Globalization and Populism: The Last Sixty Years

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Research question

Characterize the long-term trends in populism, and identify the role of globalization shocks...

- Considering different margins of populism
- Accounting for the skill/origin structure of globalization shocks
- Covering a large sample of countries, elections, and years

Introduction

Populism has been on the rise in recent decades (Guriev and Papaioannou, 2021; Rodrik, 2021; Funke et al., 2020)

Among the several **determinants**, the literature in Economics highlights the role of **globalization** in its two dimensions:

- Imports – Becker et al. (2017); Colantone and Stanig (2018); Autor et al. (2020); Colantone et al. (2021); etc.
- Immigration – Barone et al. (2016); Guiso et al. (2017); Halla et al. (2017); Mayda et al. (2022); Moriconi et al. (2022); etc.

Introduction

Existing studies: How is populism usually defined?

- Narrow ideology splitting society between pure people and corrupted elite (Mudde, 2004) + Commitment to protect (Guiso et al., 2017; Rodrik, 2018; Morelli et al., 2021) + Other dimensions
- Measured with volume of populism = vote share of populist parties (dichotomous classifications based on expert views)

Existing studies: How is globalization analyzed?

- Imports and immigration usually studied *separately*: many studies!
- With some exceptions (Autor et al. (2020) for imports, Edo et al. (2019); Moriconi et al. (2019, 2022) for immig), lack of *skill-specific* dimension
- More generally, lack of *cultural* (or diversity) dimension

Contributions

Two main objectives:

1. Describe long-term evolution of populism
   - Large sample: 55 countries, 628 elections, 1206 parties, 60-y span
   - Richer and comparable measures of populism along different margins (volume vs. mean + left-right dimension)

2. Unified analysis of populism response to globalization:
   - Skill structure of both trade & migration shocks
   - Gravity-based IV using origin-year sources of variation
   - Interaction with potential amplifiers: recessions, social media, diversity/cultural distance

Contributions

Preview of the results:

- Trends: fluctuations since 1960s, surge since 2007-08 (RW/EU)
- Closely linked to skill structure of imports and immigration
- Imports of LS labor intensive goods
  - Increase total/RW populism along mean & volume margins
  - Effect increases with de-industrialization and internet coverage
  - Effect is smaller if origin mix of goods is more diverse
  - No effect on LW populism (exc. severe crisis, EU, prop. repr.)
- Immigration of LS workers
  - Substitution of LW for RW populism along volume margin
  - No effect on volume of total populism and mean margin
  - No amplifying effect of cultural distance (or diversity)

Road map

1. Introduction
2. **Data and Stylized Facts**
   - Populism score
   - Comparison with existing data
   - Margins and facts
3. Links with Globalization
4. Concluding remarks

Populism score

Data – Manifesto Project Database (MPD)

- Content analysis of parties' manifesto (salience, position)
- Coverage: 55 countries, 628 national election campaigns, 1,206 parties (at least one seat), 3,860 party-election pairs (1960-2018)
- Unbalanced sample of countries: breaks in 1973 and 1990

▸ Sample

Populism Score (party-level + mean margin) – Unsupervised and theory-based approach (PCA) + Cluster analysis with k-means

- Anti-establishment stance (**AES**) as in Mudde (2004)
- Commitment to protect (**CTP**) as in Morelli et al. (2021), etc.

Populism score

Populism Score – MPD variables

- Anti-establishment stance (**AES**)
  - AES1 (+): Corruption (need to eliminate corruption & clientelism)
  - AES2 (+): Anti-pluralism view (lack of competence of others)
- Commitment to protect (**CTP**)
  - CTP1 (+): Protection of internal market
  - CTP2 (-): Favorable mentions of internationalism
  - CTP3 (-): Favorable mentions of EU
  - CTP4 (+): Government ownership of industries
- Two-step PCA based on correlation matrix

Populism score - PCA

	I. PCA (AES/CTP)			II. Corr. btw. AES & CTP			
	EV	Score	Corr.	AES	CTP	L-R	R^2
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(8)
Anti-establishment (AES):				-	.09† (.02)	.01† (.00)	0.27
- Pol. corruption	1.07	.71	.73‡				
- Anti-pluralism	.93	.71	.73‡				
Commitment to Protect (CTP):				.13** (.04)	-	-.01* (.00)	0.11
- Protectionism	1.29	.41	.48‡				
- Internationalism	.96	-.41	-.46‡				
- EU institutions	.92	-.60	-.67‡				
- Nationalization	.83	.55	.63‡				

Level of significance: * p<0.05 ; ** p<0.01 ; † p<0.001 ; ‡ p<0.00001.

Populism score

Parties' Populism Score ($S^{p}_{i,e,t}$)

- Average of AES and COM (standardized)
- Mean = 0 ; SD = 0.81
- Distinctive features
  1. Self-determined by parties' manifesto
  2. Continuous (extent) and time-varying
  3. Well correlated with existing data
     i. Van Kessel (2015) - Dummy, time-invariant, 2000-2013
     ii. Swank (2018) - RW Dummy, time-invariant, 1960-2015
     iii. PopuList (Rooduijn et al., 2019) - Dummy, time-invariant, 1989-2018
     iv. Gpop 1 (Grzymala-Busse and McFaul, 2020) - Dummy, time-invariant, 1960-2018
     v. Gpop 2 (Hawkins et al., 2019) - Continuous, based on electoral speeches
     vi. Chapell Hill Expert Survey (Bakker et al., 2015) - Continuous, 1998-2018

Populism score - Correlations

	I. Van Kessel (2000-2013) Populist party (PRB)			II. Swank (1960-2015) RW Populist party (PRB)			III. PopuList (1989-2018) Populist party (PRB)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$S^p_{i,e,t}$	0.699***			0.460***			0.550***		
	(0.161)			(0.112)			(0.094)		
AES		0.247***			0.252**			0.156***	
		(0.091)			(0.100)			(0.054)	
COM			0.474***			0.234***			0.428***
			(0.093)			(0.045)			(0.069)
Obs.	650	650	650	1658	1658	1658	1635	1635	1635
Countries	25	25	25	16	16	16	28	28	28

	IV. GPop 1 (1960-2018) Populist party (PRB)			V. GPop 2 (1998-2017) Average Populism Speeches (OLS)			VI. CHES (1998-2018) People vs. Elite (OLS)		
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
$S^p_{i,e,t}$	0.376***			0.120**			1.262***		
	(0.081)			(0.052)			(0.210)		
AES		0.093*			0.057*			0.933***	
		(0.050)			(0.032)			(0.257)	
COM			0.277***			0.087*			0.668***
			(0.053)			(0.046)			(0.130)
Obs.	2847	2847	2847	100	100	100	176	176	176
Countries	36	36	36	31	31	31	28	28	28

Populism score

- **Populist party** ($\mathbf{1}^{p}_{i,e,t} = 1$ if $S^{p}_{i,e,t} \geq \eta \times SD$) ▸ Thresholds
  - $\eta = 1$ "maximizes" partial correlation with alternative definitions
  - $\eta = 1$ "maximizes" RAF with most alternative definitions
- Can be combined w. **Left-Right** index (Budge and Laver, 2016)
  - (LW, Centrist, RW) = (1st, 2nd, 3rd) terciles of left-right distr.
- **Discussion**:
  - Adding more MPD components reduces partial correlations with existing measures
  - $S^{p}_{i,e,t}$ is highly correlated with attitudes towards immig., cultural conservatism, multiculturalism (post-2006) in centrist/RW parties
  - The 1-SD threshold justified by unsupervised clustering ▸ K-means

Margins of populism

Volume Margin – Votes gained by all populist parties (supervised)

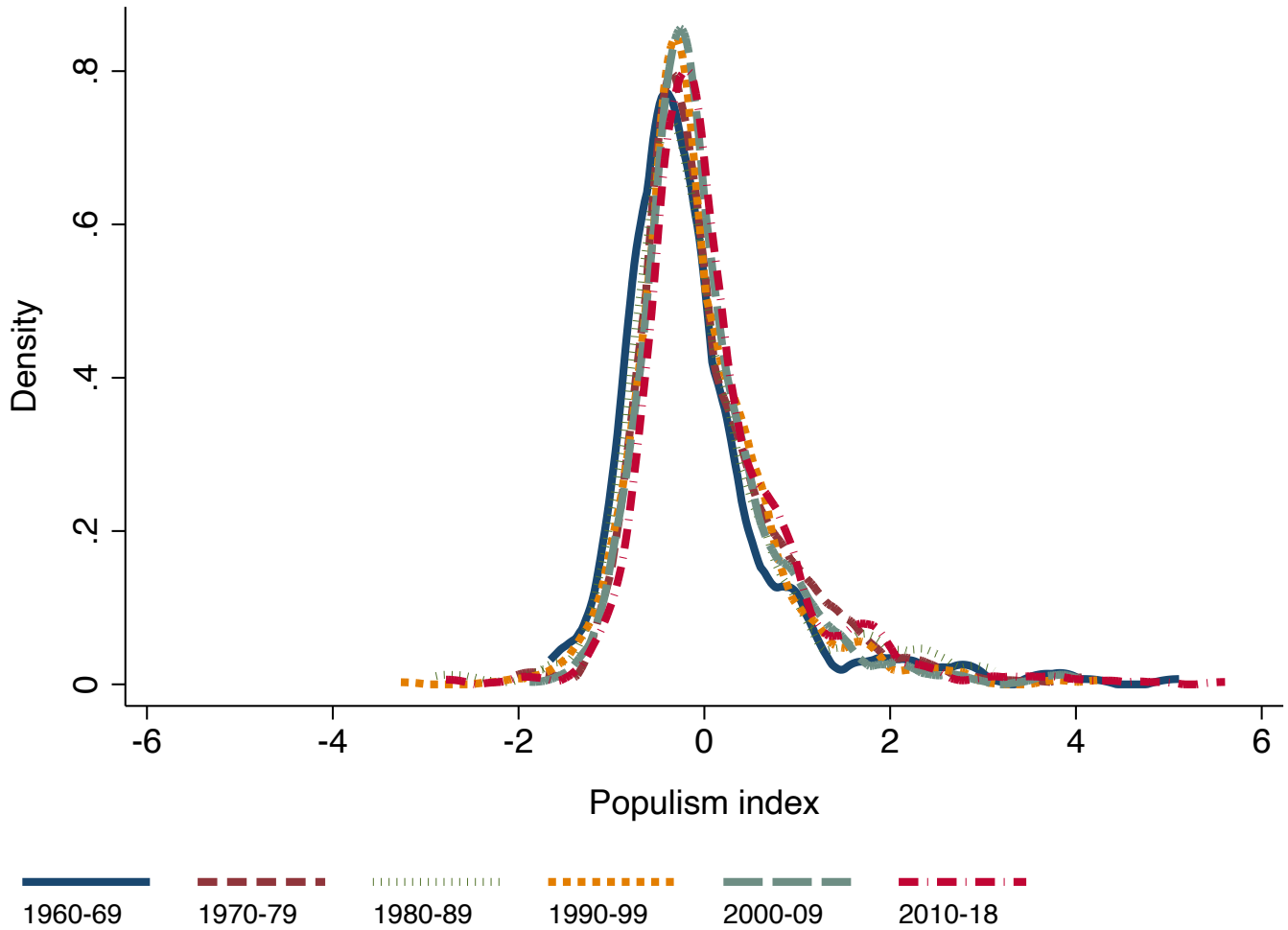
$$\Pi^{V}_{e,t} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{I}\sum_{i=1}^{P}\mathbf{1}^{p}_{i,e,t}\pi^{p}_{i,e,t}}{\sum_{i=1}^{I}\sum_{i=1}^{P}\pi^{p}_{i,e,t}}, \tag{1}$$

Mean Margin – Vote-weighted mean score of all parties (unsup.)

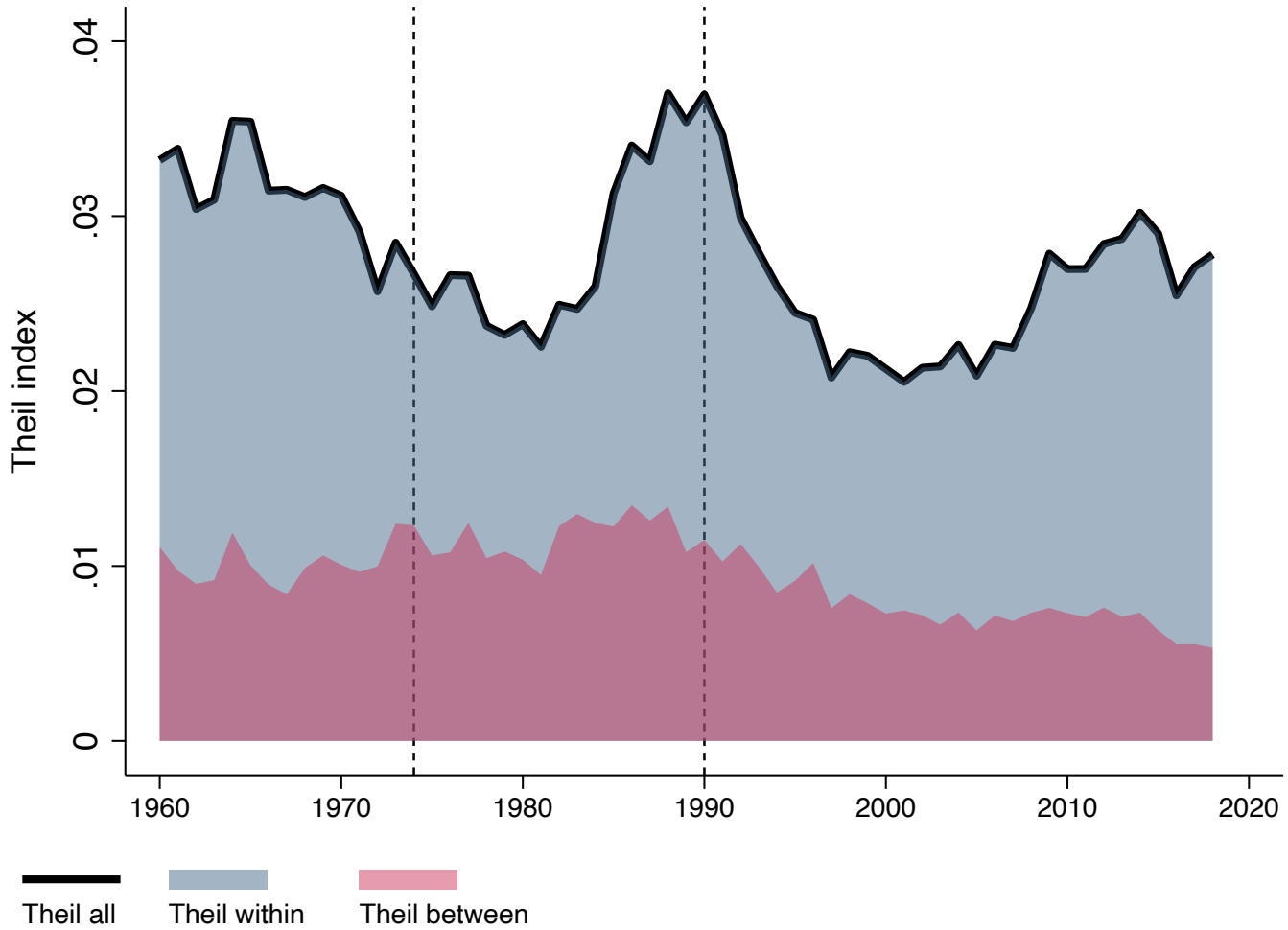
$$\Pi^{M}_{e,t} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{I}\sum_{i=1}^{P}S^{p}_{i,e,t}\pi^{p}_{i,e,t}}{\sum_{i=1}^{I}\sum_{i=1}^{P}\pi^{p}_{i,e,t}}, \tag{2}$$

These variables are also computed at the country level (dependent)

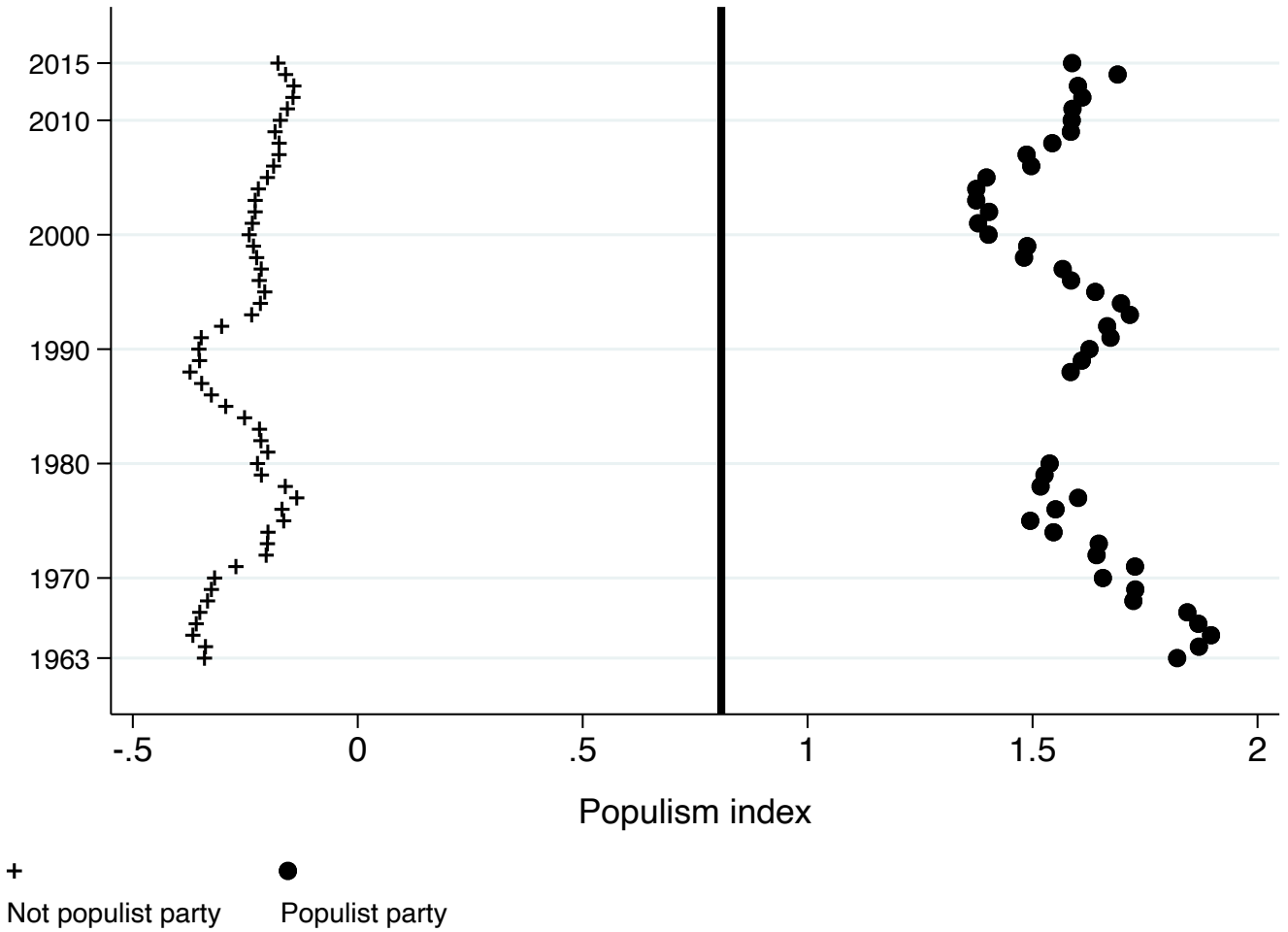
Continuous score – Distribution



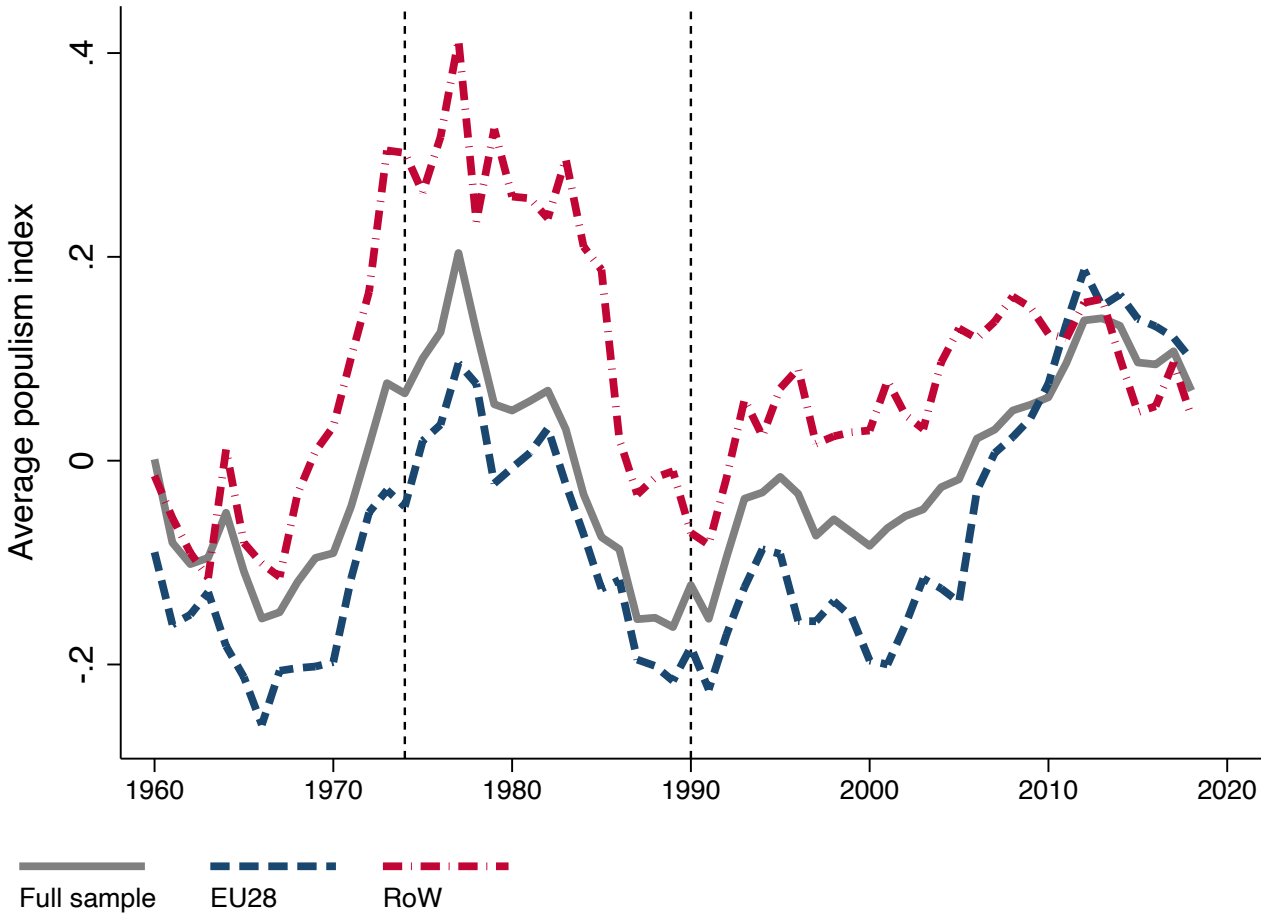
Continuous score – Theil



Dichotomous class. – dist. never-populists vs. others

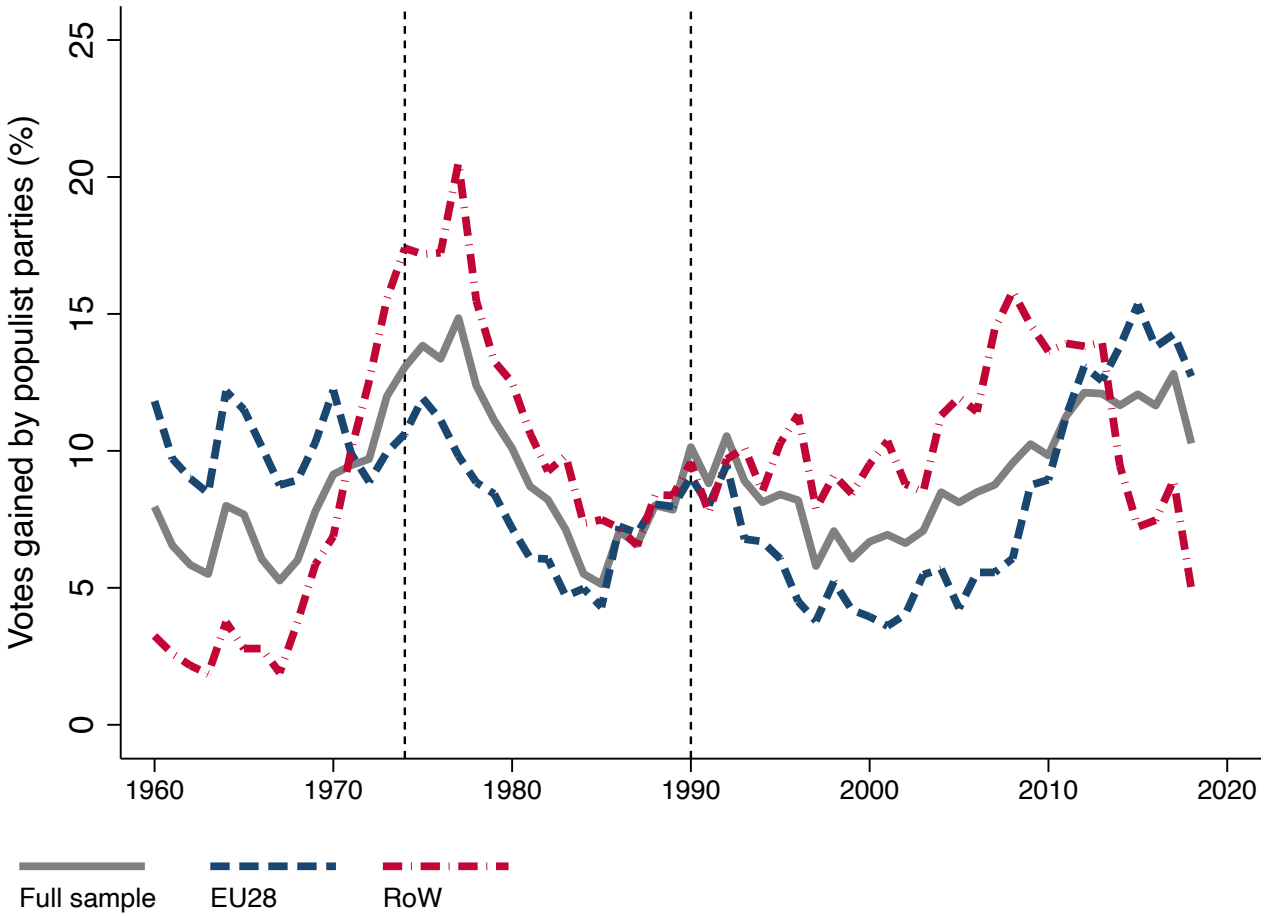


Continuous score – Mean margin



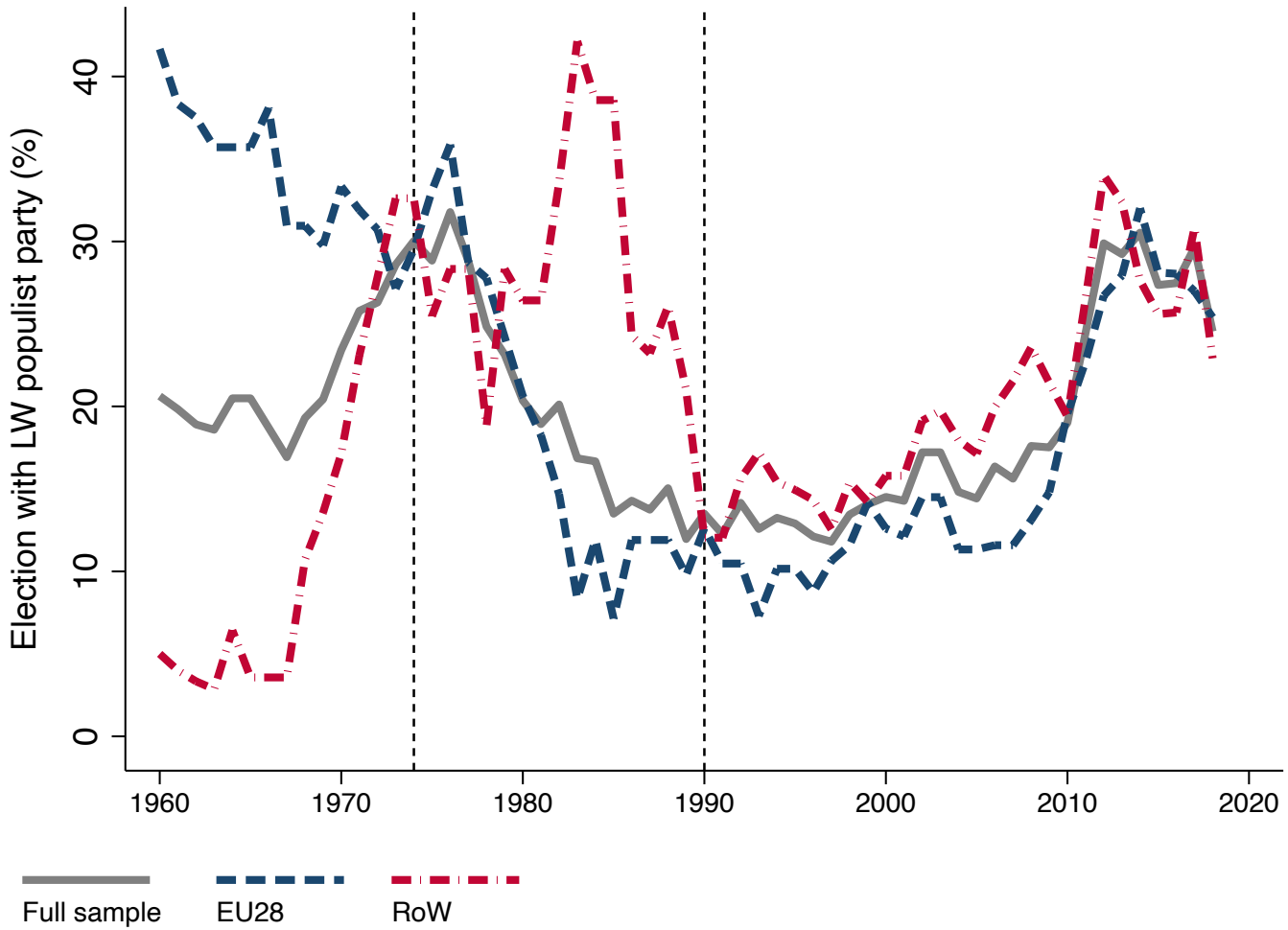
▸ Balanced sample

Dichotomous class. – Volume margin

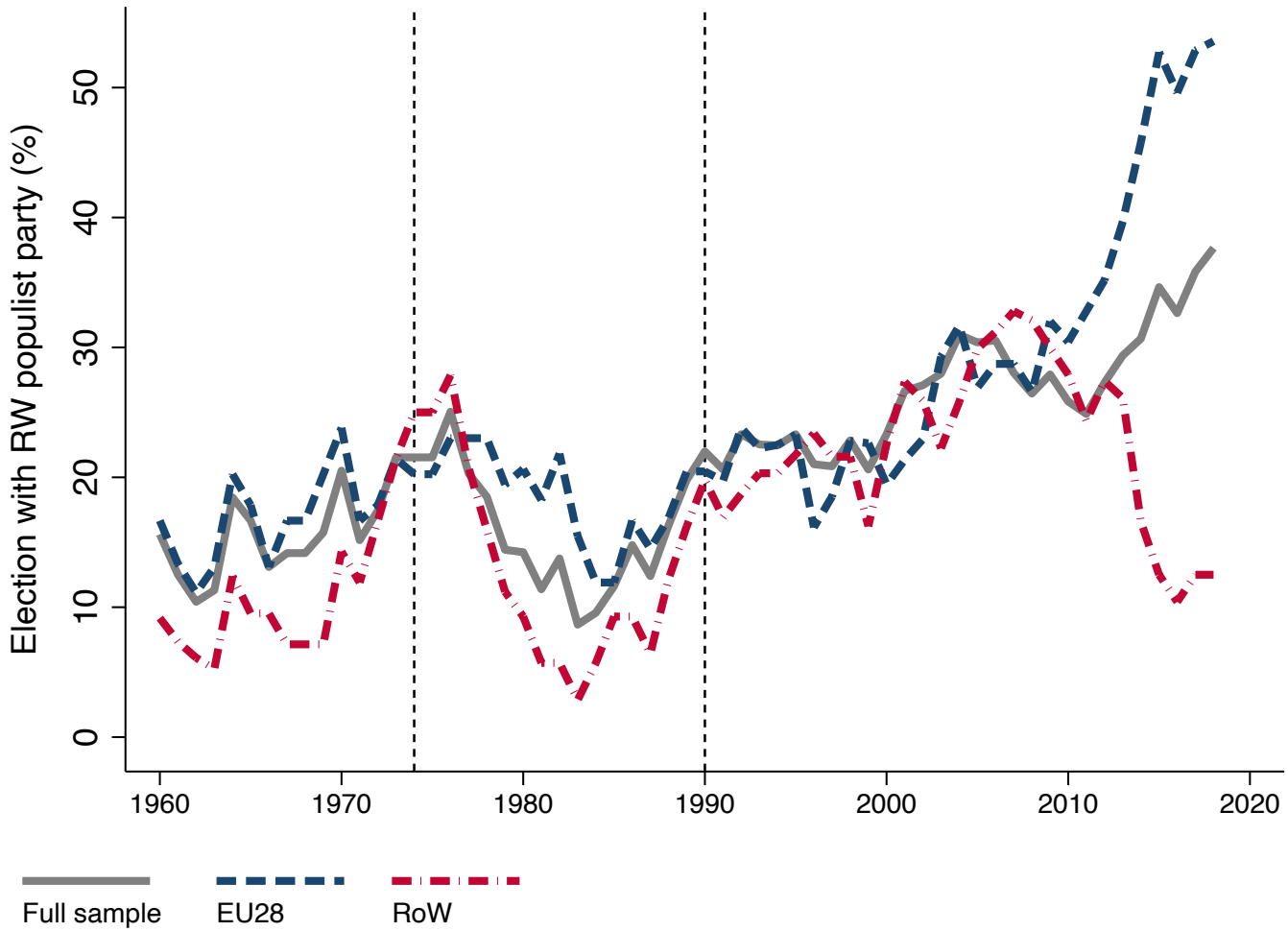


▸ Nb pop. parties ▸ Balanced sample ▸ Rodrik (2020)

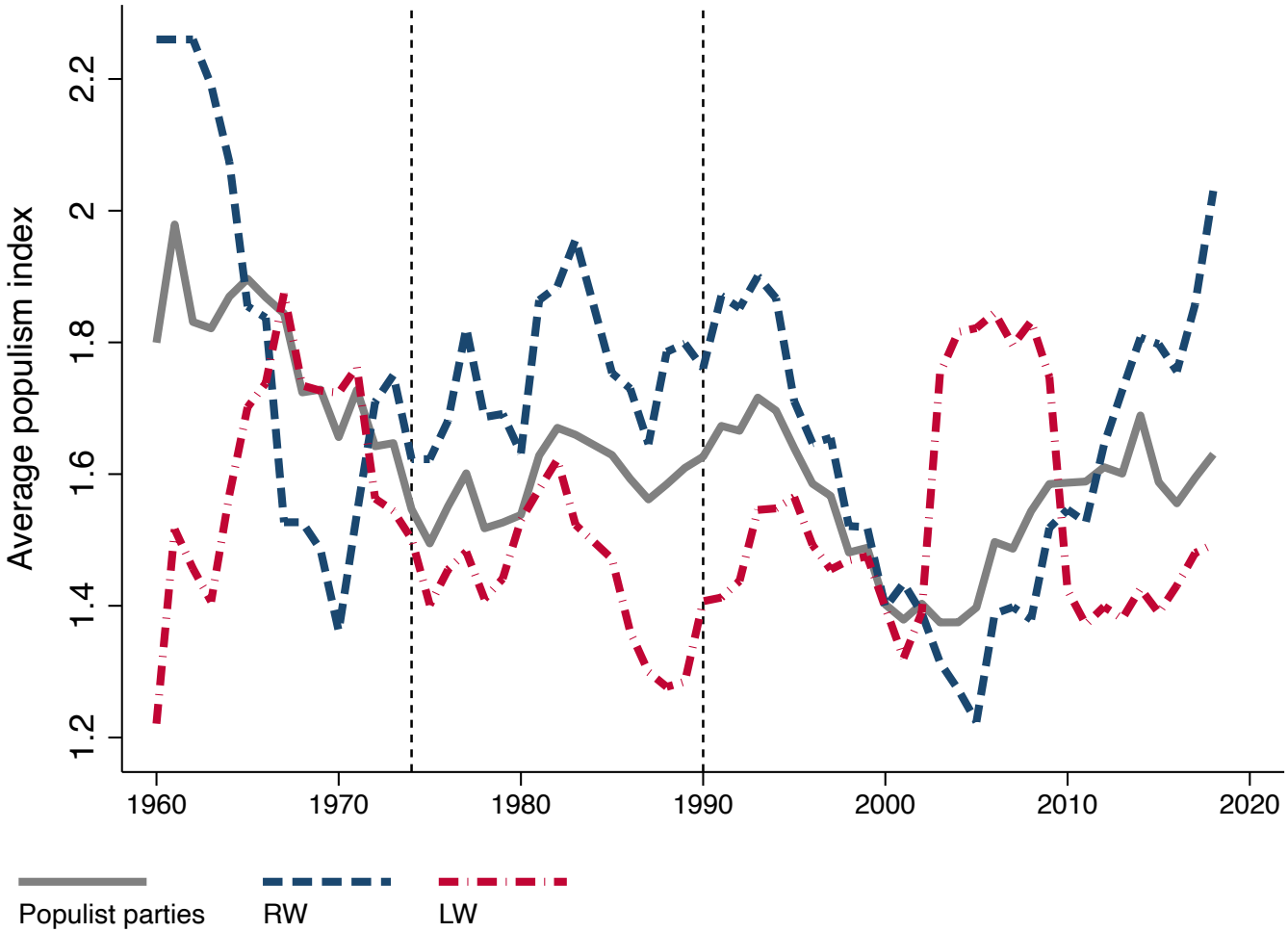
Dichotomous class. – Elections with LW populists



Dichotomous class. – Elections with RW populists



Dichotomous class. – Mean score LW/RW populists



Road map

1. Introduction
2. Data and Stylized Facts
3. **Links with Globalization**
   - Empirical specification
   - Baseline results
   - IV estimates
   - Robustness
   - Amplifiers
4. Concluding remarks

Empirical specification

Baseline model:

$$\begin{cases} \Pi^M_{i,e,t} = \alpha^M + \beta^M \mathbf{X}_{i,e,t} + \sum_S \gamma^M_S \mathbf{Mig}^S_{i,e,t} \\ + \sum_S \zeta^M_S \mathbf{Imp}^S_{i,e,t} + \theta^M_i + \theta^M_t + \epsilon^M_{i,e,t}, \\ \\ \Pi^V_{i,e,t} = \exp\left[\alpha^V + \beta^V_S \mathbf{X}_{i,e,t} + \sum_S \gamma^V_S \log(\mathbf{Mig}^S_{i,e,t}) \right. \\ \left. + \sum_S \zeta^V_S \log(\mathbf{Imp}^S_{i,e,t}) + \theta^V_i + \theta^V_t + \epsilon^V_{i,e,t}\right] \end{cases} \tag{3}$$

As $\Pi^M_{i,e,t}$ is a continuous variable (linear), and $\Pi^V_{i,e,t}$ is a non-negative variable with 60% of zeroes (PPML)

Empirical specification

- Baseline specification
  - OLS for $\Pi^M_{i,e,t}$, and PPML $\Pi^V_{i,e,t}$
  - Full set of country and year FEs
  - $\mathbf{Mig}^S_{i,e,t}$: LS and HS immigration flows
  - $\mathbf{Imp}^S_{i,e,t}$: LS and HS imports of manuf. goods
  - $\mathbf{X}_{i,e,t}$ includes GDPpc + Hum Cap + Empl. rate + Nb. parties
  - Many other variables in appendix (bad controls)
  - All variables = Averages of t and $t-1$
- IV results and robustness...
- Interactions with potential amplifiers...

Baseline results

	Volume ($\Pi^V_{i,e,t}$)			Mean ($\Pi^M_{i,e,t}$)		
	All	RW	LW	All	RW	LW
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
log HC_{it}	-4.81**	-9.01***	5.06	-1.74***	-1.85***	-0.04
	(2.09)	(3.41)	(5.27)	(0.54)	(0.54)	(0.37)
(log) $Imp_{i,t-1\to t}$ (LS)	0.83***	1.33**	1.49*	3.78**	4.28***	-0.11
	(0.30)	(0.56)	(0.62)	(1.65)	(1.47)	(0.70)
(log) $Imp_{i,t-1\to t}$ (HS)	-0.71	-1.30***	-1.25	-0.21	-0.50*	0.36
	(0.44)	(0.49)	(0.86)	(0.43)	(0.28)	(0.23)
(log) $Mig_{i,t-1\to t}$ (LS)	0.14	1.52***	-1.78***	-0.17	1.73	-1.28
	(0.34)	(0.55)	(0.59)	(1.93)	(2.45)	(1.28)
(log) $Mig_{i,t-1\to t}$ (HS)	-0.28	-1.32***	1.17*	1.86	-2.63	3.65
	(0.29)	(0.48)	(0.64)	(4.99)	(4.74)	(3.49)
Observations	575	575	575	578	461	470
(Pseudo-)R^2	0.40	0.37	0.51	0.50	0.41	0.48
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

IV strategy

- Baseline specification

- IV results - **Gravity-model** in "stage-zero" ▸ Gravity Model
  - Strategy in line with China shock (Autor et al., 2020), weather shocks at origin (Munshi, 2003), or other shocks (Boustan, 2010; Monras, 2020; Klemans and Magruder, 2018)
  - Predict skill-specific flows w. origin-time and dyadic FEs

$$Y_{ij,t} = \exp\left[\alpha + \theta'_{ij} + \theta_{ij} * Post_{1990} + \theta_{j,t} + \epsilon_{ij,t}\right]$$

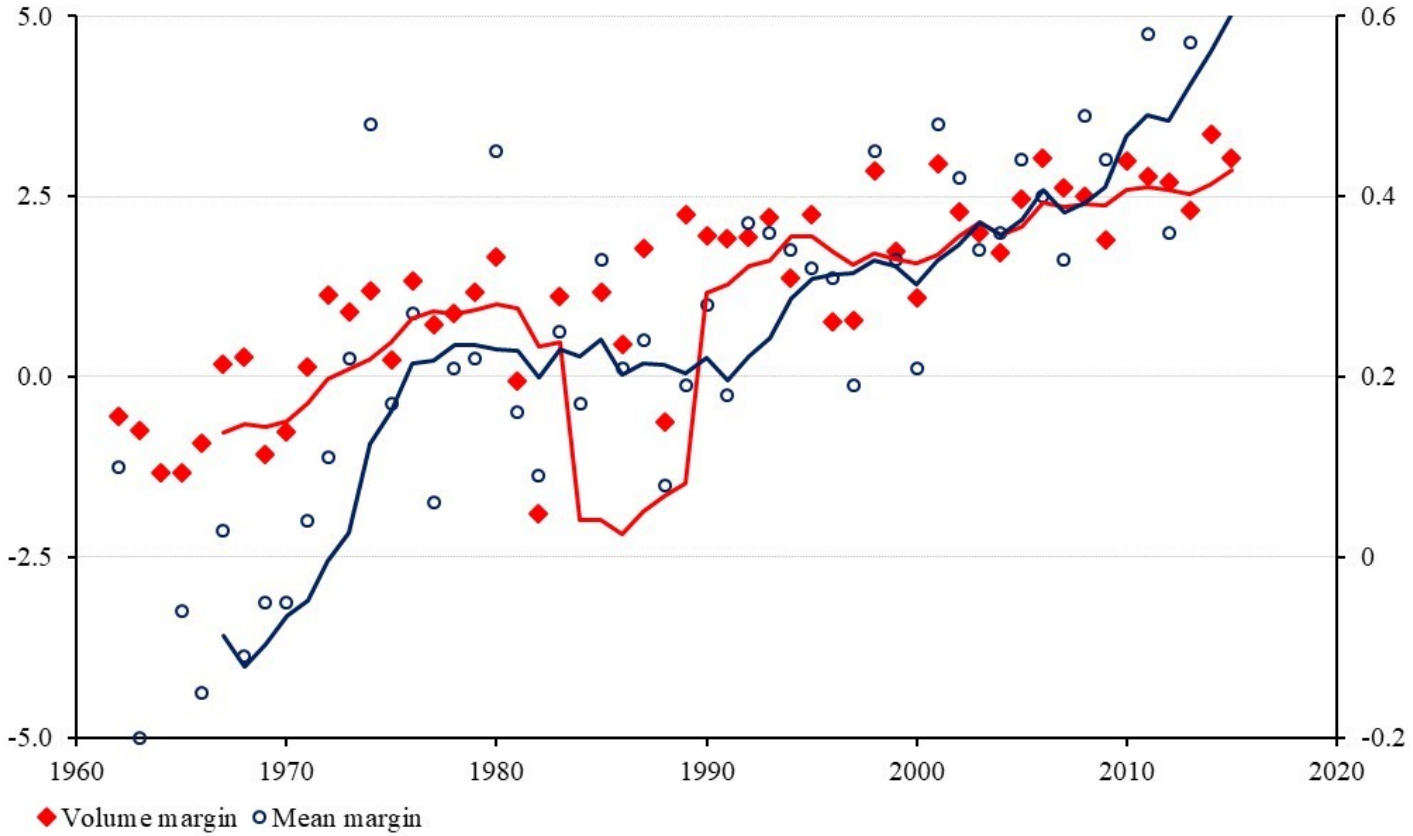
  - IV/2SLS for $\Pi^M_{i,e,t}$
  - Reduced-form IV for $\Pi^V_{i,e,t}$
  - Robustness checks

- Interactions with potential amplifiers...

IV results

	Volume ($\Pi^V_{i,e,t}$)			Mean margin ($\Pi^M_{i,e,t}$)		
	All	RW	LW	All	RW	LW
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(log) $\text{Imp}_{i,t-1\to t}$ (LS)	0.91*	1.82**	0.97	4.99**	4.06**	1.29
	(0.50)	(0.84)	(0.84)	(2.33)	(1.77)	(1.42)
(log) $\text{Imp}_{i,t-1\to t}$ (HS)	-1.22*	-2.14**	-0.72	-0.22	-0.59	0.45
	(0.66)	(0.87)	(0.83)	(0.54)	(0.38)	(0.37)
(log) $\text{Mig}_{i,t-1\to t}$ (LS)	0.53	1.97***	-1.70*	0.52	0.74	-0.75
	(0.43)	(0.58)	(0.92)	(3.13)	(3.01)	(1.53)
(log) $\text{Mig}_{i,t-1\to t}$ (HS)	-1.04*	-2.02**	0.60	0.99	3.15	3.34
	(0.56)	(0.89)	(1.23)	(10.12)	(7.90)	(4.75)
Observations	575	575	575	578	461	470
(Pseudo)-R^2	0.40	0.36	0.50	0.06	0.09	0.01
K-Paap F-stat				12.05	11.36	9.45
Year & Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

IV results – Time FE's



Summary of the results (in normal times)

- Skill dimension is instrumental!
- Imports in LS intensive goods
  - Increase volume & mean margins of total and RW populism
  - Supp (vol): increasing share of votes for populists (intensive)
  - Supp (mean): incr. score of moderately populist parties only
- Immigration of LS workers
  - Substitution of LW by RW populism
  - Supp (vol): along the extensive margin (nb. of parties > one seat)
  - Supp (mean): No impact on the mean margin
- If anything, HS intensive shocks reduce volume of RW populism
- Are these effects robust or amplified by other channels?

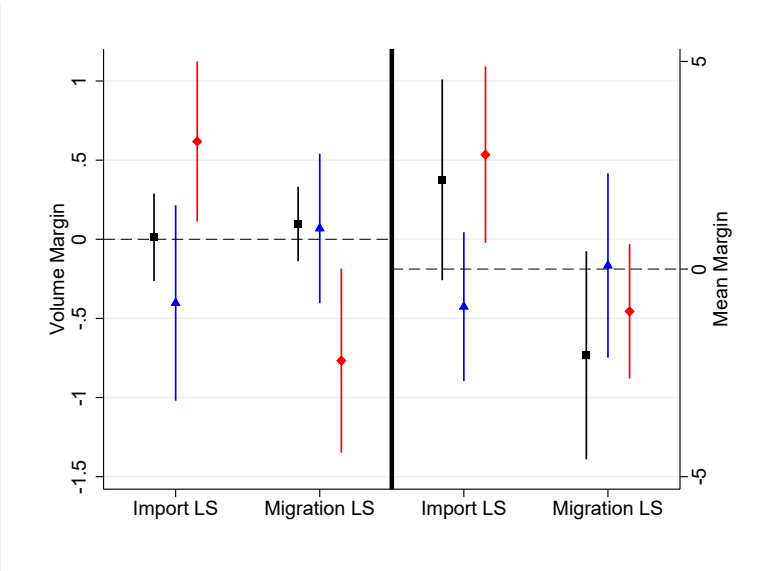
Robustness

1. Lag structure of glob. shocks
   - Robust if shocks in t, in $t-1$, since $t-2$ or $e-1$
   - Effect of Imports on LW if shocks measured on longer periods
2. Exports/Emigration (RHS) and Turnout (RHS/LHS)
   - No significant effect (or response)
   - No effect on the estimates for imports and immigration
3. Representative political system
   - No effect on estimates, except LW response to LS imports
4. Classification of populist parties (lax vs. strict def.)
   - Less significant with stricter def (key parties exit the list)
5. Sub-samples
   - Robust to post-1990 dummy (attenuates responses to imports)
   - In EU_{28}: stronger effects + LW populism response to imports
6. Robust to imputation of skill-specific flows

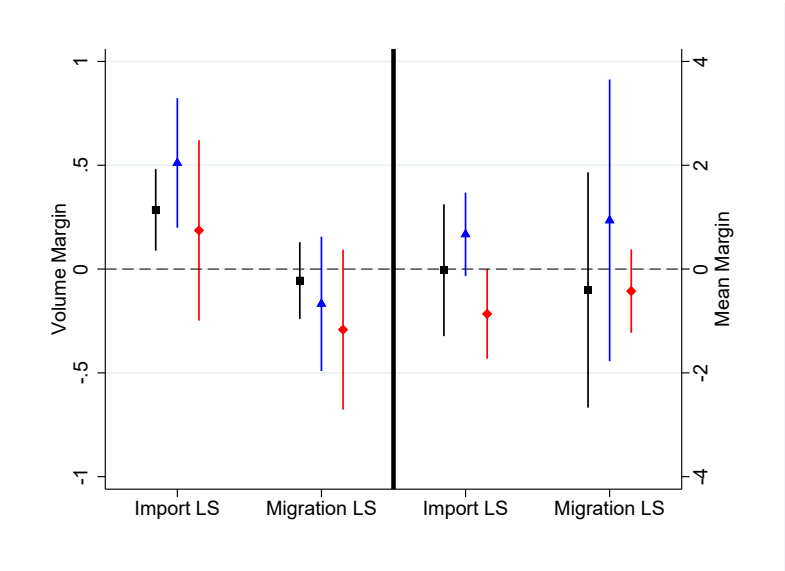
Empirical specification

- Baseline specification
- IV results
- Interactions with potential amplifiers of LS shocks (dummies)
  - Economic crisis (negative growth spells)
  - De-industrialization (ΔManuf in bottom decile)
  - Spread of social media (internet coverage in top decile)
  - Diversity of goods vs. cultural distance (in top decile)

Amplifiers



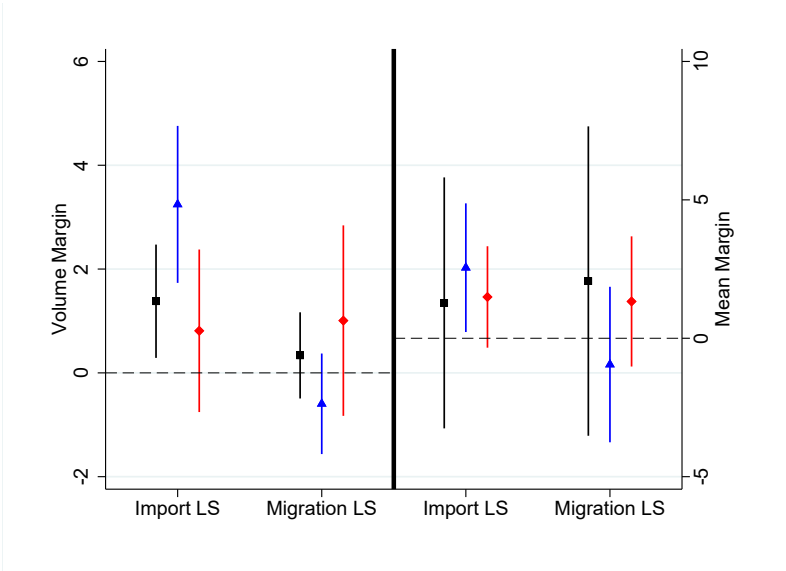
(a) Economic crisis



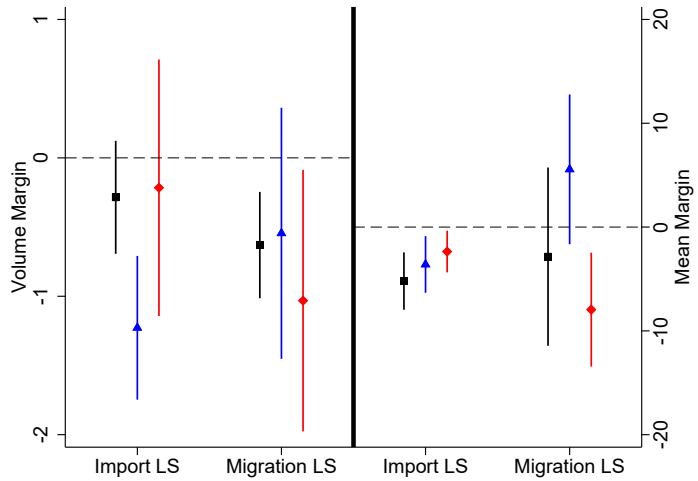
(b) De-industrialization

1. Linear terms are insignificant
2. Effect of Imp on vol. reinforced in times of de-industrialization + LW response in times of crisis along volume and mean margins
3. Effect of LS immig is unaffected (except a drop in LW responses in crisis)

Amplifiers



(a) Internet coverage



(b) Diversification/Culture

1. Linear effect of internet (+) and div (-) can be significant
2. Effect of Imp reinforced when internet coverage is large, attenuated if origin mix is more diverse (both margins for RW populism)
3. Cultural distance does not boost the populist response (drop in LW)

Road map

1. Introduction
2. Data and Stylized Facts
3. Links with Globalization
4. **Concluding remarks**

Concluding remarks

1. New continuous measures of populism (vol. and mean margins)
2. Populist parties have gained ground for 20 years (RW in EU!)
3. Link with size and structure of globalization shocks
   - Heterogeneous effects on margins of populism
   - Skill structure matters!
   - Populism response to LS import shocks (de-indust., internet)
   - Trade diversification reduces populism responses
   - LS migration shocks induce a substitution of LW for RW populism
   - We find no amplifying effect of cultural distance
4. Perspective to work at party level (entry/exit, electoral compet.)
5. And to study the reverse causal impact of populism on the size and skill structure of trade and migration shocks (vicious circles)

Thanks for your attention!

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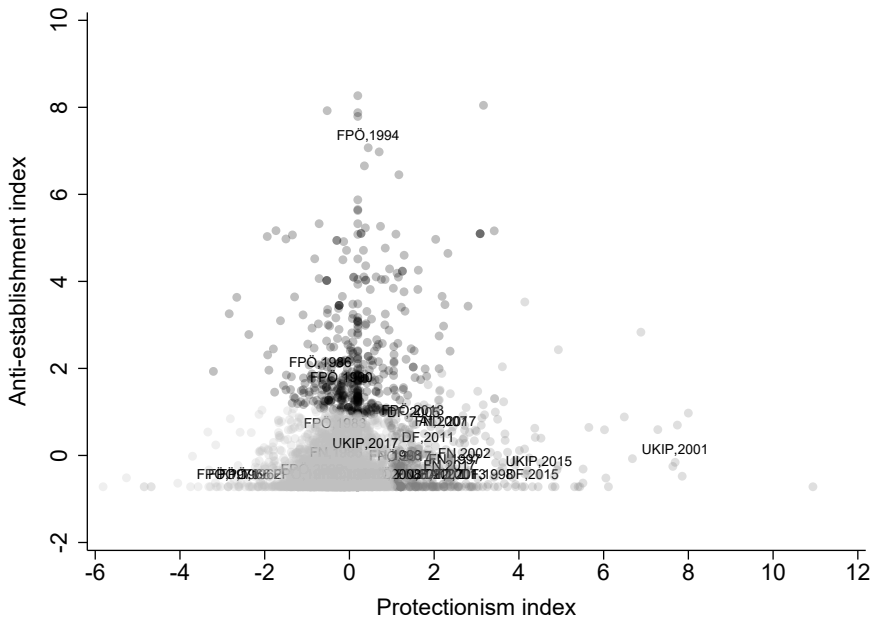
Our sample

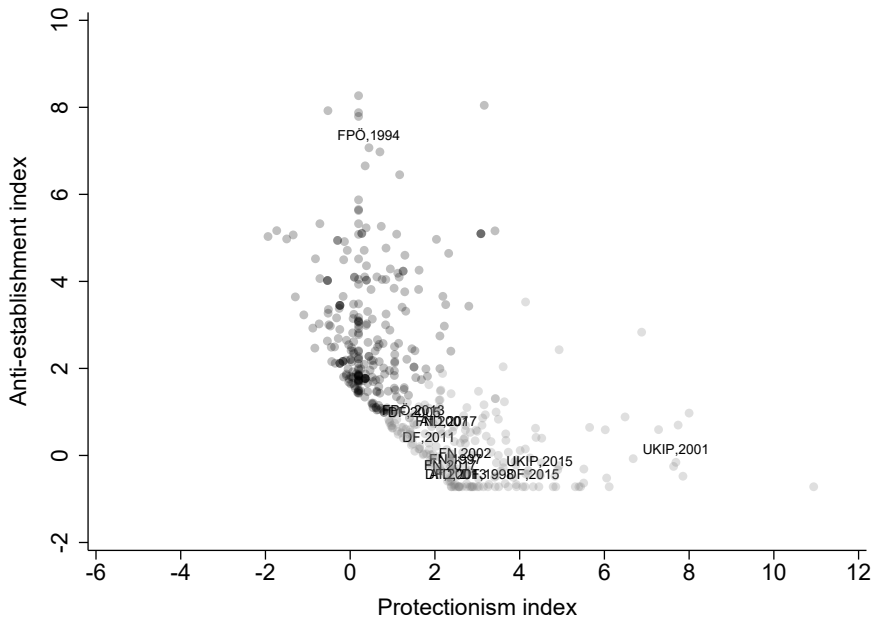
Back

Populism Score - K-means clustering

Back

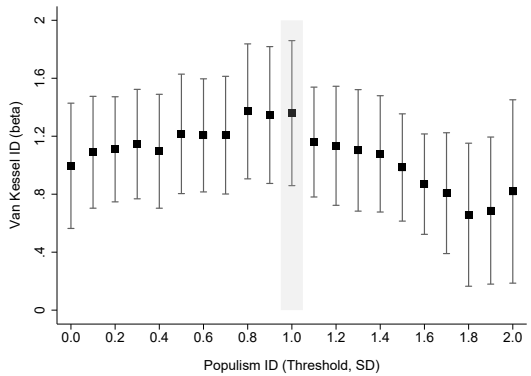


(a) All parties

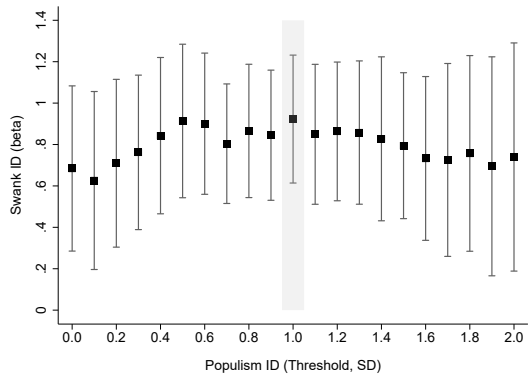


(b) Populist parties only

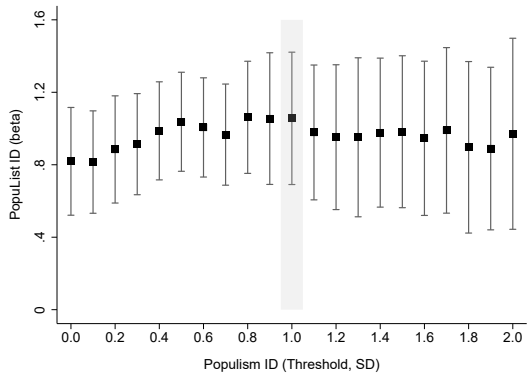
Populist parties - Threshold selection w. partial corr



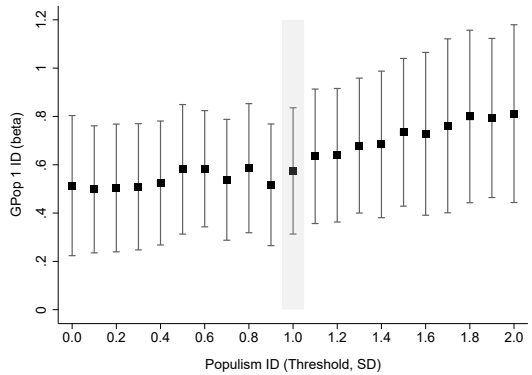
(a) Van Kessel



(b) Swank



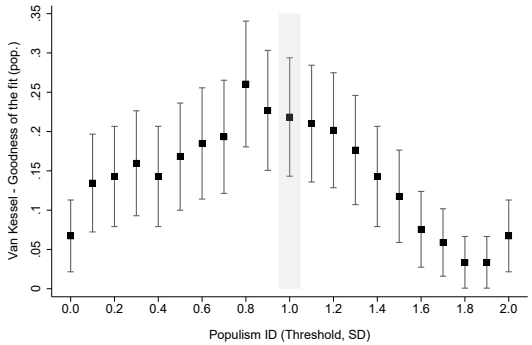
(c) PopuList



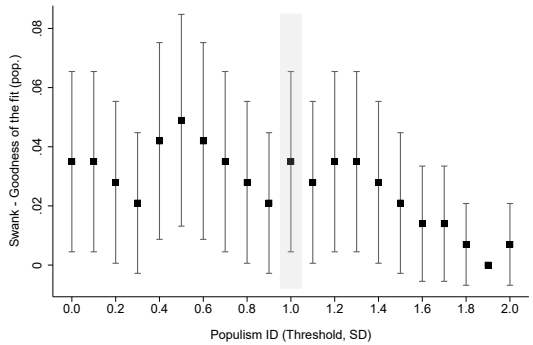
(d) Gpop 1

Populist parties - Threshold selection w. RAF

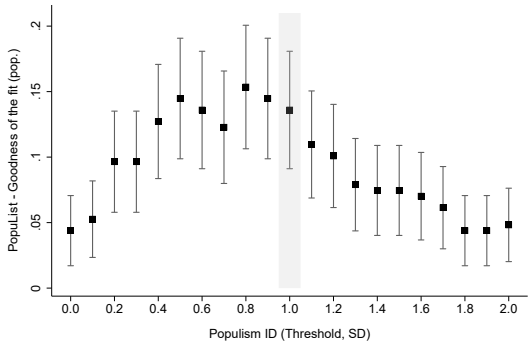
Back



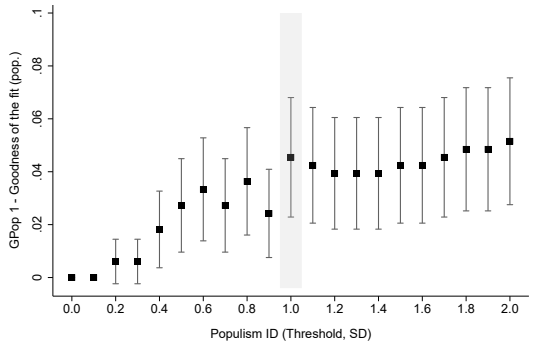
(a) Van Kessel



(b) Swank



(c) PopuList



(d) Gpop 1

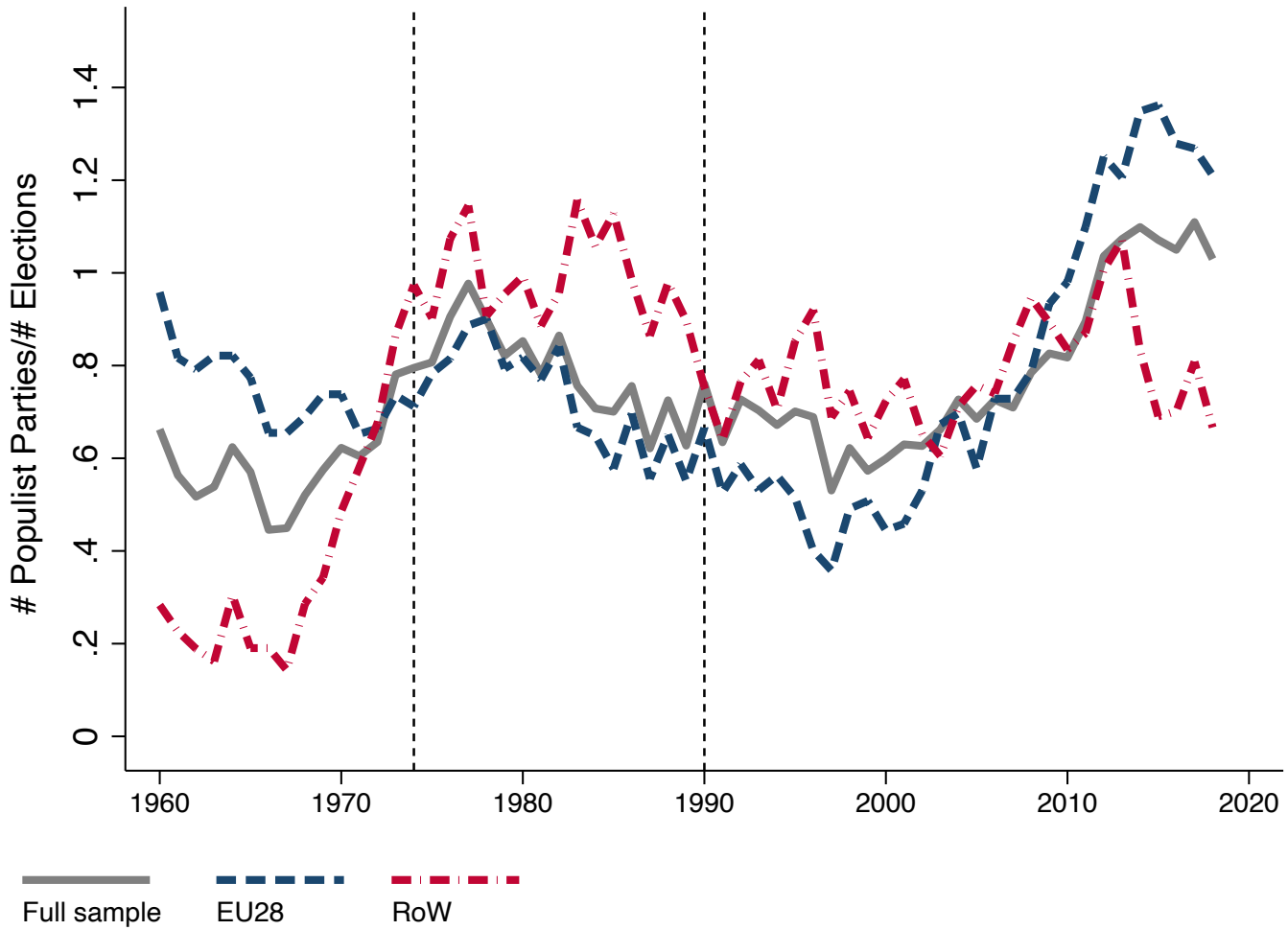
Gravity model - First-stage

Back

	(1) $Imp^{HS}_{i,e,t}$	(2) $Imp^{LS}_{i,e,t}$	(3) $Mig^{HS}_{i,e,t}$	(4) $Mig^{LS}_{i,e,t}$
$\widehat{Imp}^{HS}_{i,e,t}$	1.100***			
	(0.100)			
$\widehat{Imp}^{LS}_{i,e,t}$		1.139***		
		(0.112)		
$\widehat{Mig}^{HS}_{i,e,t}$			1.235***	
			(0.113)	
$\widehat{Mig}^{LS}_{i,e,t}$				1.137***
				(0.083)
Observations	575	575	575	575
Countries	52	52	52	52
Adj. R^2	0.94	0.93	0.86	0.86
Year & country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓

Nb of populist parties - evolution

Back



Rodrik (2020) - 19 countries, 31 parties

Back

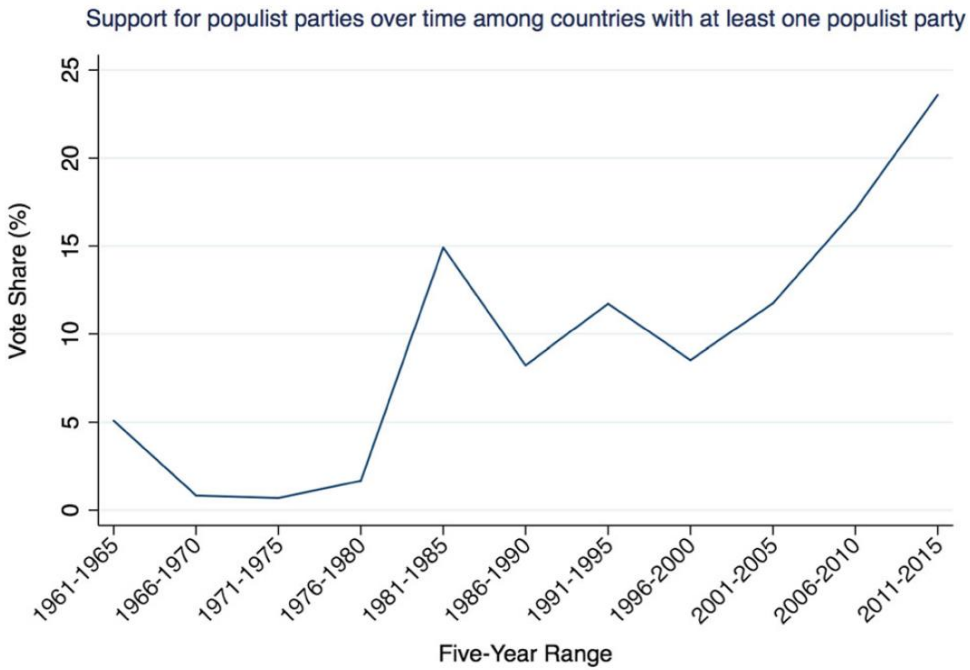
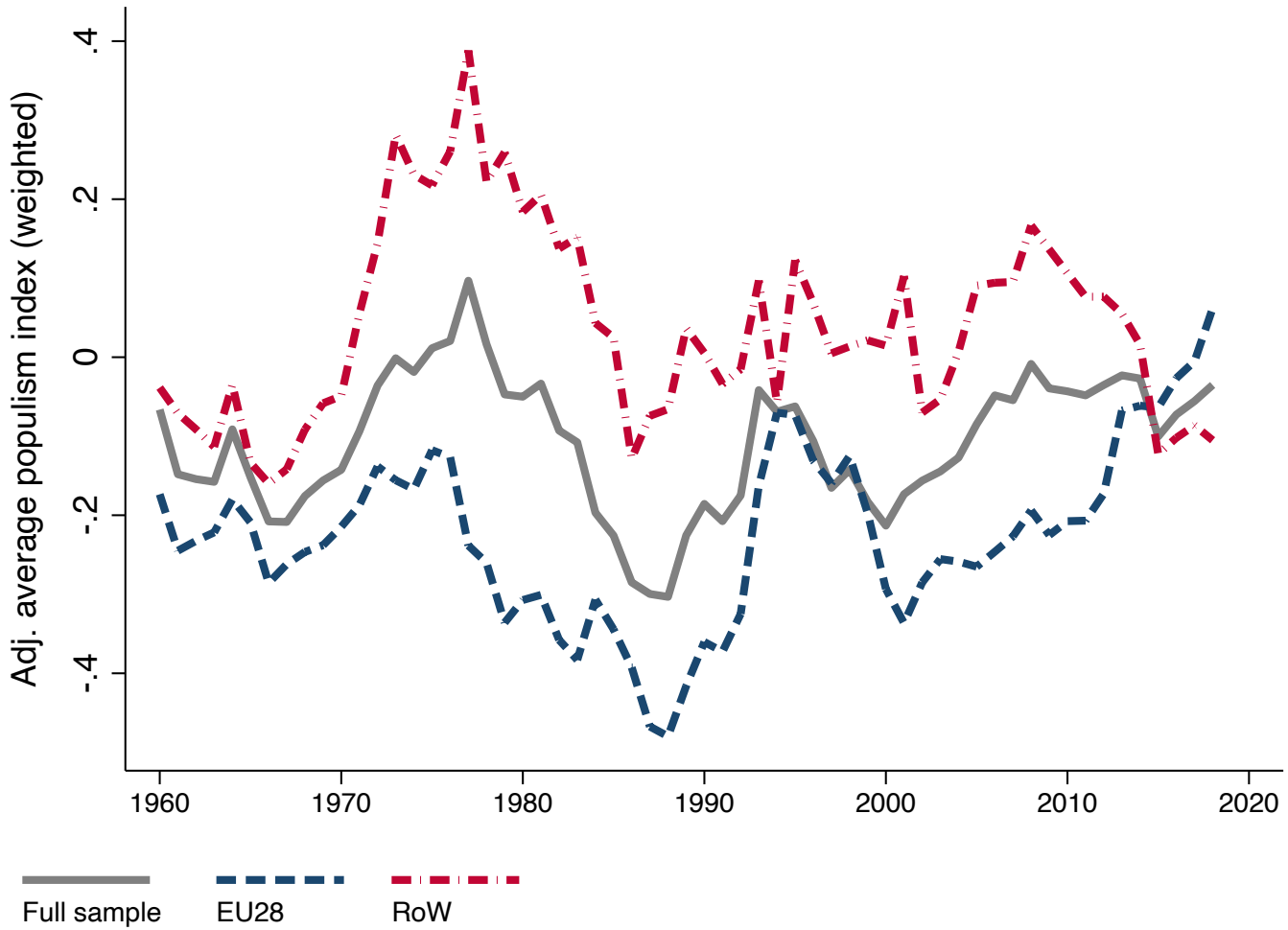


Figure 1 The global rise of populism. *Notes*: see Appendix for sources and methods.

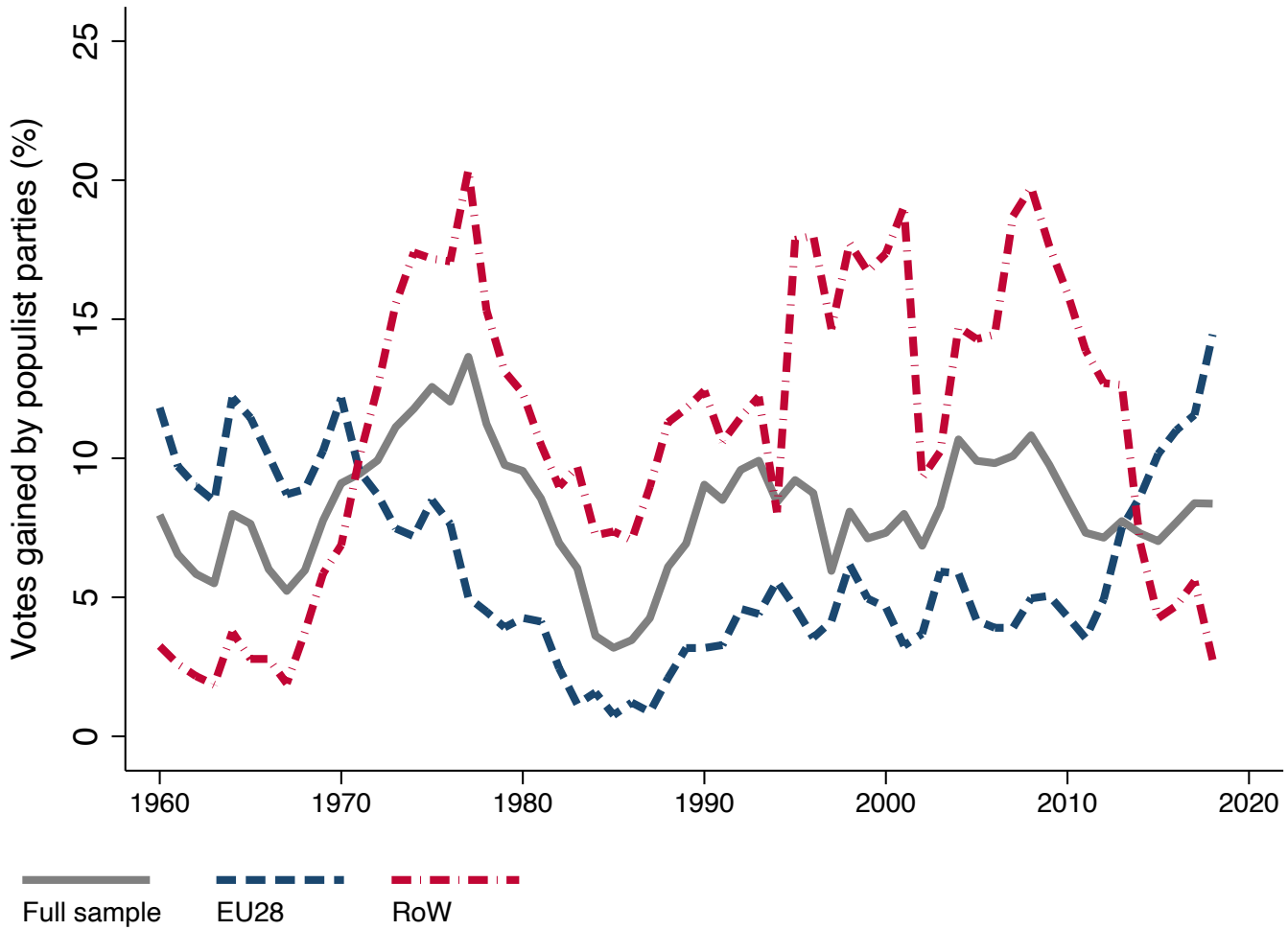
Mean margin - Balanced sample

Back



Volume margin - Balanced sample

Back



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