CHAPTER 10

Conditional Populist Voting in Chile, Greece, Spain, and Bolivia¹

Ioannis Andreadis Kirk Hawkins Ivan Llamazares Matthew Singer

The ideational theory implies that support for populist parties stems from more than just their opposition to immigration or to globalization, their support for redistribution, or the charisma of their leaders; parties could potentially campaign based on these policies without using populist appeals. Instead, it argues that populist parties combine these issue positions with a model of representation whereby politics represents the conflict between the will of the people and a conspiring elite. The expectation is that voters who hold active populist attitudes are more likely to support populist parties. After all, populist parties' gambit is that such discourse will enable them to add to support on top of that which their policy positions might garner alone.

In this chapter, we test the individual-level implications of the ideational argument. We expect latent populist attitudes are widespread in many societies and that, when activated, they will lead people to support populist parties. Yet populist attitudes will not translate into political behavior without activation. We focus on three conditions that should condition the linkage between populist attitudes and populist party support. As laid out in the introduction to this volume, electoral support for populist parties should be contingent on a context generating public demand for populist approaches and a party system supplying credible

¹ This is an Accepted Manuscript of a book chapter published by Routledge/CRC Press in The Ideational Approach to Populism on 11-10-2018, available online: https://www.routledge.com/The-Ideational-Approach-to-Populism-Concept-Theory-and-Analysis-1st/Hawkins-Carlin-Littvay-Kaltwasser/p/book/9781138716537

populist alternatives. Therefore, populist appeals will only win support from citizens to the extent that there is evidence that a conspiring elite exists and the system is not fully responsive to the popular will. This evidence could include party policies converging or corruption being (or perceived as) widespread. Moreover, as the crisis fades, those attitudes can become deactivated and stop being the basis of these parties' public support, even as populist parties continue evoking populist rhetoric. Finally, populist appeals alone are unlikely to win parties support; voters might agree with a populist party about the state of political representation in their country but will not support that party if they reject its policy vision. If there is no crisis of representation or if populist party policies do not align with voter priorities, then we will not see voters convert their latent populist attitudes into support for populist parties.

We test these expectations using survey data from four cases where populist forces have emerged in the last decade: Chile, Greece, Spain, and Bolivia.² These four cases differ in the degree to which the party system has faced a crisis of representation, the availability of populist parties with different ideological positions, and the degree to which populists have become entrenched as the new ruling parties, allowing us to test predictions that flow from the ideational theory. Survey data confirm that latent populist attitudes are strong in all four cases. Yet in two of the four cases (Chile and Bolivia), populist attitudes have minimal connection to voter choices, providing evidence that populist attitudes are less likely to be activated in a system where traditional parties are either perceived to provide strong representation (Chile) or in systems where the populist parties oversaw a robust economy and

² The funding agencies for each of these surveys and details about the firms that carried them out are listed in the web appendices; we thank them for their support. All conclusions and errors are our own.

a meaningful expansion of public representation (Bolivia). In the other two cases (Greece and Spain), recent severe economic and political crises have activated populist attitudes and lead to populist votes when voters agree with parties' ideological messages as well as their populist ones. Our study concludes that the relationship between populist attitudes and populist votes does not exist in a vacuum but emerges as voters respond to the populist parties' claims and overall policy vision.

Theory

Survey data collected in many societies shows that populist attitudes are widespread (see van Hauwaert et al. and Castanho e Silva et al. in this volume). Yet the existence of populist attitudes does not mean that voters will automatically support a populist candidate. Indeed, citizens hold a variety of policy views and political dispositions without automatically voting on them. Instead, three things must usually occur for an issue—any issue—to become salient. First, attitudes only become translated into votes as they are primed by candidates, parties, and the media (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Druckman et al. 2004; Hart 2013). Second, issues only have an effect on the degree that voters identify those issues as personally important and relevant to the situation (Krosnick 1988; Young et al. 1991; Singer 2011). Third, a particular issue that has been primed and is deemed relevant can still have its impact fade if other issues are seen as more pressing (Edwards et al. 1995; Carlin et al. 2015).

The ideational theory developed in this volume speaks to each of these three conditions hypothesized by the general literature on issue salience. The first is satisfied by the presence of populist candidates who, by definition, are priming populist attitudes. But for these primes to have an electoral effect (the second condition), their credibility needs to be established and other issue considerations need to not trump these considerations.

The perceived relevance of populist primes is likely to be satisfied by the context in which they are made. Populist attitudes are unlikely to gain traction without a context that

makes populist claims about the state of political representation in a country credible and important enough to consider. The ideational theory of populism stresses that populism emerges in the context of representational crises that allow voters to conclude that elite collusion is occurring. These democratic failures should make anti-elite sentiment more accessible and populism a more salient voting consideration. In the absence of these conditions, populist attitudes may exist but voters are unlikely to dwell on them when voting, focusing instead on parties' other programmatic and valence characteristics.

While the context can activate populist concerns, issue priming theories recognize that issues can also become deactivated if the underlying crisis fades (Edwards et al. 1995; Singer 2011). The implication is that populist ideals can become deactivated if the crisis of representation is resolved, either by institutional reforms or by improved economic and governance outcomes. If these good outcomes occur without populist parties ever gaining office, then the demand for populist parties may fade. If these improvements are overseen by populist parties, then voters may reward them for good performance. As a result, the connection between populist attitudes and support for populist parties may fade as valence replaces populist ideas as the main driver of their public support.

Finally, populist attitudes are unlikely to matter if populist ideas do not connect with issue positions that are meaningful to voters. Populism is a "thin-centered" ideology, as opposed to a "thick" or classical one (Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser 2013; Stanley 2008) that asserts that the will of the people is being blocked by a conspiring elite. Voters may accept that premise and be open to voting for a populist party, but they are unlikely to do so if they reject that party's articulation of what the will of the people is and the political and economic project it entails. Even in contexts where crises make populist appeals credible, voters will not support populist candidates whose policy programs they reject, because these policy aims are likely to be more salient than populist methods are. Populist attitudes, if activated, can

explain why a left-leaning voter supports a populist leftist over a non-populist leftist, but should not lead that voter to support a populist conservative.

The ideational theory of populism suggests that voters support populist actors at least in part because they espouse populist ideals of representation. Yet the effect of populist attitudes on vote choices will also likely be contingent, varying both across countries as the applicability of anti-elite sentiments vary and within them according to the policy positions those parties take and their resonance with the electorate across different contexts.

Four Cases of Potential Populist Mobilization

In this chapter, we explore four cases that differ sharply in terms of populist success: Chile, Spain, Greece, and Bolivia. Although these four cases all have parties that provide populist options for voters, the recent level of success of these parties varies widely. Not surprisingly, they also differ in the level of representation crises, the types of policy appeals that populist parties espouse, and the degree to which these populist forces have become political insiders. These differences allow us to look at some of the conditions under which populist attitudes translate into populist votes.

Table 10.1 summarizes the intensity of the populist appeals used by parties and political leaders in these four countries' party systems. We use the data provided by Hawkins and Castanho Silva in their chapter, which uses holistic grading to measure discourse in the parties' platforms and campaign speeches. We also summarize the "thick" ideological appeals of parties as coded by expert surveys, and we summarize the parties' electoral strength in recent elections.

<Table 10.1 about here>

Voters in all four countries had the option of supporting a populist party. In the case of Chile, the most populist appeals came from radical candidates of the left such as Roxana Miranda of the Equality Party (see Aguilar and Carlin forthcoming, and in this volume),

whose speeches scored just as populist as those of Hugo Chávez and his successors. The center-left PRO coalition, an electoral vehicle for Marco Enriquez-Ominami, also espoused moderate levels of populist rhetoric. Yet the main parties—those that have dominated Chilean politics since the return to democracy—showed almost no reliance on populist appeals; a slight suggestion of populism appeared only in Bachelet's campaign platform and Parisi's closing campaign speech, and there were no traces of populism in any of Matthei's speeches or her platform. We see a significant difference in rhetoric between the non-populist traditional parties and the populist party upstarts that could have potentially mobilized electoral support.

Spain represents a case of somewhat greater populist success, although it is still one where populists have not come to power. Podemos ("We Can") emerged out of protest movements in the late 2010s to finish in third place in the recent 2015 and 2016 general elections.³ Podemos combined strong demands for increased redistribution and a larger economic role for the state with populist rhetoric that emphasized the difference between the people and "the caste" (la casta), the political and economic elites that occupy a privileged social position and have dominated economic and political institutions in Spain. Podemos' speeches emerge in Table 10.1 as moderately populist, but as not as strongly populist as many of the other cases in this volume due to its emphasis on discussions of class alongside its more general populist appeals, as well as a more subdued tone. Furthermore, Podemos is not the only populist alternative for Spanish voters. The established leftist party, the United Left (IU) competing under the Popular Unity banner, emerged as the most populist party in the 2015 elections. The IU strategically shifted to populism as it saw its position as the main leftist alternative to the traditional PP and PSOE being eroded by Podemos's rise. Likewise,

³ See Gomez-Reino and Llamazares in this volume for a more extensive discussion of the origins of Podemos.

Democracy and Liberty (DiL) and the Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC) stood out among the regional parties for their moderate to strong embrace of populist rhetoric. The other regional parties and the traditional national PP and PSOE, in contrast, used almost no populist rhetoric in their rhetoric or platforms.

In Greece, we find a strong case of recent populist success. A small slate of populist parties have competed in politics since the end of World War II, most notably the Greek Communist Party, or KKE, whose leader Dimitris Koutsoumbas' rhetoric makes frequent references to "the Greek people" and its capitalist enemies that match the definition of populism. ⁴ Yet in the run up to the 2015 elections, a number of new major populist parties emerged on the left and the right that framed the crisis as an elite conspiracy against the Greek people. The two most prominent were SYRIZA, led by Alexis Tsipras; and Independent Greeks (ANEL) led by Panos Kammenos. Although these parties represented different views on other ideological dimensions, with SYRIZA seen as more consistently left and Independent Greeks as more socially right, both relied heavily on populist rhetoric.⁵ The traditional governing parties were much less populist in their rhetoric, as the leaders of the outgoing coalition (Venizelos of PASOK and Samaras of New Democracy) both expressed

⁴ Unfortunately, platforms were not available for all parties so we could not code them for this election.

⁵ Journalists often describe Golden Dawn as populist. Yet our coders gave a low average score to party leader Mihaloliakos because he frequently celebrates the concept of the Greek nation (the land, its shared culture and history) with the Greek people in a subservient position. This coincides with the judgment of scholars (Mudde and Galanopoulos 2015; Stavrakakis and Katsambekis 2014). However, some speeches received a high score because they shifted their rhetoric and prioritized the Greek people and their struggle against external and internal enemies, thus showing that the party leader is capable of speaking populism.

little to no populism. The leader of POTAMI, a new centrist party formed by a political amateur, also registered a low level of populism.

Finally, Bolivia is also a case of populist success. The most populist party in Bolivia was its largest: the Movement for Socialism (MAS). The MAS differs somewhat from other cases of left-populism through its use of "ethnopopulist" appeals (Madrid 2012). The MAS has its origins in ethnic politics and has continued to mobilize traditionally disenfranchised ethnic groups behind Evo Morales personally (he is ethnically Aymara and speaks both Aymara and Quechua and worked as a coca farmer) and behind demands for ethnic and linguistic pluralism. Yet the MAS reached out to non-ethnic voters through populist appeals that promised to use greater state intervention to generate economic development, all while denouncing corrupt and established elites. The political opposition to the MAS varied by election, as it has so far failed to consolidate or to articulate a programmatic alternative that resonates with voters (Centellas 2015). Yet the opposition parties made fewer populist appeals in their platforms than the MAS in the most recent elections.⁶

The context for the activation of populist attitudes differs predictably across these four countries. Bolivia and Greece have had widespread – as opposed to punctuated – political and economic failures that should make populist appeals resonate with voters. In Bolivia, the traditional parties converged ideologically and enacted the neoliberal policies of the Washington Consensus (Kingstone 2011, 86-90), leaving few policy differences on which voters could distinguish them (Kitschelt et al 2010; Singer 2016). A series of policy failures created dissatisfaction with existing parties and lead to multiple populist parties emerging in the 1990s and 2000s in addition to the MAS. Large segments of the population were dissatisfied with neoliberal policies that failed to correct high levels of inequality and

⁶ Unfortunately, we were not able to find many published texts of speeches and so we were only able to code party platforms.

poverty. Corruption was very high; Bolivia consistently ranks in the bottom 30th percentile for control of corruption according to the World Bank's Governance Indicators. Finally, the major parties had all ideologically converged, as all three major parties had ruled in coalition with each other and enacted the same basic neoliberal economic policies. This dissatisfaction culminated in the MAS winning the 2005 elections. While the MAS has been unable to make large strides in reducing corruption since taking office, the combination of a commodities boom and redistributive policies resulted in poverty being reduced by half since the MAS took office in 2005 (Mauricio Vargas and Garriga 2015). Moreover, the MAS instituted a series of institutional reforms that their critics claim have weakened liberal democracy but which its supporters argue have empowered traditionally disempowered indigenous and impoverished groups (Pearce 2011; Farthing and Kohl 2014).

Corruption has also been a long-standing problem in Greece; the country ranks as the most corrupt country in Western Europe by Transparency International's (CPI) and in the 54th percentile in the World Bank's control of corruption measure. The economic crisis also resulted in perceived failures of representation, as the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund — the so-called Troika — compelled Greece to undergo a series of painful fiscal adjustments in exchange for a bailout loan despite popular opposition. Moreover, ND and PASOK were compelled to create a unity government that could manage the ongoing economic crisis, further blurring the differences between the major national parties. Finally, the traditional parties' reliance on patronage and corruption led to fiscal mismanagement that was seen as a key contributor to the crisis (Pappas 2013). These domestic and international factors created opportunities for populist parties to criticize the traditional parties as not only ineffective but as traitors of the Greek people.

Conditions for populist appeals were not quite as ripe in Spain. The main Spanish parties have generally provided clear programmatic differences along standard left-right

dimensions (Dalton and Anderson 2011, 15) and in the mid-2000s Spain was in the 88th percentile of the World Bank's control of corruption index, 20 points higher than Greece. Yet recent years brought challenges. The global economic crisis hit Spain particularly hard, and in 2010 the leftist PSOE government was compelled to enact austerity measures that it had previously rejected, policies that were maintained and deepened by the PP government after it won elections in 2011. This convergence in economic policies resulted in widespread social protests against the cuts to social programs. Spain was also rocked by several corruption scandals, which resulted in Spain falling to the 70th percentile in the World Bank's corruption control measures in 2015 which, while still higher than Greece's current ranking, was a large drop. All of these recent events should have created openings for populist parties.

Finally, of all four cases Chile has experienced the lowest degree of representational failure (Navia and Walker 2008). Kitschelt et al (2010, 171) consider the Chilean party system the best approximation in Latin America of the programmatic ideal, i.e., a political system with parties that are internally consistent in their ideological message while consistently differentiating themselves from each other. Chile is also notable for a lack of corruption; in 2015 it ranked in the 87th percentile for the World Bank's control of corruption score, the second best score in Latin America. Yet in recent years there have been signs of increasing political unresponsiveness that might create space for populist mobilization. Luna and Altman (2011) have shown that the party system is frozen at the elite level and increasingly disconnected from civil society. This disconnection has resulted in falling levels of partisanship (Lupu 2015, 235) and distrust in parties (Carlin 2014). Moreover, the traditional axes of party competition – class, religion, and attitude toward the Pinochet regime – have progressively weakened since the transition to democracy in 1989 (Bargsted and Somma (2013). The result has been massive waves of protests, the appearance of strong social movements (Donoso 2013), and the rise of the populist fringe parties highlighted in

Table 10.1. Yet these crises seem much smaller, in relative terms, than those facing the other three countries in this analysis.

These differences across the four cases suggest that populist parties should be best positioned to activate latent populist attitudes in Greece and Bolivia than in Spain or especially Chile. Yet the context is not the only factor that should condition voter responses to populism. In three of these four cases (Chile, Spain, and Bolivia), populism is only attached to leftist policy positions, especially in economic terms. To the degree that populist attitudes are activated within these countries, their impact will be limited to voters sharing this policy vision. Greece, in contrast, provides latent populist voters with multiple policy alternatives; As described in Table 10.1, the Chapel Hill Expert Survey scores ANEL as strongly right and SYRIZA as strongly left. ANEL is less conservative on economic policies than on social issues, but its score on the markets question (5.6) still diverges from SYRIZA (1.44). This means that populist attitudes may split voters between these two parties depending on their ideological preferences.

Finally, the electoral importance of populist attitudes in Bolivia may be limited by the success the MAS has had in improving economic and representation outcomes in the country since taking office. Corruption has remained widespread in Bolivia under MAS leadership, with some scandals implicating the friends and family of Morales, perhaps leading some Bolivians to view the MAS as now part of the conspiratorial elite against which they have traditionally railed. Yet the strong economy, falling poverty, and increased outreach to impoverished and indigenous voters might send the message that the crisis of representation has passed. As a result, these policy successes may have deactivated the populist attitudes that were at the root of the party's rise. If this is the case, we are likely to observe a weak connection between voters' populist attitudes and their propensity to support the MAS or Morales.

How Common Are Populist Attitudes in Our Case?

To test these claims, we model vote choice in each country using a series of public opinion surveys conducted close to recent elections.⁷ In each survey, we included the six-item battery for measuring populist attitudes developed by Akkerman et al (2014) and discussed and critiqued elsewhere in this volume by Acevedo, Schimpf, and van Hauwaert. While we acknowledge the weaknesses of this battery, it was the state of the art when we conducted these surveys and this chapter presents a first cross-regional attempt to systematically model the conditions under which these attitudes become politically activated.

<Figure 10.1 about here>

One of the first findings to note is that all four cases also have substantial proportions of their electorates expressing agreement with populist attitudes. The data in Figure 10.1 confirm a generally high (although far from universal) agreement with the indicators of populist attitudes in all four countries. Citizens are particularly likely to agree that politicians

⁷ The specifics of the survey methodologies are described in the online appendix, but we summarize them here. The UNDP Survey in Chile is a nationally representative face-to-face survey conducted at the homes of respondents roughly at the time of the 2013 president election. The University of Salamanca survey in Spain is an online ISO 26362 certified panel survey carried out by the firm Netquest right before the December 2015 general elections. The Hellenic Voter Study for the Greek Parliamentary elections of January 2015 (Andreadis, Kartsounidou, and Chatzimallis 2015) is a mixed-mode survey conducted by the Laboratory of Applied Political Research at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in June of that year, asking respondents to look back at the election. The Bolivia survey was the June 2016 Ipsos Omnibus survey, conducted face-to-face in the urban centers of La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz.

need to follow the will of the people and that politicians talk too much and take too little action. There is more moderate support for the statements that people and not politicians should make policy and that the differences between people and the elites are bigger than the differences between people. Finally, there was less support for the ideas that voters want to be represented by ordinary people or that compromise equates to selling out, but even in those cases, the average response in all countries was at least a 3 on the 5-point scale. Interestingly, general agreement with these ideas does not seem to vary according to the depth of recent political crises, as levels of agreement with these statements are just as high in any one country as in the others.

We further explore whether these questions measure a single, underlying, latent set of populist attitudes. In three of the four cases there is clear evidence. Specifically, in Spain, Greece, and Chile, separate factor analyses show the six populist items tap into a single strong factor (see appendix 10.1 for details). Furthermore, Cronbach's alpha for the populist statements in Spain is 0.77, in Greece is 0.74, and in Chile is 0.70, suggesting that they scale reliably. In these cases, we can easily measure the extent to which individuals hold attitudes consistent with ideational populism. Results of the battery are less coherent in Bolivia. Specifically, the factor analysis shows that the questions load on two factors, although the second one has an eigenvalue just barely above the conventional threshold. The second factor is dominated by two questions that emphasize the role of the public in the policymaking process ("The people and not politicians should make our most important policy decisions," and "I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician"). Yet these two questions share enough commonalities with the other questions that if we do a factor analysis of the four questions that load on the first factor and either one or the other two questions, then a single factor emerges, although the question about preferring representation by a citizen instead of a specialized politician loads more weakly than the others. Not surprisingly, Cronbach's alpha (0.56) is also lower in Bolivia than it is in the other cases. Despite the weaker than expected coherence of the Bolivian data, the overall positive associations suggest these questions shed at least some light on how strongly different citizens hold populist attitudes and might be positioned to mobilize their support for populist candidates.

Association of Populist Attitudes with the Vote

The data in Figure 10.1 suggest that the necessary attitudinal support for populist ideals exists in all four cases. Yet the ideational theory argues that voters' populist attitudes, while widespread, require parties to activate them and a context in which they will resonate. Additionally, we argue that populist attitudes' effects on vote choice must also not be undermined by policy views that contradict the populists' policy vision. Our four cases vary on each of these dimensions and, therefore, permit a first-cut probe of these expectations. *Chile*

In our first case, Chile, we expect that populist attitudes will not be fully activated within the electorate due to the lack of a deep representational crisis. To look at this, we model respondents' choice in the first round of the 2013 election as a multinomial logit, using vote for Matthei as the baseline since she represented the incumbent coalition. Our main independent variable is respondents' populist attitudes. We control for economic and social policy beliefs, evaluations of the economy, and partisanship, whose effects are consistent with expectations from previous work on Chile. But we see in Table 10.2 that populist attitudes are significant predictors of the vote for Enriquez-Ominami. In particular, while Bachelet voters were more likely to hold populist attitudes than Matthei voters, Enriquez-Ominami voters were significantly more likely to hold populist attitudes than voters for either traditional candidate. The predicted probability that a voter with high populist attitudes

supports Bachelet is no different from the probability that a voter with low populist attitudes supports her (see Figure 10.2).⁸

<Table 10.2 about here>

<Figure 10.2 about here>

The results in Table 10.2 suggest that populist attitudes are becoming activated in Chile; however, the size of the effect is still small. If we consider a range of 2.5-5.0 on the scale of populist attitudes (about two standard deviations above and below the mean), the predicted shift in voting probability for Enriquez-Ominami is about 5 percentage points. Considering that he received 11.0 percent of the vote in the actual election, this is an important element of his overall political support. But these effects are sufficiently small that Enriquez-Ominami did not seriously challenge either of the main candidates in the first round despite the high levels of agreement with populist attitudes highlighted in Figure 10.1. Instead, many voters with populist attitudes turned to Bachelet despite her minimal use of populist rhetoric. This suggests that populist considerations were not activated in this election. Given the small size of these effects, to conserve space we omit any further test of the interaction between populist attitudes and ideology and move to our next country.

Spain

We expect populist attitudes to be slightly more activated in Spain than they are in Chile due to the recent convergence of the parties and corruption scandals. In Table 10.3 we model vote intention as a multinomial logit, with vote for the PP as the baseline category because this was the largest party in the 2015 general elections and also because this party's

⁸ To save space we do not further explore the interaction between populist attitudes and policy concerns because these attitudes have generally not been activated within the electorate.

discourse did not include populist elements. For this analysis, we have merged into a single category the vote for Podemos and its regional alliances (En Marea in Galicia, En Comú Podem in Catalonia, and Compromís-Podemos-Es el moment in Valencia). The model includes a fairly standard set of controls including preferences on economic politics and regional identities, retrospective economic measures, and demographic controls that are described in more detail in appendix 10.2. While these results suggest a multitude of factors structuring voter choices in Spain, including ideology, regionalism, economic performance, and demographics, we focus our attention here on the role of populist attitudes.

<Table 10.3 about here>

The results in Table 10.3 confirm that populist attitudes have been politically activated in Spain. As one would expect, populist attitudes do not differentiate support for PSOE from support for the PP. Instead, holding populist attitudes leads voters to reject both traditional parties and vote for Podemos, Ciudadanos, the IU, or the ERC, or to abstain. Given the strong emphasis many of these parties gave to populist rhetoric in their campaigns and platforms, it is not surprising that voters who have a populist worldview were prone to support these parties instead of the traditional dominant parties. But populist values are also a significant predictor of vote for Ciudadanos, a party that did not include any populist elements in its campaign discourse but which, as a new party in the political scene, represented a break with the traditional party elite.

The sizes of these effects in Spain are larger than those observed in the Chilean case. If we again consider a range of 2.5-5.0 on the scale of populist attitudes, the predicted shift in voting probability for Podemos goes up by about 12 percentage points and for Ciudadanos goes up by about 5 percentage points. On the other hand, predicted support for the PP or PSOE falls by roughly 10 points (Figure 10.3).

Yet the effects on average in Figure 10.3 are only for the average voter—they do not take into account how voters see the ideological program that populists are mobilizing. The data in Table 3 confirm that support for national parties in Spain is strongly shaped by left-right self-placement and, in the case of Podemos, by attitudes about globalization, while support for the Catalan parties (DiL, ERC) is shaped by attachment to a regional identity, as is support for Podemos due to its alliance with peripheral nationalist or regional forces and its defense of multinational federalism. We expect these two strong divides in Spanish politics to shape how populist attitudes get translated into votes, limiting the importance of populist attitudes for voters who reject the populist parties on ideological grounds.

<Figure 10.3 about here>

We begin by looking at the effect of parties' ideological visions. Based on our unconditional analysis and our grading of party discourses, we expect populist attitudes to have opposite effects among leftist voters, making them less likely to vote for the traditional PSOE and more likely to support Podemos and IU. Yet we expect populist attitudes will not lead conservative voters to support either of these parties because they are likely to disagree with Podemos and IU about what the will of the people is. Populist attitudes should be associated with a rejection of the PP, but we are less certain about how conservative populist individuals will vote because no party articulated a populist message with a conservative policy stance.

To test the conditioning role of ideology, we interact populist attitudes with left-right self-placements. The table of results is not presented here to preserve space (see appendix 10.3) but in Figure 10.4 we plot the predicted marginal effect of populism on support for different parties conditional upon respondents' ideology. These results are generally consistent with our expectations. For example, the top row of Figure 10.4 shows that populism has no added effect on whether voters on the left support or reject the PP or on how

voters from the right evaluate PSOE. Yet among those who are ideologically predisposed to support one of the traditional parties, attitudes about populism significantly structure reaction to those parties. Among left-oriented voters, populism has strong positive effects on voting for Podemos and negative effects on voting for the PSOE, as populists reject the traditional party and endorse its traditional alternative. The figure for IU voters is also consistent with our expectations, except that conditional effects do not reach statistical significance, perhaps due to the relatively small number of voters in this category. Similarly, among rightist voters populism has a negative effect on voting for the PP. Yet as conservative populists reject the PP, they generally do not cross the ideological divide to support Podemos or the IU despite their strong populist profiles. Instead, among voters on the right, populist attitudes led voters to support Ciudadanos, despite its relatively limited use of populist appeals in the speeches analyzed in Table 10.1. This suggests that a somewhat stronger populist discourse would have been more in line with the preferences of the voters of Ciudadanos and points to a possible opening in the political space in future elections for a right-leaning populist party.

<Figure 10.4 about here>

While ideological divisions are important, center-periphery conflicts have also played a crucial role in the development of the Spanish party system and should shape how voters respond to populist appeals. More specifically, the electoral appeal of autonomist parties in the Basque country, Catalonia, and Galicia has been based on the strength of distinctive peripheral identifications in those territories (as shown by the very large coefficients for this variable in our unconditional voting models for ERC and DiL). These regional attachments may also be more salient to voters than are populist appeals. In appendix 10.3 we ran a model interacting the measure of peripheral identities with populist attitudes; the marginal effect of populism conditional on regional identities are graphed in Figure 10.5. These results show that populist attitudes significantly decrease the probability of voting for the PP and the

PSOE while they increase the probability of voting for Podemos among voters who do not hold strong peripheral identifications. Yet among individuals for whom regional considerations are salient, populism has almost no added effect on how voters evaluate these latter parties. An analysis restricted to Catalan voters did not show any positive effects of populist attitudes on voting for DiL and ERC conditional on peripheral identifications, perhaps due to small sample sizes. There is some evidence that among the voters displaying strong peripheral identification, populism has significant positive effects on voting for Ciudadanos but the substantive significance of that effect is very small. These null results for populist attitudes among those with periphery identities suggest that, for the Spanish case at least, as regional identities become salient, the populism message becomes less important.

<Figure 10.5 about here>

Greece

The Greek case has even more severe crisis characteristics than those that activated populist attitudes in Spain. Hence we expect to see populist attitudes translated more consistently into votes for populist parties. Yet, unlike in Spain, populists in Greece emerged on both the right and the left, espousing competing national projects as the will of the people. The choice of populist party is likely to be conditional upon voters' additional policy views.

We model political support in Greece by using a two-part closed-ended question that asks whether respondents voted in the January 2015 election and, if so, which party they voted for. From this we model reported vote as a multinomial logit, using New Democracy as the baseline because it was the least populist of the major parties. The main predictor of interest is the populist attitude index, but the models include an array of controls for vote choice models, including measures of respondent ideology and issue concerns, assessments of economic performance, and demographics described in appendix 10.2.

The results in Table 10.4 suggest that populist attitudes were strongly associated with voter choices in the 2015 Greek elections. Individuals with strong populist attitudes are significantly more likely to vote SYRIZA and significantly less likely to vote for New Democracy, POTAMI, or PASOK. Voters for KKE and ANEL also are significantly more likely to lean populist. The effects of populism for the first two parties are quite large. A shift from 2.5-5.0 in populist attitudes is associated with a 30 percentage point shift in the vote for SYRIZA and a (negative) shift of 25 percentage points for New Democracy.

<Table 10.4 about here>

As discussed, we do not necessarily expect populism to be the only issue on which voters choose, and that is what we see in Table 10.4: respondents' positions on EU and statism were correlated with political choices in predictable ways. The two major issues in the recent Greek elections were over relations with the EU and over social conservatism/nationalism, with populist parties on both sides of these divides. To test if voters take into account populist parties' positions on these salient issues, we interact populist attitudes with attitudes about European Unification *and*, in a separate set of models, respondents' social ideology, nesting these interaction terms in the basic vote-choice models from Table 10.4.

The full models are available in appendix 10.3; in the section below we jump to the conditional effects that emerge from that model. Figure 10.6 graphs the estimated effect of populist attitudes conditional only upon levels of EU support. The results confirm that populist attitudes correlate with a rejection of traditional parties. Populist attitudes are negatively associated with support for the incumbent and decidedly non-populist ND across the board. Non-populists who supported the EU were willing to support PASOK, but the impact of populism on voting for PASOK is not significant on the anti-EU side. This is probably related to the fact that PASOK has been the party with the strongest pro-EU policies

since the beginning of the financial crisis; as a result, citizens with anti-EU attitudes would not vote for PASOK, no matter what their preferences are on other issues. Consequently, adding populism to anti-EU attitudes does not produce any additional damage for PASOK. Yet among those who supported the EU but were populist, support for SYRIZA emerges strongly. Populists who opposed the EU, in contrast, did not support SYRIZA but instead tended to vote for "other parties," a category primarily captures the vote for ANTARSYA and KKE-ML, communist parties which we were unable to include in our discourse analysis but which are generally regarded as extremist and anti-establishment; or populists abstained, which essentially represents a decision to vote against the highly popular but pro-EU SYRIZA.

<Figure 10.6 about here>

However, there are two surprising findings in Figure 10.6. First, the interaction effect for KKE is in the expected direction but not statistically significant. Although upwards on the left, suggesting that the effect of populist attitudes for potential KKE voters is stronger if the voter also holds negative attitudes towards the EU, its confidence interval fails to clear the zero line at any point. We suspect that, given the initially small effect of populism for KKE and the modest number of respondents in the survey, this is the best we can do with the model's power. Despite its high populism score as a party, the effect of populist attitudes among its voters is only modest. But there is a second negative finding. The interaction is still not significant or even in the expected direction for ANEL; not only does the confidence interval overlap the zero-effect line, but the trendline is basically flat. This finding is more dissatisfying, because the party is known for its anti-EU positions in the past; we expected it to emerge as an alternative for populist, anti-EU voters looking for an alternative to the pro-EU SYRIZA and the marginal communists.

The answer, we believe, requires taking into account a second ideological dimension: overall left-right self-placement. We interacted left-right self-placement with attitudes about the EU and populist attitudes. Because the results of the model—a triple interaction—are difficult to depict even graphically, in Figure 10.7 we focus on just two parties, ANEL and, for a reference point, SYRIZA. Full results of the model, as well as graphs for other parties, are found in online appendix 3. The array of graphs describes the average marginal impact of populist attitudes at different levels of European integration (vertically, across the rows of graphs) and social ideology (horizontally, across each x-axis). From this analysis we see that, for SYRIZA the strong connection between populist attitudes and (positive) attitudes towards European integration is still visible, but concentrated among voters with a moderate/moderate-right ideology. The slope of the line is towards the upper right and is furthest from the zero reference line in these two middle graphs. This makes sense in light of SYRIZA's relatively moderate stance on social issues. However, we now also have a clear finding for ANEL. There is a strong connection between populist attitudes and (negative) attitudes towards European integration, but only among voters with a strong right ideology; the marginal effects line slopes downwards and left (low support for European integration) and clears the zero reference line only in the last row of graphs. Thus, the impact of populist attitudes for ANEL (and even SYRIZA) becomes much clearer once we take into account the multiple issues affecting this election. Populist attitudes have a stronger effect when paired with voter agreement with the party's policy positions.

<Figure 10.7 about here>

Bolivia

We use a June 2016 survey of urban Bolivians to look at whether populist attitudes underlie individuals' ongoing support for Evo Morales' MAS party. The first dependent variable is how respondents would vote if an election were held today. Because of the

divided and unsettled nature of the opposition to the MAS, with the main alternative party differing in each of the three national elections Morales won, we simply asked citizens to say if they would support the governing party, support a candidate from a party that is distinct from the current government, cast a null vote, or abstain. This measure asking for general support of the ruling party also allows for the uncertainty at the time of the survey about who Morales' successor will be. Voters were divided on the prospect of continuing MAS rule, with 34 percent of those who gave a valid response saying they would support the MAS, 39 saying they would support a different party, 24 percent saying they would cast a null or blank vote, and the remainder abstaining. The divided support for the MAS is not surprising as the survey came just a few months after voters voted against a referendum that would have allowed Morales to seek additional terms. Again, to avoid politicizing this issue, the question asked about voting for a representative of the current president's party without mentioning Morales by name. We model this dependent variable as a multinomial logit, using support for the ruling MAS as the baseline category. We also model citizen approval of President Morales' job performance, in case attitudes about populism are more closely connected to the candidate than to his party. Approval of Evo Morales was higher than support for his party, with 55.8 percent of respondents expressing approval. We model this binary variable with a logit model.

Given the strong use of populism by the MAS's leadership, we would generally expect those who have a populist worldview to be most inclined to support the MAS and to approve of Morales. While the variables in Figure 10.1 do not load on a single dimension in Bolivia as well as they do in other contexts, we believe that they correlate strongly enough to explore whether they provide any insight into political dynamics. We created an additive

scale of the 6 indicators of agreement with populist rhetoric.⁹ The omnibus survey in which these questions were embedded does not provide any questions about policy preferences, but the model includes measures of how respondents perceived fluctuations in the national economy and their personal finances in the previous year as well as various demographic controls. The specific question wordings for the control variables are detailed in appendix 10.2.

The key finding in Table 10.5 is that the level of agreement the respondent had with populist ideas is not significantly associated with either support for the ruling party or government approval in Bolivia in 2016. As one would expect given the extant literature on Bolivian politics, support for the ruling party is strongly connected to perceived fluctuations in the national economy and respondents' personal finances, is lower among wealthy and educated individuals, and is particularly strong among individuals who self-identify as either Quechua or Aymara compared to those who self-identify as Mestizo. Yet populist attitudes have no independent effect on support for Evo Morales. In results not presented here, we interacted the populist attitudes measure with levels of wealth, education, and ethnic self-identification to see if populist attitudes have a stronger effect on any subset of the electorate in a way similar to those observed in the other cases in this chapter, but the findings were still null.

<Table 10.5 about here>

The divergence of these correlations from the significant ones that emerge in Chile, Greece, and Spain is surprising given that the rhetoric employed by Morales and the MAS approximates the populist ideal. Yet just as crises can provide contexts wherein politicians

⁹ In other analyses, we dropped the indicator that measured preferences for having a citizen as a representative, but the same null results emerged across all indicators.

can prime and activate populist attitudes, we believe that this may be a case where strong performance has deactivated them. Bolivia's economy has averaged more than 4% annual growth for the 12 years Morales has been in office, poverty has been cut in half, and participatory institutional reforms have been enacted that have increased political representation of traditional marginalized indigenous communities. Thus while the MAS could continue to employ populist rhetoric even after a decade in office, citizen support for the MAS may be less about its populism given its successes in reducing poverty and increasing political incorporation.

Survey data collected closer to Morales' ascension to power is consistent with the argument that populist attitudes were once activated and a key element of public support for Evo Morales. The full populist world-view battery developed by Akkerman et al. was not asked in any Bolivian surveys prior to the one we commissioned in 2016, but the 2008 AmericasBarometer conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project at Vanderbilt University¹⁰ included two questions that tap into the key dimensions of populism: Manichean discourse and the conflict between the popular will and the conspiratorial elite.

- Would you agree or disagree with the following statement: In the world today, there is a fight between good and evil and people need to choose between the two?
- Would you agree or disagree with the following statement: The largest obstacle for our country's progress is the dominant class or oligarchy that takes advantage of the people?

¹⁰ The survey is based on face-to-face interviews with a nationally representative complex stratified sample. See http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ for information and to download the data.

Respondents expressed their agreement/disagreement with these statements on a 7-point scale. Agreement with the second question was more common than the first, but in both cases more than 50% of respondents chose one of the three strongest levels of agreement while only 30% of respondents gave one of the three lowest responses to the first question and less than 20% disagreed with the second. We combine these two questions into an additive scale and use them to explore whether these two populist attitudes predict support for the ruling party over the opposition, abstaining, or casting a null vote if an election were held that day.¹¹ The multinomial logit in Table 10.6 shows that individuals who expressed general agreement with populist arguments in 2008 were indeed more likely to express support for Morales instead of either voting for an opposition candidate or casting a blank vote. While the difference between the results in Table 10.5 and Table 10.6 could reflect the different samples and question wording, they also support the argument that the relationship between broad populist attitudes and support for populist governments in power can evolve with the quality of representation.

Conclusion

Populist parties win support because they tap into specific popular zeitgeists and by channelling discontent about the distribution of economic benefits, immigration, globalization, and other social problems that they hope to solve. Yet the question becomes whether these parties' emphasis on populist rhetoric gains them additional support in the way the ideational theory proposes. In particular, are voters drawn to these parties merely because

The model contains standard demographic controls and measures of government performance, respondent ideology, and preferences on economic management. The analysis uses survey weights to reflect the sample design. The specific variable measures are available in appendix 10.2.

of their traditional issue positions and appeals to interests, or also because they propose an alternative approach to political representation whereby the popular will can be made to overcome a hostile, conspiratorial elite? This chapter provides evidence that populist parties find strength in activating latent populist predispositions. In recent elections in Spain, Greece, and Chile, and in elections in the mid 2000s in Bolivia, populist parties drew predominantly on sectors of the population where populist attitudes were strongest. This confirms that to understand voter support for populist parties, we need to take seriously their populist ideas.

The results support two other aspects of the ideational argument. First, the broad existence of populist ideals in a population is not sufficient for populist parties to succeed. The data in Figure 10.1 suggest that Chileans should be just as predisposed to support populist politics as voters in Spain or Greece are. Yet in countries like Chile, where parties remain relatively ideologically distinct and where corruption is relatively uncommon, populist appeals are unlikely to be activated because there is no grave crisis of representation for populists to solve. Thus, in Chile we find widespread agreement with populist attitudes but relatively little connection of these attitudes to voter choices. The same should occur, we expect, in other cases where there is little context for populist action. In contrast, as the economic crisis reduced the economic policy space available for traditional parties and as perceived corruption became widespread in Greece and Spain (or earlier in Bolivia), populist attitudes became more politically salient, new populist parties emerged, and latent populist attitudes became active. The ideational theory of populism suggests that the same process could occur in practically any country following a similar set of representational failures.

Second, traditional ideologies and issue positions still matter for populist party voters. Even as populist attitudes in Spain and Greece became activated, voters with populist leanings did not automatically support populist parties. Instead, they looked also to the ideological visions those parties endorsed. Demand for populist representation does not

trump other policy concerns. Instead, populist parties must find a mix of populist rhetoric and issue appeals that can win them electoral support. Moreover, if the crisis of representation that populist parties identify is not sufficiently strong, these populist attitudes will not be activated and voters may support a party who espouses those policies but is not populist, as will voters who hold those policy positions but who do not hold populist attitudes.

Finally, while the data from Greece and Spain show that crises can activate populist attitudes, the recent data from Bolivia suggest that populist attitudes become less politically salient when representation improves. In such a context, support for the ruling party again becomes based on its record in office. While some parties may keep activating populist attitudes in their ongoing battles against their political rivals or in an attempt to enact further institutional reforms, populists may see diminishing returns to explicit populist strategies if the country is not in crisis mode and populist attitudes are no longer activate among the electorate.

Taken together, the individual-level results in this chapter confirm the central tenets of the ideational theory but also show how the ideational theory of populism can be compatible with, and perhaps fine-tuned by, a closer dialogue with canonical models of voting behaviour by focusing on the specific processes by which attitudes get activated. In this respect further work is needed to fully test the arguments outlined here about when populist attitudes become salient. In particular, survey data from a larger sample of countries than is currently available should be used to directly model how contextual variables like the level of policy convergence or perceived levels of corruption modify the impact of populist attitudes on populist-party support. We expect that cross-national data would confirm that latent populist attitudes are widespread but only become activated in contexts of deep representational failure.

References

- Aguilar, Rosario and Ryan Carlin. 2015. Authoritarianism and the Populist Within: Experimental Evidence from Chile. Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política, July 22 –24, 2015, PUCP, Lima, Peru.
- Akkerman, Agnes, Cas Mudde, and Andrej Zaslove. 2014. How Populist are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters. *Comparative Political Studies* 47: 1324-1353.
- Baker, Andy, and Kenneth F. Greene. 2011. "The Latin American Left's Mandate: Free-Market Policies and Issue Voting in New Democracies." *World Politics* 63(1): 43-77.
- Carlin, Ryan E. 2014. "What's Not to Trust? Rubrics of Political Party Trustworthiness in Chile and Argentina." Party Politics 20(1):63-77.
- Carlin, Ryan E., Greg J. Love, Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo. 2015. Cushioning the Fall: Scandals, Economic Conditions, and Executive Approval. *Political Behavior* 37 (1), 109-130.
- Centellas, Miguel. 2015. The 2014 Presidential and Legislative Elections in Bolivia. *Electoral Studies* 37 (June): 94-97.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Christopher J. Anderson. 2011. *Citizens, Context, and Choice: How Context Shapes Citizens' Electoral Choices*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Druckman, James N., Lawrence R. Jacobs, Eric Ostermeier. 2004. Candidate Strategies to Prime Issues and Image. *Journal of Politics* 66 (Nov): 1180-1202.
- Edwards III, George C., William Mitchell, and Reed Welch. 1995. Explaining Presidential Approval: The Significance of Issue Salience. *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (Feb): 108-134.
- Farthing, Linda C. and Benjamin H. Kohl. 2014. Evo's Bolivia: Continuity and Change. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hart, Austin. 2013. Can Candidates Activate or Deactivate the Economic Vote? Evidence from Two Mexican Elections. *Journal of Politics* 75 (4): 1051-63.
- Hawkins, Kirk. 2010. *Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto and David R. Kinder. 1987. News That Matters: Television and American Opinion. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Kingstone, Peter. 2011. The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development. New York: Routledge Press.

- Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk A. Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2010. *Latin American Party Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Krosnick, J. (1988). The role of attitude importance in social evaluations: A study of political preferences, presidential candidate evaluations, and voting behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55 (2), 196-210.
- Lupu, Noam. 2015. Partisanship in Latin America. In *The Latin American Voter:* Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts. Ryan Carlin, Matthew Singer, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 226-245.
- Madrid, Raul. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Navia, Patricio and Ignacio Walker. 2008. Political Institutions, Populism and Democracy in Latin America. In *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully. Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.
- Pearce, Adrian J. 2011. Evo Morales and the Movimiento Al Socialismo in Bolivia: The First Term in Context, 2006-2010. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London.
- Singer, Matthew M. 2011 ""Who Says "It's the Economy"? Cross-National and Cross-Individual Variation in the Salience of Economic Performance." <u>Comparative Political Studies</u> 44 (March): 284-312.
- Singer, Matthew M. 2016. Elite Polarization and the Electoral Impact of Left-Right Placements: Evidence from Latin America, 1995-2009. *Latin American Research Review* 51(2):174-193.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2013. The Threat from the Populist Left. *Journal of Democracy* 24 (3): 18-32.
- Wiesehomeier, Nina, and Kenneth Benoit. 2009. "Presidents, Parties, and Policy Competition." *The Journal of Politics* 71(4):1435-1447.
- Young, Jason, Cynthia J Thomsen, Eugene Borgida, John L Sullivan, John H Aldrich. 1991. When self-interest makes a difference: The role of construct accessibility in political reasoning. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 27 (3): 271–296.
- Vargas, Mauricio and Santiago Garriga. 2015. Explaining Inequality and Poverty Reduction in Bolivia. IMF Working Paper. Washington, D.C.: IMF. https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2015/wp15265.pdf

Appendix 10.1: Principal-component factors analyses

As discussed in the text, we performed factor analyses on the battery of populism indicators for each of our four samples. The factors (rotated in the case of Bolivia) are presented in the tables below.

<Table 10A.1 about here>
<Table 10A.2 about here>

<Table 10A.3 about here>

<Table 10A.4 about here>

Appendix 10.2: Survey Details and Question Wording

Chile

The UNDP Survey in Chile is a nationally representative face-to-face survey conducted at the homes of respondents roughly at the time of the 2013 president election. 1,800 people were surveyed with probability proportional to population (ppt), using a sample that was stratified by region and zone (urban/rural); the resulting margin of error is 2.5% with 95% confidence, and the design effect is 1.15. The survey was in the field between 17 August and 9 October 2013 and was carried out by the firm STATCOM.

<Table 10A.5 about here>

Spain

For this analysis we use an online survey launched by an Universidad de Salamanca research team and carried out by the firm Netquest in December 2015, just before that year general elections. Our database contains 1,208 respondents sampled by age, gender, and region on the basis of census data (all 17 Spanish autonomous communities were included).

<Table 10A.6 about here>

Greece

The Hellenic Voter Study for the Greek Parliamentary elections of January 2015 (Andreadis, Kartsounidou, and Chatzimallis 2015) is a mixed-mode survey conducted by the Laboratory of Applied Political Research at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The recruitment process lasted from June 12 until July 16 using RDD (Random Digit Dialing). The respondents were asked to provide their email address in order to participate in a web survey conducted by Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The 1008 completed cases were collected either as web-based self-administered questionnaires or using telephone interviews (CATI). The web was the main data collection mode of the survey and the telephone interview was used as an auxiliary method for the respondents who lacked Internet access and/or an email account (Andreadis, Kartsounidou, and Chatzimallis 2015).

<Table 10A.7 about here>

Bolivia, 2016

The 2016 Bolivia survey was conducted in June 2016 by Ipsos. The survey was an omnibus survey to which we added questions on populism and government support. The survey was conducted face-to-face with 1060 respondents in households located in the urban centers of La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz.

The following questions were used in the analysis of government support in 2016. The populism battery is summarized in Table 1 in the text. For continuous variables we provide the mean and standard deviations; for the binary and categorical variables we provide the percentage of the sample that fits that category. The sample skews young but is evenly split on gender lines.

<Table 10A.8 About Here>

Bolivia, 2008:

The 2008 survey data from Bolivia came from the 2008 AmericasBarometer survey conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project. The survey was conducted in February, 2008 using a nationally representative stratified probabilistic sample of 3000 respondents. For this survey, we are able to use a question that was used on half the sample, with a maximum N of 1500.

The following questions were used in the analysis of government support in 2008. For continuous variables we provide the mean and standard deviations; for the binary and categorical variables we provide the percentage of the sample that is in that category.

<Table 10A.9 about here>

Appendix 10.3: Conditional Models for Spain and Chile

As described in the text, we interact the populism attitudes scores in the two countries where they had a substantial effect with the salient issue cleavages in those countries to test whether populist attitudes can make people support a politician whose policy vision they disagree with. The text contains the marginal effects from those models; the full models are available below. The first two focus on interacting populist ideologies with the dominant cleavage in the country at the time of the election (left-right, Grexit). The third table looks at the three way interaction described in the text for Greece that looks at social ideology, attitudes about EU integration (Grexit), and populism.

<Table 10A.10 about here>
<Table 10A.11 about here>
<Table 10A.12 about here>

<Table 10A.13 about here>

Appendix 10.4: Results by Populism Indicator, Bolivia 2016

In the text we show that there is no correlation between populist attitudes and support for the MAS in 2016. In the analysis below we check whether part of the attitudes scale might have a correlation with political attitudes, but we again find generally null results across the board. The only correlation that approaches statistical significance is a model suggesting that

individuals who think politicians talk too much are prone to support opposition candidates, but this variable has no correlation with presidential approval.

<Table 10A.14 about here>

Tables, chapter 10

Table 10.1: Average Populist Discourse of Presidential Candidates and Party Leaders

	Populis	sm Score	Left-	Percent
	Topuns	sin score	Right	in Most
			Ideology ¹	Recent
	Speeches	Platform	63	Election
Presidential Candidate (Chile)	•			
Roxana Miranda (Equality Party)	2.0	2.0	2.47	1.24^{2}
Marco Enriquez Ominami (PRO)	0.9	0.3	3.05	10.98
Michelle Bachelet (New Majority)	0.1	0.7	2.76	46.70
Franco Parisi (independent)	0.1	0.0	NA	10.11
Evelyn Matthei (Alliance)	0.0	0.0	9.00	25.03
Electorally weighted average	0.2	0.4		
Party (Spain)				
Unidad Popular	1.3	1.2	2.00^{3}	3.68^4
Democracia i Libertad	0.6	1.0		2.25
ERC		0.7	3.67	2.39
Podemos	0.9	0.6	1.67	20.68
Bildu		0.4	6.30	0.87
Ciudadanos	0.0	0.2	5.56	13.94
Partido Popular	0.0	0.2	7.30	28.71
Partido Socialista Obrero Español	0.1	0.2	3.80	22.00
Coalición Canaria		0.0	6.00	0.32
Partido Nacionalista Vasco	0.0	0.0	6.30	1.20
Electorally weighted average	0.3^{5}	0.4		
Party Leader (Greece)				
Tsipras (SYRIZA)	1.7		2.00	35.46^6
Kammenos (ANEL)	1.3		8.78	3.69
Koutsoumbas (Communist Party KKE)	1.2		0.67	5.55

_

¹ Taken from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey for Spain and Greece and from Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2008) as compiled by Baker and Greene (2011) for Chile and Bolivia. Parties are coded by experts on their overall Left-Right placement on a 0-10 scale for the European parties and 1-20 for the Latin American ones; we have recoded the Latin American scores on the same 0-10 scale as the European ones.

² Results of the 2013 Chilean presidential election, first round

³ Score for IU

⁴ Results for 2015 Spanish general elections

⁵ This weighted average is calculated being weighting each score by the percentage of the votes cast by parties for which speeches were scored.

⁶ Results of the 2015 Greek general elections

Samaras (New Democracy)	0.5		7.22	28.10
Mihaloliakos (Golden Dawn)	0.5		9.89	6.99
Theodorakis (POTAMI)	0.4		4.89	4.09
Venizelos (PASOK)	0.1		4.78	6.28
Electorally weighted average	1.0			
Party (Bolivia)				
Movement for Socialism (MAS)	1.6	1.55	1.28	61.36^{7}
Christian Democratic Party (PDC)		0.3	8.19	9.04
Democratic Unity (UD)		0.25	5.76	24.23
Electorally weighted average		1.1		

-

 $^{^{7}}$ Results of the 2014 Bolivian presidential elections.

Table 10.2: Unconditional Model of Candidate Preferences in Chile, 2013 Election

Variable	Bachelet		MEO		Parisi			
Populist Attitude Index	0.42	*	0.89	**	0.09			
Social ideology	-0.18		-0.50	*	-0.18			
Economic ideology	-0.72		-0.27		-0.07			
Environmental Protection	0.31	*	0.36		0.56	*		
Constitutional Change	0.28	*	0.38		0.08			
Sociotropic Retrospective	-0.71	***	-0.71	**	-0.46			
Sociotropic Prospective	0.02		-0.10		-0.01			
Pocketbook Retrospective	0.05		0.36		-0.04			
Pocketbook Prospective	0.26		0.87	**	-0.11			
Alianza	-3.72	***	-3.67	***	-3.52	***		
Nueva Mayoría	16.80		15.23		13.53			
Age	-0.02	*	-0.02	*	-0.05	***		
Sex	-0.08		-0.57		-0.41			
Education	-0.78	***	-0.39	*	-0.12			
Constant	3.42		-2.08		3.23			
Variable	Other		None		Missing		Abstain	
Populist Attitude Index	0.61		0.52		0.35		0.31	
Social ideology	-0.98	***	-0.21		-0.17		-0.13	
Economic ideology	0.15		-0.12		-0.07		-0.22	
Environmental Protection	0.08		0.10		0.17		0.06	
Constitutional Change	0.54		0.32		0.20		0.50	***
Sociotropic Retrospective	-0.60	*	-0.85	**	-0.54	**	-0.59	**
Sociotropic Prospective	-0.09		0.08		0.12		-0.32	
Pocketbook Retrospective	-0.37		-0.42		-0.14		0.01	
Pocketbook Prospective	-0.19		0.07		0.31		0.04	
Alianza	-0.91		-22.05		-1.98	***	-3.75	***
Nueva Mayoría	14.17		13.24		15.59		14.81	
Age	-0.07	***	-0.02	*	-0.01		-0.07	***
Sex	-0.41		-0.43		-0.17		-0.41	
Education	0.58	**	-0.34	*	-0.35	***	-0.77	***
Constant	2.05		2.65		2.36		6.02	***
Model type	Multinon	nial lo	git, Matt	hei is	the baselin	ie		
N	1,456							
pseudo R2	0.16							
	0.05 ** p<0	0.01 *	** p<0.0	01 (tw	o tailed)			

Table 10.3: Unconditional Model of Party Preference in Spain, 2015 Election

Variable	PSOE		Podemos		Ciudadanos		IU	
Populist Attitudes Index	0.22		0.86	***	0.66	***	0.91	**
Left-right	-1.15	***	-1.07	***	-0.27	***	-1.31	***
Market	0.20		-0.27		0.03		-0.15	
Globalization	0.30		0.55	***	0.05		0.45	*
Peripheral identity	2.07	*	2.81	**	1.77		1.67	
Sociotropic Retrospective	0.60	***	0.83	***	0.43	*	0.66	**
Sociotropic Prospective	0.01		-0.09		0.04		0.24	
Primary education	0.11		-0.05		-0.65		-0.96	
College education	0.10		0.06		0.34		-0.08	
Age	-0.03	**	-0.05	***	-0.04	***	-0.03	*
Sex	0.22		0.59	*	0.49		-0.29	
Constant	4.14	**	3.14	**	0.61		-0.42	
Variable	UPyD		DiL		ERC		Abstain	
Populist Attitudes Index	0.85		0.86		0.55	*	0.84	***
Left-right	-0.53	**	-0.28		-1.00	***	-0.62	***
Market	-0.27		0.04		0.08		0.25	
Globalization	-0.10		0.18		0.15		-0.02	
Peripheral identity	1.93		7.23	***	7.14	***	3.15	**
Sociotropic Retrospective	-0.05		0.98	*	0.47		0.21	
Sociotropic Prospective	0.99	*	-0.07		-0.07		0.59	**
Primary education	1.42		-1.31		-0.78		-0.10	
College education	1.22		0.13		0.15		-0.06	
Age	-0.03		0.03		0.00		-0.04	***
Sex	0.32		-0.34		-0.10		0.17	
Constant	-5.21		-10.85	***	-2.83		-0.10	
Model type	Multin	omial	logit, PP is	the ba	aseline categoi	y		
N	1,208							
pseudo R2	0.22							
* 1	* p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *** p<0.001 (two tailed)							

Table 10.4: Unconditional Model of Party Preference in Greece

Variable	SYRIZ	Α	GD		POTAN	ΛI	KKE		ANEL	
Populist Attitude Index	1.56	***	1.09		0.24		1.61	**	1.24	**
Social ideology	-1.60	***	2.00	**	-1.15	***	-1.83	***	0.33	
Economic ideology	-6.30	***	-2.67		-0.15		-6.86	***	-5.58	***
European Unification	-0.04		-0.14		0.10	*	-0.21	*	-0.17	**
Pocketbook										
Retrospective	0.26		-0.15		0.07		1.39	**	0.51	
Pocketbook										
Prospective	0.54	**	0.04		-0.08		-1.23	*	0.33	
Age	0.00		-0.03		-0.01		-0.03		0.02	
Sex	-0.10		-0.91		0.04		0.31		-0.52	
Education	-0.10		-0.31		0.11		-0.35		-0.20	
Constant	9.41	***	-3.87		1.41		11.67	**	2.11	
Variable	PASOF	ζ	OTHE	?	NONE		MISSI	٧G	Abstent	tion
Populist Attitude Index	0.12		1.23	***	1.26	**	1.00	***	1.59	***
Social ideology	-1.47	***	-1.59	***	0.21		-1.01	***	-1.71	***
Economic ideology	-1.95		-4.26	***	-5.01	**	-3.31	***	-2.09	*
European Unification	0.02		-0.04		-0.01		-0.01		-0.05	
Pocketbook	0.02		0.05		-0.57		0.09		0.25	
Retrospective										
Pocketbook	0.09		-0.82		0.03		-0.24		0.05	
Prospective										
Age	0.02		-0.00		0.01		0.01		-0.03	*
Sex	-0.09		-0.09		-0.89		-0.41		0.09	
Education	-0.19		-0.08		0.00		0.01		0.07	
Constant	5.81		7.84	*	2.01		5.31	*	2.82	
Model type	Multin	omiel	Logit, N	aw Da	mooracy	is the	hosalina			
N	910	omiai	Logit, IV	CW DC	mocracy	15 1110	vasciiic			
	0.18									
pseudo R2 0.18 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *** p<0.001 (two tailed)										

Table 10.5: Vote Intentions and Presidential Approval, Bolivia 2016

	Vote for the Abstain			Presidential				
Variable	Opposit	ion	Blank Vote			Approv		
Populist Attitudes	0.013		0.013		-0.051		-0.011	
Economy Compared to Previous Year	-0.543	***	-0.344	**	-1.106	***	0.543	***
Personal Finances Compared to Last Year	-0.561	***	-0.488	***	-0.691	**	0.435	***
Education	0.120	*	0.111	*	0.010		-0.094	*
Female	-0.089		0.143		-0.269		0.025	
Age 16-25	0.457		0.287		1.628		-0.176	
Age 26-35	0.483		0.076		1.775		-0.093	
Age 36-45	0.396		0.045		1.174		-0.212	
Age 56-65	0.279		0.194		1.808		0.336	
Age 66+	0.254		-0.741		2.020		0.234	
Wealth	0.488	***	-0.063		0.602		-0.384	**
Quechua	-0.967	***	-0.775	*	-1.713	*	0.387	
Aymara	-0.893	***	-0.723	**	-0.252		0.511	**
White	1.217		1.358		-12.693	***	-1.018	
Other Indigenous	-0.791		-0.017		-14.046	***	0.288	
Afro-Bolivian	0.543		1.027		-13.409	***	-0.594	
No Ethnicity	-0.726		-0.338		0.724		0.147	
Constant	1.337	*	0.833		0.337		-0.914	
Model Type	Multino	mial L	ogit, Vote 1	for the	President's	Party	Binary Log	git
	is the ba	seline						
N	856						853	
χ^2	2411.29						126.69***	
* p<0	.05 ** p<0	0.01 **	* p<0.001	(two ta	ailed)			

Table 10.6: Vote Intentions, Bolivia 2008

	Vote for the		Blank Vot	Blank Vote			
Variable	Opposition						
Populist Attitudes	-0.101	**	-0.078	**	-0.058		
Economy Compared to Previous Year	-1.243	***	-0.764	***	-0.809	**	
Personal Finances Compared to Last Year	-0.259		-0.422	**	-0.365		
Ideological Self-Identification on the Right	0.492	***	0.330	***	0.333	***	
Government Should Own More Businesses	-0.258	***	-0.217	***	-0.147	*	
State Should Reduce Inequalities	-0.176	*	-0.149		-0.250	*	
Income Quintile	0.204	*	0.275	**	0.063		
Education	-0.006		0.016		0.034		
Age 16-25	0.175		0.376		0.094		
Age 26-35	-0.289		0.080		-0.675		
Age 36-45	0.201		0.173		-1.221	*	
Age 56-65	0.029		0.244		-0.104		
Age 66+	0.654		0.439		0.311		
Female	0.099		0.063		0.280		
Ethnicity-Mestizo	-0.560		-0.172		-0.473		
Ethnicity-Indigenous	-1.971	***	-1.556	***	-1.942	*	
Ethnicity-Black	2.845	*	-12.419	***	-12.561	***	
Ethnicity-Mulato	14.112	***	14.765	***	-0.523		
Ethnicity-Other	-1.170		-1.452		-13.469	***	
Rural	-0.653		-0.478		-0.234		
Constant	1.954	**	1.140		0.284		
	Multino	mial Lo	ogit, Vote fo	r the l	President's	Party is	
Model Type	the base		_			-	
N	856						
F	44.95***						

Table 10A.1: Factor Analysis of Populist Attitudes Scale in Chile

Variable	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Congress follow people	0.70	0.52
People not politicians	0.73	0.47
Differences between people and elite	0.64	0.59
Ordinary citizen, not experienced politician	0.63	0.60
Politicians talk too much	0.62	0.62
"Compromise" is just selling out	0.57	0.67
Eigenvalue	2.98	
N=1,498		

Table 10A.2: Factor Analysis of Populist Attitudes Scale in Spain

Variable	Factor 1	Uniqueness
Congress follow people	0.66	0.56
People not politicians	0.76	0.42
Differences between people and elite	0.70	0.52
Ordinary citizen, not experienced politician	0.68	0.54
Politicians talk too much	0.73	0.46
"Compromise" is just selling out	0.61	0.63
Eigenvalue	2.87	
N=1,208		

Table 10A.3: Factor Analysis of Populist Attitudes Scale in Greece

Variable	Factor1	Uniqueness
Congress follow people	0.75	0.44
People not politicians	0.72	0.49
Differences between people and elite	0.59	0.65
Ordinary citizen, not experienced politician	0.67	0.55
Politicians talk too much	0.55	0.69
"Compromise" is just selling out	0.73	0.47
Eigenvalue	2.73	
N=982		

Table 10A.4: Factor Analysis of Populist Attitudes Scale in Bolivia

Variable	Factor1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Congress follow people	0.56	0.32	0.58
People not politicians	0.30	0.67	0.46
Differences between people and elite	0.66	-0.02	0.57
Ordinary citizen, not experienced politician	-0.08	0.82	0.33

Politicians talk too much	0.52	0.34	0.61	
"Compromise" is just selling out	0.70	-0.04	0.51	
Eigenvalue	1.94	1.00		_
N=951				

Table 10A.5: Variables and Summary Statistics, Chile

Variable	mean	s.d.
Populist attitudes: index of 6 populism items described in the text,	3.9	0.61
averaged.	3.7	0.01
Economic ideology : For the following activities, would you say the	1.4	0.32
following activities are better that the state be in charge (1), the private	1.1	0.52
sector be in charge (2), or a mixture of the two/it is the same (1.5). Asked		
for health, education copper mining, public transportation, and pensions.		
Then we take the average for the questions.		
Social ideology: How much do you agree or disagree with the following	3.1	0.91
policies: Gay marriage, adoption by gay parents, euthanasia, abortion	3.1	0.71
following rape, abortion under other circumstances, legalization of		
marijuana, constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples like the		
Mapuche, direct election of mayors. Strongly agree, agree, neither agree or		
disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. Coded so that 1=strongly left and		
5=strongly right		
Need for constitutional change: Some people think that Chile needs to	3.5	0.88
make some reforms. Please tell me if the following areas need change:	3.3	0.00
constitutional reform.		
1=change not needed 2=undecided 3=moderate change 4=deep change		
needed.		
Environmental Protection: Which of the following phrases do you most	2.5	0.85
strongly agree with? Protect the environment, even if it slows growth and		
results in the loss of some jobs (3), Economic growth and creating jobs		
should be the priority, even if the environment is affected in some way (1),		
don't know (2).		
Sociotropic Retrospective: How does the country's general situation	2.2	0.75
compare to 10 years ago? (1) worse, (2) the same, (3) or better.		
Sociotropic Prospective: What will the country's general situation be in	2.4	0.64
10 years? (1) worse, (2) the same, (3) or better.		
Egotropic Retrospective: How does your family's general situation	2.4	0.67
compare to 10 years ago? (1) worse, (2) the same, (3) or better.		
Egotropic Prospective: What will your family's situation be in 10 years?	2.5	0.61
(1) worse, (2) the same, (3) or better.		
With what party do you self-identify or sympathize? A series of 0/1		
dummy variables that include:		
• Support for parties in the Nueva Mayoría	14.5%	
	sympath	ize
• Support for parties in the Alianza	6.8% sy	mpathize
• Support for all other parties or no party at all (baseline)	78.7%	
	sympath	ize
Sex: $1 = \text{male } 2 = \text{female}$	1.60	0.48
Age in Years	46.8	17.7
Education : What is the last year of education you completed. Incomplete	63.1% h	ave
elementary education (1), Complete education (2), secondary incomplete	complete	e
•	_	

(3), secondary complete (4), incomplete professional institute or technical secondary or education (5), incomplete professional institute or technical education (6), incomplete university (7), complete university (8), postgraduate (9).

Table 10A.6: Variables and Summary Statistics, Spain

Variable	mean	s.d.
Populist attitudes: index of 6 populism items described in the text,	3.9	0.78
averaged.		
Left-Right (0=left; 10=right)	4.22	2.58
Globalization (see below)	-0.05	0.98
Market	0.03	0.96
The Globalization and Market variables were extracted through a factor analysis of preferences regarding the following policies (responses range from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates total agreement and 10 indicates total disagreement), which yielded these two factors (those in <i>italics</i> loaded most strongly on the globalization factor): -State economic intervention -Economic redistribution from the rich to the poor -Raising taxes to improve public services -Same-sex marriage -Right to privacy even if it hinders fight against crime	0.05	
-Restrictive immigration policy -Expanding EU authority over the economic policies of member-states -Environmental protection prevailing over economic growth Peripheral Identity; This variable is based on the recodification of the following question on regional/Spanish identities: Which of the following sentences would you say better reflect your feelings?	0.18	0.38
(1) I feel only Spanish (2) I feel more Spanish than Basque, Catalan, Andalusian (identifier for each autonomous community) (3) I feel as Spanish as Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, etc. (4) I feel more Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, etc. than Spanish (5) I feel only Spanish Responses 1 to 3 were recoded as 0, and responses 4 and 5 were recoded as 1.		
Sociotropic Retrospective: How does the country's general situation compare to 10 years ago? (5) much worse, (4) a little worse, (3) the same, (2) a little better, (1) or better.	2.9	1.03
Sociotropic Prospective: What will the country's general situation be in 10 years? (5) much worse, (4) a little worse, (3) the same, (2) a little better, (1) or better.	2.7	0.85
Sex: $1 = \text{male } 2 = \text{female}$	1.50	0.50
Age in Years	49.6	16.7
Education : What is the last year of education you completed.	51% only	
Incomplete elementary education (1), Complete education (2), secondary incomplete (3), secondary complete (4), incomplete professional institute or technical education (5), incomplete professional institute or technical education (6), incomplete university (7), complete university (8), postgraduate (9).	completed school, 28 finished co	3%

Table 10A.7: Variables and Summary Statistics, Greece

Variable	mean	s.d.
Populist attitudes: Index of 6 populism items described in the text, averaged.	3.7	0.67
Economic ideology: (index of attitudes on economic policy; recoded so that 1=left 2=right)	1.5	0.20
Social ideology (index of attitudes on social policy; recoded so that 1=left 5=right)	3.1	0.63
European Unification ($0 = \text{has already gone too far, } 10 = \text{should be pushed further}$	5.7	3.45
Pocketbook retrospective (How their personal economic situation compares to 10 years ago; Greece: compared to 12 months ago; recoded so that 1=worse and 3=better)	1.4	0.60
Pocketbook prospective (How their personal economic situation will be in 10 years; Greece: in 12 months; recoded so that 1=worse and 3=better)	1.4	0.66
Sex (recoded 1= male 2 = female)	1.48	0.50
Age (years)	46.1	16.29
Education (1=elementary education incomplete 9=postgraduate)	44.4% have secondary	e completed or lower

Table 10A.8: Variables and Summary Statistics, Bolivia 2016

	Т	Т -
Variable	Mean	sd
Populist attitudes: index of 6 populism items described in the	16.2	4.3
text.		
How would vote if the election were held today: If this week	Would not vote	
there were presidential elections, what would you do: (2) Vote for	Would vote for	the
the candidate or party of the current president, (3) vote for a party	president's part	y: 32.21%
or candidate different from the current government, (4) would vote	Would vote for	
blank or null, (1) would not vote.	opposition party	y: 40.72%
	Would cast a nu	
	23.59%	
Presidential Approval: In general, would you approve or	54% approve	
disapprove of the performance of president Evo Morales (1)	o approve	
Approve or (0) Disapprove		
Economy Compared to Previous Year: What do you believe is	2.02	1.06
the situation of the national economy compared to 12 months ago:	2.02	1.00
(0) Much worse, (1) a little worse, (2) the same, (3) a little better,		
(4) much better		
Personal Finances Compared to Last Year: What do you	2.12	1.01
believe is the situation of your personal finances compared to 12	2.12	1.01
months ago: (0) Much worse, (1) a little worse, (2) the same, (3) a		
little better, (4) much better.		
Education: What is the highest school grade you achieved? (0)	5.93	2.24
None/illiterate, (1) incomplete primary, (2) complete primary, (3)	3.73	2.27
incomplete secondary, (4) complete secondary, (5) incomplete		
technical, (6) complete technical, (7) incomplete university, (8)		
complete university, (9) post graduate		
Female: (0) Male, (1) Female	49.8% Female	1
What is your exact age? A series of 0/1 dummies where the	Age 16-25: 33.4	40%
omitted category is 46-55. Dummies for Age 16-25, Age 26-35,	Age 26-35: 28.4	
Age 36-45, Age 56-65, Age 66+	Age 36-45: 17.0	
Age 30-43, Age 30-03, Age 001	Age 56-65: 8.40	
	_	
Wealth: An Index generated by IPSOS based on the number of	Age 66+: 3.21% 0.79	0.65
	0.79	0.03
the following items the household owns: a working electric dryer,		
a working washing machine, a working refrigerator or freezer, a		
computer. Ranges from 0-2.	M4: 51 410	
Ethnicity: A series of dummy variables coded from the question	Mestizo: 51.41°	
"People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to an ethnic	Quechua: 14.51	
group. What ethnic group do you consider yourself a part of?"	Ayamara: 24.63	
The baseline is "Quechua" and then there are 0/1 dummies for	Indigenous: 2.2	
Mestizo, Aymara, White, Afro-Bolivian, "Indigenous" Coded to combine those who said "indigenous, originiario, or Guaraní), and	Afro-Bolivian: Mulato: 1.07%	∠.U470
then No ethnicity for those who said "none", did not know, or		1 000/-
	No Indigenous:	サ.Uフ/0
rejected the question.	I	

Table 10A.9: Variables and Summary Statics, Bolivia 2008

Variable	Mean	sd
Populist Attitudes. Additive scale of two questions. Would you	9.17	2.73
agree or disagree with the following statement: In the world today,		
there is a fight between good and evil and people need to choose		
between the two? Would you agree or disagree with the following		
statement: The largest obstacle for our country's progress is the		
dominant class or oligarchy that takes advantage of the people? (1)		
strongly disagree, (7) strong agree.		
Economy Compared to Previous Year: Do you think that the	0.87	0.80
country 's current economic situation is better than, the same as or		
worse than it was 12 months ago? (2) Better (1) Same (0) Worse		
Personal Finances Compared to Last Year: Do you think that	1.00	0.72
your personal economic situation is better than, the same as or		
worse than it was 12 months ago? (2) Better (1) Same (0) Worse		
Ideological Self-Identification on the Right: On this card there is	5.27	2.15
a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right, where 1 means left and 10		
means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we		
talk of those who sympathize more with the left and those who		
sympathize more with the right. According to the meaning that the		
terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own		
political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?		
Indicate the box that comes closest to your own position.		
Government Should Own More Businesses: On a scale where 1	0.64	0.30
means strongly disagree and 7 means strongly agree, to what		
extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The		
national government, instead of the private sector, should own the		
most important enterprises and industries of the country. How		
much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Recoded to		
range from 0-1.		
State Should Reduce Inequalities: On a scale where 1 means	0.76	0.24
strongly disagree and 7 means strongly agree, to what extent do		
you agree or disagree with the following statement: The national		
government should implement strong policies to reduce inequality		
between the rich and the poor. Recoded to range from 0-1.	1.04	
Income Quintile: Based on a factor analysis of household	1.94	1.42
ownership of various goods, including television, refrigerator,		
landline, cellphone, car, washing machine, microwave oven,		
motorcycle, indoor plumbing, indoor bathroom, computer.		
For more information on the variable, see Córdova, Abby. 2009.		
"Methodological Note: Measuring Relative Wealth Using		
Household Asset Indicators." Americas Barometer Insights 6.		
Vanderbilt University: Latin American Public Opinion Project		
(LAPOP).		

Education: What was the last year of education you completed?
Primary (1-6), secondary (7-11), 6 th form (12-13), university (14-
18)

Age: What is your current age? 0/1 dummies for falling in the following categories: Age 16-25, Age 26-35, Age 36-45, Age 56-65, Age 66+ (baseline is 46-55).

Female: Male (0), Female (1)

Ethnicity: Do you consider yourself white, mestizo, indigenous, black, mulato, or other. Dummy variables for all categories, with

"white" as the baseline

Rural: Urban (0), Rural (1)

9.94	4.89
Age 16-25: 29.3	34%
Age 26-35: 24.6	57%
Age 36-45: 17.9	97%
Age 56-65: 9.03	3%
Age 66+: 4.93%	o
Female:49.6%	
White: 8.73%	
Mestizo: 71.569	½
Indigenous: 17.	94%
Black: 0.52%	-
Mulato: 0.21%	
Other: 1.04%	

Rural: 37.10%

Table 10A.10: Model of Party Preference in Spain, Populism*Left-Right Self-Placement

Variable	PSOE		Podemos		Ciudadanos		IU	
Populist Attitudes	0.22		0.70	***	0.50	**	0.56	
Left-right	-2.98	***	-2.79	***	-0.70	***	-3.33	***
Populist att*left-right	-0.13		-0.14		0.03		-0.33	
Market	0.20		-0.27		0.02		-0.15	
Globalization	0.30		0.55	***	0.05		0.45	*
Peripheral identity	2.08	*	2.83	**	1.77		1.70	
Sociotropic	0.61	***	0.84	***	0.43	*	0.67	**
Retrospective								
Sociotropic Prospective	0.01		-0.09		0.03		0.24	
Primary education	0.10		-0.06		-0.65		-0.97	
College education	0.10		0.06		0.34		-0.09	
Age	-0.03	**	-0.05	***	-0.04	***	-0.03	*
Sex	0.21		0.58	*	0.49		-0.31	
Constant	0.12	**	1.92	*	2.08		-2.44	
Variable	UPyD		DiL		ERC		Abst	
	·						ain	
Populist Attitudes	0.69		0.80		0.39		0.70	***
Left-right	-1.41	**	-0.57		-2.58	***	-1.63	***
Populist att.*Left-right	-0.03		-0.38		-0.31		-0.09	
Market	-0.27		0.07		0.09		0.24	
Globalization	-0.09		0.22		0.13		-0.02	
Peripheral identity	1.94		7.30	***	7.20	***	3.17	**
Sociotropic	0.06		0.98	*	0.47		0.21	
Retrospective								
Sociotropic Prospective	0.99	*	-0.06		-0.09		0.59	**
Primary education	1.42		-1.32		-0.82		-0.11	
College education	1.22		0.18		0.15		-0.07	
Age	-0.03		0.03		0.00		-0.04	***
Sex	-0.32		-0.34		-0.13		0.17	
Constant	-4.18		-8.84	***	-4.83	**	0.53	
Model Type	Multino	omial le	ogit, PP is the	baseli	ne			
N	1,208							
pseudo R2	0.22							
		5 **p<	a.01 ***p<.00	1 (two	tailed)			
	1			`				

Table 10A.11: Model of Party Preference in Spain, Populism*Peripheral Identity

Variable			Podemos		Ciudadanos		IU	
Populist Attitudes	0.22		0.83	***	0.47	***	0.70	**
Left-right	-2.96	***	-2.76	***	-0.70	***	-3.38	***
Populism* Peripheral	-0.50		-0.96		0.58		-0.02	
Identity								
Market	0.19		-0.29		0.03		-0.15	
Globalization	0.30		0.55	***	0.06		0.45	*
Peripheral identity	2.08	*	2.93	**	1.22		1.26	
Sociotropic	0.60	**	0.83	***	0.43	*	0.67	*
Retrospective								
Sociotropic	0.02		-0.09		0.03		0.22	
Prospective								
Primary education	0.11		-0.09		-0.64		-0.95	
College education	0.10		0.06		0.34		-0.09	
Age	-0.03	**	-0.05	***	-0.04	***	-0.03	*
Sex	0.22		0.59	*	0.49		-0.29	
Constant	0.15		-0.96		2.05	**	-2.34	
Variable	UPyD		DiL		ERC		Abst	
							ain	
Populist Attitudes	0.78	*	-0.09		1.23		0.77	***
Index								
Left-right	-1.37	**	-0.68		-2.57	***	-1.60	***
Populim*Peripheral	-1.17		0.40		-1.34		-0.83	
identity								
Market	-0.28		0.05		0.06		0.24	
Globalization	-0.11		0.19		0.13		-0.03	
Peripheral identity	1.93		7.24	***	7.41	***	3.19	**
Sociotropic	0.08		0.97	*	0.46		0.20	
Retrospective								
Sociotropic	0.99	*	-0.07		-0.07		0.59	**
Prospective								
Primary education	1.39		-1.31		-0.80		-0.12	
College education	1.23		0.17		0.16		-0.07	
Age	-0.03		0.03		0.00		-0.04	***
Sex	-0.32		-0.35		-0.12		0.17	
Constant	-1.17		-8.83	***	-5.05	**	0.56	
	36.11		. pp : 1					
• 1		mıal lo	git, PP is the	baselin	e			
pseudo R2								
Peripheral identity Sociotropic Retrospective Sociotropic Prospective Primary education College education Age Sex	1.93 0.08 0.99 1.39 1.23 -0.03 -0.32 -1.17 Multino 1,208 0.22	omial lo	7.24 0.97 -0.07 -1.31 0.17 0.03 -0.35	* *** baselin	7.41 0.46 -0.07 -0.80 0.16 0.00 -0.12 -5.05		3.19 0.20 0.59 -0.12 -0.07 -0.04 0.17	:

Table 10A.12: Model of Party Preference in Greece, Populism*Grexit

Variable	SYRIZ	A	GD		POTAN	ΛI	KKE		ANEL	
Populist Attitude Index	1.58	**	0.77		-1.28		2.04	*	1.45	*
Social ideology	-1.63	***	2.01	**	-1.18	***	-1.84	***	0.32	
Economic ideology	-6.40	***	-2.74		-0.12		-6.90	***	-5.66	***
European Unification	-0.14		-0.56		-0.49		-0.00		-0.15	
Populist attitudes *										
European unification	0.02		0.10		0.19	*	-0.06		-0.01	
Pocketbook										
Retrospective	0.28		-0.04		0.07		1.38	**	0.53	
Pocketbook Prospective	0.53	**	0.06		-0.08		-1.23	*	0.32	
Age	0.00		-0.02		-0.01		-0.04		0.03	
Sex	-0.14		-0.84		0.06		0.30		-0.53	
Education	-0.09		-0.32		0.11		-0.35		-0.20	
Constant	9.68	***	-2.78		6.25	*	10.35	*	1.57	
Variable	PASOK		OTHE		NONE		MISSI		Abstent	
Populist Attitude Index	0.95		2.61	***	0.59		2.32	***	2.70	***
Social ideology	-1.45	***	-1.54	***	0.16		-0.98	***	-1.68	***
Economic ideology	-1.94		-4.15	***	-5.11	**	-3.27	***	-2.12	*
European Unification	0.39		0.75	*	-0.49		0.68	**	0.59	
Populist attitudes *										
European unification	-0.11		-0.21	*	0.12		-0.19	**	-0.17	*
Pocketbook										
Retrospective	0.01		0.00		-0.48		0.06		0.22	
Pocketbook Prospective	0.06		-0.82		0.03		-0.26		0.01	
Age	0.02		-0.01		0.01		0.00		-0.04	*
Sex	-0.09		-0.04		-0.87		-0.38		0.12	
Education	-0.18		-0.08		0.00		0.01		0.06	
Constant	2.98		2.53		4.75		0.48		-1.16	
Model Type	Multin	omial	logit, Ba	seline	is New D	emocr	acy			
N	910		<u> </u>				·			
pseudo R2	0.19									
*p<.05 **p<.01 (two tailed)										

Table 10A.13: Model of Party Preference in Greece with Triple Interaction Results: Populism*Social Ideology*European Unification

Variable	SYRIZA	4	GD		POTAM	<u>/II</u>	KKE		ANEL	
Populist Attitude Index	2.94		-0.58		3.58		3.39		-6.25	
Social ideology	0.80		1.60		4.32		0.42		-7.90	
Populism*Social	-0.52		0.39		-1.71		-0.55		2.25	
ideology										
European Unification	1.04		0.76		0.93		1.74		-4.35	*
Populist attitudes *	-0.20		-0.03		-0.23		-0.51		1.17	*
European unification										
Social ideology *	-0.48		-0.38		-0.51		-0.70		1.22	*
European unification										
Populism*Social	0.10		0.04		0.15		0.18		-0.34	*
ideology * European										
unification										
Pocketbook	0.32		-0.03		0.09		1.43	***	0.56	
Retrospective										
Economic ideology	-6.44	***	-2.62		-0.10		-6.83	***	-5.82	***
Pocketbook Prospective	0.49	*	0.08		-0.09		-1.23	*	0.33	
Age	0.00		-0.02		-0.01		-0.04		0.03	
Education	-0.11		-0.36	*	0.10		-0.39	*	-0.19	
Sex	-0.12		-0.93		0.06		0.37		-0.62	
Constant	3.34		-1.43		-9.40		4.67		29.75	*
Variable	PASOK		OTHE	R	NONE		MISSIN	NG	Absten	tion
Variable Populist Attitude Index	-5.44		2.88	R	2.82		-1.41	NG	1.92	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology	-5.44	*		R				NG	1.92 -3.44	tion
Populist Attitude Index	-5.44		2.88	R	2.82		-1.41	NG	1.92	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology	-5.44 -8.98		2.88 -0.90	R	2.82 3.34		-1.41 -5.75	NG	1.92 -3.44	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social	-5.44 -8.98		2.88 -0.90	R	2.82 3.34		-1.41 -5.75	NG	1.92 -3.44	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology	-5.44 -8.98 2.15		2.88 -0.90 -0.07	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68		-1.41 -5.75 1.27	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification	-5.44 -8.98 2.15		2.88 -0.90 -0.07	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology *	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91		2.88 -0.90 -0.07	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 -0.40 -0.04	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology *	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 -0.40 -0.04	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82	NG _	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European unification	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16 -0.35	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12 -0.06	R	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31 0.05		-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82 -0.23	NG	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45 -0.09	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European unification Pocketbook	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16 -0.35	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12 -0.06	**	2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31 0.05	**	-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82 -0.23	NG ***	1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45 -0.09	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European unification Pocketbook Retrospective	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16 -0.35	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12 -0.06		2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31 0.05	**	-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82 -0.23		1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45 -0.09	tion
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European unification Pocketbook Retrospective Economic ideology	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16 -0.35 0.00	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12 -0.06		2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31 0.05	**	-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82 -0.23 0.06		1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45 -0.09	*
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European unification Pocketbook Retrospective Economic ideology Pocketbook Prospective	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16 -0.35 0.00 -2.04 0.06	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12 -0.06 0.04 -4.18 -0.85		2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31 0.05 -0.47 -5.24 0.06	**	-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82 -0.23 0.06 -3.31 -0.28		1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45 -0.09 0.23 -1.92 0.06	
Populist Attitude Index Social ideology Populism*Social ideology European Unification Populist attitudes * European unification Social ideology * European unification Populism*Social ideology * European unification Pocketbook Retrospective Economic ideology Pocketbook Prospective Age	-5.44 -8.98 2.15 -3.02 0.91 1.16 -0.35 0.00 -2.04 0.06 0.02	*	2.88 -0.90 -0.07 0.40 -0.04 0.12 -0.06 0.04 -4.18 -0.85 -0.01		2.82 3.34 -0.68 0.44 -0.01 -0.31 0.05 -0.47 -5.24 0.06 0.01	**	-1.41 -5.75 1.27 -1.74 0.50 0.82 -0.23 0.06 -3.31 -0.28 0.00		1.92 -3.44 0.29 -0.65 0.09 0.45 -0.09 0.23 -1.92 0.06 -0.04	

Model Type	Multinomial logit, Baseline is New Democracy
N	910
pseudo R2	0.20
pseudo R2	*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001 (two tailed)

Table A10.14: Elements of the Populist Attitude Scale and Presidential Support in Bolivia, 2016

	Multinomial Lot the Baseline Ca	Logit model: Presidential		
	Vote for an opposition candidate	Blank or Null Vote	No Vote	Approval
Differences between	-0.028	-0.034	-0.050	-0.027
people and elite	(0.077)	(0.086)	(0.171)	(0.066)
People not politicians	-0.001	-0.028	-0.044	0.015
	(0.079)	(0.087)	(0.188)	(0.069)
Ordinary citizen, not	-0.043	0.071	-0.011	-0.031
experienced politician	(0.071)	(0.081)	(0.147)	(0.063)
Politicians talk too much	0.130°	0.084	-0.118	0.006
	(0.067)	(0.074)	(0.139)	(0.059)
Congress follow people	0.047	-0.022	-0.187	-0.014
	(0.075)	(0.082)	(0.150)	(0.065)
"Compromise" is just	0.044	0.002	-0.213	-0.051
selling out	(0.069)	(0.080)	(0.150)	(0.061)

Each row is from a separate model controlling for one component of the populism index, with the controls from Table 10.5 included. Standard errors in parentheses. op<0.10, two-tailed

Figures – Chapter 10

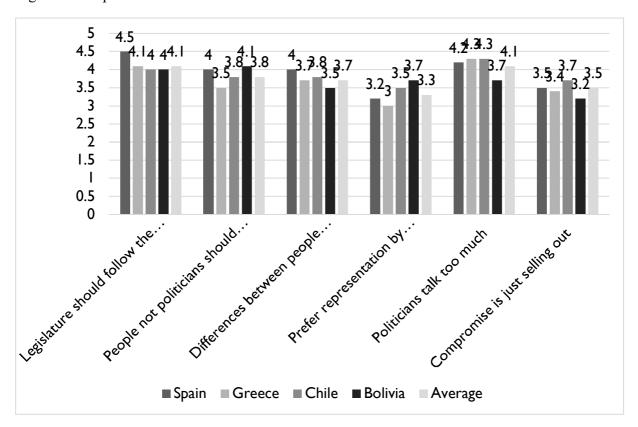


Figure 10.1

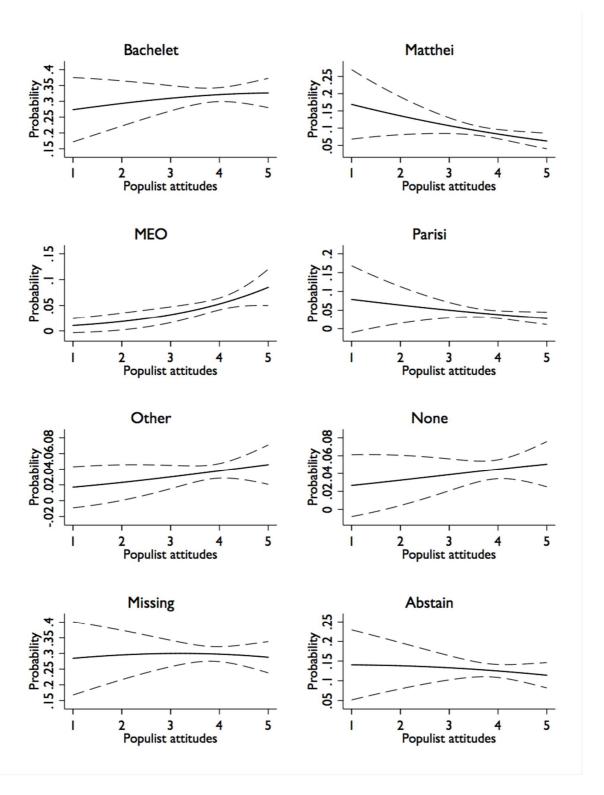


Figure 10.2

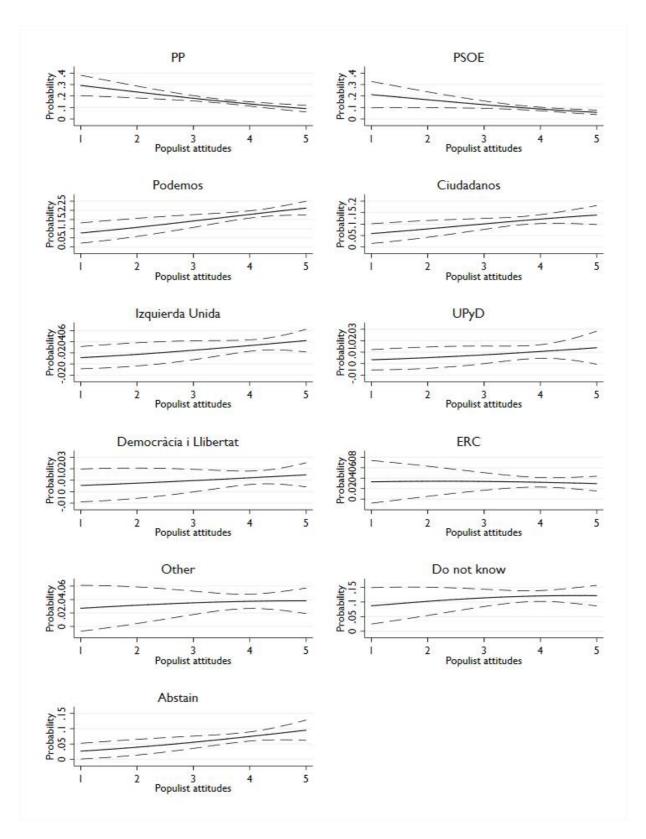


Figure 10.3

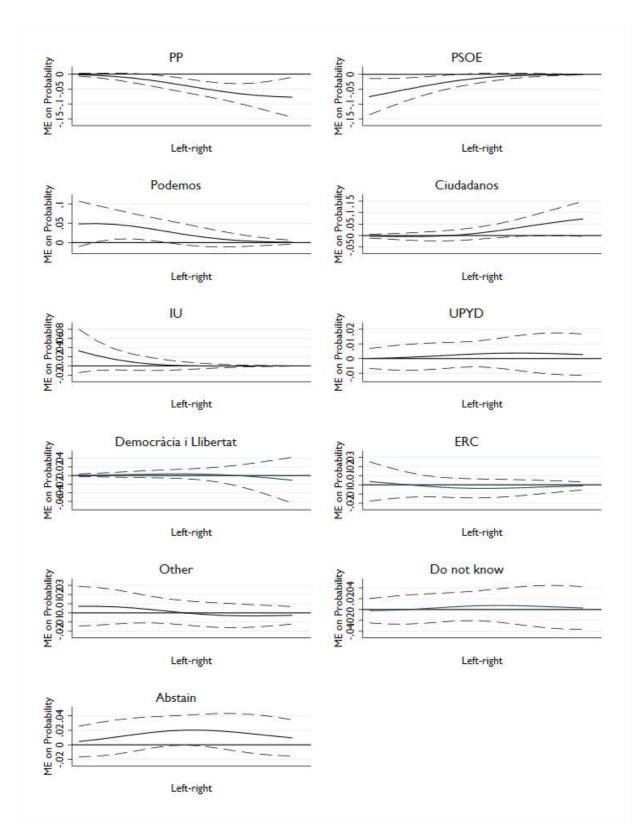


Figure 10.4

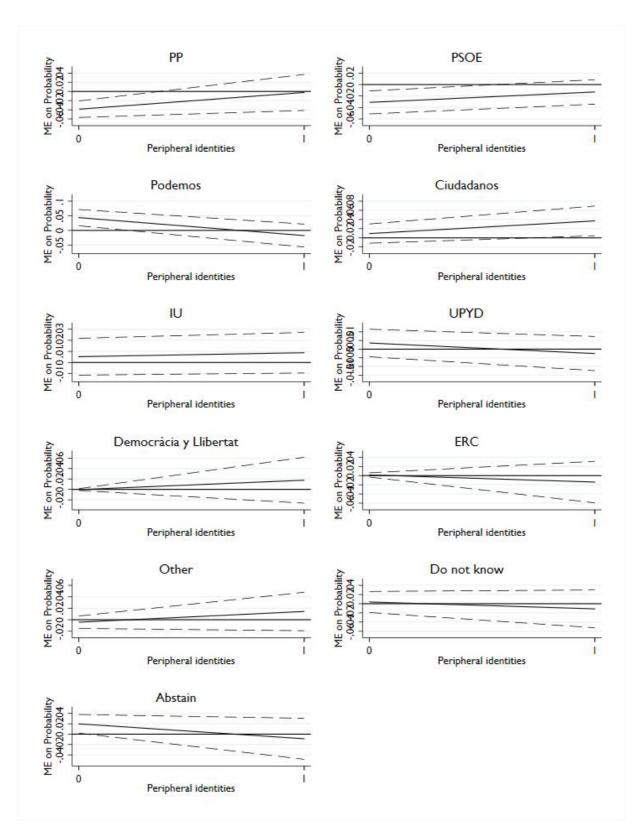


Figure 10.5

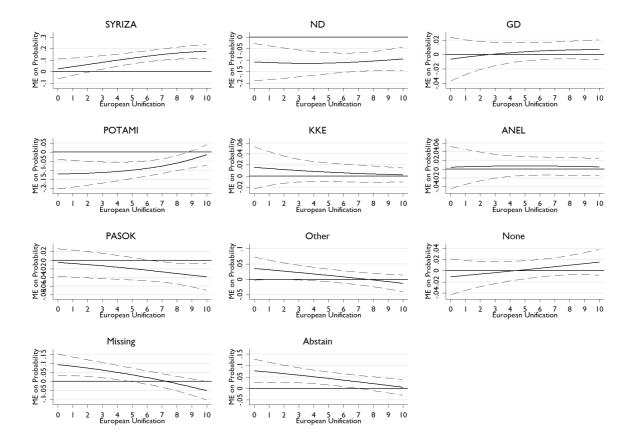


Figure 10.6

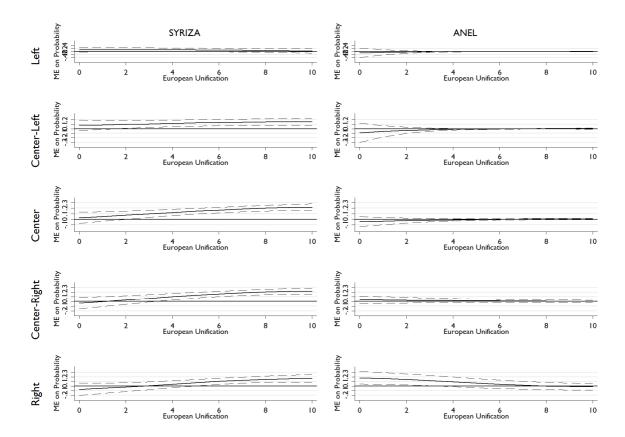


Figure 10.7