

Cultural Backlash

Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism

PIPPA NORRIS

*Harvard University
Sydney University*

RONALD INGLEHART

University of Michigan



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108426077

DOI: 10.1017/9781108595841

© Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Reprinted 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Norris, Pippa, author. | Inglehart, Ronald, author.

TITLE: Cultural backlash : Trump, Brexit, and the rise of authoritarian-populism / Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart.

DESCRIPTION: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2018037934 | ISBN: 9781108426077 (hardback) |

ISBN: 9781108444422 (pbk.)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Populism. | Authoritarianism. | Populism—United States. | Authoritarianism—United States. | Populism—Great Britain. | Authoritarianism—Great Britain. | United States—Politics and government—21st century. | Great Britain—Politics and government—21st century.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JC423 .N6599 2018 | DDC 320.56/62--DC23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018037934>

ISBN 978-1-108-42607-7 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-44442-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	xiii

PART I INTRODUCTION

1 Understanding Populism	3
2 The Cultural Backlash Theory	32
3 Varieties of Populism	65

PART II AUTHORITARIAN AND POPULIST VALUES

4 The Backlash Against the Silent Revolution	87
5 Economic Grievances	132
6 Immigration	175

PART III FROM VALUES TO VOTES

7 Classifying Parties	215
8 Who Votes for Authoritarian-Populist Parties?	257
9 Party Fortunes and Electoral Rules	294
10 Trump's America	331
11 Brexit	368

PART IV CONCLUSIONS

12	Eroding the Civic Culture	409
13	The Authoritarian-Populist Challenge	443

TECHNICAL APPENDICES

	Cultural Backlash: Technical Appendix A: Classification of Parties	473
	Technical Appendix B: The Variables and Coding Used in the Multivariate Analysis	487
	<i>Bibliography</i>	493
	<i>Index</i>	535