

Who Votes for New Parties?

Economic Voting, Political Ideology, and Populist Attitudes

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Online Appendix

Table OA 1. Juxtaposition of population and survey sample distributions

	Survey sample (Netquest)	Spanish population (official data)
<i>Left- right ideology (mean (SD))</i>	4.15 (2.6)	4.69 (1.93)
<i>Age groups (%)</i>		
18-24	11.5	8.1
25-34	15.7	14.6
35-44	19.2	19.8
45-54	17.7	18.9
55-64	10.1	14.9
65 +	25.8	23.7
<i>Gender (%)</i>		
male	49	48.4
female	51	51.6
<i>Identity (%)</i>		
only Spanish	14	17
as Spanish as regional	56	55
only regional	7	6.5
<i>Employment situation (%)</i>		
working	46.8	42.5
pensioner	27.1	26.3
unemployed	13	18.8
student	8.8	4.8
housework	2.4	7.2
other	1.9	0.4

Note: The sample is stratified with representative quotas of the Spanish population by regions (here: Autonomous Communities), age group and gender. In addition, we juxtapose the respondents' averaged positioning on the left-right axis of political ideology (on a scale ranging from 0, extreme left, to 10, extreme right), identity (relational categories are removed ("I feel more Spanish than [regional identity] and I feel more [regional identity] than Spanish")) and labour situation. The official data on the distribution of the Spanish population is extracted from the Center of Sociological Research (CIS) barometer 3124, January 2016. Netquest compensates all participants with vouchers that can be used to purchase goods at Netquest's online store. Full documentation on sampling and distribution of respondents is available upon request. More information on the Netquest system to select and remunerate panelists is available at www.netquest.com.

Table OA.2 Original wording of the questions measuring populist, elitist, and pluralist attitudes

POP1: Los políticos en el parlamento español tienen que seguir la voluntad del pueblo.

POP2: Las decisiones más importantes deberían ser tomadas por el pueblo, y no por los políticos.

POP3: Las diferencias políticas entre la elite y el pueblo son más grandes que las diferencias que existen dentro del pueblo.

POP4: Preferiría ser representado por un ciudadano común y corriente antes que por un político experimentado.

POP5: Los políticos hablan mucho y hacen muy poco.

POP6: En política se llama acuerdo a lo que realmente significa renunciar a los propios principios.

ELI1: A la gente corriente no se le puede confiar el tomar decisiones correctas sobre los problemas del país.

ELI2: Los políticos deben guiar al pueblo antes que seguirlo.

ELI3: Nuestro país funcionaría mejor si las decisiones importantes fueran tomadas por expertos independientes.

PLU1: En democracia es importante lograr acuerdos entre distintos puntos de vista.

PLU2: En democracia es importante escuchar la opinión de todos los grupos.

Table OA.3 Descriptive statistics of independent variables

Variable	Mean (SD)	Min-Max
Populist attitudes	3.87 (0.76)	1-5
Elitist attitudes	3.07 (0.90)	1-5
Pluralist attitudes	4.43 (0.80)	1-5
Female (=1)	0.51	0-1
Age (years)	47.17 (17.09)	18-84
Education	3.35 (1.05)	1-5
<i>“Which is the highest level you have reached in formal education?”</i>		
1: primary or less, 2: secondary, 3: superior secondary, 4: university, 5: postgraduate		
Left-right ideology	4.15 (2.58)	0-10
<i>“In politics people sometimes talk of ‘left’ and ‘right’. Using the following scale from 0 to 10, card, where 0 means left and 10 means right, where would you place yourself on this scale?”</i>		
Economy: sociotropic assessment	2.78 (1.01)	1-5
<i>“Thinking of the economic situation, and compared to the last 12 months, how would you evaluate the general economic situation in Spain?”</i>		
1: it is much better; 2: it is slightly better; 3: it remains the same; 4: it is slightly worse; 5: it is much worse.		
Economy: egotropic assessment	5.67 (2.47)	0-10
<i>“Talking about the economic crisis in Spain, how much would you say it has affected you? Please use the following scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the economic crisis has affected you much less than the rest of the population and 10 means it has affected you much more than the rest of the population.”</i>		
Unemployment (=1)	0.13	0-1
<i>“From the following situations, which one better describes your current labor state?”</i>		
1 “I am currently unemployed but have worked before “ or “I am currently unemployed and look for my first job”; 0 “I am currently working, retired, studying, homemakers or other”.		
Income	4.93 (2.24)	1-11
<i>“According to the following scale, in which section falls your personal monthly income?”</i>		
1: no income at all; 2: less than 300 Euros; 3: 301-600 Euros; 4: 601-900 Euros; 5: 901-1,200 Euros; 6: 1,201-1,800 Euros; 7: 1,801-2,400 Euros; 8: 2,041-3,000 Euros; 9: 3,001-4,500 Euros; 10: 4,501-6,000 Euros; 11: more than 6,000 Euros.		

Note: The wording of the questions is derived from the barometers of the Spanish Center for Sociological Research (CIS), except for the question which referred to the egotropic assessment of the economic crisis, which was elaborated for this study.

Table OA.4. Political attitudes by vote choice for the five most voted for parties in Spain, 2015

Vote choice	Populism (1-5)	Pluralism (1-5)	Elitism (1-5)	N
People's Party (PP)	3.32	4.31	3.36	184
Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE)	3.86	4.50	3.12	104
<i>Podemos</i> (Ps)	4.20	4.55	2.77	217
<i>Ciudadanos</i> (Cs)	3.77	4.44	3.35	134
Popular Unity (UP)	4.22	4.46	2.57	41

Note: Mean values range from 1 (“strong disagreement”) to 5 (“strong agreement”) and are averaged by vote choices.

Table OA.5 Political attitudes and voting for new parties in Spain, 2015

	Vote for <i>Ciudadanos</i>	Vote for <i>Podemos</i>
<i>Political Attitudes</i>		
Populism	0.40*** (0.12)	0.43*** (0.12)
Elitism	0.12 (0.10)	-0.19** (0.09)
Pluralism	0.03 (0.11)	0.07 (0.12)
<i>Controls</i>		
Left-right ideology	0.53*** (0.14)	-0.89*** (0.15)
Female (=1)	-0.42 (0.27)	-0.71*** (0.26)
Age (years)	-0.53*** (0.15)	-0.70*** (0.15)
Education	0.29** (0.13)	0.08 (0.12)
Economy: sociotropic assessment	0.14 (0.15)	0.51*** (0.13)
Economy: egotropic assessment	0.05 (0.12)	-0.20 (0.12)
Unemployed (=1)	-0.43 (0.44)	0.59 (0.35)
Income	0.09 (0.15)	0.11 (-.16)
	<i>AIC</i>	1037.954

Note: Entries are coefficients (multinomial logistic regression), with standard errors in brackets; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01 (two-tailed), at 95% confidence level; N = 705.

Table OA.6 Political attitudes and voting for new parties in Spain, 2015

	Vote for <i>Ciudadanos</i>	Vote for <i>Podemos</i>	
<i>Political Attitudes</i>			
Populism	0.15 (0.12)	0.41*** (0.13)	
Elitism	0.18 (0.11)	-0.12 (0.09)	
Pluralism	0.05 (0.11)	0.05 (0.10)	
<i>Controls</i>			
Left-right ideology	0.59*** (0.15)	-0.83*** (0.15)	
Female (=1)	-0.60** (0.27)	-0.76*** (0.23)	
Age (years)	-0.61*** (0.15)	-0.60*** (0.14)	
Education	0.27** (0.13)	-0.01 (0.11)	
Economy: sociotropic assessment	0.01 (0.14)	0.36*** (0.11)	
Economy: egotropic assessment	0.13 (0.12)	-0.12 (0.11)	
Unemployed (=1)	-0.37 (0.44)	0.65 (0.31)	
Income	0.11 (0.15)	-0.00 (0.14)	
Populism*left-right ideology	0.38*** (0.11)	0.32** (0.14)	
	<i>pseudo R</i> ²	0.17	0.36
	<i>N</i>	504	586

Note: Entries are coefficients (binary logistic regression), with standard errors in brackets; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01 (two-tailed), at 95% confidence level. For *Ciudadanos*: Null deviance: 550.93 on 503 degrees of freedom. Residual deviance: 491.30 on 491 degrees of freedom. For *Podemos*: Null deviance: 753.60 on 585 degrees of freedom. Residual deviance: 577.16 on 573 degrees of freedom.