

The Tension between Democracy and Populism: An Empirical
Test of Canovan's Claims of the Two Faces of Democracy

Supplementary Material

July 25, 2024

Table A1: Countries, Populist Parties, and Years in Which They Have Been Part of Cabinets.

Country	Populist Parties	Year in Cabinet
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPO); Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZO)	
Belgium	Flemish Interest (VB); National Front Belgium (FNb); People's Party (PP)	
Bulgaria	National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (NFSB); Will (Volya); Attack (Ataka); Order; Law and justice (RZS); National Bulgarian Movement (IMRO); Citizens for european development of Bulgaria (GERB)	2006, 2008, 2017
Croatia	Croatian party of rights (HSP); Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (HSSB); Bridge of Independent Lists (Most); Human shield (ZZ)	2017
Czech Republic	Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO); Dawn (Usvit); Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD); Public Affairs (VV)	2017
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DF); Progress Party (FrP)	
Estonia	Estonian Conservative People's Party (EKRE)	
Finland	True Finns (Ps)	2017
France	Republic Arise/France Arise (DLR/DLF); National Front/Rally (FN/RN)	
Germany	PDS/The Left (Linke), Die Republikaner (REP), Alternative for Germany (AfD)	
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	
Hungary	Hungarian Civic Alliance/Christian Democratic People's Party (FIDESZ+KDNP), Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik), Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIEP)	2018
Italy	Brothers of Italy (FdI), (Northern) League (LN), Movement Five Stars (M5S), The People of Freedom/Forza Italia (FI/PdL)	2009
Ireland	Sinn Fein (SF)	
Lithuania	Labour Party (DB), Lithuanian Centre Party (LCP), Order and Justice (TT)	2018
Luxembourg	Alternative Democratic Reform Party	
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV), Fortuyn list (LPF), Socialist Party (SP)	
Norway	Progress Party (FrP)	2018
Poland	Law and Justice (PiS), Kukiz 15, League of Polish Families (LPR), Self-Defense for the Polish Republic (SRP)	2008, 2017
Romania	People's Party - Dan Diaconescu (PPDD), Greater Romania Party (PRM), United Romania Party (PRU)	
Spain	We Can (PODEMOS)	
Slovakia	Slovak National Party (SNS), Direction - Social Democracy (SMER), Ordinary People (OLaNO)	2008, 2017
Slovenia	Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS), Slovenian National Party (SNS)	2005, 2008
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD)	
Switzerland	Ticino League (LdT), Swiss People's Party (SVP), Automobile Party/Freedom Party of Switzerland (FPS), Geneva Citizens Movement (MCR)	1996, 2007, 2008, 2017
United Kingdom	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)	

Table A2: Countries and years in the analyzed sample

Country	Years
Austria	2008; 2018
Belgium	2009
Bulgaria	2006; 2008; 2017
Croatia	2017
Czech Republic	2008; 2017
Denmark	2008; 2017
Estonia	2018
Finland	1996; 2005; 2009; 2017
France	2018
Germany	2008; 2013; 2017
Greece	2008
Hungary	2008; 2009; 2018
Italy	2009; 2018
Ireland	2008
Lithuania	2008; 2018
Netherlands	2008; 2012; 2017
Norway	1996; 2007; 2008; 2018
Poland	2005; 2008; 2012; 2017
Romania	2005; 2008; 2012; 2018
Spain	2017
Slovakia	2008; 2017
Slovenia	2005; 2008; 2011; 2017
Sweden	2011; 2017
Switzerland	1996; 2007; 2017
United Kingdom	2018

Table A3: Descriptives statistics.

Variable	Min	Max	Mean/%	Std Dev.
Support for Populist parties	0	1	15.26%	/
Years in Education	0	93	20.23	5.90
Gender				
Female	0	1	52.41%	/
Age	16	103	49.15	17.42
Unemployment Status	0	1	5.04%	/
Political Distrust Index	0	3	1.87	0.68
Social Trust	0	1	58.51%	/
Authoritarian attitudes	0	3	0.95	0.98
GDP growth	-0.96	11.15	3.55	2.52
Unemployment rate	2.5	19.6	6.93	3.13
% Employed in Industrial Sector	4.47	35.83	20.70	8.22
Social Security Transfers (% GDP)	9	21.30	13.85	3.03
Executive-Parties Dimension Index	-1.65	2.50	0.36	1.02
KOF Political Globalization Index	74.87	97.96	91.02	5.79
KOF Economic Globalization Index	55.13	90.97	78.46	7.34
Checks on Government Index	55.43	99.74	83.16	11.82

Table A4: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties. Table including all estimates.

	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Years in education		0.984***	0.984***	0.984***	0.984***	0.984***
Gender (Ref. Male)						
Female		0.731***	0.731***	0.731***	0.731***	0.731***
Age ^a		0.997	0.997	0.997	0.997	0.997
Age squared		1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Unemployment status (Ref. Not unemployed)						
Unemployed		1.071	1.071	1.071	1.071	1.071
Political distrust		1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.128
Social Trust (Ref. Most people can be trusted)						
Can't be too careful		1.549***	1.549***	1.549***	1.549***	1.547***
Authoritarian attitudes		1.190***	1.190***	1.190***	1.190***	1.190***
GDP Growth		0.910*	0.924	0.899*	0.907*	0.868**
Unemployment (%) ^a		0.867	0.880	0.864*	0.873	0.955
Employment in Industrial sector (%) ^a		0.838*	0.854*	0.820*	0.847*	0.822**
Social Security Transfers (% GDP) ^a		0.989	0.993	0.981	0.992	0.976
Executive-parties dimension Index			0.795			
Political Globalization Index ^a				0.938		
Economic Globalization Index ^a					0.980	
Checks on Government Index ^a						0.930**
Constant	0.126***	0.274	0.226	0.404	0.222	0.266
Random effects						
var(Country-year)	1.245***	0.166*	0.162*	0.163	0.165*	0.136*
Pseudo R ² Country-year		86.70%	87.02%	86.94%	86.76%	89.07%
Model fit						
AIC	55,534.835	54,455.764	54,458.373	54,457.208	54,457.505	54,449.469
BIC	55,553.222	54,805.115	54,826.110	54,815.752	54,816.049	54,817.207

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable; $N = 72,652$; Country-years = 59; Time and country fixed effects are omitted from the table for simplicity but are available upon request.

Table A5: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties for country-years before 2008 (N=29,180; Country-years=27) and after 2008 (N=43,472; Country-years=32). Control variables are omitted from the table. The table including all estimates is available under request.

≤ 2008	M1	M2	M3	M4
Executive-parties dimension Index	0.878			
Political Globalization Index ^a		0.975		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			0.979	
Checks on Government Index ^a				0.984
Constant	0.067***	0.063***	0.061***	0.067***
Random effects				
var(Country-year)	1.239*	1.242*	1.231*	1.237*
Pseudo R ² Country-year level	10.82%	10.59%	11.38%	10.91%
Model fit				
AIC	19,442.858	19,442.872	19,442.670	19,442.739
BIC	19,567.077	19,567.090	19,566.889	19,566.958
> 2008	M1	M2	M3	M4
Executive-parties dimension Index	0.934			
Political Globalization Index ^a		0.962		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			1.017	
Checks on Government Index ^a				0.978
Constant	0.096***	0.092***	0.094***	0.090***
Random effects				
var(Country-year)	0.875***	0.842***	0.869***	0.810**
Pseudo R ² Country-year level	16.62%	19.74%	17.16%	22.79%
Model fit				
AIC	35,039.290	35,038.005	35,039.050	35,037.116
BIC	35,169.488	35,168.203	35,169.248	35,167.314

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable.

Table A6: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties in Western Europe (N=44,877; Country-years=33) and Eastern Europe (N=27,775; Country-years=26). Control variables are omitted from the table. The table including all estimates is available under request.

Western Europe	M1	M2	M3	M4
Executive-parties dimension Index	1.197			
Political Globalization Index ^a		1.024		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			0.962*	
Checks on Government Index ^a				0.992
Constant	0.026***	0.028***	0.031***	0.030***
Random effects				
var(Country-year)	0.556***	0.584**	0.551**	0.587**
Pseudo R ² Country-year level	22.40%	18.46%	23.02%	18.08%
Model fit				
AIC	29,646.660	29,648.126	29,646.346	29,648.278
BIC	29,777.336	29,778.801	29,777.021	29,778.953
Eastern Europe	M1	M2	M3	M4
Executive-parties dimension Index	0.340**			
Political Globalization Index ^a		0.987		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			1.047	
Checks on Government Index ^a				0.965
Constant	0.342**	0.294*	0.378*	0.217***
Random effects				
var(Country-year)	0.924	1.325	1.266	1.229
Pseudo R ² Country-year level	48.84%	26.61%	29.90%	31.96%
Model fit				
AIC	24,303.238	24,311.766	24,310.690	24,310.027
BIC	24,426.716	24,435.244	24,434.168	24,433.506

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable.

Table A7: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for right-wing populist parties (N=66,494; Country-years=53). Control variables are omitted from the table. The table including all estimates is available under request.

Support for right-wing populist parties	M1	M2	M3	M4
Executive-parties dimension Index	0.753*			
Political Globalization Index ^a		0.712***		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			0.944	
Checks on Government Index ^a				0.989
Constant	0.360	3.306	0.259	0.479
Random effects				
var(Country-year)	0.092**	0.053***	0.093**	0.098**
Pseudo R ² Country-year level	91.85%	95.26%	91.73%	91.36%
Model fit				
AIC	39,768.567	39,744.753	39,768.553	39,771.463
BIC	40,105.447	40,081.633	40,105.433	40,108.343

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable.

Table A8: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties excluding contexts with populists in power (N=49,698; Country-years=39). Control variables are omitted from the table. The table including all estimates is available under request.

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Executive-parties dimension Index	0.932			
Political Globalization Index ^a		0.956		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			0.995	
Checks on Government Index ^a				1.010
Constant	0.033***	0.032***	0.032***	0.032***
Random effects				
var(Country-year)	1.112***	1.083***	1.111***	1.105***
Pseudo R ² Country-year level	17.74%	19.84%	17.80%	18.21%
Model fit				
AIC	31,915.469	31,914.345	31,915.537	31,915.289
BIC	32,047.675	32,046.551	32,047.743	32,047.495

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable.

Figure A1: Density distributions of *Executive-parties dimension index*, *KOF Political Globalization Index*, *KOF Economic Globalization Index*, and *Checks on Government Index*.

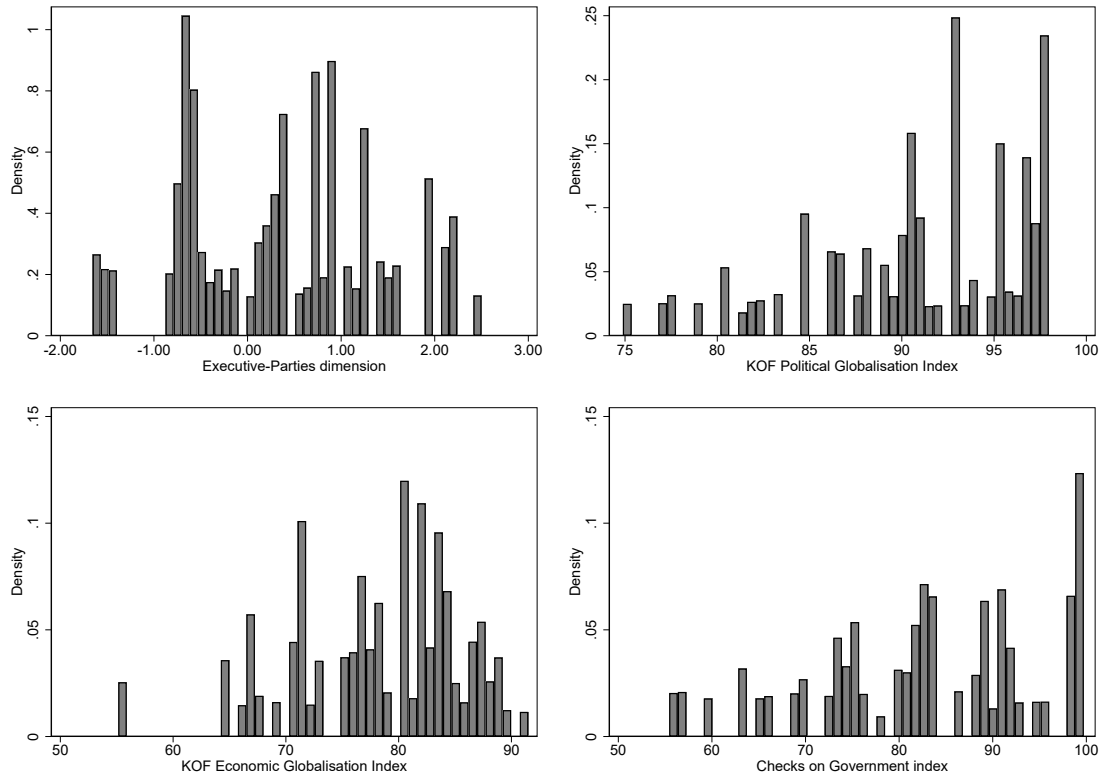


Table A9: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties decomposing within- and between-country effects.

	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Years in education		0.984***	0.984***	0.984***	0.984***	0.984***
Gender (Ref. Male)						
Female		0.731***	0.731***	0.731***	0.731***	0.731***
Age ^a		0.997	0.997	0.997	0.997	0.997
Age squared		1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Unemployment status (Ref. Not unemployed)						
Unemployed		1.071	1.071	1.071	1.071	1.071
Political distrust		1.128	1.128	1.127	1.127	1.128
Social Trust (Ref. Most people can be trusted)						
Can't be too careful		1.549***	1.549***	1.549***	1.549***	1.548***
Authoritarian attitudes		1.190***	1.190***	1.190***	1.190***	1.190***
GDP Growth (Mean)		0.852	0.853	0.751*	0.840*	0.826
GDP Growth (Diff.)		0.912*	0.913**	0.906**	0.907*	0.857**
Unemployment (%) (Mean)		1.071	1.072	1.082	1.052	1.039
Unemployment (%) (Diff.)		0.906	0.910	0.898	0.875	1.011
Employment in Industrial sector (%) (Mean)		1.027	1.027	1.019	1.031	1.027
Employment in Industrial sector (%) (Diff.)		0.841***	0.847***	0.826**	0.816**	0.838***
Social Security Transfers (% GDP) (Mean)		0.939	0.941	0.946	0.933	0.952
Social Security Transfers (% GDP) (Diff.)		0.996	0.993	0.996	1.005	0.926
Executive-parties dimension Index (Mean)			1.016			
Executive-parties dimension Index (Diff.)			0.841			
Political Globalization Index (Mean)				0.951		
Political Globalization Index (Diff.)				0.943		
Economic Globalization Index (Mean)					0.977	
Economic Globalization Index (Diff.)					0.965	
Checks on Government Index (Mean)						0.980
Checks on Government Index (Diff.)						0.920*
Constant	0.121***	0.117*	0.111	17.407	0.889	0.716
Random effects						
var(Country-year)	0.730*	0.551*	0.545*	0.548	0.535*	0.447*
Pseudo R ² Country-year		24.47%	25.35%	24.86%	26.73%	38.76%
var(Country)	0.468**	0.415***	0.419***	0.374***	0.406***	0.426***
Pseudo R ² Country		11.35%	10.49%	20.09%	13.15%	8.95%
Model fit						
AIC	55.529,140	54.503,150	54.506,795	54.505,435	54.505,662	54.499,390
BIC	55.556,720	54.677,825	54.699,858	54.698,497	54.698,725	54.692,452

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; $N = 72,652$; Countries = 26 Country-years = 59.

Table A10: OLS regression models predicting vote share for populist parties.

	M1	M2	M3	M4
GDP Growth	0.246	0.331	0.285	0.215
Unemployment (%) ^a	0.114	0.130	0.029	-0.139
Employment in Industrial sector (%) ^a	0.148	0.115	0.092	0.095
Social Security Transfers (% GDP) ^a	-0.181	-0.187	0.003	0.163
Executive-parties dimension Index	-0.001			
Political Globalization Index ^a		0.173		
Economic Globalization Index ^a			-0.013	
Checks on Government Index ^a				-0.185
Constant	14.014***	13.293***	13.293***	13.293***
R ²	2.96%	4.53%	2.19%	6.22%

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable; $N = 118$; Standard errors are clustered for countries.

Table A11: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties. Including Nationalist attitudes.

	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Years in education		0.984***	0.984***	0.984***	0.984***	0.984***
Gender (Ref. Male)						
Female		0.727***	0.727***	0.727***	0.727***	0.727***
Age ^a		0.995*	0.995*	0.995*	0.995*	0.995*
Age squared		1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Unemployment status (Ref. Not unemployed)						
Unemployed		1.094	1.094	1.094	1.094	1.094
Political distrust		1.163	1.163	1.163	1.163	1.164
Social Trust (Ref. Most people can be trusted)						
Can't be too careful		1.564***	1.564***	1.564***	1.564***	1.564***
Authoritarian attitudes		1.187***	1.187***	1.187***	1.187***	1.187***
Nationalist attitudes		0.828***	0.828***	0.828***	0.828***	0.828***
GDP Growth		0.913*	0.927	0.899*	0.910*	0.868**
Unemployment (%) ^a		0.860*	0.874	0.856*	0.865	0.951
Employment in Industrial sector (%) ^a		0.830*	0.847*	0.808*	0.837**	0.813**
Social Security Transfers (% GDP) ^a		0.992	0.996	0.982	0.994	0.977
Executive-parties dimension Index			0.780			
Political Globalization Index ^a				0.929		
Economic Globalization Index ^a					0.982	
Checks on Government Index ^a						0.927**
Constant	0.131***	0.380	0.308	0.592	0.315	0.367
Random effects						
var(Country-year)	1.208***	0.170*	0.165*	0.166	0.170*	0.138*
Pseudo R ² Country-year		85.91%	86.32%	86.23%	85.96%	88.57%
Model fit						
AIC	53.399,536	52.174,748	52.173,150	52.172,026	52.178,550	52,163,786
BIC	53.417,801	52.549,182	52.547,584	52.537,327	52.571,249	52,538,219

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable; $N = 68,359$; Country-years = 59; Time and country fixed effects are omitted from the table for simplicity but are available upon request.

Table A12: Multilevel logistic regression models predicting support for populist parties. Including Distrust towards European Union Parliament.

	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Years in education		0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***
Gender (Ref. Male)						
Female		0.742***	0.742***	0.742***	0.742***	0.742***
Age ^a		0.996*	0.996*	0.996*	0.996*	0.996*
Age squared		1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Unemployment status (Ref. Not unemployed)						
Unemployed		1.062	1.062	1.062	1.062	1.061
Political distrust		0.956	0.956	0.956	0.956	0.957
Distrust towards European Union Parliament		1.414***	1.413***	1.414***	1.414***	1.413***
Social Trust (Ref. Most people can be trusted)						
Can't be too careful		1.502***	1.502***	1.502***	1.502***	1.502***
Authoritarian attitudes		1.179***	1.179***	1.179***	1.179***	1.180***
GDP Growth		0.914*	0.926	0.900*	0.909*	0.871**
Unemployment (%) ^a		0.864*	0.876	0.860*	0.872	0.949
Employment in Industrial sector (%) ^a		0.833*	0.848*	0.811*	0.845*	0.817**
Social Security Transfers (% GDP) ^a		0.997	1.000	0.987	1.001	0.984
Executive-parties dimension Index			0.805			
Political Globalization Index ^a				0.929		
Economic Globalization Index ^a					0.970	
Checks on Government Index ^a						0.931**
Constant	0.127***	0.138*	0.115**	0.215	0.101**	0.134**
Random effects						
var(Country-year)	1.251***	0.160*	0.156*	0.156	0.158*	0.131*
Pseudo R ² Country-year		87.25%	87.52%	87.55%	87.38%	89.53%
Model fit						
AIC	54.059,911	52.493,073	52.495,783	52.494,301	52.494,485	52.484,709
BIC	54.078,237	52.850,437	52.871,473	52.860,828	52.861,012	52.851,236

Note: estimates are odds-ratios; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ^a Centered variable; $N = 70,486$; Country-years = 59; Time and country fixed effects are omitted from the table for simplicity but are available upon request.

Figure A2: *Executive-parties dimension index* and *Checks on Government Index* by country-years

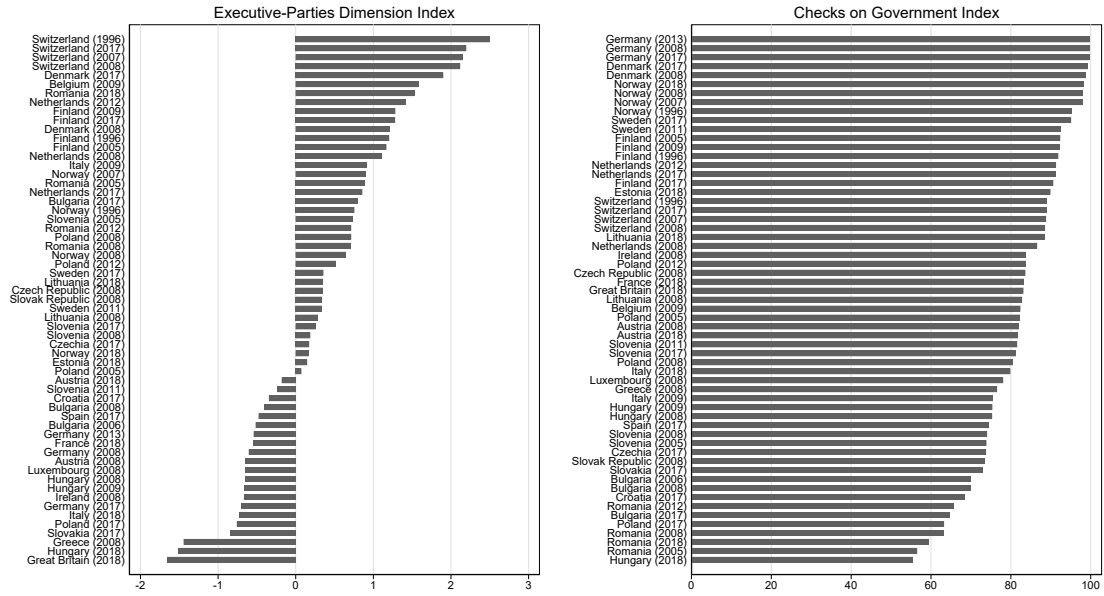


Figure A3: *KOF Political Globalization Index* and *KOF Economic Globalization Index* by country-years

