

An empirical study on the impact of populism on democracy in Latin America*

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Abstract: Populism is a ubiquitous phenomenon around the world. Academic circles have conducted a lot of qualitative discussions on whether Latin American populism is a correction or a threat to democracy. On the one hand, populism can promote the political participation of marginalized people and establish extensive political and social alliances and the promotion of solutions to key issues on the reform agenda, while neglecting the rights of minorities and undermining the interests of political institutions (such as political parties and parliaments) and non-electoral institutions (such as central banks or organizations such as the Inspectorate) Legitimacy and power. Based on data from 9 Latin American countries from 1986 to 2016, this article adopts multiple random effects models and adds civil society as a moderating variable in the model to conduct an empirical study on the relationship between populism and democracy. The results show that the populist ruling party will have a negative impact on democracy, and the populist opposition party will have a positive impact on democracy, and the impact of the latter is greater than the former. In addition, the improvement of the development level of civil society will significantly weaken the impact of the populist ruling party on democracy. It has a negative impact on democracy, but its regulating effect on populist opposition parties is weak. It can be seen that, based on different populist roles, populism has a dual impact on democracy at the same time. Accurately grasping the relationship between different populist roles and democracy will not only help to deepen the understanding of populism,

and also helps to correctly handle the problem of populism. Keywords: populism,

democracy, Latin American party system. About the author: Zhang Xinyu, postdoctoral researcher at the Center for Latin American Studies, Sun Yat-sen University, CLC

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Populism is a ubiquitous phenomenon around the world. Since Russia and the United States created the practical precedent of populism in the 19th century, this "ghost" has never disappeared from the stage of human history. There is still a debate over the concept of populism in academic circles. Over time, most scholars seem to have reached a consensus that populism is a "bad thing" compared to democracy. So whenever a populist climax comes, people will be frightened and confused, and constantly reflect, review and look for countermeasures. As The democratization process in Latin American countries has been ups and downs, and populism in Latin America has also risen and fallen several times. At the beginning of the 21st century, almost all left-wing or center-left leaders and their parties that came to power in Latin America were named "populism." When some Latin American left-wing When a country experiences a political and economic recession, people's understanding of populism as a "bad thing" seems to be confirmed again. So, is populism really the "culprit" that leads to the regression of democracy in Latin America? In fact, academic circles on the impact of populism on democracy The evaluation of populism is not monolithic. Especially regarding populism in Latin America, academic circles have conducted extensive discussions on its possible positive and negative dual effects.

Unlike most literature that only makes a unilateral assessment of the relationship between populism and democracy, or is accustomed to providing answers through qualitative research, this article attempts to use Latin American countries as an example to conduct an empirical analysis of the impact of populism on democracy in Latin American countries. Two possible impact results (positive/negative) provide empirical evidence. Specifically, the structure of this article is as follows: The first part is the citation. The second part reviews the existing literature. After summarizing the relationship between populism and democracy, we summarize both The contributions and shortcomings of the research are included, and specific research questions are raised on this basis. The third part proposes the theoretical framework and research hypotheses of this article. The fourth part explains the measurement indicators and data of the variables involved in the quantitative research, and Carry out model setting. The fifth part presents and discusses the model results of this article and proposes future research prospects. The sixth part summarizes the research results of this article.

1 Literature review and formulation of research questions

Different from the negative connotation of the word "populism" in most countries, "democracy" has become a value and goal that has been continuously pursued in human history since the city-state of Athens in ancient Greece initiated the Western democratic system. In the 19th century Since the 1970s, in different historical periods and in different political and cultural atmospheres, populism has appeared bit by bit or blossomed everywhere. Populism has emerged at any time.

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In every era, the occurrence and spread of populism in any region has its profound economic, political and cultural roots, and must follow the historical path of occurrence and development. Populism arises in the democratization process of various countries, and at the same time it is closely related to the connotation and realization of democracy. Different forms can have a positive or negative impact on democratic politics. Generally speaking, academic circles have mainly discussed the relationship between populism and democracy from the following aspects.

(1) Populism arises from democratic practice. In the opinion

of most scholars, populism does not arise out of thin air. It arises in the process of democratization, especially in the process of democratic transformation and democratic consolidation. Academic circles generally believe that populism emerges in the process of democratic transformation. The crises and dilemmas of populism are one of the political conditions that create populism. In the process of transformation, various ideas collide with each other, various social forces are reconstructed, and people's identity and political consensus are adjusted. Various issues related to democratic transformation are Populism emerged due to the problem of insufficient adjustment. 1. Economic crisis and social crisis are usually important reasons for inducing democratic transformation, and democratic transformation will inevitably cause drastic changes in the economic and social structure. 2. Therefore, many scholars have discussed the relationship between economic crisis and A large number of empirical studies have been carried out on the relationship between the rise of populism, including the impact of the economic crisis on the election of populist parties, the relationship between the economic crisis and the rise of left-wing populism in Latin America, the relationship between economic conditions and the stability of democratic systems, etc. In addition, the concept of "transformation " It not only reflects evolution and development, but also means the birth of a new power structure. It is difficult for emerging political elites to obtain resources from the existing system, so resorting to the people outside the system becomes an inevitable choice.

Some scholars believe that the flaws in the democratic system during the process of democratic consolidation are also an important factor in the rise of populism. First of all, the limitations of representative democracy itself are constantly exposed in the process of democratization. The most important flaw is that in indirect democracy, Latin American political elites ignoring or distorting public opinion. In this process, it is difficult for ordinary people who are excluded from the political and economic system to obtain political rights in representative democracy.

Yu Keping: «Populism in the Process of Modernization», published in «Strategy and Management», Issue 1, 1997, page 94. See Lin Hong: «Populism—Concept, Theory and Evidence», Beijing: Central Compiler Publisher, 2007, Andrew Arato and Jean L Cohen, "Civil Society and Democracy: A Review of the Literature" in Vol 24 2017 Robert R Kaufman and Barbara Stallings "The Political Economy of Latin American Populism" in Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin

America ty of Chicago Press 1991 See Karen L Remmer "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s" in The American Political Science Review Review Erik Wibbers "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic Institutional and Structural Explanations" in The American Political Science Review Review Vol 93 No 3 1999 Allyson Lucinda Benton "Dissatisfied Democrats or Retrospective Voters? Economic Hardships Political Institutions and Voting Behavior in Latin America" in Comparative Political Studies Queirolo The Successes of the Left in Latin America: A Review 2013

Zuo Yinian: «Comparative Analysis of Populism and Democracy», published in «Academic Forum», 2015 Issue 10, page 38

Representativeness. In this context, populism emerged as the times require. It advocates the establishment of direct, non-institutionalized connections between politicians and the people, with the latter providing direct, non-institutionalized support to the former. Secondly, in electoral politics At the level of populism, populism is one of the easiest strategies for political elites to gain votes, and voters can easily lose their rationality under the misleading of electoral supremacy, which leads to the degeneration of populism. Finally, at the level of party politics, along with the interests of political parties Integration is becoming increasingly difficult and has little effect. The representative function of political parties has been weakened. The shrinkage of the representative function of political parties has prompted members of society to turn to populist alternative models. Therefore, some scholars have pointed out that the current democratic development in Western countries is increasingly Has populist characteristics

(2) The connection and distinction between populism and

democracy. If the practice of democracy provides a realistic opportunity for the rise of populism, then the connotation of democracy provides theoretical material for populism. Different scholars start from different angles, such as politics The concept of populism has been defined in terms of styles, political strategies, speech styles, ideologies, political movements, representation methods, political systems, etc. However, no matter what angle it is from, academic circles generally agree that "people" and "populism" or "mass" and "elite" are the two core elements that are opposed to each other in the concept of populism. Populism's dichotomy logic of "worshipping the people" and "opposing elites" directly benefits from the idea of "people's sovereignty" or "people's supremacy" in the concept of democracy. It is precisely because the two share "people's sovereignty" With many concepts such as "equal political rights" and "broad political participation", populism has the legitimacy of rule. In the context of populism, the people are pure, and politics should be the expression of the people's general will. Some scholars It is believed that it is this narrow, extreme and blind concept of "people first" that sows the dangerous seeds of populism.

Chunya: "The crisis of political party representation and the rise of populism in Western countries", published in "Political Science Research", Issue 1, 2020, 2017, p 44 Gao

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See also Kurt Weyland's "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics" and Carlos de la Torre's "Populist Seduction in Latin America" Cas Mude and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser's "Exclusionary vs Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America" in Government and Opposition Vol 48 No 2 2013 Cas Mudde's "The "Populist Zeitgeist" tion" Vol 39 No 4 2004 p 543 Zuo Yinqian: «Populism and Democracy Comparative Analysis», Published in "Academic Forum", Issue 10, 2015, Page 38.

Although populism and democracy are conceptually related to a certain extent, academic circles generally believe that there are major differences between the two in terms of basic characteristics, goals, and forms of implementation. First of all, democracy is based on freedom, equality, and human rights. Although populism has clear and independent political philosophy and values, it has the characteristics of "hollowing". Its value pursuit is vague and changeable, and can be combined with a variety of ideologies and political systems. Secondly, some scholars have pointed out that although Populism has the characteristics of opposing elites and safeguarding "the people", but its essence is still a kind of elitism, and its goal is to obtain and maintain political power. Finally, the forms of democracy can be divided into direct democracy and indirect democracy, and populism A direct, quasi-personal relationship is established between leaders and followers, and they seek to govern the country in a direct democratic manner. (3) The impact

of populism on democratic politics focuses on the populist phenomenon in different historical periods and regions. People have different views on the impact of populism on democracy. For example, Lipset criticized populism from a class perspective and combined with a comparative analysis of European nationalism and fascism. But in the practice of Latin American populism There are populists abusing the "people's will" and destroying the traditional constitutional order, and there is also tolerance for excluded groups in society. As Latin American political scholar de la Torre said, Latin American populism is a challenge to democratic systems. The amendments have included the poor and non-white people who suffered social unfair treatment and daily humiliation into the democratic political process. In this regard, Casmuder and Cristóbal Rovira Courtwasser pointed out that populism already exists Amendments to democracy also pose threats to democracy. 5

From a positive perspective, populism is not only an important driving force for the emergence of democratic systems, but also a barometer for evaluating democratic systems. 6 In the process of modern political development, populism is not only They are supervisors and critics of the democratic system, and they are also the vanguard of promoting democratic reform. From the perspective of people's needs, populism is the anxiety and anxiety of the middle and lower class people about economic insecurity and deprivation, as we

See [English] Paul Taggart, translated by Yuan Mingxu: "Populism", Changchun: Jilin Publishing House, 2005, Shi Zhiqin, Liu Lida: "The Spread of Populism and the Future of Europe", published in "Red Flag Digest", 2017 Issue 8y Carlos de la Torre Popular Seduction in Latin America 2010

See [English] Paul Taggart, translated by Yuan Mingxu: "Populism", Changchun: Jilin Publishing House, 2005, Shi Zhiqin, Liu Lida: "The Spread of Populism and the Future of Europe", published in "Red Flag Digest", 2017 Issue 8y Carlos de la Torre Popular Seduction in Latin America 2010

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Zuo Yinqian: «Comparative Analysis of Populism and Democracy», published in «Academic Forum», Issue 10, 2015, Page 38.

It is also a controversial concept in science. These disputes not only involve the defining characteristics of "democracy", but also involve various "democratic regime models" and "adjective democracy". This article will not explore these disputes in depth. This article mainly focuses on how to put the concepts of democracy at the empirical level and the normative level in the same empirical analysis framework. The concept of democracy constructed by Robert Dahl better solves the above problems. Dahl clearly distinguishes between the ideal type of democracy and the lower level (polyarchy), and proposes the political system needed by a democratic country (the core defining characteristics of democracy), which creates conditions for us to conduct empirical and comparative research. According to Dahl's discussion, the political system needed by a democratic country includes: elected officials, free, fair and regular elections, freedom of expression, multiple sources of information, autonomy of associations, and inclusive citizenship. In addition, Dahl discussed in his classic book "Polyarchy" that it highlights two important attributes in the definition of democracy: competitiveness and inclusiveness. From this perspective, populism not only threatens competitive democracy, but also corrects inclusive democracy. This kind of exchanging competitiveness for inclusiveness populist democracy, in the economic and social

This is especially true in Latin American societies with high levels of repulsion.

(2) The dual impact of populism on democracy. When

populism is seen as having a corrective effect on democracy, people usually point to the fact that populists bring marginalized people into the democratic political process. In other words, populism can mobilize marginalized people or under-represented social classes (such as the "lower class"), to improve their political participation and political integration. For this reason, some scholars believe that Latin American populism has inclusive characteristics, while European populism has exclusive characteristics. Social exclusion is the result of the modernization transformation process in Latin America. The long-standing phenomena of inequality and passive citizenship in Latin America evolved from social exclusion. In the definition of populism, this article points out one of its most distinctive characteristics. The first is anti-establishment demands. This kind of demands reflects the wishes of groups that have been alienated and ignored in the existing community life. For example, the Chávez government created participatory and dominant democracy, realizing the reunification of previously excluded groups. Politicization

Another aspect of populism's positive impact on democracy is that it can contribute to the establishment of a broad political and

Written by Robert Dahl, translated by Li Baiguang and Lin Meng: "On Democracy", Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1999, page 30, Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser "Exclusionary vs Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America" in Government and Opposition, Vol 48, No 2, 2013. Dani Filc Political Ideologies, Vol 20, No 3, 2015 Carlos de la Torre and Fan Lei: «Populism in Latin America: Democracy or Authoritarianism?», Published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 2, 2014, Page 70.

After Fujimori dissolved parliament and suspended the judiciary in 1992, he still had more than 80% public support, helping him promulgate a new constitution.

The above section provides a theoretical analysis of the positive and negative impacts of populism on democracy. Most of the literature that emphasizes the negative impact of populism on democracy in Latin America focuses on populist presidents.

Political leaders who rely on charisma style are Latin American. The uniqueness of populist practice. However, we cannot ignore those populist candidates who did not ultimately gain political power. Based on this, we put forward two hypotheses: When populists are the ruling party, that is, their party is the ruling party. When populism is the opposition party, populism will have a positive impact on democracy (hypothesis 2). This is because, as the populists of the opposition party, in order to gain public support (votes), they usually increase the mobilization and inclusion of excluded groups and raise important issues to be resolved on the national reform and development agenda, thereby promoting the development of democracy. However, once populists become the ones in power, in order to win over power to a greater extent, they usually increase the manipulation of public opinion, destroy the power checks and balances mechanism, limit the power of the minority, etc., thereby hindering the democratization process. In addition, Latin America is the first country in the world to adopt the presidential system. It is the region with the most concentrated political system, and generally has the tradition of

"super presidential system".³ With the advancement of democratization in Latin America, although the power of the president has been restricted, the old behavioral patterns and thinking habits have been retained, making the presidential authority. It has become the desire pursued by populists. Once a populist is elected president, he will ignore the checks and balances of the current constitution and the rule of law and try to restore the past individual-centered governance style. For example, Latin American populists such as Teng Sen, Chavez, and Morales. After ascending to the presidency, the populist party has repeatedly used its power and resources to amend the constitution and seek re-election. Therefore, we can put forward another hypothesis: the populist ruling party has a greater impact on democracy than the populist opposition party (hypothesis 3). (Hypothesis 3).³ The moderating role of civil society. The above section discussed

the different impacts that different populist

roles may have on democracy. However,

Between the positive and negative effects of populism on democracy, are there variables that regulate the strength of this influence?

It can be noted that in the face of crises that arise in the process of democratic transition or democratic consolidation,

³ Jorge A. Castañeda "Latin America's Left Turn" in *Foreign Affairs* Vol 85 No 3 2006; Francisco Rodríguez "An Empty Revolution: The Unfulfilled Promises of Hugo Chavez" in *Foreign Affairs* Vol 87 No 2 2008; Robert Nyenhuis "Populism in South America: Democratic Panacea or Pitfall" in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* Vol 78 No 3. 2019; Lin Hong: "On Latin American Populism in the Process of Modernization",

³ published in "Academic Forum", Issue 1, 2007, Page 54. Latin America has 19 countries in the region

³ that implement presidential systems, and one country (Peru) implements semi-presidential systems.

and problems. Not every country will have populist sprouts, and not every populist sprout will grow into a massive political movement. From the perspective of political sociology, the solution to these problems depends on the self-healing and autonomy of society itself. Degree, that is, whether it has a sound social system, mature citizen organizations and active citizen awareness. Civil society is an important criterion for measuring the self-healing function of society and the degree of social autonomy. The current academic understanding of the concept of civil society mainly comes from The contributions of two scholars: Italian Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci and French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville e) The former tells us that civil society is a field full of resistance, and organized actors will challenge state power. and other social forces. The latter told us that civil society is the premise and foundation of democratic politics. Then, Jürgen Habermas (Jürgen Habermas) took this concept a big step forward and believed that civil society is independent of the state and the private sphere. The public sphere. The model of civil society has changed over time, but its unchanging principles include plurality, openness, privacy and legitimacy. Populists usually try to establish direct contact with the people and claim that they It is the only legitimate voice representing the "real people", which runs counter to the principles of civil society. ÿ A mature civil society can become an intermediary mechanism for democratic politics, thereby containing populism in the bud, or effectively eliminating the negative impact of populism. ÿ In addition, the degree of development of civil society also restricts the level and scope of political party activities. A developed civil society can provide a broader space for political party activities.

Based on the above considerations, this article hopes to examine the changes in the influence of populism on democracy in different civil society environments. As shown in Figure 1, the level of civil society development plays a moderating role in the relationship between populism and democracy. Populist governance In a high-level civil society environment, the party will face more diverse political participation, more stringent political accountability, and more transparent political supervision, and its negative impact on democracy should also be relatively weak. Therefore, our hypothesis It can be determined that: the higher the level of civil society development, the smaller the negative impact of populist ruling parties on democracy (Hypothesis 4). In addition, in a high-level civil society environment, populist parties as opposition parties will also have broader and open political space, can use open and transparent electoral tools to express the voices of the classes they represent more smoothly, so the positive impact on democracy should also be relatively strong. Based on this, our hypothesis can be determined as: the development of civil society The higher the level, the greater the positive impact of populist opposition parties on democracy (Hypothesis 5). Table 1 summarizes the expected impact of populist ruling parties and populist opposition parties on democracy in different civil society environments.

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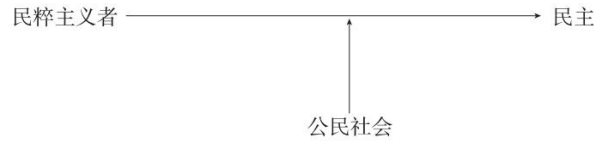


Figure 1 The moderating effect of civil society on the relationship between populism and democracy

Source: Drawn by the author

Table 1 The expected impact of different populist roles on democracy

political party	civil society	
	high level	low level
populist ruling party	weak negative impact	strong negative impact
populist opposition party	strong positive impact	weak positive impact

Source: Drawn by the author

Finally, in order to avoid some factors from interfering with the statistical results, this article introduces corresponding control variables into the model based on the verified hypotheses, including the gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate, the degree of equality of income distribution and the level of political party institutionalization in the sample countries. Among them, in the view of most modernization theory scholars, economic growth and income distribution equality are positively correlated with democratic development. In addition, political parties play a core role in the operation of modern democratic politics. Political parties, as the state and the The bond of social connection and the buffer zone between the contradiction between the state and society not only perform various representative functions, but also perform various procedural or institutional functions. Therefore, this article takes the level of political party institutionalization as another control that may affect the development of democracy. variable

3. Data description, model settings and results

(1) Data Description

In order to conduct an empirical analysis of the relationship between populism and democracy, this article selects data from 9 Latin American countries from 1986 to 2016: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. Sample The analysis period begins in 1986 and covers the two latest populist waves that have emerged in Latin America so far. From the perspective of ideological distinction, these two waves include both right-wing populism and left-wing populism. In addition, the samples of this article not yet

(2) Model setting

Taking into account the differences between countries, this article will use multiple random effects models to examine populist democracy.

The relationship between justice and democracy. Formula 1 considers the impact of the populist ruling party and the populist opposition party on the people.

The basic model of the main influence. Secondly, we will expand the basic model and introduce the adjusting variable

Civil society i \bar{y} Formula 2 takes into account the relationship between the populist ruling party and civil society i based on Formula 1.

interaction, Formula 3 takes into account the interaction between the populist opposition party and civil society i based on Formula 1.

Interaction \bar{y}

$$\text{Democratization } i = \bar{y}_0 + \bar{y}_1 P \text{ Ruling party } i + \bar{y}_2 P \text{ Opposition party } i + \bar{y}_3 \bar{y}_i + \bar{y}_i + \bar{y}_i$$

(Official 1)

$$\text{Democracy } i = \bar{y}_0 + \bar{y}_1 P \text{ Ruling party } i + \bar{y}_2 P \text{ Opposition party } i + \bar{y}_3 \bar{y}_i + \bar{y}_4 \bar{y}_i \text{ Civil society } i$$

\bar{y} \bar{y}_i (\bar{y} ruling party \bar{y}_i civil society \bar{y}_i) \bar{y} \bar{y}_i \bar{y}_i (Formula 2)

$$\text{Democracy } i = \bar{y}_0 + \bar{y}_1 P \text{ Ruling party } i + \bar{y}_2 P \text{ Opposition party } i + \bar{y}_3 \bar{y}_i + \bar{y}_4 \bar{y}_i \text{ Civil society } i$$

\bar{y} \bar{y}_i (\bar{y} Opposition party \bar{y}_i Civil society \bar{y}_i) \bar{y} \bar{y}_i \bar{y}_i (Formula 3)

Among them \bar{y}_i represents the country. The dependent variable democratization i represents the country. \bar{y}_i degree of liberal democratization \bar{y}

Ruling party i and P, opposition party i represent dummy variables for the populist ruling party and the populist opposition party respectively.

Civil society i represents the national \bar{y}_i . The degree of civil society development of the country. \bar{y}_i represents the control that will affect the degree of democratic development system variable. In the model setting of this article, it includes the level of economic development, the degree of inequality in income distribution and political

The level of party institutionalization \bar{y}_i and \bar{y}_i respectively represent the \bar{y}_i . Relevant unobservable factors and random items.

model results of the country (3)

Table 3 presents the overall model results of the impact of populism on democracy. Column (1) is the model without adding any

The regression results of the impact of different populists on democracy under the condition of any moderating variables and control variables.

Column (2) to column (4) show the regression results of the impact of populism on democracy after adding control variables one by one.

As a result, we can see that the populist ruling party achieved statistical significance in the model, and

The coefficient is negative. This result is consistent with Hypothesis 1. Supporting populist ruling parties will have a negative impact on democracy.

expectations of negative impact. At the same time, the populist opposition parties also obtained statistical gains in the model.

importance, and the coefficient is positive. Such results support our second hypothesis, that is, populism has

Opposition parties will have a positive impact on democracy. In addition, we can find that as the control variable completeness

With the increase of \bar{y}_i , the significant impact of different populists on the democratic variables has not disappeared. However, when we

When we examine the influence of populism, we can see the influence of the populist ruling party (estimated

The influence of the populist opposition party (estimated at - 0.051) is smaller than the influence of the populist opposition party (estimated at 0.082). In other words,

Populist opposition parties have a greater impact on democracy than populist ruling parties. Such empirical evidence does not support

The null hypothesis of Hypothesis 3 can be rejected.

Table 3 Overall model results of the impact of populism on democracy

variable	democratization						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
populist ruling party	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
populist opposition party	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
GDP growth rate		0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Unequal income distribution			0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
			(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
institutionalization of political parties				0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
				(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
civil society					0.06	0.06	0.06
					(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Populist ruling party*Citizen society						-0.04	-0.04
						(0.01)	(0.01)
Populist Opposition Party*Citizen society							0.03
							(0.01)
constant	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)
Number of samples	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
\bar{y}	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Adjust R ²	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

Note: The table shows unstandardized coefficients, and the brackets show the robustness standard errors. $\bar{p} < 0$ $\bar{p}\bar{p}\bar{p} < 0$ 05 $\bar{p}\bar{p}\bar{p}\bar{p} < 0$ 01
 Source: Calculated and drawn by the author.

In columns (5) to (7), we added the civil society variable. As you can see, adding

After adding civil society variables, populist ruling parties still maintain a significant negative correlation with democracy, but populist

The significant positive correlation between opposition parties and democracy has disappeared. In addition, in column (6), we added the democratic

After the intersection of the populist ruling party and civil society, the coefficients of the populist ruling party and its intersection

There is a positive correlation at the 5% significance level. In other words, the populist ruling party has negative effects on democracy.

has an extreme impact, and this impact will be moderated by the level of civil society. Based on these findings, we

The null hypothesis of Hypothesis 4 can be rejected, that is, the improvement of the level of civil society will weaken the populist ruling party.

Negative impact on democracy. But in column (7), populist opposition parties and their interaction terms with civil society are not statistically significant. However, only when the confidence interval of the plotted effect overlaps the zero line, we Only then can a final assessment be made. From Figure 3 we can see that as the level of civil society increases, the significance of the positive impact of populist opposition parties on democracy gradually weakens. But when civil society develops to a certain level, populist The significance of the positive impact of populist opposition parties on democracy will increase again. Based on this, we can infer that populist opposition parties have a positive impact on democracy, and this impact will also be moderated by the level of civil society. But this This regulatory effect is limited or variable.

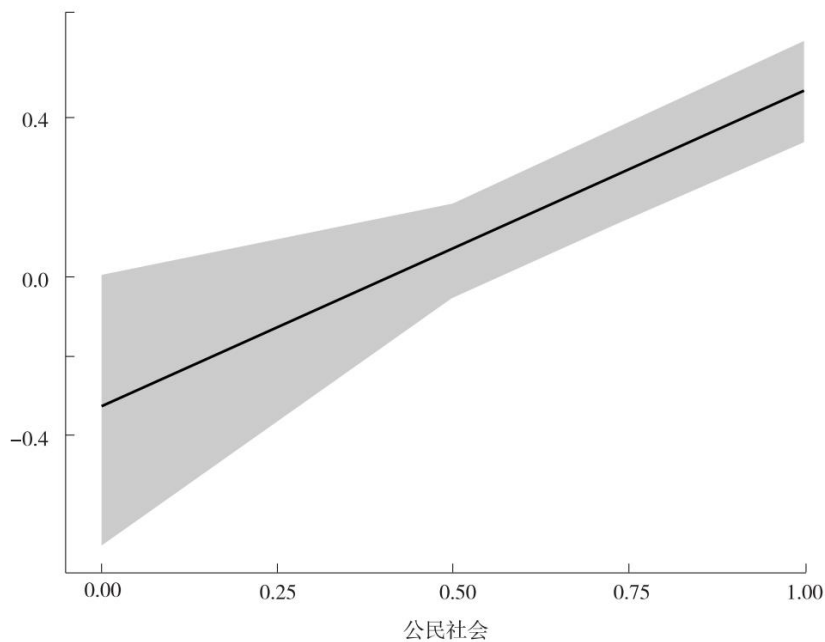


Figure 3 Marginal effect of populist opposition parties on democracy (95% confidence interval)

Source: Drawn by the author

Finally, the control variable GDP growth rate in this article has a significant level in the model, indicating that the higher the degree of economic development, the more conducive to the development of democracy. Secondly, the level of political party institutionalization also has a significant positive relationship with democracy in the model. Correlation. In addition, in the model of this article, there is no significant correlation between the degree of economic inequality and the level of democratization.

Discussion of results of four models

Next, this article will discuss the results of the empirical analysis of the impact of populism on democracy and propose future research prospects. First of all, the research results of this article show that populism is not necessarily the “culprit” that leads to the regression of the democratization process in Latin America. The emergence of populism, its rise in elections and its national governance are completely different processes. Each process has a corresponding explanation and its impact on democracy is also different. This article finds that populist ruling parties have a negative impact on democracy. Populist opposition parties have a positive impact on democracy, and the latter has a greater impact than the former. Take Venezuela as an example. In the 1990s, with the decrease in oil revenue, the shortcomings and corruption in the Venezuelan political system were gradually exposed. In 1992 On February 4, 2014, the populist Chávez launched a military coup to overthrow the current president. However, the coup ultimately failed, and Chávez himself was arrested and imprisoned. After his release from prison, Chávez founded the "Sec. Movement of Five Republics" party, and in 1998 as a candidate of the "Patriotic Center" campaign alliance, he was elected president with 56.2% of the vote. Some scholars pointed out that the rise of the populist movement led by Chavez in Venezuela means that The disintegration of the country's old party system. ÿ Chavez proposed a relatively mild reform plan when he came to power. However, during his governance, Chavez encountered a series of difficulties and challenges, especially the military coup that occurred in April 2002. Its political stance has become more radical and populist. The "one-sided and passive political participation", "ultra-welfare" social distribution and narrow economic policies under the influence of "Chavezism" have led to Venezuela's political division and social differentiation. and economic collapse.

Compared with populist ruling parties that have a prominent impact on national governance, populists as opposition parties have received less attention from scholars. In the empirical research results of this article, populist opposition parties have a positive impact on democracy. For example, In the process of democratization in Bolivia, there is no shortage of politicians with national populism, including the presidential candidate Carlos Palenque of the Conscience Party of the Fatherland, and the founder and presidential candidate of the Civic Unity Alliance Rojas. (Max Fernández Rojas) and the party's 2002 presidential candidate Johnny Fernandez (Johnny Fernández), etc. ÿBefore Morales ascended to the presidency of Bolivia, these populists who failed to come to power did not attract people's attention. But they are safeguarding the rights of indigenous residents and the rights of marginalized people.

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He has made many contributions to the interests of others. A similar example is Ollanta Humala of Peru. Before he participated in the 2006 presidential election, he mobilized to a large extent the policies that former President Teng Sen ignored in the 1990s, and excluded poor groups, promising to give them voice and political influence. It can be seen that populists who have not yet come to power are actively promoting the development of democracy in Latin American countries. In addition, this article mainly distinguishes whether populists are in power or not. The impact of populists with different roles on democracy was examined. Future research can also distinguish populists according to different ideologies, and examine the different impacts of left-wing populists and right-wing populists on democracy and the comparison of their impact intensity.

Secondly, the empirical findings regarding the influence of populism on democracy are contrary to our expectations. We expect that in Latin American countries where presidential systems are prevalent, populist rulers will have a greater influence on democracy than populist opposition parties. However, the empirical results are just the opposite. One possible explanation is that populist rulers do not always threaten the functioning of democracy. They may also have a corrective effect on democracy, ultimately achieving a balance of effects on democracy. An article about Bolivia and Empirical research on populism in Ecuador shows that the election of Morales and Correa and their early performance in power did indeed improve the satisfaction of the people of the two countries with their national systems. This is because before the populists took office, these two Each country has encountered a serious "crisis of democratic representation." During the tenures of Morales and Correa, major changes have occurred in the constitutions and political systems of both countries. However, as time goes by, populism in both countries has The positive impact of populist politicians on democracy has tended to be flat or even declining. In this regard, future research can deeply explore the different impacts that populist rulers may have on democracy at different stages and the strength of this influence.

Changes.

The empirical research results of this article also show that the level of civil society plays a moderating role in the relationship between populism and democracy. Among them, as the level of civil society increases, the negative impact of the populist ruling party on democracy will be significantly weakened. However, the regulating effect of civil society on the relationship between populist opposition parties and democracy is relatively limited. First of all, from the roots of the rise of populism, we can understand why civil society has a regulating effect on the former. Because populism is ultimately a part of democratic politics. Populization stems from the endogenous problems of mass democratic politics. Therefore, from the perspective of the people, on the one hand, the people's demands for democratic politics lead to the emergence of populism; on the other hand, the people's own cooperation, independence and autonomy Determines the degree of influence of populism. It is precisely because the development levels of civil society in the United States and Latin American countries are different. The populism of the former is moderate and compromised, while the populism of the latter is radical.

Journal of Economics and Sociology Vol 78 N o 3 2019 p 732 Tan Daoming: "The

main differences and left-right divide between American and Latin American populism", published in "Latin American Studies", 2020 No. 2
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Progressive and confrontational. In addition, we can take Latin American populism and European populism as examples to illustrate the limited role of civil society in regulating populist opposition parties. Compared with Latin America, European populism has come to power or has become a political party. The situation of mainstream political parties is less. Although the development of civil society in European countries is higher than that in Latin American countries, the degree of damage to the political ecology of European populist opposition parties and the tearing of society is also quite high. Future research can be based on The empirical analysis framework of this article analyzes the impact of populism on

democracy in other regions. In addition, as one of the positive effects of populism, Latin American populists are an important way to bring excluded or underrepresented social classes into the political arena. It is to build citizen organizations. However, academic circles have always been controversial about the definition of citizen organizations related to Latin American populists and their role in civil society. Some scholars believe that citizen organizations led by populists can help cultivate the civic consciousness of the grassroots people. , conducive to the development of participatory democracy. Other scholars believe that such citizen organizations themselves are dependent and narrow, and are not conducive to the development of pluralistic democracy. In 2004, scholars such as Kirk Hawkins conducted a study on Venezuelan spontaneous A sample survey was conducted on the citizen organization formed to support Chavez. The survey results showed that on the one hand, members of the organization have high democratic values. They adhere to Chavez's ideas and the principles of democratic organizations and go deep into the community, which indeed promotes grassroots Political participation. On the other hand, the organization lacks independence (this is one of the most important principles of civil society), so they cannot provide a lasting and positive contribution to the development of Venezuelan democracy. Similar citizen organizations (spontaneous or driven by populism) leaders) also exist in Latin American countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the degree of democratic development in Latin American countries is uneven, and the level of democratization in some countries has not improved over time. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) conducted a survey on Latin America between 2009 and 2012. The democratic quality of the country was evaluated. According to the evaluation results (see Table 4), Uruguay, Chile and Costa Rica have the highest comprehensive index of democratic quality. Brazil and Argentina ranked first in electoral accountability and inter-agency accountability respectively. The comprehensive index ranking The three countries at the bottom, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela, all perform poorly in the rule of law, electoral accountability, and political competition. If we assume that there are two models of democracy—liberal democracy and democratic

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populist democracies, which are characterized by high levels of political participation and low levels of inter-institutional accountability and political competition. Just as some scholars believe that populism is the alienation of democracy, and there is a way to identify the path of alienation. The political spectrum of populism and democracy is "indirect democracy—direct democracy—populism." "righteousness", from left to right, the color of elitism gradually decreases, and the degree of radical democracy gradually increases. However, by looking at this data, we can see that there does not seem to be a fixed pattern of populist democracy. For example, in Argentina, a typical populist country, inter-institutional accountability, political competition, and political participation levels are all lower. is relatively high, while Ecuador, another populist country, has low inter-institutional accountability and high political participation. But at the same time, political competition is also quite fierce. This also shows that despite the existence of high-quality or low-quality democracy, but there is no absolute standard for measuring democratic models.

Table 4 Democratic Quality Index of Latin American Countries (2009-2012)

nation	Rule of law election	interagency accountability	interagency Accountability	politics participate	politics compete	free	unity and equality	response system	comprehensiveness index
Uruguay	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Chile	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Costa Rica 3 63		̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Brazil	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Argentina	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Peru	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
El Salvador	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Paraguay	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Mexico	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Bolivia	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Guatemala	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Colombia	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Ecuador	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Nicaragua	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ
Venezuela	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ	̄ ȳ

Source: Leonardo Morfino et al

Five conclusion

This article first starts from the single category of political science, defines the concept of populism in Latin America, and introduces the corresponding concept of democracy. Populism has a two-sided impact on democracy. On the one hand, populism can promote the politics of marginalized people. participation, building broad political and social coalitions, and promoting solutions to key issues on the reform agenda, while neglecting the rights of minorities and undermining political institutions (such as political parties and parliaments) and non-elected institutions (such as central banks or regulators) organizations such as bureaus). This article takes Latin American countries as an example to evaluate the relevant theoretical assumptions in the relationship between populism and democracy. Empirical results show that populist ruling parties have a negative impact on democracy, and populist opposition parties It has a positive impact on democracy, and the latter has a greater impact on democracy than the former. In addition, this article examines the moderating role of the level of civil society in the relationship between populism and democracy. This article finds that as the level of civil society development increases, populist governance The negative impact of the party on democracy has been significantly weakened. By strengthening the construction of civil society, it helps to weaken the negative impact of populism on the development of democracy. It can be seen that populism is not necessarily a "bad thing". The rise of populism has There are revisions to democracy, and there are also threats to democracy. Accurately grasping the relationship between different populist roles and democracy will not only help deepen the understanding of populism, but also help

correctly handle populist issues. (Wang, Editor-in-Chief handsome)