

PUT YOUR ACTION WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POPULIST ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PORTUGAL

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INTRODUCTION

In the past few decades, the advent of populism in Europe has garnered a great amount of attention by the academia, which, in response to the rise of populist parties in several democracies, have devoted their efforts to unravelling this phenomenon. The bounty of scholarly literature on the topic has paid particular attention to the supply – the personalities and the political parties, what they advocate, their adopted discursive strategies, the way they behave as extra-parliamentary opposition, in the parliament or as government. More recently, the number of studies seeking to understand the demand has increased – on one hand, identifying the common features of citizens that vote for populist parties and, on the other, analysing the populist attitudes of citizens, related phenomena and their impact on political choices and behaviours.

The current article intends to contribute to the latter line of research, namely through an analysis of the relationship between populist attitudes – definable as sympathy for

ABSTRACT

In this article, the relationship between populist attitudes and conventional and unconventional forms of political participation in Portugal is explored. The data analysis allows us to conclude that these attitudes are linked to a greater likelihood of party affiliation as well as expressive and nonpartisan modes of participation such as association membership, demonstrations, petition signing, and purchasing or boycotting products and services for political, ethical or environmental reasons. On the other hand, populist attitudes are not related to instances of extreme unconventional participation such as blocking roads or railway lines, occupying buildings or factories and damaging public spaces.

Keywords: populist attitudes, political participation, Portugal, 2018.



RESUMO

PUT YOUR ACTION WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS: A RELAÇÃO ENTRE ATITUDES POPULISTAS E PARTICIPAÇÃO POLÍTICA EM PORTUGAL

Neste artigo, é explorada a relação entre atitudes populistas e participação política de tipo convencional e não convencional em Portugal. Os dados analisados permitem concluir que estas atitudes estão associadas a uma maior probabilidade de militância num partido político, bem como de envolvimento em várias modalidades de participação expressiva e não partidarizada, tais como a pertença a associações, as manifestações, a assinatura de petições ou abaixo-assinados, e o boicote ou favorecimento de produtos e serviços por motivos políticos, éticos ou ambientais. Por outro lado, as atitudes populistas não estão relacionadas com um maior envolvimento em instâncias de participação não convencional extremas como o bloqueio de vias de comunicação, a ocupação de edifícios ou fábricas e a danificação de espaços públicos.

Palavras-chave: atitudes populistas, participação política, Portugal, 2018.

people-centric, anti-elitist ideas and in defence of popular sovereignty – and the political participation of the citizens. The broad definition of political participation proposed by Henry Brady in 1999 is adopted («action by ordinary citizens directed toward influencing some political outcomes»), and an analysis is carried out of 15 distinct modes of participation, representing the different typologies enshrined in literature, from actions of more conventional and institutional nature (with the exception of voting) to unconventional and even illegal actions (such as causing damage to public property and unlawful occupation).

The article aims at providing two novel inputs to existing literature on the subject. In the first place, an analysis of the different modes of individual political participation, enabling a more finely detailed identification of the preferences of citizens exhibiting marked populist attitudes in terms of participation. As we shall see ahead, the handful of published studies often group different behaviours into general indicators of political participation, rendering such an identification impossible.

In the second place, an analysis of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour in a context in which these attitudes were not triggered by relevant parties or political protagonists: Portugal in 2018. In fact, until 2019, Portugal was portrayed as an exception to the pattern observed across Europe, since no ostensibly populist party, either left or right-wing, had asserted itself in the partisan system, not even following the shock waves generated by the Great Recession and the *bailout*. Bloco de Esquerda and

the Portuguese Communist Party show some signs of populism, but those signs ensue from their core ideology, which drives them to scepticism towards *mainstream* parties, European institutions and economic/financial elites in general. The odd experiment in radical right-wing populism was largely unsuccessful: a prime example is that of Partido Nacional Renovador, which never managed to elect any members of parliament. Focusing on the pre-2019 Portuguese case allows for an understanding of the relationship between populist attitudes and political participation in a context devoid of relevant populist supply. This represents a pertinent contribution for literature on the subject, given that the only other such study undertaken – which surmised that populist attitudes may lead to a greater apathy – is of an experimental nature and focussed merely on extremely vague examples of participation and attitudes towards political behaviours.

The article is organised into four sections. Next, an ideational definition of populism serves as the starting point for an analysis of literature concerning populist attitudes, their background and impact on political behaviour. A number of hypotheses to be tested are outlined based on this body of research. In the following section, the collected data and the operationalisation of the relevant variables are presented. Next, the results of the data analysis are disclosed. The article concludes with a discussion of the main findings and their implications.

POPULISM, POPULIST ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Populism has been the subject of a multiplicity of conceptual approaches, having been defined as a political movement, style, discourse, strategy, culture, ideology, form of political representation or a conception of democracy. Despite the conceptual wealth of the subject, a growing number of researchers has come to embrace the notion that populism constitutes a set of ideas providing an interpretative structure for the political sphere. This ideational approach is patent in the definition of populism proposed by Cas Mudde in 2004. According to the author, populism is a thin-centred ideology believing society to be divided into two homogenous and antagonistic fields – the pure people and the corrupt elite – and defending that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. As a thin-centred ideology, populism may be combined with a variety of host ideologies (more comprehensive, profound and significant), both left and right-wing.

In specialised literature on populism, focus has been placed mainly on the side of supply: the rise and triumph of populist parties, their characteristics, their impact on the political system and in the quality of democracy. Studies dwelling on the aspect of demand, on the other hand, have surfaced more recently, having flourished in the past decade. The first works devoted to this aspect delved into the characteristics shared by voters for populist parties, often reaching the conclusion that there can be no clear social-demographic robot-portrait of these voters, but still managing to identify attitudes and personality traits matching those electoral choices.

An important step in the development of this sub-topic of research was, in 2014, the proposal and validation of the first scale to measure populist attitudes, intended to operationalise the ideational conception of the concept proposed by Cas Mudde, namely through the measurement of elements such as people-centrism, anti-elitism and popular sovereignty. From then on, besides analysing the dimensionality and occurrence of populist attitudes in the population, researchers have been engaged in identifying

IN SPECIALISED LITERATURE ON POPULISM, FOCUS HAS BEEN PLACED MAINLY ON THE SIDE OF SUPPLY: THE RISE AND TRIUMPH OF POPULIST PARTIES, THEIR CHARACTERISTICS, THEIR IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND IN THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY.

the factors that account for individual differences in the expression of these attitudes – age and gender, socioeconomic status (income, job and education), media diet, and personality traits – as well as important related elements, such as attitudes towards immigration and to the European Union, ideological positioning and relationship with the political sphere (interest in politics, party identification).

Other works have inquired into the extent of the impact of populist attitudes on citizen behaviour. Several studies have found that these attitudes have a positive impact on voting for populist parties, which means that they work as some kind of cognitive forerunner of these electoral choices; regarding abstention, research has reached mixed results. Other researchers have looked into the impact of populist attitudes on other forms of political participation. The core argument in their works – which the present article also endorses – is that, given the fact that populism is strongly based on the idea of popular sovereignty and sceptic towards the elites (including the political elites that populate the institutions of representative democracy), it may encourage political participation – especially of an expressive, not institutional or partisan, character – in individuals.

For now, published empirical evidence is scarce and misleading. An experimental study observed that, in a context lacking a relevant supply of blatantly populist political actors (the United States in 2014), the populist attitudes of citizens were linked to a lower likelihood of volunteer work or money donations to parties or candidates. In a context with greater populist political supply (Germany in 2017), however, the relationship between populist attitudes and political participation failed to be observed. Eva Alduiza and her colleagues, on the other hand, based on data from surveys carried out in nine European countries (all of them with consolidated populist parties), verified that populist attitudes increased the likelihood of citizens signing petitions, engaging in online political activities and, in some countries, participating in demonstrations. Regarding the same cases, Pirro and Portos show that populist attitudes are linked to a higher propensity to engage in non-electoral political participation in general, measured through an indicator which includes from contact with politicians to use of violence (therefore mixing conventional and unconventional modes of participation). Based on this literature, as well as on the content of the ideational definition of populism and its logical corollaries, and on the specific features of the Portuguese context, it is foreseeable that:

H1: Populist attitudes will have a negative impact on the likelihood of respondents having been involved in activities of institutionalised political participation within parties.

H2: Populist attitudes will have a negative impact on the likelihood of respondents having been involved in activities of political participation entailing interaction with elites.

H3: Populist attitudes will have a negative impact on the likelihood of respondents having been involved in activities of nonpartisan and expressive political participation.

H4: Populist attitudes will have a positive impact on the likelihood of respondents having been involved in activities of *extreme unconventional political participation*.

DATA AND VARIABLES

This article uses data collected by the Electorate Survey carried out in the scope of project Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal (N = 1375; fieldwork conducted between 26 March and 18 June of 2018), which includes items that enable the measurement of populist attitudes, involvement in several modes of political participation and other variables relevant to the empirical testing of the four hypotheses presented above.

Populist attitudes are measured by means of a battery of items that is in fact an adaptation to the Portuguese language of the scale created by Akkerman, Mudde and Zaslove. This scale is composed of six items that measure specific components of people-centrism, anti-elitism and popular sovereignty, encompassed by the definition of populism here adopted: “Members of parliament need to follow the will of the people”, “The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions”, “What people call ‘compromise’ in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles”, “I would rather be represented by an ordinary citizen than an experienced politician”, “Politicians (elected officials) talk too much and take too little action” and “The political differences between the people and the elite are larger than the differences among the people”. These items were accompanied by a five-point scale in which 1 stands for “totally disagree” and 5 “totally agree”. This scale is one of the best available, since it possesses a high degree of internal consistency and external validity, while also being relatively resilient to different operationalisation strategies of the concept based on its three different components. A principal component analysis has proven the unidimensionality of this scale, whose internal consistency is high (Cronbach’s Alpha = 0,78). Therefore, an aggregate indicator of populist attitudes was created by calculating the average answers of respondents to each of these six items, an indicator also ranging from 1 to 5.

On the other hand, dependent variables were operationalised through a 15-item battery concerning different modes of political participation. The respondents were asked “For each of these actions, have you taken any such initiative, do you envisage doing it in the future or are certain you will never do it?”. Non-institutionalised political participation within a party is operationalised through the item “party militancy”. Political participation involving interaction with the elites, however, includes direct contact with a politician or a government official (in the street, by letter or by phone), and being in contact with or having a presence in the media. The activities of expressive and non-partisan political participation under analysis are manifold: being member of an association, collaborating with movement of political intervention other than a party; pasting posters/writing slogans on walls/distributing pamphlets, signing petitions,

participating in demonstrations, going on strike, deliberately buying/refusing to buy a certain product due to political/ethical/environmental reasons, participating in an online political forum or discussion group (blog, etc), and using social networks (Facebook or other) to take part in political activities. Lastly, more extreme activities of unconventional political participation under consideration are: unlawfully occupying buildings and factories, blocking roads or railways, causing material damage to public spaces. Seeing that the purpose of this article is that of analysing the relationship between populist attitudes and the reported forms of political participation (rather than orientations or opinions concerning them), each of these items was transformed into a Manichean variable, in which 1 means the respondent has undertaken a given mode of political participation.

In the models computed for each of the dependent variables, control variables were added concerning factors which literature on political participation deems relevant.

THE OCCURRENCE OF POPULIST ATTITUDES IN THE PORTUGUESE CASE IS CONSIDERABLE, AND NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OBSERVED IN OTHER DEMOCRACIES – ESPECIALLY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE – IN WHICH BLATANTLY POPULIST PARTIES ARE RELEVANT POLITICAL PLAYERS.

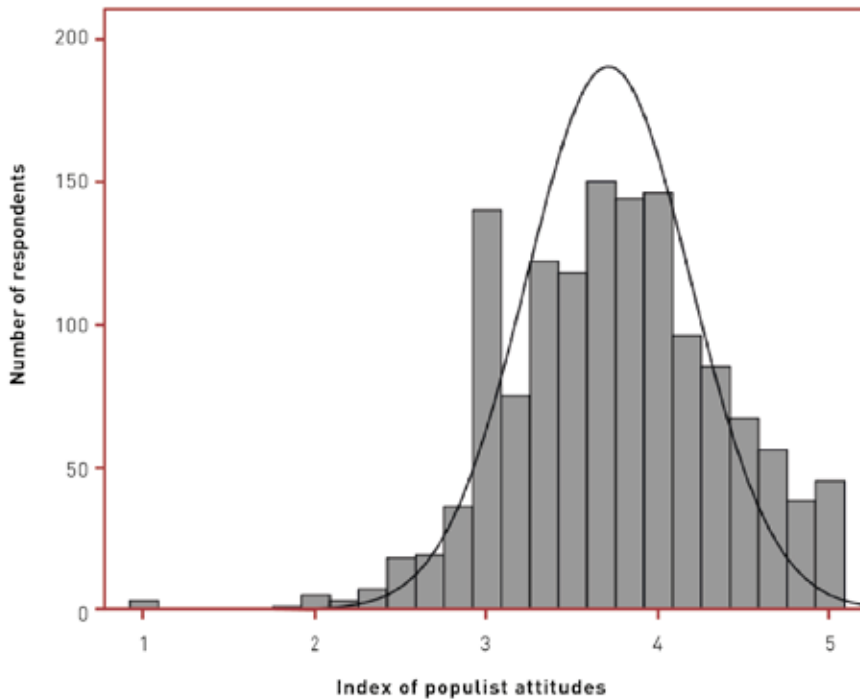
Those variables are gender (1 = female), age (continuous), education level (eight levels organised in ascending order), social class (four ranks ranging from lowest to highest), religious activity (place of worship attendance, from 1 «never» to 6 “once a week or more”, interest in politics (from 1 «none» to 4 «a lot of»), party identification (1 = the respondent feels close

to a political party), ideological self-placement (from 0 «left» to 10 «right») and rate of consumption of political information in three types of media (from 1 «never» to 5 «daily»).

RESULTS

Before testing the hypotheses, the occurrence of populist attitudes among respondents is analysed, as well as the reported patterns of political participation. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the dependent variable (political attitudes) in the analysed sample, allowing us to conclude that the great majority of the respondents conveys a moderate to strong agreement with the core ideas of populism. In fact, the average of this indicator is quite high: 3,73 in a scale of 1 to 5 (standard deviation of 0,62). In short, the occurrence of populist attitudes in the Portuguese case is considerable, and not significantly different from that observed in other democracies – especially in Southern Europe – in which blatantly populist parties are relevant political players.

Figure 1 > Populist attitudes in Portugal, 2018
 (1 = “totally disagree” with populist ideas; 5 = “totally agree”)

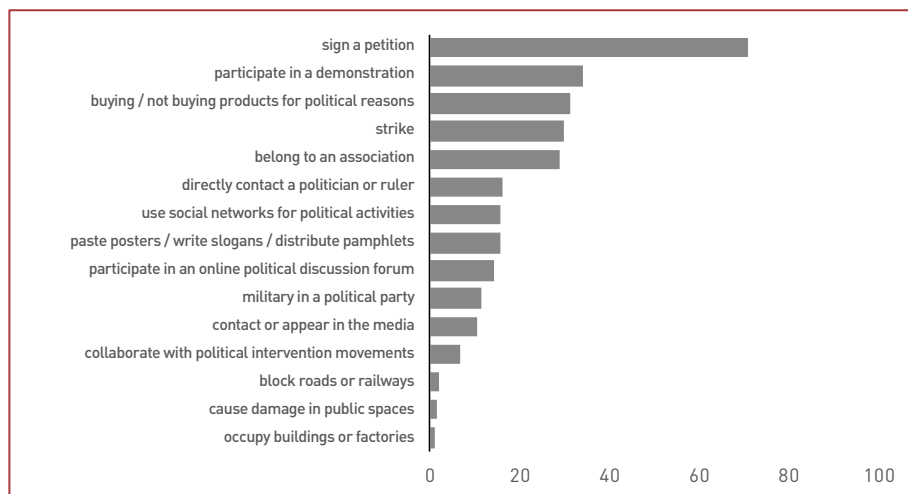


Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 2018 Electorate Survey in the scope of project Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal.

As to involvement in different modes of political participation (figure 2), there is a prevalence of petition signing, reported by over two thirds of the respondents. Straight after, participation in demonstrations or strikes, affiliation with associations and the purchase or refusal to purchase certain products for political and other similar reasons – activities reported by around a third of the interviewees. Unsurprisingly, the proportion of individuals admitting to involvement in extreme activities of political participation, such as blocking roads and occupy or damage property, is relatively small.

Let us now move on to the testing of hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 posits an inverse relationship between populist attitudes and political participation within a party, that is, party militancy. In table 1, the first column shows the results of the model of logistic regression computed for the dependent variable “party militancy”. Against what was hypothesised, the impact of populist attitudes has proven positive, the citizens with a higher level of sympathy for populist ideas showing a greater likelihood of being active or having been active in a political party. This hypothesis is therefore discarded.

Figure 2 > Political participation in Portugal, 2018
 (% of reference to each activity; various answers possible)



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 2018 Electorate Survey in the scope of project Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal.

On the other hand, there was an expectation of a negative impact of populist attitudes on the likelihood of involvement in activities of political participation implying direct contact with the elites (hypothesis 2). In none of the cases under consideration (contact with politicians or the media) is a statistically significant effect observed of the indicator of populist attitudes (table 1), therefore this hypothesis is also discarded.

Hypothesis 3 is in part corroborated by the analysis of the data. In fact, as expected, populist attitudes are linked to involvement in several modes of expressive and non-partisan political participation, such as petition signing, participation in demonstrations, purchase of or refusal to purchase products for political or similar reasons, use of social networks for political activities, or belonging to an association (table 1). However, this effect was observed neither in the collaboration with political movement, participation in strikes and online political discussion forums, nor in the pasting of posters/slogan writing/distribution of pamphlets.

Lastly, hypothesis 4 is not confirmed, since it was not possible to verify a statistically significant impact of the indicator of populist attitudes on the involvement in extreme attitudes such as road blockades, occupation or damaging of public spaces.

As to the control variables, the highlight goes to the cross-sectional relevance of interest in politics, a factor accounting for nine instances of political participation (exceptions

are belonging to associations, participation in strikes, purchase or boycott of products for political reasons, and the three instances of unconventional (extreme) political participation. Age, political news consumption through the internet, education, religiosity and, to a lesser extent, gender, social class, ideology, party identification and consumption of political news through newspapers also help explaining individual differences in the involvement in different modes of political participation. Habits of political news consumption through the television have no impact whatsoever on the 15 modes of political participation under analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

This article inquired into the relationship between populist attitudes and involvement in different modes of political participation in Portugal, in a context whose partisan supply would not foreseeably trigger populist attitudes on the part of citizens.

The results observed do not point to an apathy or an exit strategy from the political sphere by citizens with higher levels of populist attitudes, much on the contrary. In fact, populist attitudes are linked to a not insignificant number of expressive and nonpartisan activities of political participation, but also to party militancy.

This latter result comes as a surprise, and may be understood in three different ways. First, although the 2018 Portuguese context lacked electorally relevant populist political parties, there were micro parties in operation which came very close to that ideal type, and some of the most populist respondents may have actually been active within them. Second, a number of strongly populist respondents may have mentioned having been active, in the past, in a mainstream party, which may be congruent or account for a degree of anti-elitism, if it was a negative experience. Third and last, a number of strongly populist respondents may find their place in parties not univocally populist yet voicing, to some extent, part of the populist set of ideas. As we have seen above, Bloco de Esquerda and the Communist Party are among the parties with seat in the parliament that come closest to populist ideas, via their economic anti-elitism and their Euroscepticism.

The second finding countering our hypothesis is the inexistence of a relationship (expected to be strong and negative) between populist attitudes and activities of political participation implying contact with elites – either with politicians and government officials or with the media. Actually, the likelihood of engaging in these activities is identical regardless of the respondents' level of populism. These results suggest that the anti-elitist component may be weaker than the people-centric component, in populist attitudes, which would mean that the inclination towards political participation in populist citizens does not spurn contact with political and media elites.

Lastly, the third unexpected result is the zero impact of populist attitudes on involvement in unconventional and extreme activities of political participation. However, given the low rates of involvement in these actions (between 1,2 and 2,3%), this result is of little substance, and we are well advised to be cautious when making generalisations based on it.

Table 1 > The impact of populist attitudes on the likelihood of engagement in 15 modes of political participation (logistic regressions)

	Being active in a political party	Political participation via contact with elites		Expressive and			
		Coming into direct contact with politicians	Contacting having a presence in the media	Belonging to na association	Collaborating with movements engaged in political intervention	Pasting posters, writing slogans, distributing pamphlets	Petitioning
Constant	-7,80*** (1,42)	-7,20*** (1,21)	-5,23*** (1,28)	-4,68** (0,91)	-9,31*** (2,15)	-7,26*** (1,22)	-4,47*** (0,8)
Gender (1 = female)	-0,76** (0,30)	0,05 (0,24)	-0,39 (0,27)	-0,23 (0,19)	0,02 (0,39)	-0,21 (0,24)	0,2 (0,1)
Age	0,03** (0,01)	0,02* (0,01)	-0,01 (0,10)	-0,01 (0,01)	0,01 (0,02)	0,01 (0,01)	0,0 (0,0)
Social Class	0,04 (0,21)	0,18 (0,18)	-0,19 (0,19)	0,12 (0,14)	0,45 (0,31)	-0,31 (0,18)	0,33* (0,1)
Education	0,12 (0,12)	0,04 (0,10)	0,18 (0,11)	0,11 (0,08)	-0,08 (0,16)	0,31** (0,11)	0,16* (0,0)
Religious activity	0,01 (0,08)	0,15* (0,07)	0,09 (0,08)	0,16** (0,06)	0,10 (0,12)	0,20** (0,07)	-0,0 (0,0)
Party Identification (1 = yes)	0,66* (0,30)	0,37 (0,24)	0,33 (0,27)	0,33 (0,19)	-0,09 (0,39)	0,12 (0,25)	-0,2 (0,1)
Ideology	0,04 (0,06)	0,03 (0,05)	-0,02 (0,06)	-0,07 (0,04)	0,01 (0,09)	-0,04 (0,06)	-0,0 (0,0)
Interest in politics	0,64** (0,20)	0,69*** (0,17)	0,59** (0,18)	0,24 (0,13)	1,22*** (0,30)	0,50** (0,17)	0,35* (0,1)
Political news consumption through newspapers	-0,07 (0,11)	0,02 (0,10)	0,01 (0,11)	0,03 (0,08)	0,14 (0,16)	-0,03 (0,10)	-0,0 (0,0)
Political news consumption through TV	-0,03 (0,15)	-0,02 (0,13)	0,03 (0,15)	0,01 (0,10)	-0,13 (0,23)	0,08 (0,14)	0,0 (0,9)
Political news consumption through the internet	-0,04 (0,12)	0,02 (0,10)	0,17 (0,13)	0,14 (0,08)	0,36 (0,23)	0,12 (0,11)	0,0 (0,0)
Populist attitudes	0,49* (0,23)	0,29 (0,20)	0,10 (0,22)	0,36* (0,16)	-0,11 (0,31)	0,37 (0,21)	0,49* (0,1)
N	634	644	643	643	634	650	650
Nagelkerke R2 (%)	17,3	13,5	10,8	11,3	18,9	13,4	13,4

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 2018 Electorate Survey in the scope of project Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal.

Notes: The values presented are the non-standardised coefficients and, in brackets, the standard-errors. Significance: *** = $p < 0,01$; ** $< 0,1$; * = $p < 0,5$.

For nonpartisan political participation						Extreme unconventional political participation		
Participating in a demonstration	Going on a strike	Buy/refuse to buy for political, ethical or environmental reasons	Participate in an online political discussion forum	Using social networks to pursue political activities	Occupy buildings and factories	Road and railway blockades	Causing damage to public spaces	
-5,54*** (0,90)	-3,54*** (0,87)	-4,64*** (0,92)	-4,25** (1,25)	-5,14*** (1,16)	-4,26 (4,07)	-5,57* (2,74)	-6,79 (8,11)	
0,22 (0,19)	0,32 (0,19)	0,01 (0,20)	-0,09 (0,27)	-0,54* (0,24)	0,62 (0,92)	0,43 (0,56)	-0,15 (0,99)	
0,02** (0,01)	0,01 (0,01)	-0,01 (0,01)	-0,01 (0,10)	-0,02* (0,01)	-0,01 (0,03)	0,03 (0,02)	-0,06* (0,01)	
0,16 (0,13)	0,02 (0,13)	0,05 (0,14)	-0,25 (0,19)	0,01 (0,18)	0,84 (0,69)	0,31 (0,41)	1,24* (0,88)	
0,12 (0,08)	0,07 (0,08)	0,17* (0,08)	0,17 (0,11)	0,01 (0,10)	-0,24 (0,31)	-0,36 (0,22)	-0,41 (0,46)	
0,04 (0,06)	0,04 (0,06)	0,03 (0,06)	0,10 (0,08)	-0,03 (0,07)	-0,15 (0,32)	-0,30 (0,20)	-0,45 (0,43)	
-0,08 (0,19)	0,00 (0,19)	0,13 (0,20)	0,31 (0,27)	0,50* (0,24)	0,32 (0,93)	0,56 (0,62)	1,14 (1,17)	
-0,09* (0,04)	-0,13** (0,04)	-0,12 (0,05)	-0,06 (0,06)	-0,02 (0,05)	-0,02 (0,21)	-0,02 (0,13)	-0,13 (0,24)	
0,41** (0,13)	0,15 (0,13)	0,22 (0,13)	0,62** (0,18)	0,81*** (0,17)	0,06 (0,65)	0,69 (0,39)	-0,20 (0,67)	
0,07 (0,08)	0,07 (0,08)	-0,04 (0,08)	0,03 (0,11)	0,05 (0,09)	0,94* (0,45)	0,06 (0,22)	0,45 (0,43)	
0,08 (0,10)	0,12 (0,10)	-0,08 (0,10)	-0,11 (0,14)	-0,12 (0,13)	-0,53 (0,49)	-0,50 (0,26)	0,11 (0,09)	
0,03 (0,08)	-0,05 (0,08)	0,17* (0,09)	0,34** (0,13)	0,28* (0,12)	0,15 (0,48)	0,64* (0,32)	1,49 (6,02)	
0,31* (0,16)	0,26 (0,16)	0,45** (0,16)	-0,06 (0,21)	0,41* (0,20)	-0,95 (0,74)	-0,15 (0,47)	-1,27 (0,98)	
650	648	640	643	648	648	648	655	
12,1	5,7	6,9	12,4	18,4	16,3	16,1	20,4	

With the emergence of Chega in 2019 and 2020, the Portuguese exceptionalism regarding populism came to an end. Future research on the Portuguese case will therefore be in a position to explore the relationship between populist attitudes and political participation in a context where the former are triggered by new relevant players in the partisan system, as well as to shed light on the relationship between populist attitudes and political participation within parties and in contact with elites. **RI**

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ENDNOTES

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² BRADY, Henry – «Political participation». In ROBINSON, John P.; SHAVER, Philip R.; WRIGHTSMAN, Lawrence S., eds. – *Measures of Political Attitudes*. San Diego: Academic Press, 1999, pp. 737-801.

³ The option for the year of 2018 ensues from the wish to analyse the relationship between populist attitudes and political participation in Portugal before the emergence of Chega, which managed to win one seat in parliament in October of 2019, and two seats in the Legislative Assembly of the Azores in 2020. Chega is a party whose ideology has been described as a blend of populismo without a marked preference for direct democracy, authoritarianism with no hostility towards liberal democracy, and nationalism (cf. MARCHI, Riccardo – *A Nova Direita Anti-Sistema – O Caso do Chega*. Lisboa: Edições 70, 2020).

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