Who is a Populist? Authoritarian Values, Social Preferences & Populism in Latin America*

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Nearly two decades ago, three celebrated Latin American writers and public intellectuals wrote *Guide to the Perfect Latin American Idiot* (Apuleyo Mendoza, Montaner and Vargas Llosa 1997), a book criticizing populist-nationalist political leaders throughout Latin American history. While they reported a retreat from such leadership styles in the late 1990s, in 2007 Vargas Llosa decried the reemergence of populism in the region in a *Foreign Policy* article titled, "The Return of the Idiot." Calling Latin American populists idiots does little to understand them. What does explain why populism appears on the political stage?

By populism we mean a Manichaean discourse that sees politics as a struggle between a reified "will of the people" and a conspiring elite. Accordingly, populism should be thought of as a moral discourse in which "the people," who have a clear and unified will, have been robbed by the corrupt establishment "elites" (Hawkins 2009). As such, populism can be viewed as a latent ideational phenomenon. Although it lacks the conscious and programmatic articulation of an ideology, populism may contain some programmatic content (e.g., popular sovereignty) and latch onto "host" ideologies from across the political spectrum. Thus, populism can help justify a broad array of policy positions (Hawkins and Rovira Kaltwasser 2014; Hawkins et al. 2014). From the perspective of would-be leaders, this flexibility gives populism its appeal and its power.

Why do citizens support or reject populist leaders? One strand of scholarship focuses on populist attitudes that can be measured and are widespread (Akkerman, Mudde, and Zaslove 2014; Hawkins, Riding, and Mudde 2012; Hawkins and Rovira Kaltwasser 2014; Hawkins et al. 2014). Like personality traits, populist attitudes are theorized to become active only in contexts and issue frames that make populist discourses sensible. Hawkins (2010) suggests mere policy failures are not enough to spark populist attitudes. Rather a context of systematic corruption is needed to lend credence to frames suggesting malevolent

leaders are responsible for the policy failures. Populist attitudes arise, as Hawkins et al. (2014) note, in response to threats to one's social values as much as, if not more, than threats to one's material interests (Feldman 2003; Hetherington and Weiler 2009; McCann 2009; Stenner 2005).

Working in this vein, we theorize that populism primes the kinds of emotions and latent attitudes that disrupt democracy's fragile equilibrium. Namely, we expect populist messages activate a noxious mixture of authoritarian values and anti-social preferences that shape citizens' evaluations of populists and, ultimately, their willingness to vote for them. We test these expectations using an experimental approach fielded at a moment (April 2015) in which Chilean elites are embroiled in a corruption scandal whose breadth and gravity are without precedent in the country's post-authoritarian era. The results suggest that populist discourse triggers authoritarian attitudes and social preferences that alter individuals' evaluations of the leadership of and affect towards a populist candidate. In turn, leadership evaluations and affect heavily are strongly associated with electoral support for a populist candidate. These findings have key theoretical and political implications. By understanding the micro-processes that produce populism in Latin America, we begin to flesh out major linkages between political communication and self-governance more broadly. Politically, both would-be populists and non-populist candidates ("elitists" and "pluralists") can learn how to tailor their message in order to activate (and deactivate) populist attitudes.

The rest of this study is organized as follows. First we develop theoretical expectations about the activation of populist attitudes based on the literatures on authoritarian values and social preferences. Then we explain our experimental methods and data collection. Next we report the findings of the analyses in light of our expectations. A final section concludes.

Pro-Sociality, Authoritarianism & the Populist Within

To answer the question of who is a populist, we must consider both attitudinal and behavioral dimensions of the term. Work by Hawkins et al. (2014) suggests otherwise dormant populist attitudes can be awakened and harnessed for political means by message frames that credibly equate policy failures to elite failures and champion a leader to act for according to the people's will. Specifically, populist attitudes spike in the presence of populist rhetoric that emphasizes the societal or normative threat that reigning elites represent. Building on this insight, we focus on two psychological constructs that are theoretically linked to the creation and maintenance of social norms: authoritarianism and pro-sociality. We believe these predispositions shape how populist discourse is processed and, in turn, alter evaluations of populist leaders. Since precisely which psychological mechanisms facilitate the reception of message and their translation into electoral support remain relatively open, we explore these two potential mechanisms and derive several observable implications which we will test empirically.

Pro-sociality & Receptiveness to Populist Discourse

One set of psychological orientations that may influence the reception and behavioral implications of populist discourse concern the notion of pro-sociality. Prosocial preferences and norms facilitate cooperation and help overcome collective action problems. In particular, we investigate interpersonal trust, a key social preference for the construction of efficient institutions, alongside the prosocial norms of trustworthiness and reciprocity. The extent to which individuals see others as trustworthy and exhibit a willingness to reciprocate or to take revenge may influence evaluations of populist leaders.

Trust is "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another" (Rousseau et al. 1998, 395). Without the perception that the trust object—a person, a group of people, an institution, etc.—is trustworthy, we should not expect to observe trust (Hardin 2002). Therefore trust is risky but potentially rewarding. For when trust is well-placed in another, individuals can cooperate for mutual gain. Whether it is well- or poorly-placed, however, depends on the existence of and adherence norms of reciprocity. Reciprocity, as Dhomen et al. (2006) define it, is "an in-kind response to friendly or hostile acts" (1). The norm of reciprocity, in its "positive" form, compels one to benefit (or at least not harm) those from whom one has received benefits or kind actions (cf. Gouldner 1960). In its "negative" incarnation, reciprocity involves sanctioning those who have acted to one's detriment. In short, reciprocity can be used as both a reward and a punishment, depending on how one has been treated.

Because evolutionary pressures can explain pro-sociality towards kin and individuals with whom the likelihood of repeated interaction, their spread to non-kin and one-shot exchanges is puzzling. Multi-level selection theory suggests evolutionarily successful human groups evolved social preferences and norms to facilitate cooperation. In turn, these groups crafted basic social and political institutions to overcome collective action problems, resolve social conflicts, and defeat rivals. Over millennia, the mixture of individuals with social preferences, and social norms of punishing those who take advantage of such individuals, contributed to the creation of the complex institutions and laws modern states rely on for the same purposes (e.g., Bowles and Gintis 2011; Henrich et al. 2010; Pinker 2011).

The distribution of social preferences is heterogeneous across societies and potentially dynamic within them over time (Haidt 2012; Henrich et al. 2004, 2010, 2014). Political

scientists have linked such variation to differences in political behavior and policy attitudes. For example, trust and reciprocity are considered integral to the democratic social fabric because they promote compromise, civic associationalism, and the kinds of political attitudes conducive to well-functioning institutions (Almond and Verba 1963; Dahl 1971; Putnam 1993; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Anti-social preferences, on the other hand, are considered antithetical to the social relations and behaviors that bolster democracy (Adorno et al. 1950; Altemeyer 1996; Banfield 1958). Norms of negative reciprocity, i.e. individuals' willingness to punish those who violate pro-social norms *even at a personal cost*, appear to have co-evolved with the spread of markets and religion. This development permitted human expansion from kinship-based groups to complex large-scale societies (Ensminger and Henrich 2014; Fehr and Gächter 2000, 2002; Fehr and Fischbacher 2003, 2004; Fehr, Fischbacher and Gächter 2002; Gintis, Bowles, Boyd and Fehr 2003; Henrich et al. 2004, 2006, 2010).

In sum, the troika of trusting social preferences and norms of positive and negative reciprocity are powerful. Aggregated from the individual to the societal level, they provide the necessary elements human groups need to create and sustain public goods. Here we ask whether these psychological orientations moderate evaluations of populist leaders.

Authoritarian Values, Normative Threat & Evaluations of Populists

Authoritarianism is a predisposition to favor obedience and conformity, which represent oneness and sameness, over freedom and difference (Stenner 2005, 2009). Stenner argues that authoritarian attitudes are the main factors explaining intolerant attitudes across domains and across cultures (2005, 2009). As a predisposition, individuals who score high on this scale are not always acting in an authoritarian form. Therefore, a normative threat

triggers the authoritarian predisposition. The most effective normative threat is one that endangers the feeling of oneness and sameness.

In the political sphere, Stenner (2005, 2009) theorizes that people with authoritarian predispositions derive the feeling of oneness from a common authority and the feeling of sameness from common values. For authoritarians the normative threat in the political arena could be either questionable or questioned authorities, as well as disrespect for leaders or leaders unworthy of respect. Therefore, when the majority of the citizenry is content with the institutions and political leaders, voicing a populist discourse might trigger authoritarians to react more strongly against such speech because they perceive it as a threat to their accepted authority and political values.

In order to test this argument the experiment we designed is ideal. First of all, it shows a known but not very popular presidential candidate from Chile's most recent election, Roxana Miranda, who ran a populist campaign. Miranda based her campaign in criticizing the political elite and the government while idealizing the role of the people to rule better than the current elite. Thus, it would be credible for voters to have listened to her giving a populist speech. Moreover, as Miranda was not popular, she obtained 1.24% of the valid votes, she could be perceived as a threat against the Chilean political system by citizens with authoritarian predispositions.

As we have already said, we depart from an ideational definition of populism (Hawkins, Riding, and Mudde 2012; Hawkins and Rovira Kaltwasser 2014; Hawkins 2010). In terms of authoritarianism we base our study around Stenner's framework, in which individuals are considered to hold different levels of an authoritarian predisposition that, when interacted with their environment, trigger actual attitudes. A predisposition is "any preexisting and relatively stable tendency to respond in a particular way to certain objects or events or events" (Stenner 2005, 14). Stenner's definition of authoritarianism has

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different appeals. First, if we consider authoritarianism a predisposition then we can have a reasonable expectation of the circumstances that can turn on and off such predisposition. Second, the measurement of the authoritarian predisposition is non-political, but it is based on child-rearing principles. Thus when we look at the political consequences of authoritarian attitudes we can explain political attitudes and behavior with a nonpolitical variable, avoiding endogenous relations between the phenomena we are trying to explain and the factors we use to explain it.

Authoritarianism is distinct from status quo conservatism, as authoritarian citizens might endorse change if they are disillusioned with the current political leaders and/or if public opinion is polarized (Stenner 2005, 2009). According to Stenner, people's authoritarian predisposition responds to a normative threat to what makes us "us." Therefore, whether authoritarians will follow a populist discourse depends on the political context, specifically of the occurrence of either one or both of the following situations. The first situation is when citizens with high levels of authoritarian predisposition feel disillusioned with mainstream politicians. In such a context, there is a high probability that these individuals would feel attracted to a populist discourse. The second situation is when authoritarians perceive a polarized public opinion. A divided public is likely to make them feel uneasy, since it would show the danger of division within their own group. The expectation, then, is that authoritarians would follow a populist politician that promises the unification and prevalence of their group. The main reactions among authoritarians are social and political intolerance to those who they perceive as threats to their group. In that way, authoritarians can be, as populists, right or left-wing oriented.

Assumptions and Expectations

Our analysis of populism and pro-sociality is guided by three assumptions. First, social preferences and norms should continue to influence individuals' attitudes towards social and political institutions. Uniting the will of the people behind a single (populist) candidate to change a corrupt institutional status quo is a classic collective action problem. An observable expectation flowing from this assumption is that populism will resonate better with trustors, i.e. those who view others as generally trustworthy. Non-trustors will be prone to defect.

Second, given their co-evolution with institutions, we expect social norms to have self-correcting dynamics. Institutions are sticky. Millennia of institution-building suggests pro-social norm enforcers are more likely to embrace incremental over revolutionary change. If this is true, then we should expect "costly punishers", i.e. citizens who are willing to punish norm violators even at some personal cost, to react negatively to a populist discourse that proposes wholesale change to the institutional *status quo*—even when the institutions and the leaders who inhabit them are corrupt.

Third, the interactive effects of populism and pro-sociality on voting behavior are mediated by candidate evaluations. In such a model, we should see the expected effects most clearly in relation to evaluations of the candidate, such as her fitness as a leader, rather than on voting intentions. This is especially true outside an on-going campaign since stated electoral behavior in such conditions is hypothetical.

In terms of the relationship between authoritarian attitudes and populist discourse the experiment we ran is a hard test for the effect of populism on authoritarian attitudes because the candidate we chose, Roxana Miranda, received only 1.24% of the valid votes. In other words, Miranda's electoral standing was not a threat to anyone, as she could not

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really aspire to win the presidency. Miranda's discourse pitted "the people", more specifically the working class, against the ruling elite.

In spite of Piñera's low approval ratings, only 32% of the citizens approved his performance as president in 2013 (Latinobarómetro 2013), voters were not completely dissatisfied with the political elite as the majority voted in the first round for two established female candidates: Michelle Bachelet (left-wing coalition) and Evelyn Matthei (right-wing coalition). Bachelet, who had previously been president, won the second round. Therefore, one could argue that there were not the contextual conditions for authoritarians to feel persuaded towards a populist discourse at the time of the presidential election in Chile. Nevertheless, we fielded this study in a more toxic political atmosphere. Political elites from across the political spectrum and within the government have been implicated in a series of campaign finance and influence trafficking scandals. By April 2015, then, the conditions that nurture populism – a systematically corrupted ruling class that has violated long-standing social norms, in this case transparency, honesty, and rule of law – are present to a far greater extent than at the last elections. For her part, Roxana Miranda has kept a relatively low profile during the political crisis, confining herself largely to criticizing incumbents, big business, and banks on Twitter rather than taking to the airwaves or newspapers.

We believe that if authoritarians react to the populist discourse of Roxana Miranda in our video they would do so in two ways: evaluating Miranda more negatively while expressing a lower tendency to vote for her. We test this hypothesis by including a measure of authoritarian attitudes, as well as asking respondents to evaluate Miranda's leadership and the probability of voting for her.

The measure of authoritarianism follows Stenner's model (2005, 2009) by including questions related to child rearing values. We asked respondents to choose and order in level

of importance five traits that are important for children to learn in their homes. Among the seven traits that the respondents could choose from we included obedience and good manners, the two traits that Stenner theorized and found mapped on an authoritarian predisposition across countries.[1] We also included a question related to the probability of voting for Miranda and respondents answered a question related to whether she was a good leader.[2] The answers to both leadership evaluation and probability of voting were arrayed on a 7-point Likert scale.

Research Design and Measurement

Turning to the analysis of populism and pro-social preferences and norms, recall that subjects were randomly assigned to view either a non-populist or a populist message presented in a one-minute video clip of Roxana Miranda, candidate for the Chilean presidency in 2013, taken during a televised candidate debate. We classify subjects who viewed the populist video part of the treatment group and those who view the non-populist clip as part of the control group. A manipulation check showed that subjects who viewed the populist frame video rated Roxana Miranda's message significantly more critical of Chile's political elites than those who viewed the control message. Spanish transcriptions of the videos are provided in the appendix, English translations of the clips are provided below.

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[1] The question in Spanish reads: "Pensando en las cualidades que se pueden fomentar en los niños en el hogar, si tuviera que escoger ¿cuáles considera usted que son las 5 cualidades más deseables que deberían de tener los niños? Y de esas cualidades que son deseables por favor enumérelas en orden de importancia donde 1 es la menos importante y 5 es la más importante." Options: Buenos modales, independencia, sentido de responsabilidad, imaginación, obediencia, que sean limpios y ordenados, curiosidad.

[2] The questions in Spanish read: "¿Qué tan acuerdo o en desacuerdo está con la siguiente afirmación: Roxana Miranda es una buena líder?" And "Si esta semana fueran las próximas elecciones presidenciales y Roxana Miranda estuviera compitiendo para la presidencia ¿qué tan probable sería que votara por ella?"

Control Group: Non-Populist Message Frame

"It is super simple to fix this. Look, I have here a tool [plastic pipe] that I brought to demonstrate this disposable system. This disposable system is plastic, disposable, it breaks. This contaminates. This [copper pipe] is what we need. This is ours. By recovering copper we are going to have free education, housing, health, and all the rights that have been privatized. Only with this. And this is what they are selling today. We have to buy, on top of all that, this pipe from abroad. It is simple what we are proposing. To recover our strategic resources is key. And not only in economics. We need to recover the communications media in order to educate our people. Today our people are dis-informed and that is why we have the reality of the regions, the impoverished regions. Look at Calama, I just traveled to Calama, where they extract the income of Chile, one of the most impoverished regions, the water contaminated for 40 years with arsenic."

Treatment Group: Populist Message Frame

"I want to address my people. If God left us, or gifted us, the land, the cordillera, the fields, the fish and the fruits, the rivers, who gave authorization to five families to do or undo what they want with our rights? Who gave them permission to leave my unborn grandchildren nothing to eat? We are the ones who work. We are the ones who clean their toilets. We are the ones who are working in the mines. We are the ones who work for this country. How long will they trample us? For the first time in Chile we have risen up from below, from all the public policies without common sense. For

the first time a popular candidacy of the poor people, of the nobodies, of the

landless, of the homeless, of the toothless, of my neighbors who clean toilets,

of the thousands of Chileans who are trampled. And do you think that I'm

going to believe today that they are going to change my life? If they have

never done it in history?"

Variables

In the analyses below, the dependent variable is evaluations of Roxana Miranda as leader.

Namely, subjects were asked, "How much do you agree or disagree with the following

statement: Roxana Miranda is a good leader."[3] Responses are recoded so that (1) indicates

the most disagreement and (7) indicates the most agreement.

Pro-social trusting preferences are measured by asking subjects[4] how trustworthy are

people "from around here." Answers are placed on a scale from (1) not at all trustworthy to

(7) very trustworthy. This items captures the perceptions of trustworthiness without which

the kinds of generalized interpersonal trust that enhance institutional functioning is

unlikely if not impossible. We gauge predispositions towards negative reciprocity by asking

subjects how well the following statement described them: "If someone insults me, I will

insult them back."[5] It was proposed by Dhomen et al. (2006) as a measure of negative

reciprocity and taps a willingness to sanction a social norm violation at some personal cost.

Ideally, we could have derived these pro-social orientations from incentivized behavioral

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[3] In Spanish this item reads, "¿Qué tan acuerdo o en desacuerdo está con la siguiente afirmación: Roxana Miranda es una buena líder? (1) Muy en desacuerdo to (7) Muy de acuerdo.

[4] Question wording is Spanish reads as follows: "Pensando en las personas de alrededor, ¿Qué tan confiables son esas personas? Por favor, indique su respuesta indicando un valor en la escala, en la que 1 significa que no son nada confiables, y 7 que son muy confiables. (1) Nada confiables to (7) Muy confiables

[5] In Spanish it reads: "Si alguien me insulta, yo le insultaré de vuelta."

Table 1. Populist Discourse, Pro-sociality and Leadership Evaluations

|	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 5	Model 6
Populist Discourse	-0.150 (1.48)		-1.345* (0.650)		0.357 (0.284)
Perceived Trustworthiness		-0.085 (0.057)	-0.187* (0.073)		
Populist Discourse × Perceived Trustworthiness			0.216† (0.113)		
Negative Reciprocity				-0.040 (0.044)	0.047 (0.060)
Populist Discourse × Negative Reciprocity					-0.188* (0.087)
Constant	3.984* (0.331)	3.984* (0.331)	4.631* (0.425)		3.462* (0.201)
F	1.03	2.17	2.49†	0.08	2.25†
R²	0.002	0.005	0.012	0.002	0.012
N	605	605	605	605	605

Note: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. N = 605. † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

measures that limit "cheap talk" (e.g., the trust game, ultimatum game, third-party punishment game). Such "revealed" preferences have some advantages over the "stated" preferences we rely on here, but gauging them was not feasible given our budgetary constraints.

Analysis

Does a general willingness to trust others, a key element of cooperation, condition the effects of populist discourse on candidate evaluations? Our analysis suggests so. For one thing, results in Table 1 above reveal no significant associations between leadership evaluations of Roxana Miranda (dependent variable) and watching the video featuring

Figure 1. Marginal Effects of Populism and Perceptions of Generalized Trustworthiness on Candidate Leadership Evaluations
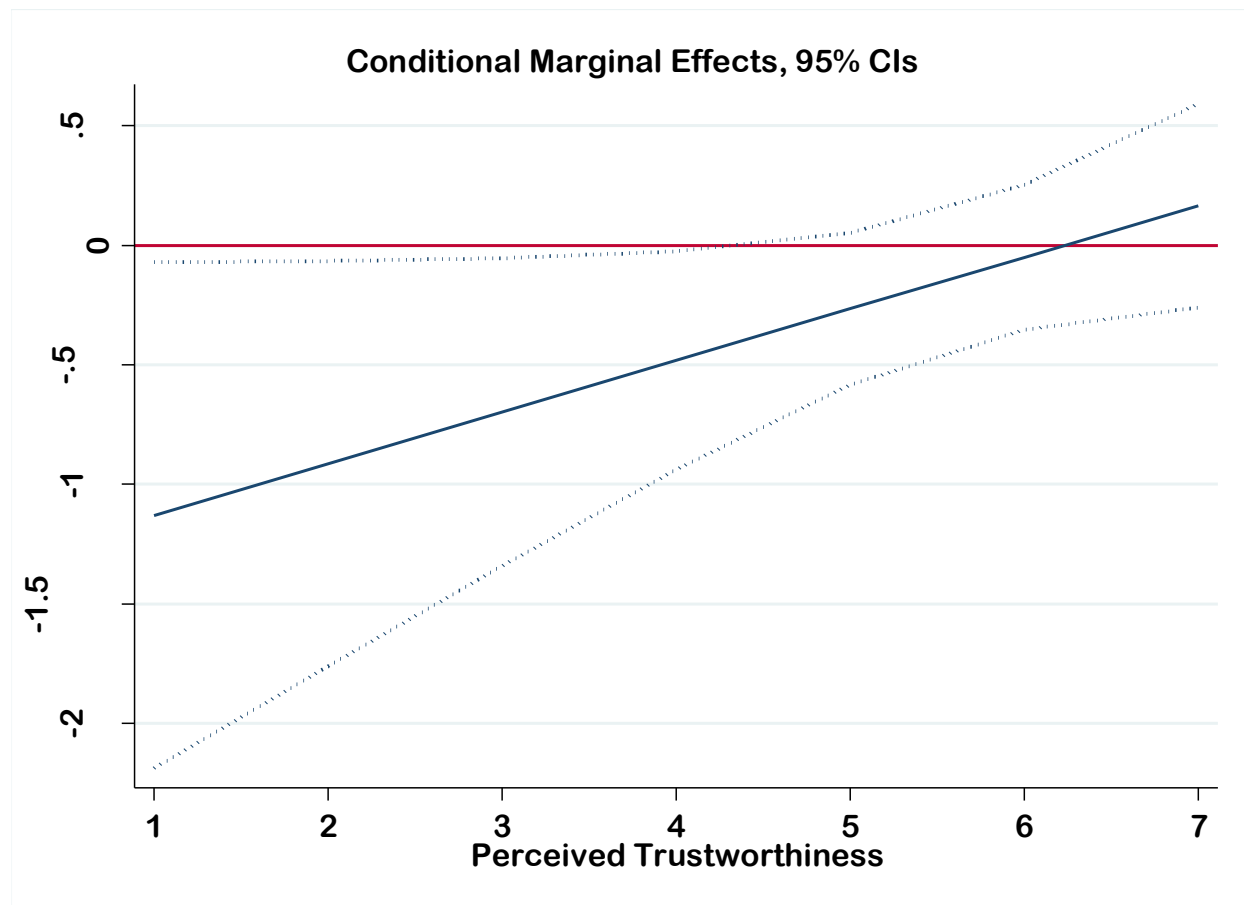
Roxana Miranda's populist discourse (Model 1) or subjects' general trustworthiness perceptions (Model 2). However, the coefficient on the interaction between the treatment and our measure of trust (Model 3) is negative and significant (p = 0.057).

Probing this association further, Figure 1 graphs the marginal effects of receiving the populist message (treatment group), as opposed to non-populist message (control group), at all values of generalized perceived trustworthiness. According to this illustration, the marginal effect of being exposed to the populist frame decreases evaluations of Roxana Miranda's leadership qualities to a greater extent among those who see others as untrustworthy. Among the least trusting subjects (1 on the Perceived Trustworthiness

scale), when a candidate espouses populist rhetoric our model predicts her leadership scores will be, on average, 1.12 points lower, or 19% of the six-point scale used here. Compared to the mean leadership score for the treatment group (3.44, s.d. ± 1.82), this is effect is quite substantial. It stays negative through middling levels of perceived trustworthiness.[6] At one standard deviation below the mean, the effect is strongly negative (-0.98, p < 0.05) but by one standard deviation above the mean it is indistinguishable from zero.

If social preferences vis-à-vis trust condition evaluations of populist candidates' leadership, pro-social norms of negative reciprocity or "costly punishment" may also. As with trusting predispositions, the results in Table 1 indicate that the predisposition engage in costly punishment is not related to evaluations of Roxana Miranda as a leader (Model 4). Nevertheless, the interaction term of the treatment and negative reciprocity (Model 5) is negative and precisely estimated (p = 0.032). That is, when primed with Miranda's populist (as opposed to non-populist) rhetoric, the more subjects self-describe as costly punishers, the more they are expected to downgrade her leadership.

Viewing this relationship graphically (Figure 2) helps grasp how it speaks to our theoretical expectations. When the most pro-social costly punishers (7 on the Negative Reciprocity scale) hear our candidate's populist frame the model predicts her leadership scores will be, on average, 0.96 points lower, or 16%. Again, this effect is appreciable when viewed against the mean leadership score within the treatment group (3.44, s.d. ± 1.82). It stays negative through middling levels of perceived trustworthiness.[7] At either the treatment group's mean of negative reciprocity (2.67, s.d. ± 1.73) or one standard deviation below it, the effect is indistinguishable from zero. But at one standard deviation above the

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[6] At 4, marginal effect is -0.48, significant at 95% level; at 5, -0.27, significant at 90% level.
[7] At 25% percentile of the distribution of Negative Reciprocity, the marginal effect is insignificant at the 95% confidence level; at the 75% percentile of its distribution, populist discourse's marginal effect is -0.39, significant at 95% level.

Figure 2. Marginal Effects of Populism and Negative Reciprocity on Candidate Leadership Evaluations
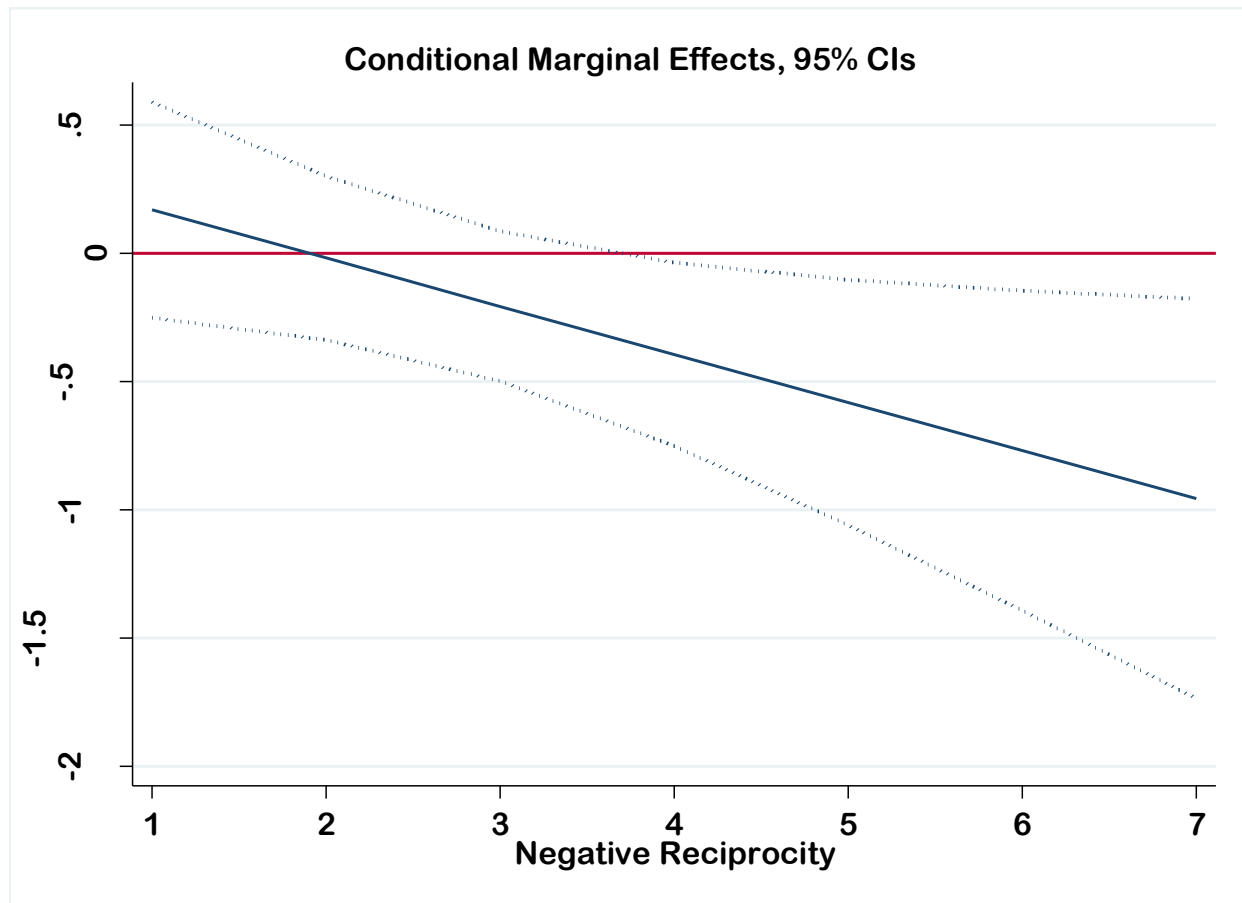
mean, the marginal effect of populist discourse on leadership evaluations remains negative and reliable if somewhat reduced (-0.49, p = 0.021).

Before proceeding further, we should note that neither expressed perceptions of general trustworthiness nor the willingness to engage in costly punishment are not directly altered by populist discourse. Given that these social preferences are determined by the interplay of genetic and environmental factors (cf., Haidt 2012, Bowles and Gintis 2011), their stability is not surprising. Moreover this evidence bolsters the internal validity of our experimental results.

In light of our expectations, we proposed that populist rhetoric would tend to improve leadership evaluations of populist candidates among society's most trusting people. At base,

we reasoned, populism as a political movement involves cooperating to overcome collective action problems such as uniting behind a populist candidate and working to elect her. Conversely, we expected calls to overturn an institutional status quo that favors corrupt elites – elected representatives whose actions have violated the trust voters have placed in them – and to usher in a leader who can restore the values and norms of a disillusioned citizenry to fall on deaf ears of untrusting citizens. While the first proposition is not borne out by the data, the second is. Populist discourse appears to backfire among individuals who lack pro-social trusting preferences by hurting their subjective evaluations of a populist's fitness to lead.

Our second guiding expectation was that populist discourse would likely decrease a populist's leadership scores among those with an orientation toward negative reciprocity. These pro-social norm enforcers, we argued, should reject revolutionary change to the status quo that populists embody in favor of incremental changes to existing institutions. The findings presented here are consistent with this notion. While negative reciprocators or costly punishers are willing to sanction norm violators – such as corrupt politicians – they exhibit a conservative tendency to largely preserve extant institutions and tweak at the margins. Such orientations, therefore, put a brake on populism by limiting the appeal of populist leadership.

In terms of an authoritarian predisposition there are two factors that measure it according to the theory of the authoritarian dynamic: obedience and good manners. Stenner argues that people who consider these two concepts important for children to learn over other have an authoritarian predisposition (2005, 2009). Therefore, we created an authoritarian predisposition scale by putting together those respondents who chose and

Figure 3. Vote Intention and Candidate Leadership Evaluations
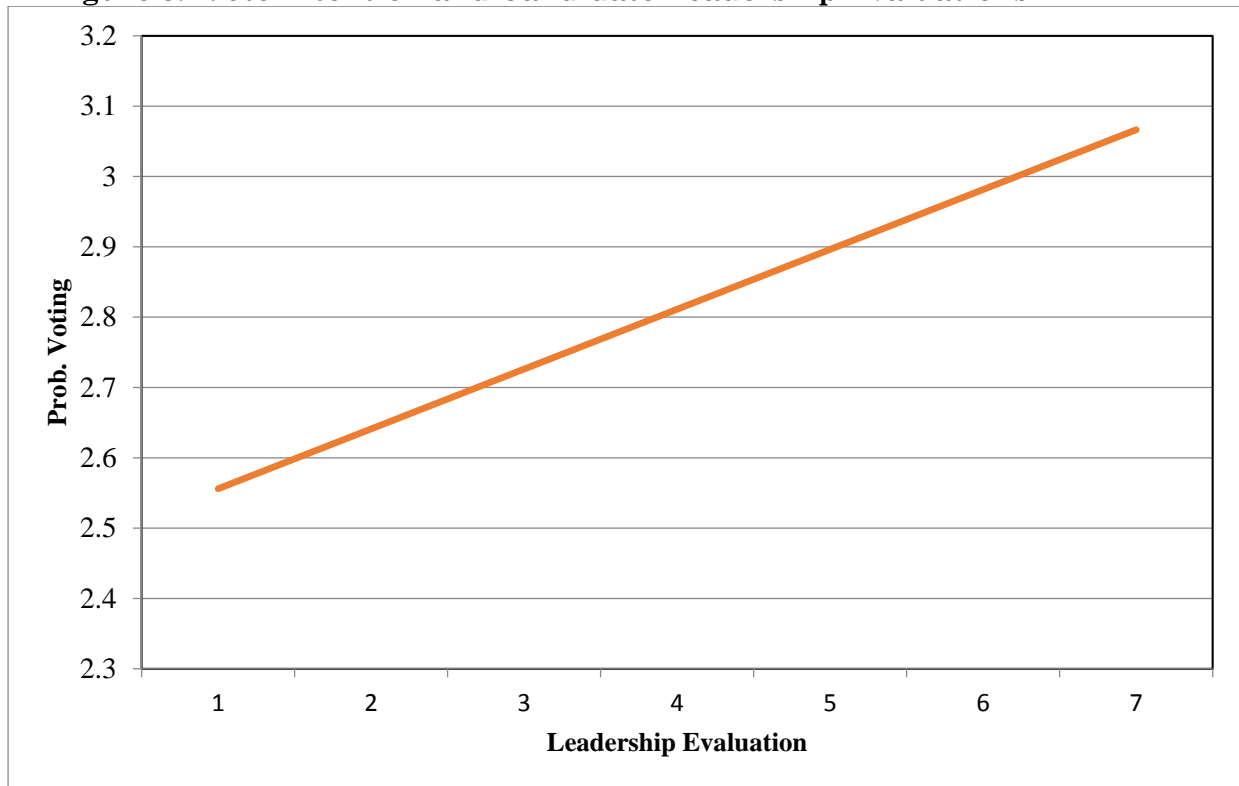
Note: Line represents predicted values of voting for Miranda at different levels of leadership evaluation; $b = 0.085$, $t(603) = 2.04$, $p<0.05$. Leadership explained a proportion of the variance in the probability of voting for Miranda, $R^2 = 0.01$; $F(1,603) = 4.15$, $p < 0.05$.

ranked good manners and obedience as the first or second values that children should learn at home.[8]

First of all, we looked at the relationship between leadership evaluations and vote intention and find that, as the literature establishes, people significantly tend to vote for a candidate whom they consider to be a good leader (Funk 1999; Kinder 1986; Mattes et al. 2010; Pierce 1993).

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[8] Surprisingly these two items do not go together. The correlation between good manners and obedience is negative and statistically significant ($\rho = -0.15$, $p = 0.00$). Principle components analysis (PCA) shows that both items load on different components. Therefore, we ran all the analysis on the scale and the individual factors. The results are similar between the Authoritarian Scale and the good manners variable, while there are not significant results in the models ran with the obedience variable. Therefore, it seems that the effect of the scale is mostly driven by the good manners factor.

Table 2. Effects of Populism and Authoritarianism on Vote

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Populist Discourse	0.051	0.058	0.103
	(0.252)	(0.247)	(0.259)
Authoritarian Predisposition		-0.233	-0.188
		(0.167)	(0.220)
Populist Discourse × Authoritarian Predisposition			-0.088
			(0.182)
Constant		2.869*	2.846*
		(0.172)	(0.181)
N	605	605	605
R²	0.00	0.005	0.005

Note: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$

We turned to look at the effects of populism and the authoritarian predisposition on the probability of voting for Miranda (Table 2). Model 1 examines possible treatment effects of populist discourse on vote intentions and finds none. Model 2 adds our index of authoritarianism to the equation. The results show that there is not a direct effect of authoritarianism on the vote intention for Miranda. And according to the insignificant coefficient on the interaction term of authoritarianism and the experimental condition[9] in Model 3, authoritarianism does condition the effects of populism on the likelihood of voting for the populist, Miranda. From this analysis we can conclude that authoritarianism does not bear directly on vote intentions for populist candidates.

Finally, we tested for the effect of authoritarian predispositions on the evaluation of Miranda as a good leader (Table 3 and Figure 4). Here, we get a little more traction. Although we do not observe any treatment effects – leadership evaluations are unaltered by populist discourse – and we do not see a direct effect of authoritarianism on leadership

[9] The marginal effect of the interaction is not statistically significant.

Table 3. Effects of Populism and Authoritarianism on Candidate Evaluation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Populist Discourse	0.131	-0.134	0.133
	(0.179)	(0.181)	(0.214)
Authoritarian Predisposition		0.075	0.343*
		(0.110)	(0.143)
Populist Discourse × Authoritarian Predisposition			-0.522*
			(0.197)
Constant		3.555*	3.421*
		(0.131)	(0.181)
N	605	605	605
R²	0.001	0.002	0.008

Note: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.
*$p < 0.05$

evaluations, we do see a moderating effect. Namely, populism affects candidate leadership evaluations differently depending on one's level of authoritarian predisposition.

Figure 4 helps explain better the results of the effect of the interaction term on respondents' evaluation of Miranda. The graph shows that at higher levels of authoritarian predisposition voters tend to evaluate Miranda more poorly as a leader in the populist condition than in the control one. In other words, authoritarians react negatively at Miranda only in the populist condition, probably because they perceive her as a normative threat. It is possible that in the control condition, they might not remember her populist discourse or might remember that she did not get many votes. Finally, we could expect that authoritarians' probability of voting for Miranda in the populist condition is mediated, in a negative way, by their evaluation of her leadership.[10]

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[10] We base this argument on the evidence we found of the positive effect of respondents' evaluation of Miranda's leadership capacity on the probability of voting for her.

Figure 4. Marginal Effects of Populism and Authoritarianism on Candidate Leadership Evaluations

Average Marginal Effects, 95% CIs
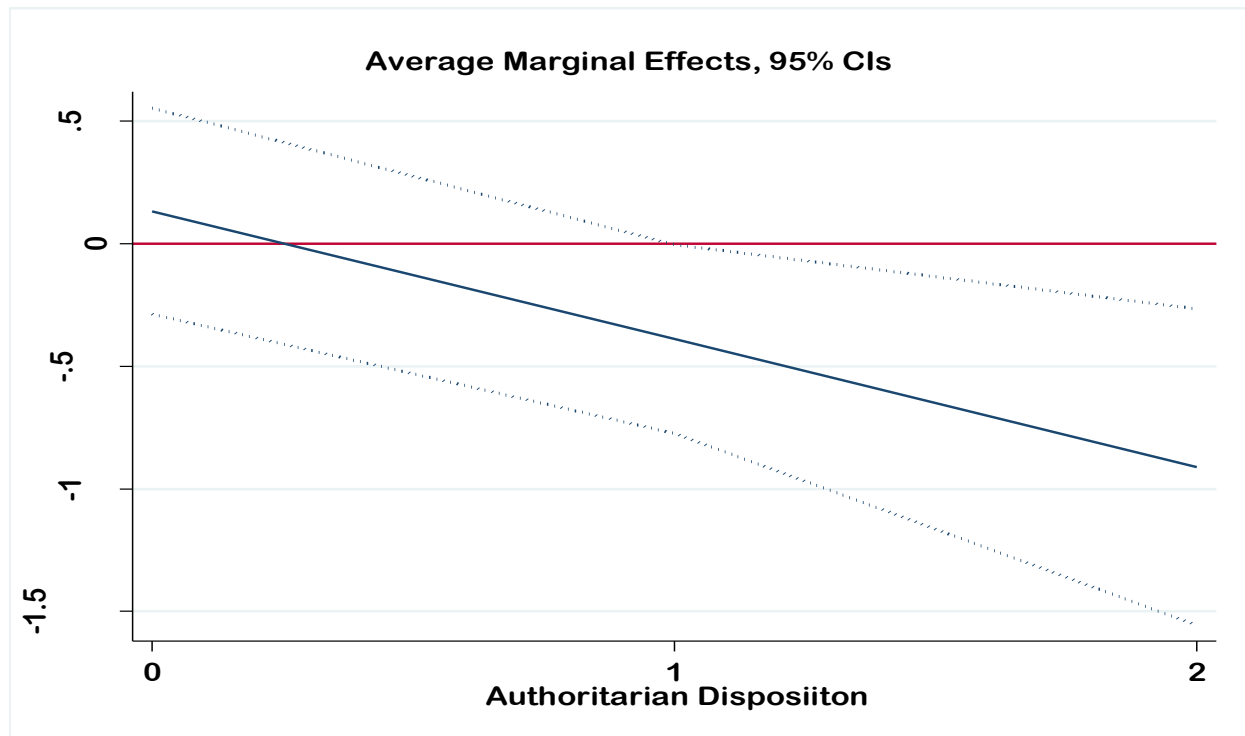
Conclusion

In this paper we wanted to explore the effect of a few potentially relevant psychological predispositions on the reaction to a populist discourse. Specifically we were interested in looking at people who exhibit higher levels of interpersonal trust, negative reciprocity, or authoritarian predisposition. In order to assess the effect of a populist discourse in the citizenry it is not sufficient to assess the political and social contexts where the populist politician evolves but the psychological attributes of the citizens that might make them more or less prone to support a populist discourse.

The test for our hypotheses was a hard one, as we used a former presidential candidate in Chile who did not obtain many votes so her popular support is low. In spite of the political turmoil that was taking place in Chile in terms of corruption scandals among the

political elite at the time we ran the experiment, Miranda kept rather a low profile away from the mainstream media. Her low profile affected us in two ways. First, people in general would not consider her a serious threat to the establishment, so they might have dismissed her in the populist condition, minimizing the chances of finding an effect. Second, respondents in the *control* condition might have had lingering memories of her populist discourse which influenced their responses to questions about vote intention and leadership qualities beyond the reactions we sought to prime in the video.

The results of our analysis show that some psychological traits can be relevant when assessing the effect of a populist discourse. We found the expected effect of trustworthiness and negative reciprocity on respondents' evaluation of Miranda's leadership in the populist condition. Trustworthy individuals tend to giver her a higher evaluation as a leader in the populist condition, while costly punishers' evaluation of her leadership worsens in the populist condition. Trustworthy individuals might be more prone to cooperate with the cause presented by Miranda, so they gave her a higher evaluation. In contrast, costly punishers might react negatively to the speed of change proposed by the politician, affecting their evaluations.

Finally, people with an authoritarian predisposition tended to give her a low evaluations as a leader after viewing the populist video. We have to take this finding cautiously, as the factors in the scale of authoritarianism in this sample do not go well together, contrary to previous research (Stenner 2005, 2009). It is likely that the effect is driven by one of the components, the value of teaching children good manners at home. In spite of this cautionary note, it is noteworthy that authoritarians reacted significantly more harshly against Miranda in the populist condition. The populist video could represent a threat for authoritarians' in-group, as it attacks directly the political elites, triggering the authoritarian predisposition. While we did not find any direct relation between the

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psychological predispositions and the experimental conditions on the probability of voting for Miranda, we think that the probability of voting for her might be mediated by the effect of the populist discourse on people's evaluation of her leadership.

This is a first approach looking at the effect of populist discourse on people's reactions mediated by their psychological traits. We think this is an exciting new area of study of the causes of populism, and that by varying political, social, and economical contexts we will be able to learn more about the differentiating effect of populism on voters' behavior.

Appendix

Here we provide the original Spanish transcriptions of the video clips we used in our experiment.

Control Group: Non-Populist Message Frame

"Es súper simple resolver esto. Mire yo tengo aquí una herramienta que traje para demostrar este sistema desechable. este sistema desechable, es plástico, desechable, se rompe. Esto es contaminante. Esto es lo que nosotros necesitamos. Esto es nuestro.
Recuperando el cobre vamos a tener educación gratuita, vivienda, salud y todos los derechos que han sido privatizados. Sólo con esto. Y esto hoy en día lo están vendiendo. Tenemos que comprar, más encima, esta cañería en el extranjero. "Es simple lo que nosotros estamos planteando. Recuperar los recursos estratégicos es clave. Y no solamente es lo económico. Necesitamos recuperar los medios de comunicación para educar a nuestro pueblo. Hoy en día nuestro pueblo está desinformado y por eso es que tenemos la realidad de las regiones, las regiones empobrecidas. Mira Calama, yo acabo de viajar a Calama, donde se saca el

sueldo de Chile, una de las regiones más empobrecidas, el agua contaminada hace 40 años con arsénico."

Treatment Group: Populist Message Frame

Quiero dirigirme a mi pueblo: Si Dios nos dejó o nos donó la tierra, la cordillera, los campos, los peces y las frutas, los ríos ¿Quién les dio autorización a cinco familias para que hicieran y deshicieran con nuestro derecho? ¿Quién les dio permiso para dejar a mis nietos no nacidos sin comida? Somos nosotros los que trabajamos. Somos nosotras las que les hacemos el aseo. Somos nosotros los que estamos en la minera. Somos nosotros los que trabajamos por este país. ¿Hasta cuándo nos pisotean? Por primera vez en Chile nos hemos levantado desde abajo, desde todas sus políticas públicas sin sentido común. Por primera vez, una candidatura popular del pueblo pobre, de los nunca, de los nadie, de los sin tierra, de los sin casa, de los sin diente, de mis vecinas que hacen aseo, de los miles de chilenos que estamos pisoteados. Y ¿ustedes creen que yo les voy a creer hoy día que van a cambiar la vida mía? Si no lo han hecho por historia.

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