The fiscally moderate Italian populist voter: Evidence from a survey experiment

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Online Appendix

Table A1: List of parties covered by the study

Parties or coalitions that ran at the 2013 national elections*				
Party name (IT)	**Party name (EN)**	**Acronym**	**RILE** (- 100 left; +100 right)	**Pro-Anti EU** (-100 anti-EU; +100 pro-EU)
Rivoluzione Civile	Civil Revolution	RC	-20.531	-4.106
Sinistra Ecologia Libertà	Left Ecology Freedom	SEL	-19.398	-0.669
Partito Democratico	Democratic Party	PD	-6.863	11.765
Movimento 5 Stelle	5 Star Movement	M5S	-49.032	0
Con Monti per l'Italia	With Monti for Italy	Monti List	1.190	7.143
Fare per Fermare il Declino	Act to Stop the Decline	FARE	Not codified	Not codified
Popolo della Libertà	People of Freedom	PdL	3.810	2.857
Lega Nord	Northern League	LN	3.810	2.857
Fratelli d'Italia	Brothers of Italy	FdI	15.835	-1.518
Parties or coalitions that ran at the 2014 European Parliament elections**				
Party name (IT)	**Party name (EN)**	**Acronym**	**RILE** (-100 left; +100 right**)**	**Pro-Anti EU** (-100 anti-EU; +100 pro-EU)
L'Altra Europa con Tsipras	The Other Europe with Tsipras	AET	-32.527	0.33
Partito Democratico	Democratic Party	PD	-16.456	6.835
Movimento 5 Stelle	5 Star Movement	M5S	22.222	0
Nuovo Centro Destra-Unione di Centro	New Centre-Right – Union of the Centre	NCD-UDC	Not codified	Not codified
Forza Italia	Go Italy	FI	18.605	-2.325
Lega Nord	Northern League	LN	-11.028	-30.998
Fratelli d'Italia	Brothers of Italy	FdI	Not codified	Not codified

*Source: Lehmann, Pola, Theres Matthieß, Nicolas Merz, Sven Regel and Annika Werner (2016). *Manifesto Corpus* [Version 2016a]. Berlin: WZB Berlin Social Science Center.
**Source: Schmitt, Hermann, Daniela Braun, Sebastian A. Popa, Slava Mikhaylov, and Felix Dwinger (2016) 'European Parliament Election Study 2014', Euromanifesto Study. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5162 Data File Version 1.0.0.

Figure A1: Example of choice task

We list here below two pairs of different economic policy programs. For each pair, you must choose the program you prefer.

Between these two programs, which one do you prefer?

	Programme 1	**Programme 2**
Acceptable unemployment rate	7%	3%
Acceptable inflation rate	2%	2%
National social services and taxation	Social services and taxation are adequate	Cut taxes, even at the cost of fewer social services
Euro	Keep the euro as the national currency	Keep the euro as the national currency
European oversight of government budget	Less oversight	More oversight
European social services and taxation	European social services and taxation, in addition to national ones	European social services and taxation, replacing national ones
⇨	☑	☐

Are you for or against these two programs?

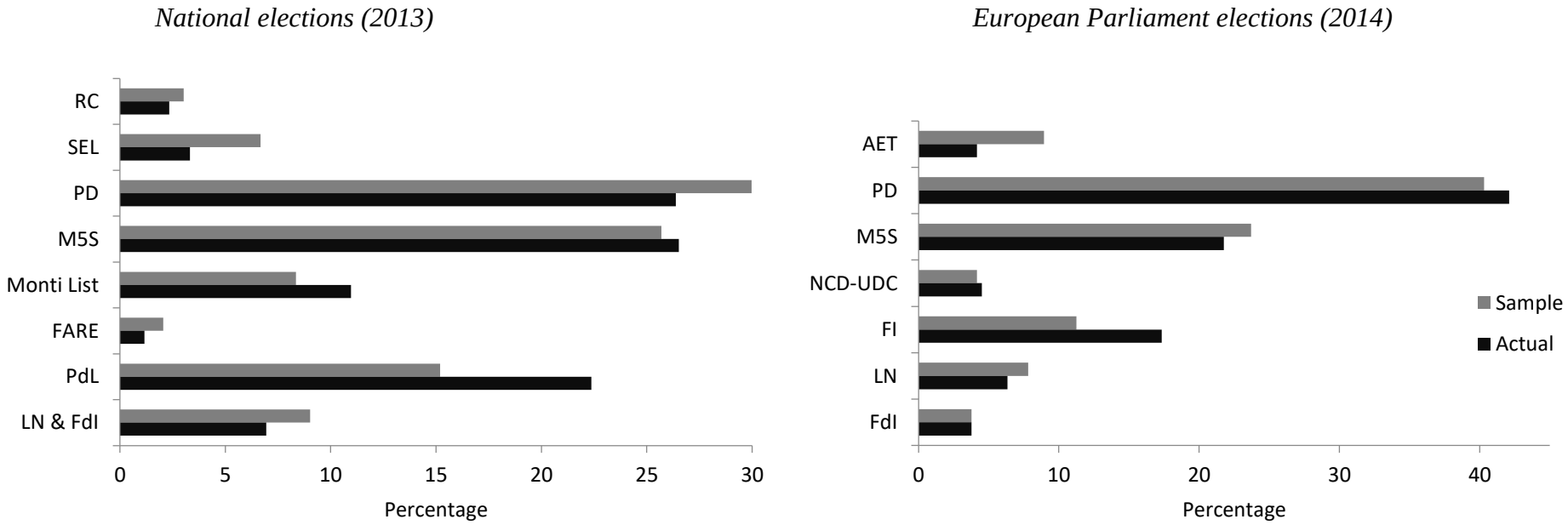
Express your opinion on a scale ranging from "strongly against" to "strongly for"

Programme 1: strongly against / somewhat against / somewhat for / strongly for

Programme 2: strongly against / somewhat against / somewhat for / strongly for

Note: This is an example of one task. Each respondent evaluates two of these comparisons, each displayed on a new screen.

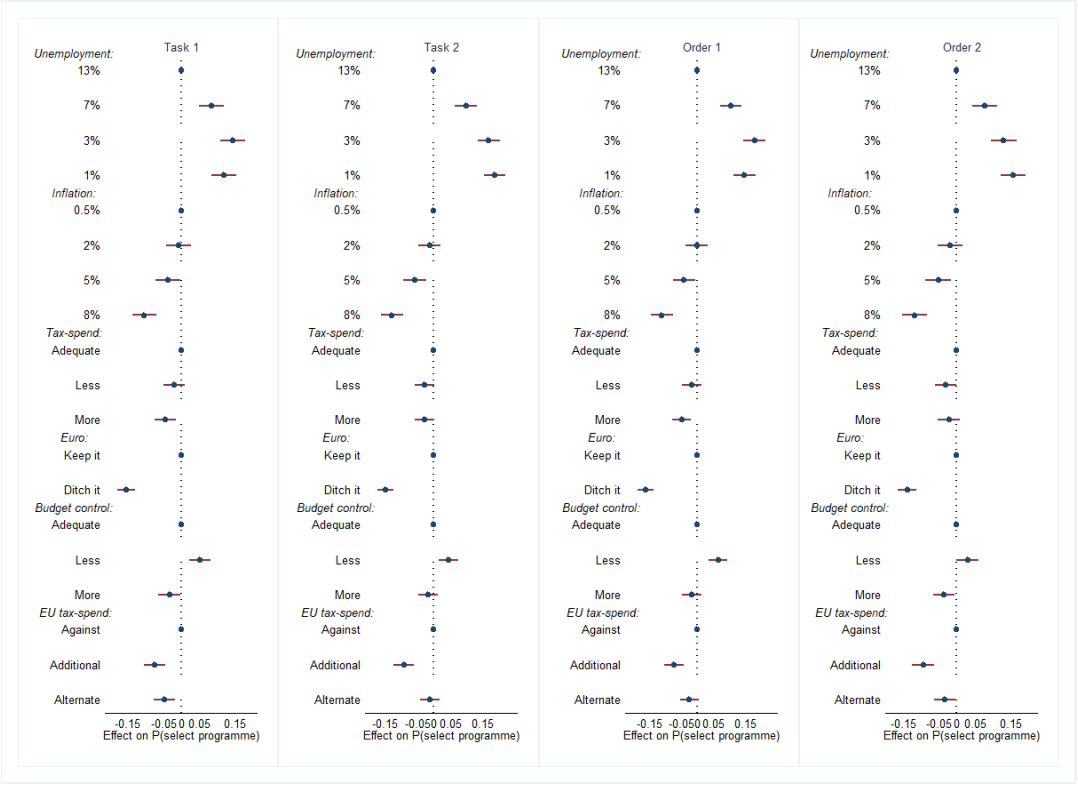
Figure A2: Sample and actual parties' shares of the vote



Note: Actual vote shares in the left panel are with reference to the Chamber of Deputies. Votes for minor parties are excluded. Parties' names and acronyms are listed in Table A1 of the online appendix.

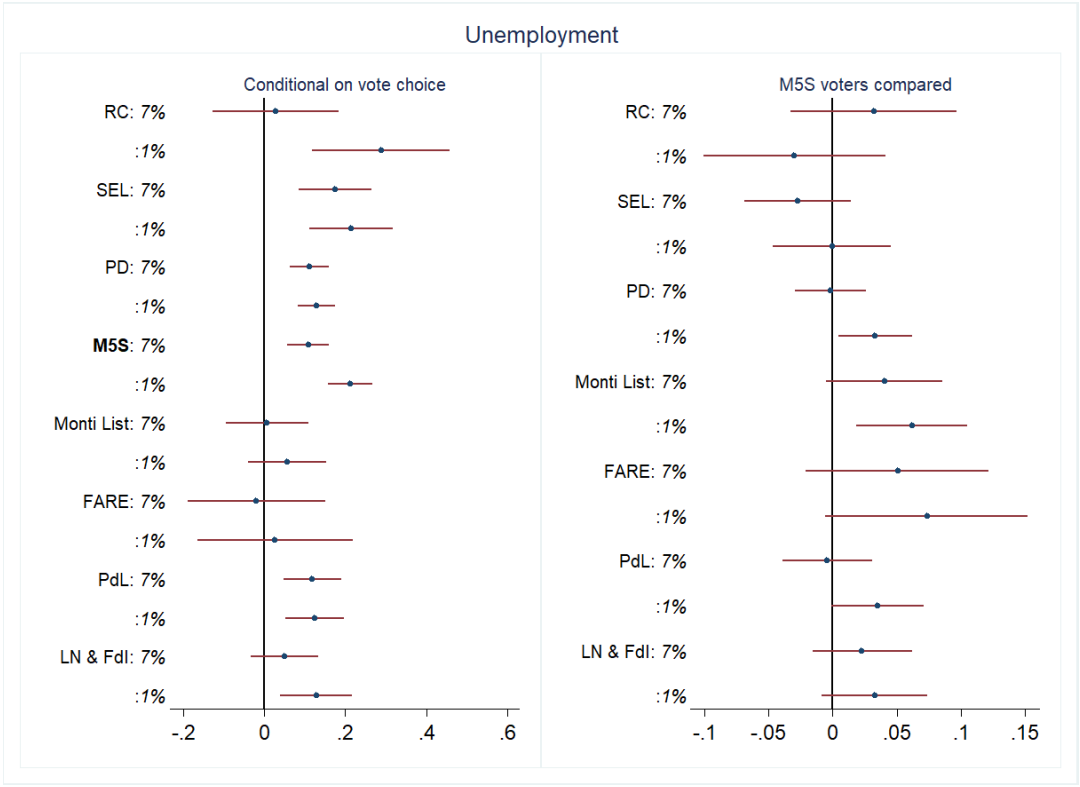
Comment: For the national elections, the study overestimates the support for PD and other left-wing parties and underestimates the support for PdL, but not NL. For the European Parliament elections, support for both PD and PdL is underestimated, while support for AET and NL is overestimated. It appears that voters for the largest mainstream right-wing party (PdL/FI) are less likely to report the vote choice. Instead, the study approximates rather well the actual M5S support, only slightly underestimating it in 2013 and overestimating it in 2014.

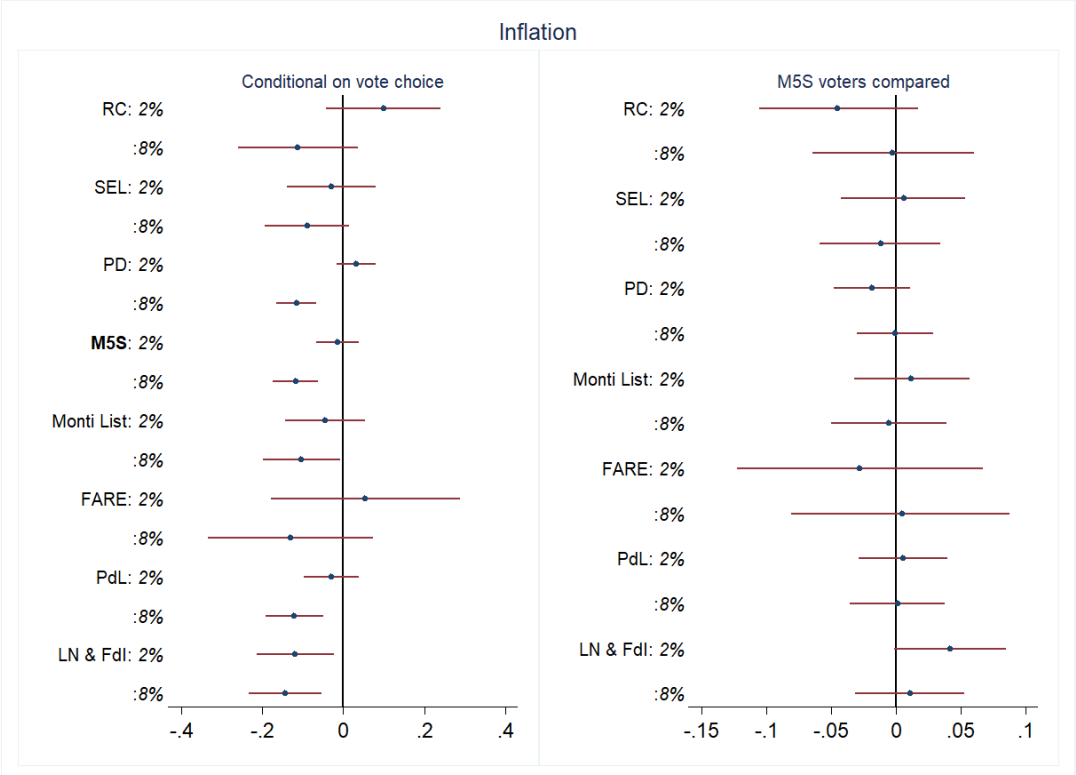
Figure A3: Diagnostic tests for framing effects



Notes: Tests for carryover effects in the first two panels, test of the profile order effects in the second two panels.

Figure A4: Marginal effects of programme attributes, conditional on 2013 vote choice, and compared to M5S voters

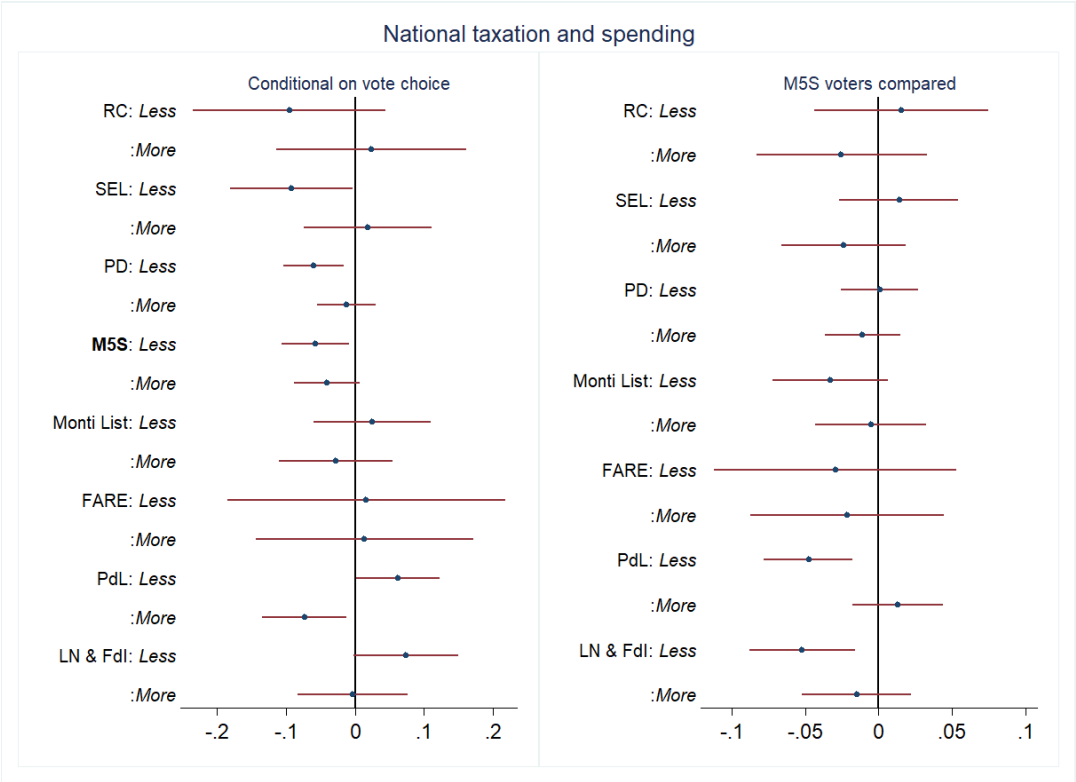


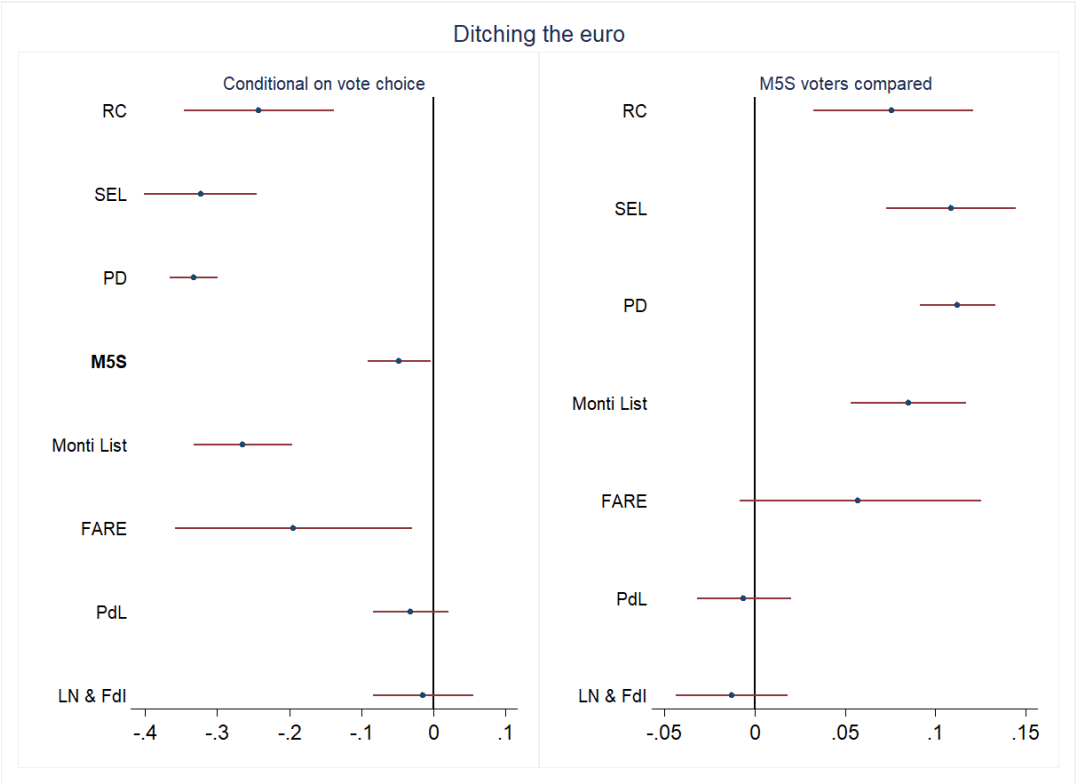


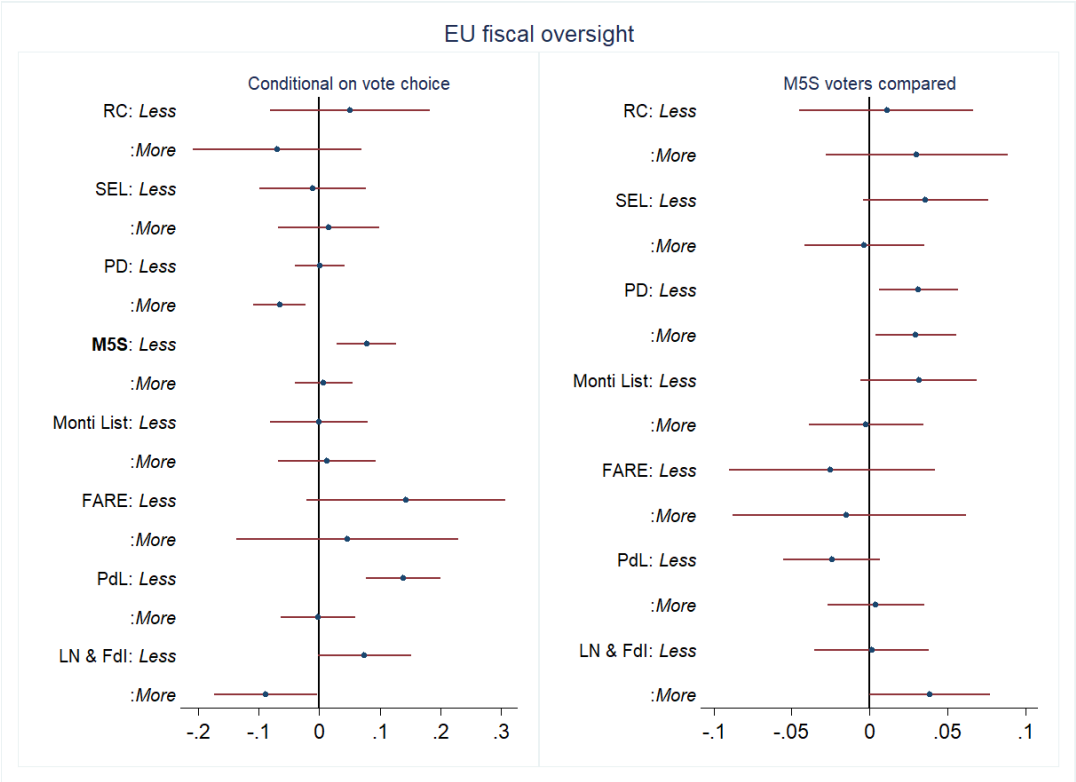
Note: Parties' names and acronyms are listed in Table A1 of the online appendix.

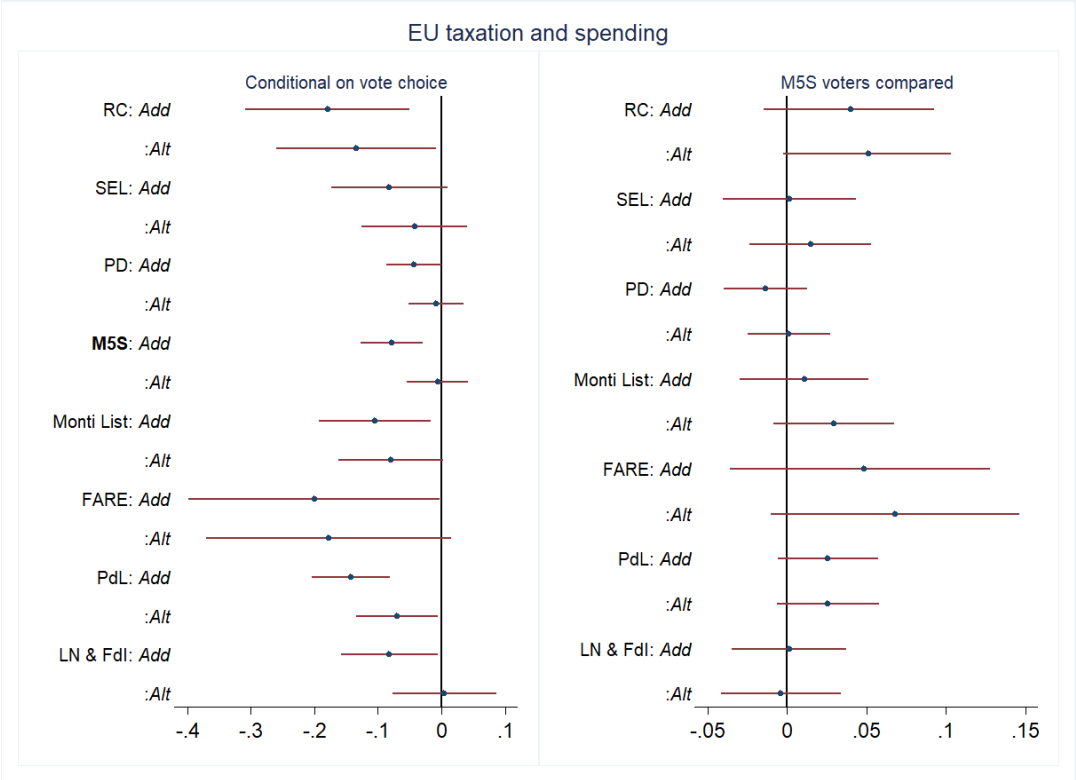
Comment: The European Central Bank inflation target of 2 per cent is mostly seen as equivalent to the current situation, but a higher cost of living is punished, the more severely the higher the inflation, regardless of party choice.[1] M5S voters do not differ from those of other parties (see right panel).

[1] Only the voters of three small parties (RC, SEL and FARE) prove to be insensitive to a drastic increase in price level. Again, a small sample size could explain this. On the other hand, voters of LN and FdI display a unique intolerance even to a 2 per cent inflation rate.


National taxation and spending
Conditional on vote choice
RC: Less
:More
SEL: Less
:More
PD: Less
:More
M5S: Less
:More
Monti List: Less
:More
FARE: Less
:More
PdL: Less
:More
LN & FdI: Less
:More
-.2
-.1
0
.1
.2
M5S voters compared
RC: Less
:More
SEL: Less
:More
PD: Less
:More
Monti List: Less
:More
FARE: Less
:More
PdL: Less
:More
LN & FdI: Less
:More
-.1
-.05
0
.05
.1


Ditching the euro
Conditional on vote choice
RC
SEL
PD
M5S
Monti List
FARE
PdL
LN & FdI
-.4
-.3
-.2
-.1
0
.1
M5S voters compared
RC
SEL
PD
Monti List
FARE
PdL
LN & FdI
-.05
0
.05
.1
.15

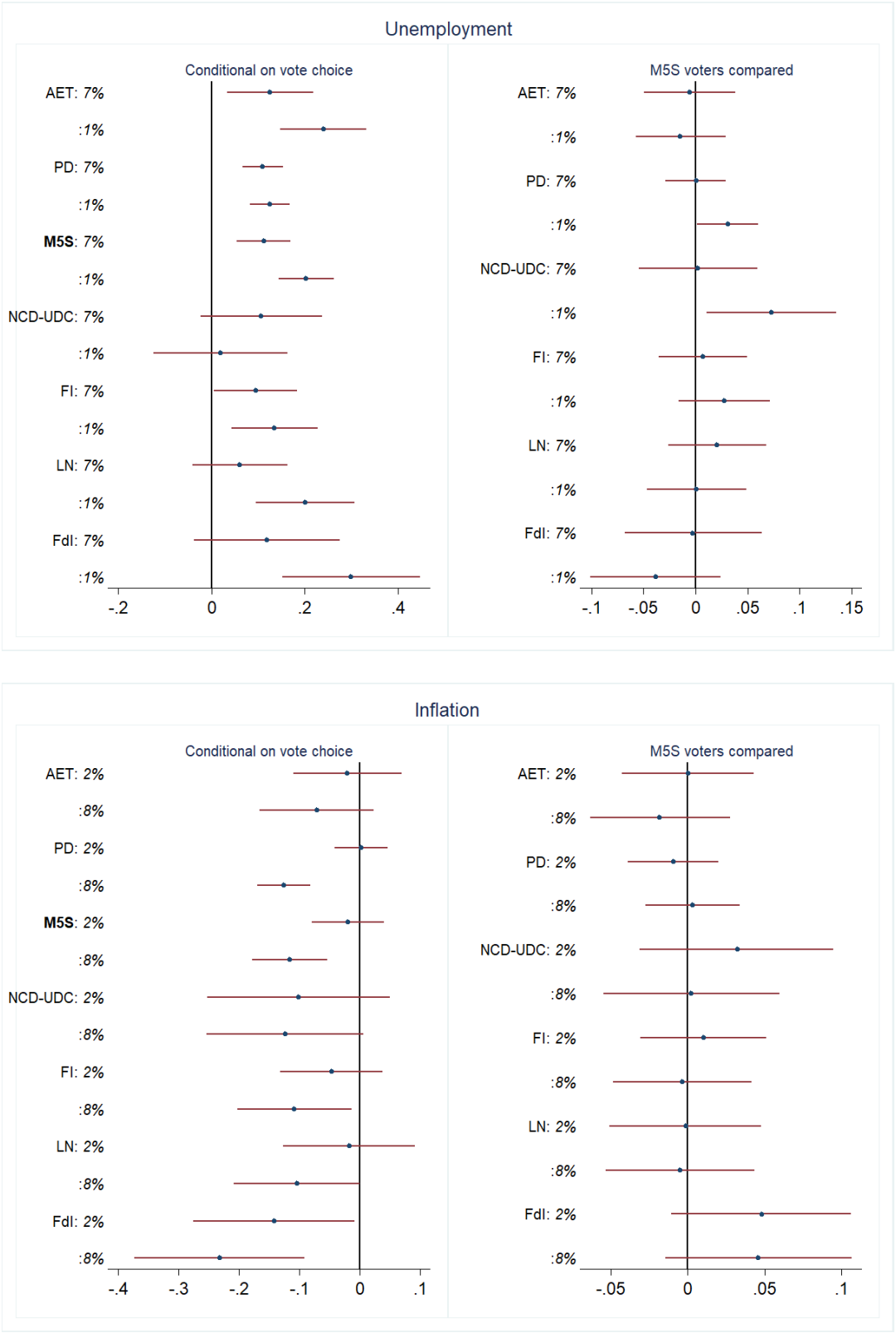


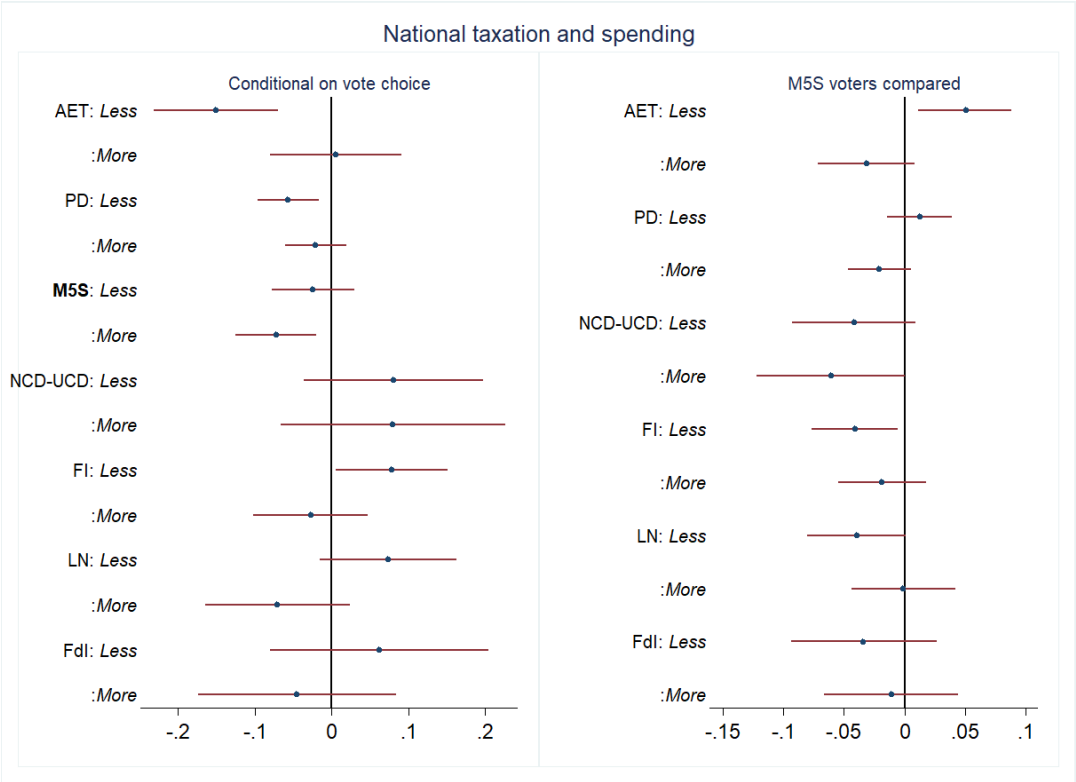


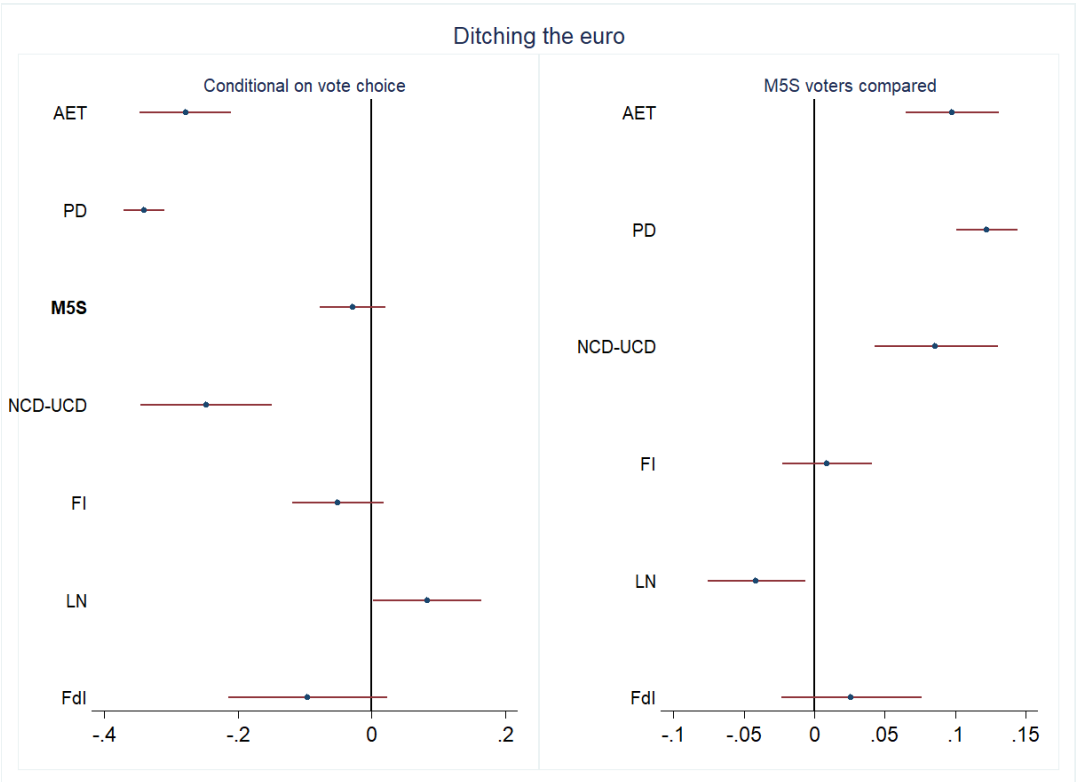
Note: Parties' names and acronyms are listed in Table A1 of the online appendix.

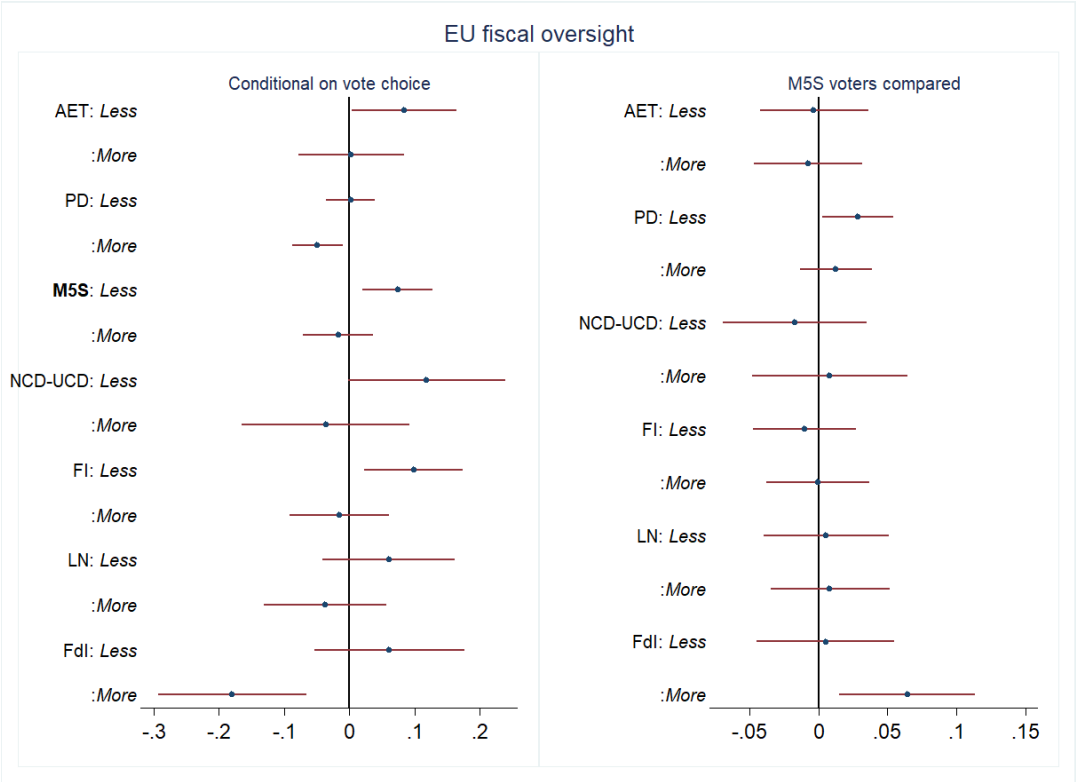
Comment: Expansion of EU taxation and spending is opposed across the board and M5S supporters do not differ from other voters.

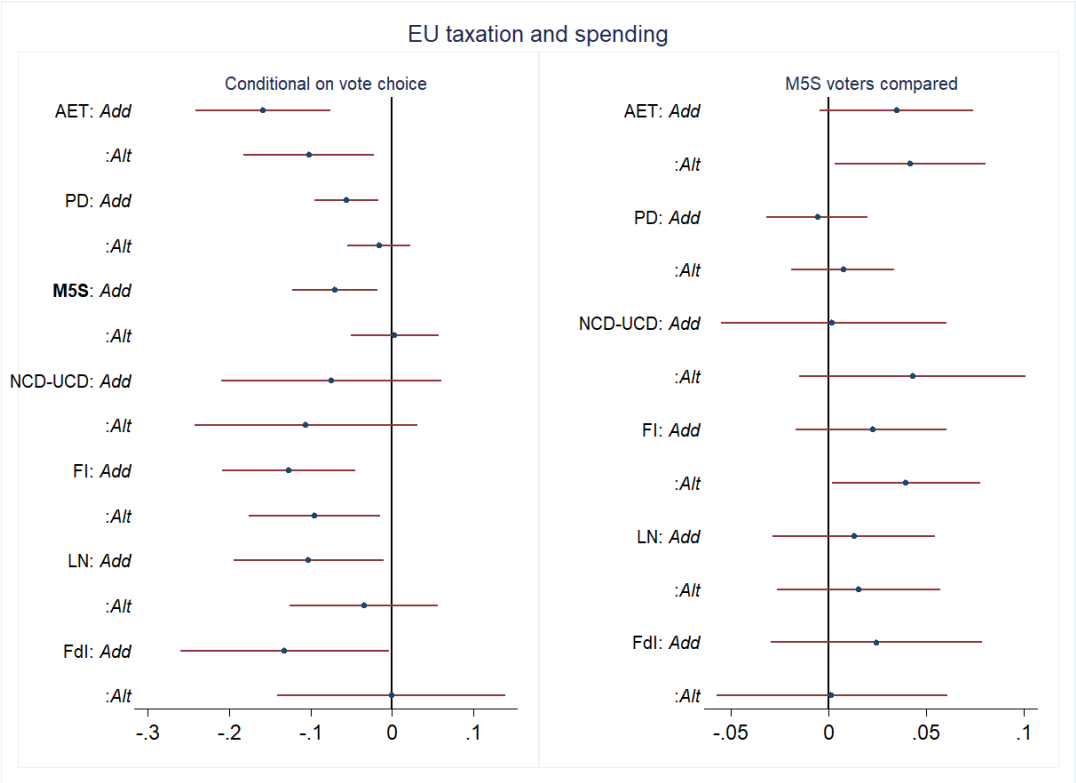
Figure A5: Marginal effects of programme attributes, conditional on 2014 vote choice, and compared to M5S voters




National taxation and spending
Conditional on vote choice
AET: Less
:More
PD: Less
:More
M5S: Less
:More
NCD-UCD: Less
:More
FI: Less
:More
LN: Less
:More
FdI: Less
:More
-.2
-.1
0
.1
.2
M5S voters compared
AET: Less
:More
PD: Less
:More
NCD-UCD: Less
:More
FI: Less
:More
LN: Less
:More
FdI: Less
:More
-.15
-.1
-.05
0
.05
.1


Ditching the euro
Conditional on vote choice
AET
PD
M5S
NCD-UCD
FI
LN
FdI
-.4
-.2
0
.2
M5S voters compared
AET
PD
NCD-UCD
FI
LN
FdI
-.1
-.05
0
.05
.1
.15





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