Populism between voting and non-electoral participation

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ONLINE APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Tables and figures

Table A1: Tetrachoric correlation matrix. Binary items with information on NEP

	Contacted politician	Donated money	Displayed logo	Signed petition	Boycotted	Buycotted	Attended meeting	Demonstrated	Went on strike	Occupied	Damaged things	Used violence	Discussed opinions online	Joined groups online	Visited political website	Searched info online
Contacted politician	1															
Donated money	.5481	1														
Displayed logo	.5854	.6725	1													
Signed petition	.5148	.4974	.5208	1												
Boycotted	.3844	.4295	.4617	.5740	1											
Buycotted	.3916	.4951	.5149	.5385	.7723	1										
Attended meeting	.6751	.6387	.7027	.4790	.3624	.3963	1									
Demonstrated	.4183	.4474	.5714	.4758	.4592	.4053	.6404	1								
Went on strike	.3287	.2961	.4352	.3661	.3513	.2972	.4579	.6984	1							
Occupied	.4218	.4821	.5382	.3662	.3815	.3658	.5754	.7406	.7129	1						
Damaged things	.4621	.5194	.5558	.2863	.3355	.3726	.5059	.5002	.5619	.7671	1					
Used violence	.4476	.5498	.5963	.3066	.3375	.3877	.5521	.5657	.6455	.7786	.8415	1				
Discussed opinions online	.5111	.4607	.5696	.5611	.4607	.4199	.5523	.4979	.3686	.4614	.3463	.3793	1			
Joined groups online	.5464	.5313	.6206	.5336	.4153	.4227	.6130	.5040	.3786	.5041	.4928	.5071	.7571	1		
Visited political website	.5990	.5308	.5864	.5258	.4626	.4648	.6074	.4222	.2705	.3314	.2728	.2930	.6267	.6582	1	
Searched info online	.5254	.4532	.4953	.5594	.5396	.5366	.5401	.4807	.3164	.3213	.1549	.2060	.6548	.5969	.8073	1

Table A2: Factor loadings of items with information on NEP

Items NEP	Loadings
Contacted politician	.7053
Donated money	.7237
Displayed logo	.8038
Signed petition	.6748
Boycotted	.6464
Buycotted	.6540
Attended meeting	.8021
Demonstrated	.7555
Went on strike	.6293
Occupied	.7523
Damaged things	.6847
Used violence	.7226
Discussed opinions online	.7366
Joined groups online	.7805
Visited political website	.7259
Searched info online	.7036
Eigenvalue	8.31
Percentage explained variance	62.56%

Table A3: Negative binomial regressions (DV= NEP rating scale; *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001)

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3		MODEL 4		MODEL 5	
	Coef.	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**
Populist vote national (ref.: pop. right)										
Pop. vote nat.: non-pop. right			–.19**	.07	–.33***	.08	–.26***	.05	–.10	.05
Pop. vote nat.: non-pop. left			–.51***	.07	–.65***	.09	–.26***	.06	–.19**	.06
Pop. vote nat.: pop. left			–.17	.10	–.31**	.11	.08	.07	–.03	.08
Authoritarian-libertarian values					–.03	.03				
Populist vote national*authoritarian-libertarian values										
Non-pop. right*auth.-libertarian values					.10*	.04				
Non-pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.31***	.04				
Pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.22***	.04				
Attitudes towards migrants			–.01	.01			–.00	.01	.03***	.00
Populist vote national*anti-immigration										
Non-pop. right*anti-immigration			.03**	.01			.03**	.01		
Non-pop. left*anti-immigration			.06***	.01			.06***	.01		
Pop. left*anti-immigration			.02	.01			.02*	.01		
Economic issue position			–.01	.02			.05***	.01	.02	.02
Populist vote national*economic issue position										
Non-pop. right*economic issue position			–.07*	.03					–.06	.03
Non-pop. left*economic issue position			.15***	.03					.14***	.03
Pop. left*economic issue position			.14***	.04					.11**	.04
Electoral turnout	.27***	.04								
Biographical aspects										
Gender	.06***	.02	.04	.02	.03	.02	.06**	.02	.07**	.02
Age	–.01***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00
Education	.04***	.00	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01
Children	–.01**	.02	–.01	.02	–.01	.02	–.02	.02	–.02	.02
Grievances										
Income	–.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Job crisis	.04***	.00	.03***	.00	.03***	.00	.03***	.00	.03***	.00
Political values										
Interest	.47***	.01	.47***	.01	.42***	.01	.43***	.01	.43***	.01
External efficacy	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01
Democratic satisfaction	–.02***	.00	–.02***	.00	–.01**	.00	–.02***	.00	–.02***	.00
Social capital & networks										
Friends	.10***	.01	.08***	.01	.08***	.01	.08***	.01	.08***	.01
Party membership	.54***	.02	.56***	.02	.43***	.02	.47***	.03	.46***	.03
SMO membership					.05***	.00	.05***	.00	.05***	.00
Incumbent			–.13	.07	–.02	.07	–.05	.07	–.03	.07
Constant	–1.06***	.08	–.70***	.10	–.63***	.10	–.76***	.09	–.80***	.09
Adjusted R2	.0833		.0851		.0928		.0932		.0934	
Country dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
N individuals	13722		8561		8264		8561		8561	

Table A4: OLS regressions with robust standard errors (DV= NEP rating scale; *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001)

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3		MODEL 4		MODEL 5	
	Coef.	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**
Populist vote national dummy	.23***	.05								
Populist vote national (ref.: pop. right)										
Pop. vote nat.: non-pop. right			–.36***	.06	–.55***	.15	–.43***	.10	–.20*	.10
Pop. vote nat.: non-pop. left			.11	.06	–1.47***	.18	–.55***	.12	–.58***	.12
Pop. vote nat.: pop. left			.30**	.10	–1.13***	.27	–.05	.17	–.35	.21
Authoritarian-libertarian values	.44***	.03	.44***	.03	–.01	.05				
Populist vote national*authoritarian-libertarian values										
Non-pop. right*auth.-libertarian values					.15*	.07				
Non-pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.73***	.08				
Pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.68***	.10				
Attitudes towards migrants							.00	.02	.06***	.01
Populist vote national*anti-immigration										
Non-pop. right*anti-immigration							.04*	.02		
Non-pop. left*anti-immigration							.13***	.02		
Pop. left*anti-immigration							.09**	.03		
Economic issue position							.17***	.03	.02	.02
Populist vote national*economic issue position										
Non-pop. right*economic issue position									–.13	.07
Non-pop. left*economic issue position									.40***	.07
Pop. left*economic issue position									.36***	.10
Biographical aspects										
Gender	.08	.04	.07	.04	.06	.04	.15***	.04	.15***	.04
Age	–.01***	.00	–.01***	.00	–.01***	.00	–.01***	.00	–.01***	.00
Education	.07***	.01	.07***	.01	.07***	.01	.07***	.01	.07***	.01
Children	–.01	.05	–.01	.05	–.01	.05	–.04	.05	–.04	.05
Grievances										
Income	–.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.02	.01	.01	.01
Job crisis	.06***	.00	.06***	.00	.06***	.01	.06***	.01	.07***	.01
Political values										
Interest	.82***	.03	.81***	.03	.78***	.03	.79***	.03	.79***	.03
External efficacy	–.11***	.02	–.11***	.02	–.10***	.02	–.10***	.02	–.10***	.02
Democratic satisfaction	–.05***	.01	–.04***	.01	–.04***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01
Social capital & networks										
Friends	.17***	.02	.18***	.02	.17***	.02	.17***	.02	.18***	.02
Party membership	1.66***	.08	1.67***	.08	1.66***	.08	1.69***	.08	1.66***	.08
Incumbent	.20	.15	.05	.16	.07	.16	–.01	.16	–.03	.16
Constant	–1.40***	.18	–1.07***	.18	–.37	.20	–.64**	.19	–.70***	.19
Adjusted R2	.2989		.3103		.3208		.3236		.3263	
Country dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
N individuals	8863		8264		8264		8561		8561	

Table A5: Negative binomial regressions (DV= NEP simple summated scale; *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001)

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3		MODEL 4		MODEL 5	
	Coef.	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**
Populist vote national dummy	.12***	.02								
Populist vote national (ref.: pop. right)										
Pop. vote nat.: non-pop. right			–.19***	.03	–.33***	.08	–.25***	.06	–.11*	.05
Pop. vote nat.: non-pop. left			.05	.03	–.57***	.09	–.23***	.06	–.19**	.06
Pop. vote nat.: pop. left			.15**	.05	–.31*	.11	.10	.07	–.03	.09
Authoritarian-libertarian values	.19***	.01	.14***	.01	–.01	.03				
Populist vote national*authoritarian-libertarian values										
Non-pop. right*auth.-libertarian values					.09*	.04				
Non-pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.28***	.04				
Pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.23***	.05				
Attitudes towards migrants							.00	.01	.03***	.00
Populist vote national*anti-immigration										
Non-pop. right*anti-immigration							.02*	.01		
Non-pop. left*anti-immigration							.05***	.01		
Pop. left*anti-immigration							.02	.01		
Economic issue position							.06***	.01	.02	.02
Populist vote national*economic issue position										
Non-pop. right*economic issue position									–.06	.03
Non-pop. left*economic issue position									.13***	.03
Pop. left*economic issue position									.09*	.04
Biographical aspects										
Gender	.05*	.02	.05*	.02	.04*	.02	.08***	.02	.08***	.02
Age	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00
Education	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01
Children	–.02	.02	–.02	.02	–.02	.02	–.03	.02	–.03	.02
Grievances										
Income	–.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00
Job crisis	.03***	.00	.03***	.00	.04***	.00	.04***	.00	.04***	.00
Political values										
Interest	.44***	.01	.44***	.01	.43***	.01	.43***	.01	.43***	.01
External efficacy	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01
Democratic satisfaction	–.02***	.00	–.01**	.00	–.01**	.00	–.02***	.00	–.02***	.00
Social capital & networks										
Friends	.08***	.01	.09***	.01	.08***	.01	.08***	.01	.08***	.01
Party membership	.55***	.03	.56***	.02	.55***	.03	.57***	.02	.56***	.02
Incumbent	.08	.07	.02	.07	.01	.08	–.02	.07	–.02	.07
Constant	–.83***	.09	–.69***	.09	–.40***	.10	–.80***	.09	–.88***	.09
Adjusted R2	.0642		.0675		.0692		.0705		.0707	
Country dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
N individuals	8663		8264		8264		8561		8561	

Table A6: Negative binomial regressions (DV= NEP rating scale; *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001)

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3		MODEL 4		MODEL 5	
	Coef.	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**
Populist vote EP dummy	.22***	.03								
Populist vote EP (ref.: populist right)										
Pop. vote EP: non-pop. right			–.26***	.03	–.41***	.09	–.21***	.06	–.15*	.05
Pop. vote EP: non-pop. left			–.05	.03	–.70***	.09	–.32***	.06	–.26***	.06
Pop. vote EP: pop. left			.12*	.05	–.41**	.12	.07	.08	.03	.10
Authoritarian-libertarian values	.19***	.01	.16***	.02	–.03	.03				
Populist vote EP*authoritarian-libertarian values										
Non-pop. right*auth.-libertarian values					.11*	.04				
Non-pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.31***	.04				
Pop. left*auth.-libertarian values					.26***	.05				
Attitudes towards migrants							.01	.01	.03***	.00
Populist vote EP*anti-immigration										
Non-pop. right*anti-immigration							.01	.01		
Non-pop. left*anti-immigration							.05***	.01		
Pop. left*anti-immigration							.02	.01		
Economic issue position							.08***	.01	.02	.02
Populist vote EP*economic issue position										
Non-pop. right*economic issue position									–.05	.03
Non-pop. left*economic issue position									.11**	.03
Pop. left*economic issue position									.05	.04
Biographical aspects										
Gender	.02	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.05*	.02	.05*	.02
Age	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00	–.00***	.00
Education	.04***	.01	.04***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01
Children	–.02	.03	–.01	.03	–.01	.03	–.02	.03	–.02	.03
Grievances										
Income	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00	.01*	.00
Job crisis	.03***	.00	.03***	.00	.03***	.00	.03***	.00	.03***	.00
Political values										
Interest	.42***	.02	.42***	.02	.40***	.02	.42***	.02	.42***	.01
External efficacy	–.05***	.01	–.06***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01	–.05***	.01
Democratic satisfaction	–.02***	.00	–.02***	.00	–.02***	.00	–.03***	.00	–.03***	.00
Social capital & networks										
Friends	.09***	.01	.09***	.01	.09***	.01	.09***	.01	.09***	.01
Party membership	.57***	.03	.58***	.03	.58***	.03	.57***	.03	.56***	.02
Incumbent	–.04	.06	–.09	.07	.00	.06	–.07	.07	–.06	.07
Constant	–1.12***	.10	–.90***	.10	–.53***	.10	–.75***	.10	–.79***	.10
Adjusted R2	.0852		.0885		.0912		.0921		.0919	
Country dummies	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
N individuals	7010		6714		6714		6967		6967	

Table A7: Negative binomial regressions (DV= dummy vote for Movimento 5 Stelle; *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001)

	MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3		MODEL 4	
	Coef.	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**	**Coef.**	**S.E.**
M5S vote national	.30***	.07	.58*	.61	.40*	.16	.29	.16
Authoritarian-libertarian values	.27***	.05	.34***	.07				
M5S vote national*authoritarian-libertarian values			–.12	.09				
Attitudes towards migrants					.06**	.02	.04**	.01
M5S vote national*anti-immigration					–.03	.02		
Economic issue position					.06	.04	.07	.07
M5S vote national*economic issue position							–.04	.09
Biographical aspects								
Gender	.11	.07	.11	.07	.10	.07	.10	.07
Age	–.01	.00	–.01	.00	–.01	.00	–.01	.00
Education	.05*	.02	.05*	.02	.05*	.02	.05*	.02
Children	–.09	.07	–.10	.07	–.06	.07	–.07	.07
Grievances								
Income	.01	.02	.01	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02
Job crisis	.03**	.01	.03**	.01	.03**	.01	.03**	.01
Political values								
Interest	.45***	.05	.44***	.05	.44***	.05	.44***	.05
External efficacy	–.02	.03	–.02	.03	–.00	.03	.00	.03
Democratic satisfaction	–.03	.01	–.02	.01	–.03*	.01	–.03*	.01
Social capital & networks								
Friends	.06	.04	.06	.04	.06	.04	.06	.04
Party membership	.44***	.07	.44***	.07	.39***	.08	.39***	.08
Constant	–1.60***	.29	–1.76***	.29	–1.38***	.30	–1.30***	.29
Adjusted R2	.0745		.0750		.0651		.0647	
N individuals	748		748		780		780	

Table A8: List of parties and relative classification

COUNTRY/ PARTY	POPULIST (RADICAL) LEFT	NON-POPULIST LEFT	NON-POPULIST RIGHT	POPULIST (RADICAL) RIGHT	EXTREME RIGHT	CENTRE OR OTHER
FRANCE						
UMP			X			
PS		X				
F				X		
FDG	X					
UDI						X
EELV		X				
PCF		X				
NC			X			
MPF			X			
MoDeM						X
PRG		X				
GERMANY						
SPD		X				
CDU/CSU						
Grüne		X				
FDP			X			
Die Linke	X					
AfD				X		
NPD					X	
Piraten						X
GREECE						
ELIA – PA		X				
ND			X			
KKE		X				
SYRIZA	X					
ANEL				X		
To Potami						X
XA					X	
LAOS				X		
PA		X				
K		X				
ITALY						
SEL		X				
PD		X				
M5S						X
UDC						X
FI				X		
LN				X		
La Destra				X		
Radicali						X
FdI				X		
POLAND						
PO			X			
PiS				X		
PSL			X			
SLD-UP		X				
PRJG			X			
KNP				X		
SP				X		

RN					X	
Kukiz'15				X		
Nowoczesna						X
Korwin					X	
TR	X					

SPAIN						
PP			X			
PSOE		X				
IU		X				
Podemos	X					
UPyD						X
CiU						X
ERC		X				
Ciudadanos			X			

SWEDEN						
C			X			
FL			X			
KD			X			
MP		X				
M			X			
S		X				
V		X				
SD				X		

SWITZERLAND						
UDC				X		
PS		X				
PLR			X			
PDC			X			
Verts		X				
PVL						X
PBD			X			
PEV			X			
PST		X				

UK						
Conservative			X			
Labour		X				
Lib-Dem						X
SNP		X				
Plaid Cymru		X				
Green Party		X				
UKIP				X		
BNP				X		

Figure A1: Histogram of NEP rating scale (national election, prospective)

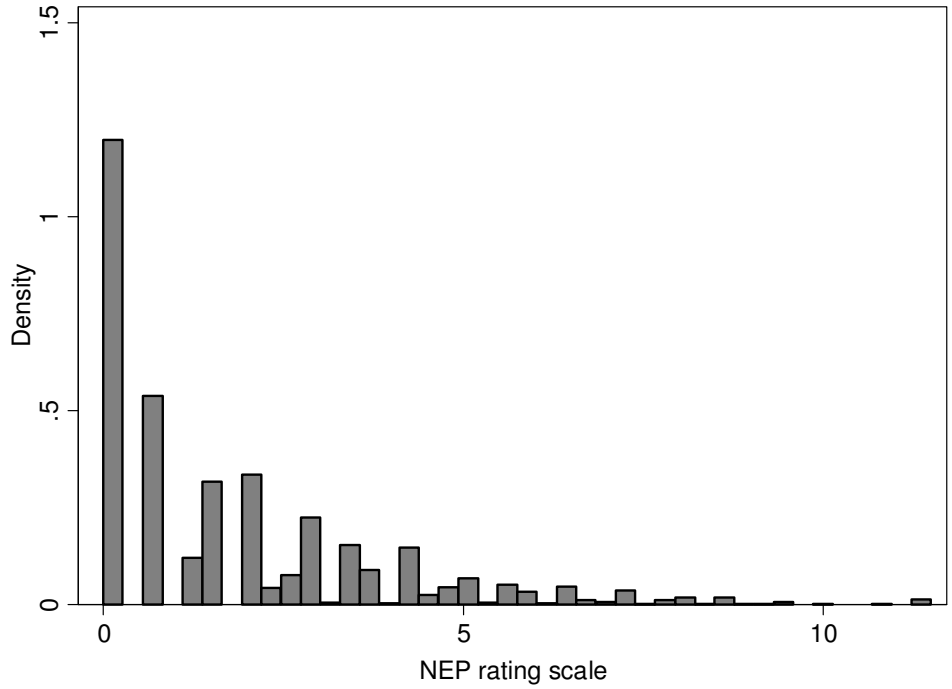


Figure A2: Average values of NEP rating scale by populist vote (national election, prospective; with uncertainty estimates)

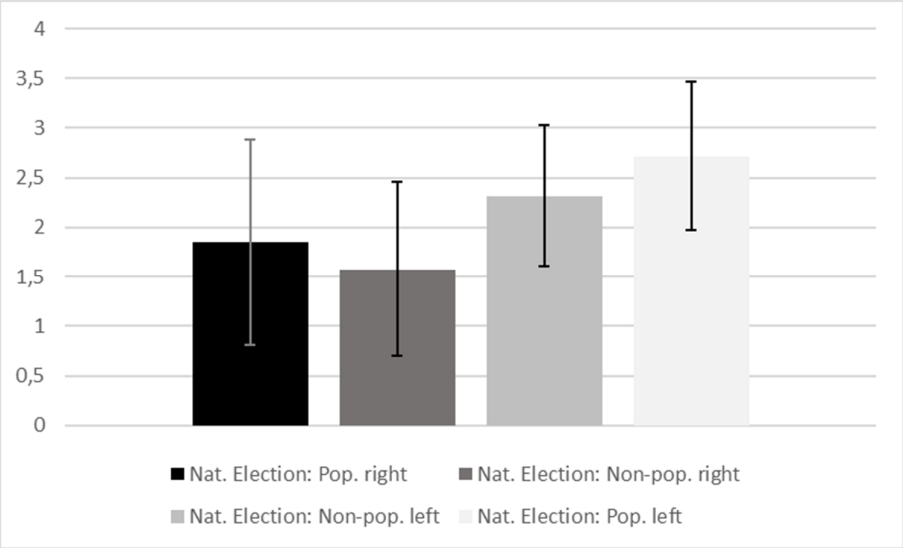


Figure A3.1: Average values of authoritarian-libertarian values by populist vote (national election, prospective; with uncertainty estimates)

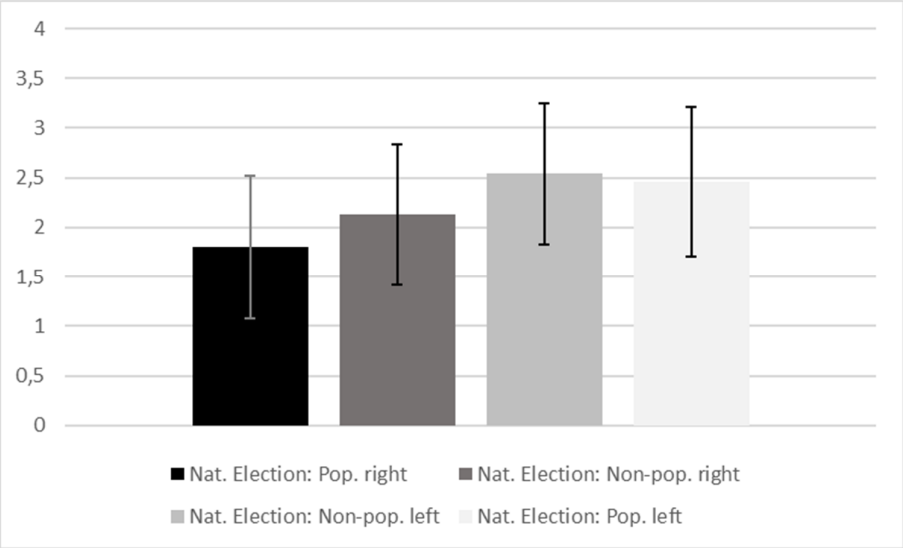


Figure A3.2: Average values of attitudes towards migrants by populist vote (national election, prospective; with uncertainty estimates)

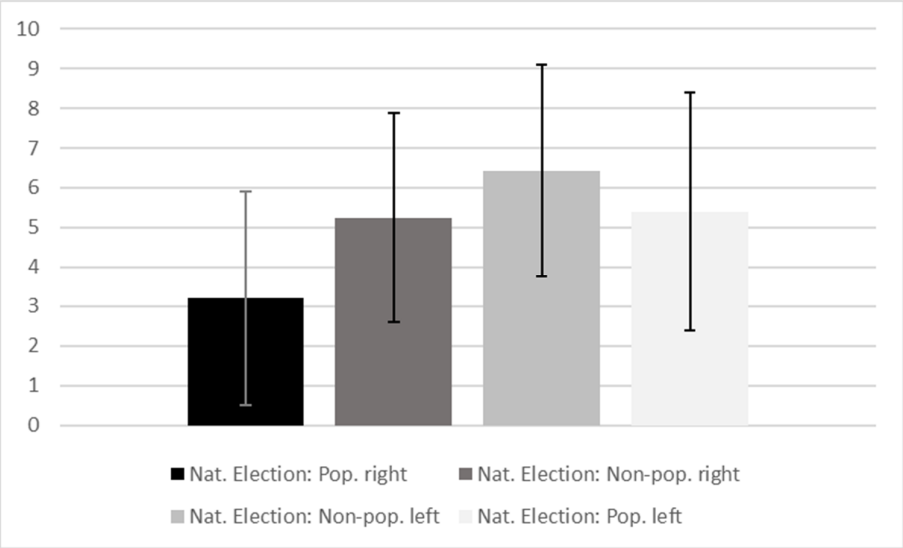


Figure A3.3: Average values of economic issue position by populist vote (national election, prospective; with uncertainty estimates)

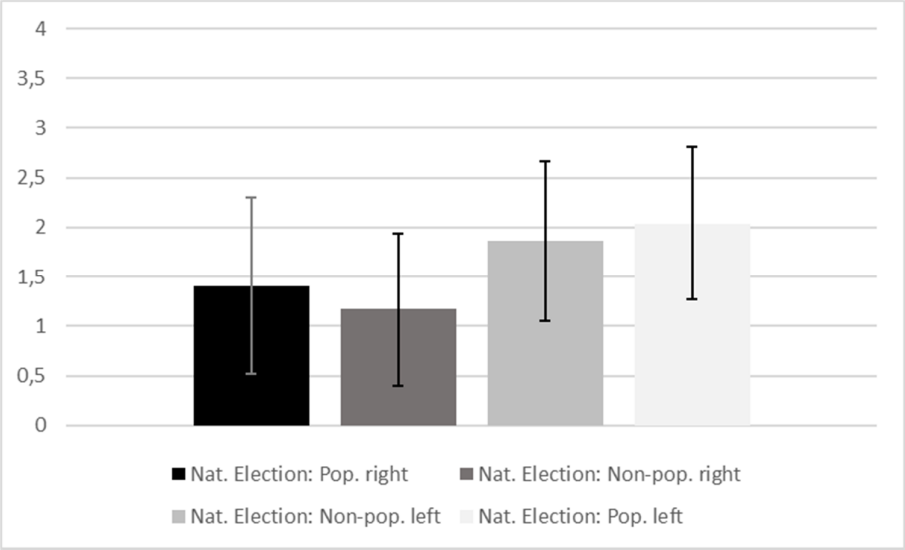


Figure A4: Predicted values of NEP as a function of populist vote (Europarliament election, retrospective)

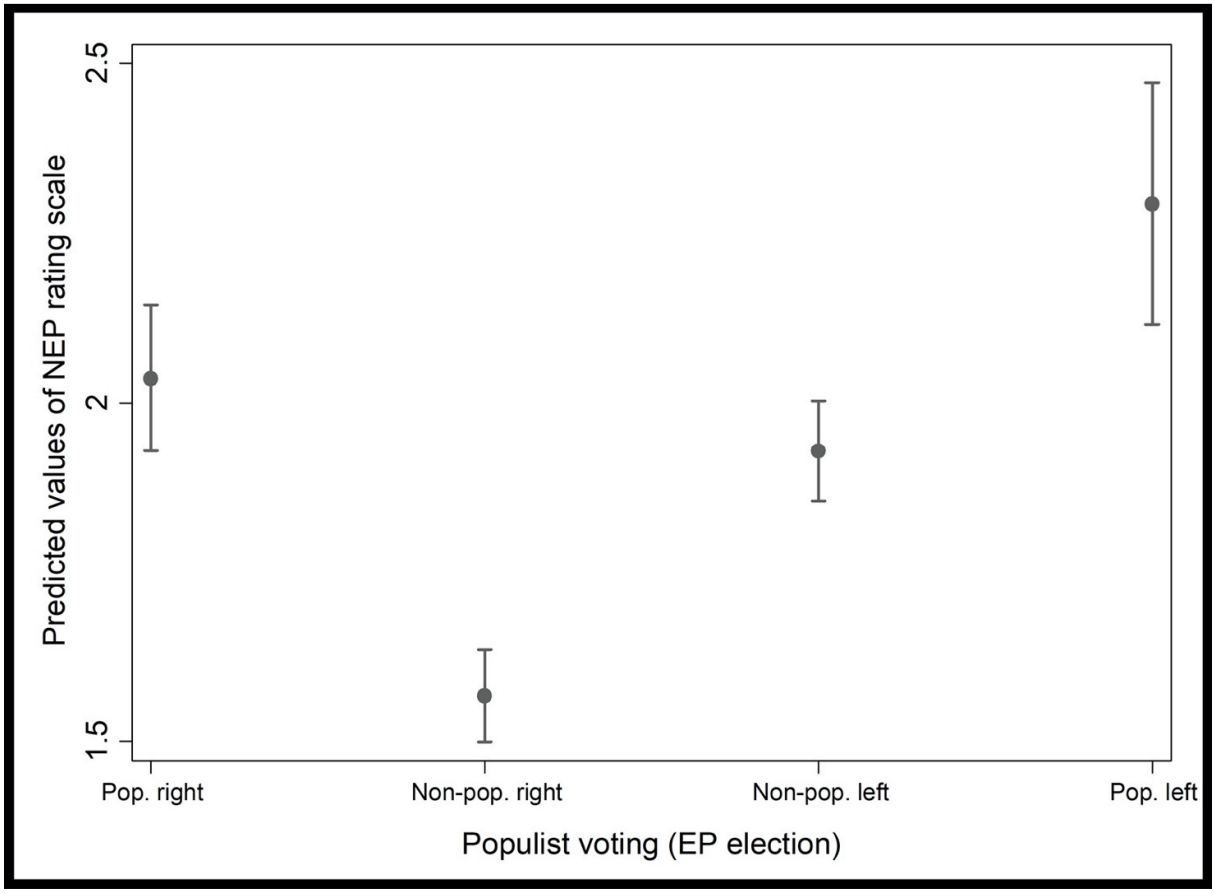


Figure A5: Predicted values of NEP as a function of authoritarian-libertarian values by populist vote (Europarliament election, retrospective)

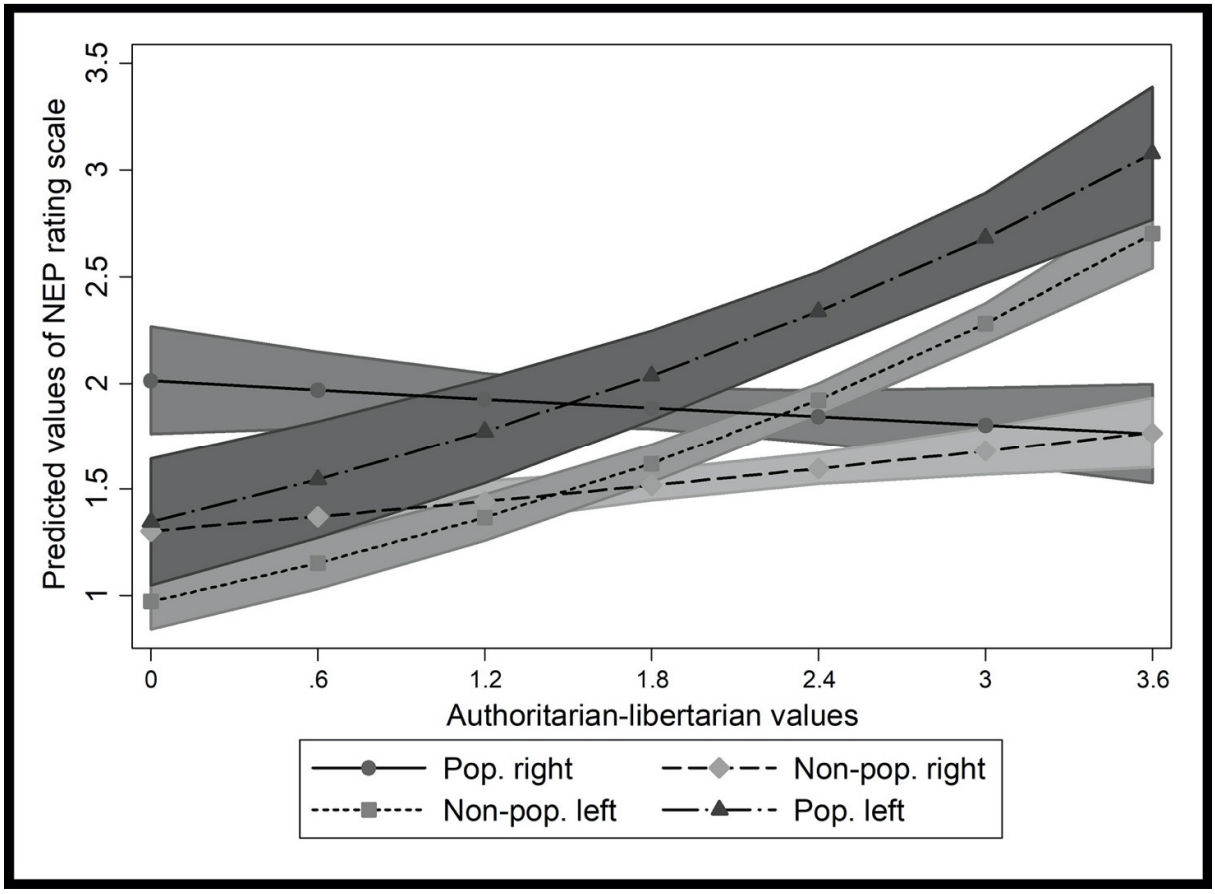


Figure A6: Predicted values of NEP as a function of attitudes towards migrants by populist vote (Europarliament election, retrospective)

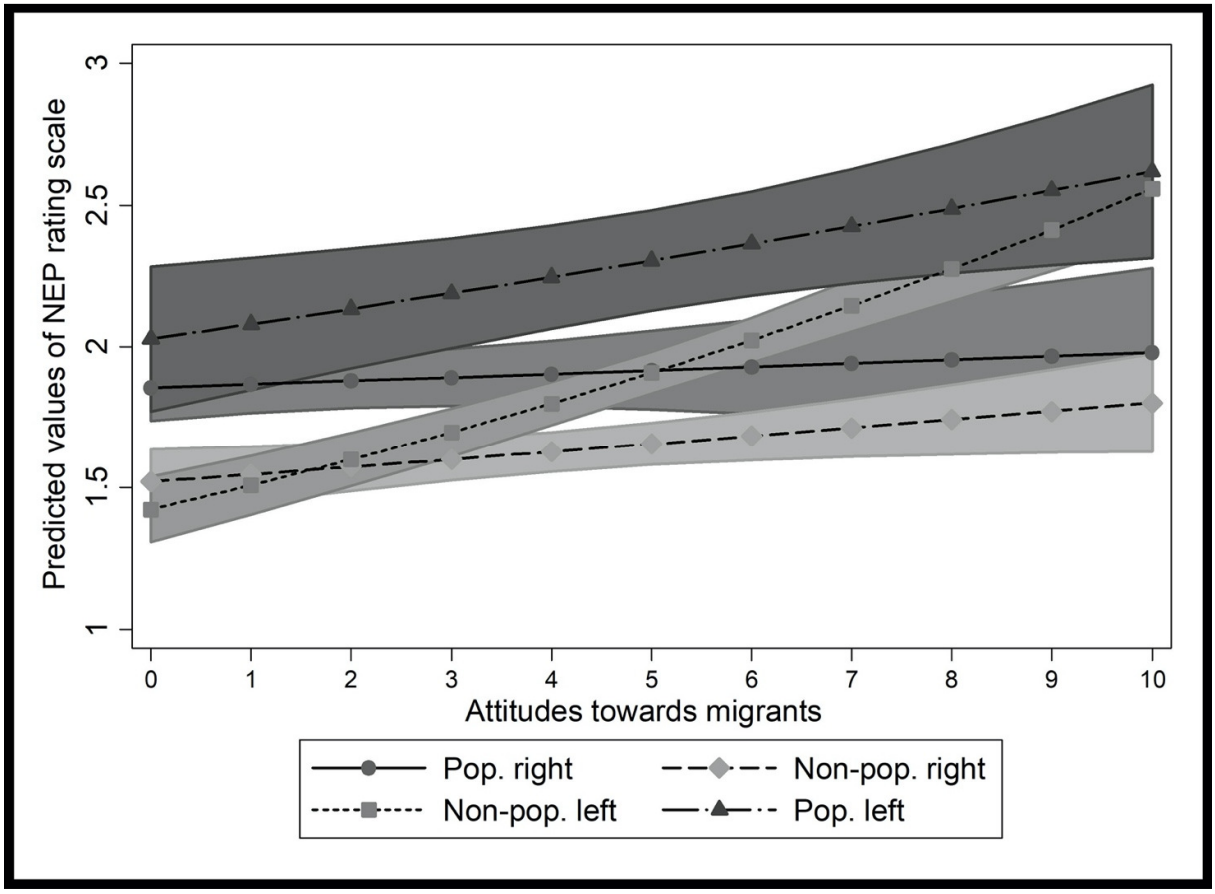


Figure A7: Predicted values of NEP as a function of the economic issue positions index by populist vote (Europarliament election, retrospective)

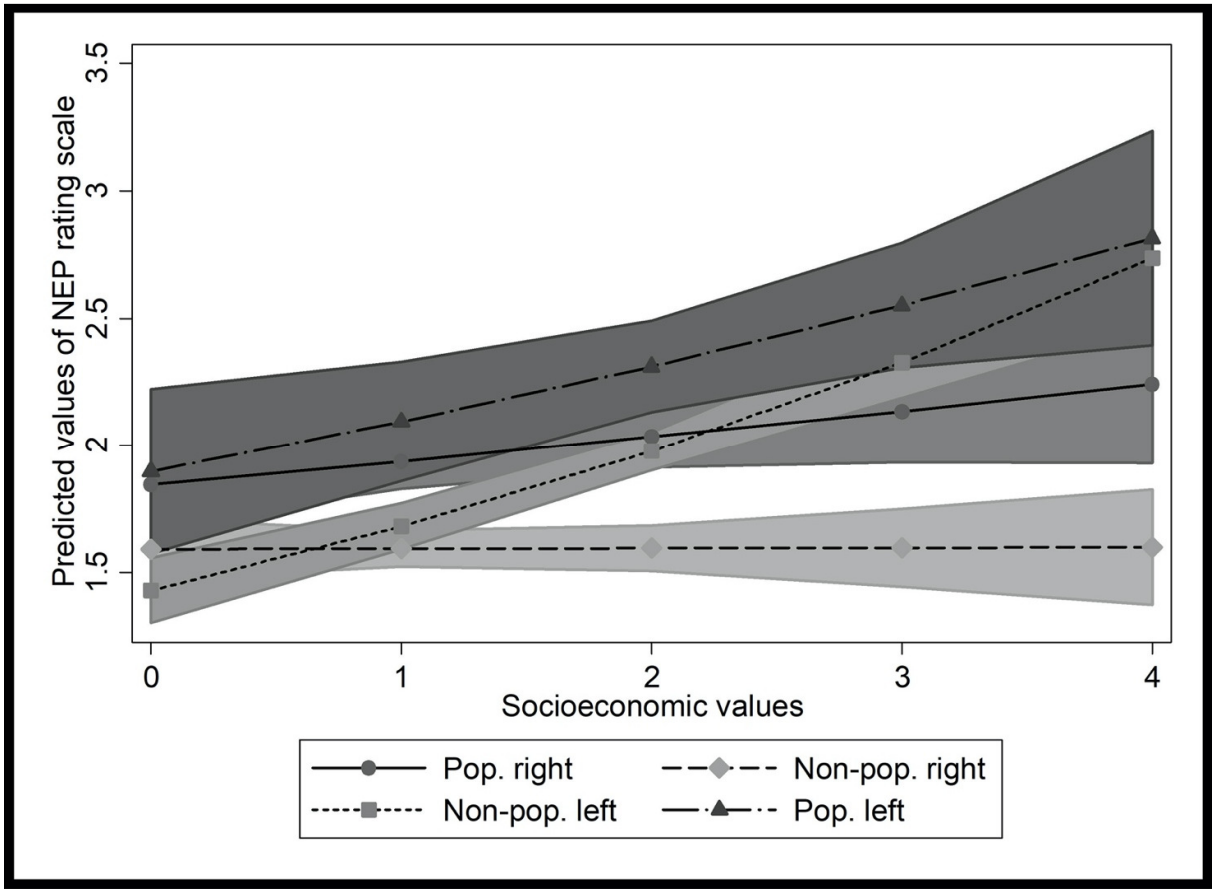


Figure A8: Conditional marginal effects of authoritarian-libertarian values on NEP by populist vote (national election, prospective)

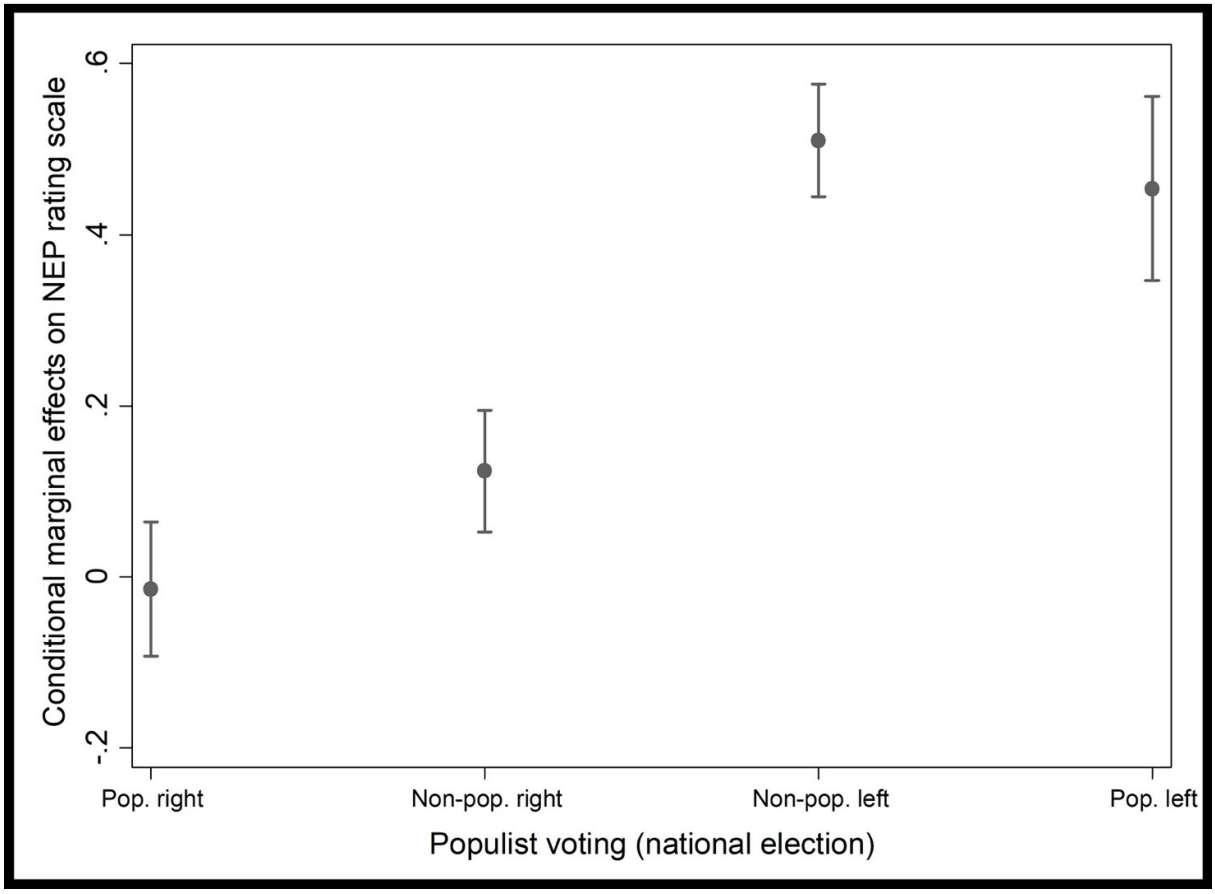


Figure A9: Conditional marginal effects of attitudes towards migrants on NEP by populist vote (national election, prospective)

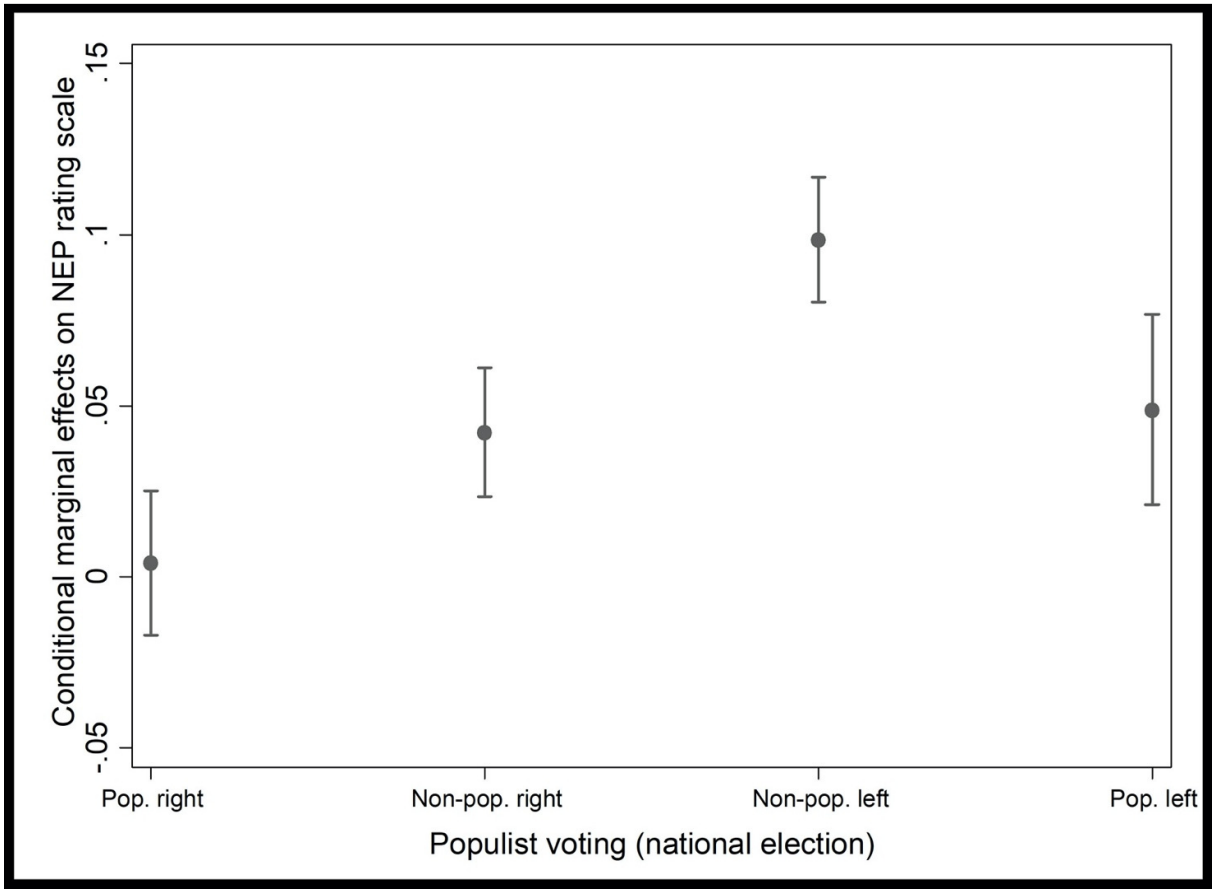
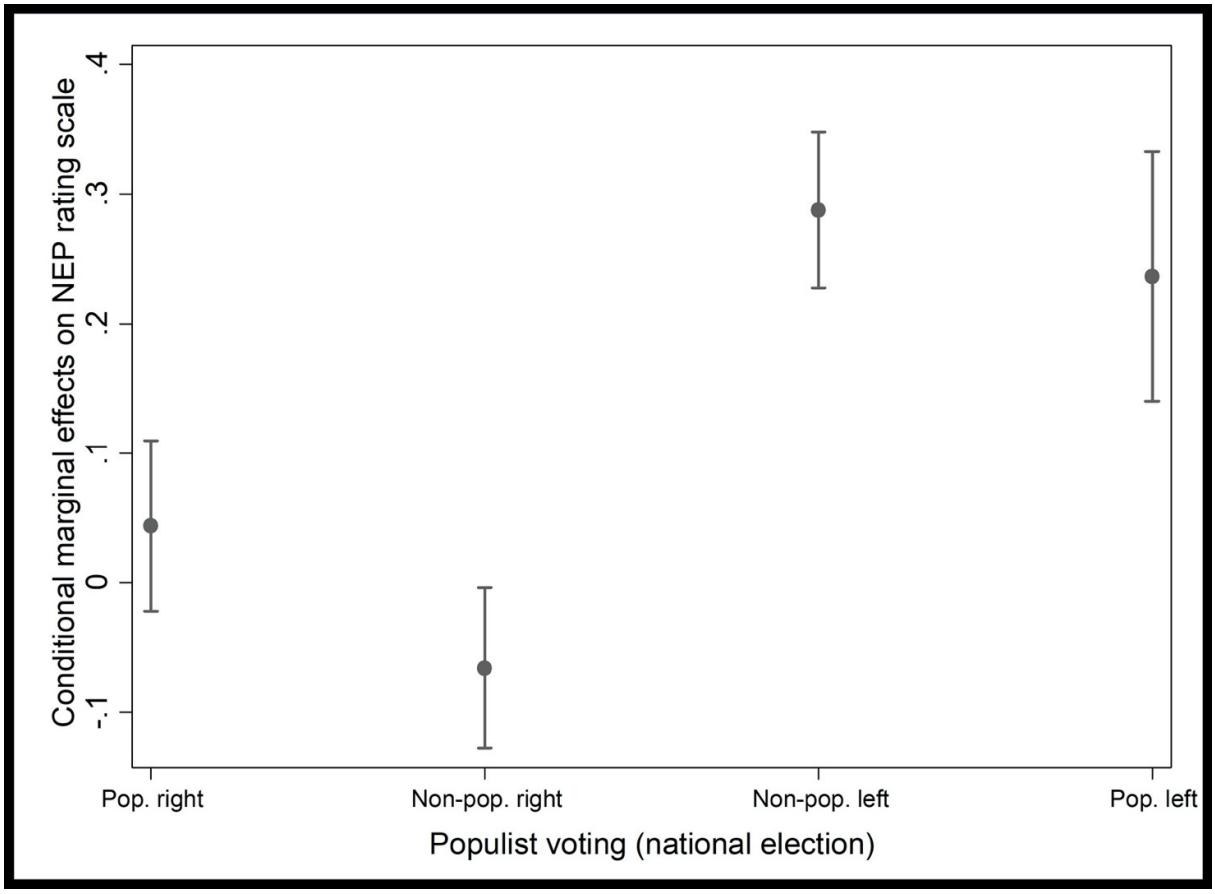


Figure A10: Conditional marginal effects of economic issue positions index on NEP by populist vote (national election, prospective)



APPENDIX II: Question wordings

1. The authoritarian-libertarian index is comprised of the following five statements on the extremes (11-point scales):
    a. A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled | A woman can be fulfilled through her professional career
    b. A woman who does not want to have a child should be allowed to have a free and safe abortion | Abortion should not be allowed in any case
    c. Children should be taught to obey authority | Children should be encouraged to have an independent judgement
    d. People who break the law should get stiffer sentences | Stiffer sentences do not contribute to reduce criminality
    e. Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children | Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances.

2. Support for anti-immigrant attitudes is captured through the question:
    a. Would you say that (your country's) cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?" (0= udermined, 10= enriched).

3. The economic issue positions index is comprised of the following five statements on the extremes (11-point scales):
    a. Incomes should be made more equal | We need larger income differences as incentives.
    b. People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves | The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. (reverse coded)
    c. People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits | People who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want. (reverse coded)
    d. Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas | Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people. (reverse coded)
    e. Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services | Government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services. (reverse coded)

4. The 11-item summated scale on the evolution of job conditions come from the binary responses to the following items (1=yes; 0= otherwise),
   "Please select those of the following has happened to you in the last five years. (Please tick all that apply)":
    a. I took a reduction in pay
    b. I had to take a job I was overqualified for
    c. I had to work extra unpaid overtime hours
    d. I had to work shorter hours
    e. I had to take or look for an additional job
    f. My work load increased
    g. The working environment deteriorated
    h. I had less security in my job
    i. I had to accept less convenient working hours
    j. Employees were dismissed in the organisation for which I work
    k. I was forced to take undeclared payments

5. The social movement organisation membership index is a 11-point simple summated scale, which results of summing positive responses to the question,
   "Please look carefully at the following list of organisations. For each of them, please tell which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?":
   a. Development / human rights organisation
   b. Civil rights / civil liberties organisation
   c. Environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation
   d. Women's / feminist organisation
   e. Lesbian, gay and/or transgender (LGBT) rights organisation
   f. Peace / anti-war organisation
   g. Occupy / anti-austerity or anti-cuts organisation
   h. Anti-capitalist, Global Justice, or anti-globalisation organisation
   i. Anti-racist or migrant rights organisation
   j. Social solidarity networks (such as food banks, social medical centers, exchange networks, time banks)

6. The internal political efficacy index is comprised of the following five statements (5-point scales) [not reported]:
   a. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree).
   b. I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree).
   c. I think that I am at least as well-informed about politics and government as most people (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree).

7. The political trust index results from combining the level of trust in each of the ten following instituions (11-point scales) [not reported]:
   a. The national parliament
   b. Politicians
   c. Political parties
   d. The EU
   e. Trade unions
   f. The judicial system
   g. The police/army
   h. The media
   i. The national government
   j. Banks