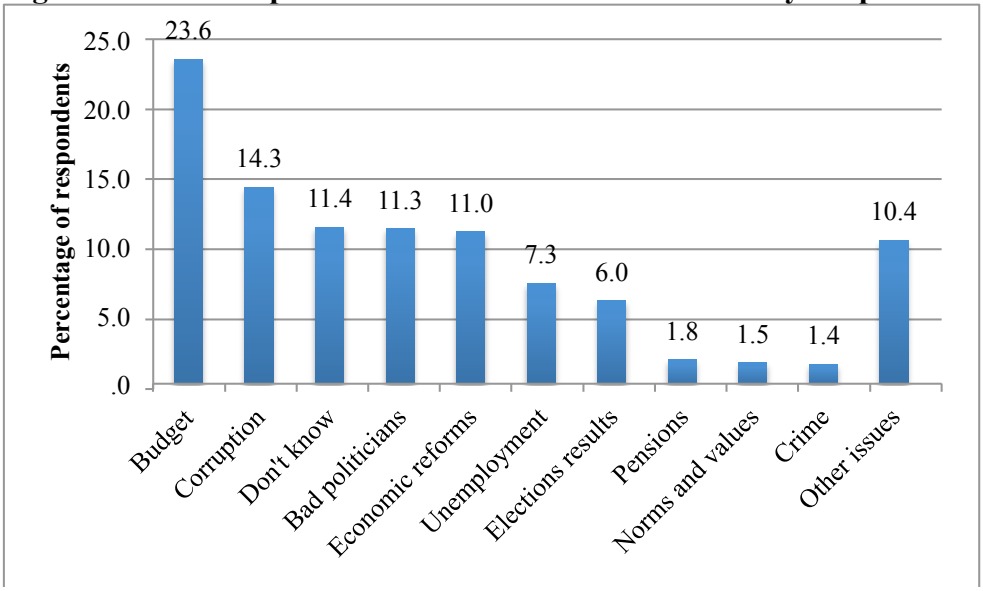
Corruption was arguably the most important issue during the 2010 Czech parliamentary election (Stegmaier and Vlachová 2011). The 2010 Czech National Election Study shows that 14.3% of the voters identified corruption as the most important issue, second only to budget concerns (Figure 5-1).

Public Affairs voters were more likely to list corruption as the most important political issue than voters of other parties that cleared the electoral threshold.[143] Moreover, Public Affairs was better positioned to tackle corruption than other parties. Table 5-2 shows cross-tabulation of voters who identify corruption as the most important political problem and parties best at dealing with the problem. Those who identified corruption as the most important political problem were on average 20%

[141] "Students Index Corruption" *The Prague Post*, February 2, 2011. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/7339-students-index-corruption.html, accessed on September 4, 2011.
[142] "State Capture." *The Economist*, November 2, 2011. Available at http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2011/11/czech-politics, accessed on January 5, 2012
[143] VV voters were 4% more likely than CSSD voters, 5.2% more likely than ODS voters and 7.4% more likely than KSCM voters to consider corruption the most important political issue at the time of 2010 election (Pearson's Chi-Square significant at .05 level, two-tail test).

more likely to name Public Affairs as the party best to deal with the problem than all parties.

Figure 5-1 Most Important Political Problem Identified by Respondents



Note: Q.4a 'What is the most important political problem facing the country?' from the Czech National Election Study, June 2010. The data is available on the website of the Czech Social Science Data Archive of the Institute of Sociology (http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/). I thank Martin Vávra at the Czech Academy of Sociological Research for helping me get access to these data.

Table 5-2 Parties Best to Address the Most Important Problem

Party best to deal with corruption	The most important political problem	
	Corruption	Other problems
Public Affairs (VV)	37 (37.4%)	62 (62.6%)
KSCM	10 (12.3%)	71 (87.7%)
CSSD	28 (17.2%)	135 (82.8%)
TOP09	29 (18.6%)	127 (81.4%)
ODS	16 (9.6%)	150 (90.4%)
Other	12 (28.6%)	30 (71.4%)

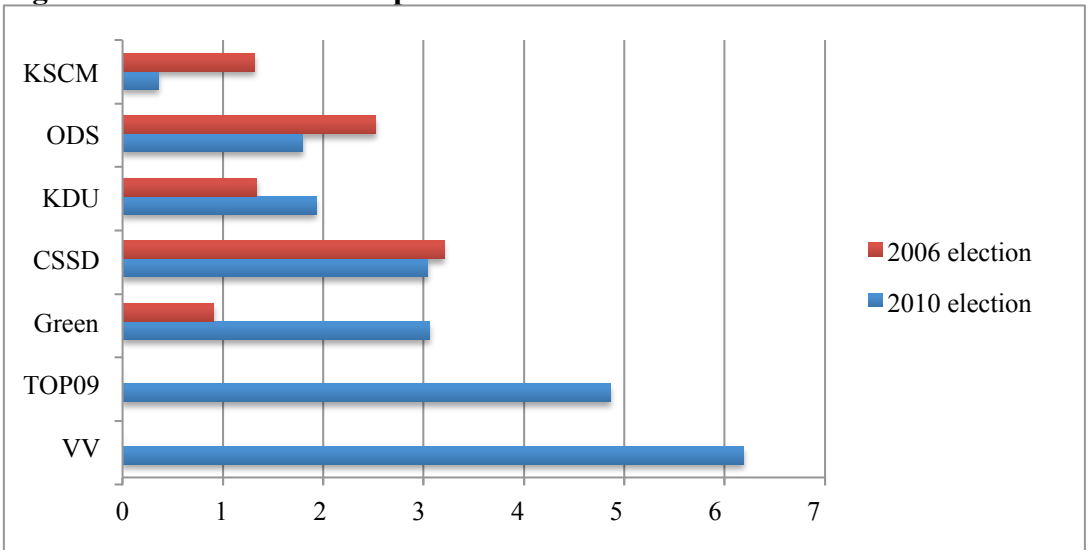
Source: Czech National Election Study, June 2010. The data is available on the website of the Czech Social Science Data Archive of the Institute of Sociology (http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/). I thank Martin Vávra at the Czech Academy of Sociological Research an for helping me get access to these data.

Note: Q.4a What is the most important political problem facing the country? N=707
Q.5a Which party is best at dealing with the most important problem? N=1857
'Most important problem' is a dummy variable coded as 1 if corruption is viewed as the most important problem and 0 if other problems are viewed as the most important.
Pearson Chi Square=36.810 (p<.001) (2-sided test). df=5, N=707.

Compared to 2006 election, corruption became more politicized during the 2010 campaign as the newly created parties – Public Affairs and TOP09 – addressed the issue

more prominently in their election programs. Figure 5-2 shows the differences in the salience of corruption in election manifestos among Czech parties. According to the figure, 6.2% and 4.9% of statements in manifestos of Public Affairs and TOP09 respectively, contained references to corruption – more than the total number of corruption-related statements of the other five parties combined.

Figure 5-2 Salience of Corruption in Election Manifestos



Note: The figure is based on the data from the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP). The variable used in the figure is 'per304 Political Corruption' defined as the "Need to eliminate corruption, and associated abuse, in political and public life." The horizontal axis represents the percentage of (quasi-) sentences with references to corruption as a total number of (quasi-) sentences. The dataset and the codebook that includes a detailed description of the coded variables is available on the website of the Comparative Manifesto Project (https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/).

New parties are usually better positioned to do especially well using anti-corruption appeals given the distance from the establishment of their leaders and members. Radek John's journalistic experience and his focus on investigation of corrupt practices made him a star in Czech households and placed anti-corruption message in the center of the party's electoral campaign (Haughton and Deegan Krause 2011, 397).[144]

[144] As Public Affairs became associated with corruption scandals, the benefit of the doubt that voters gave to the new anti-establishment party was lost and party's popularity plummeted First, Vit Barta was

In short, the electoral campaign of Public Affairs was shaped by poor corruption standing of the Czech Republic abroad and deteriorating perceptions of corruption at home. Little attention paid by the Czech mainstream parties to address corruption problems created a fertile soil for Public Affairs to build its discourse on anti-corruption activities.

Cabinet Appointments and Public Support

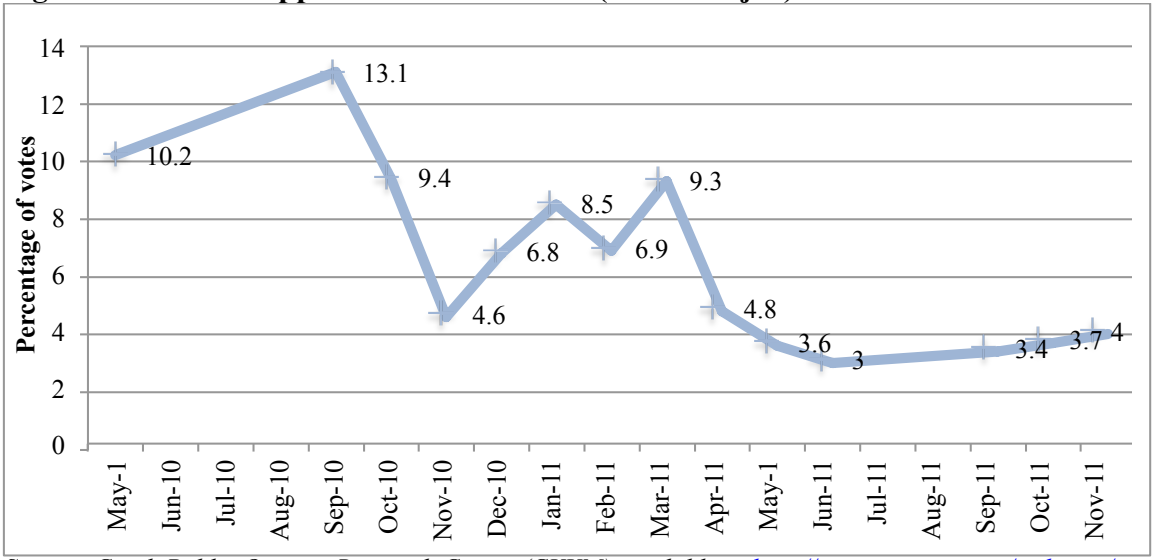
Public Affairs (VV) was a party of political outsiders that participated in the Prague municipal elections prior to 2010 but remained largely unknown nationally and emerged as a national power during the 2010 electoral campaign. The cabinet appointments laid out a foundation for the future corruption scandals. Public Affairs was seeking the Interior Ministry as a priority claiming that their anti-corruption program would be best pursued with Radek John heading the Ministry. The former investigative journalist was the formal founder of Public Affairs and his name was well known in the Czech households for his anti-corruption investigations. While John was considered to represent "the face" of the party, Vit Barta was often portrayed in the media as the party's unofficial leader and main financier. Barta was appointed as Minister of Transport. These two appointments produced controversy because of high potential for conflict of interest with ABL, one of the largest security agencies in the country, which was founded and owned by Barta. The suspicion of involvement of ABL's personnel as Interior Ministry consultants and direct participation of ABL in Interior Ministry tenders prompted justified criticism. Moreover, when Prime Minister

---

accused of using his former security company ABL for political purposes against the party's opponents. Seconds, Barta himself was tied to a corruption scandal following allegation that he had bribed Public Affairs' deputies in exchange for their loyalty and silence about party financing. Barta resigned as Minister of Transport and was stripped of his deputy immunity so that criminal charges could be filed.

(PM) Necas announced that most important decisions in the Ministry of Interior were made by Barta rather than by the Minister of Interior John, suspicions in VV's genuine intentions in the corruption fight resurfaced. Corruption scandals and internal party struggles were one of the main factors explaining the decline of public support for the party between May 2010 and December 2011 (Figure 5-3).

Figure 5-3 Public support of Public Affairs (Věci Veřejné)



Source: Czech Public Opinion Research Center (CVVM) available at http://nesstar.soc.cas.cz/webview/. Respondents were asked 'Which party would you vote for if the Chamber elections were held this week?' Note: The sample size of the surveys varies from N=979 to N=1306 (the average for all surveys N=1055). The sample corresponds to the structure of the population of the Czech Republic by socio-demographic characteristics (gender, education, age) and by region. Unfortunately, the margins of error were not reported in the surveys.

Overall, cabinet appointments created an early foundation for criticism of the Public Affairs intentions, given strong conflict of interest between its leader's business interests and the party's public commitment to address corruption. As a result, the benefit of the doubt that voters gave to the new anti-establishment party was lost and VV's anti-corruption mandate was severely undermined.

Mandate Responsiveness

Mandate responsiveness reflects program clarity and clarity of electoral options. By presenting clear and distinctive programs, political parties offer voters an option of

ex ante control (Roberts 2010, 6). A mandate-responsive government sends their voters clear and distinctive message via electoral programs and other channels of communication. In this section, I analyze whether Public Affairs is more mandate responsive than other political parties by (a) examining standard deviations of voter left-right ideological self-positioning with left-right positioning of parties expressed by all respondents; and (b) comparing the degrees and frequencies of web press releases related to corruption.

The literature on populism has recognized ideological "empty heart" (Jasiewicz 2008) and chameleonic features of the phenomenon (Taggart 2002). By promising something to everyone, populists exhibit ideological vagueness. However, along with ideological vagueness they can present a rather coherent view on issues that defy left-right categorization, such as anti-corruption stance or appeals to bring higher elite responsiveness and accountability. Therefore, my expectations of mandate responsiveness are mixed. On the one hand, Public Affairs may display a lower degree of mandate responsiveness than other parties because of its vague ideological profile. On the other hand, Public Affairs' emphasis on a specific issue, such as corruption, in its web communication sends the voters a signal of program clarity at least on some issues.

(a) Voter Left-Right Ideological Self-Positioning

Previous research measured mandate responsiveness by looking at standard deviations of expert scores on various political dimensions (Roberts 2010). Some democratization scholars have emphasized a close relationship between elite and mass political attitudes suggesting that the former is a function of the latter (Ulc 1993,

Carpenter 1997). In the absence of data on elite perceptions for the most recent election, I compare standard deviations of voter left-right ideological self-positioning with left-right positioning of parties expressed by all respondents, using the results of the Czech National Election Study conducted in June 2010.[145] Higher standard deviation indicates lower homogeneity of support for each party and may suggest a weaker-defined ideological profile of the party. This measure of mandate responsiveness shows an ideological component of populism. Jasiewicz (2008), for example, uses this element to measure the "ideological empty heart" among Polish populist parties. Following Jasiewicz, I assume that the location of a party on the ideological extreme combined with low standard deviation indicates a well-defined ideological profile of the party, while high deviation combined with location of the mean in the middle of ideological spectrum signals weak ideological profile.

(b) Web Press Releases

In addition to looking at standard deviations as a measure of mandate responsiveness, I rely on such element of mandate responsiveness as website communication related to corruption and anti-corruption statements. All five Czech parties holding seats in the lower chamber actively use websites as a communication tool with their constituencies. In addition to electoral programs and information about individual party members and leaders, parties provide information on their positions on various issues, publish press releases, newspaper columns and other communication with the media, and rebroadcast appearances on TV. Therefore, website communication is an important tool of mandate responsiveness.

[145] I thank Martin Vávra from the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic for helping me get access to the data.

In order to evaluate the differences in the degree of mandate responsiveness between populist and mainstream parties, I review press releases published by political parties on their websites. Because I evaluate mandate responsiveness related to a specific issue of corruption, I look at frequencies of references to corruption in press releases between May 2010 and December 2011. The parliamentary election was held on May 28-29, 2010 and corruption was one of the main election themes. The beginning of the analysis in early May helps capture some of the electoral campaign spirit and examine the prominence of corruption in press releases prior to the election.

The goal of this analysis is to capture mandate responsiveness in website communication among Czech political parties. This aspect of mandate responsiveness is measured as frequency and intensity of featuring corruption in press releases published on parties' websites. I expect to find differences in mandate responsiveness between the populist Public Affairs, on the one hand, and the rest of parliamentary parties, on the other hand. More specifically, I expect Public Affairs to display higher rate of responsiveness in communication on corruption for the following reasons. First, corruption was one of Public Affairs' main electoral campaign issues. Previous sections showed how Public Affairs' intentions to address corruption were reflected in voter perceptions: Public Affairs was more likely to be mentioned as the party best to deal with corruption among those voters who identified corruption as the most important political problem (see Table 5-2).

Second, according to the coalition government agreement, Public Affairs received four ministry portfolios, including Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Regional Development. These two ministries are the key institutions in combatting

corruption. Public Contracts and Central Purchases Department, Crime Prevention Department and Police Department are subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior, while Ministry of Regional Development provides guidance on public procurement. Public procurement is seen as one of the most corrupt areas in the Czech Republic, and having received ministerial positions, Public Affairs was well positioned to have an influence in combatting corruption.

Overall, the enhanced effort by Public Affairs to focus on corruption in web communication is one of the keys to party's credibility. Being a relatively new political party competing nationally, and not having a strong core constituency, Public Affairs strongly relied on anti-corruption rhetoric to generate electoral support. Communication with constituencies reflecting the party's agenda, policy proposals and policy achievements on anti-corruption measures demonstrate party's commitment to the cause and its responsiveness to the voters. Communication via the websites serves as an important element of mandate responsiveness.

Voter Left-Right Ideological Self-Positioning

This section discusses standard deviations of voter left-right ideological positions as a measure of mandate responsiveness. Table 5-3 present the mean scores of self-placements among party constituencies. The positioning of parties based on voter left-right self-identification is quite consistent with the literature (Benoit and Laver 2006, Deegan-Krause 2006). The bases of competition in the Czech party system have been largely a reflection of a left-right socioeconomic cleavage with ODS (Civic Democratic Party) and CSSD (Czech Social Democratic Party) representing the opposite sides of the ideological spectrum. The liberal newcomer TOP09 is positioned

on the right close to ODS and the unreformed Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) is on the left, while the rest of the parties are located closer to the middle of the spectrum. TOP09 has been portrayed as an anti-establishment party but its known leadership and clear ideological profile does not allow us to classify it as genuine protest anti-establishment party. It is located slightly left of ODS on the left-right scale and it has second lowest standard deviation among all parties. This indicates that TOP09 supporters display a clearly defined ideological profile of the center-right party despite the fact that TOP09 is a newly created party from a fractured KDU-CSL and it built is support on their leader competence and lack of corruption scandals (Haughton and Deegan Krause 2011).

The constituencies of Public Affairs also place their party slightly to the right of the center but high standard deviation is a signal of weaker ideological profile compared to other parties. Only non-voters and supporters of another protest party Suverenita and the newly created center-left Party of Civic Rights (SPO) show a less clear ideological profile.[146]

Table 5-3 Left-Right Self-Positioning of Party Constituencies

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
VV	133	0	10	6.549	1.828
KSCM	117	0	10	1.872	1.750
CSSD	271	0	10	3.188	1.734
Green	27	1	9	5.259	1.723
KDU	34	2	9	5.765	1.597
TOP09	197	0	10	7.538	1.590
ODS	216	2	10	8.190	1.542

Source: Czech National Election Study 2010 available at http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/. Q22: Where do you place yourself on the left-right ideological scale?Left-0, Right-10. The table only includes political parties that cleared the electoral threshold in the 2010 and 2006 parliamentary elections to the lower chamber. Smaller parties – SPO, Suverenita – and non-voters are not included in the table.

[146] The descriptive statistics for these groups of respondents are not shown in the table.

For a more visual representation of the data, I report the Kernel density distributions of self-placements on the left-right ideological scale among party constituencies.[147] Figure 5-4 and Figure 5-5 show the differences in distributions among the Czech parties. The plots suggest that KSCM, TOP09, and ODS have more clear ideological profiles: their distributions are more narrow and are either left-skewed or right-skewed. The distributions of KDU and the Greens are close to normal with means of 5.765 and 5.259 respectively. They are also more narrowly distributed. On the other hand, Public Affairs and CSSD have wider distributions, which suggests that the constituencies of these parties have less agreement on their ideological profiles.

Table 5-4 Mean Placements on the Left-Right Scale Among All Respondents

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
KSCM	1699	0	10	1.210	1.792
CSSD	1694	0	10	2.665	2.003
KDU	1582	0	10	5.356	1.947
Green	1546	0	10	5.633	1.782
VV	1521	0	10	6.686	1.946
TOP09	1632	0	10	7.894	2.046
ODS	1693	0	10	8.265	2.049

Source: Czech National Election Study 2010 available at http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/. Q21: Where do you place the following political parties on the left-right ideological scale? Left-0, Right-10. The table only includes political parties that cleared the electoral threshold in the 2010 and 2006 parliamentary elections to the lower chamber. Smaller parties – SPO, Suverenita – and non-voters are not included.

Table 5-4 shows the mean left-right scores given to each major party by all respondents. While the left-right positioning of parties makes sense, large standard deviation received by ODS, TOP09 and CSSD is puzzling, especially when it comes to ODS and CSSD. These major Czech parties have been competing against each other since the collapse of communism and they represent clear ideological right-left choice

[147] I use kernel densities to plot the distributions splitting them into two graphs with three parties in Figure 5-4 (VV, KDU and Green) and four parties in Figure 5-5. Placing all seven parties on the same graph makes it difficult to distinguish between the parties and interpret the distributions. The scales of the y-axis are similar in both figures and they are therefore comparable.

for the Czech voters. Whereas party constituencies show more consistent positions as far as their own party's ideological stance is concerned, there is a higher degree of disagreement about these parties' left-right positioning among public in general.

Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7 offer a visual representation of Table 5-4. They report the differences in Kernel density distributions of left-right positioning among Czech parties. Whereas relatively moderate standard deviations of Public Affairs in Table 5-4 are puzzling, Figures 5-6 and 5-7 offer a more clear depiction of ideological clarity among Czech parties. The graphs show quite a wide distribution for Public Affairs (Figure 5-6), which in combination with positioning of the distribution in the middle of the left-right scale suggest a less clear ideological profile of the populist party. The distribution of CSSD looks similar to that of Public Affairs, although in a diametrically opposite direction. The distributions of KDU and the Greens are narrow and close to normal, indicating the agreement among respondents about these parties' ideological profiles. The distributions of other parties – ODS, TOP09, and KSCM – are vividly skewed towards either right or left suggesting that respondents are more certain about these parties' left or right positions. Overall, although the evidence about lower ideological clarity of Public Affairs is not conclusive, there are ample reasons to argue that Public Affairs exhibits lower degree of mandate responsiveness compared to other parties. In self-positioning of its constituencies on the left-right scale, Public Affairs records the highest standard deviation; it also shows a relatively wide distribution of responses in the middle of the left-right scale.

Figure 5-4 Left-right Self Positioning of Party Constituencies-1 [148]

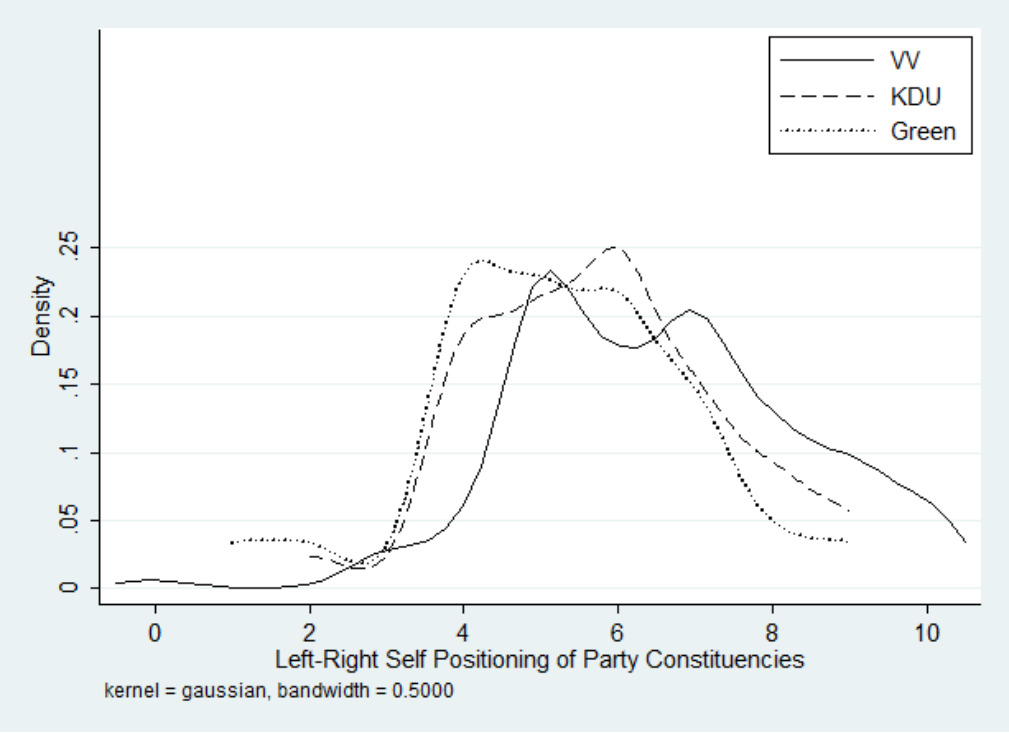
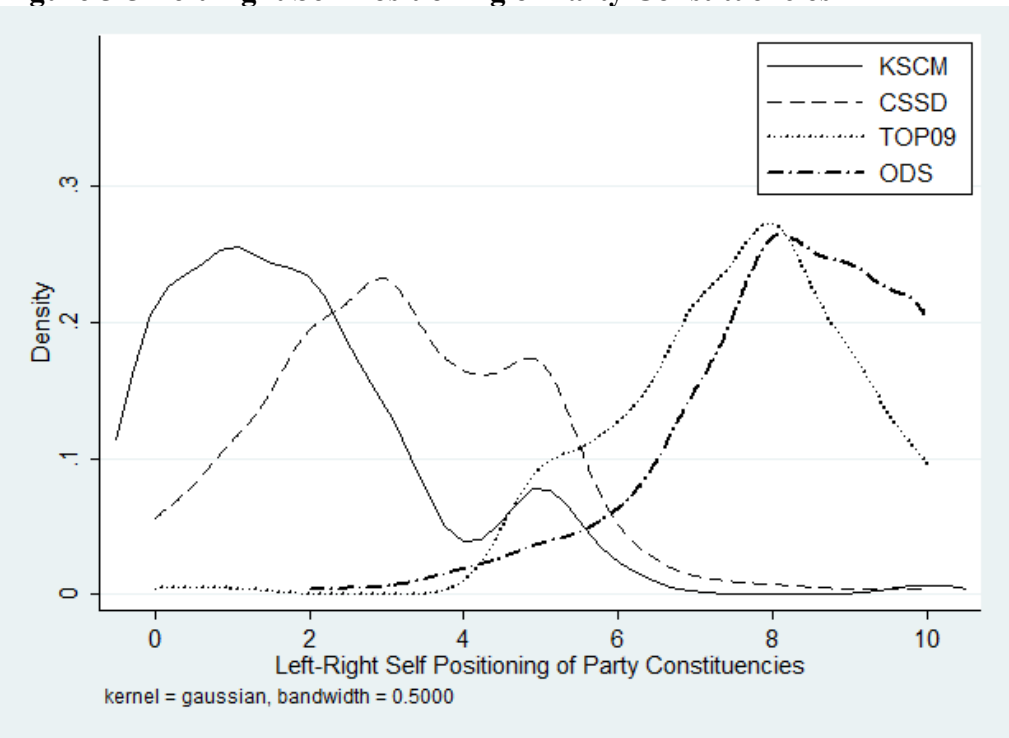


Figure 5-5 Left-right Self Positioning of Party Constituencies-2



[148] Figures 5-4 and 5-5 are based on the data from Czech National Election Study 2010 available at http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/. Q22: Where do you place yourself on the left-right ideological scale? Left-0, Right-10.

Figure 5-6 Parties' Placements on the Left-Right Scale by All Respondents-1[149]

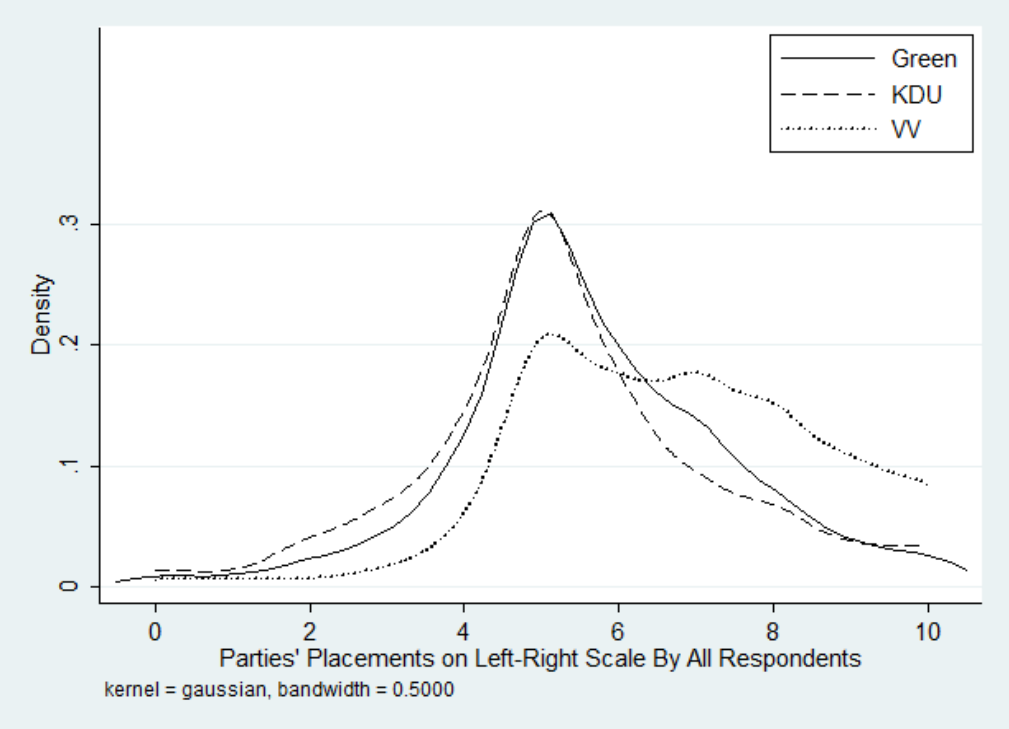
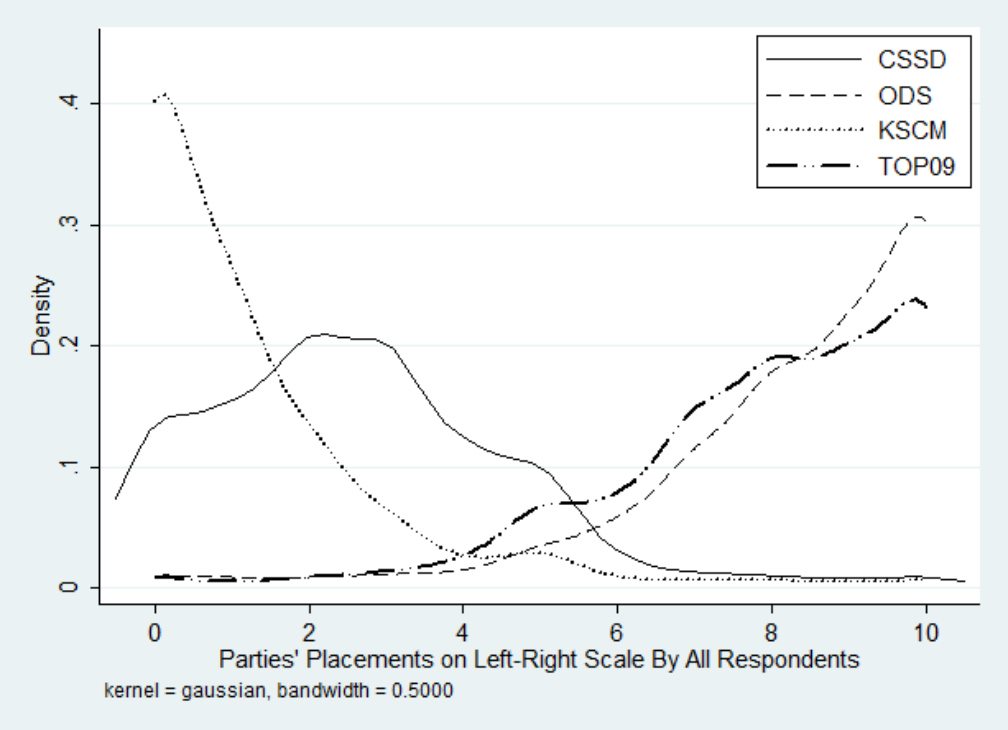


Figure 5-7 Parties' Placements on the Left-Right Scale by All Respondents-2



[149] Figures 5-6 and 5-7 are based on the data from Czech National Election Study 2010 available at http://archiv.soc.cas.cz/. Q21: Where do you place the following political parties on the left-right ideological scale? Left-0, Right-10.

Web Press Releases

To analyze mandate responsiveness in web communication, I examined the websites of five Czech parties with parliamentary seats in the lower chamber having analyzed 3,497 press releases, 14.9% of which contained a reference to corruption. The articles were divided into three groups that indicate a degree of intensity of referencing corruption in press releases. Higher intensity of featuring corruption is a proxy for high mandate responsiveness. Articles mentioned only once or twice were coded as 1; articles where corruption is mentioned several times were coded as 2; articles which main theme is corruption were coded as 3. A useful cue for coding the article as 3 was whether it contained the word "corruption" in the title.

Table 5-5 offers comparisons of mandate responsiveness among Czech parties in web press releases. The table reports cross-tabulations for corruption-related press releases (column, press releases where corruption was mentioned once or twice, multiple times, and where corruption was the main theme. The table also provides significance tests that assess differences in the frequency with which Public Affairs issued press releases featuring corruption in comparison to the other parties. For most indicators – columns 2-4 – the Pearson Chi-Square statistics are highly significant at the 1% level and for articles where corruption was the main theme the Pearson Chi-Square is significant at the 10% level.

The table indicates that corruption was featured most prominently in press releases by Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) and Social Democratic Party (CSSD). Their share of press releases related to corruption as a share of the total number of press releases was 16.1% and 15.8% respectively, compared to 15.5%

recorded by Public Affairs. Public Affairs was outperformed by other major parties in frequency of corruption-related press releases when corruption was mentioned once or twice.

Table 5-5 Related to Corruption Press Releases on Parties' Websites

Party	Total number of press releases	Press releases related to corruption	Frequency of featuring corruption		
			Corruption mentioned once or twice	Corruption mentioned multiple times	Article's main theme is corruption
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VV	1034	160 (15.5%)	46 (4.4%)	81 (7.8%)	33 (3.2%)
ODS	532	35 (6.6%)	26 (4.9%)	4 (0.8%)	5 (0.9%)
CSSD	1092	172 (15.8%)	112 (10.3%)	28 (2.6%)	32 (2.9%)
KSCM	552	89 (16.1%)	61 (11.1%)	10 (1.8%)	18 (3.3%)
TOP09	287	35 (12.2%)	13 (4.5%)	15 (5.2%)	7 (2.4%)
Total	3497	491 (14.0%)	258 (7.4%)	138 (3.9%)	95 (2.7%)
Pearson Chi-Square		31.742***	45.357***	68.925***	8.128*
df		4	4	4	4
N		3497	3497	3497	3497

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*
Percentages in brackets indicate the share of featuring corruption within a party variable.
Table is based on the author's coding and calculations. Articles mentioned only once or twice were coded as 1; articles where corruption is mentioned several times were coded as 2; articles which main theme is corruption were coded as 3. A useful cue for coding the article as 3 was whether it contained the word "corruption" in the title.

More interesting results come from the comparison of intensity of featuring corruption. All major parties except for Public Affairs display frequent but less concentrated references to corruption. The overwhelming majority of press releases were those where corruption was mentioned once or twice. The total share of press releases related to corruption recorded by Public Affairs differs only by a few tenth of a percentage, compared to that of other parties. Public Affairs lags behind other parties in press releases where corruption was mentioned once or twice but it demonstrates a higher rate of intensity in references to corruption. Eighty one (7.8%) press releases by Public Affairs referenced corruption multiple times indicating the heightened effort by Public Affairs to be more specific about its core campaign issue. Finally, Public Affairs published the most number of press releases (33) where corruption was the main theme,

although its share of featuring corruption is not the highest compared to other parties and it differs slightly from that of other parties.

When it comes to the nature of specific corruption-related references, not surprisingly, the opposition CSSD and KSCM used press releases to criticize the government and Public Affairs in particular for empty electoral promises to address corruption problems. In many press releases, parties other than Public Affairs made a clear reference to Public Affairs' anti-corruption appeals, citing its electoral promises to combat corruption. For example, in October 2010, CSSD and KSCM published press releases criticizing the Interior Minister (who was also Public Affairs' leader) for failing to respond to its own electoral promises of addressing corruption. Both opposition parties blamed Public Affairs for inaction claiming that during the first 100 days in office the government's only measure was the release of an anti-corruption manual for citizens and police officers.

Most press releases featuring corruption as the main theme by TOP09 focused on transparency in party finance, attempting to distance itself from corruption scandals erupted among coalition partners ODS and Public Affairs. Despite several high profile corruption scandals among its own members, ODS chose not to focus on the scandals in its communication. In press releases that featured corruption most prominently ODS emphasized the government's anti-corruption strategy and enforcement of anti-corruption measures.

Current literature suggests that populist parties reflect voter discontent with the political system and elites whereas a populist contender is expected to increase responsiveness. If a party sends clear and distinctive message via their electoral

program and articulates future policy directions, voters are offered certain confidence and predictability. Mandate responsiveness gives citizens a chance for *ex ante* control of their representatives. The evidence that Public Affairs displayed stronger mandate responsiveness compared to other parties is mixed. On the one hand, the electoral program and slogans used by Public Affairs focused on the problems of corruption, transparency, and fiscal responsibility. The results of National Election Study indicate that corruption was the second most important issue of the campaign. The crosstab analysis shows that the issue of corruption was "owned" by Public Affairs and that Public Affairs was better positioned to address the corruption problem. The evaluation of secondary sources (newspaper articles) also suggests that the media recognized corruption as one of the central VV's campaign issues, thus indicating populisms's ability to display a strong anti-corruption mandate.

This analysis also suggests that populist parties, such as Public Affairs, use web communication as a tool of mandate responsiveness more prominently than other political parties. When examining the intensity of addressing corruption as one of the core electoral campaign issues, I find that the focus on anti-corruption messages by mainstream parties are partially a function of prominence of the issue in the Public Affairs' electoral campaign. In other words, Public Affairs' focus on combating corruption prompted other parties to hold the challenger accountable. The basis for this conclusion is the fact that most of the press releases published by mainstream parties contained explicit criticism of Public Affairs for corruption scandals within the governing coalition, for not addressing corruption more prominently, and for violating its electoral mandate to the voters. The feedback by mainstream parties was even more

pronounced because the government coalition, and Public Affairs in particular, got embattled with internal corruption scandals.

On the other hand, Public Affairs exhibited week mandate responsiveness measured as standard deviation of the left-right self-positioning of party supporters. This measure is an imperfect measure of mandate responsiveness but it indicates that Public Affairs' ideological position is not uniformly agreed on even among its constituencies. Public Affairs' voters show a larger spread on the left-right self-positioning compared to all other major parties, which indicates that Public Affairs voter beliefs are less consistent than perceptions of voters of other parties. Overall, apart from strong anti-corruption rhetoric, Public Affairs was unable to display strong mandate responsiveness.

Policy Responsiveness

In this section, I examine (1) oral questions referred to the prime minister and the cabinet during legislative sessions and (2) the legislative record of Public Affairs. Using oral questions and legislative record on corruption-related issues as a proxy for policy responsiveness, I seek to evaluate the effect of populism on policy responsiveness. Do representatives of Public Affairs use oral questions more prominently than representatives of mainstream parties? How do members of parliament (MPs) use their time during the oral question sessions and how do they prioritize anti-corruption discourse on their agenda? Can oral questions give an insight about the relationship between populism and policy responsiveness? Do anti-corruption legislative initiatives of Public Affairs tell us anything about the effect of populism on policy responsiveness?

Oral Questions (Interpellations)

Examining oral questions during parliamentary debates seems an appropriate way to assess policy responsiveness among members of parliament. While these sessions are primarily used by the opposition parties to make inquiries to the prime minister and the cabinet about government's policies, the members of the governing parties can use the parliament floor as a symbolic way of displaying to their constituencies the level of their engagement with the most urgent policy issues. During the question session, the members of parliament are not constrained by their party discipline and can speak openly about policies and problems. In other words, the autonomy of speech during the oral questions session for individual MPs is higher than during voting. This measure of policy responsiveness may be affected by the government status of Public Affairs. Because oral questions during the floor debate are addressed to the prime minister and the cabinet, party members of the governing coalition may be reluctant to scrutinize their coalition allies. However, they may still use oral questions as a symbolic sign to show their legislative behavior to their constituents.

Czech Parliament Legislative Rules and Procedures

The session of oral questions (interpolations) is held each Thursday from 2:30 p.m. to 6 p.m. The prime minister is questioned during the first part of the oral question session – from 2:30 p.m. to 4 p.m., followed by the questions to other members of the cabinet.[150] There is no limit on the number of questions an MP can submit and each MP may submit a question to the prime minister and a question to a specific member of the

[150] The Law on the Rules of Procedures of the Chamber of Deputies, available at http://www.psp.cz/.

cabinet. However, if more than one question is submitted, the addressor should specify the order of questions (1) to the prime minister and (2) to other members of the cabinet.

The order of questions is determined by a random draw on the day of the oral question session. If an MPs submits more that one question, the random draw is held for the pool of questions given the first order and then for the pool of second and third order questions. If a member of the cabinet is absent from the chamber or cannot answer a question, she is mandated to provide a response in writing. If a deputy is not satisfied with the response, the question can be added to the agenda of the following session. Although there is no limit on the number of questions that can be asked by a representative, the order of questions asked by each MP may be a useful cue for establishing the prominence of corruption discourse on the party's agenda. When representatives submit more than one question, they have to rank their questions by importance, because the random draw will include only one of their questions at a time. Other questions with lower ranked order (lower importance) will be included in the next random draw, and so on. If the corruption-related question is ranked lower on the list of importance, it may not reach the floor of the parliament at all if the time runs out and/or there are too many questions asked by other representatives.

Data

I reviewed 707 oral questions asked by the Czech MPs during ten sessions of the sixth parliament (September 2010-December 2011) identifying questions that included references to corruption. This data is available on the website of the Czech parliament in the Czech language and I relied on Google translate service and my own knowledge

of Slavic languages to understand the general meaning of the questions.[151] The question subject was to be submitted by the representatives to be included in the pool of randomly drawn questions and I relied on the subjects during the initial coding. Subjects, such as "in the fight against corruption," "the suspicion of corruption," or "regarding the continuation of corrupt practices" offered easily identifiable questions related to the corruption theme. However, when I reviewed the questions in more depth, I added other themes to corruption-related coding and included references to transparency in politics, bribes, government procurement or military contracts. Two latter themes were included because they were part of corruption scandals followed by the resignation of members of the cabinet. I also identified a number of subjects that were labeled as "ethics in politics," which I initially thought to be related to corruption. However, during a closer examination of these questions, I realized that most of them inquired about issues other than corruption and therefore were not coded as corruption-related questions. In the cases when questions were not asked from the floor – because either time ran out or the addressor was absent in the chamber – I could make judgments about its reference to corruption only based on the subject. The descriptive data is presented in Table 5-6.

Table 5-6 Frequency of Oral Questions Asked by Members of Parliament

MP's Party	Total number of oral questions	Number of oral questions related to corruption	Seats in a chamber	Corruption questions adjusted for seats in chamber
CSSD (Social Democrats)	550	34	56	0.607
KSCM (Communist Party)	93	1	26	0.038
ODS (Civic Democrats)	51	1	53	0.019
VV (Public Affairs)	10	5	24	0.208
TOP09	3	0	41	0.000
Total	707	41	200	0.205

Note: The data is based on the author's coding and calculations.

[151] Data available on the website of the Czech parliament at http://www.psp.cz/.

The table shows that between September 2010 and December 2011, the representatives from opposition parties – CSSD and KSCM – were most active in submitting oral questions accounting for 550 and 93 oral questions (78% and 13% out of the overall number of questions respectively) – a disproportionately large share of requests compared to other parties. When adjusting for the number of seats held by each party in the chamber, corruption was featured most prominently by the CSSD representatives followed by the Public Affairs members. Previous research has shown that opposition parties are usually the primary initiators of oral interpellations (Bruteig 2010). They use the floor of the parliament to display criticism of the governing coalition, so a large share of requests by CSSD and KSCM is not surprising. Therefore, given the structure of these sessions, it would be incorrect to suggest that the coalition government parties – ODS, TOP09 and Public Affairs – were not policy responsive.

Public Affairs MPs submitted only five questions on issues related to corruption, transparency, and public procurement. Despite the overall low amount of oral questions related to corruption, these questions account for half of the total number of questions submitted by representatives of Public Affairs, suggesting that perhaps Public Affairs members of parliament do not make significant efforts at using oral questions as a tool of policy responsiveness. But in rare cases when they do, corruption is addressed more prominently than by representatives of other parties.

Among more interesting findings arising from the research of this part of parliamentary debate is the timing of asking corruption-related questions and their importance compared to other issues. When coding the data, I included the ranking of corruption-related question identified by the MPs which was an indication of the

importance of corruption. I also showed the total number of questions to the prime minister and to the members of the cabinet.

In some cases, the representatives posed questions to both the prime minister and to the members of the cabinet. For example, representative Jiri Paroubek (CSSD) registered 20 oral questions on December 9, 2010 (four of those were posed to the PM and 14 to the members of the cabinet). The four questions to the PM were related to unemployment, the use of EU funds (2 questions) and commerce. Paroubek also registered 14 questions to the members of the cabinet. Corruption was on the MP's agenda, as two of the fourteenth questions were related to corruption but in the order of questions Paroubek ranked these two questions as the third and the fourteenth. The time allocated for oral interpellations allowed Paroubek to ask his third question related to corruption but not the fourteenth question. On another occasion, representative Ladislav Šincl (CSSD) registered seven oral questions and random drawing allowed him to ask all three of his corruption-related questions ranked as 3rd, 4th, and 7th. These examples suggest that corruption has a variable importance on the agenda of political parties and members of parliament.

Table 5-7 Frequency of Ranking Corruption-Related Questions by Czech MPs

Ranking of corruption-related question	Frequency	Percent
1	20	48.8
2	8	19.5
3	4	9.8
4	5	12.2
5	1	2.4
7	1	2.4
8	1	2.4
14	1	2.4
Total	41	100.0

Note: The data is based on the author's coding and calculations.

Table 5-7 reports the frequencies of ranking corruption-related questions by the Czech members of parliament. The table shows that when MPs asked questions related to corruption they rank them quite high in the order of questions: they were ranked as the top priority questions in 20 cases (48.8% of the questions) and under the second and third rank in 8 and 4 cases (19.5% and 9.8% respectively). In other words, when inquiring about corruption, the representatives of Czech parties are more likely to rank the corruption-related question on the top of the importance list. The table also shows that a low rank of questions on corruption are very infrequent among Czech MPs; only once were corruption-related questions ranked under the 5^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, and 14^{th} numbers.

The timing of asking questions indicates that inquiries were made in clusters of sessions rather than spread proportionally throughout them. The first 23 questions on corruption were asked during the first five legislative sessions and the last 18 questions were asked during the next ten legislative sessions. Such distribution of questions has likely to do with corruption scandals periodically emerging within the governing coalition.

The grouping of corruption-related questions asked by representatives of Public Affairs shows an interesting dynamic of (1) how Public Affairs is held accountable to its anti-corruption program and (2) how the opposition parties' criticism affected the use of questions asked by the populist party. On December 9, 2010, Jiri Paroubek (CSSD) posed a question to Prime Minister Necas about government's mandate to deal with corruption in which, he quoted from the coalition agreement and criticized the government for failing to address the problem:

> Dear absent Prime Minister, your coalition is committed as one of the key objectives which is the fight against corruption and bureaucracy… After the

> events of the Ministry of Environment I can not believe that you still have the courage to talk about your government as a government fighting against corruption… Do you think that your government still has a moral right to fight against corruption and abuses on power in politics and public administration? How is it possible that the coalition parties, who so vehemently criticized the behavior of their predecessors, fell even deeper [in corruption scandals]?

Paroubek's inquiry about corruption had an interesting effect on the corruption discourse of the interpellation session the following week. Both Prime Minister Necas and Radek John, Minister of Interior at that time, were absent from the chamber on December 9 and the inquiries about corruption seemed to force Public Affairs to publicly address corruption-related questions from the floor of the parliament. First, Radek John made himself available for oral questions but more importantly, four corruption-related questions were posed to Radek John – all from the MPs of his own party, Public Affairs. It would be a speculation whether or not the arrival of John to the chamber and the questions by the Public Affairs' MPs were orchestrated by the populist party's leadership. However, given its anti-corruption platform, Public Affairs used the floor of the parliament to publicize its achievements in anti-corruption area as a symbolic sign of policy responsiveness. No Public Affairs MP has used the oral interpellation session prior to December 16, 2010 to inquire about corruption and only once after December 16 was the floor of the parliament used to advocate for this highly important for Public Affairs issue.

Overall, this example suggests that by criticizing Public Affairs for lack of action on corruption, the opposition was successfully leading the debate, rather than the other way around. The frequency and the rate of corruption-related questions during the first ten sessions of the 2010 parliament indicates that Public Affairs used this element of policy responsiveness less prominently than the opposition parties, CSSD in

particular. Contrary to my expectations that Public Affairs would be leading the debate on anti-corruption discourse, the populists were forced to defend their positions on this arguably most important issue of their program.

To further investigate the relationship between populism and policy responsiveness, I analyzed the frequency of questions related to corruption during the previous parliamentary tenure (2006-2009). Whereas 41 out of 707 (5.8%) oral questions were related to corruption in 2010-2011 parliament, only 13 out of 1922 (0.7%) oral questions asked between 2006 and 2010 by members of all parliamentary parties were focused on corruption.[152] In other words, corruption clearly became a more prominent issue after the 2010 campaign, as it received more attention between September 2010 and December 2011 than during four years of the previous parliamentary tenure. Such an increase in inquiries about corruption can be attributed to high profile corruption scandals that erupted within the governing coalition. However, the conjunction of two conditions – Public Affairs' focus on anti-corruption rhetoric combined with Public Affairs' subsequent involvement in corruption scandals – highly politicized corruption, elevating the importance of the issue among the citizens and the elites. Corruption scandals have been quite frequent in the Czech Republic in the past but previously they did not create such a resonance in the lower chamber. It is plausible that because corruption became one of the most important campaign issues, the leeway for error became so narrow that any misconduct by the elites brought more uproar than it did in the past. Corruption scandals is the most proximate cause explaining the increase in the number of inquiries about corruption, whereas the deeper causes can be

[152] Overall, 21 corruption related questions were on the daily agenda but they were omitted because time ran out.

found at the level of party discourse and electoral strategies which politicized corruption and led to higher degree of inquiries by all parties, thus capturing populism's effect on policy responsiveness.

The evidence suggests that the dramatic increase in the overall number of corruption-related questions asked by all parties – 41 out of 707 during the sixteen months of the sixth Czech parliament compared to 13 out of 1922 during four years of the fifth parliament – is the outcome of the anti-corruption discourse of Public Affairs. Public Affairs elevated the importance of the corruption problem during the election campaign, which brought higher awareness of corruption among the elites prompting other parties to become more inquisitive about corruption.

Legislative Record of Public Affairs

The number and frequency of oral questions on the floor of the parliament are used in this chapter as measures of policy responsiveness. The unit of analysis is oral questions by individual members of parliament. Policy responsiveness can also be analyzed using a party's legislative record as the unit of analysis. This change will help establish whether Public Affairs' legislative record in combatting corruption is consistent with the party's electoral pledges.

A series of legislative initiatives by the coalition government is a good indicator of government's policy responsiveness, although it is difficult to clearly isolate the individual role of Public Affairs using this measure. In November 2010, the Ministry of Interior headed by the Public Affairs' leader adopted the Code of Ethics outlining practices that regulated ethical aspects of public servants. In addition to promoting ethical standards of behavior internally, within government agencies, the Code of Ethics

was an important symbolic signal sent to the citizens in an attempt to gain public trust. Following the adoption of the Code of Ethics, three representatives of Public Affairs used the floor of the parliament to question the Minister of Interior about government's anti-corruption actions. The only three ministries that had adopted the code were headed by representatives of Public Affairs.

Earlier, in September 2010, Public Affairs offered a draft anti-corruption plan which was strongly criticized by Transparency International Czech Republic (TIC), an anti-corruption organization. Following the introduction of the plan, TIC's representative Václav Lásk quit the anti-corruption council created by Public Affairs because he argued that the plan had been used as a tool for local election campaign held in October 2010 rather than a genuine anti-corruption mechanism.[153] The draft anti-corruption plan was converted into anti-corruption strategy consisting of 57 proposals that included provisions about public tenures, lobbying practices, and suggested longer prison terms for public servants convicted of corruption. The plan was also criticized by the experts because it was quite vague in the areas of public procurement, lobbying and campaign financing – the key areas where corruption was especially high.[154] In August 2011, Deputy PM Karolina Peake (a member of Public Affairs) formed an Anti-Corruption Committee of seven Cabinet members to serve as the main body for

[153] Lehane, Bill. "Ministry Defends Anti-corruption Plan - News", *Prague Post,* September 22, 2010. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/5803-ministry-defends-anti-corruption-plan.html, accessed on September 5, 2011.
[154] Thompson, Emily. "John Unveils Anti-corruption Plan - News", *Prague Post,* December 22, 2010. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/6931-john-unveils-anti-corruption-plan.html, accessed on May 5, 2011.

monitoring and combating corruption. Three of the seven members represented Public Affairs.[155]

Overall, the government claimed to have taken action on 40 of the 84 points of its anti-corruption strategy in early 2012. These measures were highly publicized by Public Affairs as party's own achievements, given that public officials in charge of these initiatives were members of VV. At the same time, domestic and international perceptions of corruption in the Czech Republic have not improved due to a number of high-profile corruption scandals that shook the governing coalition.

Three high ranking public officials from the senior coalition partner ODS became involved in corruption scandals undermining the government's pledge to combat corruption. In December 2010, Martin Bartak, the deputy finance minister (ex-deputy defense minister), resigned after being charged with soliciting a bribe from former US ambassador for granting a supply contract for the Czech army from Tatra trucks. William Cabaniss, the former US ambassador joined Tatra trucks, the company which won a $145 million supply contract in 2006.[156] Pavel Drobil, minister of environment, also an ODS member, resigned to avoid a non-confidence vote, following allegations of corruption in the ministry. Drobil's advisor was recorded talking about manipulating the tender for water treatment facility in exchange for a 3 billion crown payment. Drobil was confronted by the director of the State Environment Fund and

[155] Buehrer, Jack. "Peake Forms Anti-corruption Group - News", *Prague Post,* August 17, 2011. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/9856-peake-forms-anti-corruption-group.html, accessed on December 17, 2011.
[156] "Two People Charged in Army's Tatra Trucks Deal." *Prague Monitor*, December 1, 2011. Available at http://praguemonitor.com/2011/12/01/two-people-charged-armys-tatra-trucks-deal, accessed on May 5, 2012.

captured on tape trying to cover up for his advisor.[157] In March 2011, Defense Minister Vondra, an ODS member, was accused of overcharging for audiovisual equipment from the contractor ProMoPro by $27 million at the time of his appointment as deputy prime minister for European Affairs in 2009.

As with many other new parties running on anti-corruption platform, what helped Public Affairs win power, came back to haunt the party, as VV itself became a center of corruption scandals creating a substantial blow to party's legitimacy. VV's informal leader Vit Barta was accused by his fellow MPs Kristyna Koci and Jaroslav Skarka for bribing them in exchange for loyalty to the party. MP Krystina Koci claimed that Barta bribed her with $27,000 and Jaroslaw Skarka asserted to have been receiving $3,200 monthly payments for keeping the details of party financing a secret. Barta did not deny to have paid the MPs but he argued those were loans.[158] The media claimed to have documented examples of bribing the MPs with $10,000 in envelopes. After these accusations, Koci and Skarka were expelled from VV and Barta resigned from his Minister of Transport position. The official party leader Radek John resigned as Minister of Interior the same month. Another scandal involved Education Minister Josef Dobeš (Public Affairs) who was charged with misappropriation of the funds from the European Commission (EC). The EC's audit found a large number of unexplained payments and considered cutting funds to the ministry.[159]

---

[157] Richter, Jan. "Radio Prague - Environment Minister Steps down Amidst Corruption Scandal." *Český Rozhlas*, December 15, 2010. Available at http://www.radio.cz/en/section/curraffrs/environment-minister-steps-down-amidst-corruption-scandal, accessed on September 5, 2011.
[158] Buehrer, Jack. "VV Implosion Sparks Latest Gov't Crisis - News." *Prague Post*, April 13, 2011. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/8252-vv-implosion-sparks-latest-govt-crisis.html, accessed on October 15, 2011.
[159] Cunningham, Benjamín. "Dobeš Again Caught in Scandal" *Prague Post*, January 4, 2012. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/11631-dobes-again-caught-in-scandal.html. Accessed on May 5, 2012.

In sum, these high-profile scandals produced substantial damage to VV's legitimacy, as a party building its support on anti-corruption discourse. Therefore, the policy responsiveness record of Public Affairs is rather mixed. On the one hand, having received cabinet portfolios, critical to addressing corruption, Public Affairs introduced a number of anti-corruption initiatives. Despite criticism, these measures sent an important symbolic signal about party's policy responsiveness, as Public Affairs was following its mandate and electoral promises to combat corruption. On the other hand, corruption scandals among leaders of Public Affairs largely discredited its mandate suggesting that "no party in power can avoid the presumption of corruptibility" (Haughton *et al*. 2011, 401). As Public Affairs was going through corruption turmoil, the party's own MPs showed dissatisfaction with Barta's personalistic leadership blaming the leadership in departing from its core values, namely corruption. According to one of the MPs, "Barta [is] losing a bit of perspective of the average VV voter who put him in the first place…they need to be out there pointing fingers at corruption, over and over again."[160]

Conclusion

The concern about democratic responsiveness in Eastern Europe is well warranted given weak or non-existing history of democratic rule. In the early 90s, in the midst of problems related to political and economic transitions, the elite preoccupation with building democratic institutions and liberal economies corresponded to the public's general desire to move away from communism. In the recent years, the growing scholarly interest in responsiveness and representation in Eastern Europe can be

[160] Buehrer, Jack. "Bárta Sparks Divisions Within VV." *Prague Post*, March 30, 2011. Available at http://www.praguepost.com/news/8053-b%EF%BF%BD%EF%BF%BDrta-sparks-divisions-within-vv.html, accessed on May 5, 2012.

explained by pessimism about ability of politicians to be responsive and citizens' limited capacity to display coherent policy preferences and demand certain policies from their elected representatives.

This chapter looks at two components of responsiveness focusing on the Czech Republic, seeking to evaluate whether populist parties are more responsive than their counterparts. Disaggregation of responsiveness into mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness helps examine various ways in which populism may affect this dimension of democratic quality.

The elite interviews conducted in the Czech Republic in 2009 set a useful starting point for analysis in this chapter. Although the interviews were conducted before populist Public Affairs came to prominence on the national stage, the comments by my interview respondents about the potential effect of populism allowed me to examine the limited impact of populism on responsiveness.

Does populism contribute to higher degree of responsiveness in the political system? The central claim of the chapter is that the relationship between populism and responsiveness is mixed, and populism's effect on individual components of responsiveness varies. *Mandate responsiveness*, as measured in this chapter, reflects voter perceptions about ideological clarity of political parties and coherence of their ideological platform along with parties' ability to focus on a specific issue consistent with their electoral promises. Although imperfect, these measures give an idea about how party constituencies perceive a populist party and whether populism's emphasis on a specific issue dimension, such as corruption, is converted into clear voter perceptions about party goals. The evidence indicates that Public Affairs showed lower mandate

responsiveness compared to other political parties based on voter perceptions of parties' left-right ideological positioning. Among its own voters, Public Affairs displayed a larger degree of ideological incoherence, which can be expected, knowing that populists often use vague language to promise a little bit of everything to everyone. On the other hand, in its rhetoric, Public Affairs focused on corruption placing the issue in the center of electoral campaign; Public Affairs' ability to create a clear image of anti-corruption party in voter perceptions indicates a high degree of mandate responsiveness.

In another the aspects of mandate responsiveness – web press releases – populism's effect is most pronounced. The evidence indicates that Public Affairs used web communication as a tool of mandate responsiveness more intensely than other parties when addressing its core campaign issue, namely corruption. Whereas Public Affairs lagged behind other parties in the frequency of corruption-related press releases (where corruption was mentioned once or twice), it displayed a higher intensity of featuring corruption in press releases where corruption was mentioned multiple times.

As far as *policy responsiveness* is concerned, the record is also mixed. On the one hand, the MPs of Public Affairs showed lower rate of responsiveness when it comes to inquiries related to corruption from parliament floor. This, however, may be explained by imperfect measurement of policy responsiveness. The oral question part of the debate was mainly used by the opposition MPs who used the floor as a tool to criticize the government. The questions were directed either to the prime minister or to the cabinet and therefore, were used infrequently by Public Affairs or its coalition partners who were reluctant to place their own coalition members under scrutiny. The opposition was successfully leading the debate by criticizing Public Affairs for inaction

on the corruption agenda and Public Affairs was forced to defend its positions on this important issue of their program. The sequence and frequency of five corruption-related questions asked by representatives of Public Affairs from the floor of the parliament on December 16, 2010 suggests that these questions were likely to have been orchestrated by the populist party's leadership. No Public Affairs MP has used the oral interpellation session prior to December 16 to inquire about corruption and only once after December 16 was the floor of the parliament used to inquire about corruption.

On the other hand, the legislative record suggests that Public Affairs stuck to its electoral promises, namely combatting corruption. A number of anti-corruption initiatives introduced by Public Affairs serve as a useful example of policy responsiveness even though the record of policy responsiveness was damaged by corruption scandals within government coalition and more specifically, among the leadership of Public Affairs. Moreover, based on the frequency of corruption-related questions as an overall share of oral questions asked from the floor of the parliament, Public Affairs displayed much higher degree of policy responsiveness, compared to other parties, despite the infrequent reference to this channel of policy responsiveness. I also find that the anti-corruption campaign used by Public Affairs had a positive effect on other political parties. The focus on corruption by Public Affairs prompted mainstream parties to address corruption more prominently than parties did in the past, as suggested by the dramatic increase in the number of corruption-related oral questions asked from the floor of the parliament.

This chapter examined the impact of populism on responsiveness in the area of corruption discourse but it is reasonable to expect that the effect of populism on

democratic responsiveness is not uniform across various contexts and issue dimensions. First, it is contingent on the issue dimension used by populists; some issue dimensions are used more prominently and can be politicized more successfully. Corruption is an important element of populism's anti-elite criticism but it is not the only issue dimension prominent in populist campaigns. Future research may benefit from analyzing how populism affects responsiveness to the citizen concerns in other issue areas, such as nationalism, language use, provision of socioeconomic benefits, extension of rights, to name a few.

Second, depending on the government status of the populist party, its effect on responsiveness may be more or less pronounced. A populist party that remains out of the government coalition will have a limited impact on policy responsiveness unless its proposed policies are shared by the parliamentary majority. Still, populist parties in opposition can use parliamentary debates as an alternative tool of policy responsiveness, raising problem awareness through parliamentary speeches and oral questions.

Chapter 6 Protest Mobilization in Ukraine

This chapter analyzes populism's impact on democratic quality in Ukraine using the case of Svoboda, the populist radical right nationalist party. Although the impact of Svoboda on democratic quality in Ukraine is yet to be seen, there are some areas where the potential for this impact is more likely. The highest potential for impact on democratic quality of Svoboda's populism is in the area of protest mobilization. How successful is populism at mobilizing citizens to vote, contact politicians, and participate in lawful demonstrations and protests? Is mobilization associated with electoral support of populism? Do political protests organized by populists represent a constructive or destructive dimension of democratic quality?

This chapter analyzes the potential of populism's impact on democratic quality in Ukraine, focusing primarily on the dimension of mobilization and participation. The chapter proceeds as follows. First, I briefly describe populist characteristics of Svoboda and outline the conditions that created favorable environment for emergence of a radical right populist party. Second, I discuss the party's recent electoral success. Third, I analyze Svoboda's impact on several forms of participation by examining bivariate correlations between the populist party's vote share and voter turnout, contacts with politicians, and participation in peaceful demonstrations. I test the following three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 6. Political participation will be higher in regions where populist support is stronger.

I measure political participation as electoral turnout, frequency of contacts with politicians and participation in peaceful demonstrations using the data from European Social Survey 2008, 2010, and 2012 rounds.

The bivariate correlation analysis helps establish the relationship between populism and participation but falls short of linking the two variables causally. The last section assesses Svoboda's impact on mobilization by examining the data on protest activities in Ukraine in 2009-2011. By looking at the protest data – the types of protests populists engage in, the level of violence, government's attempts to crack down on protests, and collaboration between Svoboda and other parties in protests – we are learning about the impact of populist mobilization on democratic quality.

Hypothesis 7. Populist parties are likely to mobilize citizens to participate in political protests more frequently than other parties.

Whereas active citizen participation in protest activities largely has a positive impact on democratic quality, violent protests may result in negative consequences for democratic quality. The democratic literature indicates that political violence negatively affects the ability of citizens to actively practice their rights. If populism elevates the level of violence in society, this has negative consequences on democratic quality.

Hypothesis 8. Populism exhibits higher level of violence during political protests compared to mainstream parties, having negative consequences for democratic quality.

Mobilization capacity by political parties is measured using the Protest and Coercion data collected by the Ukrainian Center for Society Research.

Radical Right Populism in Ukraine

Svoboda seems to represent a clear-cut example of populism in Ukraine. It meets two out of three characteristics of populism established in earlier chapters. First, by criticizing the elites from both pro-Russian and pro-Western parties, Svoboda shows it anti-establishment stance. On one hand, Svoboda criticized Party of Regions for its pro-Russian stance, specifically, for signing the Kharkiv accords extending the lease rights of the Ukrainian territory for the Russian navy. On the other hand, it positions itself as an alternative to democratic forces of the Orange coalition that "betrayed Maidan's ideals." Svoboda uses people-centric appeals towards all Ukrainians, warns about oppression and genocide of Ukrainians by external powers.

> In 2004 Ukraine came to Maidan. We hoped that the national idea would defeat corruption, betrayal and deceptions of government, whereas all leaders of the Orange Revolution would unite and guarantee the unity of pro-Ukrainian political forces. This unity could have become the foundation of Ukraine's revival. However, once "orange" leaders got power, all Maidan's promises were forgotten and it turned out these leaders were just "painted foxes", the gang of Kuchmists, Communists and KGB-ists, their apprentices and followers. Moreover, under euphoria of victory obtained by the Ukrainian people the orange chiefs completely forgot about ordinary Ukrainians.[161]

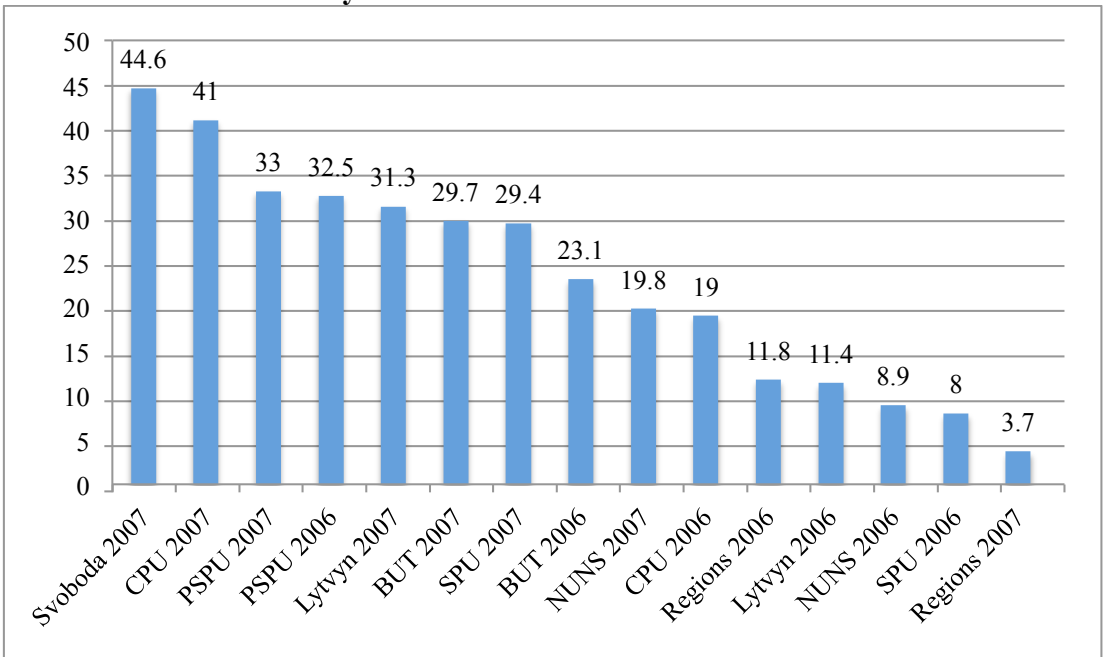
Second, the classification of Svoboda as a populist party is echoed in the literature. Kuzio (2010) offers a systematic analysis of Ukrainian populism identifying populist parties using ten characteristics. He finds that Svoboda meets all ten characteristics suggesting that it "most closely resembles European populist parties."[162] The definition adopted in this study is not incompatible with Kuzio's definition. Kuzio's ten characteristics of populism are quite exhaustive but they can be grouped in larger categories without jeopardizing the integrity of the definition. Overall, Kuzio's

[161] "Oleh Tyagnybok: Prychyny Zrady Idey Maidanu" 9/11/2007, Available at http://www.tyahnybok.info/diyalnist/komentari/003053/, accessed on May 16, 2012.
[162] Ibid., 4.

classification of Svoboda as a populist party confirms the classification used in this study, even though my definition of populism is slightly different.[163]

Third, content analysis of Ukrainian party programs shows that Svoboda exhibits higher level of populism compared to other political parties. Figure 6-1 shows the percentage of populist statements in each party document comparing the degree of populist elements across cases (parties) and over time – in 2006 and 2007 elections.

Figure 6-1 Share of Populist Statements in Party Programs, 2006 Parliamentary Election and 2007 Parliamentary Election



Note: The share of populist statements in party programs is based on the author's evaluation of electoral manifestos of Ukrainian parties in 2006 and 2007 parliamentary elections using three components of populism established in this dissertation (see chapter 2 for a detailed description of populist components. The number of populist statements was standardized taking the total number of statements in a party program as a base.

[163] For example, five characteristics – anti-elite and anti-establishment (3), anti-corruption (4), anti-American (5), anti-NATO (6), and anti-EU (7) – can be combined into a larger anti-establishment category. A party characterized by anti-establishment stance and ideological vagueness can combine the above-mentioned characteristics or use them selectively by changing its program, appeals, or the definition of "the other" depending on political necessity. Charismatic leadership (1) is often a result of weak ideological appeals and therefore can be associated with ideological vagueness. Party ideologies change because personalistic and charismatic leaders create parties as "vehicles for their personal ambitions" and therefore they "tell voters what they want to hear" (Pop-Eleches 2010). Kuzio's second characteristic – socioeconomic redistributive policies (2) can be associated with people-centric appeals. The last three characteristics used by Kuzio – xenophobia, anti-immigration, and anti-multiculturalism – are largely defining characteristics of radical right populist parties rather than core elements of populism.

There are several reasons to suggest that Svoboda's impact on democratic quality is limited. First, the party's core appeals are predominantly related to questions of Ukrainian identity – morality, lustration, the role of Ukrainians in positions of power and immigration. Even though the salience of nationalist appeals has increased over the years, it is quite marginal among Ukrainians compared to the salience of socioeconomic appeals. Public opinion polls indicate that central problems concerning Ukrainians are socioeconomic.[164] Parties which are unable or unwilling to offer their constituencies socioeconomic promises are less likely to show strong electoral performance and influence policy agenda. The ability of Svoboda to address socioeconomic issues is also questionable given the party's inexperience in governance.

Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012) argue that populism is less threatening for democracy at the sub-national than at the national level. However, this does not mean complete irrelevance of Svoboda's appeals, given the party's strong representation in local and regional councils in Western Ukraine. Overall, it would be a stretch to expect significant policy impact as a result of Svoboda's populism, especially in economic sphere. However, we may expect Svoboda's populism to have an impact in such aspects of democratic quality as party competition, citizen mobilization and participation.

As far as mobilization is concerned, regional effects from a party like Svoboda matter because of the virtuous cycle of activism. Historically, Western Ukraine has shown higher levels of activity among citizens; political, cultural and religious life was more vibrant in Western regions. Higher vibrancy of political and social life in Western Ukraine has produced more interest among citizens to associate with one another and

[164] *Public Opinion in Ukraine 2011*. International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), October 29, 2011.

demand accountability from the government. This could reduce costs for a political party to mobilize citizens and bring them together to aggregate interests, protest against government encroachment or in favor of certain policies, leading to higher levels of political activity. In sum, the emergence of a nationalist party in Western Ukraine, creates a positive self-reinforcing feedback loop: more active civil and political society creates a fertile environment for Svoboda's rise, which in turn further mobilizes citizens.

A Fertile Environment for Emergence of a Populist Party?

The combination of structural and institutional factors created favorable conditions for the emergence of an extreme right populist party in Ukraine. First, Svoboda filled power vacuum created in the nationalist political spectrum. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the distribution of power in Ukrainian politics has been largely characterized by the regional cleavage. Presidential and parliamentary elections were a reflection of this regional divide. Western Ukraine was represented by pro-western, pro-EU oriented politicians, whereas the Eastern and Southern Ukraine was represented by pro-Russian, Eurosceptic parties and presidents. Such a division brought to power coalitions which were not typical from the Western perspective because they united parties with seemingly irreconcilable programs and electorates. It is what Umland (2011), calls "civilizational and geostrategic orientations" that explain the coalition among the Party of Regions representing financial and industrial capital, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party in 2006-2007 and among Party of Regions, the Communist Party and Labor Party since 2010.[165]

[165] Umland (2011).

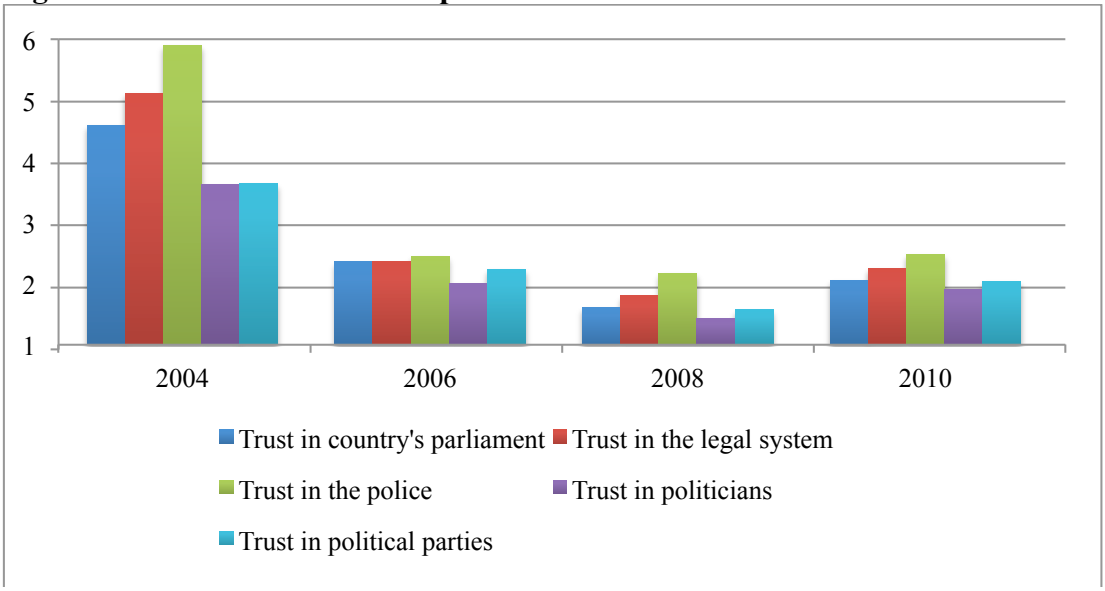
Numerous attempts to create a viable right-wing party over the last two decades have not been very successful. Parties with strong nationalist appeals - Narodny Ruh (People's Movement), Ukrainian Republican Party, Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly (UNA-UNSO), Reforms and Order (PRP), among others - were either damaged through internal infighting or were absorbed by party blocs headed by Victor Yuschenko (Our Ukraine) or Yulia Tymoshenko (BYT).[166] The same is true about individual far right politicians: they ended up being included in moderate right-wing parties or electoral blocs. One of the precursors of all nationalist parties – Narodniy Ruh was originally an organization uniting representatives of various ideologies – from radical nationalists to communists – and their central goal was independence. Because the movement united such a broadly based groups of ideologies and politicians, it could not focus exclusively on the nationalist agenda. The creation of Svoboda is therefore can be seen as an effort to fill the gap in the nationalist spectrum that existed in Ukraine since independence years.

Second, nationalist populism was a response to the failure of existing elites to offer real solutions to the current problems. Public opinion polls indicate that the levels of trust in representative institutions among Ukrainians have been declining in the last decade, which indicates that both main political forces alternating in office were responsible for that decline.[167] Figure 6.2 displays the declining levels of trust in representative institutions among Ukrainians. The dramatic decline in trust between

[166] Rudenko (2009).
[167] Two main political forces can be broadly called the "Orange" and the "Blue" camps, following the 2004 political upheaval. The Orange coalition was represented by president Victor Yuschenko who was in power in 2005-2010, prime minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who was in power in 2005 and 2007-2010. The Blue Coalition was represented by Victor Yanukovych who was prime minister in 2006-2007 and president since 2010.

2004 and 2006 can be linked to dysfunctional parliament, inability to create a stable majority coalition and continuous infighting among parties.

Figure 6-2 Levels of Trust in Representative Institutions in Ukraine



Source: European Social Survey (ESS) Round 2 Data (2004), valid N (listwise)=1639; ESS Round 3 (2006), valid N (listwise)=1745; ESS Round 4 (2008), valid N (listwise)=1648; ESS Round 5 (2010), valid N (listwise)=1687.
Q: How much do you personally trust each of the following institutions? 1 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 11 means you have complete trust (the data was rescaled from the original 0-10 scale).
Variables: trstprl; trstplc; trstprt; trstlgl; trstplt
Note: The vertical axis shows average levels of trust based on the European Social Survey data, on a scale 0-10, where 0 indicates low trust, and 10 indicates high trust.

Svoboda's success in regional elections was also linked to the elite failures to offer viable solutions to various problems. Political analysts negatively assessed Svoboda's victories in the 2010 election explaining it by failures of moderate right parties of Our Ukraine bloc and president Yuschenko, gas deals with Russia signed by the Tymoshenko's government, colluding practices between BYT and Regions, and power encroachment by Party of Regions.[168] The dissatisfaction of voters was related to

[168] Shekhovtsov (2011); Umland (2011); "Nadriv Regionov, Proriv Svoboda I Nariv Bat'kivschyny," *Ukrainska Pravda*, November 2, 2010, Available at http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/11/2/5535052/, accessed on June 13, 2012.

continuous infighting within the Orange coalition and later to the possibility of a cartel-like "broad coalition" between BYT and Party of Regions.

The "broad coalition" became a strong point of contention in the society and was successfully used by Svoboda to mobilize voters. The goal of the broad coalition was to change the constitution, enabling election of president by parliament and extending the parliament's term limits. Negotiations about coalition lasted for weeks in complete secrecy from the public but the coalition was never created.[169] Once the information about negotiations was leaked to the media, the polls showed that public opinion was vehemently opposed to the terms of the coalition. According to the public opinion poll conducted by Razumkov Center, 63.7% respondents were opposed to the coalition between two major political forces.[170] Svoboda's reaction to the possibility of broad coalition was typical for a populist party building its support on anti-establishment appeals. The party leader Tyahnybok demanded to dissolve the parliament, set the date for a new election, organize national referendum to determine the institutional design of Ukraine's party system, and initiate lustration. In addition, Svoboda denounced the "anti-constitutional *coup*" calling for protests and acts of civic disobedience: "Finally, the hidden became clear…Kremlin's puppets and 'painted foxes' took off their masks which had allowed them to fool Ukrainians in recent years. Collusion between oligarchic clans is covered up by fairytales about heroic 'battle with crisis,' desire to unite the country and requirements of stability."[171]

---

[169] Nayem and Leshenko (2009).
[170] "Ukraintsam ponravilas pozitsia Yanukovicha po koalitsii". *Segodnya*, June 8, 2009.
[171] "Zayava Olega Tyagnyboka Shodo Namiriv Oligarhichnyk Klaniv Sformuvaty Tak Zvanu Shyroku Koalitsiu," June 2, 2009, Available at http://www.svoboda.org.ua/dokumenty/zayavy/010733/, accessed on April 27, 2012.

Even though Svoboda shares some values with two Orange coalition groups – Tymoshenko's bloc (BYT) and Yuschenko Our Ukraine bloc - it was nevertheless a strong critic of foreign policies pursued by prime minister Tymoshenko, specifically following the gas agreement signed with Russia: "It was Tymoshenko's friendship with the 'Russian tsars' Medvedev and Putin that impacted Galician voters. It was the worst blow for them, which backfired on the Tymoshenko bloc and helped us."[172] Svoboda criticized both leaders of the Orange coalition for betraying the revolution on Maidan.[173] The leader of the "Blue coalition" Yanukovych was also criticized for usurpation of power that transformed Ukraine into a "colony for enriching of oligarchs-foreigners and foreign countries."[174] Specifically, Yanukovych was blamed for signing the Kharkiv accords extending the lease of the Black Fleet in Crimea to Russia until 2042 in exchange for cheap gas.

Third, nationalist electoral choice became a viable alternative "to the usual choice between the greater and the lesser of two anti-Ukrainian evils."[175] Svoboda positions itself as a "third force" – an alternative to either Orange or Blue coalitions and a response to the perpetual crisis of governance and protest against uncontrollable power of the oligarchs depriving the citizens of ability to affect policies. Tyahnybok describes Svoboda as "the only right-wing party able to protect the interests of Ukrainians"[176] clearly appealing to frustrated supporters of the right-wing Our Ukraine

[172] Tyahnybok quoted in Shekhovtsov (2011, 221).
[173] "Reityng Svobody zrostaye bo vlada ne dbaye pro Ukraintsia-patriota", VO Svoboda, July 27, 2011, available at http://www.svoboda.org.ua/diyalnist/komentari/023274, accessed on April 28, 2012.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Tyahnybok quoted in Johnson (2010).
[176] "Reityng Svobody zrostaye bo vlada ne dbaye pro Ukraintsia-patriota", VO Svoboda, July 27, 2011, available at http://www.svoboda.org.ua/diyalnist/komentari/023274, accessed on April 28, 2012.

bloc.[177] Svoboda's rhetoric is directed at those groups of the population who are "disillusioned by the deceits which littered the long descent from the moral high ground of the Orange Revolution."[178] One of Svoboda's main electoral issues – lustration – is portrayed by party's leaders as a key tool to address endemic corruption:

> We support lustration, or de-oligarchization. If the way oligarchs earned their money is not fair, they should pay extra for their companies or companies should be nationalized. The mechanism of lustration assumes purification of power from corrupt and criminal connections inherited from Soviet times – those who have gone through political blessings by Brezhnev, Scherbitskiy, comsomol, and party bureaucrats. Our society is infiltrated by KGB agents. We should get rid of them all.[179]

Fourth, the nationalist party represented the opposition to what Svoboda calls "Kremlin's imperialism." According to one of Svoboda's representatives:

> [our] program is a program of protection of Ukraine and Ukrainians from a threat – internal or external; from economic, cultural, and political heritage of Moscow's occupation. We want to bring Ukrainians to power… We must free our information space from Russian occupation. This occupation influences people. They don't participate and don't vote because they are not aware of the occupation, because they are fixed on their TV screens. They ask 'what occupation?'[180]

Similar to Plato's Cave allegory, Svoboda seeks to free Ukraine from Moscow's dominance - from energy dependence, from prevalence of Russian language in daily use, and from cultural dominance. Taygnybok emphasizes the "conflict of interests" between Russia and other former Soviet states:

> While the Kremlin remains infected with the bacilli of imperialism, it will oppose to any country, which seeks to leave the Russian orbit. A weak and geopolitically ambiguous Ukraine will only encourage ever-greater Russian interference. Ukraine needs a state with a nationally-conscious administration

[177] Mustafin (2008).
[178] Johnson (2010).
[179] Field Research, interview #15 with Svoboda's representative, Ukraine 2009.
[180] Ibid.

> and a population united around a coherent national identity“ to preserve its independence.[181]

Slogans and appeals directed against Russian dominance resonate relatively well in Western Ukraine but Svoboda has not been very successful in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, which have historically had cultural and family ties with Russia.

In sum, several conditions mentioned above account for Svoboda's success. The party was created and received most of its support in Western regions. Higher levels of earlier politically activism in the West produced initial favorable conditions for Svoboda's success. Furthermore, the structure of the Ukrainian party system – lack of strong nationalist parties, as well as sporadic party competition with seemingly irreconcilable parties joining in government coalitions – contributed to the fertile environment for emergence of anti-establishment populist party. These developments helped the populist party bring into prominence questions of national identity, emphasizing the failures of two major political forces to deal effectively with problems of corruption and highlighting the confrontational nature of relationship with Russia. While Svoboda clearly brought these issues to prominence, it is too soon to tell whether they truly created a new basis of political competition based on the nationalist agenda. Svoboda has not been able to address socioeconomic problems which seem to be more salient for the public in general.

Svoboda's Electoral Success

Svoboda is a relatively new political force and its electoral success has been limited to regional and local elections so far. Until 2004 Svoboda was known under the name of Social-Nationalist Party of Ukraine (SNPU). The party was associated with

[181] Tyagnybok quoted in Johnson (2010).

radical, racist, anti-Russian discourse and was using symbols, such as *Wolfsangel*, common for neo-Nazi organizations.[182] In 2004 Svoboda has gone through dramatic reorganization hollowing down its radical, racist and militaristic stance, changing the name into All-Ukrainian Union Svoboda (Freedom), and replacing *Wolfsangel* by a three-finger fist as a party symbol.[183] According to the party leader Oleg Tyahnybok, "somewhat inadequate symbol and party name" were an impediment for its positive image and support by wider groups. Relative moderation of Svoboda since 2004 made the party's name and symbols more appropriate to the voters.

Table 6-1 Regional and Municipal Election Results, 2010

Region	Svoboda's vote share, 2010 regional election	Seats in regional councils	Seats in city councils
Ternopilska	34.69	50 (out of 120)	34 (60)
Lvivska	25.98	41 (116)	55 (90)
Ivano-Frankivska	16.60	17 (114)	29 (60)
Volynska	7.44	6 (80)	14 (100)
Rivnenska	6.34	5 (80)	6 (54)
Khmelnytska	4.06	4 (104)	3 (60)
Chernivetska	3.90	4 (104)	3 (60)
Kyivska	3.48	5 (148)	
Zhytomyrska	3.48		2 (60)
Vinnitska	2.95		2 (50)

Note: Svoboda's vote share in 14 other regions and Crimea varied from 0.26% to 2.4% but the party did not win any seats in regional or city councils.
Sources: "Ofitsiyni Resultaty Vyboriv do Ternopilskoyi Oblasnoyi Rady", March 18, 2009. Available at http://vgolos.com.ua/politic/news/32840.html?page=1, accesed on April 26, 2012;
Kogut, Andriy, and Kateryna Sidash. Local Elections 2010. Report on 2010 Local Elections. Kyiv: Laboratoria zakonodavchyh initsiatyv, 2011. Available at http://parlament.org.ua/upload/docs/Local%20Election-2010-ua.pdf, accessed on March 27, 2012.
"Resultaty Mistsevyh Vyboriv." Ukrainska Pravda, November 8, 2010, available at http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/11/8/5552584/, accessed on March 27, 2012;
"Analiz resultativ vyboriv do Lvivskoi Miskoi Rady", November 11, 2010. http://opora.lviv.ua/?p=1055.

Svoboda's early electoral success was quite marginal even at the regional level. In the 2006 and 2007 national elections the party won 0.36% and 0.76% of the vote respectively but it gained important support in three regions in Western Ukraine having

[182] Shekhovtsov (2011, 203–228).
[183] Shekhovtsov (2011).

won 5.62% (10 seats) in Lviv regional election, 6.69% (9 seats) in Lviv municipal election and 4.2% (4 seats) in Ternopil municipal election.[184] The party's biggest electoral success was the snap 2009 Ternopil regional election, where it obtained 34.7% and 50 out of 120 seats in the regional council.[185] Finally, the 2010 regional election marked a significant breakthrough for Svoboda, as the party won representation in eight regional and municipal councils (Table 6-1).

In earlier chapters, I defined populism using a family resemblance structure of concept formation. According to this definition, parties 1) showing lack of coherent ideology, situationally changing their positions and building their appeal on leader personality, 2) using people-centric promises and appealing to the common sense of the people with simplistic, direct language, and 3) demonstrating anti-establishment stance, criticizing elites for ignoring problems of ordinary people – belong to the family of populist parties. Svoboda meets the second and third feature of this definition but not the first one. Ideologically Svoboda is a highly coherent party. According to its leader, Oleg Tyahnybok, the party adheres to "clearly state policies and unchanging principles. We do not change our slogans to suit our audiences and always adopt the same positions whether in the east, west, north or south of the country." Svoboda has been consistent in its outlooks on economic nationalism, anti-immigrant stances and criticism of the oligarchic clans.

Svoboda's program for the 2007 election – "Program for Protecting Ukrainians" – reflected the people-centric aspect of populism. One of Svoboda's representatives explains:

---

[184] Ibid.
[185] "Svoboda Zirvala Dzhekpot." *Tyzhden*, March 20, 2009. Available at http://tyzhden.ua/Publication/1655, accessed on April 20, 2012.

> Our program is a program of protection of Ukrainians and Ukraine from a threat – internal or external; from cultural, political heritage of Moscow occupation. We want to bring Ukrainians to power. We are moving from the programmatic slogans "Independent Ukraine" to "Great Ukraine" to ensure the proper development of Ukrainian nation… We support a mono-ethnic state that should be governed by Ukrainians. We have very basic demands: so that others respect us as Ukrainians, don't laugh at our language and respect our laws.[186]

Svoboda stressed the existence of a deep division between common Ukrainians and the "ruling pseudo-elites" for bailing out their personal banks while ordinary Ukrainians lose their savings and failing to support the interests of Ukrainian businesses. The party denounced monopoly of foreign energy companies dominating Ukrainian energy market. Svoboda emphasized the need to protect Ukrainians from immigrants and create jobs for Ukrainian *gastarbeiters* encouraging them to return home. One of the central campaign messages was protection of citizens from foreign (Russian) media occupation, because the foreign media denigrate national pride of Ukrainians, mock at Ukrainian language and engage in anti-Ukrainian propaganda.[187] These elements of Svoboda's program show how the party fulfills the people-centric criteria of populism.

Svoboda has been challenging the political establishment since reorganization of the party in 2004. It attacked the elites from all major political parties for engagement in corrupt practices and opaque deals in government procurement. Whereas major political parties during the 2010 regional and municipal election built their campaign on their leader popularity, Svoboda's candidates used the campaign to criticize the establishment. The party's campaign was quite negative as its rhetoric was directed against the ruling elites. For example, Svoboda promised to protect representatives of small and mid-size businesses and entrepreneurs by organizing peaceful rallies and

[186] Field Research, interview #15 with Svoboda representative, Ukraine, 2009.
[187] "Program of Defending Ukrainians," 2007, Available on the website of Central Election Commission of Ukraine, at www.cvk.gov.ua.

protests against the new tax legislation.[188] A substantial share of criticism had to do with ministerial appointments that, according to Svoboda, did not represent Ukrainian interests. Svoboda's leader Oleh Tyagnybok denounced the appointment of Sergiy Tigipko as Minister of Social Policy:

> It's highest cynicism when an oligarch heads the ministry of social policy. Tigipko's social policies serve the interests of oligarchs who receive preferential treatment in taxation. Can a person who uses his own planes for transportation and who eats black caviar by buckets since the Soviet times, can this person understand problems of a Ukrainian citizen living in community housing and making a monthly wage that equals Mr. Minister's lunch cost?[189]

Svoboda's candidates commonly used similar direct language criticizing the establishment and emphasizing the disconnect between the elites and ordinary people. Its main slogan *We, in Our God Given Country* was used to appeal to moral values of citizens. Overall, Svoboda's criticism was directed against a broad spectrum of political establishment rather than a specific political party or candidate.

The first general group criticized by Svoboda is ex-communists. The condemnation of communist connections that have remained intact through the early transition years and still persist today are at the core of the party's anti-elite discourse. Svoboda suggests dealing with the problem of ex-informants through lustration. The second group under criticism is pro-Russian parties and politicians. President Victor Yanukovych was criticized for extending the Black Fleet lease in Crimea to Russia, for usurping the power and transforming Ukraine into a "colony for enriching foreign oligarchs and foreign countries."[190] The third group is the leaders of the Orange

---

[188] Kogut and Sidash (2011).
[189] Oleg Tyagnybok's official website, available at http://www.tyahnybok.info/diyalnist/novyny/029167, accessed on April 20, 2012.
[190] "Reiting Svobody zrostaye bo vlada ne dbaye pro Ukraintsia-patriota", VO Svoboda, July 27, 2011, available at http://www.svoboda.org.ua/diyalnist/komentari/023274, accessed on April 28, 2012.

coalition criticized by Svoboda for betraying the ideals of revolution on Maidan. Overall, broadly directed criticism against domestic elites for misusing Ukrainian natural resources, selling out the country to the foreigners, and not standing up for national interest, as well as against foreign elites strongly positioned Svoboda as an anti-establishment party. The established parties are seen by Svoboda to be unfit to represent the interests of Ukrainians and should therefore be replaced.

Populism and Participation

The ability of populist parties to mobilize constituencies has been recognized in the literature (Roberts 2012, Levitsky and Loxton 2012). According to previous sections, Svoboda's campaign and discourse seem to represent citizens' protest attitudes against the elites. To identify the scope of Svoboda's mobilization effect I look at the degree of political participation across Ukrainian regions. Using bivariate correlation analysis I examine whether higher levels of political participation are related to Svoboda's electoral support and whether the relationship changes over time. Political participation is measured by electoral turnouts, contacts with politicians, and participation in protest activities.

I use the data on participation from European Social Survey (2004-2010) and the data on electoral support of Svoboda from the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine. I run 8 linear regressions showing the relationship between Svoboda's vote share over several election cycles and voter turnout. Unfortunately, the European Social Surveys do not include the data on Svoboda's electoral record. The last parliamentary election data included in the survey is 2007, when Svoboda received 0.76% of the vote and was not coded in the survey. I therefore examine the relationship between

Svoboda's actual electoral support and levels of political participation by regions (oblasts). This analysis is used as a substitution for the bivariate correlation taking into account the heteroskedasticity problem. The independent variables (one independent variable in each model) are: Svoboda's vote share in 2006 parliamentary election, Svoboda's vote share in 2007 parliamentary election, Svoboda's vote share in 2010 regional election and Tyagnybok's vote share (Svoboda's leader) in 2010 presidential elections. Each independent variable – Svoboda's vote share – is regressed individually on two dependent variables – 2006 turnout and 2007 turnout. Table 6-2 reports the regression results.

Table 6-2 Results of Linear Regression Adjusting for Robust Standard Errors: Svoboda's Vote Share and Electoral Turnout

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Dep. Variable: 2007 turnout		Dep. Variable: 2006 turnout	
	S.E.	Robust S.E.	S.E	Robust S.E
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2006	0.058**	0.058***	0.038	0.038*
	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.021)
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2007	0.039**	0.039***	0.023	0.023*
	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.011)
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2010 regional	0.004**	0.004**	0.003	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2010 presidential election (vote for Tyagnybok)	0.025**	0.025***	0.012	0.012
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.008)
Observations	22	22	21	21

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses.
**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*
Dependent Variable: 2007 turnout - columns (1) and (2); 2006 turnout – columns (3) and (4).
The reduction in number of observations is due to data availability. ESS2007 did not survey Kyivska, Poltavska, and Khmelnitska regions; ESS 2006 did not survey Ternopilska, Khmelnitska, Cherkasska, and Chernovytska regions.
Source: Data on Svoboda vote share is from Central Election Commission of Ukraine, available at www.cvk.gov.ua. Data on turnout is from European Social Survey (ESS) and is based on self-reporting by respondents. ESS Round 2 Data (2004); ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 4 (2008); ESS Round 5 (2010). Q: Did you vote in the last parliamentary election?

Because of the presence of heteroskedasticity in the sample, I used heteroskedastic-robust standard errors to correct for the bias. Column (1) shows the results for 2007 turnout and the standard errors reported are not adjusted for

heteroskedasticity. When adjusting for heteroskedastic robust standard errors, the correlation becomes significant at the higher, 1% level for 2006, 2010 regional and 2010 presidential elections, whereas the coefficient for the 2007 election remains at the same level of significance. The standard errors also become smaller. The regression results for the second dependent variable – 2006 turnout – become significant at the 10% level after adjusting the data for heteroskedasticity.

Overall, the results show a positive and statistically significant relationship between populist support and participation. Although the correlation between these variables is not particularly strong, regions with higher rates of voter turnout are on average more likely to vote for Svoboda.

Now, I look at other forms of participation, such as participation in demonstrations and frequency of contacts with politicians. Again, I run four linear regressions showing the relationship between Svoboda's vote share over several election cycles and participation in demonstrations. The dependent variable is the level of participation in peaceful demonstrations in 2006.[191] One independent variable is included in each model and the independent variables are: Svoboda's vote share in 2006 parliamentary election, Svoboda's vote share in 2007 parliamentary election, Svoboda's vote share in 2010 regional election and Tyagnybok's vote share (Svoboda's leader) in 2010 presidential elections. Each independent variable – Svoboda's vote share – is regressed individually on the level of participation in demonstrations in 2006. Table 6-3 presents the results of the linear regression of the relationship between electoral support for Svoboda and participation in peaceful demonstrations.

[191] I ran similar regressions with participation in demonstrations in 2007 as the dependent variable but the coefficients came out insignificant before and after adjusting for heteroskedasticity.

Table 6-3 Results of Linear Regression Adjusting for Robust Standard Errors: Svoboda's Vote Share and Participation in Peaceful Demonstrations in 2006

Variables	Robust S.E.
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2006	0.061***
	(0.017)
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2007	0.039***
	(0.004)
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2010 regional	0.005***
	(0.001)
2010 presidential election (vote for Tyagnybok)	0.023***
	(0.005)
Observations	21

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Dependent Variable: Participation in peaceful demonstrations in 2006
The reduction in number of observations is due to data availability. ESS2007 did not survey Kyivska, Poltavska, and Khmelnitska regions; ESS 2006 did not survey Ternopilska, Khmelnitska, Cherkasska, and Chernovytska regions. ESS 2012 did not survey Kyivska, Poltavska, and Khmelnitska regions.
Source: Data on Svoboda vote share is from Central Election Commission of Ukraine, available at www.cvk.gov.ua. Data on participation in demonstrations is from European Social Survey (ESS) - ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 4 (2008); ESS Round 5 (2010).
Q: Have you taken part in a lawful public demonstration in last 12 months? Participation rates are calculated based on means of levels of participation in each region (oblast).

There is a positive and significant relationship between Svoboda's vote share over several election cycles and participation in demonstrations. Similarly to the previous model, I used robust standard errors to correct for the heteroskedasticity bias. When adjusting for heteroskedastic robust standard errors, the correlations between the dependent variable and Svoboda vote share in 2006 and Svoboda vote share in 2010 remain highly significant at the 1% level. The data suggests that in regions where Svoboda's electoral support was higher, the frequency of participation in demonstrations was also higher. Because of the low magnitude of the coefficients it would not be correct to argue about the causal connection between populism and participation in demonstrations but overall, regions where Svoboda received higher electoral support are more likely to be more politically active.

In order to look closer at the relationship between populism and participation in demonstrations, I examine the survey data that allows me to study this relationship at the level of individual answers by the survey respondents. Table 6-4 reports the results of the cross-tabulation analysis between party proximity and participation in public demonstrations. Party proximity is captured by the question *Which party do you feel closer to?* Table 6-4 shows that citizens who feel closer to Svoboda are 12.5% more likely to participate in lawful public demonstrations than an average voter (Pearson Chi Square is significant at the 1% level).

Table 6-4 Cross-Tabulation: Participation in Demonstrations and Party Proximity

Party you feel closer to	Yes	No
Svoboda	5 (17.9%)	23 (82.1%)
Communist Party of Ukraine	8 (10.5%)	68 (89.5%)
BYT/Batkivschyna	11 (5.6%)	184 (94.4%)
Other parties	7 (5.3%)	125 (94.7%)
Party of Regions	6 (2.3%)	252 (97.7%)
Total	37 (5.4%)	652 (94.6%)

Source: Data from European Social Survey (ESS) Round 5 (2012) and is based on cross tabulations of variables: pbldmn: Have you taken part in a lawful public demonstration in last 12 months? and prtclcua Which party do you feel closer to?
Note: Pearson Chi-Square=17.303 (df=4, N=689), p<0.01.

Next, I look at the expected probability of protesting based on proximity to different parties.[192] Based on the variable *Party you feel closer to* in the 2012 survey, I created a series of dichotomous variables indicating if respondents feel closer to one of five parties.[193] I excluded the dummy variable created from the proximity to the largest Party of Regions. The results of the logistic regression for the relationship between party proximity and participation in public demonstrations are presented in Table 6-5. In addition to listing the variable coefficients along with standard errors, Table 6-5 also lists marginal effects for the logit coefficients. The table indicates that the supporters of

[192] Party proximity is captured by the question *Which party do you feel closer to?*
[193] Svoboda, CPU, BYT, Party of Regions, and Other parties

the populist party Svoboda are 17.5% more likely to participate in lawful public demonstrations compared to the supporters of Party of Regions (the excluded dummy variable). We also see from the table that the marginal effects for Svoboda are the largest compared to other parties.

Table 6-5 Results of Logistic Regression: Party Proximity and Participation in Demonstrations

	Coefficient (S.E.)	Marginal effects
BYT/Batkivschyna	.809 (.349)**	.034
Svoboda	2.100 (.519)***	.175
CPU	1.486 (.407)***	.090
Other parties	.904 (.489)*	.041
Constant	-3.626 (.160)***	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.
**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*
a. Predictors: (Constant), Feel closer to BYT, Feel closer to Svoboda, Feel closer to CPU, Feel closer to other parties. Excluded variable: Feel closer to Party of Regions
b. Dependent Variable: Participated in public demonstrations. Dependent variable is coded 1 if the responded participated and 0 if not.

Finally, I examine the relationship between Svoboda's vote share and contacts with politicians using the linear regression adjusted for robust standard errors. Again, as with the analysis of other forms of participation above, I use robust standard errors to correct for the heteroskedasticity bias. The independent variables (one independent variable in each model) are: Svoboda's vote share in 2006 parliamentary election, Svoboda's vote share in 2007 parliamentary election, Svoboda's vote share in 2010 regional election and Tyagnybok's vote share (Svoboda's leader) in 2010 presidential elections. Each independent variable – Svoboda's vote share – is regressed individually on two dependent variables – 2006 turnout and 2007 turnout. Table 6-6 reports the regression results.

Table 6-6 Results of Linear Regression Adjusting for Robust Standard Errors: Svoboda's Vote Share and Contacts with Politicians

Variables	(1) Dep. variable: Contacted politicians in 2006	(2)	(3) Dep. variable: Contacted politicians in 2007	(4)
	S.E.	Robust S.E.	S.E	Robust S.E
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2006	0.047**	0.047	0.071***	0.071***
	(0.022)	(0.033)	(0.025)	(0.017)
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2007	0.035***	0.035**	0.049***	0.049***
	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.010)
Svoboda's Vote Share, 2010 regional	0.004**	0.004	0.005**	0.005**
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2010 presidential election (vote for Tyagnybok)	0.019**	0.019*	0.034***	0.034***
	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Observations	21	21	22	22

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses.
**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*
Dependent Variable: Participation in peaceful demonstrations in 2006 - columns (1) and (2); Participation in peaceful demonstrations in 2012 – columns (3) and (4).
The reduction in number of observations is due to data availability. ESS2007 did not survey Kyivska, Poltavska, and Khmelnitska regions; ESS 2006 did not survey Ternopilska, Khmelnitska, Cherkasska, and Chernovytska regions. ESS 2012 did not survey Kyivska, Poltavska, and Khmelnitska regions.
Source: Data on Svoboda vote share is from Central Election Commission of Ukraine, available at www.cvk.gov.ua. Data on participation in demonstrations is from European Social Survey (ESS) - ESS Round 3 (2006); ESS Round 4 (2008); ESS Round 5 (2010).
Q: Have you contacted politician in last 12 months? Participation rates are calculated based on means of levels of participation in each region (oblast).

When adjusting the robust standard errors, the relationship between the dependent variable (contacts with politicians in 2006) and the independent variables (Svoboda vote share during several election cycles) loses significance. In other words, heteroskedasticity discovered in the data was driving some of the significance. On the other hand, the relationships between Contacts with politicians in 2007 and Svoboda vote share remains significant at the same level even after adjustment for heteroskedasticity. Overall, the evidence suggests strong statistically significant relationship between Svoboda's vote share and citizens' contacts with politicians. On average, regions in which voters contacted politicians more frequently were more likely to show higher support for Svoboda.

Both Table 6-3 and Table 6-6 display the relationship between regional averages of Svoboda's vote share and political participation, rather than between individual voter preferences. Looking at several types of political participation across Ukrainian regions, I find that high degrees of participation are positively correlated with Svoboda's electoral support. In Western Ukraine, where Svoboda has enjoyed high levels of electoral support, the levels of political participation are also high. This pattern is consistent across several types of participation, as Svoboda's vote share is positively associated with electoral turnouts, participation in demonstrations and contacts with politicians. The positive relationship is also consistent over time and over several election cycles. Whereas the data supports the hypothesis about the relationship between populism and mobilization, it is important to be careful about populism's causal effect. It is possible that higher degree of participation is a function of structural factors and path dependency, rather than Svoboda's mobilization activities. Political activity has been historically higher in Western Ukraine, where Svoboda received most of its votes. In order to link higher levels of participation with Svoboda's mobilization activities, I analyze specific type of participation – protest activities.

Mobilization and Protest Activity

The correlation analysis presented in the previous section indicates the presence of positive relationship between several forms of political participation and the support for a populist party. One way to interpret this relationship is to suggest that Svoboda's mobilization activities led to higher levels of political participation. To link Svoboda's mobilization to participation rates, I analyze the frequency and types of protest activities using the data from the Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project run by the

Center for Society Research. The question then becomes what participation in protest activities tells us about democratic quality. Does populist mobilization represent a constructive or destructive dimension of democratic quality?

Svoboda's most significant impact on democratic quality can be found in its mobilization activities. Table 6-7 and Table 6-8 provide the data on protest activities in Ukraine by a type of organization sponsoring the protest (Table 6-7) and frequency of protests organized by political parties (Table 6-8).

Table 6-7 Protest Activities in Ukraine, October 2009-December 2011

Protesting group	Total	Share of total number of protests
Political parties	1721	21.9
NGOs	1356	17.3
Citizens	608	7.7
Business associations, businesses	420	5.3
Unions	459	5.8
Total[194]	7860	100

Source: Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project administered by the Center for Society Research. Data available at http://cedos.org.ua/.

Table 6-8 Protest Activities Among Political Parties in Ukraine, October 2009-December 2011

Political Party	Protest activities	As a share of all protests organized by parties
Svoboda (co-sponsored and solo)	625	36.3
Svoboda (as a single organizer)	348	20.2
Communist Party (CPU)	262	15.2
Fatherland, BYT (Tymoshenko)	299	17.3
Front Zmin (Yatsenyuk)	140	8.2
Party of Regions	162	9.4
People's Party (Lytvyn)	21	1.2
Our Ukraine (Yuschenko)	48	2.8
Total party-organized protests	1721	

Source: Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project administered by the Center for Society Research. Data available at http://cedos.org.ua/.

Table 6-7 demonstrates that political parties are the most active organizers of protests, whereas Table 6-8 shows that Svoboda is the most active party among them. Between

[194] The total number of protests for 2009-2011 was 7862. However, the sum of protests among five protesting groups listed in the table exceeds 7862 because many protests were organized/sponsored by more than one group.

October 2009 and December 2011, Svoboda organized 20.2% of protests as a single protester. For a small regionally based party that has no seats in the national parliament, such a scope of activity is extraordinary. Svoboda organized more than a third protests (36.3%) alone or in cooperation with other political parties and social actors – more than twice the amount of protests organized (or co-organized) by any other party.

Cooperation in protest activities with other political and social organizations is important because it gives Svoboda higher legitimacy making populists one of the central ideological political powers. Svoboda's appeals have allowed the party to enjoy regional popularity until now, primarily in Western Ukraine. Whereas its nationalist discourse was highly successful in the West, it has had limited success in the rest of the country. Other regions associate Svoboda with radicalism and have quite negative attitudes towards its activities and leaders. In other words, it is largely seen a non-mainstream political entity, located at the margins of the party system. As Svoboda collaborates with other opposition political actors in campaigns directed against the established power of Party of Regions and president Yanukovych, it has strong capacity to become a significant right-wing party rather than a regional peripheral entity. Moreover, Svoboda's activists and citizens mobilized by them have been characterized as highly devoted, disciplined and principled, whereas many pro-government protesters were reported to have been paid to show up at rallies.[195]

As far as geography of protests is concerned, the most active regions of Svoboda's protests were the capital and Western Ukrainian regions – Ivano-Frankivska, Lvivska, and Ternopilska regions. It is not a coincidence that most protests were organized by Svoboda in these regions, as they provide the highest level of electoral

[195] Ibid.

support for the populist party. Table 6-9 shows bivariate correlations between Svoboda's vote share over several election cycles and the share of protests organized by Svoboda. The results indicate a strong positive relationship between Svoboda's share of protest activity and the populist party's electoral support in the 2010 regional election, although the rest of coefficients are not statistically significant.

Table 6-9 Bivariate Correlations Between the Share of Protests Organized by Svoboda and Svoboda's Electoral Support

Svoboda's Vote Share by Region	Protests organized by Svoboda by region, 10/2009-12/2011
2006 national election	0.108
2007 national election	0.113
2010 regional election	0.510**
2010 presidential election (vote for Tyagnybok)	0.097

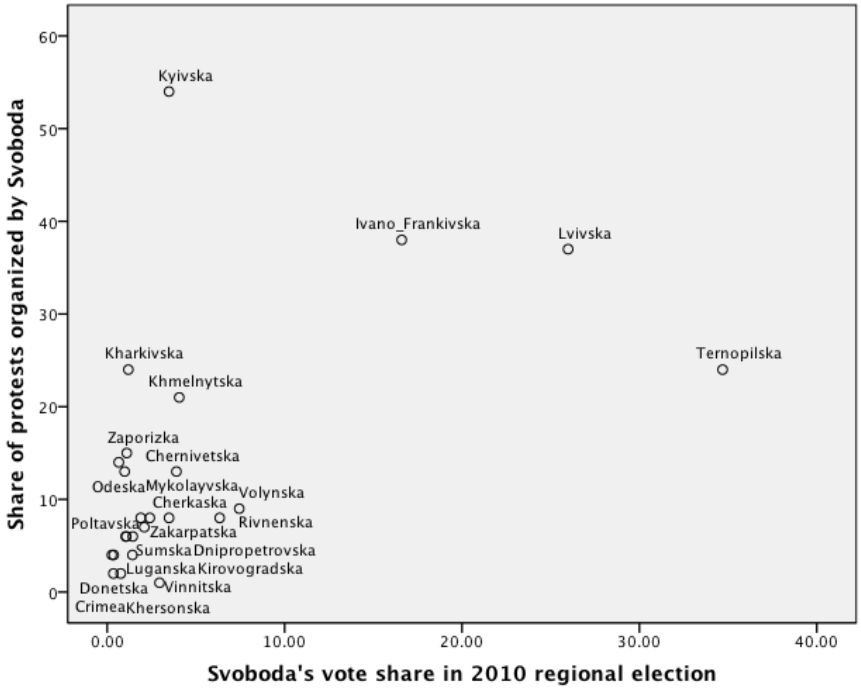
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source*: The protest data is from Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project administered by the Center for Society Research. Data is available at http://cedos.org.ua/. Data on Svoboda vote share is from Central Election Commission of Ukraine, available at www.cvk.gov.ua.*

The data indicates that regions where Svoboda organized more protest events were likely to show higher electoral support in the 2010 election. Again, as was the case with other types of participation, the cause-and-effect relationship in this case is not certain. The data does not allow us to establish a clear causal relationship between protests and electoral support for Svoboda. However, we can argue that political protests were used by Svoboda as a tool of mobilization. Three out of four regions with highest share of protests organized by Svoboda, also gave the party the highest vote share (Figure 6-3)[196].

[196] Having tested the data for homogeneity we can see that there is a heteroskedastic relationship in the data. I ran bivariate regression weighting for the local population size. The coefficients' magnitude and significance are similar with and without weighting for the population.

Figure 6-3 Regional Differences in Protest Activities and Electoral Support



Source: The protest data is from Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project administered by the Center for Society Research. Data is available at http://cedos.org.ua/. Data on Svoboda vote share is from Central Election Commission of Ukraine, available at www.cvk.gov.ua.

Having detected the presence of heteroskedasticity in the sample, I used robust standard errors to correct for this bias. Table 6-10 lists the change in standard errors when adjusting for heteroskedasticity. The first column reports non-heteroskedastic standard errors and it shows higher degree of significance (at the 1% level). When adjusting for heteroskedastic robust standard errors, the correlation remains significance but at the lower, 10% level.

Table 6-10 Linear Regression Results with Estimated and Robust Standard Errors

Variable	Svoboda vote share in 2010 regional election S.E.	Svoboda vote share in 2010 regional election Robust S.E.
Share of protests organized by Svoboda	0.328***	0.328*
	(0.115)	(0.188)
Constant	0.623	0.623
	(2.144)	(1.625)
Observations	25	25
R-squared	0.261	0.261

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Based on the number of protests sponsored alone or co-sponsored, Svoboda is clearly more active in its protest activities than other political parties. A relevant question can be raised about the impact of these protests on government and citizens. If government seeks to crack down protests organized by populist Svoboda, this may signal the effectiveness of populist appeals. In other words, despite the small size of the populist party and relatively weak nation-wide representation, it may create undesirable pressure on government, constraining its actions and policies. The data on government's coercive capacity indicates that Svoboda-organized protests are cracked down more frequently (25%) than protests organized by other parties and organizations (18%). It is plausible that Svoboda's mobilization based on the nationalist sentiment is posing a threat to ruling Party of Regions and therefore the government seeks to suppress populist protests more actively. Populist mobilization then seems to be a positive and constructive element of democratic quality.

However, some experts have suggested that populist Svoboda was used by the ruling Party of Regions to dilute the nationalist vote and mobilize its pro-Russian eastern regions. There is unconfirmed evidence that Party of Regions was promoting Svoboda by offering substantial TV airtime and financial support. According to Umland "[i]t was part and parcel of a 'political technology' that tried to split the ukrainophile national vote, and to reduce the elections result of the main opposition group, Tymoshenko's 'Batkivshchyna' party. Perhaps this was why Tyahnybok and Co. appeared so often on the Inter and TRK Ukraina channels, which are in the sphere of influence of oligarchs close to the Party of Regions."[197] If this assessment is correct, then populist mobilization is quite ephemeral and its increased influence in Western

[197] Umland (2011).

Ukraine represents manipulations of democratic procedures rather than a constructive and positive dimension of democratic quality.

Alternatively, government's actions directed at cracking down on populist protests may be a function of higher degree of violence associated with Svoboda's protests. Table 6-11 shows the breakdown of protest events by the level of conflict. Svoboda sponsored the highest number of confrontational/violent protests in absolute numbers (54) and higher than average share of protests (9.5% versus 8.5% for all parties). Only the governing Party of Regions organized higher share of violent protests (13.3%), compared to that of Svoboda.

Table 6-11 Peaceful and Confrontational/Violent Protest Events in Ukraine

Party	Total number of protests	Peaceful events	Confrontational/ violent events
Svoboda	625	571	54 (9.5%)
CPU	262	241	21 (8.7%)
Batkivschyna	299	283	16 (5.7%)
Front Zmin	140	139	1 (0.7%)
Party of Regions	162	143	19 (13.3%)
NUNS	48	46	2 (4.3%)
People's Party	21	20	1 (0.05%)
Other	403	368	35 (9.5%)
Total among parties	1721	1574	147 (8.5%)
Total among all protest events	7860	6297	1563 (19.9%)

Source: Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project administered by the Center for Society Research. Data is available at http://cedos.org.ua/.

What does the data on violence used in protests mean for democracy and democratic quality? As far as the participatory dimension of democratic quality is concerned, Svoboda's mobilization is a positive sign of populism's impact on democratic quality. By organizing pickets, demonstrations and rallies, the party helps aggregate collective grievances and create a constructive challenge to the unconstrained dominance of ruling Party of Regions. However, higher number of violent protests

organized by Svoboda shows the negative impact of populism. The overwhelming majority of Svoboda's violent protests (34 out of 54) were ideological having to do with radical right, nationalist identity of the populist party – issues related to World War II, Soviet legacy, the role of Communism in modern Ukraine's life, and anti-Russian discourse. For example, on May 9, 2010, during the Victory Day parade, Svoboda activists were reported to have thrown stones in WWII veterans; on November 7, 2011, Svoboda supporters attacked the representatives of the Communist Party and burned former Soviet flags; on January 3, 2010, Svoboda members along with parishioners of Ukrainian Orthodox Church affiliated with Kiev Patriarchy sought to break the door and occupy the Ukrainian Orthodox church affiliated with Moscow Patriarchy.

These several instances of politically motivated violence reflect the nature of the nationalist populist party and its goals to guard for Ukrainian national identity, history and language. The literature suggests that democracies with records of political violence cannot fully guarantee the whole population to effectively practice their rights (Altman and Perez Linan 2002). Schedler (2001, 71) also criticizes violence used by political actors, as it "subverts the universal validity of democratic rules." Overall, none of the 54 violent protests organized by populist Svoboda can be qualified as having a positive impact on democratic quality. The violent protests were used to fuel discord and criticism among various political and social groups instead of creating constructive challenge to the governing party bringing higher level of accountability and responsiveness.

What can the protest central themes tell us about democratic quality? Table 6-12 outlines the data on protest activities organized by Svoboda by central themes of

protests. It shows that ideological protests as a share of total number of protests dominate (41.2%), followed by socioeconomic protests (25.1%). The relatively large share of socioeconomic protests organized by Svoboda is important because unlike ideological issues (language, relationships with Russia, Soviet heritage, etc.), which are quite symbolic, controversial and often region-specific, socioeconomic protests represent criticism of specific government policies. For instance, Svoboda mobilized constituencies to challenge and criticize controversial education policies and Minister of Education, Dmytro Tabachnyk; they protested against the new legislation on tax reform, pension reform, and land reform; they criticized gas and electricity price increases. These were quite concrete protests organized by Svoboda representing socioeconomic concerns of the citizens against the power of the state, representing a check on government and acting as a mechanism of accountability.

Table 6-12 Protest Activities Organized by Svoboda by Central Themes, 2009-2011

Protest themes	Share of Svoboda's protests	Average for all parties	Share of confrontational/ violent protests by Svoboda
Ideology	252 (41.2%)	34.1%	34 (63%)
Socioeconomic	157 (25.1%)	26.3%	9 (16.7%)
Power struggle	115 (18.4%)	27.9%	8 (14.8%)
Civil rights	100 (16.0%)	11.4	3 (5.6%)
Other	1 (0.2%)	0.3%	-
Total	625 (100%)	100%	54 (100%)

Source: Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data (UPCD) project administered by the Center for Society Research. Data is available at http://cedos.org.ua/.

Protests related to power struggle include criticism of the national government, the president and local authorities. This category accounts for 18.4% of Svoboda's total number of protests, less than the average for all parties (27.9%). Most of the power struggle protests included protests against or in support of government or particular politicians at the national or local level but they were not very specific in their demands

or the purpose of a protest. Rather, they were a display of general criticism of elites. For example, widespread were demonstrations against president Yanukovych with outcries against his government's policies; they included criticism in multiple areas – foreign policy, justice, etc., but did not focus on specific policy or aspect of an event.

Table 6-12 also provides the data on the share of Svoboda's confrontational/violent protests by central theme, revealing that it is ideological protests that are highly confrontational. More than 60% of ideological protests organized by Svoboda are violent, suggesting that populism in combination with radical right nationalism is likely to produce higher level of conflict over ideological themes such as language, national identity, history and religion.

In sum, by looking at protest activities organized by populist Svoboda, we are learning about both constructive and destructive dimensions of populism. First, most of the protests organized by populist Svoboda are ideological. Only the Communist Party's share of ideological protests is higher than that of Svoboda's. Ideological protests are more symbolic in nature, while power struggle and socioeconomic protests imply more constructive because they are more concrete examples of criticism of the authorities. At the same time, ideological protests are more likely to be confrontational. Despite relative dominance of ideological protests, Svoboda also mobilized citizens to criticize the government in the socioeconomic area. The evidence suggests that populism in Ukraine has both symbolic and constructive dimension. The symbolic discourse in political protest dominates and it is quite often more violent than other type of discourse, but populism uses political protest more constructively to challenge the governing party, thus becoming an important agent of accountability.

Second, cooperation with other organizations and political parties for protest mobilization is a positive sign of populism for democratic quality. Cooperation suggests that despite a radical nature of Svoboda and presence of extreme discourse, the party is an accepted partner in protest against government.

Third, Svoboda shows the highest absolute number of violent protests among political parties, showing destructive impact of populism on democratic quality. The democratic literature is critical about political violence suggesting that violence represents a subversion of democratic rules and violation of citizen rights.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the relationship between populism and mobilization using the example of radical right populist party Svoboda in Ukraine. More specifically, I focused on three types of participation. First, using bivariate correlation analysis, I examined voter turnout and how populist vote is connected to the levels of voter turnout. Second, I explored the relationship between populist support and frequency of citizen contacts with politicians. Finally, turning to more concrete examples of protest politics, I looked at how populism affected the rates of participation in lawful demonstrations and protests. I used the data on protest events in Ukraine in 2009-2011 to determine whether and how strikes, demonstrations and other forms of contentious politics mobilize citizens and create pressure on government, bringing higher accountability and responsiveness; to establish whether there are differences in the ways a populist party uses political protest; whether protests organized by populists are used in ways constructive or destructive for democratic quality.

The two-by-two framework table presented in Chapter 3 outlined a number of hypotheses specifying conditions when populism has a more pronounced effect on democratic quality. Svoboda occupies the top-left quadrant (radical right/left populism - in opposition). By looking at the nature of protest activities engaged in by the populist party, I sought to uncover the areas of democratic quality where populism's impact is more pronounced. Based on the data presented, I argue that this type of populism has a strong potential to effect mobilization and participation in voting (electoral turnout) and non-voting activities, such as contacts with politicians and participation in protests and demonstrations. The ability of populism to mobilize resources for organization of protest activities is especially striking. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that populist Svoboda has used street protests as a type of mobilization in both constructive and destructive ways.

Constructively, the populist party organized protests more frequently than any other major political party or organization, protesting primarily against the usurpation of power by the ruling Party of Regions and president Yanukovych. Svoboda used street protests to oppose government's policies in foreign affairs (relationships with Russia), education policies, political appointments (challenging the appointments of Minister of Education criticizing him for anti-Ukrainian policies), and controversies over Ukrainian language. Svoboda often organized political protests in collaboration with other social actors and political parties, which sends an important signal to voters suggesting that even radical right populist parties may be viable partners for mainstream parties when it comes to challenging the unconstrained power of government.

Street demonstrations and protests against government actions are a valuable channel of public expression. Most protests organized by radical right populist parties have a strong nationalist flavor. Rather than challenging the government for its corrupt activities, most of the protests by Svoboda in Ukraine are an expression of unvoiced attitudes related to language, identity, national history and national pride. These protests, while important, are more symbolic, less concrete than socioeconomic or power struggle protests which are more constructive and represent concrete examples of criticism of the authorities.

Destructively, Svoboda engaged in the largest number of violent protests, primarily on ideological grounds over issues about national identity, relationships with Russia, Soviet heritage and national memory. The largest share of protests organized by Svoboda was ideological and more than half of those were violent.

Strong positive correlations between Svoboda's vote share and citizen participation signals potentially positive impact of Svoboda on political participation although the bivariate correlation analysis does not imply necessarily causal impact of populism on participation. The correlation analysis indicates that the level of electoral support for Svoboda is positively associated with higher participation in protests and demonstrations. Svoboda's electoral support is also positively associated with frequency of contacts with politicians. This data does not necessarily imply that higher levels of protest activity and contacts with politicians are a direct cause of Svoboda's discourse and electoral campaigning. It is plausible that the relationship is endogenous, i.e. protest activity and higher frequency of contacts with politicians are recorded in Western Ukraine - regions that have historically been more politically active. Western Ukraine

has been home to multiple attempts of nation building, revival of national culture and nationalism as well as Ukrainian dissident movements. Whereas Ukraine in general has recorder high levels of distrust of politicians and state institutions, this has less been the case in Western Ukraine (Aberg 2000, 295–317). If Western Ukrainians exhibit higher levels of interest in politics and political participation, then Svoboda's nationalist discourse may be a consequence of regional particularities and path dependence rather than a cause of protest and political activity. However, it is no coincidence that Svoboda emerged and enjoys higher popularity among voters in Western Ukraine, which represents more conducive areas for mobilization based on nationalist appeals.

High level of Svoboda's political activity compared to other political parties and nationalist discourse combined with higher potential for mobilization seems to indicate a positive impact of populism on democratic quality in Ukraine. Svoboda successfully mobilized citizens based on the nationalist attitudes dominant in Western Ukraine. The failure of other nationalist political forces – Our Ukraine bloc or BYT – to represent these attitudes were exploited by populist Svoboda. Svoboda's impact on democratic quality has yet to be seen and it largely depends on whether the party is able to advance to the national-level politics and move from vote-seeking to office-seeking strategy. As is the case with other populist parties, Svoboda's success and ability to impact national politics will depend on its strength and transformation to a more programmatic and less critical party, especially if it generates enough votes to participate in the coalition government.

Svoboda can clearly take credit for representing and mobilizing public's attention around previously silenced attitudes, such as lustration. It has actively

exploited xenophobic – anti-Russian and anti-Jewish – sentiments using negative discourse. Similar to other radical right populist parties, Svoboda has advocated the tools of direct democracy, suggesting to hold referenda on lustration and institutional design. These activities represent unvoiced attitudes rather than a threat to or a benefit for democracy per se.

The literature on political protest is divided on whether active citizen participation strengthens of undermines democratic quality. Huntington (1968) warned against protests, strikes and demonstrations that could lead to excessive pressures on governments, ineffective policy-making, and political instability. On the other hand, proponents of political activism suggest that participation in its various forms is beneficial for democracy. Active participation allows groups of citizens to express collective grievances, teaches citizens civil skills, contributes to creation of a more vibrant civil society, and most importantly, challenges governments and holds them accountable for their policies (Norris 2006). Political protest is often considered dangerous for the health of democracy if it undermines political authority, incapacitates the government and brings instability. However, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that populist Svoboda uses protests for ideological reasons more prominently than other political parties championing unvoiced questions and problems related to nationalism, the use of the Ukrainian language, and national identity. Symbolic and general protest is mixed with more direct and purposeful types of protest. The correlation analysis also shows that higher voter turnout, contacts with politicians and participation in demonstrations is associated with Svoboda's mobilization.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

How does populism effect democratic quality? What is the impact of populist parties on various dimensions of democratic quality, such as electoral participation, democratic responsiveness, and protest mobilization? Under what conditions do populist parties have a constructive and destructive impact on democratic quality? The primary goal of this dissertation is to address these research questions in response to the literature on populism discussing its positive and negative impact on democracy. This study is not intended to identify all possible factors affecting the quality of democracy in the post-Communist countries. Rather, the scope of the study is limited to a specific relationship between populism and quality of democracy, a relationship often overlooked in the literature. More specifically, this dissertation looks at the effects of populist parties on participation in Poland, on responsiveness in the Czech Republic, and on protest mobilization in Ukraine.

One of the central contributions of this dissertation has to do with the dependent variable, namely the democratic quality. Many previous studies have examined populism's general impact on democracy without specifying the exact dimensions of this impact. Moreover, the concept of democracy has been used interchangeably with that of the quality of democracy. In this dissertation, I attempted to clearly delineate what constitutes democracy and how it differs from democratic quality. Disaggregation of democratic quality into individual dimensions helps create a more complex, yet nuanced account of populism's impact.

This dissertation shows that the effects of populism on democratic quality range from positive to negative and may also be indistinguishable from those of other political

parties. Three empirical chapters focusing on individual case studies indicate quite a mixed record. The general reflection on the conditions under which populism has a pronounced impact on three dimensions of democratic quality leads back to populism's type, its strength and relationship to government. Previous studies have shown that the power of populist forces – whether populist parties are kept in opposition or join the government – will determine how much potential they have to impact democracy. Rovira Kalwasser and Mudde (2012) find evidence that populism in opposition does not have much influence on the quality of democracy; rather, their impact is limited to advancing unvoiced attitudes and concerns and challenging the mainstream parties to address these attitudes. The evidence presented in this study indicates that populism in opposition has stronger influence on some dimensions of democratic quality than Rovira Kaltwasser and Mudde (2012) predict. Indeed, populist parties in opposition do not have much leverage to influence the policy agenda. However, when it comes to specific dimensions of democratic quality – for example, political participation and mobilization, populists show high levels of impact compared to other parties. Table 7.1 provides a summary of the dissertation's findings. It details the varying effect of populism on three dimensions of democratic quality based on populism's relationship to government and populism's type (radical right/left or centrist).

Populism in Opposition

The evidence from the Polish case study indicates that Law and Justice, Self Defense and League of Polish Families successfully politicized the anti-corruption issue, firmly placing it on the public agenda and making it one the central campaign issues in 2005. When populist parties initially came to prominence in 2001, they

expanded the presence of marginal groups by bringing into politics a large share of provincial politicians, farmers, and blue-collar workers of politicians. These groups had not participated in political life in the past and were able to get representation in the parliament thanks to the effort of populist parties. Populist parties also deserve credit for giving a voice to new and possibly disenchanted in the past voters. In 2005, two Polish populist parties – Self Defense and League of Polish Families – mobilized new voters at a higher rate compared to other parties: about a third of their voters were citizens who did not participate in the previous election.

Similarly, Ukrainian populism in opposition shows a strong potential to have an impact on protest mobilization and participation. The bivariate correlation analysis indicates a strong positive correlation between electoral support for populist Svoboda and higher electoral turnout, contacts with politicians, and participation in demonstrations. For example, according to the survey data, citizens feeling closer to Svoboda were 12.5% more likely to participate in public demonstrations than those feeling closer to other parties. Ukrainian populism has an impressive record of mobilizing citizens to participate in protest activities, especially taking into account relatively small size of Svoboda and limited national electoral success of the party.[198] In other words, populist constituencies are more likely to be politically active citizens. In a country where citizens in general are quite skeptical about the role of political institutions in democratic process and their own political efficacy, the ability of a populist party to mobilize citizens and elevate the level of political engagement is a positive aspect of populism's impact.

[198] Svoboda received 10.4% of the vote, an unprecedented level of support, in the Ukrainian parliamentary election held on October 28, 2012. By then, this research has been completed.

Table 7-1 Summary of Findings

	Populism's Type	Government or Opposition?	Impact on Democratic Quality
Poland			
Law and Justice	Centrist populism	Opposition	**On inclusion**: increased the presence of marginal groups in politics (provincial politicians, farmers, blue-collar workers)
Self Defense	Radical left populism		
League of Polish Families	Radical right populism		**On participation**: Mobilized new voters
Law and Justice	Centrist populism	Government	**On turnout (unintended consequences)**: 30% turnout increase due to negative discourse, confrontational policies, and attacks on institutions of liberal democracy.
Self Defense	Radical left populism		
League of Polish Families	Radical right populism		
Czech Republic			
Public Affairs	Centrist populism	Government	**Mandate responsiveness**: Lower degree of ideological coherence than other parties but Clear/strong anti-corruption image among citizens Higher intensity of featuring corruption in web press releases. Increased intensity of addressing corruption in web press releases by other parties in response to populist scandals **Policy responsiveness**: Less frequent use of oral questions on corruption from parliament floor compared to other parties. Reactive use of oral questions in response to the opposition's criticism. Legislative initiatives introduced by populists (Code of Ethics, Anti-Corruption Strategy, Anti-Corruption Committee) Positive externalities: positive impact of populist anti-corruption campaign on discourse of other parties
Ukraine			
Svoboda	Radical right populism	Opposition	**On mobilization**: Higher electoral turnout Higher degree of contacts with politicians Higher rates of participation in demonstrations and protests **Negative impact**: High rate of violent protests

A specific case of successful mobilization by Svoboda is their protest activities. In 2009-2011, Svoboda organized protests more frequently than other political parties or organizations, using street protests against the ruling government headed by the pro-presidential Party of Regions and challenging its unconstrained power. Not only did Svoboda mobilized citizens to participate in protest activities, but they also engaged in cooperation with other political parties and social actors signaling the voters its coalition potential, which is quite important and unusual for a radical right party. Ideological protests – which are more symbolic by nature – dominated Svoboda's protest agenda but the populists also mobilized citizens to criticize the government in the area of socioeconomics. Both ideological (more symbolic) and socioeconomic (more constructive) protests were equally important for the populist party to challenge the government serving as an important agent of accountability.

Yet, along with positive effects, populism in opposition also contributed to retrogressions of democratic quality, specifically in the area of violent protests. Svoboda's share of violent protests was the largest compared to other parties or social groups. The majority of violent protests were ideological, reflecting the radical identity of the populist party. These protests fueled discord among various social groups instead of creating a constructive challenge to the ruling party. Political violence is viewed critically by the democratic literature that links violence to subversion of democratic rules and violation of citizen rights. Moreover, it is more difficult for countries experiencing political violence to ensure that the whole population, including minorities, effectively practices its rights.

Populism in Government

Whereas populism in opposition positively affected participation, mobilization and inclusion of marginal groups in the political process, populism in government indicated quite mixed results, based on the evidence from Poland and the Czech Republic. The Polish case shows unintended consequences of negative discourse and radical policies exhibited by the populist government. To link populism and changes in electoral participation, I analyzed the dramatic change in electoral turnout between 2005 and 2007 elections. Whereas it is difficult to establish statistically that it was populism that contributed to the 30 percent increase in 2007 election turnout, the interview data along with the analysis of the secondary sources and contextual analysis suggest that populist parties contributed, albeit indirectly, to the turnout increase. Through process tracing, I show that negativity exhibited by populist parties during their government tenure produced higher level of conflict in political life becoming a mobilizing factor for citizens. The disenchanted mobilization mechanism has the following logic. First, I established that the 2005 election and the new coalition government composed of three populist parties created "warlike political discourse" marked by negative and confrontational rhetoric and policies. The populist government used security services against its political opponents and leaked information from secret services to the media; orchestrated anti-corruption raids emphasizing radical break with practices of previous government promising to cleanse the public life from the *uklad* – a network of former communist collaborators; attacked the media for supporting and belonging to the *uklad,* thus compromising its independence; launched attacks against the Constitutional Court and the judicial system interfering in the process of nomination of justices; proceeded

with the lustration legislation creating an atmosphere of suspicion and fear among millions of Poles. Populist's efforts in foreign policy – specifically the anti-European and anti-German provisions – were also highly confrontational, producing a backlash against the populist government. These efforts of the populist government, the newly created agencies, radical policies and confrontational discourse compromised the institutions of horizontal accountability endangering liberal democratic politics.

Second, public opinion polls along with elite interviews conducted during the fieldwork indicated that political conflict was regarded as one of the most salient concerns among citizens. The most active groups – particularly those groups belonging to the middle class – mobilized to express grievances and defend liberal democratic values against confrontational discourse and encroachment by the governing coalition. Higher levels of negativity led to higher political activity of civil society and consequently, to higher electoral turnout. In other words, negativism produced unintended consequences working as a mobilizing factor for citizens who viewed the populist government disrespectful of liberal democratic norms, values and institutions. Higher electoral turnout appeared damaging to the electoral prospects of populist Self Defense and the League of Polish Families. Whereas their senior and less radical coalition partner – Law and Justice – took over the majority of radical populist constituents, Self Defense and the League of Polish Families failed to clear the electoral threshold in the snap 2007 election.

The results of the within-case analysis indicate that negative discourse exhibited by populism was an important factor leading to higher awareness of *political conflicts* among the citizens. Among the most interesting findings of the analysis are the results

of the statistical tests which help to find evidence that citizen awareness with political conflicts is a statistically significant predictor of higher electoral turnout. The linear regression models show that respondents aware of political conflicts were 10.8% more likely to vote in the 2005 election than respondents aware of economic problems. Moreover, these results are consistent with the 2007 model. In 2007 parliamentary election, respondents aware of political conflicts were 18.9% more likely to vote than respondents aware of economic problems.

In sum, negativism was a mobilizing factor that significantly contributed to higher electoral turnout between 2005 and 2007 parliamentary elections, although higher turnout was an unintended consequence of populism's radical discourse. Citizens came to the polls because they perceived that the populist government showed disrespect for the rule of law and democratic norms and procedures. This conclusion is consistent with Markowski (2008) who argues that voters mobilize to protect democracy when they feel that democratic institutions are threatened.

In addition to populism's strength – whether it is in government or in opposition – its impact on democratic quality may also be a function of populism's type. Is centrist populism more effective than radical right/left populism? Which type of populism has a more constructive impact on democratic quality? The literature does not view centrist populism to be a danger to liberal democracy. Rather, "benign populists" positively affect the party system by expanding the voters' choice, giving a warning signal to the established parties and forcing them to adapt their platforms, discourse, and policies (Ucen 2007). On the other hand, radical populism is seen to have aversion to democracy (Meny and Surel 2002).

Centrist Populism

The evidence presented in this study is quite mixed as for the impact of centrist populism. The Czech case study examined the impact of centrist populist party Public Affairs on mandate responsiveness and policy responsiveness. *Mandate responsiveness,* measured as citizens' perceptions about ideological clarity, is a viable indicator of responsiveness because it shows the ability of populist parties to construct a clear and distinct party image recognized by the voters. Public Affairs shows lower degree of mandate responsiveness compared to other parties based on voter perceptions on parties' positioning on the left-right ideological scale. Higher degree of ideological incoherence exhibited by the populists is a common feature of populism and therefore this finding is not unexpected. At the same time, when it comes to specific issue areas, the citizens clearly associated Public Affairs with anti-corruption campaign. Despite vague ideological profile, Public Affairs was able to create an image of anti-corruption party, indicating high mandate responsiveness in this narrow issue area.

The implications of low mandate responsiveness may stretch beyond program clarity per se, as it negatively affects both the voters and the populists. Voters end up with fewer electoral choices which undermines democratic accountability. Populist parties also suffer because they will be unable to sustain their voter support longer that one election cycle; if they cannot clearly identify their core group of voters and promise something to everyone, they create "a vicious circle of undifferentiation" (Davidson-Schmich 2004). This problem is not limited to populist parties alone, however, and the reasons lie in the catch-all style appeals used by modern political parties.

Positive impact of centrist populism is found in another aspect of *mandate responsiveness*, or in intensity of press releases related to corruption in the party's web communication. Public Affairs displayed higher intensity of featuring corruption in its web press releases compared to other political parties. Moreover, references to corruption in press releases of other parties were partially a response to prominence of the issue in electoral campaign of Public Affairs; once the members of parliament affiliated with the populist party got embattled with corruption scandals, their mainstream opponents used their own web communication tool launching a stark criticism of Public Affairs whose key electoral promise was anti-corruption stance.

Centrist populism showed lower rates of *policy responsiveness* compared to other parties, However, this finding may be due to the imperfect measure of policy responsiveness based on the frequency of oral questions related to corruption asked from the floor of the parliament. Parties of opposition use the floor of the parliament more frequently to question and criticize the government or individual ministers. On the other hand, I find evidence of positive externalities from populist anti-corruption campaign on discourse of other parties. Based on the number of corruption-related questions asked from the floor of the parliament during the previous parliament's tenure (2006-2009), corruption was not a high-profile issue. After Public Affairs entered the parliament in 2010, its anti-corruption discourse contributed to politicization of the issue. Whereas during the 2006-2009 parliament tenure only 13 of 1922 (0.7%) oral questions focused on corruption, between May 2010 and December 2011, 39 of 707 (5.5%) oral questions featured corruption. Corruption became a more prominent issue following the 2010 election campaign in response to a continued emphasis on the issue

by the populist party. The ability of Czech populists to stick to their central electoral promise – addressing corruption – along with anti-corruption policy initiatives indicate positive record in policy responsiveness by Public Affairs.

Overall, the examination of three elements of responsiveness in the Czech case does not unequivocally reveal absolutely negative aspects of populism's impact. Centrist populism in government largely shows positive effects. In instances when populist Public Affairs exhibits lower levels of responsiveness compared to mainstream parties, this does not necessarily mean erosion of democratic quality. But at the same time, populism's criticism of the elites for corrupt practices, low responsiveness and low accountability does not guarantee to fix these shortcomings, even after populism ascends to government. As the Czech and the Polish cases show, new parties building their programs on anti-corruption appeals do not remain unaffected by corruption themselves for long, as corruption scandals involving Czech Public Affairs and Polish Self Defense have shown. The inability of new parties to avoid corruption scandals may not be a consequence of populist characteristics per se but it is usually populism that politicizes corruption and builds electoral support using this issue.

Radical Populism

The impact of radical populism on democratic quality does not only reveal its "aversion to democracy," as suggested by Meny and Surel (2002). The Polish case provides evidence of positive impact of radical populism on mobilization of new and disenchanted voters and expansion of the role of provincial politicians in positions of power. Polish populism did seek to restore power to the people but frequently used the tools incompatible with liberal democracies. Populists were fighting for the right cause

using wrong tools, as they went too far in challenging the liberal democratic institutions and undermining the system of checks and balances. It seems that skepticism and frustration with liberal democratic institutions may open the path for radical parties. In the Polish case, frustration with the establishment, endemic corruption problems combined with uncertainties about joining the European Union contributed to lower electoral turnout, which in turn opened political space to populism. Populist parties were willing to move from the streets to the halls of the parliament but they showed their illiberal face once they failed to follow the democratic rules of the game. Continued radical discourse and negativity does not appear to be a successful long-term strategy for populist parties. When they find themselves in government, they have to pacify their discourse and learn how to follow the democratic rules and procedures. Citizens, on the other hand, having realized the danger of radical populism to liberal democratic institutions, mobilized and participated in the 2007 election more actively. They stepped up to defend democratic rules and institutions when the latter were threatened by radicalism, as the Polish case has demonstrated.

Generalizability of Results

While this dissertation focuses on specific countries in post-Communist Europe and specific dimensions of democratic quality, the implications can be extended to other geographical contexts. This is the case because populists in various countries commonly criticize the established parties or politicians whereas the central themes of their critical stance may differ. For instance, there are ample reasons to expect positive impact from populism's emphasize to increase inclusion of un(der)represented groups into the political process and expand the role of the groups that were unable to elevate to the

positions of power. This carries a danger of bringing to the political office "politicians like you" – those who will lack the skills of day-to-day politics of compromise which may result in legislative deadlock, confrontational style of politics and consequent public disengagement from politics.

We can also expect certain issues to be "owned" by populist challengers and the range of these issues will transcend geographical boundaries. Among them are appeals to eliminate corruption or increase accountability, responsiveness, and rule of law. Although populists will not be able to use similar appeals more than once and will have to recreate themselves – by focusing on issues other than anti-elite appeals – in order to remain politically relevant. Overall, the ability of populism to politicize issues which are ignored by the mainstream elites is one of the strongest potentials of populism to have a positive impact on democracy. The interviews conducted during the fieldwork along with other evidence demonstrate how populists placed specific issues at the center of political debate. Both centrist and radical right/left populism was able to politicize corruption and build electoral campaign around this social problem.

Haughton and Deegan-Krause (2011, 401) suggest, "no party in power can remain uncorrupted for long." The Polish and the Czech cases examined in this study also suggest that populist parties building their support on anti-corruption platforms can become victims of their own success. They may eventually face corruption accusations themselves, which will undermine their anti-corruption credibility and their opponents will use their own [populist] campaign slogans against the populists. With regard to this

speculation, it would be interesting to follow the anti-corruption trajectory of Ukrainian Svoboda, if they have enough mandates to join the coalition government.[199]

Avenues for Further Research

This study sought to analyze the impact of populism on democratic quality in three post-Communist countries. Initially, prior to conducting the fieldwork in Central and Eastern Europe, I planned to use a more encompassing definition of democratic quality and include in this concept such elements as vertical accountability, horizontal accountability, rule of law, and party competition, following Diamond and Morlino's (2005) study. I also intended to investigate populism's impact on each of these dimensions in each of the three case studies. However, the interview data collected during the fieldwork outlined the general effects of populism on participation in Poland, on responsiveness in the Czech Republic and protest mobilization in Ukraine. The interview data thus served as a motivation for identifying possible dimensions of democratic quality affected by populist parties in three cases. Such as narrow analysis does not imply that populism has no impact on responsiveness in Poland and Ukraine or on participation and mobilization in the Czech Republic. Rather, the choice of examining the effect of populism on a single dimension for each of the three cases was a result of the interview cues as well as the data availability. The future research project would benefit from a more encompassing evaluation of populism's impact on the dimensions of democratic quality that will include but will not be limited to the three

[199] During the parliamentary election held on October 28, 2012, Svoboda won 10.4% in proportional representation tier of the election and 12 single-member districts. Overall, Svoboda won 37 seats in a 450-seat parliament. As of early November 2012, the election results do not indicate that three opposition parties have enough seats to create a coalition government.

dimensions examined in this dissertation. This approach will help extend the within-case analysis to a more encompassing comparative analysis.

Another direction for future research is the topic that many scholarly works studied in isolation: conceptual categories compatible and incompatible with populism. The literature on populism in Latin America focused on populism's relationship with neoliberalism. Roberts (1995) and Weyland (1996) argued that neoliberal economic policies are compatible with populist policies and Weyland (2001) extended this argument in his comparative analysis of Latin America and Eastern Europe. Significant attention has been paid to how populism is combined with nationalism. Deegan-Krause (2012) highlights populism's affinity with nationalism and argues that populism needs a partner ideology, especially when it is in office. Kenney (2008) and Levitsky and Loxton (2012) analyzed populism's relationship to delegative democracy and competitive authoritarianism, respectively. At the same time, populist movements, parties and leaders evolve and transform themselves shifting from one conceptual form to another. A more integrative framework will help examine populism's relationship to other political and economic ideologies, concepts and forms, such as nationalism, neoliberalism, delegative democracy, and competitive authoritarianism, to name a few.

Finally, survey research focusing on the demand side of populism in Eastern and Central Europe has been limited so far. If, according to Roberts (2000), populism "emerges in contexts where substantial sectors of the lower classes are available for political mobilization," we should expect to see a distinct group of voters described as populist. Do citizens voting for populist parties exhibit a certain degree of affinity? Do populist voters exhibit higher levels of disappointment with elites and democratic

institutions or they are indistinguishable compared to other political parties. Survey research should be able to help examine the correspondence of populist programs and appeals to citizen protest attitudes. The presence of a consistent group of protest voters who "migrate" from one populist party to another may represent a danger to the quality of democracy, as inconsistent voting patterns make the process of consolidation of the party system problematic. However, these voters may also represent a constructive challenge for democratic systems by opening space for new politicians and political parties.

References

Aberg, Martin. 2000. "Putnam's Social Capital Theory Goes East: A Case Study of Western Ukraine and L'viv." *Europe-Asia Studies* 52(2): 295–317.

Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The civic culture: political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

Altman, D., and A. Pérez-Linan. 2002. "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries." *Democratization* 9(2): 85–100.

"Analiz resultativ vyboriv do Lvivskoi Miskoi Rady (Analysing the election results to the Lviv municipal council)." 2010. *Громадянська мережа ОПОРА*. http://opora.lviv.ua/?p=1055 (Accessed May 6, 2012).

Ansolabehere, S. et al. 1994. "Does attack advertising demobilize the electorate?" *American Political Science Review* 88(4): 829–838.

Arditi, B. 2005. "Populism as an internal periphery of democratic politics." In *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*, ed. Francisco Panizza. Verso, p. 72–98.

Arditi, Benjamín. 2004. "Populism as a Spectre of Democracy: A Response to Canovan." *Political Studies* 52(1): 135–143.

Åslund, Anders. 2005. "The Economic Policy of Ukraine after the Orange Revolution." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 46(5): 327–353.

Barr, R. R. 2009. "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics." *Party Politics* 15(1): 29.

Bell, J., and D. Smeltz. 2000. "Winners and Losers: Who They Are and What They Think About Transition: Findings from Surveys in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland 1990-99." In *Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies*, Denver, Colorado.

Benoit, Kenneth, and Michael Laver. 2006. *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. Routledge: London and New York.

Berg-Schlosser, D. 2004. "The quality of democracies in Europe as measured by current indicators of democratization and good governance." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 20(1): 28–55.

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

Best, Heinrich, and John Higley. 2010. *Democratic Elitism: New Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. BRILL.

Betz, H.G. 1994. *Radical right-wing populism in Western Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Blais, A. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Political Science* 9(1): 111.

Brooks, D. J. 2006. "The resilient voter: Moving toward closure in the debate over negative campaigning and turnout." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 684–696.

Buehrer, Jack. 2011a. "Bárta sparks divisions within VV." *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/8053-b%EF%BF%BD%EF%BF%BDrta-sparks-divisions-within-vv.html (Accessed May 5, 2012).

———. 2011b. "Peake forms anti-corruption group - News." *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/9856-peake-forms-anti-corruption-group.html (Accessed September 5, 2012).

———. 2011c. "VV implosion sparks latest gov't crisis." *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/8252-vv-implosion-sparks-latest-govt-crisis.html (Accessed October 15, 2011).

Bugaric, Bojan. 2008. "Populism, liberal democracy, and the rule of law in Central and Eastern Europe." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(2): 191–203.

Canovan, M. 2004. "Populism for political theorists?" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9(3): 241–252.

———. 2002. "Taking politics to the people: populism as the ideology of democracy." In *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, eds. Y Mény and Y. Surel. , p. 25–44.

———. 1999. "Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy." *Political Studies* 47(1): 2–16.

Canovan, Margaret. 1981. *Populism*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: New York.

Cardoso, E., and A. Helwege. 1991. *Populism, Profligacy, and Redistribution*. University of Chicago Press.

Carothers, T. 2002. "The end of the transition paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5–21.

Carpenter, M. 1997. "Slovakia and the triumph of nationalist populism." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 30(2): 205–219.

Cienski, Jan. 2007. "Doctor–politician relationship turns sour in Poland : The Lancet." *The Lancet* 370(9587): 555–556.

Collier, D. 2011. "Understanding Process Tracing." *PS Political Science and Politics* 44(4): 823.

Collier, D., and S. Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with adjectives: Conceptual innovation in comparative research." *World Politics* 49(3): 430–451.

Corrales, J., and M. Penfold. 2007. "Venezuela: crowding out the opposition." *Journal of Democracy* 18(2): 99.

Cristova, C. 2011. "Populism: the Bulgarian case." *Sociedade e Cultura* 13(2): 221–232.

Cunningham, Benjamín. 2012. "Dobeš again caught in scandal." *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/11631-dobes-again-caught-in-scandal.html (Accessed May 5, 2012).

Cunningham, R. J. 1968. *The Populists in Historical Perspective*. Heath and Company: Boston.

Czech National Election Study 2010, Centrum Pro Výzkum Veřejného Mínění, Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences, June 2010.

Lesova, Polya. 2009. "Czech Republic's government forced out after no confidence vote." *The Wall Street Journal: Market Watch*. http://www.marketwatch.com/story/czech-republics-government-forced-out-after (Accessed November 7, 2012).

Czesnik, M. 2009a. "Explaining Changes of Electoral Turnout in Poland: Parliamentary Elections 2005 and 2007 (in Polish)." *Polish Sociological Review* (1): 107–122.

———. 2009b. "Voter Turnout Stability-Evidence from Poland." *Polish Sociological Review* (1): 107–122.

Dahl, R.A. 1971. *Polyarchy: participation and opposition*. Yale University Press: New Haven.

Deegan-Krause, Kevin. 2006. *Elected affinities: democracy and party competition in Slovakia and the Czech Republic*. Stanford University Press.

———. 2007. "Populism and the Logic of Party Rotation in Postcommunist Europe." In *Visegrad Elections: Domestic Impact and European Consequences*, eds. Oľga Gyárfášová and Grigorij Mesežnikov. Bratislava, Slovakia: Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), p. 141–156.

———. 2010. "Populism as a Threat or Corrective: Hegemonic Populism in Slovakia and its Consequences for Democracy (and for the study of populism)." In *The Ambiguity of Populism: Threat or Corrective to Democracy?*, Social Science Research Center, Berlin.

———. 2012. “Populism, Democracy, and Nationalism in Slovakia.” In *Populism in Europe and the Americas*, eds. Crystobal Rovira Kaltwasser and Cas Mudde.

Deegan-Krause, Kevin, and T. Haughton. 2009. “Toward a More Useful Conceptualization of Populism: Types and Degrees of Populist Appeals in the Case of Slovakia.” *Politics & Policy* 37(4): 821–841.

Destler, Chester McArthur. 1968. “The Sources of Western Radicalism.” In *The Populists in Historical Perspective*, ed. R. J. Cunningham. D.C. Heath and Company.

Diamond, L., and L. Morlino. 2004. “The quality of democracy.” *Journal of democracy* 15(4): 20–31.

Diamond, Larry, and Richard Gunther. 2001. *Political Parties and Democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press: New York.

Diamond, Larry J., and Leonardo Morlino, eds. 2005. *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Drake, P. W. 1978. *Socialism and populism in Chile, 1932-52*. University of Illinois Press Urbana.

Ekiert, Grzegorz, and Jan Kubik. 2009. “Civil Society in Poland: Case study.” In Taipei.

“Eksperty: VO Svoboda - lider za mobilizaciyeu sered ideologichnyh partiy.” 2012. http://dniprograd.org/ua/news/anons/11796 (Accessed May 2, 2012).

“Election 2010: A populist ready to fight.” *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/print/4386-election-2010-a-populist-ready-to-fight.html (Accessed February 17, 2011).

ESS Round 5: European Social Survey Round 5 Data (2010). Data file edition 2.0. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.[200]

ESS Round 4: European Social Survey Round 4 Data (2008). Data file edition 4.0. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.

ESS Round 3: European Social Survey Round 3 Data (2006). Data file edition 3.3. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.

[200] Disclaimer: The Core Scientific Team (CST) and the producers bear no responsibility for the uses of the ESS data, or for interpretations or inferences based on these uses. The CST and the producers accept no liability for indirect, consequential or incidental damages or losses arising from use of the data collection, or from the unavailability of, or break in access to the service for whatever reason.

ESS Round 2: European Social Survey Round 2 Data (2004). Data file edition 3.2. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data

ESS Round 1: European Social Survey Round 1 Data (2002). Data file edition 6.2. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.

Eulau, Heinz, and Paul D. Karps. 1977. "The Puzzle of Representation: Specifying Components of Responsiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 2(3): 233–254.

"First Annual Report on Protest Activity in Ukraine (Перший річний звіт проекту моніторингу протестної активності в Україні)." *Centre for Society Research*. http://cedos.org.ua/protestmonitor/33-reports/53-reposrt1 (Accessed November 6, 2012).

George, A. L, and A. Bennett. 2005. *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences*. The MIT Press.

Ghodsee, K. 2008. "Left Wing, Right Wing, Everything: Xenophobia, Neo-totalitarianism, and Populist Politics in Bulgaria." *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(3): 26–39.

Goertz, G. 2006. *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide*. Princeton University Press.

Golbeck, Jennifer, Justin M Grimes, and Anthony Rogers. 2010. "Twitter use by the U.S. Congress." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 61(8): 1612–1621.

Grzymała-Busse, A. M. 2007. *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party competition and state exploitation in post-communist democracies*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Haughton, T., T. Novotna, and K. Deegan-Krause. 2011. "The 2010 Czech and Slovak Parliamentary Elections: Red Cards to the 'Winners'." *West European Politics* 34(2): 394–402.

Hawkins, K. 2003. "Populism in Venezuela: the rise of Chavismo." *Third World Quarterly* 24(6): 1137–1160.

Hayward, J. 1996. "The Populist Challenge to Elitist Democracy in Europe." *Elitism, Populism, and European Politics* 1(9): 10–33.

Heinisch, R. 2008. "Right-Wing Populism in Austria: A Case for Comparison." *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(3): 40–56.

Hockenos, Paul. 2010. "Central Europe's Right-Wing Populism." *Nation* 290(20): 18–21.

Hofstadter, Richard. 1968. “The Folklore of Populism.” In *The Populists in Historical Perspective*, ed. R. J. Cunningham. D.C. Heath and Company.

Howard, M. M. 2003. *The weakness of civil society in post-communist Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Huntington, S. P. 1996. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Simon & Schuster.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. *Political order in changing societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press: New Haven.

———. 1992. “The Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Affairs* 72: 22.

———. 1991. 4 *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman

Hutcheson, Derek S. 2004. “Disengaged or Disenchanted? The Vote ‘Against All’ in Post-Communist Russia.” *Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics* 20(1): 98–121.

Ionescu, Ghița, and Ernest Gellner, eds. 1969. *Populism; Its Meaning and National Characteristics*. Palgrave McMillan: University of Essex, UK.

Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. 2008. “What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe? Re-Examining Grievance Mobilization Models in Seven Successful Cases.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 3–23.

Jackman, R. W. 1987. “Political institutions and voter turnout in the industrial democracies.” *The American Political Science Review* 81(2): 405–423.

Jacobs, L.R., and R.Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians don’t pander: Political manipulation and the loss of democratic responsiveness*. University of Chicago Press.

Jagers, J., and S. Walgrave. 2007. “Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties’ discourse in Belgium.” *European Journal of Political Research* 46(3): 319–345.

Jarvis, Sharon E, and Kristen Wilkerson. 2005. “Congress on the Internet: Messages on the Homepages of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1996 and 2001.” *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 10(2): 00–00.

Jasiewicz, Krzysztof. 2007. “Poland: Party System by Default.” In *Party Politics in New Democracies*, eds. Paul Webb and Stephen White.

———. 2008a. “The (not always sweet) uses of opportunism: Post-communist political parties in Poland.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41(4): 421–442.

———. 2008b. “The New Populism in Poland: The Usual Suspects?” *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(3): 7–25.

———. 2009. “‘The Past Is Never Dead’: Identity, Class, and Voting Behavior in Contemporary Poland.” *East European Politics and Societies* 23(4): 491–508.

Johnson, Paul. 2010. “Ukrainian nationalist leader thriving in hard times.” *Business Ukraine* 4(12). http://www.bunews.com.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=526:ukrainian-nationalist-leader-thriving-in-hard-times-&catid=6:politics&Itemid=2 (Accessed January 15, 2012).

Jones, Erik. 2007. “Populism in Europe.” *SAIS Review* 27(1): 37.

Kahn, K. F, and P. J Kenney. 1999. *The spectacle of US Senate campaigns*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

Karasyov, Vadim. 2009. “Democratic Development is Saved (Сохранено демократическое направление развития страны).” http://www.igls.com.ua/analytics/3326/ (Accessed May 1, 2012).

Kenney, Charles D. 2008. “Delegative or Populist? The Case of Fujimori in Peru.” In *Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association*, New Orleans.

Kim, B.Y., and A. Roberts. 2007. “Policy responsiveness in Eastern Europe.” In *New Professor’s Seminar organized by the Institute of Social Sciences, Seoul National University*.

Kitschelt, H., and A. J. McGann. 1995. *The radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis*. University of Michigan Press.

Kogut, Andriy, and Kateryna Sidash. 2011. *Local Elections 2010*. Kyiv: Laboratoria zakonodavchyh initsiatyv. Report on 2010 Local Elections. http://parlament.org.ua/upload/docs/Local%20Election-2010-ua.pdf (Accessed April 27, 2012).

Kolarska-Bobiñska, Lena, Jacek Kucharczyk, and Jaroslaw Zbieranek. 2008. *Democracy in Poland 2005-2007*. Institute of Public Affairs.

Korosteleva, E. 2006. “The Quality of Democracy in Belarus and Ukraine.” In *The Quality of Democracy in Post-Communist Europe*, London, p. 122–142.

Korosteleva, E., and D. Hutcheson. 2006. *The Quality of Democracy in Post-Communist Europe*. London.

Krastev, I. 2008. “The populist moment.” *The New Presence* (1-Winter): 24.

———. 2007. “The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus.” *Journal of Democracy*

18(4): 56.

Kucharczyk, Jacek, and Olga Wysocka. 2008. *Populist Politics and Liberal Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Poland*. Bratislava.

Kuzio, T. 2009. "Populism in Ukraine in Comparative European Context." In *ASN Conference Paper, Columbia University*.

Kuzio, Taras. 2010. "Populism in Ukraine in a Comparative European Context." *Problems of Post-Communism* 57(6): 3–18.

———. 2007. "Who's 'populist' in Ukrainian politics?" *Kyiv Post*.

de Lange, S. L, and S. Guerra. 2009. "The League of Polish Families between East and West, past and present." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 42(4): 527–549.

Larrabee, F. S. 2006. "Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe." *Foreign Affairs* 85(6): 117.

Lau, R. R et al. 1999. "The effects of negative political advertisements: A meta-analytic assessment." *The American Political Science Review* 93(4): 851–875.

Lau, R. R, and G. M Pomper. 2001. "Negative campaigning by US Senate candidates." *Party Politics* 7(1): 69.

Lehane, Bill. 2010. "Ministry defends anti-corruption plan - News." *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/5803-ministry-defends-anti-corruption-plan.html (Accessed September 5, 2011).

Leston-Bandeira, Cristina. 2011. "Towards a Trustee Model? Parliamentary Representation in the Internet Era: The Portuguese Case." *Parliamentary Affairs*. http://pa.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2011/11/09/pa.gsr036 (Accessed February 27, 2012).

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51–65.

Levitsky, Steven, and James Loxton. 2012. "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism: The Case of Fujimori's Peru." In *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?*, eds. Cas Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *The American Political Science Review* 91(1): 1–14.

Linden, R. H. 2008. "The New Populism in Central and Southeastern Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(3): 3–6.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1963. *Political Man*. Johns Hopkins University Press: New York.

Mahoney, James. 2010. “After KKV: The new methodology of qualitative research.” *World Politics* 62(01): 120–147.

Mainwaring, S. 2006. “The crisis of representation in the Andes.” *Journal of Democracy* 17(3): 13.

Mair, P. 2002. “Populist democracy vs party democracy.” *Democracies and the populist challenge*: 81–100.

Maksymiuk, Jan. 2005. “Analysis: Promises, Promises, Promises.” *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*. http://www.rferl.org/articleprintview/1057249.html (Accessed December 5, 2010).

———. 2007. “Ukraine: Playing The Populist Card In Parliamentary Elections.” http://www.rferl.org/articleprintview/1078829.html (Accessed December 5, 2010).

Mareš, Miroslav. 2011. “Czech extreme right parties an unsuccessful story.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44(4): 283–298.

Markowski, R. 2008. “The 2007 Polish Parliamentary Election: Some Structuring, Still a Lot of Chaos.” *West European Politics* 31(5): 1055–1068.

———. 2006. “The polish elections of 2005: Pure chaos or a restructuring of the party system?” *West European Politics* 29(4): 814–832.

Markowski, R., and J. Tucker. 2006. “Euroskepticism and the emergence of political parties in Poland.” In *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*.

Martin, P. S. 2004. “Inside the black box of negative campaign effects: Three reasons why negative campaigns mobilize.” *Political Psychology* 25(4): 545–562.

Matušková, A., O. Eibl, and A. Braun. 2009. “The Czech case: a marketing-oriented party on the rise.” In *Global Political Marketing*, p. 157–174.

Mayorga, Rene Antonio. 2006. “Outsiders and Neopopulism: The Road to Plebiscitary Democracy.” In *The crisis of representation in the Andes*, p. 132–167.

McAllister, I., and S. White. 2008. “Voting ‘against all in postcommunist Russia.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(1): 67–87.

McManus-Czubinska, C. et al. 2004. “When does turnout matter? The case of Poland.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 56(3): 401–420.

McMath, R. C. 1995. “Populism in two countries: Agrarian protest in the great plains and prairie provinces.” *Agricultural history* 69(4): 517–546.

Mény, Yves, and Yves Surel. 2002. *Democracies and the populist challenge*. Palgrave: New York.

Mesežnikov, Grigorij, Olga Gyárfášová, and Daniel Smilov. 2008. *Populist Politics and Liberal Democracy*. Bratislava.

Michnik, Adam. 2007. “The Polish Witch-Hunt.” *New York Review of Books*. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2007/jun/28/the-polish-witch-hunt/?pagination=false&printpage=true (Accessed February 21, 2011).

Miller, Worth. 1987. *Oklahoma populism : a history of the People’s Party in the Oklahoma Territory*. 1st ed. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman

Morlino, L. 2004. “Good and bad democracies: how to conduct research into the quality of democracy.” *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 20(1): 5–27.

Motyl, Alexander. 2010. “Ukrainian Blues: Yanukovych’s Rise, Democracy’s Fall.” *Foreign Affairs*.

Mouffe, C. 2005. “The ‘End of Politics’ and the Challenge of Right-Wing Populism.” In *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*, ed. Francisco Panizza. Verso, p. 50–71.

Mudde, C. 2001. “In the name of the peasantry, the proletariat, and the people: populisms in Eastern Europe.” *East European Politics and Societies* 15(1): 33–53.

———. 2007. *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

———. 2005. “Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe.” *East European Politics & Societies* 19(2): 161–184.

———. 2004. “The Populist Zeitgeist.” *Government and Opposition* 39(4): 542–563.

———. 2011. “Voices of the People: Populism in Europe and Latin America Compared.”

Mudde, Cas. 2003. *The ideology of the extreme right*. Manchester University Press.

———. 2010. “The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy.” *West European Politics* 33(6): 1167–1186.

Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2012a. “Populism: Corrective or Threat

to Democracy?" In *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds. 2012b. *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. 2005. "Poland and Romania." *Assessing the Quality of Democracy. Baltimore*: 213–237.

Mustafin, Aleksey. 2008. "Gotovnost Nomer Odin." *Zerkalo Nedeli*. http://zn.ua/POLITICS/gotovnost_nomer_odin_dosrochnye_vybory_kak_shans_dlya_partiy_vtorogo_eshelona-54872.html (Accessed July 15, 2012).

Nayem, Mustafa, and Sergiy Leshenko. 2009. "Shyroka Koalitsia. Gotovnist Nomer Odyn." *Ukrainska Pravda*. http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2009/06/5/3999201/ (Accessed May 1, 2012).

O'Donnell, G. A., J. V. Cullel, and O. M. Iazzetta. 2011. *The quality of democracy*. University of Notre Dame Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1996. "Illusions about consolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 7: 34–51.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A. 2002. "In Partial Defense of an Evanescent 'Paradigm'." *Journal of Democracy* 13(3): 6–12.

Odendahl, T., and A.M. Shaw. 2002. "Interviewing Elites." In *Handbook of Interview Research. Context & Method. Thousand Oaks–London–New Delhi: Sage*, p. 299–316.

"Official Election Results to Ternopil Regional Rada (Офіційні результати виборів до Тернопільської обласної ради)." 2009. http://vgolos.com.ua/politic/news/32840.html?page=1 (Accessed May 6, 2012).

"Oleh Tyahnybok: Za lashtunkami utopiy ministriv-oligarhiv trivaye rozgrabuvannja Ukraintsiv." 2012. *Svoboda*. http://www.tyahnybok.info/diyalnist/novyny/029167/ (Accessed May 3, 2012).

"One year after elections: Tyagnybok controls Galicina, PR controlls the rest of regions." 2011. *Segodnya*. http://www.segodnya.ua/news/14304966.html (Accessed May 3, 2012).

Ostler, J. 1993. *Prairie populism: the fate of agrarian radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892*. University Press of Kansas.

Panizza, Francisco. 2005. *Populism and the mirror of democracy*. Verso.

Papadopoulos, Y. 2002. “Populism, the democratic question, and contemporary governance.” In *Democracies and the populist challenge*, p. 45–61.

Pauwels, Teun. 2011. “Measuring Populism: A Quantitative Text Analysis of Party Literature in Belgium.” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 21(1): 97–119.

Pitkin, H. F. 1967. *The concept of representation*. University of California Press.

Pitrová, M. 2007. “Populism in the first European elections in the Czech Republic.” *European Integration Online Papers* 11(2).

Plecita-Vlachova, Klara, and Mary Stegmaier. 2008. “The parliamentary election in the Czech Republic, June 2006.” *Electoral Studies* 27(1): 179–184.

“Poland’s populist, Andrzej Lepper.” 2002. *Economist* 363(8279): 52.

Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2001). Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences (ISP PAN)

Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2005). Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences (ISP PAN)

Polish National Election Study (PGSW 2007). Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences (ISP PAN)

Pollack, Norman. 1968. “A Critique of the Hofstadter Thesis.” In *The Populists in Historical Perspective*, ed. R. J. Cunningham. D.C. Heath and Company.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2010. “Throwing Out the Bums: Protest Voting and Unorthodox Parties after Communism.” *World Politics* 62(2).

Przeworski, A., S. C Stokes, and B. Manin. 1999. *Democracy, accountability, and representation*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Public Opinion in Ukraine 2011. 2011. International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

“Reityng Svobody zrostaye bo vlada ne dbaye pro Ukraintsia-patriota.” 2011. *Svoboda*. http://www.svoboda.org.ua/diyalnist/komentari/023274/ (Accessed May 6, 2012).

“Resultaty Mistsevyh Vyboriv.” 2010. *Ukrainska Pravda*. http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/11/8/5552584/ (Accessed May 6, 2012).

Richter, Jan. 2010. “Radio Prague - Environment minister steps down amidst corruption scandal.” *Český Rozhlas*. http://www.radio.cz/en/section/curraffrs/environment-

minister-steps-down-amidst-corruption-scandal (Accessed September 5, 2011).

Roberts, K. 2000. "Populism and democracy in Latin America." In *Paper presented at the conference "Challenges to Democracy in the Americas,"* Carter Center, Atlanta.

Roberts, Ken. 1995. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case." *World Politics* 48(1): 82–116.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 2012. "Populism and Democracy in Venezuela under Hugo Chávez." In *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?*, eds. Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

———. 2006. "Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 38(2): 127–148.

Robinson, M. J. 1976. "Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of' The Selling of the Pentagon'." *The American Political Science Review* 70(2): 409–432.

Rooduijn, Matthijs, and Teun Pauwels. 2011. "Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis." *West European Politics* 34(6): 1272–1283.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1986. *Political Writings*. ed. Frederick Watkins. University of Wisconsin Press.

Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. 2011. "The ambivalence of populism: threat and corrective for democracy." *Democratization*: 1–25.

Roxborough, I. 1984. "Unity and diversity in Latin American history." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16(01): 1–26.

Rudenko, Sergiy. 2009. "Odyn u Poli." *Ukrainsky Tizhden*. http://tyzhden.ua/Publication/3424/PrintView (Accessed April 28, 2012).

Rydgren, J. 2005. "Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family." *European Journal of Political Research* 44(3): 413–437.

Sachs, J. D. 1989. *Social conflict and populist policies in Latin America*. National Bureau of Economic Research Cambridge, Mass., USA.

Salisbury, Robert H. 1975. "Research on Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 19(2): 323–341.

Sartori, G. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge New York.

Schedler, A. 1996. “Anti-political-establishment parties.” *Party Politics* 2(3): 291–312.

Schedler, Andreas. 1998. “What is democratic consolidation?” *Journal of Democracy* 9: 91–107.

Schmitter, Philippe C. 2007. “A Balance Sheet of the Vices and Virtues of ‘Populisms’.” *The Romanian Journal of Political Sciences* (02): 5.

Seybert, Lucia. 2012. “Coherence of Populist Coalitions and the Quality of Democratic Discourse in Poland and Slovakia.”

Shekhovtsov, A. 2011. “The Creeping Resurgence of the Ukrainian Radical Right? The Case of the Freedom Party.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63(2): 203–228.

Shekhovtsov, Anton. 2010. “Ukraine: Extreme-right party makes major election gains.” *Searchlight*.

Sidorchenko, Victor. 2010. “Популизм без тормозов (Populism without Breaks).” *Kievskiy Vestnik*. http://kiev-vestnik.com.ua/society/print:page,1,173-populizm-bez-tormozov.html (Accessed April 21, 2012).

Sikorski, Tadeusz, and Cezar Komorovsky. 2006. “Political crisis in Poland: the twists and turns of the Kaczynski government.” *World Socialist Website*. http://www.wsws.org/tools/index.php?page=print&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.wsws.org%2Farticles%2F2006%2Fnov2006%2Fpola-n06.shtml (Accessed November 20, 2010).

Smilov. “Early warning: Populism in the New Member States.” *Politeia Website* http://www.politeia.net/Countries/european_general/early_warning_populism_in_the_new_member_states (Accessed March 6, 2012).

Smolar, A. 1998. “Poland’s emerging party system.” *Journal of Democracy* 9: 122–133.

Stanley, B. 2008. “The thin ideology of populism.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(1): 95–110.

Stanley, Ben. “Populism, nationalism, or national populism? An analysis of Slovak voting behaviour at the 2010 parliamentary election.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44: 257–270.

“State capture.” 2011. *The Economist*.

Stegmaier, M., and K. Vlachová. 2011. “The parliamentary election in the Czech Republic, May 2010.” *Electoral Studies*.

Stokes, S. C. 2007. “Political Clientelism.” *American Political Science Review* 99(03): 315–325.

Stokes, S.C. 2005. “Perverse accountability: A formal model of machine politics with evidence from Argentina.” *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 315.

“Students index corruption.” 2011. *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/7339-students-index-corruption.html (Accessed September 5, 2011).

“Svoboda zirvala dzhekpot (Svoboda Got a Jackpot).” 2009. *Tyzhden*. http://tyzhden.ua/Publication/1655 (Accessed May 2, 2012).

Taggart, P. 2002. “Populism and the pathology of representative politics.” In *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, , p. 62–80.

Taggart, Paul. 2000. *Populism*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

———. 2004. “Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9(3): 269–288.

———. 2005. “The new populism and the new politics.” *Comparative Politics: Critical Concepts in Political Science*.

Taggart, Paul, and Aleks Szczerbiak. 2004. “Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe.” *European Journal of Political Research* 43(1): 1–27.

Tansey, O. 2009. “Process tracing and elite interviewing: a case for non-probability sampling.” *Methoden der vergleichenden Politik-und Sozialwissenschaft*: 481–496.

Thompson, Emily. 2010. “John unveils anti-corruption plan - News.” *The Prague Post*. http://www.praguepost.com/news/6931-john-unveils-anti-corruption-plan.html (Accessed May 5, 2011).

Tismaneanu, V. 2001. “Hypotheses on populism: the politics of charismatic protest.” *East European Politics and Societies* 15(1): 10–17.

De la Torre, C. 1997. “Populism and Democracy: political discourses and cultures in contemporary Ecuador.” *Latin American Perspectives* 24(3): 12–24.

Tucker, J. A, A. C Pacek, and A. J Berinsky. 2002. “Transitional winners and losers: Attitudes toward EU membership in post-communist countries.” *American Journal of Political Science*: 557–571.

“Two people charged in army’s Tatra trucks deal.” 2011. *Prague Monitor*. http://praguemonitor.com/2011/12/01/two-people-charged-armys-tatra-trucks-deal (Accessed May 5, 2012).

Učeň, P. 2007. “Parties, Populism, and Anti-Establishment Politics in East Central

Europe." *SAIS Review* 27(1): 49.

Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data Project, Centre for Society Research, Ukraine, October 2009-September 2010.

Ukrainian Protest and Coercion Data Project, Centre for Society Research, Ukraine, 2011.

"Ukraintsam ponravilas pozitsia Yanukovicha po koalitsii (Ukrainians likes Yanukovych's position on coalition)." 2009. *Segodnya*. http://www.segodnya.ua/news/14056538.html (Accessed May 1, 2012).

Umland, Andreas. 2011a. "Political Determinants and Possible Consequences of the Rise of the Ukrainian Radical Right." *OpEdNews*. http://www.opednews.com/populum/print_friendly.php?p=Political-Determinants-and-by-Andreas-Umland-110109-397.html&c=a (Accessed December 8, 2011).

———. 2011b. "Ukraine right-wing politics: is the genie out of the bottle? | openDemocracy." *OpEdNews*. http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/andreas-umland/ukraine-right-wing-politics-is-genie-out-of-bottle (Accessed April 23, 2012).

Vicente-Merino, Ma Rosa. 2007. "Websites of Parliamentarians across Europe." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 13(3): 441–457.

Wasilewski, J. 2010. "The Assault on Democratic Elitism in Poland." In *Democratic Elitism: New Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, , p. 173.

Watson, Peggy. 2010. "Czech female MPs have reduced politics by posing as pin-ups." *the Guardian*. http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/sep/02/czech-calendar-pin-up-female-mps (Accessed January 22, 2012).

Webb, Paul, and Stephen White. 2007. *Party politics in new democracies*. Oxford University Press.

Weyland, Kurt. 2001. "Clarifying a contested concept: populism in the study of Latin American politics." *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1–22.

———. 1999. "Neoliberal Populism in Latin America and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Politics* 31(4): 379–401.

———. 2003. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: how much affinity?" *Third World Quarterly* 24(6): 1095–1115.

———. 1996. "Neopopulism and neoliberalism in Latin America: unexpected affinities." *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* 31(3): 3–31.

"Чого чекати від «Свободи»? Аналітичний огляд, лютий 2012 (What to wait from Svoboda? Analytical review, February 2012)." *Centre for Society Research*. http://cedos.org.ua/protestmonitor/33-reports/98-lr-2012 (Accessed November 6, 2012).

White, Stephen, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis. 2007. *Developments in Central and East European politics 4*. Duke University Press.

Wysocka, Olga. 2007. "Populism in Poland." In *Paper Presented at the Fourth ECPR General Conference*, Pisa, Italy, European University Institute Florence.

"Zayava Olega Tyagnyboka Shodo Namiriv Oligarhichnyk Klaniv Sformuvaty Tak Zvanu Shyroku Koalitsiu." 2009. *Svoboda*. http://www.svoboda.org.ua/dokumenty/zayavy/010733/ (Accessed May 1, 2012).

Žižek, Slavoj. 2006. "Against the populist temptation." *Critical Inquiry* 32(3): 551–574.

Appendix A: Elite Interview Questions

Date of Interview: Number of Interview:
Country: Location:
Male Female

1. What is the main objective of political parties in political life?
2. What was the main hurdle for your party to receive more votes in the last election?
3. Do you think some political parties should be excluded from participating in the parliamentary elections?
4. How did parties seek to attract voters in the last election? Was your political platform influenced by criticism from citizens or other parties?
5. How often (if ever) do parties invite spokes-persons from competing parties, interest groups, or social movements to discuss the drafting of laws?
6. How does your party respond when a particular argument or appeal to voters does not seem to be effective? Do parties reconsider their positions or try to find another approach to conveying the same message?
7. Is strong ideology – focus on issues such as religion, nation identity, and ethnicity – more important than expertise to govern for your party?
8. How do parties react/respond to the citizen needs and concerns? How often do citizens make requests through party offices?
9. Which parties do you consider to be populist? How does the presence of these parties affect policies and other parties' justification for policies? How do parties respond to the criticism expressed by populists? Do other parties feel a necessity to adapt to the agenda and programs of populists?
10. Populist parties often accuse the parties of government in corruption and low accountability. Do you feel that the programs of populist parties force the parties of government to focus attention on such issues as corruption and low accountability?
11. What is your perception of populism and other major parties? Which parties do you perceive as necessary for responding to citizens' needs and concerns?
12. Do you feel there exists a crisis of representation of citizen interests? Which interests do parties represent today?

Appendix B: List of Acronyms

Acronym	Party name in English	Party name in native language
Czech parties		
ČSSD	Social Democratic Party	Česká strana sociálně demokratická
KDU/ KDU-ČSL	The Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party	Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová
KSČM	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy
ODS	Civic Democratic Party	Občanská demokratická strana
SZ	The Green Party	Strana zelených
TOP09	Tradition Responsibility Prosperity 09	Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09
VV	Public Affairs	*Veci Verejne*
Polish parties		
AWS	Solidarity Electoral Action	Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność
LPR	League of Polish Families	Liga Polskich Rodzin
PiS	Law and Justice	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość
PO	Civic Platform	Platforma Obywatelska
PSL	Polish People's Party	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe
ROP	Movement for Reconstruction of Poland	Ruch Odbudowy Polski
SLD	Democratic Left Alliance	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej
SO	Self Defense	Samoobrona Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej
UP	Labor Union	Unia Pracy
UW	Freedom Union	Unia Wolności
Ukrainian parties		
Batkivschyna	Fatherland (Tymoshenko)	Батькивщина
BYT	Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko	Блок Юлии Тимошенко
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine	Коммунистическая партия
Front Zmin	Front of Change	Фронт Змін
Lytvyn	Lytvyn's Bloc	Блок Литвина
NUNS	People's Union Our Ukraine (Our Ukraine)	Национальный союз - Наша Украина
Our Ukraine	Our Ukraine	Наша Украина
People's Party	People's Party (Lytvyn)	Народная партия
PSPU	Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine	Прогрессивно-социалистическая партия
Regions	Party of Regions	Партия Регионов
Rukh/ Narodniy Rukh	Movement/People's Movement	Рух/Народный рух
SPU	Socialist Party of Ukraine	Социалистическая партия Украины
Svoboda	All Ukrainian Union Freedom	Всеукраинское объединение Свобода
Misceleneous		
PM	Prime minister	
MP	Member of parliament	
ESS	European Social Survey	
CBA	Central Anti-corruption Bureau	Centralne Biuro Antykorupcyjne
CBOS	Public Opinion Research Center	Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej
PGSW	Polish National Election Study	Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze

Appendix C: IRB Approval

The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE FOR HUMAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANT PROTECTION

IRB Number: 12597
Approval Date: May 14, 2009

May 14, 2009

Maksym Kovalov
Political Science
731 Elm Avenue, ROBT 200
Norman, OK 73019

RE: Political Party Development in Central and Eastern Europe: Explaining Electoral Fortunes of Non-Programmatic Parties

Dear Mr. Kovalov:

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I have reviewed and granted expedited approval of the above-referenced research study. This study meets the criteria for expedited approval category 6 & 7. It is my judgment as Chairperson of the IRB that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected; that the proposed research, including the process of obtaining informed consent, will be conducted in a manner consistent with the requirements of 45 CFR 46 as amended; and that the research involves no more than minimal risk to participants.

This letter documents approval to conduct the research as described:

Consent form - Other Dated: May 08, 2009 Information Sheet
Survey Instrument Dated: May 08, 2009 Interview Questions
Other Dated: May 08, 2009 Recruitment Letter
Other Dated: May 08, 2009 International Research Review
Protocol Dated: May 08, 2009
IRB Application Dated: May 08, 2009

As principal investigator of this protocol, it is your responsibility to make sure that this study is conducted as approved. Any modifications to the protocol or consent form, initiated by you or by the sponsor, will require prior approval, which you may request by completing a protocol modification form. All study records, including copies of signed consent forms, must be retained for three (3) years after termination of the study.

The approval granted expires on May 13, 2010. Should you wish to maintain this protocol in an active status beyond that date, you will need to provide the IRB with an IRB Application for Continuing Review (Progress Report) summarizing study results to date. The IRB will request an IRB Application for Continuing Review from you approximately two months before the anniversary date of your current approval.

If you have questions about these procedures, or need any additional assistance from the IRB, please call the IRB office at (405) 325-8110 or send an email to irb@ou.edu.

Cordially,

Lynn Davenport, Ph.D.
Chair, Institutional Review Board

660 Parrington Oval, Suite 316, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-3085 PHONE: (405) 325-8110 FAX:(405) 325-2373

Ltr_Prot_Fappv_Exp

INFORMATION SHEET FOR CONSENT
TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

My name is Max Kovalov, I am a doctoral student in the Political Science Department at the University of Oklahoma – Norman, USA. I am requesting that you volunteer to participate in a research study titled Political Party Development in Central and Eastern Europe. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a member of one of the major political parties and academic experts in _____ (country). Please read this information sheet and contact me to ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to take part in this study.

Purpose of the Research Study: The purpose of the study is to investigate how the appeals used by political parties affect the quality of democracy. Through conducting of interviews this research will attempt to explain the effects of parties on two dimensions of democratic quality – accountability and responsiveness.

Procedures: If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in an individual interview, which will last approximately 30-45 minutes. During the interview, you will be asked about political party goals, political campaigns, and issues important to political parties. You will also be asked to discuss the types of appeals that motivate party decisions. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded. The researcher is the only one with access to the audio-taped interviews and that the tapes will be erased as soon as they are transcribed (approximately two weeks). You can refuse to allow such taping without penalty.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study: The risk of participating in the study is no greater than those risks ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine media interview. There are no direct benefits to participation in the study.

Compensation: You will not be compensated for your time and participation in this study.

Voluntary Nature of the Study: Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not result in penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Length of Participation: A face-to-face interview will last approximately 30-45 minutes. You may stop participating in the study at any time – prior or during the interview - for any reason, without penalty from the researcher.

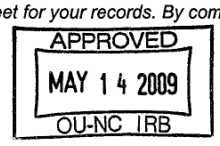
Confidentiality: The records of this study will be kept private and only the primary investigator will have access to your responses. In published reports, there will be no information included that will make it possible to identify you as a research participant. Research records will be stored; they will be coded and stored with a randomly selected identification number instead of the participant's name. These data will be maintained in a locked area for a period no longer than three years after completion of the project. Any identifying or coding information will be destroyed after the data is analyzed.

Contacts and Questions: If you have concerns or complaints about the research, the researcher(s) conducting this study can be contacted at

Researcher: Max Kovalov, telephone: +1 (405) 625-1791, email: maksym@ou.edu
Advisor: Professor Mitchell P. Smith, telephone: +1 (405) 325-8893, email: mps@ou.edu

In the event of a research-related injury, contact the researcher. You are encouraged to contact the researcher if you have any questions. If you have any questions, concerns, or complaints about the research and wish to talk to someone other than the individuals on the research team, or if you cannot reach the research team, you may contact the University of Oklahoma – Norman Campus Institutional Review Board (OU-NC IRB) at (405) 325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

Please keep this information sheet for your records. By completing and returning this questionnaire, I am agreeing to participate in this study.



Appendix D: IRB Inactivation

The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE FOR HUMAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANT PROTECTION

IRB Number: 12597
Inactivation Date: April 19, 2010

April 21, 2010

Maksym Kovalov
Political Science
731 Elm Avenue, ROBT 200
Norman, OK 73019

RE: Political Party Development in Central and Eastern Europe: Explaining Electoral Fortunes of Non-Programmatic Parties

Dear Mr. Kovalov:

Thank you for your correspondence to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) requesting inactivation of the above-referenced protocol. This letter is to confirm that the IRB has inactivated this protocol as of April 19, 2010.

Please note that this action completely inactivates all aspects and arms of this IRB Protocol. Should you wish to reactivate this study, you will need to apply for new IRB approval.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please do not hesitate to call the IRB office at (405) 325-8110 or send an email to irb@ou.edu.

Cordially,

Lynn Davenport, Ph.D.
Chair, Institutional Review Board

Ltr_Prot_Inact_PI

660 Parrington Oval, Suite 316, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-3085 PHONE: (405) 325-8110 FAX:(405) 325-2373