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Latin American Politics

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 It helps 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
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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. ÿ 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 leftwing 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.

¹ No snowflakeÿ "Fashion is a snowflake" a yes Emotional ÿ 0 5 1 1999 1999 1999 "6 Y snowflakeóa snowflake: A snowflake snow s smile"ÿ s s s s s (s)ÿ Yes scientists scientists: scientists and scientists scientific a scientific snowÿ snowflake: snowflake a snowflake a 2008ÿ 208ÿ [ÿ] ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ; «ÿÿÿÿ» ÿÿ: ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ 205 ÿÿ

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.ÿ

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.

ÿ Yu Keping: «Populism in the Process of Modernization», published in «Strategy and

ÿ Zuo Yinqian: «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 $\hat{y}\hat{y}$

(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 "worshiping 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.

ÿ Chunya: "The crisis of political party representation and the rise of populism in Western countries", published in "Political Science Research", Issue 1, 2020, Page 102

 $[\]ddot{y}$ and Democracy Comparative Analysis», Published in "Academic Forum", Issue 10, 2015, Page 38. \ddot{v}

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. ÿ But in the practice of Latin American populism ÿ 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. ÿ 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

ÿ 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 8ÿ Carlos de la Torreÿ Popular Seduction in Latin America 2010

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An expression of post-materialist rebellious sentiments. As a response to the masses, populists incorporate socially and politically excluded groups into the political sphere through various means and strive to restore the promise of liberal democracy. Therefore, in the view of some scholars, populists Therefore, populism is inclusive and participatory. As some scholars have pointed out, populism is anti-liberalization, but not necessarily anti-democratic. It represents the reconstruction of democratic participation and equality.ÿ

Although populism has the above positive effects on democracy, in the eyes of procedural democrats or constitutionalists, populism is a disease of democracy. It will bring the power to destroy order and violate individual rights and representative mechanisms. ÿ In addition, some scholars pointed out that populism will use "people's sovereignty" as an excuse to destroy the constitution, the legal system and many systems that restrict power. ÿ Other scholars pointed out that populists will make more irresponsible decisions after taking power. Among other things, Extreme tendencies will eventually shake the stability of liberal democracy. In

summary, there is currently a wealth of literature that explores the relationship between populism and democracy from both
a connotative and practical level, laying the foundation for comparative research on populism around the world., and help to
improve our identification of related concepts. However, there are still some shortcomings and space to be explored in the existing
literature. First, when existing studies define populism and democracy, the problem of "conceptual travel" often arises. In other
words, the more cases a concept covers, the easier it is for the concept to stretch, resulting in a vague concept with no fixed
connotation. ÿ Populism and democracy are both concepts with a lot of ambiguity. Some scholars are still trying to define populism
and democracy. When it comes to democracy, the definitional characteristics of the two in different regions and different categories
are often simply superimposed, forming two concepts with blurred boundaries. Such concepts are not only prone to confusion in
understanding, but are also detrimental to the development of empirical research. Then, Within the same empirical analysis
framework, how should we define the concepts of populism and democracy? Second, existing research does not consider the
background differences of samples from different countries or regions when examining the impact of populism on democracy. For
example, ÿ When examining the impact of populism on democracy in Western Europe, Latin America or Southeast Asia, the
differences in political, social and economic development in these regions are not taken into account. In addition, between the positive and negative impacts of populism

ÿ Lin Hong: «The Roots of the Global Reappearance of Populism: The Dual Dimensions of the People and Political Parties», published in «Contemporary World and Socialism» Issue 2, 2017, page 95.

ÿ Carlos de la Torre, Fan Lei: «Popularism in Latin America: Democracy or Authoritarianism», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 2, 2014, page

ÿ 73, Cesare Pinelli, "The P Opulist Challenge to Constitutional Democrac y " 7ÿ No 5ÿ 2011ÿ p 5 Zhang Jiliang: «On the entanglement between populism and liberal

democracy: Enemies or friends?» \ddot{y} Published in «Foreign Theoretical Trends» \ddot{y} 2018 \ddot{y} Issue 11, page 68 \ddot{y} \ddot{y}

Are there some factors that regulate this change in influence? In other words, under what circumstances will populism become a correction to democracy and no longer a threat? In order to make up for the shortcomings of existing research and answer the above research questions, This article will take Latin American countries as an example to conduct an empirical study on the relationship between populism and democracy.

2. Theoretical Framework and Research Hypotheses

In order to answer the above questions, based on a review of relevant literature at home and abroad, this article will elaborate, analyze and discuss

Theoretical framework of the impact of Latin American populism on democracy and put forward corresponding research hypotheses.

(1) The concepts of populism and democracy To

analyze populism and democracy within the same theoretical framework, we must clearly define the concepts of the two. First of all, as far as populism is concerned, the concept is extremely uncertain and Ambiguity, this is also one of the fundamental reasons why there is huge controversy in the understanding and evaluation of populism in academic circles. Populism first occurred in Russia and the United States. When the discussion extended to other regions, Giovanni Sarto emerged. The problem of "conceptual travel" and "conceptual stretching" mentioned here. Sartori believes that the essence of a concept is connotation, and connotation determines denotation. ÿ Connotation is also the decisive attribute referred to by Sartori. It is different from the accompanying attributes of concepts. The decisive attributes establish the boundaries of the concept. On this basis, Sartori proposed a classical classification method, which strictly distinguishes the decisive attributes and accompanying attributes of the concept to produce a "minimum definition". In order to distinguish political elites, political parties and Political movements are included under the label of populism, and at the same time, populist phenomena are strictly distinguished from non-populist phenomena. This article will start from the category of political science and draw on Sartori's classical classification to define populism. Based on this This article believes that populism is a political strategy for seeking or exercising government power. This power is derived from the support of a large, unorganized following through the use of antiestablishment demands and referendum-style connections. Under this definition, Populists are people who use this political strategy to gain votes, parliamentary seats, and governing positions. political partyÿ

Kottwasser pointed out that examining the dual impact of populism on democracy not only depends on the understanding of populism, but also depends on the definition of democracy. Like the definition of populism, democracy has an important role in social science.

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 The focus is 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. ÿAccording to Dahl's discussion, the political system needed by a democratic country The conditions include: 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" 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. ÿ Social exclusion It 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. Politicizationÿÿ

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

ÿ [US] Written by Robert Dahl, translated by Li Baiguang and Lin Meng: "On Democracy", Beijing: The Commercial

ÿ la Torre and Fan Lei: «Popularism in Latin America: Democracy or Authoritarianism Ism», Published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 2, 2014, Page 70.

Social alliances provide an ideological bridge. In Latin America, populism is not an ideology. Its policy propositions can be left-leaning or right-leaning. Although populists usually put forward anti-establishment demands on behalf of "the people" However, these demands are rarely defined in programmatic or ideological terms. ÿ In order to achieve their political goals, populists advocate the establishment of direct, non-institutionalized relationships between politicians and the people. This relationship embodies It is a referendum-type connection. This kind of connection can usually achieve cross-class and cross-industry grand alliances and promote the adjustment of the country's social structure and political order. The most classic example in this regard is the traditional Latin American populist Cárdenas (Lázaro) Cárdenas) established a nationalist corporatist system in Mexico. This system provides a platform for all social strata to express their interests. Cárdenas's Institutional Revolutionary Party can use this platform to express its interests.

The platform can promptly understand the needs of the people and adjust policies and measures in a timely manner to alleviate social conflicts. In addition, the corporalist system also provides a huge political support system for the Institutional Revolutionary Party, within which it can effectively coordinate the elites of various corporal departments. It appoints and controls the main interest representatives to realize the combination of authorized representatives and responsible representatives, thus consolidating the party's own ruling status.

Finally, populism can also promote the solution of key issues on the reform agenda, such as economic integration, social welfare, fiscal reform, etc. These issues are usually the concerns of the "silent majority". However, in competitive democracy, these issues Key issues are often ignored or distorted by political elites, resulting in low efficiency of national governance. In addition, ordinary people who are excluded from the political and economic system in this process find it difficult to obtain political representation in representative democracy, further deepening the lack of political representation in representative democracy.

Distrust in the operating mechanism of democracy. Take Bolivia as an example. The country has the largest proportion of Indians among Latin American countries and is rich in natural resources. However, the country's main resources and economic lifeline have long been controlled by foreign capital and its own white people. In the hands of the upper class, Bolivia's economic development is lagging, and the gap between rich and poor and inequality in the country are very serious. In 2005, the populist Evo Morales won the general election with a high vote rate of 53-74%, becoming the country's leader. The first Indian president in the history of the country. After taking office, Morales actively defended the legitimate rights and interests of Indians in the multi-ethnic country, strengthened centralization of power, and realized the

nationalization of oil, natural gas and strategic resources. However, in terms of negative effects, ÿ Populism threatens liberal democracies and suppresses the rig

This is because when populism pursues popular sovereignty as an ideal, its insistence on direct democracy and popular participation makes it linked to the tyranny of the majority. This understanding can be traced back to Tocqueville's classic about the tyranny of the majority. Discussion, that is, the tyranny caused by the abuse of power given by voters by political elites is also the tyranny of the majority. For this reason, some scholars point out that Latin American populist leaders usually turn themselves into the embodiment of the "people's will" and then use administrative orders and referendums for them. It has created conditions to promote institutional changes that are in line with its interests, forming a false democracy with form but no substance, system but no governance, and citizen consciousness but no citizen culture. In fact, this is populism's use of majority rule. They use concepts and practices to circumvent and ignore the rights of minorities, shrinking the democratic space. It is undeniable that such political practices will inevitably threaten and damage the democratic system that emphasizes fair competition, checks and balances, and accountability systems.

In addition, populism can promote the civilian transformation of politics, but this will damage political institutions (such as Political parties and parliaments) and non-electoral institutions (such as central banks or supervisory bureaus and other organizations). ÿ

Due to the lack of independence of legislative and judicial institutions in Latin American countries, presidential power is less constrained, which in turn leads to populism. The rise of populists. In Latin America, most populists are powerful authoritarian politicians, but the source of their power is not institutional. Populists usually win elections by promoting anti-establishment demands to voters. After taking office,

The first thing they have to deal with is the Congress, the judiciary and other institutions controlled by the "establishment" traditional parties. In theory, under a power-sharing democratic system, they should respond to challenges from the establishment parties through negotiation and compromise. For example, the non-populist and leftist leaders Lula and Bachelet in Brazil and Chile. But the populists

They usually ignore the principle of checks and balances of power and then choose referendum-style tactics to attack the existing democratic system, such as holding a referendum constitutional convention or calling on their supporters to hold large-scale demonstrations. This As a result, it appears that it is directly authorized or adjudicated by the people, but in fact it is directly authorized by the people.

"Delegated democracy" and "trial by public opinion" interfered and manipulated by populists. In this case, populism will create a new political division (populists and non-populists), thereby hindering stable political alliances. Although Latin American populists sometimes fail in establishing referendum-style connections with the people, they are successful in most cases. For example, the populists in Peru

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.
ÿPolitical 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,

ÿ Jorge A Castañedaÿ "Latin America's Left Turn "ÿ in Foreign Affairsÿ Vol 85ÿ No 3ÿ 2006ÿ Francisc o Rodríguezÿ "An Empty Revolution: The Unfulfill led Promises of Hugo Chavez"ÿ in Foreign Affai rsÿ Vol 87ÿ No 2ÿ 2008ÿ Robert Nyenhuisÿ "Populism in South America: Democratic Panacea or Pitfall"ÿ in American Journal of Economics and Sociologyÿ Vol 78ÿ No 3. 2019 Lin Hong: "On Latin American Populism in the Process of Modernization",

ÿ published in "Academic Forum", Issue 1, 2007, Page 54, Latin America There are 19 countries in the region

ÿ 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 selfhealing 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)ÿ 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.

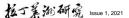




Figure 1 The moderating effect of civil society on the relationship between populism and democracy

Source: Drawn by the authorÿ

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 authorÿ

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, variableÿ

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

ÿ [US] Larry Diamond, Richard Gunther, etc. Translated by Xu Lin: "Political Parties and Democracy", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2012, page 356

Including Caribbean countries in Latin America. First, because most Caribbean countries are quite different from major Latin American countries in terms of ethnic, religious, economic and political development models. Second, because there is less populism in the Caribbean.

The dependent variable of this article is the level of democratization. Therefore, the "Liberal Democracy Index" in the "Plural Democracy" (ÿ-Dem) database is selected as a measure of democratization. ÿ The "Plural Democracy" project believes that the principle of liberal democracy emphasizes the protection of individuals. and the rights of minorities are not affected by the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority. Therefore, the "Liberal Democracy Index" is mainly measured through four aspects: civil liberties protected by the constitution, strong rule of law, independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances. According to the degree of democratization, scores ranging from 1 to 7 were obtained, and the scores were converted into an index range of 0 to 1.

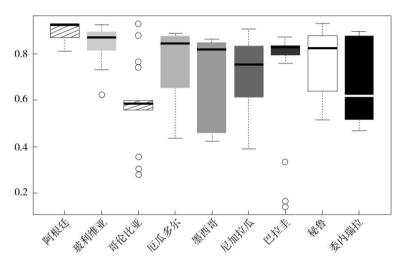


Figure 2 Box plot comparison of civil society levels in Latin American countries (1986-2016)

Source: "Pluralistic Democracy" Project

The core independent variables of this article are the populist ruling party and the populist opposition party. These two variables are coded as dummy variables (1 represents the populist ruling party, 0 represents the populist opposition party). In addition, the moderating variable of this article is civil society. Level, the data of this variable are also selected from the "Pluralistic Democracy" project. The project compiled a set of Civil Society Core Index (CCSI) as a comprehensive measure of the health of civil society. The "Pluralistic Democracy" project believes that civil society is at the level of private common between domain and official domain

ÿ The "Plural Democracy" database is co-sponsored by the University of Gothenburg in Sweden and the University of Notre Dame in the United States. So far, the project has compiled nearly 400 democracy classification indicators for 202 countries and regions around the world, with the time span from 1789 to 2019. For "Plural Democracy" For a discussion of measurement methodology, please see the "Plural Democracy" project website (https://www.v-dem.net/en/j)

It is a space that is both autonomous and subject to a certain degree of state supervision. Therefore, "the core of civil society"

The Index measures the organizational environment of civil society and the level of action of citizens themselves.

Scores of 1 to 7 grades were obtained, and the scores were converted into an index range of 0 to 1, with 0 being the least healthy.

Health, 1 is the healthiest. Figure 2 shows the development level of civil society in sample countries from 1986 to 2016.

Box plot. We can see that Argentina's civil society development level is generally higher than that of other Latin American countries.

The level of civil society development in Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Venezuela has changed greatly. Colombia

Asia and Paraguay experienced sudden changes in the development of civil society in certain years.

Finally, the economic development level of Latin American countries is the first control variable in this article. This article uses the national The GDP growth rate is used to measure the economic development level of each country. The data of this variable comes from the world Bank "World Development Indicators" database (WDI) ÿ The second control variable in this article is income distribution Inequality level, the data comes from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID). The third control

The institutional variable is the level of political party institutionalization. The data for this variable are selected from the "Pluralistic Democracy" project. "Party Party "Institutionalization Index" covers party organizations, party branches, party programs, and the party's ability to integrate

and the assessment of the relationship between political parties and voters, resulting in an index range of 0 to 1, with 0 representing the degree of institutionalization.

The lowest, 1, represents the highest degree of institutionalization. Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for the variables involved in this article.

In order to avoid possible multicollinearity problems among these variables, we examined the

Difference inflation factor. It can be seen from Table 2 that the variance inflation factor of each explanatory variable is far less than 10. Therefore

We can think that there is no multicollinearity problem between variables, and we can proceed according to the previous assumptions.

Regression analysisÿ

Table 2 Descriptive statistics of variables

variable	Sample Size	Mean Standard	Deviation Maxi	mum Minimum	Variance Expans	sion Factor
populist ruling party	ўўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
populist opposition party	ўўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
institutionalization of political parties	ўўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
GDP growth rate (log)	ўўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Unequal income distribution	ўўў	ўў ўў	ў ўў	ўў ўў	ўў ўў	ў ўў
civil society	ўўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
democratization	ўўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	

Source: Drawn by the authorÿ

(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 ÿ 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.

Interactionÿ

Democraticization $i = \ddot{y}0 + \ddot{y}1\ddot{y}P$ Ruling party $i + \ddot{y}2\ddot{y}P$ Opposition party $i + \ddot{y}3\ddot{y}$ $\ddot{y}i + \ddot{y}i + \ddot{y}i$

(Official 1)

Democracy i = \ddot{y} 0 + \ddot{y} 1 \ddot{y} P Ruling party i + \ddot{y} 2 \ddot{y} P Opposition party i + \ddot{y} 3 \ddot{y} \ddot{y} i + \ddot{y} 4 \ddot{y} Civil society i

ÿ ÿÿÿ(ÿ ruling party ÿÿ civil society ÿ) ÿ ÿÿ ÿ ÿÿ (Formula 2)

Democracy i = ÿ0 + ÿ1ÿP Ruling party i + ÿ2ÿP Opposition party i + ÿ3ÿ ÿi + ÿ4ÿ Civil society i

ÿ ÿÿÿ(ÿ Opposition party ÿÿ Civil society ÿ) ÿ ÿÿ ÿ ÿÿ (Formula 3)

Among them represents the country. The dependent variable democratization i represents the country. degree of liberal democratizationÿ ÿ

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 , The degree of civil society development of the country, ÿi 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 ÿ ÿÿ and ÿi respectively represent the 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

 $With the increase of \ , the significant impact of different populists on the democratic variables has not disappeared. However, when we will be a significant impact of different populists on the democratic variables has not disappeared. \\$

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							
	(ÿ)	(ÿ)	(ÿ)	(ÿ)	(ÿ)	(ÿ)	(ÿ)	
populist ruling party	ў ў ўўў	ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿ j	ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ s	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	ўўўў ў ў ўўўўўўў			
	(ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿ	ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿ	ўўў)			
populist opposition party	ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ	ÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ s	ÿÿÿÿÿ		ў ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	
	(ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿ	ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ	ўўў)			
GDP growth rate		ў ўўўў	ў ўўўў	ў ўўўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўўўў	ў ўўўўўў	
		(9 9 999) (9 9 999) (9 9 999) (7 9 999) (9 9 999)						
the soul is some distribution			ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	
Unequal income distribution			(ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿ	ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ			
				ў ўўўўўў ў ўўў	ÿÿ	ў ўўў	ў ў ўўў	
iratitutionalization of political parties				(ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿ	ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ)			
civil society					ў ўўўўўў ў ўўў	ўÿÿ	ў ўўўўўў	
own society					(ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿÿÿÿ)			
Populist ruling party*Citizen						ў ўўўўўў		
society						(ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ)		
Populist Opposition Party*Citizen society							ў ў ўўў	
							(ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ)	
constant	ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ	ÿ	ў ўўў	ў ў ўўў	ў ў ўўўў ў ў ў	ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ		
	(ÿÿÿÿ)(ÿÿ	ÿÿÿ) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ) (<u>;</u>	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,) (ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿ)			(ÿ ÿ ÿ)	
Number of samples	ўўў	ўўў	ÿÿÿ	ÿÿÿ	ӱӱӱ	ўўў	ÿÿÿ	
ÿÿ	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	
Adjust R ^ÿ	ў ўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	ў ўўў	

Note: The table shows unstandardized coefficients, and the brackets show the robustness standard errors. $\ddot{y}p < 0$ $\%\ddot{y}\ddot{y}p < 0$ $05\ddot{y}\ddot{y}\ddot{y}p < 0$ $0\%\ddot{y}$ 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.

— ÿÿ —

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.

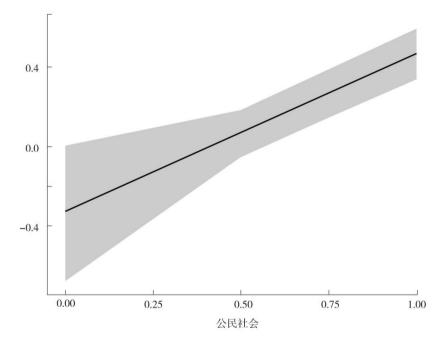


Figure 3 Marginal effect of populist opposition parties on democracy (95% confidence interval)

Source: Drawn by the authorÿ

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.

Changes.

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. ÿ

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.

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.

main differences and left-right divide between American and Latin American populism", published in "Latin American Studies", 2020 No. 2 ÿlssue , page 124

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. ÿ 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

s analyÿ "first of all Opinion: The sight of the sight 1"ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ N 1 ÿ 2006 ÿ

purist 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, ÿ

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 ele	ction accountability	interagency Accountability	politics participate	politics compete	free	unity and equality	response system	comprehensive
Uruguay	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Chile	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Costa Rica 3 63		ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Brazil	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Argentina	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Peru	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
El Salvador	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Paraguay	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Mexico	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Bolivia	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Guatemala	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Colombia	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Ecuador	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Nicaragua	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў
Venezuela	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў	ў ўў

Source: Leonardo Morlino et al

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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)