

Appendix:

Populism and the Liberal International Order:

An Analysis of UN Voting Patterns

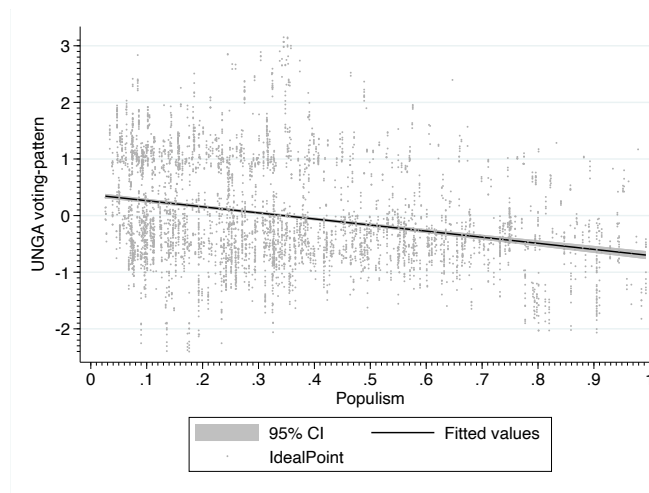


Figure 1 Populism and UNGA voting-pattern

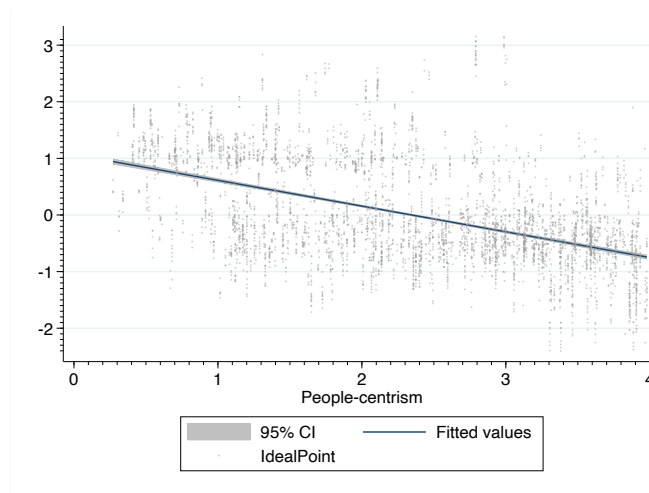


Figure 2 People-centrism and UNGA voting-pattern

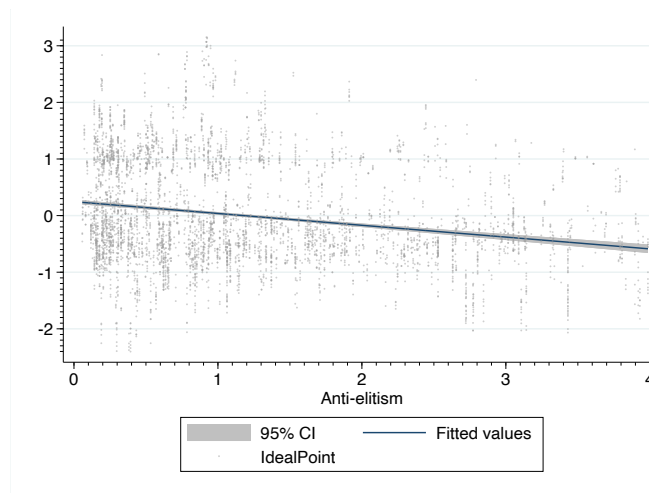


Figure 3 Anti-elitism and UNGA voting-pattern

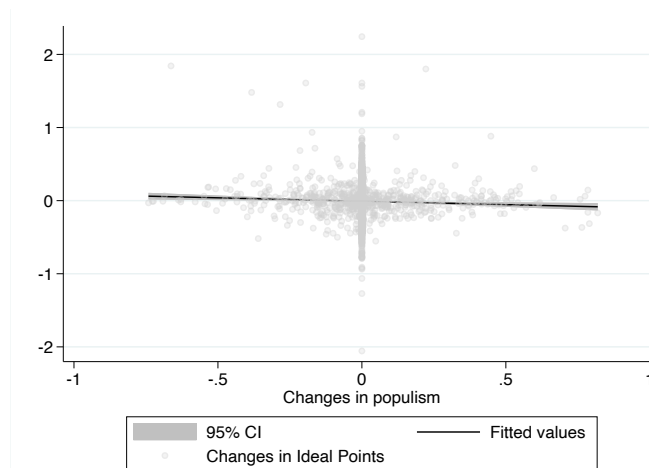


Figure 4 Annual Changes

Table 1 Populist Voting (1975-2015): Low Populism Codings and Elite/Centric Populism

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting
Populism	-0.179*** (0.029)				
Anti-elitism (low)		-0.030*** (0.005)			
People-centrism (low)			-0.045*** (0.006)		
Anti-elitism (normal)				-0.041*** (0.007)	
People-centrism (normal)					-0.050*** (0.009)
Left-wing	-0.055*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.016)	-0.047** (0.016)	-0.056*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.016)
Right-wing	0.044*** (0.013)	0.044*** (0.013)	0.039** (0.013)	0.046*** (0.013)	0.042** (0.013)
Term	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)
Electoral democracy index	0.499*** (0.046)	0.504*** (0.046)	0.478*** (0.046)	0.504*** (0.046)	0.486*** (0.046)
US military aid (log)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
US economic aid (log)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)
GDP pc (log)	0.044** (0.013)	0.043** (0.013)	0.045*** (0.013)	0.044** (0.014)	0.044** (0.013)
Trade Globalisation Index	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Country fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-0.430*** (0.126)	-0.511*** (0.126)	-0.480*** (0.126)	-0.427*** (0.126)	-0.346** (0.127)
r2-p					
N	4505	4505	4505	4505	4505

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 2 Populist Absent from UNGA Voting (1995-2017)

	(1)
	Absent
Populism	-0.599*
	(0.293)
Left-wing	0.058
	(0.187)
Right-wing	0.118
	(0.138)
Term	0.009
	(0.008)
Electoral democracy	-0.324
	(0.415)
US military aid (log)	-0.000
	(0.000)
US economic aid (log)	-0.040***
	(0.010)
GDP pc (log)	-0.295***
	(0.074)
Trade Globalisation Index	0.007+
	(0.004)
Constant	-0.181
	(0.662)
r ² _p	0.028
N	1073424

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 3 Populist Voting (1975-2015): Excl. Economic Controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting
Populism	-0.093* (0.036)		
Anti-elitism		-0.009 (0.009)	
People-centrism			-0.114*** (0.010)
Left-wing	-0.132*** (0.018)	-0.139*** (0.019)	-0.088*** (0.018)
Right-wing	0.031+ (0.016)	0.035* (0.016)	0.004 (0.016)
Term	-0.008*** (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.001)
Electoral democracy index	1.040*** (0.052)	1.042*** (0.052)	0.961*** (0.052)
US military aid (log)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)
US economic aid (log)	0.020*** (0.001)	0.020*** (0.001)	0.019*** (0.001)
Country fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES
Year fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-0.587*** (0.077)	-0.604*** (0.077)	-0.310*** (0.080)
r2_p			
N	4797	4797	4797

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 4 Populist Voting (1975-2015): Excl. USA and UK

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting
Populism	-0.187*** (0.031)		
Anti-elitism		-0.041*** (0.007)	
People-centrism			-0.048*** (0.009)
Left-wing	-0.057*** (0.016)	-0.059*** (0.016)	-0.059*** (0.016)
Right-wing	0.034* (0.014)	0.037** (0.014)	0.033* (0.014)
Term	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)
Electoral democracy index	0.496*** (0.046)	0.502*** (0.046)	0.484*** (0.046)
US military aid (log)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
US economic aid (log)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)
GDP pc (log)	0.042** (0.014)	0.042** (0.014)	0.042** (0.014)
Trade Globalisation Index	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Country fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES
Year fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-0.442*** (0.126)	-0.458*** (0.126)	-0.377** (0.127)
r ² _p			
N	4430	4430	4430

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 5 Populist Voting (1975-2015): Cold War

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting
L.Populism	-0.190*** (0.031)			-0.074+ (0.041)
Anti-elitism		-0.041*** (0.007)		
People-centrism			-0.050*** (0.009)	
Left-wing	-0.054*** (0.016)	-0.056*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.016)	0.091** (0.029)
Right-wing	0.043** (0.013)	0.046*** (0.013)	0.042** (0.013)	0.068** (0.024)
Term	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)
Electoral democracy index	0.498*** (0.046)	0.504*** (0.046)	0.486*** (0.046)	0.471*** (0.046)
US military aid (log)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
US economic aid (log)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)
GDP pc (log)	0.044** (0.013)	0.044** (0.014)	0.044** (0.013)	0.043** (0.013)
Trade Globalisation Index	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Cold War	-0.465*** (0.080)	-0.463*** (0.080)	-0.482*** (0.080)	-0.450*** (0.079)
Left-wing× Populism				-0.343*** (0.058)
Right-wing × Populism				-0.067 (0.069)
Country fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-0.412** (0.126)	-0.427*** (0.126)	-0.346** (0.127)	-0.420*** (0.126)
r2_p				
N	4505	4505	4505	4505

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 6 Populist Voting (1975-2015): Populism Waves

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting	UNGA voting
Populism	-0.190*** (0.031)			-0.074+ (0.041)
Anti-elitism		-0.041*** (0.007)		
People-centrism			-0.050*** (0.009)	
Left-wing	-0.054*** (0.016)	-0.056*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.016)	0.091** (0.029)
Right-wing	0.043** (0.013)	0.046*** (0.013)	0.042** (0.013)	0.068** (0.024)
Term	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)
Electoral democracy index	0.498*** (0.046)	0.504*** (0.046)	0.486*** (0.046)	0.471*** (0.046)
US military aid (log)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
US economic aid (log)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)
GDP pc (log)	0.044** (0.013)	0.044** (0.014)	0.044** (0.013)	0.043** (0.013)
Trade Globalisation Index	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Populism Wave (2000-2015)	-0.465*** (0.080)	-0.463*** (0.080)	-0.482*** (0.080)	-0.450*** (0.079)
Left-wing × Populism				-0.343*** (0.058)
Right-wing × Populism				-0.067 (0.069)
Country fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year fixed-effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	-0.412** (0.126)	-0.427*** (0.126)	-0.346** (0.127)	-0.420*** (0.126)
r ² -p				
N	4505	4505	4505	4505

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 7 Populist Voting: Change models

	(1)	(2)
	Change in Voting	Change in Voting
Change in populism	-0.093** (0.031)	-0.106*** (0.031)
Left-wing		0.004 (0.010)
Right-wing		0.007 (0.009)
Term		0.001 (0.001)
Electoral democracy index		0.011 (0.031)
US military aid (log)		-0.001 (0.001)
US economic aid (log)		-0.001 (0.001)
GDP pc (log)		-0.001 (0.009)
Trade Globalisation Index		-0.001+ (0.000)
Country fixed-effects	YES	YES
Year fixed-effects	YES	YES
Constant	-0.008** (0.003)	0.038 (0.087)
r2_p		
N	4855	4505

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 8 Government changes towards populists

No	Country	Year	Populist	Populism	Populism Change
1	El Salvador	2009	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front	.907	.819
2	Greece	1981	Panhellenic Socialist Movement	.954	.79
3	Fiji	1999	Fiji Labour Party	.858	.785
4	Poland	2015	Law and Justice	.979	.785
5	Guyana	1992	People's Progressive Party	.866	.775
6	Fiji	1987	NFP-FLP	.814	.764
7	Bolivia	2005	Movement for Socialism	.91	.758
8	Ecuador	1996	Ecuadorian Roldosist Party	.909	.758
9	Iran	1984	Islamic Republican Party	.777	.666
10	Slovenia	2004	Slovenian Democratic Party	.763	.618
15	Japan	1993	Japan New Party	.622	.548
17	Togo	1994	Togolese Union for Democracy	.606	.542

The order indicates those countries that experienced the strongest movement towards populism in the first year after a new government took office.

Table 9 Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.dev.	Min	Max
idealpoint	5,011	.0004655	.9144245	-2.401832	3.15064
Populism	5,011	.3445181	.2361688	.026	.993
Difference ideal	4,855	-.0079355	.1949098	-2.055861	2.242968
difference populism	4,855	.0011708	.0897031	-.741	.819
Elitism-centric	5,011	1.177626	.9679722	.058	3.987
People-centric	5,011	2.344982	1.005135	.272	3.98
Ideology	5,011	.6745161	.8034526	0	2
Term	5,011	8.474756	8.080799	1	41
Polyarchy	4,994	.5149938	.2787795	.048	.924
Military Aid (log)	5,011	9.701214	7.108584	0	23.17059
Economic Aid (log)	4,991	13.49616	7.015163	1	23.00916
GDPpc (log)	4,727	7.834587	1.576083	4.575702	11.6854
Trade Globalisation Index	4,909	49.4494	19.60855	8.223955	99.56143

Table 10 Check for Multicollineraty

Variable	VIF	SQRT VIF	Tolerance	R-Squared	Eigenval	Cond Index
Populism	1.05	1.02	0.9560	0.0440	6.8814	1.0000
Ideology	1.02	1.01	0.9788	0.0212	0.6181	3.3368
Electoral Democracy Index	2.20	1.48	0.4549	0.5451	0.4891	3.7508
Term	1.14	1.07	0.8805	0.1195	0.4121	4.0864
Military Aid (log)	1.53	1.24	0.6538	0.3462	0.3152	4.6721
Economic Aid (log)	2.07	1.44	0.4838	0.5162	0.1375	7.0737
GDPpc (log)	2.57	1.60	0.3887	0.6113	0.0431	12.6287
Trade Globalisation Index	1.11	1.05	0.9041	0.0959	0.0081	29.1522
Mean VIF	1.58			Condition Number	29.1522	