

Online Appendix

“The Social Bases of Populist Domination: Market Reforms and Popular Reactions in Latin America and Post-Communist Europe,” *Government and Opposition*, by Binio S. Binev

Appendix A. Economic Liberalization in Ecuador, Peru, Slovakia, and Poland

Table A.1. Economic Liberalization in Ecuador

Indicator/President	Roldós 08/79 - 05/81	Hurtado 05/81 - 08/84	F. Cordero 08/84 - 08/88	Borja 08/88 - 08/92	Durán Ballén 08/92 - 08/96	Bucaram 08/96 - 02/97	Alarcón 02/97 - 08/98	Mahud 08/98 - 01/00	Noboa 01/00 - 01/03	Gutiérrez 01/03 - 04/05	Palacio 04/05 - 01/07	Correa 01/07 - 05/17
GDP per capita growth (annual avg.)	1.7	-0.4	0.6	1.0	0.2	-0.4	1.7	-2.7	1.3	3.7	3.1	2.3
Inflation (annual avg.)	13.2	28.1	34.0	37.1	34.8	24.4	33.3	44.1	48.8	4.3	2.8	4.4
Unemployment (annual avg.)	n/a	n/a	7.0	7.7	7.5	9.0	9.0	11.7	8.3	8.2	6.9	5.1
GINI (annual avg.)	n/a	n/a	50.5	n/a	52.2	n/a	49.7	54.1	56.4	54.4	53.7	48.6
Current accounts balance, % of GDP (annual avg.)	-4.8	-2.3	-4.0	-4.1	-2.9	-0.2	-4.7	-1.5	-0.2	-0.5	2.4	0.1
External debt, % of GNI (annual avg.)	35.0	48.6	69.0	83.4	75.4	72.1	68.4	86.8	83.1	58.3	48.2	25.5
Real minimum wage base (monthly avg.), USD (2010 = 100)	376.7	273.9	154.1	66.1	46.5	39.6	29.2	13.3	100.6	153.4	171.3	271.4
% change from previous period	71.7%	-27.3%	-43.7%	-57.1%	-29.6%	-15.0%	-26.2%	-54.5%	657.6%	52.5%	11.6%	58.5%
Level and speed of market liberalization (at term's end)												
General reform index (Morley et al. 1999)	0.529	0.546	0.551	0.704	0.801							
% change from previous period	4.1%	3.2%	0.9%	27.8%	13.8%							
Structural reform index (Lora 2012)		0.340	0.350	0.485	0.540	0.540	0.545	0.500	0.600	0.580	0.570	n/a
% change			2.9%	38.6%	11.3%	0.0%	0.9%	-8.3%	20.0%	-3.3%	-1.7%	

Notes:

- 1) The shaded region represents the critical juncture;
- 2) Sources: Central Bank of Ecuador (BCE); International Monetary Fund (IMF): World Economic Outlook datasets; World Bank: World Development Indicators; Eduardo Lora, “Las Reformas Estructurales en América Latina: Qué Se Ha Reformado y Cómo Medirlo” (Versión Actualizada) (Washington, DC: Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, October 2012); and Samuel A. Morley, Roberto Machado, and Stefano Pettinato, “Index of Structural Reforms in Latin America,” Serie Reformas Economicas (Santiago, Chile: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 1999).

Table A.2. Economic Liberalization in Peru

Indicator/President	García I 07/85 - 07/90	Fujimori I 07/90 - 07/95	Fujimori II 07/95 - 11/00	Paniagua 11/00 - 07/01	Toledo 07/01 - 07/06	García II 07/06 - 07/11	Humala 07/11 - 07/16
GDP per capita growth (annual avg.)	-3.1	3.3	1.1	-0.7	3.5	5.5	3.4
Inflation (annual avg.)	1979.0	113.2	6.9	2.0	2.0	2.9	3.3
Unemployment (annual avg.)	5.9	8.2	8.0	9.2	9.2	8.2	6.8
GINI (annual avg.)	45.6	44.0	54.2	51.8	52.4	48.5	44.9
Current accounts balance, % of GDP (annual avg.)	-3.4	-6.4	-4.9	-2.3	-0.2	-0.7	-3.6
External debt, % of GNI (annual avg.)	97.6	62.9	56.1	54.4	48.2	32.4	31.4
Real minimum wage base (monthly avg.), USD (2010 = 100)	19.6	77.0	133.5	144.6	150.7	186.2	238.7
% change	-79.6%	291.8%	73.4%	8.3%	4.2%	23.6%	28.2%
Level and speed of market liberalization (at term's end)							
General reform index (Morley et al. 1999)	0.484	0.843					
% change from previous period	19.8%	74.2%					
Structural reform index (Lora 2012)	0.300	0.545	0.640	0.640	0.655	0.690	n/a
% change	7.1%	81.7%	17.4%	0.0%	2.3%	5.3%	

Notes:

- 1) The shaded region represents the critical juncture;
- 2) Sources: National Institute of Statistics and Informatics of Peru (INEI); International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Economic Outlook datasets; World Bank: World Development Indicators; Lora, 2012, and Morley et al., 1999.

Table A.3. Economic Liberalization in Slovakia

Indicator/Prime Minister	Mečiar II 06/92 - 03/94	Moravčík 03/94 - 12/94	Mečiar III 12/94 - 10/98	Dzurinda I 10/98 - 10/02	Dzurinda II 07/02 - 07/06	Fico I 07/06 - 07/10	Radičová 07/10 - 04/12	Fico II 4/12 - 4/16
GDP per capita growth (annual avg.)	1.5	5.8	5.5	2.3	6.1	4.8	3.8	2.3
Inflation (annual avg.)	n/a	13.5	7.1	8.3	5.3	2.4	2.4	1.2
Unemployment (annual avg.)	12.7	14.6	12.7	18.4	16.9	12.2	14.1	13.2
GINI (annual avg.)	19.5	n/a	25.8	n/a	28.7	26.4	27.0	26.1
Current accounts balance, % of GDP (annual avg.)	-4.8	4.2	-6.4	-5.8	-6.5	-5.3	-4.9	1.0
Real average wage (quarterly avg.), EUR (2010 = 100)	516.1	570.1	629.2	573.8	766.8	1018.1	1033.9	975.7
% change from previous period	12.4%	10.5%	10.4%	-8.8%	33.6%	32.8%	1.6%	-5.6%
Level and speed of market liberalization (at term's end)								
EBRD Index (unweighted)	0.625	0.688	0.713	0.788	0.850	0.844	0.917	n/a
% change from previous period	9.8%	10.0%	3.6%	10.6%	7.9%	-0.7%	8.6%	
Heritage Foundation overall score	60.4	57.6	54.2	64.6	69.6	69.5	68.7	65.7
% change		-4.6%	-5.9%	19.2%	7.7%	-0.1%	-1.2%	-4.4%

Notes:

- 1) The shaded region represents the critical juncture;
- 2) Sources: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR); International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Economic Outlook datasets; World Bank: World Development Indicators; European Bank for Reconstruction of Development (EBRD): Transition Indicators; The Heritage Foundation: Index of Economic Freedom.

Table A.4. Economic Liberalization in Poland

Indicator/Prime Minister	Communist						Oleksy/		Miller/	Marcinkiewicz/	Tusk/
	regime (PZPR)	Mazowiecki (Solidarity)	Bielecki (Solidarity)	Oliszewski (Solidarity)	Suchocka (Solidarity)	Pawlak (PSL)	Cimoszewicz (SLD)	Buzek (AWS)	Belka (SLD)	Kaczyński (PiS)	Kopacz (PO)
	1989	08/89 - 01/91	01/91 - 12/91	12/91 - 06/92	07/92 - 10/93	10/93 - 03/95	03/95 - 10/97	10/97 - 10/01	10/01 - 10/05	10/05 - 11/07	11/07 - 11/15
Real GDP growth (annual avg.)	3.8	-7.2	-7.0	-2.5	3.2	5.2	6.7	3.8	3.4	6.7	3.9
Inflation (annual avg.)	251.1	585.8	70.3	56.7	39.1	32.2	20.9	8.7	2.1	1.8	2.2
Top 1% share of national income (pre tax)											
Bottom 50% share of national income (pre tax)											
Income inequality (annual avg.)	0.14	n/a	n/a	0.26	0.28	0.37	0.39	0.42	0.47	0.56	0.54
Current accounts balance, % of GDP (annual avg.)	-2.1	4.9	-2.7	-3.1	-5.0	0.6	-1.7	-5.1	-3.4	-5.2	-4.0
Real average wage (annual avg., PLN (2010 = 100))	1951.5	1482.8	1442.6	1544.2	1641.4	1638.3	1761.8	2382.7	2684.3	2908.4	3230.8
% change from previous period		-24.0%	-2.7%	7.0%	6.3%	-0.2%	7.5%	35.2%	12.7%	8.3%	11.1%
Level and speed of market liberalization (at term's end)											
EBRD index (weighted) (de Melo et al. 1996)	0.24	0.68	0.72	0.77	0.82	0.86					
% change from previous period		183.3%	5.9%	6.9%	6.5%	4.9%					
EBRD index (unweighted)	0.088	0.363	0.460	0.470	0.625	0.663	0.750	0.813	0.850	0.850	
% change		314.3%	27.0%	2.1%	33.0%	6.1%	13.1%	8.3%	4.6%	0.0%	
Heritage Foundation overall score					50.7	57.8	59.6	61.8	58.1	60.3	68.3
% change						14.0%	3.1%	3.7%	-6.0%	3.8%	13.3%

Notes:

- 1) The shaded region represents the critical juncture;
- 2) Sources: Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP); International Monetary Fund (IMF): World Economic Outlook datasets; World Bank: World Development Indicators; World Inequality Database (WID); European Bank for Reconstruction of Development (EBRD): Transition Indicators; The Heritage Foundation: Index of Economic Freedom; and Martha de Melo, Cevdet Denizer, and Alan Gelb, "Patterns of Transition from Plan to Market," *The World Bank Economic Review* 10, 3 (1996): 397–424.

Appendix B. Method and Sources for Estimating Coalition Extensiveness

Formula

“For a country with d territorial units, ordered according to the increasing vote share of party p , with each territorial unit i having v_i voters and p_i of them voting for a political party p ,”

$$PNSw = 2 \cdot \frac{\sum_1^d \left(v_i \cdot \left(\sum_1^i p_j - \frac{B_i}{2} \right) \right)}{\sum_1^d v_i \cdot \sum_1^d p_i}$$

Source: Bochsler 2010: 162.

Subnational Election Data Sources

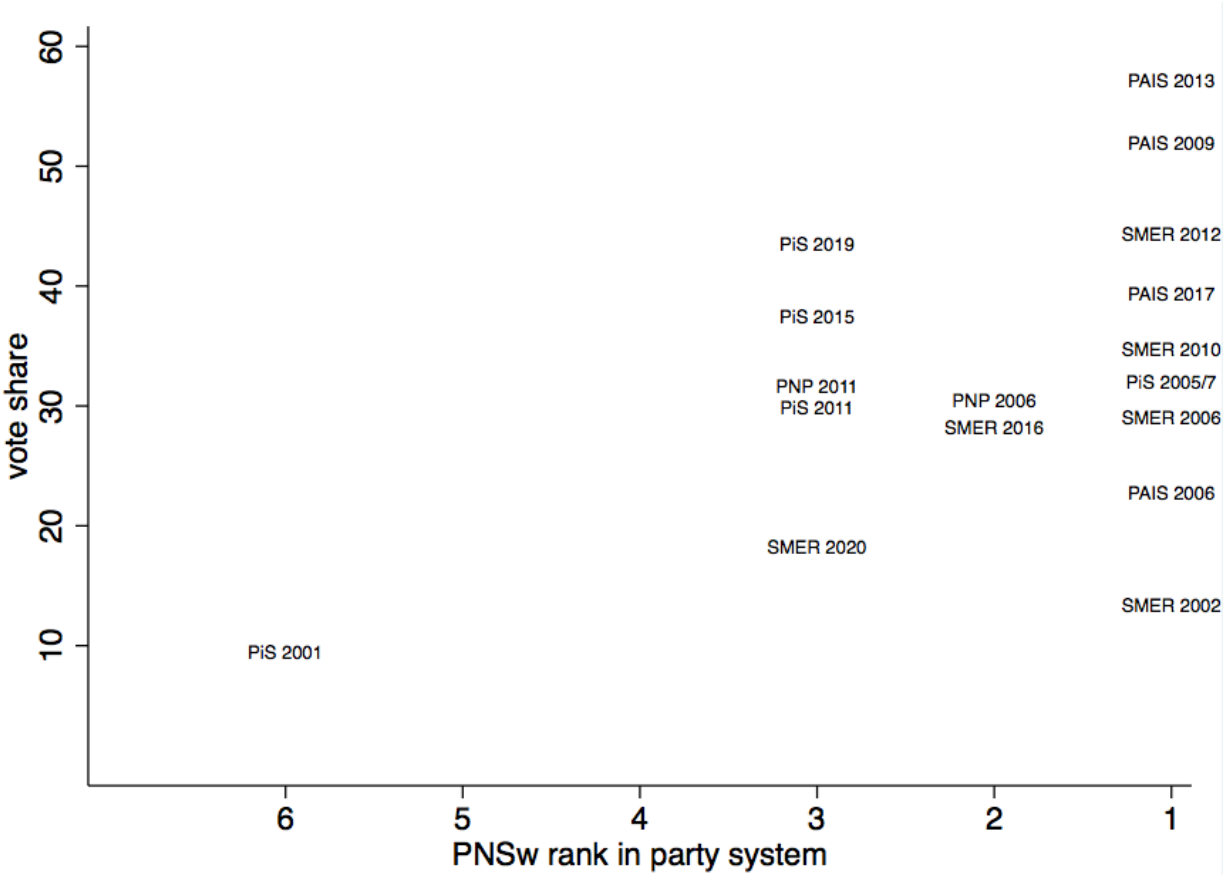
Ecuador’s $PNSw$ scores (1978-2017) come from the author’s own dataset created with subnational level election data from Ecuador’s National Election Council (CNE), Polga-Hecimovich, 2014; and Thomas Mustillo, “Ecuador Electoral Dataset-Legislative and Presidential Election Results, 1979-2006” (Latin American Electronic Data Archive (LEADA), The University of Texas at Austin, July 5, 2012).

Peru’s $PNSw$ scores (1980-2011) come from the author’s own dataset created with subnational level election data from the National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE) and Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, “Data Política” (Blog de Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla), accessed February 1, 2021, <http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/blog/fernandotuesta/catpolitica/elecciones/>.

Slovakia’s $PNSw$ scores (1990-2020) come from the author’s own dataset created with subnational level election data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR).

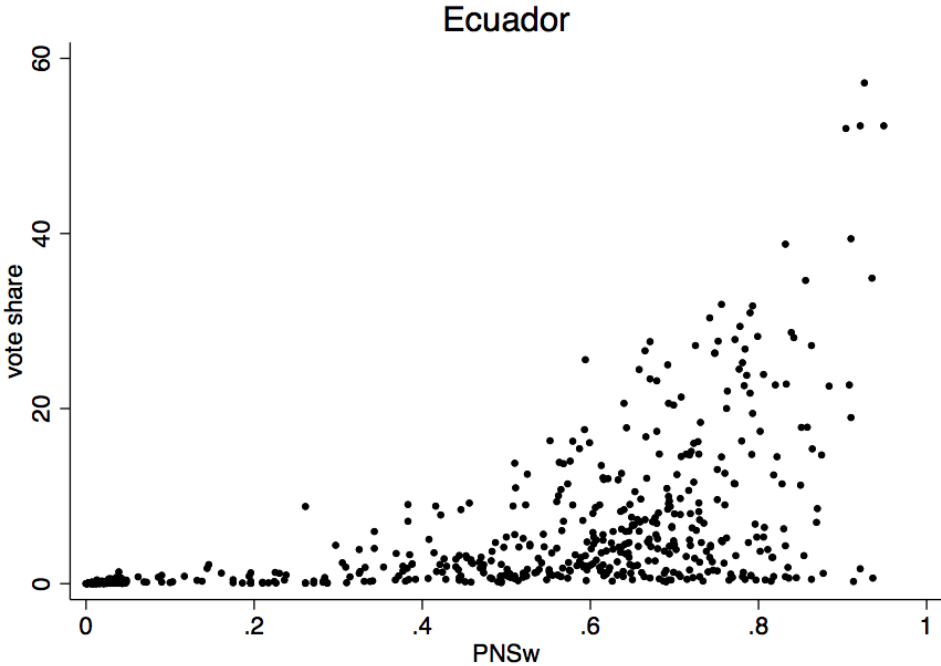
Poland’s $PNSw$ scores (1990-2020) come from the author’s own dataset created with subnational level election data from National Election Commission (PKW) of the Republic of Poland and the Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA).

Appendix C. Post-neoliberal Populist Coalition Extensiveness Relative to Vote Share in Party System after Neoliberal Critical Junctures

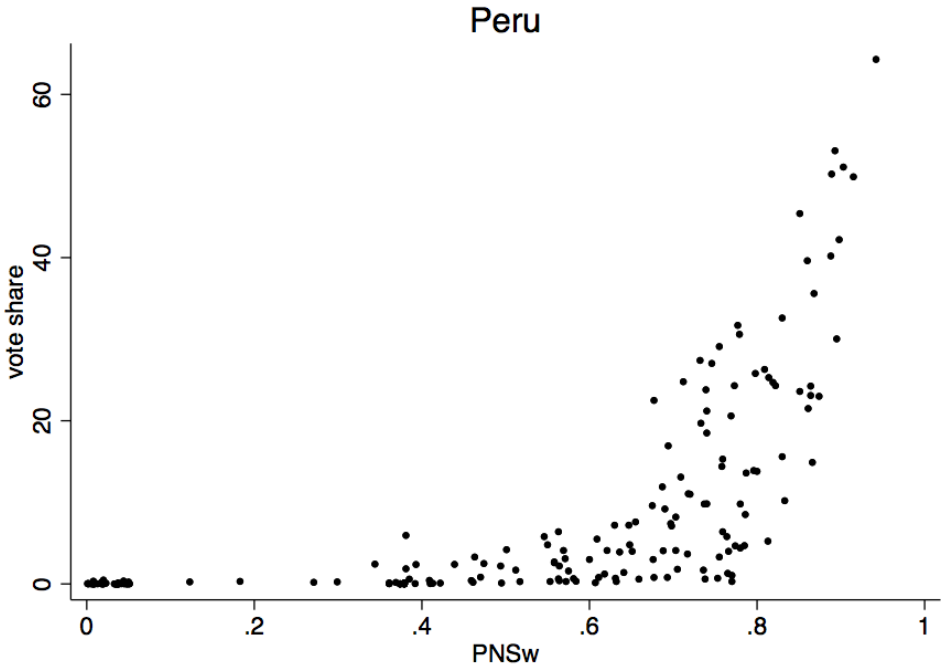


- Notes:
1. *PNSw* rank in party systems is based on the effective number of parties (author’s calculations);
 2. Vote share data for presidential elections (first-round) in the Andes and parliamentary elections in CentralEurope.

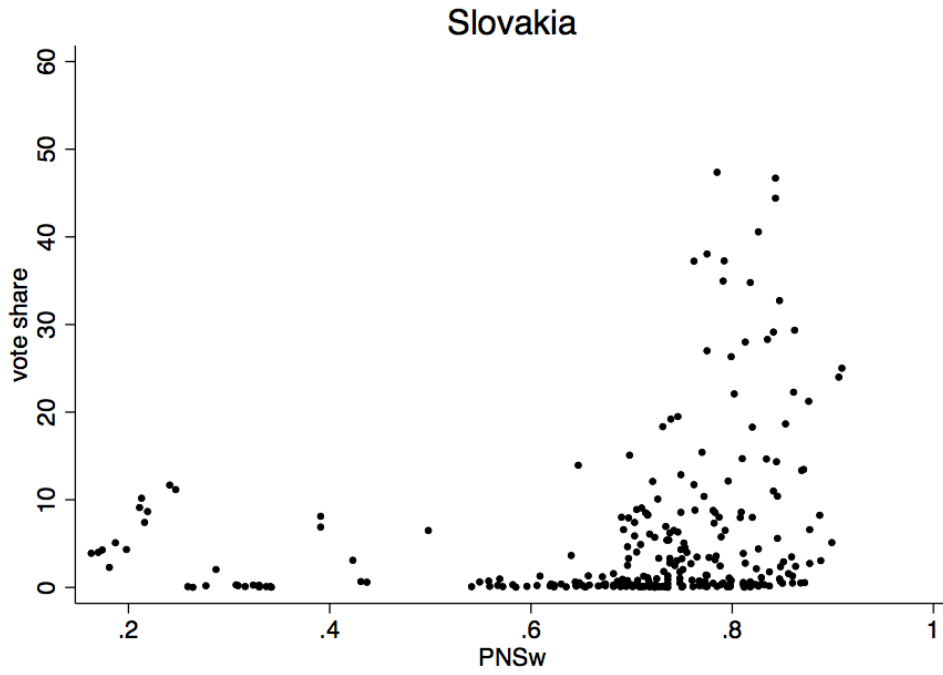
Appendix D. Weighted Party Nationalization Scores and Electoral Performance in Ecuador, Peru, Slovakia, and Poland



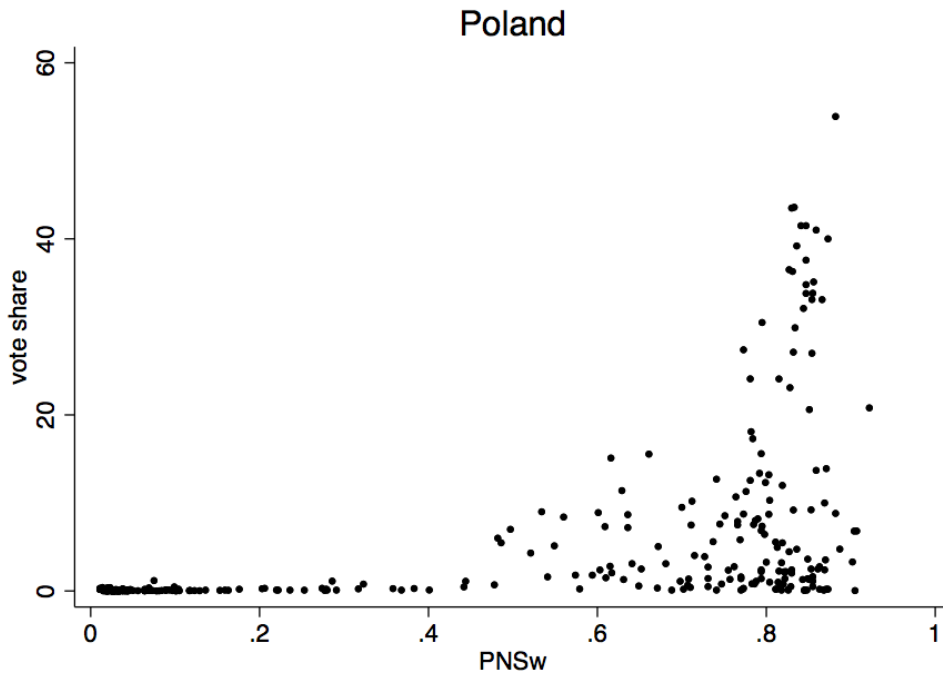
Note: Data for all contenders competing in 24 legislative and (first-round) presidential elections between 1978 and 2017. N = 600; $r = 0.5475^{***}$.



Note: Data for all contenders competing in 16 legislative and (first-round) presidential elections between 1980 and 2011. N = 209; $r = 0.6353^{***}$.



Note: Data for all contenders competing in 15 legislative and (first-round) presidential elections between 1990 and 2020. $N = 267$; $r = 0.2146^{***}$.



Note: Data for all contenders competing in 16 legislative and (first-round) presidential elections between 1990 and 2020. $N = 317$; $r = 0.4973^{***}$.