

# Economic Shocks and Populism:

## The Political Implications of Reference-Dependent Preferences\*

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### Abstract

This paper studies electoral competition over redistributive taxes between a safe incumbent and a risky opponent. With reference-dependent preferences, economically disappointed voters become risk lovers, and hence are attracted by the more risky candidate. We show that, the equilibrium can display policy divergence: the intrinsically more risky candidate proposes lower taxes and is supported by a coalition of very rich and very disappointed voters, while the safe candidate proposes higher taxes. This can explain why new populist parties are often supported by economically dissatisfied voters and yet they run on economic policy platforms of low redistribution. We show that survey data on the German SOEP are consistent with our theoretical predictions on voters' behavior.

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# 1 Introduction

The party systems of several Western democracies have been transformed by the rise of populism. Mainstream centrist and socialdemocratic parties have lost support, while new populist politicians have gained popularity and in some countries they have shaped government policy. Several empirical papers have shown that this transformation is associated with adverse economic shocks and economic insecurity. Survey evidence shows that individuals who feel economic insecure or fear a loss of social status are more likely to vote for populist parties (Guiso et al. 2017, Gidron and Hall 2017, Dal Bo et al. 2018). Communities that have suffered large employment losses due to import competition from China support populist parties and have become more polarized (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Autor 2020). These recent phenomena are also consistent with historical evidence showing that large recessions induced by financial crisis are associated with increased polarization and a shift towards new radical right wing parties (Mian et al. 2014, Funke et al. 2016). The survey by Guriev and Papaioannou (2020) cites other relevant contributions.

This association between populism and economic adversity is puzzling, because several populist parties or politicians support right wing policy platforms of tax cuts and welfare state retrenchments that benefit the rich but seem to run counter the interests of the weakest segments of society. And yet, populist parties have gained vote shares irrespective of their stance on redistribution - see Appendix Figure 5. In countries such as the US, the UK or Italy, populist politicians and populist policy platforms are often supported by an unwieldy coalition of rich constituencies and of angry and disappointed low-middle class voters. Why is this happening, and what are the implications of these phenomena?

In this paper we answer this question by taking the insights of reference-dependent preferences to political economics. A feature of the new populist politicians is that they are much more risky than their mainstream counterparts. This is not just because they are new and untested. Populist politicians often reject external constraints and checks and balances limiting government discretion (Mueller 2017, Rode and Revuelta 2015), and support more radical and unconventional policies.<sup>1</sup> This intrinsic riskiness makes

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<sup>1</sup>In emerging countries, populist governments often enacted overly expansionary macroeconomic policies that ultimately led to balance of payments crisis and economic collapse (Dornbusch and Edwards 1991, Edwards 2019, Herrera et al. 2019). Only a few Western democracies have had populist governments, but in Italy the uncertainty associated with the rise of populist parties was reflected in Credit Default Swaps

populist politicians particularly attractive to disappointed voters, who have already lost of a lot relative to their expectations and therefore attach a large value to the chance of getting back towards their reference point. For the same reason, instead, they are opposed by voters whose income is close to what they expected, and who are particularly fearful of risk because of their loss aversion.

This intuition is illustrated in Figure 1, that depicts the typical shape of preferences over consumption implied by reference-dependent preferences. Point  $x$  on the horizontal axis is the reference point against which consumption is evaluated. For sufficiently high levels of consumption, the agent is risk neutral.<sup>2</sup> If consumption is in the neighborhood of the reference point, the agent becomes risk averse, because he is averse to losses that take him below the reference point. Finally, if consumption is much below the reference point, the agent becomes risk lover. In the paper we assume that preferences for risk increase with disappointment, i.e., the lower is  $c$  relative to  $x$ , the more risk is loved.

The idea that populist politicians are attractive to some voters also because they are risky and untested is supported by survey evidence. Exploiting data from the German Socio Economic Panel, in section 2 we show that individuals who become highly disappointed with their economic situation also become very risk lovers and tend to switch towards populist and radical parties.

The rest of this paper then explores the implications of this idea in a simple model of electoral competition, where voters' preferences take the shape of Figure 1. A safe (moderate) and a risky and less efficient (populist) politician compete in elections over redistributive taxation. Suppose that the economy is hit by a large negative aggregate shock, so that several voters fall below their consumption reference point. These very disappointed voters become risk loving and (for the same policy) they prefer the risky politician to the safe one, while voters close to their reference point react in the opposite way (they become risk averse and lean towards the moderate candidate). How do these office seeking politicians respond to this situation, and what policy platforms do they

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(Balduzzi et al. 2019) and in comments in the press: *"Italy is on the brink of installing the most unconventional, inexperienced government to rule a western European democracy since the EU's founding Treaty of Rome in 1957"*, Rome opens its gates to the modern barbarians, Financial Times, May 14, 2018. *"By abandoning traditional parties, unable to meet its needs, Southern Italy has declared its willingness to experiment something that it is not known yet and that could be better than the status quo. The opposite of risk aversion"*. Drago and Reichlin, Corriere della Sera, March 13, 2018.

<sup>2</sup>This is done for simplicity. As discussed in subsection 4.5, we could assume decreasing risk aversion for consumption levels above the reference point, and all relevant results in the paper would still hold.

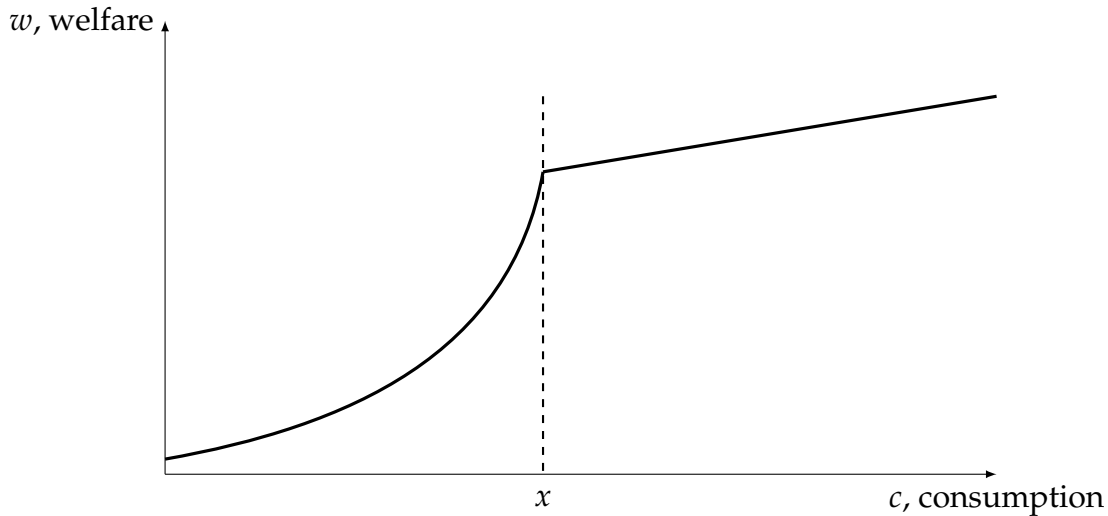


Figure 1: An example of the voters' preferences over consumption. Point  $x$  on the horizontal axis is the reference point against which consumption is evaluated. Welfare changes linearly to the right of  $x$ ; to the left of the reference point, preferences become convex.

announce?

The answer is not straightforward, because heterogeneous candidates and reference dependent preferences add a second dimension of political conflict, on the intrinsic riskiness of alternative candidates, besides the traditional conflict over redistribution. This generates a particular non-monotonicity in how voters with different levels of income evaluate their voting options, and this matters for the redistributive platforms that are announced in equilibrium. We show that political equilibria can take two forms. One possibility is an equilibrium with policy convergence, where both parties compete for the same marginal voter and choose the same tax policy. But if the economy is hit by a large negative shock, a second possibility is that the equilibrium displays policy divergence. The populist candidate runs on a policy platform of lower taxation and lower redistribution, compared to the moderate candidate, and he is supported by a coalition of rich voters and of poorer and very disappointed voters.

Equilibrium policy divergence is driven by the fact that the populist candidate has a stronger incentive to cut taxes below the level set by his opponent, compared to the moderate candidate. The reason has to do with the intrinsic riskiness of the populist candidate. Consider a unilateral deviation from the same hypothetical tax rate. A lower tax rate, by making poor voters worse off, also increases their disappointment, and -

under our assumptions - this makes them lean towards the more risky candidate. Hence, poor voters do not punish the populist candidate for a tax cut by as much as they would punish the safe candidate for the same deviation.

The equilibrium is more likely to entail policy divergence if a large negative shock pushes a significant fraction of the electorate below its reference point. In this case, many middle-class voters become moderately disappointed, and only a sufficiently large redistributive policy allows the safe candidate to retain them. This in turn induces the populist politician to propose a lower tax rate, building the unwieldy coalition of richer voters and very disappointed voters.

In a concluding section we discuss additional political implications of reference dependent preferences.

**Literature.** Our paper is related to a rapidly growing literature on populism, recently reviewed by Guriev and Papaioannou (2020) - see also Levy et al. (2020). This literature too seeks to explain why economic distress is associated with support for populist parties, and why voters hurt by adverse economic shocks support right wing policy platforms. A common explanation is that voters care about a second policy dimension, such as cultural issues or immigration policy (eg. Norris and Inglehart 2019, Bonomi et al. 2020, Huber 2017). They are thus prepared to accept less redistribution, in order to get the cultural or immigration policy that they prefer. In our setting, instead, voters only care about future consumption and the policy space is one-dimensional. Reference dependent preferences create a second dimension of heterogeneity in voters' preferences, however, over the risk profile of consumption. This second dimension of political conflict, together with the intrinsic differences in risk between opposing candidates, is responsible for equilibrium policy divergence.

The idea that voters trade off their policy preferences against the intrinsic features of competing candidates has also been explored in a series of papers on differentiated candidates. Groseclose (2001) and Aragonés and Palfrey (2002) studied electoral competition between candidates with different valence. Voters have standard policy preferences, and they all prefer the candidate with higher valence. In equilibrium the advantaged candidate moves to the center, while the disadvantaged candidate chooses a more extreme policy.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Krasa and Polborn (2014), (2010), (2012) have shown that policy

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<sup>3</sup>Models of valence with office-motivated candidates rarely have pure strategy equilibria. The intuition

divergence occurs in equilibrium in a setting where two candidates with different abilities choose a one dimensional policy in order to maximize the probability of winning. Their key assumption is that candidates' abilities are complements to the policy over which they compete. In our paper, instead, candidates differ in their intrinsic risk, and voters' risk preferences vary non-monotonically with their income.

Since the seminal work of Kahneman and Tversky (1979), a very large literature has explored the insights of prospect theory in a variety of economic settings (see the survey by Barberis 2013). Quattrone and Tversky (1988) provide experimental evidence that prospect theory may also explain voters' behavior. Among other observations, they (informally) point out that adverse economic circumstances may induce voters to seek political risks, and this may benefit lesser known challengers and hurt mainstream incumbents. We are not aware of any paper that formally explores the implications of this idea in a setting of electoral competition, where candidates who differ in their intrinsic risk profiles also make other policy choices.<sup>4</sup>

Some recent papers have studied the implications of reference dependent preferences for political behavior. Alesina and Passarelli (2019) and Lockwood and Rockey (2015) study electoral competition when voters are loss averse. Passarelli and Tabellini (2017) study political protests in a setting where citizens become angry if they feel that they are treated unfairly relative to their (endogenous) reference point. Grillo and Prato (2020) and Besley and Persson (2019) assume that endogenous political institutions shape citizens' reference points, and show how this in turn affects political incentives to strategically manipulate institutions. Binzell and Carvalho (2016) show that economic disappointment (modelled as reference dependence) has led to an Islamic revival in Egypt. None of these

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being that the 'better' candidate wants to copy the worse candidate's policy, while the disadvantaged candidate tries to distance himself from the disadvantaged candidate. The disadvantaged must hence mix in order to be unpredictable. Aragonés and Palfrey show that as the policy space becomes large the equilibrium approaches the standard case, with policy convergence towards the (estimated) median voter's ideal point. Groseclose obtain existence of a pure strategy equilibria by assuming that the candidates also differ in their intrinsic preferences over certain policies.

<sup>4</sup>An older literature discusses under what conditions candidates have an incentive to announce risky policy platforms. In particular, Shepsle (1972) pointed out that, if voters are risk loving, then office seeking candidates have an incentive to randomize over extreme policy positions. Alesina and Cukierman (1990) and Aragonés and Neeman (2000) show that, if candidates have partisan policy preferences, then they find it optimal to announce ambiguous policy positions, even if voters are risk averse and dislike ambiguity, because this increases their degrees of freedom over subsequent policy choices. More recently, Karakas and Mitra (2020) have studied electoral competition between an "establishment" and an "outsider" candidate that differ in their willingness to change the status quo, but voters' risk preferences do not play a role in their analysis.

papers considers attitudes towards risk.

Reference dependent preferences in choices under uncertainty have been studied in several economic applications, following the seminal work by Koszegi and Rabin (2006), (2007). Our model of voters' behavior uses a similar approach, although rational and self-fulfilling expectations do not play a central role in our static setting.

A large empirical literature has studied the determinants of attitudes towards risk, using survey or experimental evidence (see for instance Dohmen 2015, Dohmen et al. 2011). This literature often finds that risk aversion tends to increase during economic downturns, but there is also evidence that becoming unemployed is associated with increased preference for risk (Dohmen et al. 2016).

Finally, limited liability may have similar implications for risk taking as prospect theory: if losses have a lower bound while upside risk is fully internalized, this may induce a preference for more risk. This idea has been studied in corporate finance (e.g, Jensen and Meckling 1976). We are not aware of applications of limited liability to a political setting, although by the same logic, individuals who have nothing more to loose (and perhaps are cushioned by the welfare state) are induced to take political risks. Some of our general considerations might hence apply to this case as well. At the same time, the notion of reference dependent preferences that we study in this paper differs from limited liability as preferences for risk depend on losses relative to a reference point. Hence, even middle or high income individuals may turn risk loving, if they are economically very disappointed.

The outline of the paper is as follows. In Section 2 we study the German SOEP. Section 3 lays out the theoretical model of reference dependent preferences in a political setting. Section 4 studies electoral competition between a risky and a safe candidate over a redistributive tax, and derives the conditions for an equilibrium where the more risky candidate promises less redistribution and is supported by a coalition of disappointed and rich voters. Section 5 discusses other implications of our results.

## 2 Empirical Motivation

In this section we provide some empirical evidence that economically very disappointed voters and highly risk loving voters are more likely to vote for a populist politician. In a nutshell, the theory developed in the remaining sections is built on the following im-

plications of reference-dependent preferences. An individual who suffers an unexpected and large income loss is forced to consume below his reference point (in this sense he is disappointed). This makes him become risk loving and as a result he leans towards populist candidates who are perceived as more risky. Note that this prediction applies to individuals who are far below their reference point. Individuals who are close to their reference point (on both sides) are actually opposed to the populist candidate, because loss aversion makes them particularly fearful of risk (cf. Figure 1). We now show that survey evidence is consistent with these predictions.

## 2.1 Data

The data come from the core sample of the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP). Although political populism is not as prominent in Germany as in other advanced democracies, the SOEP is one of the few longitudinal surveys that includes questions on risk attitudes, political preferences and satisfaction with one's economic situation. We consider observations from 2008 to 2016 (the measure of risk loving that is the focus of this paper is missing for the year 2007 and we discard earlier years when populism was not so widespread). Individuals younger than 18 years of age are not included in our sample.

**Populist preferences** Our dependent variable of interest is the dummy variable *populist*, that equals 1 if the respondent leans towards a populist party, and 0 otherwise - individuals who do not lean towards any party (about half of the sample) are coded as 0.<sup>5</sup> We follow the literature (Inglehart and Norris 2016 and von Beyme 1988) and define as populist the following (right wing) parties: Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), Piratenpartei, and the coalition of NPD, DVU, die Republikaner and die Rechte. Note that only a small percentage of voters declares to be leaning towards populist parties (cf. the summary statistics reported Table 1). Support for populist parties is initially below 1%, and it is captured only by the far right. The emergence of the Piratenpartei and of AfD increases the share of populist support, that in our sample reaches 2.6% in 2016. As a fraction of those who declare a political preference, these numbers are doubled, but still low relative to observed vote shares.

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<sup>5</sup>We do exclude from the sample respondents answering to a survey in which the question on party preference is missing.



**Income dissatisfaction** In the theoretical model, a key determinant of risk preferences is whether income is above or below an individual's reference point. We don't observe individual reference points, but a question in the survey asks how satisfied is the respondent with his household income. Possible answers range from 0 (completely dissatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied). We define the variable *income dissatisfaction* as 10 minus the answer to this question. The theory predicts a non-monotonic effect of disappointment: mildly disappointed individuals who are close to their reference point are risk averse, due to loss aversion, while very dissatisfied individuals are risk loving. To capture this non-monotonicity, we thus define a dummy variable *extreme income dissatisfaction* that equals 1 if income dissatisfaction is equal to or above 7 (results are very similar if the threshold for being extremely dissatisfied is higher, or if extreme dissatisfaction, rather than being a dummy variable, is defined as 0 below the threshold, and equal to income dissatisfaction at or above the threshold).

**Attitudes towards risk** As a measure of risk attitudes, we use the question concerning self-reported risk aversion, namely: "Are you generally a person who is fully prepared to take risks or do you try to avoid taking risks? Please tick a box on the scale, where the value 0 means: "unwilling to take risks" and the value 10 means: "fully prepared to take risk". We call this variable *risk love*. This question is carefully validated by Dohmen et al. (2011), who find that it is a relevant predictor of actual risk-taking behavior, both in incentivized experiment and in different unincentivized questions on hypothetical lottery participation and on risk-taking in different life domains such as car driving, financial matters, sports and leisure, career, and health. Here too, to account for possible non-linearities in the data and isolate individuals with a high propensity to take risks, we also define the variable *extreme risk love*, a dummy variable that takes value of 1 if the individual is very risk loving, meaning that the variable *risk love* equals either 9 or 10 (the two top values). Again, results are similar if instead extreme risk love is defined as 0 below the threshold, and as equal to risk love at or above the threshold of 9.

**Other regressors** Income data (*Income*) refer to the household and are measured in logs. Because raw income data report several extreme values, the data are trimmed at 99% and 1%. From the income data, we also construct a dummy variable that identifies individuals who have suffered very large income losses (again, only negative income shocks that are

sufficiently large to take the respondent much below his reference point are predicted to increase the propensity to vote populist and to take risks). Specifically, the dummy variable equals 1 if current individual income is at least 26% below the three year moving average of lagged own individual income. The threshold 26% corresponds to the 80th percentile of income losses (defined as log of current income minus the log of the three year moving average of lagged individual income). We define this dummy variables as *Large income loss*.

In several specifications we also control for being male, two dummy variables for age class (under 28 and over 45 years of age, baseline is 28-45), two dummy variables for having reached lower-secondary school and tertiary education as the maximum level of education (the baseline is having completed upper secondary, the median level of education in Germany). In addition, we control for being unemployed and for being out of the labor force (mainly pensioners, inactives and students): the baseline case is thus a partly or fully employed worker. Finally we include dummy variables for being a first and a second generation immigrant and for being a resident of East Germany. Summary statistics of all variables are displayed in Appendix Table A1. In the Appendix Table A2 we display the correlation coefficients amongst the variables of main interest (pooling together all observations); correlation coefficients tend to be low for most variables.

## 2.2 Estimation strategy

With the help of the variables defined above, we now explore whether survey data are consistent with the following causal chain:

Income loss  $\Rightarrow$  Income dissatisfaction  $\Rightarrow$  Risk love  $\Rightarrow$  Populist support

Although we observe all links in this chain, we don't have random exogenous variation in all its elements. Moreover, we cannot use earlier elements of this chain as instruments for later elements, because the exclusion restrictions would not be credible. For instance, income dissatisfaction could have a direct effect on political preferences, besides the effect induced through risk attitudes. At the same time, income dissatisfaction could be an imperfect measure of being below one's reference point, so that large income losses could have a direct impact on risk attitudes, beyond the observed effect on income dissatisfaction. Hence, we cannot estimate causal effects. We can only ask whether observed

correlations in the data are consistent with our theoretical hypothesis. Nevertheless, controlling for individual fixed effects allows us to infer correlations from yearly variation at the individual level, which reduces the scope of omitted variables. Moreover, this can be done for all links in the hypothetical causal chain.

We thus estimate regressions of the following type:

$$y_{it} = \alpha_i + \delta_t + \beta T_{it} + \gamma' \mathbf{X}_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where  $\alpha_i$  and  $\delta_t$  are individual ( $i$ ) and year ( $t$ ) fixed effects,  $y$  is the outcome of interest,  $T$  is the "treatment" of interest, namely one of the prior elements in the causal chain, and  $\mathbf{X}$  is a vector of control variables.

We start with the last link of the causal chain, so that  $y$  is the dummy variable for leaning towards a populist party, and  $T$  is being risk loving and extremely risk loving. We then move to the immediately preceding causal link. Here the treatments  $T$  are income dissatisfaction and extreme income dissatisfaction, while the outcome of interest  $y$  is attitudes towards risk, or (in a reduced form implication) again the *populist* dummy variable. Note that here the theory predicts non-monotone effects. Being very dissatisfied increases the propensity to vote populist and makes individuals more risk loving, while mild dissatisfaction or moderate satisfaction has the opposite effects due to loss aversion. Finally we estimate the correlations implied by the first link in the causal chain, where the treatment  $T$  is having experienced a large income loss, and the outcome variables are all of the subsequent elements of the causal chain, namely being extremely dissatisfied, being extremely risk loving and leaning towards a populist party. In order to isolate the effects of large income shocks from other sources of variation, we always define the outcome of interest  $y$  to be an extreme individual feature, such as being extremely risk lover or extremely dissatisfied. Hence the dependent variable  $y$  is always a dichotomous dummy variable, irrespective of how it is defined. Estimation is thus by conditional logit throughout, and standard errors are always clustered by individual. The tables also report average marginal effects in square brackets.

## 2.3 Results

**Risk loving and support for populism** We start with the last link in the causal chain, and ask how risk attitudes correlate with support for populist parties. Table 1 reports the

estimates of logit regressions where the dependent variable is leaning towards a populist party (*populist*). Throughout we include year fixed effects.

Columns 1-4 are estimated on pooled data (over individuals and years) without individual fixed effects. Column (1) illustrates a positive correlation between being risk loving and leaning towards a populist party. The correlation is even stronger for individuals who are extremely risk loving (column 2). Controlling for individual features dampens the correlation with risk loving, but the estimated coefficient on *extreme risk love* increases further and remains highly significant (columns 3 and 4). In the specification of column (4), on average extreme risk lovers are 0.6 percentage points more likely to lean towards a populist parties (on top of the positive effect associated with being risk loving). Recalling that populist supporters are only about 1% of this sample on average, this is a large effect. Note that higher income is associated with not leaning towards populism, while being unemployed has a positive association with populism.

Columns 5 and 6 add individual fixed effects, and hence come closer to estimating a causal effect of attitudes towards risk on populist sympathies. Although the estimated coefficient on *risk love* is no longer statistically different from 0, the estimated coefficient on the dummy variable *extreme risk love* remains positive and significant, and not much smaller than in the pooled regressions. The average marginal effect rises by an order of magnitude. According to the specification in column 6, on average, becoming extremely risk loving increases the probability of leaning towards a populist party by over 7 percentage points (gross of the negative but insignificant effect associated with risk loving).<sup>6</sup> Note that the sample size is much smaller when individual fixed effects are included, and this is responsible for the changes in the estimated coefficients. Estimating the pooled regressions (without individual fixed effects) on the smaller sample also yields large average marginal effects on *extreme risk love*, and similar estimated coefficients to those reported in columns 5 and 6, when fixed effects are included (results available upon request). This remark also applies to the regressions reported below.

**Income dissatisfaction and support for populism** According to reference-dependent preferences, being risk loving is triggered by income losses sufficiently below a reference point - e.g. Koszegi and Rabin (2009) and Pagel (2017). We don't observe the reference

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<sup>6</sup>The average marginal effect is estimated conditional on the individual fixed effect being 0, i.e. for individuals who on average do not lean towards populism.

Table 1: Risk Love and Populism

Dep. var.	Populist Dummy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Risk Love	0.1168*** (0.013) [0.0013]	0.0897*** (0.013) [0.0010]	0.0560*** (0.014) [0.0006]	0.0261* (0.014) [0.0003]	-0.0216 (0.021) [-0.0038]	-0.0213 (0.022) [-0.0041]
Extreme Risk Love		0.4769*** (0.100) [0.0054]		0.5414*** (0.107) [0.0061]	0.3210** (0.152) [0.0569]	0.3340** (0.155) [0.0636]
Unemployed			0.3879*** (0.098) [0.0043]	0.3741*** (0.098) [0.0042]		-0.0395 (0.167) [-0.0075]
Income			-0.2739*** (0.051) [-0.0031]	-0.2655*** (0.051) [-0.0030]		-0.1779 (0.119) [-0.0339]
Observations	206,751	206,751	197,138	197,138	7,720	7,520
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level, marginal effects in square brackets. In columns 3, 4 and 6 we also control for being in or out the labor force. Other individual controls (where included) are dummy variables for gender, age group, immigrant status, education level, and macroregion. Estimation is by logit in columns 1-4, by conditional logit in columns 5 and 6. Source: SOEP.

point, but we can use the question on income dissatisfaction as a measure of economic disappointment.

We start by estimating a semi-reduced form, and ask whether support for populism is associated with *income dissatisfaction* and *extreme income dissatisfaction*. The estimates are displayed in Table 2, columns 1-4. In column 1 we don't include individual fixed effects. More dissatisfied individuals are more likely to lean towards populist parties, and the two income dissatisfaction variables absorb the effect of the two economic variables (unemployment and income) that unlike in Table 1 are no longer statistically significant.

In column 2 we add individual fixed effects. Being extremely dissatisfied remains highly significant, and the marginal effect is large: becoming extremely dissatisfied increases the probability of support for populism by almost 7 percentage points. Income dissatisfaction on its own is no longer statistically significant. Note that, since we are controlling for being extremely dissatisfied, the estimated coefficient on *income dissatisfaction* captures the effect of being only moderately dissatisfied or being satisfied. Hence, the expected coefficient on this variable is indeed 0 or even negative, since individuals close to their reference are predicted to be loss averse.

In columns 3 and 4 we add the two indicators of risk loving to the right hand side, with and without individual fixed effects. Both *extreme income dissatisfaction* and *extreme risk love* remain statistically significant, although with smaller coefficients than when they are entered in isolation (compare columns 4 and 2 in Table 2, and column 4 in Table 2 with column 6 in Table 1). This suggests that becoming very dissatisfied has a direct association with support for populism, besides the possible induced effect on risk attitudes.

Last, we ask whether extreme income dissatisfaction is associated with being risk loving, as predicted by the intermediate link in the causal chain depicted above. The answer is provided by columns 5 and 6 of Table 2, where the dependent variable is being extremely risk lover. The relationship between *extreme risk love* and income dissatisfaction is non-linear, as predicted by the theory, both with and without individual fixed effects. Extreme risk lovers tend to be more satisfied with their income, but also more extremely dissatisfied. In particular, becoming extremely dissatisfied increases the probability of becoming an extreme risk lover by almost 5 percentage points. This non-monotonic relationship between income satisfaction and risk preferences is consistent with the notion of reference-dependent preferences, that being far below vs close to (or above) one's reference point has opposite effects on risk preferences.

**Income losses and populism** Finally, we consider the first link in the causal chain, triggered by large income losses (relative to a three year moving average of past household income). Recall that we control for income and being unemployed throughout, so the estimated coefficient on *large income loss* only captures the effects of large negative income shocks. Again, we start with the reduced form implications, and we ask whether experiencing a large income loss is associated with support for populist parties. Columns 1 and 2 of Table 3 show that this is so: leaning towards populist parties is positively in-

Table 2: **Income Dissatisfaction and Populism**

Dep. var.	Populist Dummy				Extreme Risk Love	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Income Dissatisfaction	0.0813*** (0.020) [0.0009]	-0.0110 (0.028) [-0.0022]	0.0866*** (0.020) [0.0010]	0.0010 (0.029) [0.0002]	-0.0821*** (0.012) [-0.0027]	-0.0535*** (0.014) [-0.0076]
Extreme Income Dissatisfaction	0.4148*** (0.102) [0.0046]	0.3685** (0.149) [0.0735]	0.3916*** (0.103) [0.0044]	0.3385** (0.151) [0.0665]	0.7966*** (0.062) [0.0262]	0.3436*** (0.082) [0.0486]
Risk Love			0.0279* (0.014) [0.0003]	-0.0213 (0.022) [-0.0042]		
Extreme Risk Love			0.4873*** (0.110) [0.0055]	0.3132** (0.157) [0.0615]		
Unemployed	0.1494 (0.100) [0.0017]	-0.0476 (0.171) [-0.0095]	0.1397 (0.102) [0.0016]	-0.0929 (0.174) [-0.0183]	0.2660*** (0.059) [0.0087]	-0.0101 (0.090) [-0.0014]
Income	-0.0900* (0.054) [-0.0010]	-0.1600 (0.119) [-0.0319]	-0.0748 (0.055) [-0.0008]	-0.1678 (0.120) [-0.0330]	-0.1302*** (0.034) [-0.0043]	-0.0993 (0.062) [-0.0140]
Observations	194,457	7,380	189,201	7,196	196,175	19,596
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Controls	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level, marginal effects in square brackets. The dependent variable is voting for a populist party in columns 1-4, being an extreme risk lover in columns 5 and 6. In all columns, we also control for being in or out the labor force. Other individual controls (where included) are dummy variables for gender, age group, immigrant status, education level, and macroregion. Estimation is by logit in columns 1, 3 and 5, by conditional logit in the remaining columns. Source: SOEP.

fluenced by having experienced a large income loss, although magnitudes are small and statistical significance is only at 10%. In column 1, the specification is as in column 4 of Table 1, except that the two variables capturing risk attitudes are replaced by a dummy variable for having experienced large income losses. The dummy variable *large income loss* has a positive and significant estimated coefficient, although the average marginal effect is small: individuals who experienced a large income loss are more likely to lean towards populism by 0.2 percentage points. Column 2 adds individual fixed effects, and thus only captures variation over time by the same individuals; the estimated coefficient of *large income loss* rises, although the average marginal effect is about the same.

The other columns of Table 3 consider the remaining links. In columns 3-6 the dependent variable is being an extreme risk lover. Experiencing a large income loss is associated with extreme risk loving, as expected, irrespective of whether we also include income dissatisfaction as a regressor. Here too, however, the magnitude is rather small (large income losses increase the probability of extreme risk loving by about one percentage point), and the relationship between income dissatisfaction and extreme risk loving remains non-linear and highly significant, as in Table 2. This suggests that the variable *large income loss* captures only a small part of the effect of economic disappointment on risk preferences.

Finally, in columns 7-8 of Table 3 we consider the effect of *large income loss* on *extreme income dissatisfaction* (the first link in the causal chain). Again, the estimated coefficient of *large income loss* is positive and significant, as expected, but the magnitude is small, particularly when individual fixed effects are included. Note however that here income and being unemployed are always highly significant and with the expected sign.

As noted above, about half of the respondents are classified as not leaning towards a populist party because they don't lean towards any party or because they did not answer the relevant question. Appendix Tables A3 and A4 investigate whether there is a pattern in these non-responses. We replicate the relevant columns in Tables 1-3 above, but replace the dependent variable *populist* with a dummy variable that equals 1 if the respondent did not lean towards any political party or did not answer the political question. Non-responses are more likely amongst individuals who are extreme risk lovers and less likely amongst those who are extremely dissatisfied. But once individual fixed effects are included, the treatment variables of interest (extreme risk love, extreme income dissatisfaction and large income loss) are no longer statistically significant in these regressions. The only exception is column (2) of Appendix Table A4, where becoming extremely dis-



satisfied reduces the likelihood of a non-response, with statistical significance below 0.1. We conclude that, once individual fixed effects are included, the pattern of missing observations is generally not significantly correlated with the treatment variables of interest, suggesting that our results are not driven by non-responses.

All in all, these empirical findings suggest that risk attitudes play a relevant role in explaining support for populism, and that large economic disappointment can induce support for populist and radical parties by inducing a preference for political risk.

Table 3: The Effect of Income Losses

Dep. var.	Populist Dummy		Extreme Risk Love			Extreme Income Dissatisfaction					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)			
Large Income Loss	0.1886* (0.104) [0.0022]	0.3036 (0.185) [0.0020]	0.3623*** (0.062) [0.0093]	0.1589 (0.098) [0.0140]	0.3564*** (0.063) [0.0091]	0.1840* (0.099) [0.0109]	0.1547*** (0.034) [0.0126]	0.1008* (0.0532) [0.0000]			
Income Dissatisfaction					-0.1110*** (0.017) [-0.0028]	-0.0756*** (0.021) [-0.0045]					
Extreme Income Dissatisfaction					0.9433*** (0.088) [0.0241]	0.3762*** (0.123) [0.0222]					
Unemployed	0.4926*** (0.122) [0.0057]	-0.1292 (0.236) [-0.0008]	0.3946*** (0.085) [0.0101]	-0.2224 (0.143) [-0.0196]	0.3440*** (0.089) [0.0088]	-0.2028 (0.146) [-0.0120]	1.1786*** (0.045) [0.0958]	1.0866*** (0.070) [0.0003]			
Income					-0.1891** (0.075) [-0.0022]	0.4120* (0.234) [0.0027]	-0.0606 (0.055) [-0.0015]	-0.1758 (0.132) [-0.0155]	-0.0844 (0.056) [-0.0022]	-1.3962*** (0.032) [-0.1135]	-0.8108*** (0.079) [-0.0002]
Observations	134,270	4,808	133,831	10,543	132,657	10,373	137,164	32,126			
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			
Other Controls	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No			
Individual FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes			

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level, marginal effects in square brackets. The dependent variable is voting for a populist party in columns 1-2, being an extreme risk lover in columns 3-6, and a dummy for extreme dissatisfaction with household income in columns 7 and 8. In all columns, we also control for being in or out the labor force. Other individual controls (where included) are dummy variables for gender, age group, immigrant status, education level, and macroregion. Estimation is by logit in columns 1, 3, 5 and 7, by conditional logit in the remaining columns. Source: SOEP.

### 3 Voting Over Safe and Risky Candidates

In this section we show that large economic downturns create economic uncertainty through the political system. More precisely, we consider voters with reference-dependent preferences who face the choice between two possible candidates, a moderate and a populist. The moderate is safe (i.e. it entails no uncertainty), while the populist is risky and less efficient than the moderate. We model this with the assumption that, when the populist is in office, each voter has a stochastic income with a lower expected value compared to his certain income when the moderate is in office. For now these are the only differences between candidates (redistributive policies chosen by each candidate are considered in the next section). These intrinsic differences between the two candidates reflect policies that will be chosen after the election, and the two politicians are expected to select different types of policies. In particular, populist politicians, being anti-establishment and more radical, are expected to enact more risky and on average less efficient policies, or to react to future shocks in more unpredictable ways (e.g. by abandoning the Euro, or by trying untested and unconventional policies).

With standard preferences, all voters would be in favor of the moderate candidate. This is no longer true with reference-dependent preferences. Voters whose income is much below their reference point become risk-lover. For them, the risk associated to the populist candidate may be appealing and they may vote for him, provided that the difference in efficiency is not too large. We characterize who benefits from and is most opposed to economic uncertainty: the very disappointed voters are the beneficiaries, the mildly disappointed (or close to disappointed) are the most opposed, while the very well off (relative to their expectations) are mildly opposed.

Although the relative preferences of voters between the two parties are non-monotone, we show that this simple model enjoys a single crossing property. If the median voter is sufficiently disappointed, the populist can prevail in the elections.

#### 3.1 Model

**Populist vs Moderate Candidates.** There are two candidates and a continuum of voters that differ only in their income,  $\theta \geq 0$ . Let  $G(\cdot)$  denote the cumulative distribution of income,  $\theta$ , over the population. For an agent with income  $\theta$ , the moderate ( $M$ ) candidate

offers the status quo, namely income  $\theta$ . The populist candidate ( $P$ ) instead is more risky and inefficient. For an agent who would have income  $\theta$  with the moderate, the populist generates income  $\theta - z + \eta$  where  $z > 0$  and  $\eta$  is a random variable distributed over  $[-\varepsilon, \varepsilon]$  with density  $h$  so that  $\mathbf{E}(\eta) = \int_{-\varepsilon}^{+\varepsilon} \eta h(\eta) d\eta = 0$ . The populist is therefore riskier than the moderate (because of the presence of the random shock  $\eta$ ) and less efficient. The parameter  $z$  is a measure of the inefficiency of the populist compared to the moderate. We assume  $\varepsilon > z$  so that with some probability the populist can generate a higher income than the moderate for all voters. Note that the difference between the populist and moderate candidates only concerns aggregate outcomes and it is the same for all voters - although as shown below different voters have different evaluations of these intrinsic features of candidates.

**Voters Preferences.** Voters have reference-dependent preferences. In particular, for a given distribution of consumption  $F_c$  they enjoy utility:<sup>7</sup>

$$U(F_c, x) = \mathbb{E}[c + \mu(c - x)],$$

where  $c$  is consumption,  $\mu(\cdot)$  is a negative valued, increasing, and convex function that penalizes the voter whenever  $c < x$ . We will refer to  $x > 0$  as ‘the reference point’ and we assume that it is the same for everyone, irrespective of his actual income. In subsection 4.5 we discuss how to relax this assumption. We also take  $x$  as exogenously given, although it could be endogenously derived, for instance assuming that agents are rational and forward looking, as in Koszegi and Rabin (2009).

Let  $d = c - x$ . We summarize our assumptions on  $\mu$  below:

ASSUMPTION 1. *The function  $\mu$  is continuous over the whole domain, with  $\mu(d) = 0$  for all  $d \geq 0$ . Moreover, for  $d < 0$ ,  $\mu$  is at least twice continuously differentiable and the following properties hold:*

(i)  $\mu(d) < 0$ ; (ii)  $\mu'(d) > 0$ ; (iii)  $\mu''(d) > 0$ ; (iv)  $\mu'''(d) \leq 0$ ; (v) for  $d = 0$ ,  $\mu$  admits left derivatives at least till the third degree  $\mu_-^n(0)$ ,  $n = 1, 2, 3$ , which are compatible with the natural extensions of (ii)-(iv).

An example of such preferences is represented in Figure 1 above.<sup>8</sup> Conditions (i)-(iii) are standard in models of reference-dependent preferences (e.g., Koszegi and Rabin

<sup>7</sup>With an abuse of notation, we denote by  $c$  both the random variable and a particular realisation of it.

<sup>8</sup>As an example consider the cubic polynomial form for  $\mu$  and consider nonnegative consumption. For

(2009)). Point (iv) of Assumption 1 is less standard and plays an important role in our results. In essence, a negative third derivative (i.e., a concave first derivative) is equivalent to having preferences for moving risk from high to low income levels. This assumption hence implies that more disappointed agents are more likely to favor the Populist candidate because of its intrinsic riskiness.<sup>9</sup>

**Timing of Events** Agents start with a given reference point  $x$ . After that, but before elections, their income level  $\theta$  is realized. Then elections are held and the winner is elected. If the populist candidate wins, income shocks are realized and agents consume. Hence, if the moderate wins, agent with income  $\theta$  consumes  $c_M(\theta) = \theta$  and enjoys utility:

$$w_M(\theta) = \theta + \mu(\theta - x);$$

If instead the populist is elected, the same agent has an expected consumption equal to  $\mathbb{E}(c_P(\theta)) = \theta - z$  and enjoys an expected utility

$$w_P(\theta) = \theta - z + \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu(\theta - z + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta.$$

**Non-monotone support with Single Crossing.** Thanks to the linearity of the baseline preferences, for each given  $z$ , the difference in expected utilities between the two candi-

$c \geq x$ ,  $\mu(c - x) \equiv 0$ . While for  $c - x \leq 0$ ,  $c \geq 0$ :

$$\mu(c - x) = a(c - x) + \frac{b}{2}(c - x)^2 + \frac{q}{3}(c - x)^3.$$

with  $a > 0$ ,  $b > 0$ ,  $q \leq 0$ , and  $a - bx + qx^2 > 0$ . Note that  $\mu(0) = 0$  and, for  $0 \leq c < x$ ,  $\mu'(c - x) = a + b(c - x) + q(c - x)^2 > 0$ ,  $\mu''(c - x) = b + 2q(c - x) > 0$  and  $\mu'''(c - x) = 2q \leq 0$ . The slope of  $\mu$  is maximal at  $c = x$  where it takes the value of  $a$  and it decreases to  $a - bx + qx^2$  for  $c = 0$ .

<sup>9</sup>Consider indeed the difference between the expected value of  $\mu$  of a zero mean gamble and the no gamble value evaluated with  $\mu$  at a given  $t$ :

$$\mathbb{E} [\mu(t + \eta)] - \mu(t),$$

where  $\eta$  is a zero mean random variable (mean preserving spread). If we derive the previous expression with respect to  $t$  we get

$$\mathbb{E} [\mu'(t + \eta)] < \mu'(t),$$

where the inequality comes from the Jensen's inequality and our assumption of concave first derivative. This means - as claimed - that the (positive) gap between the expected gain of a zero mean gamble and the no gamble situation decreases with  $t$ .

dates for voter with income  $\theta$  is a function of the difference  $\theta - x$  alone, namely:

$$w_M(\theta) - w_P(\theta) := \Delta(\theta - x) = z + \mu(\theta - x) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu(\theta - x - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta. \quad (1)$$

We show next that the functions  $w_P$  and  $w_M$  satisfy a single crossing property. We start with a lemma. Consider a given  $z$ , and let  $t := \theta - x$ .

LEMMA 1. *Under assumption 1: (i) for  $t > 0$ ,  $\Delta(\cdot)$  is strictly positive and (weakly) decreasing, while (ii) for  $t < 0$ ,  $\Delta(\cdot)$  is a strictly increasing function.*

Lemma 1 formalizes an important property of our framework. The lemma immediately implies that  $\Delta$  is maximal at  $t = 0$ , that is, the voter who most prefers the moderate is  $\theta = x$ , while at the extremes of the support we have the most mildly opposed to  $P$ . This feature of the model is consistent with the empirical evidence in Table 2, and it plays an important role in the political equilibrium analyzed in the next section.

Lemma 1 has another interesting implication, which is stated in the next proposition.

PROPOSITION 2. *Assume Assumption 1. Then  $w_M(\theta, x)$  and  $w_P(\theta, x)$  can cross at most once, at the income level  $\hat{\theta} < x$ .*

An example of the (single) crossing of the two curves is given in Figure 2, where we indicate with  $\hat{\theta}$  the value of income at which the crossing occurs (assuming it exists, otherwise the moderate gets 100% of votes because of his superior efficiency). Voters with income  $\theta > \hat{\theta}$  prefer candidate  $M$ , while those with income  $\theta < \hat{\theta}$  prefer candidate  $P$ .

Importantly, what matters in the figure, is not the value of income  $\theta$  per se but its relation with the reference point  $x$ . The same income distribution can lead to different political outcomes for different values of the reference point. In particular, large economic downturns may produce a political demand for risky policy choices. If the downturn is deep enough, so that the fraction of agents below  $\hat{\theta}$  increases, the likelihood that the populist is elected increases. Recall that by Assumption 1, the more disappointed an agent is - i.e., the farther left he is from the reference point - the more he benefits from policy uncertainty.

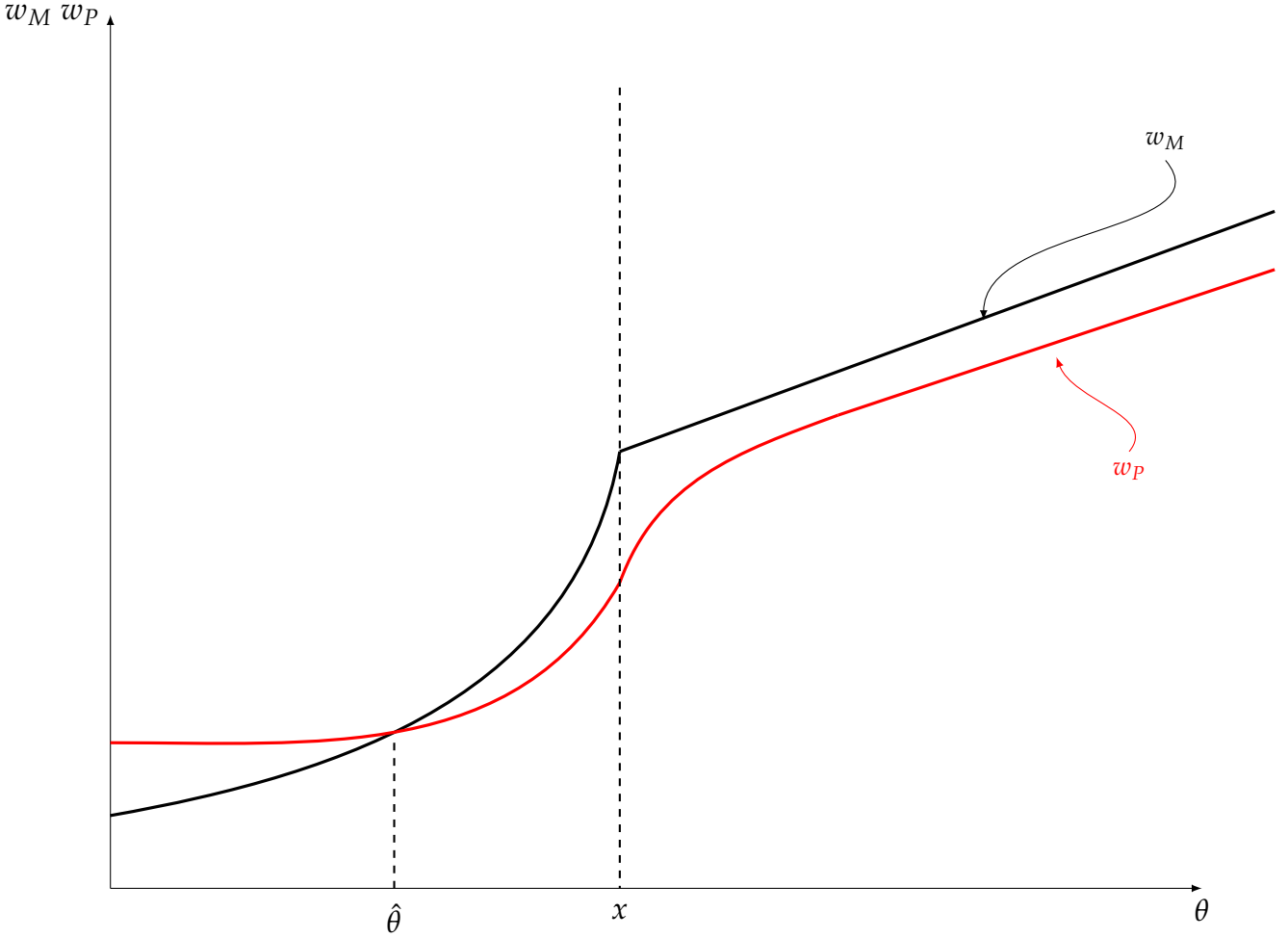


Figure 2: An Example of the single crossing in the space of  $\theta$ .

## 4 Political Competition over Redistributive Taxation

In this section, we allow the moderate and the populist candidates to compete over income tax rates  $0 \leq \tau_M, \tau_P \leq 1$ , assuming linear but distorting taxes (subscripts refer to candidates). The tax proceeds are distributed as a lump sum to every agent. Under the moderate candidate, the consumption of agent  $\theta$  equals:

$$c_M(\theta, \tau) = (1 - \tau_M)\theta + f(\tau_M),$$

while, under the populist, consumption is random and equals:

$$c_P(\theta, \tau) = (1 - \tau_P)\theta - z + f(\tau_P) + \eta,$$

where, recall, the random variable  $\eta$  is distributed between  $-\varepsilon$  and  $+\varepsilon$  and both  $\eta$  and  $z$  affect all agents equally. Note that since  $-z + \eta$  only affects aggregate income and redistribution is lump sum, effectively only the fixed and idiosyncratic income component  $\theta$  is taxed. The function  $f(\tau)$  solves the government budget constraint and embeds inefficiencies due to distortionary taxation. Specifically, we assume:

$$f(\tau) = \tau \mathbf{E}\theta - i(\tau), \tag{2}$$

with  $i(\cdot) \geq 0$  an increasing and convex function representing tax distortions, and  $\mathbf{E}\theta$  representing the cross-sectional average of  $\theta$ .<sup>10</sup> Throughout we assume that the properties of  $i(\cdot)$  satisfy the following:

ASSUMPTION 2. *The function  $f$  as defined in (2) takes a maximal value at tax rate  $0 \leq \tau_0 < 1$  and the function  $i(\cdot)$  is such that  $i(0) = 0 = i'(0)$ .*

Thus, if  $f$  is differentiable, at  $\tau_0$  we have  $f'(\tau_0) = \mathbf{E}\theta - i'(\tau_0) \leq 0$ , with equality if  $\tau_0 > 0$ . It is easy to verify that the optimal tax rate for an agent with income  $\theta$ , denoted by  $\tau^\theta$ , satisfies the optimality condition:  $f'(\tau^\theta) \leq \theta$ , with equality if  $\theta \leq \mathbf{E}\theta$  and strict inequality otherwise, irrespective of which type of agent is in office (this follows from the assumption that the shock associated with the populist is aggregate). Hence,  $\tau^\theta$ , is a decreasing function of  $\theta$  if  $\theta < \mathbf{E}\theta$  and  $\tau^\theta = 0$  if  $\theta \geq \mathbf{E}\theta$ . Moreover, by definition of  $\tau_0$ ,  $\tau^\theta \leq \tau_0$ . No voter with  $\theta \geq 0$ , no matter how poor, would ever want to have a tax rate on the wrong side of the Laffer curve.

Despite these well behaved policy preferences, however, voters' preferences for the package of a politician's type (moderate or populist) and his associated tax rate do not satisfy the single crossing property. That is, for some tax rates  $\tau_P$  and  $\tau_M$ , the expected utility functions  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  and  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  may intersect at more than one value of  $\theta$ . This can be seen from Figure 3. If  $\tau_P = \tau_M$ , then the indirect utility functions  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  (dotted curve) and  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  of voter  $\theta$  under each candidate remain as depicted in Figure 2,

<sup>10</sup>To avoid confusion, we use the 'bold' notation  $\mathbf{E}$  for cross-sectional averages and the 'math' notation  $\mathbb{E}$  when the integration is taken over the shock  $\eta \in [-\varepsilon, \varepsilon]$ .



and the two utility functions intersect at most once to the left of  $x$ , at income level  $\hat{\theta}$ . But suppose that  $\tau_p$  is lowered below  $\tau_M$ . This steepens the slope of  $w_p(\theta, \tau_p)$  (solid curve) relative to that of  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ . Hence the linear component of  $w_p(\cdot)$  (where  $c^P > x$ ) intersects the linear component of  $w_M(\cdot)$  for  $\theta < \infty$ . At the same time, by the argument discussed in the previous section, the convex component of  $w_p(\cdot)$  could remain flatter than that of  $w_M(\cdot)$  for  $c^P < x$  and for small realizations of  $\theta$ . Hence the two curves can intersect in at least two points, one to the left (denoted as  $\underline{\theta}$ ) and one to the right (denoted as  $\bar{\theta}$ ) of  $x$ , as shown in Figure 3.

The absence of single crossing implies that a Condorcet winner may not exist. In such a case, a simple model of Downsian electoral competition, where the two candidates compete in the election by simultaneously committing to a tax rate, does not have a pure-strategy Nash equilibrium, because of the non convexity of the objective functions.

To get around this problem, we assume instead that the two candidates move sequentially and that they maximize their vote share.<sup>11</sup> Specifically, we assume the following timing. First, the moderate candidate commits to a tax rate  $\tau_M$ . Then the populist candidate commits to a tax rate  $\tau_p$ . Finally, voters observe both tax rates and, knowing the risk properties of each candidate, they vote. This timing assumption can be interpreted as saying that the moderate candidate is the incumbent and this makes him less flexible in his policy announcements. Although we will maintain such timing in our narrative, this can be considered non-consequential, for at least two reasons. First, since the game played is zero-sum, whenever the game admits a Nash equilibrium in pure strategies (i.e., a saddle of the payoff function), Stackelberg and Nash equilibria generate the same payoffs and the same tax rates. Second, in Proposition 5 (iii) below, we show that the key qualitative properties of the equilibrium set are independent on the identity of the first mover.<sup>12</sup>

**Socially optimal policy.** What is the optimal tax policy in this economy? The answer is not straightforward, because the marginal utility of income varies depending on whether

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<sup>11</sup>The assumption that candidates maximize the vote share can be interpreted as saying that (exogenous) political rents are an increasing function of the vote share. Alternatively, the outcome of the election could be random and determined by the realization of an aggregate and exogenous popularity shock, making the probability of victory an increasing function of the vote share.

<sup>12</sup>Since the choice variables lie in the compact set  $[0, 1]$  the existence of a (Stackelberg, sequential) equilibrium (in pure strategies) of the dynamic game is guaranteed whenever the payoff functions of both players are continuous. In our context, it is easy to show that continuity of the payoff functions is guaranteed whenever the net distortion and the loss functions -  $f$  and  $\mu$  - and are continuous and the distribution of over  $\theta$  admits a density (in particular, it has no mass points, perhaps with the exclusion of the extremes).

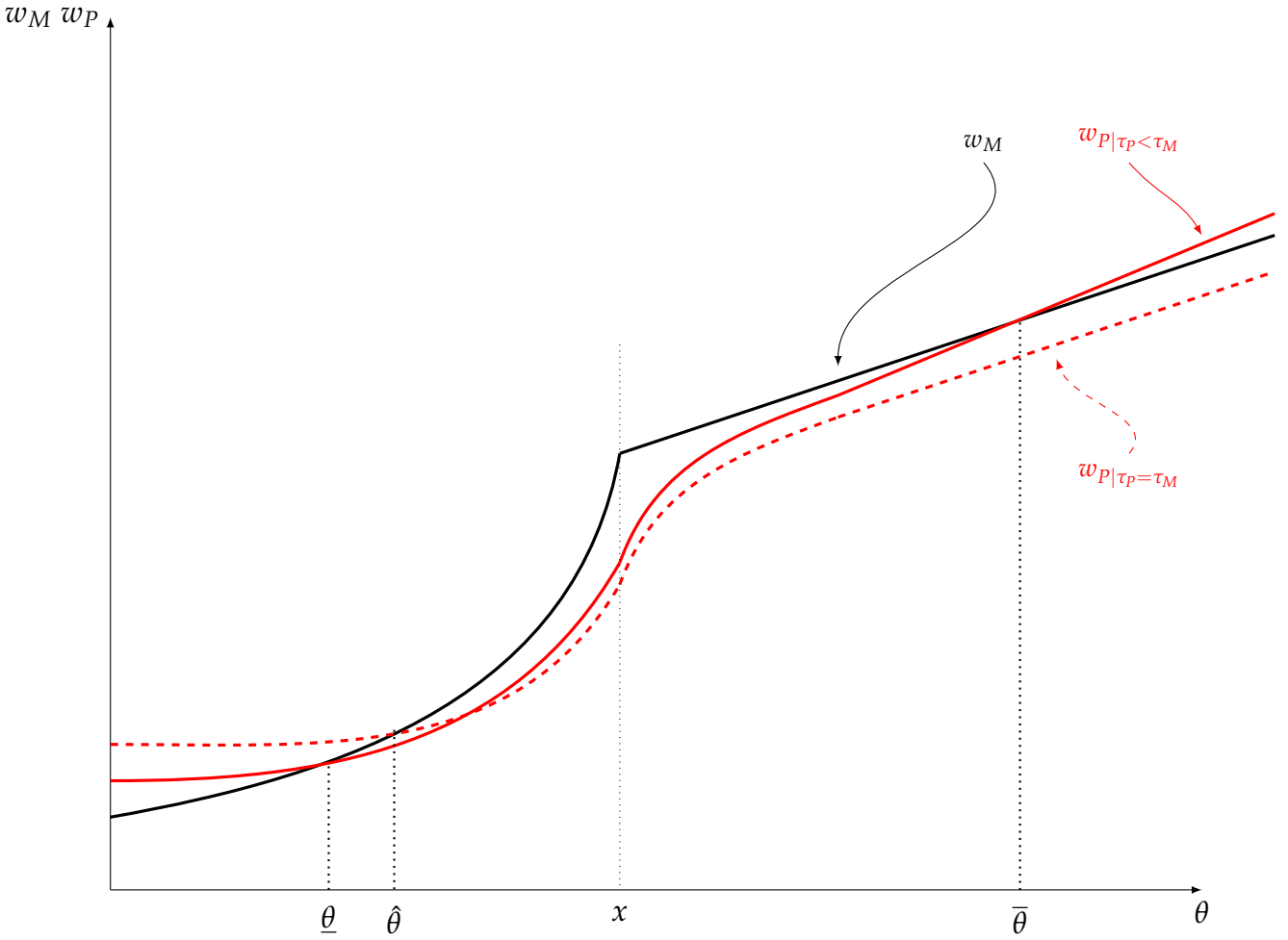


Figure 3: The black solid and the red dashed curves, representing  $w_M(\cdot)$  and  $w_P(\cdot)$  respectively, are drawn under the assumption that  $\tau_M = \tau_P$ . Similarly to Figure 2, in this case, the curves intersect only once at income level  $\hat{\theta}$ . If  $\tau_P$  is reduced, while  $\tau_M$  remains constant, the (red dashed) curve  $w_P(\cdot)$  rotates to the red solid curve, and it can intersect  $w_M(\cdot)$  at two income levels,  $\underline{\theta}$  and at  $\bar{\theta} > x$ . Voters with income with  $\theta < \underline{\theta}$  and with  $\theta > \bar{\theta}$  prefer candidate P to M. Those in between prefer M. In absence of distortions (i.e.,  $i \equiv 0$ ), the rotation would have center the mean income  $E\theta$ . With distortion, a reduction in  $\tau_P$  also shift the curve  $w_P$  upwards.

voters are above or below their reference point. Moreover, very disappointed voters are risk loving, and so they may prefer not to be insured against income risk. The appendix characterizes the tax rate that solves the utilitarian optimum assuming that income is not stochastic (or, equivalently, that the moderate is elected), and shows that it is strictly positive if  $\mathbf{E}\theta > x$  and there is a positive measure of agents with  $\theta < x$ . In this case, all disappointed agents are poorer than the average, and hence they benefit from redistribution. Since disappointed voters have higher marginal utility of income due to their loss aversion, a positive tax rate is optimal despite the tax distortions. In particular, at the social optimum the marginal tax distortions are equated to the marginal social benefit of redistributing in favor of the disappointed agents.

If  $\mathbf{E}\theta < x$ , however, this is no longer true, since some individuals with particularly high marginal utility are also hurt by redistribution. In this case a positive tax rate is socially optimal only under an additional condition stated in the appendix. This condition is more likely to be satisfied if: (i) there are not too many individuals with income between  $x$  and  $\mathbf{E}\theta$ ; (ii) the function  $\mu(\cdot)$  is not too convex.

We now turn to the analysis of the Political equilibrium. For this purpose, it is convenient to derive another property of our model.

## 4.1 Single crossing

We first consider the case  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ . The next Lemma states a sufficient condition under which the single crossing property continues to hold over this range of tax rates.

**LEMMA 3.** *Suppose that Assumptions 1 and 2 hold, and also assume that  $\mathbf{E}\theta \leq x - \varepsilon + z$ . Then, for  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$  we have: (i) the expected utilities  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  cross at most once, and (ii) this may only happen for  $\theta = \hat{\theta}$  such that  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\hat{\theta}, \tau_P) < c_M(\hat{\theta}, \tau_M) < x$ . (iii) Moreover,  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  (resp.  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M) \leq w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ ) if  $\theta \geq \hat{\theta}$  (resp.  $\theta \leq \hat{\theta}$ ).*

Note that  $z - \varepsilon < 0$ . The (sufficient) condition  $\mathbf{E}\theta \leq x - \varepsilon + z$  can hence be interpreted as saying that the economy has been hit by such a large negative shock that even the average voter (whose income is  $\mathbf{E}\theta$ ) always remains below his reference point when the populist is elected. This assumption also implies that any voter that is in favour of redistribution, that is, with income  $\theta < \mathbf{E}\theta$  will also be disappointed.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Note indeed that for any tax rate  $\tau$ , if  $\theta \leq \mathbf{E}\theta$  then  $c_i(\theta, \tau_i) \leq \mathbf{E}\theta < x$ ,  $i = M, P$ .

The threshold level  $\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)$  for which  $w_P(\hat{\theta}, \tau_P) = w_M(\hat{\theta}, \tau_M)$ , if it exists, is defined implicitly by the following equation

$$c_M(\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P), \tau_M) + \mu(c_M(\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P), \tau_M) - x) = \mathbb{E}c_P(\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P), \tau_P) + \mathbb{E}\mu(c_P(\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P), \tau_P) - x) \quad (3)$$

Single crossing implies that the political competition when  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$  is very simple. By Lemma 3, all voters with  $\theta > \hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)$  vote for  $M$ , while all voters with  $\theta < \hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)$  vote for  $P$ . Then, to maximize his vote share, the populist candidate sets  $\tau_P$  to maximize  $\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)$ , taking  $\tau_M$  as given. We denote with  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M)$  the solution to the populist optimization problem for each  $\tau_M$ , that is the populist's Best Response. Each point of the correspondence  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M)$  must satisfy  $\frac{\partial \hat{\theta}}{\partial \tau_P} = 0$ . By symmetry of the (zero sum game) problem, the moderate aims at minimizing  $\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P^*(\tau_M))$ . By the envelope property, the effect of  $\tau_M$  on  $\hat{\theta}$  has opposite sign with respect to that of  $\tau_P$  and it is larger in absolute value. In particular, taking into account the reaction function of the populist candidate, the threshold  $\hat{\theta}$  is strictly increasing in  $\tau_M$  in the range where  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M) > \tau_M$ . As a consequence, we cannot have an equilibrium with  $\tau_P^* > \tau_M^*$ . More formally:

LEMMA 4. *Under the assumptions of Lemma 3, in equilibrium we cannot have  $\tau_P^* > \tau_M^*$ .*

The result is obtained, in particular, because if the populist finds it optimal to choose  $\tau_P^* > \tau_M$ , then the moderate would be able to decrease  $\hat{\theta}$  further (and hence increase his vote share) by raising  $\tau_M$ . This is in turn the consequence of a key property of our framework. By comparing the slope of  $\hat{\theta}$  with respect to  $\tau_P$  (see equation (11)) and the slope of  $\hat{\theta}$  with respect to  $\tau_M$  (see equation (12)), whenever these slopes are different from

zero, for this range of taxes we have:<sup>14</sup>

$$\left| \frac{\partial \hat{\theta}}{\partial \tau_M} \right| > \left| \frac{\partial \hat{\theta}}{\partial \tau_P} \right|.$$

In other words,  $M$  gains more votes amongst the poor when it raises its tax rate, compared to what happens when  $P$  does the same. The reason is that more redistribution makes poor agents better off, and hence less disappointed, so that their consumption gets closer to  $x$ . Since  $\mu'''(\cdot) < 0$ , they thus become less risk loving, and this increases further the number of voters who lean towards  $M$ . The opposite occurs when the populist raises taxes. An increase in  $\tau_P$  gains the support of disappointed voters because they favour redistribution; this effect is however mitigated since by making them richer they become less risk loving.

## 4.2 Political Equilibrium

We are now ready to study the full equilibrium. To simplify the exposition, throughout we assume that the distribution  $G$  has (full) support over  $\mathbb{R}_+$ .

We summarize this discussion in the following:

PROPOSITION 5. *Under the assumptions of Lemma 3, a political equilibrium outcome can be of two sorts:*

*i) Policy convergence: The equilibrium displays single crossing and we have policy convergence at the bliss point of the voter who is just indifferent between  $M$  and  $P$  at the equilibrium tax rate. That is:  $\tau_P^* = \tau_M^* = \tau^{\hat{\theta}}$ .*

*ii) Populist tax cuts: the populist candidate strictly prefers  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$ , and the schedules  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P^*)$  and  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M^*)$  cross at more than one income level  $\theta$ .*

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<sup>14</sup>Specifically, the two conditions are:

$$\frac{\partial \hat{\theta}}{\partial \tau_P} = \frac{f_{\tau}(\tau_P) - \hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)}{(1 - \tau_M)R(c_M, c_P) - (1 - \tau_P)},$$

and

$$\frac{\partial \hat{\theta}}{\partial \tau_M} = \frac{R(c_M, c_P)[\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P) - f_{\tau}(\tau_M)]}{(1 - \tau_M)R(c_M, c_P) - (1 - \tau_P)},$$

where  $R(c_M, c_P) := (1 + \mu'(c_M - x))/(1 + \mathbb{E}\mu'(c_P - x))$ , and abusing notation  $\mathbb{E}\mu'(c_P - x) := \int_{-\varepsilon}^{x - \mathbb{E}c_P} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta$ . Since at the crossing point we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P < c_M$  and  $\mu'(\cdot)$  is positive and concave, we have  $R(c^M, c^P) > 1$ .

(iii) *Irrelevance of order of moves: The equilibrium configurations (i) and (ii) and their qualitative features about taxes and crossing remain the same if  $P$  is the first mover.*

The intuition for outcome (i) is as follows. In the range  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ , both candidates would like to flatten the curves of voters' welfare  $w_M$  and  $w_P$  in Figure 2, so as to shift the threshold  $\hat{\theta}$  in their desired direction. This tendency is mitigated by the fact that higher taxes also entail higher tax distortions, however. Higher tax distortions shift the expected utility downwards, and hence move the threshold  $\hat{\theta}$  in the opposite direction. In this case, these two forces are balanced. Not surprisingly, single crossing implies policy convergence at the bliss point of the voter who is just indifferent between the two candidates (not necessarily the median voter).

The equilibrium of case (ii) in Proposition 5 is more interesting. Here we do not have single crossing (i.e., the voters' utility functions intersect more than once), and in equilibrium there is no policy convergence: the populist candidate announces a lower tax rate than the moderate. By Proposition 5, we know that there must be at least another intersection point, possibly more than one. As in the previous discussion of Figure 3, let  $\bar{\theta}$  denote the highest level of income for which  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P(\tau_M^*))$  and  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M^*)$  intersect. Since  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$ , it must be the that  $w_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P(\tau_M^*))$  intersects  $w_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M^*)$  from below.<sup>15</sup> Hence, all voters with income  $\theta > \bar{\theta}$  prefer candidate  $P$  to candidate  $M$ . Let  $\underline{\theta}$  denote the first intersection point to the left of  $\bar{\theta}$ , so that at  $\underline{\theta}$  the function  $w_M(\underline{\theta}, \tau_M^*)$  intersects  $w_P(\underline{\theta}, \tau_P(\tau_M^*))$  from below (i.e.  $w_M$  is steeper than  $w_P$ ). Hence, all voters with income  $\theta < \underline{\theta}$  in a neighbourhood of  $\underline{\theta}$  prefer candidate  $P$  to candidate  $M$ . Since  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$  and  $\mu'(\cdot) > 0$ , this second intersection point can only occur in the region where  $w_M$  is non-linear - i.e., where  $c_M(\underline{\theta}, \tau_M^*) < x$ . We thus have:

**COROLLARY 6.** *In case (ii) of Proposition 5 the populist candidate is supported by a coalition that includes the richest voters (i.e. all voters with  $\theta > \bar{\theta}$ ) and disappointed voters (i.e. voters with  $c_M < x$  in equilibrium).*

To illustrate this corollary in a case with double crossing of the functions  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M^*)$  and  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P(\tau_M^*))$ , we can refer to Figure 3. This is the case illustrated by the solid curve. All voters with income  $\theta > \bar{\theta}$  and with income  $\theta < \underline{\theta}$  prefer candidate  $P$  to candidate  $M$ .

<sup>15</sup>The fact that  $w_P$  intersects  $w_M$  from below can be proved by contradiction. Suppose that at  $\bar{\theta}$   $w_P$  intersects  $w_M$  from above. Then  $\bar{\theta}$  cannot be the right-most intersection point, because: (i)  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$  implies  $\frac{\partial w_P}{\partial \theta} > \frac{\partial w_M}{\partial \theta}$  in the linear part of the utility functions: (ii)  $G$  has (full) support over  $\mathbb{R}_+$ .

The populist candidate is supported by a coalition of the extremes, the rich voters and the poor and disappointed voters. With more than double crossing, the poorest voters could support the moderate incumbent (who promises higher taxes), but it would remain true that the populist candidate draws the support of the richest voters and of some disappointed voters. With double (or more) crossing, it is also true that the moderate candidate always receives the support of some voters with intermediate levels of income, i.e. with  $\underline{\theta} < \theta < \bar{\theta}$ . These are the voters who fear the risky populist politician the most because, being close to their reference point, they could suffer a lot if the populist politician has a bad draw, because of loss aversion.

In other words, the populist candidate knows that he appeals the most to the risk loving and disappointed voters. He can thus afford to choose a tax rate that is too low for these voters, knowing that they would be reluctant to vote for the moderate politician that they dislike. Setting a lower tax rate, enables the populist candidate to also gain the vote of the richest and non-disappointed individuals, who only care about the policy platforms and not about the intrinsic features of the two politicians. Thus, in equilibrium the populist politician sets a lower tax rate and is supported by a coalition of rich and disappointed voters.

Finally, who wins the election? If in equilibrium  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) \geq \tau_M^*$ , then by Lemma 3 we have single crossing at the level of income  $\hat{\theta}(\tau_P(\tau_M^*), \tau_M^*)$ . Voters to the right of  $\hat{\theta}$  prefer the moderate candidate, those to the left prefer the populist candidate. Hence candidate  $M$  wins if the median level of income exceeds  $\hat{\theta}$ , while candidate  $P$  wins in the opposite case. Note that, if in equilibrium  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M^*)$  and  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P(\tau_M^*))$  cross only once at the point  $\hat{\theta}$ , although there is policy convergence, the equilibrium tax rates of either candidate are not attracted by the median voter bliss point. If in equilibrium  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$ , then we may have double crossing or more, we have no policy convergence, and to determine who wins we have to sum the coalitions of voters in favor of one or the other candidate. For instance, in the case of double crossing, the size of the voting coalition in favor of the moderate candidate is  $G(\bar{\theta}(\tau_P(\tau_M^*), \tau_M^*)) - G(\underline{\theta}(\tau_P(\tau_M^*), \tau_M^*))$ . If this expression exceeds  $1/2$  then  $M$  wins, otherwise  $P$  does. Here too, the median voter bliss points does not pin down equilibrium tax rates.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>If the election outcome was determined by the realization of an aggregate and exogenous popularity shock, as discussed in footnote 11, then the statements in the text would have to be interpreted as affecting the probability of winning, but not who is ultimately appointed.

### 4.3 Double crossing

We now consider the case in which the value functions  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  cross at most twice for  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ . In Appendix D, we provides a set of sufficient conditions for this to happen. These conditions amount to assuming - roughly - that: (i) for any  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ , the right-most crossing point occurs sufficiently far from the reference point  $x$ , and that (ii) the function  $\mu(\cdot)$  is sufficiently well behaved that  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  remains below  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  for all levels of income below the first crossing point to the left of  $x$ . The latter is obviously the crucial assumption, while property (i) only serves to formally state property (ii). Under these conditions, if  $\tau_P < \tau_M$  then we have at most double crossing. As a result, by Proposition 5, in equilibrium candidate  $P$  is supported either by a group of poor and disappointed voters (single crossing equilibrium), or by a coalition of poor and disappointed voters and of rich voters, while voters with consumption close to the reference point vote for  $M$  (double crossing equilibrium).

Consider how the candidates behave in this second type of equilibrium. Since there is double crossing, the optimal tax rate for  $P$  maximizes the area to the right of  $\bar{\theta}$  plus the area to the left of  $\underline{\theta}$ . His optimality condition (assuming interiority), taking  $\tau_M$  as given, is:

$$g(\underline{\theta}) \frac{\partial \underline{\theta}}{\partial \tau_P} = g(\bar{\theta}) \frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau_P},$$

where  $g(\cdot)$  is the density of the income distribution  $G(\cdot)$ . This condition says that, at an interior optimum, the marginal votes gained by  $P$  amongst the poor when raising  $\tau_P$  are equal to the votes lost amongst the rich.<sup>17</sup> By the envelope theorem, the optimality condition for  $M$ , taking into account how  $\tau_P$  responds to  $\tau_M$ , is:

$$g(\underline{\theta}) \frac{\partial \underline{\theta}}{\partial \tau_M} = g(\bar{\theta}) \frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau_M},$$

which has the same interpretation, namely  $M$  also equates the marginal votes gained and lost on the opposite sides of the income distribution, evaluated at exactly the same thresholds,  $\underline{\theta}$  and  $\bar{\theta}$ .

For simplicity, suppose that the right-most intersection point  $\bar{\theta}$  occurs in the region where both  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  are linear, as in Figure 3. Then these optimality conditions imply that in equilibrium  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$ . This is because, as discussed above

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<sup>17</sup>Note indeed, that in order to have an equilibrium of this type, it must be that  $\underline{\theta} < E\theta$ .



and formally shown in the proof of Lemma 4 in appendix B, at  $\tau_M = \tau_P$  we have:

$$\left| \frac{\partial \underline{\theta}}{\partial \tau^M} \right| > \frac{\partial \underline{\theta}}{\partial \tau^P} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau^M} = \left| \frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau^P} \right|.$$

Namely, the lower income threshold  $\underline{\theta}$  is more sensitive to changes in  $\tau_M$  than in  $\tau_P$ , while the upper threshold is equally sensitive at  $\tau_M = \tau_P$ . As we saw, the assumption  $\mu'''(\cdot) < 0$ , implies that  $M$  gains more votes amongst the poor when it raises its tax rate, compared to what happens when  $P$  does the same. This effect is absent at the upper threshold  $\bar{\theta}$ , where swing voters are risk neutral.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the equilibrium must be found at a point where  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$ . At this point, tax distortions are higher under  $M$ , and the concavity of  $f$  implies that  $\frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau^M} > \left| \frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau^P} \right|$ . Namely, the upper threshold is also more sensitive to changes in  $\tau_M$  than in  $\tau_P$  when  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) < \tau_M^*$ , because of the larger tax distortions associated with  $\tau_M$ .

In other words, under the stated assumptions the equilibrium is such that, at both margins, the elasticity of votes gained or lost is higher for  $M$  than for  $P$ . This in turn follows from the intrinsic difference between the two candidates. Because  $P$  is risky, it has less to gain from offering redistribution to the poor. The reason is that, by making the poor voters better off,  $P$  also reduces its intrinsic attractiveness amongst disappointed voters. Not surprisingly, therefore, in equilibrium  $P$  sets lower taxes than  $M$ .

#### 4.4 Convergence or Divergence of Tax Rates

As we have shown, in our model two types of equilibria may exist: one with convergence of tax rates ( $\tau_M = \tau_P$ ) and one with divergence ( $\tau_M > \tau_P$ ). In this subsection we discuss when these two types of equilibria prevail.

<sup>18</sup>More formally, if  $\bar{\theta}$  is in the linear part of  $w_M$  and  $w$ , we have

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau_P} &= \frac{\underline{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P) - f_\tau(\tau_P)}{\tau_M - \tau_P}, \\ \text{while} \\ -\frac{\partial \bar{\theta}}{\partial \tau_M} &= \frac{\underline{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P) - f_\tau(\tau_M)}{\tau_M - \tau_P}. \end{aligned}$$

Whenever  $f$  is strictly concave,  $\tau_P < \tau_M$  implies  $f_\tau(\tau_M) < f_\tau(\tau_P)$ . If  $\bar{\theta}$  was in the non-linear part of  $w_M$  or of  $w_P$ , then these expressions would contain additional terms, which we do not report here for ease of exposition.

A first relevant property of the economic environment is whether, when both candidates offer the same tax rates, the average voter  $\mathbf{E}\theta$  prefers the populist or the moderate. Define  $\hat{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau^{\hat{\theta}})$  as the level of income of an individual who is indifferent between the two candidates when they both set tax rates at his bliss point,  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}}$ , namely such that:

$$w_M(\hat{\theta}, \tau^{\hat{\theta}}) = w_P(\hat{\theta}, \tau^{\hat{\theta}}) \quad (4)$$

As implied by Figure 3, individuals with  $\theta > \hat{\theta}$  (resp.  $\theta < \hat{\theta}$ ) prefer the moderate (resp. populist) candidate when they set the same tax rate. Note that  $\hat{\theta}$  and  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}}$  do not depend on the distribution of  $\theta$  among voters.<sup>19</sup>

Suppose that, when  $\tau_M = \tau_P = 0$ , the average voter prefers the populist candidate:  $\mu(\mathbf{E}\theta - x) < -z + E\mu(\mathbf{E}\theta - z - x)$ . Then it is easy to see that  $\hat{\theta} > \mathbf{E}\theta$  and  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}} = 0$ .<sup>20</sup> Intuitively, the marginal voter  $\hat{\theta}$  loses from redistribution because he is richer than the average. In the Appendix we prove that this is indeed the case.

LEMMA 7. *If  $\mu(\mathbf{E}\theta - x) < -z + E\mu(\mathbf{E}\theta - z - x)$ , then in equilibrium  $\tau_M^* = \tau_P^* = 0$ .*

That is, if the marginal voter  $\hat{\theta}$  is opposed to redistribution, then neither candidate can gain votes by proposing a positive tax rate, and policy divergence is ruled out in equilibrium. Thus, a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the equilibrium to have policy divergence is that, when candidates propose the same tax rate, the average voters prefers the moderate candidate

Note this in turn requires that  $z > 0$  and sufficiently large, since  $E\mu(\mathbf{E}\theta - x) > \mu(\mathbf{E}\theta - x)$  by convexity of  $\mu(\cdot)$ . In other words, unless the populist's inefficiency,  $z$ , is sufficiently high, we are always in the case where there is convergence of tax rates to  $\tau_M = \tau_P = 0$ .

Next consider the polar case, where the average voter prefers the moderate candidate if both tax rates are at the maximal level  $\tau_0$ , namely  $\mu(\bar{\theta} - i(\tau_0) - x) > -z + E\mu(\bar{\theta} - i(\tau_0) - z - x)$ . In this case,  $\hat{\theta} < \mathbf{E}\theta$  and  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}} > 0$ .<sup>21</sup> In this case, in equilibrium we can either

<sup>19</sup>Using the condition for a voter optimal tax rate,  $\hat{\theta}$  and  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}}$  are implicitly defined by:

$$\begin{aligned} \mu(\theta - i(\tau) - x) &= -z + E\mu(\theta - i(\tau) - z - x) \\ i'(\tau) &= \text{Max}[0, \mathbf{E}\theta - \theta] \end{aligned}$$

The first equation is the indifference condition, the second equation defines the optimal tax rate for an individual with income  $\theta$ .

<sup>20</sup>If the average voter prefers the populist candidate at  $\tau_P = \tau_M = 0$ , it also does so for any  $\tau_P = \tau_M > 0$ .

<sup>21</sup>If the average voter prefers the moderate candidate at  $\tau_M = \tau_P = \tau_0$ , it also does so for any  $\tau_M = \tau_P < \tau_0$ .

have single crossing convergence of tax rates at  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}} > 0$ , or double crossing (or more) and divergence with  $\tau_M^* > \tau_P^*$ , depending on the distribution of voters.

By Proposition 5, in an equilibrium where  $\tau_P^* \geq \tau_M^*$ , we can only have equality between the two tax rates at  $\tau^{\hat{\theta}}$ . Hence, there is only one reason why an equilibrium with convergence of tax rates may fail to exist: if  $\tau_M = \tau^{\hat{\theta}}$ , then the populist prefers to set  $\tau_P < \tau^{\hat{\theta}}$ . In other words, we only need to consider the incentives of the populist candidate to deviate from the putative single crossing equilibrium. In the single crossing equilibrium, the populist candidate obtains a fraction of votes  $G(\hat{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau^{\hat{\theta}}))$ . Let  $\underline{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P)$  and  $\bar{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P)$  be the two crossing points depicted in Figure 3 if the populist chooses  $\tau_P < \tau^{\hat{\theta}} = \tau_M$ , with  $\underline{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P) < \bar{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P)$ .<sup>22</sup> Note that  $\underline{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P) < \hat{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau^{\hat{\theta}})$ : by reducing the tax rate, the populist loses votes among voters who favor redistribution. Then the populist prefers to deviate and set  $\tau_P < \tau^{\hat{\theta}}$  if the votes gained among the rich exceed those lost among the poor, namely if there is a tax rate  $\tau_P < \tau^{\hat{\theta}}$  such that:

$$1 - G(\bar{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P)) > G(\hat{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau^{\hat{\theta}})) - G(\underline{\theta}(\tau^{\hat{\theta}}, \tau_P))$$

If this condition holds, then an equilibrium with policy divergence and  $\tau_M^* > \tau_P^*$  exists. Clearly, this condition is more likely to be satisfied if the income distribution is such that there are many rich above  $\bar{\theta}$ , or if there are few poor in the region between  $\hat{\theta}$  and  $\underline{\theta}$ . This condition is also more likely to be satisfied if the points  $\hat{\theta}$  and  $\underline{\theta}$  are close together (i.e. these two thresholds are not very sensitive to  $\tau_P$ ).

## 4.5 Numerical Example

We now illustrate these intuitions with double crossing with a numerical example. The example is documented in Figure 4 below and Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 in Appendix E. Appendix Figure 10 illustrates the populist reaction function and displays the discontinuity in  $P$ 's reaction function: if  $\tau_M$  is sufficiently low,  $\tau_P(\tau_M) > \tau_M$  and it is increasing in  $\tau_M$ . But once  $\tau_M$  exceeds a critical value (0.12 in this numerical example),  $P$  finds it optimal to jump to a lower tax rate  $\tau_P(\tau_M) < \tau_M$ . Candidate  $M$  in turn finds it optimal to accept this situation, and the Stackelberg equilibrium is found at  $\tau_M^* = .22$  and  $\tau_P(\tau_M^*) = .18$ ,

<sup>22</sup>For simplicity, we only consider the possibility of an equilibrium with double crossing, ruling out equilibria with more than two crossing points (again, for a set of sufficient conditions for this to happen, see Appendix D).

where we have double crossing and both candidates are at an interior optimum.

The equilibrium with double crossing emerges because  $M$  does not want to lose the support of moderately disappointed voters. In order to get their vote,  $M$  must offer sufficiently high redistribution, otherwise  $P$  could attract them with a tax rate close to their bliss point. By setting a large  $\tau_M$ , however, the moderate creates an opportunity for the populist to reduce the tax rate and attract the richest voters. This is indeed what  $P$  does in the political equilibrium with double crossing.

This numerical example has the same qualitative properties, including  $\tau_P^* < \tau_M^*$ , if roles are reversed and  $P$  is the Stackelberg leader. Appendix Figure 11 illustrates the reaction functions  $\tau_P(\tau_M)$  (blue solid line) and  $\tau_M(\tau_P)$  (red dashed line). Both reaction functions are discontinuous and they never cross, indicating that a Nash equilibrium does not exist. Figure 11 in the appendix also reports the Stackelberg equilibria when  $P$  is moving first (the two red squares). These are both at a point where  $\tau_P^* < \tau_M(\tau_P^*)$ . Proposition 5 (iii) clarifies that this is not a coincidence: the key qualitative features of the equilibrium are preserved even if the timing assumptions are reversed and  $P$  moves first. This is not surprising, since with  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$  we have single crossing by Lemma 3. Hence, if the equilibrium was in the region  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ , either the follower (here  $M$ ) would have to be indifferent between two points, one above and another below the 45 degree line, or there would be policy convergence in equilibrium. Even if  $P$  moves first, there cannot be an equilibrium where the follower ( $M$ ) strictly prefers  $\tau_M > \tau_P$ .

## 4.6 Extensions

In this model there are two dimensions of political conflict. One is the traditional redistributive conflict over tax policy. The other is disagreement over the desired risk properties of candidates. Both dimensions are related to individual income, relative to average income for redistribution, and relative to a common reference point for risk. Preferences for high taxes are decreasing in individual income,  $\theta$ . Similarly, for any tax rate  $\tau \in [0, 1)$ , the difference between net income (consumption) and the common reference point  $x$  increases with  $\theta$ . The shape of  $\mu$  implies that the risk attitude of voters as a function of income is non-monotone, with voters who consume close to the reference point being most averse to risk. Our results generalize to extensions of the model that preserve these qualitative features. In this section we discuss three such extensions.

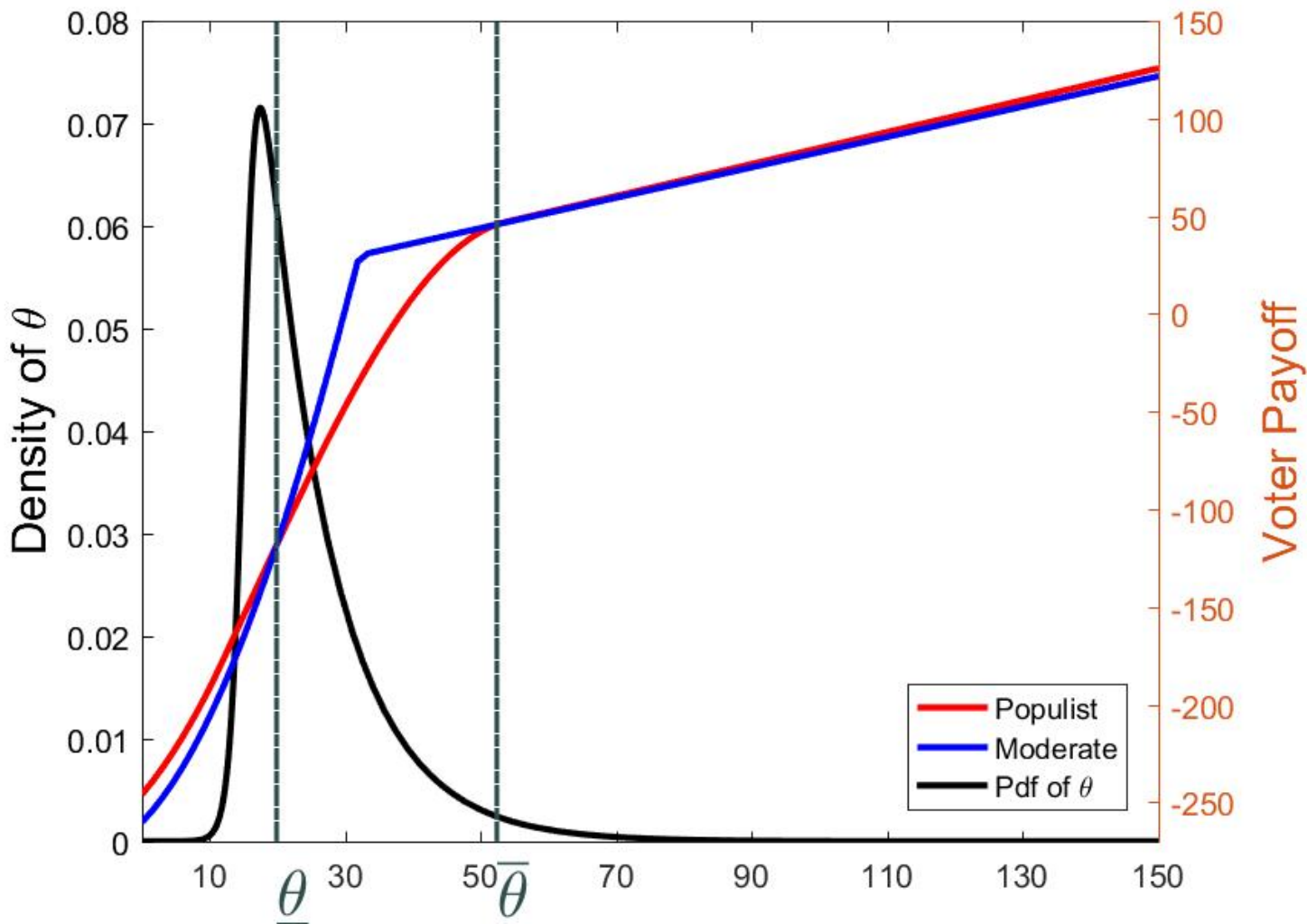


Figure 4: **A numerical example of double crossing.** The figure combines figures 7 and 8 in Appendix E. It reports both the distribution of  $\theta$  (the left scale) and voters' welfare (reported in the right scale) under the two parties -  $w_P$  (in red) and  $w_M$  (in blue) - as a function of  $\theta$  for the equilibrium level of taxes. The vertical dashed lines represent the equilibrium crossing points. Voters prefer  $M$  between the two points and  $P$  for  $\theta$  outside the two vertical lines.

**Risk aversion** We assumed that the direct utility of voters is linear in consumption. All our results would still hold if we assumed risk averse voters, namely if  $w^M(c, x) = u(c) + \mu(c - x)$  with  $u$  strictly increasing and concave. In this case, however, we need two additional ‘regularity’ assumptions. First, in order to keep individuals with high income not very averse to risk (and hence potentially willing to vote for the populist),  $u$  should display Decreasing Absolute Risk Aversion (DARA). Risk aversion penalizes the populist, and DARA implies that such penalty decreases with income. Second, more disappointed individuals (i.e. those with lower  $c - x$ ) should be more likely to prefer the populist candidate in the absence of taxation (as in Lemma 1). For this to be the case, we need to assume that for  $c < x$  the function  $w^M$  satisfies Assumption 1. In particular, the convexity of  $\mu$  must dominate the concavity of  $u$  - i.e.,  $u''(c) + \mu''(c - x) > 0$  and  $u'''(c) + \mu'''(c - x) \leq 0$  for all  $c < x$ .

**Heterogeneous Reference Points** We can also relax the assumption that all voters have the same reference point, as long as we preserve the feature that individuals with lower income are more disappointed (i.e., they are further below their idiosyncratic reference point). For example, all our results still hold if the reference point of individuals with income  $\theta$  is given by:  $x(\theta) = (1 - \rho)\theta + \rho x_0$  for  $1 \geq \rho > \tau_0$  (where  $\tau_0$  is the tax rate that maximizes tax revenue), and with  $x_0$  the same for all agents.<sup>23</sup>

As a further generalization, suppose that  $x_0$  in the previous formulation also varies across individuals. Each agent is now identified by two elements,  $(\theta, x_0)$ , with  $x_0 \in [x_{min}, x_{max}]$ . As shown in Proposition 10 (ii) in Appendix C.1, without further restrictions we cannot exclude the possibility of an equilibrium with divergence where  $\tau_P > \tau_M$ . On point (i) of Proposition 10 however, we show that if we strengthen the assumption made

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<sup>23</sup> Here is the outline of the proof. Lemma 1 and Proposition 2 only depend on the difference  $\theta - x$ , which in this case becomes  $\theta - x(\theta) = \rho(\theta - x_0)$ . Lemma 3 holds as long as in the initial assumption  $x$  is replaced by  $x_0$ , that is, we assume  $\mathbb{E}\theta \leq x_0 - \varepsilon + z$ . The assumption  $\rho > \tau_0$  guarantees that even when  $\tau = \tau_0$  the difference between disposable income (consumption) and the reference point increases with  $\theta$ . A formal proof of the single crossing property is presented in Appendix C.1, Proposition 10. Lemma 4 also holds: point (i) of the lemma is the consequence of the envelope condition and it can be checked directly that Lemma 4 (ii) holds as well. Propositions 5 and 6 are direct derivations from Lemma 3 and Lemma 4 so they follow from it. Finally, it can be checked directly that the double crossing result of Proposition 11 in the appendix still holds, as long as Assumptions 4 and 5 are kept as stated, and Assumption 3 is replaced by:

$$\frac{f(\tau_0) + z}{\tau_0} - \frac{z - \varepsilon}{\rho} > x_0.$$

in Lemma 3 to  $E\theta \leq x_{min} - \varepsilon + z$ , then  $\tau_P > \tau_M$  implies single crossing.<sup>24</sup> In other words, if the populist candidate strictly prefers  $\tau_P > \tau_M$ , then in equilibrium he is supported by all voters with income below a given threshold. This result replaces Proposition 5 (i), implying that we lose the policy convergence result. For  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ , a generalized version of Corollary 6 instead survives, where the single crossing property for a subset of  $x_0$ -agents co-exists with a double or more crossing for another  $x_0$ -group.<sup>25</sup>

The previous arguments are not based on any distributional assumption of  $x_0$  conditional  $\theta$ . In particular, we could have a distribution of reference points  $x(\theta, x_0)$  that displays a non-monotone (stochastic) relationship with individual income. In this case, we could have equilibria with  $\tau_P < \tau_M$  where the populist is supported by a coalition dominated by rich voters and disappointed middle class voters, while most of the poorest voters are not very disappointed and hence support the moderate candidate because they are attracted by its more redistributive policies.

## 5 Discussion

The implications of reference-dependent preferences have been extensively explored in finance and in economics, but not in politics. Yet, the idea that economically disappointed voters are attracted by risk is as important in politics as in economics (e.g., see Quattrone and Tversky 1988). In this paper we have argued that this idea can contribute to explain the success of new radical and populist parties after large negative economic shock. We have also shown that electoral competition between a safe and a risky opponent can lead to an equilibrium where the more risky candidate runs on a platform of lower redistributive taxes, and is supported by an "unwieldy" coalition of very disappointed and very rich voters. This happens for two reasons. First, reference-dependent preferences imply that voters at the extremes are the least opposed to risky candidates. Second, the more

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<sup>24</sup>Recall that the assumption guarantees that all non-disappointed voters have above average income, and hence cannot be attracted by the populist if he proposes a higher tax rate. We can hence follow the arguments described in footnote 23 and see that the proofs of Lemma 1, Proposition 2, and Lemma 3 apply line by line, conditional on  $x_0$ , for each  $x_0 \in [x_{min}, x_{max}]$ . We however may lose Lemma 4.

<sup>25</sup>It we want to guarantee not more than two crossings for each  $x_0$  (Proposition 11), we would need to strengthen Assumptions 4, 5 to hold for every  $x_0 \in [x_{min}, x_{max}]$ , and Assumption 3 to be replaced by

$$\frac{f(\tau_0) + z}{\tau_0} - \frac{z - \varepsilon}{\rho} > x_{max}.$$

risky candidate knows that he can retain several disappointed supporters even if he pursues a policy of low redistribution that is suboptimal for them. If the safe incumbent were to pursue a similar policy of low redistribution, he would face a steeper electoral loss because risk loving and low income voters would be more ready to abandon him. In other words, it is the intrinsic preference for risk of low income and disappointed voters that induces policy divergence and gives rise to the “unwieldy” coalition supporting the populist candidate.

Note that not all economic downturns are predicted to have this effect. Disappointment is due to the contrast between current and planned well being. A gradual and predictable downturn need not generate disappointment and the associated rise in risk preferences, if it also induces a decline in the reference point. This may explain why support for extremist and populist parties is often associated with large financial crises, rather than with more regular and predictable business downturns (Funke et al. 2016). The extent to which the welfare system and the labor market shields voters from adverse shocks, or helps them to find other economic opportunities, could also have an impact on the phenomena studied in this paper. Economies where larger groups of workers are more vulnerable to harsh and prolonged economic disappointment are more likely to support radical and unconventional parties in times of crisis.

The same logic also suggests that the support for populist parties after a deep recession could be short lived. In this paper we have not explored the dynamic implications of reference-dependent preferences. But reference points are unlikely to be immutable, and individuals could adjust their expectations to persistent economic conditions. If so, economic disappointment could be mitigated by the passage of time, which in turn would reduce the attractiveness of more risky candidates. Exploring the dynamic implications of time varying reference points in a political setting is an interesting area of future research.

Financial crises differ from regular business fluctuations not only because they are large and unexpected, but also because often they can be blamed on the economic and political establishment. This points to another behavioral feature of populist parties: they appeal to popular resentment against economic and political élites that appear to have let down the common man. A natural question for future research is whether our theoretical results on policy divergence and the “unwieldy coalition” also extend to a setting where two competing candidates are intrinsically different in this dimension of resentment or blame by disappointed voters, and not only in their risk properties.



Most analyses of populism presume or imply that it is a bad thing. In our model, the intrinsic riskiness of the populist candidate is a desirable feature, at least for some voters. This raises the question of why both candidates cannot tailor the risk taking implications of their policies to voters' demands. Indeed, some papers have asked what may induce politicians to undertake more or less risky policies (eg. Aghion and Jackson 2016). Not all policies are chosen in the course of electoral competition, however, and the propensity to undertake new and untested policies, or to make risky future decisions, is an important intrinsic feature of political representatives. This in turn raises the question of how political candidates are selected by parties, and what may induce the selection of safer or more risky political candidates.

Finally, risky policies have an impact not only on domestic voters, but also on other countries or international organizations. Is there something that other countries or international organizations can do to prevent the rise of political risk in neighboring countries? Our model suggests that risky and radical governments are more likely to win office after a large negative shock. Measures that mitigate the impact of the negative shock may thus help moderate and safer candidates, also to the benefit of other countries and international organizations negatively affected by risky policies

To fix ideas, take the perspective of an external creditor. The creditor may be harmed if the more risky candidate is elected, because in case of bad outcomes the country may be unable to fully repay its external debt. Risk is disliked by creditors, because the upside benefit is captured by the debtor, while the downside risk is borne by the creditor in the event of default. Interestingly, a creditor can influence the election outcome in a country in its preferred direction, i.e., against the more risky candidate, by unilaterally forgiving part of the debt. The key insight is that voters' risk appetite is decreasing in their level of consumption. By unilaterally reducing the debt, the creditor increases voter's expected consumption and therefore favors the election of the less risky candidate. Obviously, the creditor trades-off the cost of reducing the debt vs the lower repayment expected if the risky candidate is elected. In some circumstances, the cost for the creditor of forgiving part of the debt may be lower than the cost of a partial repayment when the risky candidate is elected. It is worth mentioning that the perspective of debt default, even only a partial default, may by itself induce voters to elect the populist, as their expected consumption may increase. This is the well-known risk-shifting effect analyzed in corporate finance by Jensen and Meckling (1976). Debt forgiveness may be an optimal response

of the creditor even when voters preferences are not reference-dependent. On the other hand, with reference-dependent preferences unilateral debt forgiveness can be optimal even in the absence of a direct benefit for the the voters, as long as the election of a risky candidate harms the creditor.

This lesson is more general than the example of debt repayment, and applies also to the design of conditionality in granting assistance loans. If conditionality imposes harsh and unexpected pain to a large number of voters, it may backfire. Disappointed voters may react by choosing the more risky political option, even if it is economically less efficient, because it is the only alternative that may give them a chance to get back to their expected level of well being. The recent European Recovery Fund and the Marshall Plan are examples of international aid programs that may have been designed also taking into account this general insight.

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## Appendix

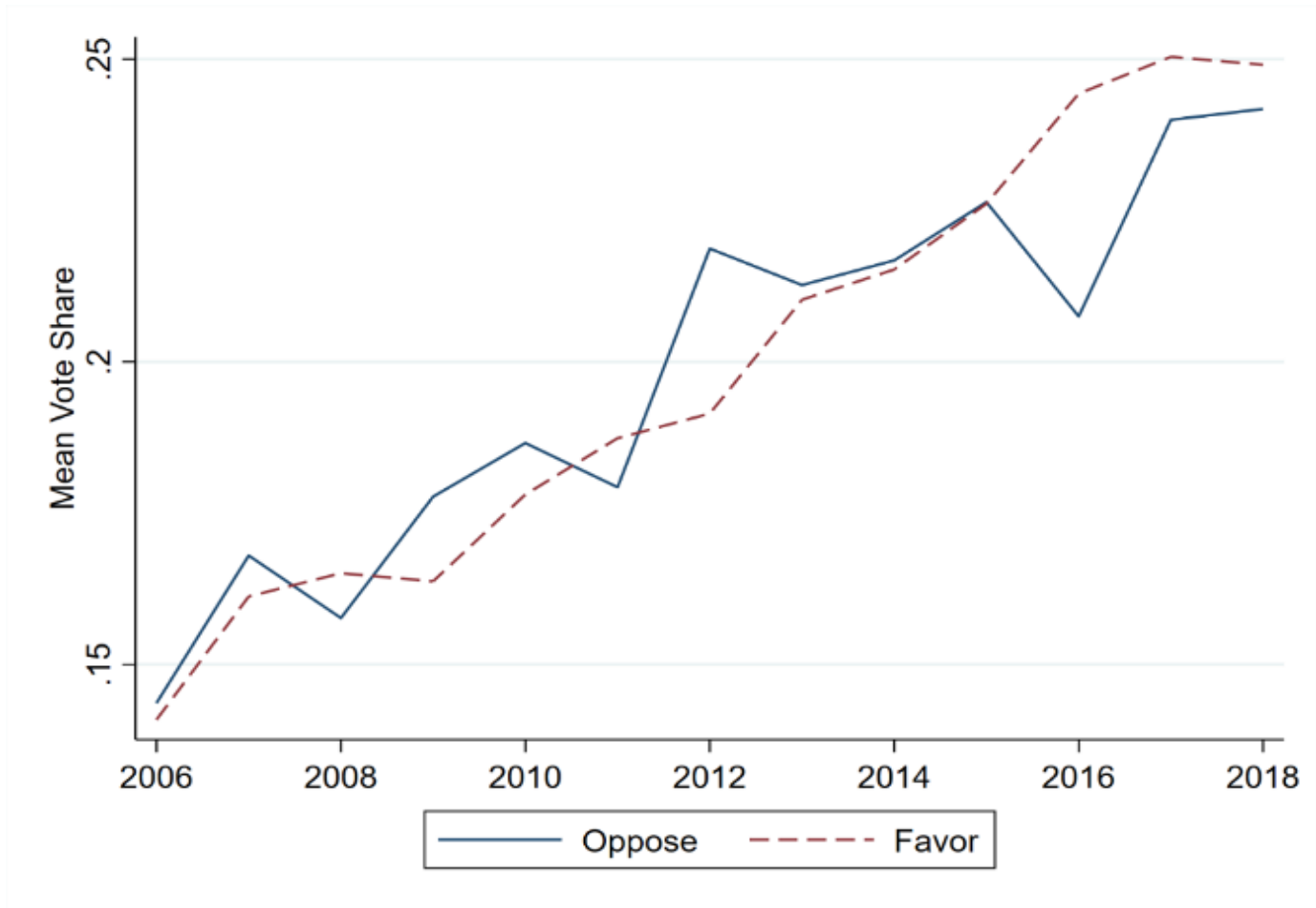


Figure 5: **Vote shares of Populist parties, by their stance on redistribution.** The figure plots the average vote share of 64 populist parties (as defined by Norris, 2019) across 26 European countries between 2006 and 2018. For each country and for each year we aggregate the vote share of all populist parties obtained in the latest National Elections. Parties are divided according to their stance on redistribution as measured in the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey by the variable Redistribution. This variable measures the party position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, and ranges from 0=Strongly favors redistribution to 10=Strongly opposes redistribution. The solid blue (resp. dashed red) line represents parties with a value on the redistribution scale strictly greater (resp. strictly lower) than 5. European countries are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

## A More on the Empirical Analysis

The German Socio Economic Panel is a large longitudinal survey of private households in Germany, administered by the German Institute for Economic Research, DIW Berlin. SOEP targets the whole German population, and is composed of several sub-samples, selected as multi-stage regionally-clustered random samples, in which the respondents (households) are selected via a random-walk. From there on, samples are re-interviewed across each wave, undergoing attrition. The questionnaire is physically run as a face-to-face interview with all members of a given survey household aged 16 years and over. If the face-to-face interview is refused a telephone interview or e-mail is admitted. In practice, the respondent is not monetarily incentivized: she only receives catchy information on the possible use of the questionnaire, a letter of thanks after the questionnaire, a small gift (worth 5 to 10 DM, or 3 to 6 Euros) and a ticket for a famous lottery. One person in the household (the self-selected "head" of the household) is also asked some questions covering the whole household (e.g. dwelling, total household income). At the end of the survey, some variables are imputed by the SOEP staff, based on objective measurement by the interviewer (e.g. region, dwelling characteristics) or on statistical imputation procedures.

The survey question for individual income directly asks each respondent for her income and working hours, while the survey question for household aggregate net income is asked only to the household head: "If you take a look at the total income of all members of the household: How much is the monthly household net income today?". In the analysis, we use the household post-government income variable produced for the CNEF in the Cross-National Equivalent Files PEQUIV, which aggregates individual answers in the household, and is adjusted for inconsistent estimates and non-responses.



Table A1: **Summary Statistics**

VARIABLES	(1) N	(2) mean	(3) sd	(4) min	(5) max
Populist Dummy	212,390	0.011	0.106	0	1
Risk Love	218,145	4.593	2.396	0	10
Extreme Risk Love	218,145	0.039	0.192	0	1
Income Dissatisfaction	225,217	3.445	2.288	0	10
Extreme Income Dissatisfaction	225,217	0.114	0.318	0	1
Large Income Loss	140,581	0.077	0.266	0	1
Male	238,597	0.463	0.499	0	1
Age Under 28	238,597	0.135	0.342	0	1
Age Over 45	238,597	0.517	0.500	0	1
Direct Immigrant	238,597	0.169	0.375	0	1
Second-Generation Immigrant	238,597	0.072	0.259	0	1
Low Education Level	233,219	0.162	0.369	0	1
Medium Education Level	233,219	0.548	0.498	0	1
High Education Level	233,219	0.290	0.454	0	1
Income	228,540	10.40	0.568	8.587	11.66
Resident in East Germany	238,597	0.223	0.416	0	1
Unemployed	238,597	0.051	0.220	0	1
Out of Labor Force	238,597	0.358	0.479	0	1

Table A2: Correlations

	Populist (Dummy)	Risk Love	Extreme Risk Love	Income Dissat.	Extr. Income Dissat.	Large Income Loss	Unemployed	Income
Populist (Dummy)	1							
Risk Love	0.0356 0.0000	1						
Extreme Risk Love	0.0339 0.0000	0.4043 0.0000	1					
Income Dissatisfaction	0.0377 0.0000	-0.0440 0.0000	0.0143 0.0000	1				
Extreme Income Dissatisfaction	0.0372 0.0000	-0.0279 0.0000	0.0330 0.0000	0.7093 0.0000	1			
Large Income Loss	0.0054 0.0443	0.0032 0.2377	0.0184 0.0000	0.1005 0.0000	0.0836 0.0000	1		
Unemployed	0.0252 0.0000	0.0111 0.0000	0.0354 0.0000	0.2406 0.0000	0.2169 0.0000	0.0691 0.0000	1	
Income	-0.0130 0.0000	0.0898 0.0000	-0.0127 0.0000	-0.3857 0.0000	-0.2551 0.0000	-0.2258 0.0000	-0.1947 0.0000	1

Table A3: Pattern of Missing Observations, Panel A

Dep. var.	Missing Observation Dummy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Risk Love	-0.0063** (0.0031)	-0.0172*** (0.0033)	-0.0124*** (0.0033)	-0.0163*** (0.0035)	-0.0022 (0.0054)	-0.0027 (0.0055)
Extreme Risk Love		0.3639*** (0.0351)		0.1371*** (0.0375)	-0.0204 (0.0551)	-0.0078 (0.0562)
Unemployed			0.1610*** (0.0356)	0.1590*** (0.0356)		0.0352 (0.0558)
Income			-0.2844*** (0.0168)	-0.2831*** (0.0168)		0.0581* (0.0331)
Observations	206,751	206,751	197,138	197,138	86,521	83,658
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. The dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if the individual does not answer to the question on party leaning in SOEP survey. The sample does not include individuals answering to a questionnaire in which such a question is not available. In all columns, we also control for being in or out the labor force. Other individual controls (where included) are dummy variables for gender, age group, immigrant status, education level, and macroregion. Estimation is by logit in columns 1, 2, 3 and 4, by conditional logit in the last two columns. Source: SOEP.

Table A4: Pattern of Missing Observations, Panel B

Dep. var.	Missing Observation Dummy					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Income Dissatisfaction	0.0704*** (0.0048)	0.0077 (0.0076)	0.0723*** (0.0049)	0.0080 (0.0077)		
Extreme Income Dissatisfaction	-0.1676*** (0.0289)	-0.0725* (0.0429)	-0.1727*** (0.0294)	-0.0569 (0.0438)		
Risk love			-0.0141*** (0.0036)	-0.0019 (0.0056)		
Extreme Risk Love			0.1387*** (0.0383)	-0.0224 (0.0579)		
Large Income Loss					-0.0429 (0.0261)	0.0229 (0.0449)
Unemployed	0.0746** (0.0356)	-0.0043 (0.0558)	0.0902** (0.0367)	0.0208 (0.0581)	0.1652*** (0.0484)	0.1464* (0.0768)
Income	-0.2052*** (0.0173)	0.0600* (0.0338)	-0.2036*** (0.0176)	0.0544 (0.0346)	-0.3720*** (0.0240)	0.0038 (0.0660)
Observations	194,457	82,318	189,201	79,919	134,270	55,793
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Controls	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. The dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if the individual does not answer to the question on party leaning in SOEP survey. The sample does not include individuals answering to a questionnaire in which such a question is not available. In all columns, we also control for being in or out the labor force. Other individual controls (where included) are dummy variables for gender, age group, immigrant status, education level, and macroregion. Estimation is by logit in columns 1, 3 and 5, by conditional logit in the remaining columns. Source: SOEP.

## B Proofs

### Proof of Lemma 1

*Proof.* We take the derivative of  $\Delta(\cdot)$  with respect to its argument in different points. Even though some points are not differentiable, the function is continuous as a difference of continuous functions, so the finitely many points of non-differentiability have zero effect on the level of  $\Delta$ .

Consider first the range where  $t > 0$ . In this case,  $\Delta(t)$  is strictly positive over the whole range. In fact, for this range,  $\mu(t) = 0$ , and hence

$$\Delta(t) = z - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta > 0$$

as  $\mu(\cdot) \leq 0$ . Also, for  $-\varepsilon > z - t$ ,  $\Delta(t) = z$ , whereas for  $-\varepsilon < z - t$ ,  $\Delta(t) = z - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{z-t} \mu(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta > 0$ , which is decreasing in  $t$  as  $\mu' > 0$  and  $\mu(0) = 0$ .

We now consider the range where  $t < 0$ . We will show that  $\Delta(\cdot)$  always increases in this range. Note first that for  $t < z - \varepsilon$  all arguments in  $\mu$  are negative. This implies that

$$\Delta'(t) = \mu'(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu'(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta \geq \mu'(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu'(t + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta \geq 0.$$

The first inequality is implied by the convexity of  $\mu$  (increasing first derivative, Assumption 1 (iii)) and  $z > 0$ . The second inequality is the consequence of the Jensen's inequality and Assumption 1 (iv) (the function  $\mu$  has concave first derivative). Obviously, when  $\mu$  is strictly concave, the second inequality will be strict and hence  $\Delta$  will be strictly increasing in this range. Finally consider the range  $z - \varepsilon < t < 0$ . In this range, we have

$$\Delta(t) = z + \mu(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{z-t} \mu(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta,$$

and hence

$$\Delta'(t) = \mu'(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{z-t} \mu'(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta \geq \mu'(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{z-t} \mu'(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta - \int_{z-t}^{\varepsilon} h(\eta)d\eta \mu'_-(0),$$

where we used  $\mu(0) = 0$ . The inequality is immediate given  $\mu'_-(0) > 0$  and  $\varepsilon > z - t$ . Furthermore, if we consider any convex and continuous extension of  $\mu$ , it must be that  $\mu'_-(0) \leq \mu'(t - z + \eta)$  for  $\eta \in (z - t, \varepsilon)$ .<sup>26</sup> Taking an extension that satisfies Assumption 1 (iv) as well, we hence have

$$\Delta'(t) \geq \mu'(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{z-t} \mu'(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta - \int_{z-t}^{\varepsilon} \mu'_-(0)h(\eta)d\eta \geq \mu'(t) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu'(t - z + \eta)h(\eta)d\eta > 0,$$

---

<sup>26</sup>Consider the linear extension for example.

where the last inequality is implied the Jensen's inequality and by Assumption 1 (iii) (convex  $\mu$ ). Again, if Assumption 1 (iii) is strict, we have strictly decreasing  $\Delta(\cdot)$  in this range as well.  $\square$

## B.1 Socially optimal tax rate

Suppose first that the moderate candidate is in office. The social planner maximizes the utilitarian optimum, namely:

$$\int_0^{\infty} c(\theta, \tau) dG(\theta) + \int_0^{\theta_x(\tau)} \mu[c(\theta, \tau) - x] dG(\theta), \quad (5)$$

where, recall,  $G(\cdot)$  is the distribution of  $\theta$ , and  $\theta_x(\tau)$  is such that  $c(\theta_x(\tau), \tau) = x$ , namely

$$\theta_x(\tau) = \frac{x + i(\tau) - \tau \mathbf{E}\theta}{1 - \tau}$$

Taking the derivative with respect to  $\tau$ , and recalling that  $\mu[c(\theta_x(\tau), \tau) - x] = 0$ , we obtain:

$$-i'(\tau) + \int_0^{\theta_x(\tau)} \mu'[c(\theta, \tau) - x][\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta - i'(\tau)] dG(\theta) \equiv M(\tau) \quad (6)$$

Now evaluate this expression at the point  $\tau = 0$ . Since  $i'(0) = 0$ , we can write it as:

$$\int_0^x (\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta) \mu'(\theta - x) dG(\theta). \quad (7)$$

If  $\mathbf{E}\theta > x$  and there is a positive measure of agents with  $\theta < x$  this expression is clearly strictly positive. Hence  $\tau = 0$  cannot be a solution. Intuitively, disappointed agents are loss averse, and hence they have a higher marginal utility of income. Since  $\mathbf{E}\theta > x$ , all disappointed agents are poorer than the average. Hence, a positive tax redistributes from non-disappointed to disappointed agents, and this increases social welfare. Note that convexity plays no role here, just loss aversion is sufficient for this result.

If  $\mathbf{E}\theta < x$  then (7) can be written as:

$$\int_0^{\mathbf{E}\theta} (\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta) \mu'(\theta - x) dG(\theta) + \int_{\mathbf{E}\theta}^x (\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta) \mu'(\theta - x) dG(\theta). \quad (8)$$

The first term is positive, the second term is negative, hence this expression has an ambiguous sign. Intuitively, some disappointed agents have above average income, so we can no longer tell

whether a positive tax rate is optimal.

Rewriting (8), the condition for  $\tau > 0$  to be an optimal solution is:

$$\int_0^{\mathbf{E}\theta} (\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta) \mu'(\theta - x) dG(\theta) > \int_{\mathbf{E}\theta}^x (\theta - \mathbf{E}\theta) \mu'(\theta - x) dG(\theta) \quad (9)$$

This condition is more likely to be met if:

- (i) there are not too many people between  $\mathbf{E}\theta$  and  $x$ .
- (ii) the function  $\mu(\cdot)$  is not too convex.

To see why convexity works against (9), note that  $\mu'(\cdot)$  is an increasing function. Hence, the marginal utility of income is higher for the disappointed losers from redistribution than from the disappointed beneficiaries (i.e.,  $\mu'$  is uniformly higher on the RHS of (9)). Moreover, the LHS of (9) sees higher values of  $\mu'$  weighted by smaller values of  $\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta$ , while the opposite happens on the RHS. In other words, the covariance between  $(\mathbf{E}\theta - \theta)$  and  $\mu'(\theta - x)$  is negative, and this also works against (9) being satisfied.

We summarize these results in the following:

**PROPOSITION 8.** *The socially optimal tax rate when the moderate candidate is in office is positive if  $\mathbf{E}\theta > x$  and there is a positive measure of agents with  $\theta < x$ , or if  $\mathbf{E}\theta < x$  and (9) holds.*

Suppose that one of these conditions is met, so that the optimal tax rate is positive, ruling out a corner solution. Then, the socially optimal tax rate is implicitly defined by setting (6) equal to 0. Intuitively, at a social optimum the marginal tax distortions,  $i'(\tau) > 0$ , are equated to the marginal social benefit of redistributing in favor of the disappointed agents (the second term in (6)).

### Proof of Lemma 3.

*Proof.* (i) First of all, note that  $c_M(\cdot, \tau_M)$  is strictly monotone in  $\theta$  for all  $\tau_M < 1$ . We will hence be able to span all  $\theta$  by looking at the whole range for  $c_M$ .

**A.** Consider all  $\theta$  such that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq x$ . Given our assumptions, it must be that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbf{E}\theta$ . We now show that in this case the two functions  $w_M$  and  $w_P$  cannot cross because the populist has higher distortions than the moderate and the loss function  $\mu$  is not acting for the latter. Formally:  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbf{E}\theta$  and the monotonicity of consumption in  $\theta$  implies  $\theta \geq \mathbf{E}\theta$ . As a consequence,  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$  implies that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_P) \leq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) = c_M(\theta, \tau_P) - z$ . Since under  $M$  consumption is above the reference point, while under  $P$  consumption might end up being below  $x$  in the bad state (and  $\mu \leq 0$ ), the difference  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) - w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  must be larger than  $z$  for all such  $\theta$ .

**B.** Consider the complement set:  $\theta$  such that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x$ . We here have two cases to consider.

**B1.** First, assume in addition that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ . That is, we consider all  $\theta$  such that we have  $x > c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ . The difference between the two functions  $w_M$  and  $w_P$  is strictly increasing in  $\theta$ . They might hence cross at most once in this range. Formally, we have:<sup>27</sup>

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial \theta} [w_M(\theta, \tau_M) - w_P(\theta, \tau_P)] = (\tau_P - \tau_M) + (1 - \tau_M)\mu'(c_M - x) - (1 - \tau_P)\mathbb{E}\mu'(c_P - x) > 0,$$

where the last strict inequality is guaranteed even for  $\tau_P = \tau_M$  because of Assumption 1 (iv). In particular, note that for any convex extension of  $\mu$  we have  $\mu'(c_M - x) \geq \int_{-x}^{+x} \mu'(c_P - x)h(\eta)d\eta$  and in any such extension, for  $c_P - x > 0$  we must have  $\mu'(c_P - x) \geq \mu'_-(0) > 0$ . The inequality is hence satisfied a fortiori when for such values  $\mu'(c_P - x) = 0$ .

**B2.** Consider now the alternative case where  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x$  and  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ . Note that, since  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ , it must be that  $\theta \leq \mathbf{E}\theta$ . And hence, under our Assumption of  $f$ , we have  $(1 - \tau_P)\theta + f(\tau_P) \leq \mathbf{E}\theta$  and hence  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) = (1 - \tau_P)\theta + f(\tau_P) - z \leq \mathbf{E}\theta - z \leq x - \varepsilon$ , where the last inequality is implied by our assumption. This in turn implies that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \leq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) < x - \varepsilon$ .

We now show that the two conditions  $x - \varepsilon \geq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  together imply that  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) > w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ . This will show that the functions  $w_P$  and  $w_M$  cannot cross in the relevant range of  $\theta$  in this case. In words, we have  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) > w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  since for this range of  $\theta$  the populist enjoys higher average consumption and the riskiness of the convex punishment. More in detail, since  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ , it suffices to show that:

$$\mu(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x) \leq \mathbb{E}\mu(c_P(\theta, \tau_P) - x). \quad (10)$$

To see why (10) holds, note that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x - \varepsilon$ , so: (i)  $\mu(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x) < 0$  and (ii) if we define  $\tilde{c}_M(\theta, \tau_M) := c_M(\theta, \tau_M) + \eta$  where  $\eta$  takes the values between  $-\varepsilon$  and  $+\varepsilon$  with density  $h$ , from Jensen's inequality, we have  $\mathbb{E}\mu(\tilde{c}_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x) \geq \mu(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x)$ . Now, since  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq \mathbb{E}\tilde{c}_M(\theta, \tau_M) = c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  we obtain the result from the monotonicity of  $\mu$ .

<sup>27</sup>Obviously, for  $c_P = x$ ,  $\mu'$  should be replaced by its left derivative, however this is of measure zero in the integral and we ignore it to simplify notation.



(ii) Since the only case where we can have a crossing point is **B1**, we have also shown the second part of the proposition. Namely, that at the crossing point  $\hat{\theta}$ , if any, we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\hat{\theta}, \tau_P) < c_M(\hat{\theta}, \tau_M) < x$ .

(iii) It is sufficient to observe that in region **B1**  $\frac{\partial(w_M - w_P)}{\partial\theta} > 0$ .  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 4.** As a preliminary result we would like to state some regularity conditions on the objects of analysis.

**LEMMA 9.** *Assume  $f(\cdot)$  is twice continuously differentiable, and  $\mu(\cdot)$  are twice continuously differentiable everywhere except at zero. (i) For  $\bar{\tau} := (\bar{\tau}_M, \bar{\tau}_P)$ , let  $\hat{\theta}$  be a threshold for which  $w_P(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_P) = w_M(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M)$ . Then  $\hat{\theta}(\cdot)$  is twice continuously differentiable as a function of  $(\tau_M, \tau_P)$  in an open neighbour of  $\bar{\tau}$  as long as  $w_{P,\theta}(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_P) \neq w_{M,\theta}(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M)$ . (ii) The condition  $w_{P,\theta}(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_P) \neq w_{M,\theta}(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M)$  is satisfied for all  $\hat{\theta}$  associated to  $\bar{\tau}_P \geq \bar{\tau}_M$ .*

*Proof.* (Sketch) (i) The result uses a basic version of the implicit function theorem (e.g., Apostol 1957, page 146) which can be generalized to higher order derivatives (Dieudonné, 1969, pages 265-273). The assumptions imply the function  $H : \theta \times [0, 1] \times [0, 1]$  defining the zero point:

$$H(\theta, \tau_M, \tau_P) := w_M(\theta, \tau_M) - w_P(\theta, \tau_P),$$

is twice continuously differentiable with respect to  $(\theta, \tau_M, \tau_P)$  at any triplet  $(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M, \bar{\tau}_P)$  compatible with a zero of the function. And since  $H = w_P - w_M$ , the last assumption guarantees that  $H_1(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M, \bar{\tau}_P) \neq 0$  as required by the theorem. To show that  $H$  is twice continuously differentiable we just need to check the  $c = x$  cases. First of all,  $\hat{\theta}$  cannot be such that  $c_M(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M) = x$  as this would be incompatible with a crossing point (i.e., a zero of  $H$ ). In addition the continuity of  $\mu$  at zero and the integral definition of  $w_P$  guarantee twice continuous differentiability of  $w_P$ .

(ii) Finally, we show that whenever  $\bar{\tau}_P \geq \bar{\tau}_M$ ,  $H_1(\hat{\theta}, \bar{\tau}_M, \bar{\tau}_P) \neq 0$ . This is the single crossing case. The result follows since  $w_P$  crosses  $w_M$  from below and the derivative is changing continuously.  $\square$

We are now ready to show Lemma 4.

*Proof.* The proof will be by contraposition. If such equilibrium exists, it will deliver single crossing. Given the monotonicity and continuity of the cumulate  $G$ , any point in the Best Response of the populist compatible with the stated equilibrium maximizes the threshold  $\hat{\theta}$  defined in (3), and in particular it must solve the first order necessary condition (recall indeed that  $\tau_0 < 1$  so the solution must be interior):

$$\hat{\theta}_2(\tau_M^*, \tau_P^*) = 0.$$

As well, note that, by single crossing, and the strict monotonicity of  $G$  all threshold points that maximize populist objective for the same fixed  $\tau_M$  must deliver the same threshold. From (3), The derivative of the threshold level with respect to  $\tau_P$  equals

$$\frac{\partial\hat{\theta}}{\partial\tau_P} = \frac{f_\tau(\tau_P) - \hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)}{(1 - \tau_M)R(c_M, c_P) - (1 - \tau_P)}, \quad (11)$$

where  $R(c_M, c_P) := (1 + \mu'(c_M - x)) / \left(1 + \int_{-\varepsilon}^{x - \mathbb{E}c_P} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta\right)$ . Notice this is well defined by Lemma 9. Moreover, since we have shown in Lemma 3 that at the crossing point we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P < c_M$  and  $\mu'(\cdot)$  is positive, increasing, and concave, we have  $R(c_M, c_P) > 1$ . Note indeed that - by the Jensen's inequality - for any concave extension of  $\mu'$  we would have  $\mathbb{E}\mu'(c_P - x) \leq \mu'(c_M - x)$ . Moreover,  $\mathbb{E}\mu'(c_P - x) \geq \int_{-\varepsilon}^{x - \mathbb{E}c_P} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta$ , because  $\mu' \geq 0$ . As a consequence, the denominator is positive for  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ .

Since the solution is interior, we must have

$$f_\tau(\tau^*) = \hat{\theta}(\tau_M^*, \tau_P^*).$$

Consider now the problem of the moderate, who is minimizing  $\hat{\theta}$ . Since the game is zero sum, we can apply the envelope theorem even though the populist best response is not singled valued. In particular, under our assumptions, the moderate objective is differentiable (Milgrom and Segal, 2002). By the envelope theorem, a necessary condition for the moderate optimality (minimization) is

$$\frac{\partial \hat{\theta}(\tau_M^*, \tau_P^*)}{\partial \tau_M} \geq 0, \quad \text{with equality for } \tau_M > 0.$$

From (3), the derivative of  $\hat{\theta}$  with respect to  $\tau_M$  takes the following expression:

$$\frac{\partial \hat{\theta}}{\partial \tau_M} = \frac{R(c_M, c_P)[\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P) - f_\tau(\tau_M)]}{(1 - \tau_M)R(c_M, c_P) - (1 - \tau_P)}. \quad (12)$$

We now show that expression (12) must be negative for each  $\tau_P > \tau_M$  compatible with populist's optimum, hence incompatible with moderate optimality. First of all, note again, in the range  $\tau_P > \tau_M$  and since  $R(c_M, c_P) > 1$ , the denominator of (12) is positive. Since  $f_\tau(\tau)$  is *decreasing* in  $\tau$ , and recalling that at the interior populist optimum we have  $\hat{\theta} = f_\tau(\tau_P)$ , for  $\tau_P > \tau_M$  we have  $\frac{\partial \hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)}{\partial \tau_M} < 0$  as claimed.  $\square$

## Proof of Proposition 5

*Proof.* We consider two possibilities for an equilibrium. (i) First, the case where  $\tau_P^* \geq \tau_M^*$ . From Lemma 4, the only situation compatible with equilibrium is  $\tau_P^* = \tau_M^*$ , that is Policy Convergence. It is immediate to see that under Policy Convergence no optimality condition is violated so this is a genuine possibility.

(ii) The other possibly is hence  $\tau_P^* < \tau_M^*$  which can be optimal because the function  $w_P(\cdot, \tau_P(\tau_M^*))$  and  $w_M(\cdot, \tau_M^*)$  cross more than once (i.e. for at least two different values of  $\theta$ ). Again, as we discuss below, the concavity of  $f$  and of  $\mu'$  makes such equilibrium a genuine possibility.

(iii) This is an immediate consequence of Lemma 4. We can indeed follow line by line the proof of Lemma 4 to show that we cannot have  $\tau_P^* > \tau_M^*$  in equilibrium. In particular, we can compare the first order conditions for  $P$  and  $M$  under  $\tau_M^* < \tau_P$  (and recalling that in this case we have single crossing), in order to show the same contradiction derived there.  $\square$

## Proof of Lemma 7

*Proof.* Suppose that  $\tau_M = 0$ . In that case, since  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ , we have a single crossing equilibrium. Let  $\hat{\theta}(\tau_M, \tau_P)$  be the marginal voter when the tax rates are respectively  $\tau_M$  and  $\tau_P$ . Then  $\hat{\theta}(0, \tau_P)$  is decreasing in  $\tau_P$  and so the optimal response of the populist is  $\tau_P^*(0) = 0$ . Now consider the choice of  $M$ . Let  $V_M(\tau_M, \tau_P)$  denote the share of votes for  $M$  (obviously  $V_M(\tau_M, \tau_P) + V_P(\tau_M, \tau_P) = 1$ ). Suppose that  $\tau_M > 0$  and consider  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M)$ . We must consider two subcases. i) If  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M) \geq \tau_M$ , we have single crossing. The optimal response of  $P$  in this range is  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M) = \tau_M$ . But  $V_M(\tau_M, \tau_M) \leq V_M(0, 0)$ . In fact,  $\hat{\theta}(\tau, \tau)$  is implicitly defined by

$$\mu((1 - \tau)\theta + f(\tau) - x) + z - E\mu((1 - \tau)\theta + f(\tau) - z - x) = 0.$$

Then, using the implicit function theorem, we obtain  $\frac{d\theta}{d\tau} = \frac{\theta - f'(\tau)}{1 - \tau}$  which is positive as by assumption we are in the region where  $\theta > E\theta$ . When the threshold increases, the votes for the moderate decrease. So this cannot be part of a subgame perfect equilibrium. ii) Alternatively, assume that  $\tau_P^*(\tau_M) < \tau_M$ . This means that  $V_P(\tau_M, \tau_P^*(\tau_M)) \geq V_P(\tau_M, \tau_M)$ , or, equivalently  $V_M(\tau_M, \tau_P^*(\tau_M)) \leq V_M(\tau_M, \tau_M)$ . As  $V_M(\tau_M, \tau_M) \leq V_M(0, 0)$ , this cannot be a subgame perfect equilibrium. Therefore, the only subgame perfect equilibrium (when  $M$  moves first) is a single crossing equilibrium with  $\tau_M = \tau_P = 0$ .  $\square$

## C Proofs for the Extensions Section

### C.1 Heterogeneous Reference Points

PROPOSITION 10. *Consider the case where the reference point solves:  $x(\theta) = (1 - \rho)\theta + \rho x_0$  for  $1 > \rho > \tau_0$ . Suppose that Assumptions 1 and 2 hold, and also assume  $E\theta \leq x_0 - \varepsilon + z$ . Then for  $\tau_0 \geq \tau_P \geq \tau_M$ , we have at most one crossing at  $\hat{\theta}(\tau)$  such that*

$$\mathbb{E}c_P(\hat{\theta}(\tau), \tau_P) \leq c_M(\hat{\theta}(\tau), \tau_M) < x(\theta).$$

*Proof.* This proof closely follows that of Lemma 3 (for  $\tau_0 \geq \tau_P \geq \tau_M$ ). First of all, note that our assumptions imply that  $c_M(\cdot, \tau_M) - x(\cdot)$  is strictly monotone in  $\theta$  for all  $\tau_M \leq \tau_0$ . We will hence be able to span all ranges of values of  $\theta$  by looking at the range for  $c_M(\cdot, \tau_M) - x(\cdot)$ . Fix  $\tau_0 \geq \tau_P \geq \tau_M$ . **A.** Consider all  $\theta$  such that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x(\theta) \geq 0$ . Given our assumptions, it must be that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq E\theta$ . To see why this is the case suppose instead that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < E\theta$ . If  $\theta > E\theta$  then  $\tau_M > 0$  implies  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < \theta$  but then from the definition of  $x(\theta)$  we have  $x(\theta) > (1 - \rho)\theta + \rho E\theta \geq E\theta$ , which contradicts the fact that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq x(\theta)$ . If  $\theta \leq E\theta$ , then by the fact that these agent would desire redistribution if it were not distortionary, that  $\tau_M \leq \tau_0 < \rho$ , and the fact that taxes are in fact distortionary it must be that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \leq (1 - \tau_0)\theta + \tau_0 E\theta < x(\theta)$ , again contradicting  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x(\theta) \geq 0$ .

We now show that in this case the two functions  $w_M$  and  $w_P$  cannot cross because the populist has higher distortions than the moderate and the loss function  $\mu$  is not acting for the latter. Formally: the monotonicity of consumption in  $\theta$  and  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq E\theta$  implies  $\theta \geq E\theta$ . As a consequence,  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$  implies that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_P) \leq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) = c_M(\theta, \tau_P) - z$ . Since under  $M$  consumption is above the reference point, while under  $P$  consumption might end up being

below  $x$  in the bad state (and  $\mu \leq 0$ ), the difference  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) - w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  must be larger than  $z$  for all such  $\theta$ .

**B.** Consider the complement set:  $\theta$  such that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x(\theta)$ . We here have two cases to consider.

**B1.** First, assume in addition that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ . That is, we consider all  $\theta$  such that we have  $x(\theta, x_0) > c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ . The difference between the two functions  $w_M$  and  $w_P$  is strictly increasing in  $\theta$ . They might hence cross at most once in this range. Formally, we have:<sup>28</sup>

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{\partial}{\partial \theta} [w_M(\theta, \tau_M) - w_P(\theta, \tau_P)] = \\ (\tau_P - \tau_M) + [(1 - \tau_M) - (1 - \rho)]\mu'(c_M - x(\theta)) - [(1 - \tau_P) - (1 - \rho)]\mathbb{E}\mu'(c_P - x(\theta)) > 0, \end{aligned}$$

where the last strict inequality is guaranteed even for  $\tau_P = \tau_M$  because of Assumption 1 (iv). In particular, note that for any convex extension of  $\mu$  we have  $\mu'(c_M - x) \geq \int_{-\varepsilon}^{+\varepsilon} \mu'(c_P - x)h(\eta)d\eta$  and in any such extension, for  $c_P - x > 0$  we must have  $\mu'(c_P - x) \geq \mu'_-(0) > 0$ . The inequality is hence satisfied a fortiori when for such values  $\mu'(c_P - x) = 0$ .

**B2.** Consider now the alternative case where  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x(\theta)$  and  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$ . Note that, since  $\tau_P \geq \tau_M$ , it must be that  $\theta \leq \mathbf{E}\theta$ . And hence, under our Assumption of  $f$ , and the desire of redistribution of this agent in case of no distortion, we have  $(1 - \tau_P)\theta + f(\tau_P) < (1 - \rho)\theta + \rho\mathbf{E}\theta$  and hence  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) = (1 - \tau_P)\theta + f(\tau_P) - z < (1 - \rho)\theta + \rho\mathbf{E}\theta - z \leq x(\theta) - \varepsilon$ , where the last inequality is implied by our assumption. This in turn implies that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \leq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) < x(\theta) - \varepsilon$ .

We now show that the two conditions  $x(\theta) - \varepsilon \geq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  together imply that  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) > w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ . This will show that the functions  $w_P$  and  $w_M$  cannot cross in the relevant range of  $\theta$  in this case. In words, we have  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) > w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  since for this range of  $\theta$  the populist enjoys higher average consumption and the riskiness of the convex punishment. More in detail, since  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ , it suffices to show that:

$$\mu(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x(\theta)) \leq \mathbb{E}\mu(c_P(\theta, \tau_P) - x(\theta)). \quad (13)$$

To see why (13) holds, note that  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x(\theta) - \varepsilon$ , so: (I)  $\mu(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x(\theta)) < 0$  and (II) if we define  $\tilde{c}_M(\theta, \tau_M) := c_M(\theta, \tau_M) + \eta$  where  $\eta$  takes the values between  $-\varepsilon$  and  $+\varepsilon$  with density  $h$ , from Jensen's inequality, we have  $\mathbb{E}\mu(\tilde{c}_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x(\theta)) \geq \mu(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x(\theta))$ . Now, since  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq \mathbb{E}\tilde{c}_M(\theta, \tau_M) = c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  we obtain the result from the monotonicity of  $\mu$ .

Now, since the only case where we can have a crossing point is **B1**, we have also shown that at the crossing point  $\hat{\theta}$ , if any, we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\hat{\theta}, \tau_P) < c_M(\hat{\theta}, \tau_M) < x(\hat{\theta})$ .  $\square$

## D Sufficient conditions for having at most double crossing

Here we provide sufficient conditions guaranteeing that the value functions  $w_M(\theta, \tau_M)$  and  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  cross at most twice for  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ , and we rule out the possibility of more

<sup>28</sup>Obviously, for  $c_P = x$ ,  $\mu'$  should be replaced by its left derivative, however this is of measure zero in the integral and we ignore it to simplify notation.

than two crossing points. For this result, we need the following assumptions.

ASSUMPTION 3. *The function  $f(\cdot)$  satisfies the following condition*

$$\frac{f(\tau_0) + z}{\tau_0} - z - \varepsilon > x,$$

with  $f(\tau) = \tau \mathbf{E}\theta - i(\tau)$ , and  $\frac{(1-\tau)z - i(\tau)}{\tau}$  decreasing in  $\tau$ .

It can be checked directly, that the expression  $\frac{(1-\tau)z - i(\tau)}{\tau}$  is decreasing in  $\tau$ , for example, in the standard quadratic case:  $i(\tau) = \frac{1}{2}\tau^2$ . Recall that  $\tau_0$  denotes the revenue maximizing tax rate. This assumption - together with Assumption 2 - guarantees that, for any  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ , the right-most crossing point occurs in a region where average consumption under  $P$  is weakly lower than consumption under  $M$  (in the most typical case, this is because voters have linear utility under both the populist and the moderate candidate and hence the two consumption levels coincide). This in turn implies that at any  $\theta$  to the left of this point - and in particular at a  $\underline{\theta}$  for which we could have a second crossing point between  $w_M$  and  $w_P$  - average consumption under  $P$  is lower than that under  $M$ . The latter statement is true since  $\tau_p < \tau_M$  implies that net income schedule under the populist  $\mathbb{E}c_P$  is steeper than  $c_M$  as a function of  $\theta$ .

ASSUMPTION 4. *The function  $\mu$  is such that for all admissible  $c < x$  we have*

$$\int_{-\varepsilon}^{x-c} \mu''(c + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \geq \mu''(c - x) + h(x - c)\mu'_-(0),$$

where, clearly, for all  $x - c > \varepsilon$  we have  $h(x - c) = 0$ . Moreover, the density  $h$  is weakly decreasing for positive entries, i.e., for  $\eta > 0$ .

In the above,  $\mu'_-(0)$  indicates the left side derivative of  $\mu(c - x)$  evaluated at 0 (assumed to always exist). This assumption can be seen as about the concavity of  $\mu'(\cdot)$  as it is more likely to be satisfied if  $\mu''$  is large for low values. It would be satisfied if  $\mu'$  is concave enough. A low  $\mu'_-(0)$  and a low density for large  $\eta$  would also help.

Assumption 4 is unfortunately never satisfied for  $h$  uniform. Here we provide a second assumption, which might hold for  $h$  uniform but involves a joint condition on the maximal tax rate.

ASSUMPTION 5. The function  $\mu$  is such that for all admissible  $c < x$  we have

$$\tau_0 + \int_{-\varepsilon}^{x-c} \mu'(c + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \leq (1 - \tau_0)\mu'(c - x),$$

where, clearly, for all  $x - c > \varepsilon$  we have  $h(x - c) = 0$ .

If  $c$  is low enough, the condition becomes:

$$\tau_0 + \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} \mu'(c + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \leq (1 - \tau_0)\mu'(c - x).$$

Note that the (sufficient) condition is easier to satisfy the more concave is  $\mu'$ . As well, as  $c$  approaches  $x$  the condition is less difficult to satisfy, especially if the concavity of  $\mu'$  increases with  $c$ , namely if  $\mu^{iv} \leq 0$ . By contrast, for example, if  $\mu$  is quadratic the condition becomes  $\tau_0 \leq -\tau_0\mu'(c - x)$ , which can never be satisfied.

Recalling the mean value theorem, the condition, becomes

$$\tau_0 + \mu'(c + \xi - x) \leq (1 - \tau_0)\mu'(c - x),$$

for  $\xi$  a negative constant as long as  $\mu'$  is concave.

PROPOSITION 11 (Double Crossing). Under Assumptions 1, 2, 3, and either 4 or 5 (or both) we have the following. If  $\tau_P < \tau_M$  then the functions  $w_M(\cdot, \tau_M)$  and  $w_P(\cdot, \tau_P)$  cross at most twice as a function of  $\theta$ .

The idea of the proof in case we use Assumption 4 is that - since at the first crossing point to the left of  $x$  the slope of  $w_P$  must be lower than that of  $w_M$  - it suffices to guarantee that to the left of such crossing point the difference of slopes can only increase: the assumption guarantees that  $w_P$  is flatter than  $w_M$  for all such points.

The idea of the proof in case we use Assumption 5 is that - since at the first crossing point to the left of  $x$ ,  $w_P$  and  $w_M$  take the same value (by definition) - it suffices to guarantee that to the left of such crossing point the difference in the levels of such values can only increase: the assumption guarantees that  $w_P$  is higher than  $w_M$  for all such points.

### Proof of Proposition 11

*Proof.* We start with a preliminary lemma.

LEMMA 12. Let  $\bar{\theta}$  be the largest crossing point for  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ . Under Assumption 2 and 3,  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P) \leq c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M)$ .

*Proof.* We can have two cases.

*Case 1:* At  $\bar{\theta}$  we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P) < c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M)$ . There is nothing to show in this case obviously.

*Case 2:* At  $\bar{\theta}$ , we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P) \geq c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M)$ . In this case we will show that the only possibility is  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P) = c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M)$ . By direct computation, whenever  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P) \geq c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M)$ , the threshold  $\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M) > 0$  solves:

$$\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M) \geq \mathbf{E}\theta + \frac{i(\tau_P) - i(\tau_M) + z}{\tau_M - \tau_P}. \quad (14)$$

Consider now the following sequence of inequalities.

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M), \tau_P) \geq c_M(\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M), \tau_M) &= (1 - \tau_M)\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M) + f(\tau_M) & (15) \\ &\geq (1 - \tau_M) \left[ \mathbf{E}\theta + \frac{i(\tau_P) - i(\tau_M) + z}{\tau_M - \tau_P} \right] + \tau_M \mathbf{E}\theta - i(\tau_M) \\ &\geq \mathbf{E}\theta + \frac{1 - \tau_M}{\tau_M} z - \frac{i(\tau_M)}{\tau_M} \geq \mathbf{E}\theta + \frac{1 - \tau_0}{\tau_0} z - \frac{i(\tau_0)}{\tau_0}. \end{aligned}$$

The first inequality in the first row is by assumption, the second equality is by definition. The inequality in the second row uses (14), while the inequality in the third row is due to the fact that the expression in the first row increases with  $\tau_P$  for  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ . We hence set  $\tau_P = 0$  and use Assumption 2. The first inequality in the last row is due to the fact that the expression in the previous row is decreasing in  $\tau_M$  from Assumption 3. Now, Assumption 3 implies that the very last expression in the chain of inequalities solves:

$$\mathbf{E}\theta + \frac{1 - \tau_0}{\tau_0} z - \frac{i(\tau_0)}{\tau_0} = \frac{f(\tau_0) + z}{\tau_0} - z > x + \varepsilon.$$

Recalling the very first term in the chain of inequalities (15), we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M), \tau_P) > x + \varepsilon$ . This implies that  $\mu$  cannot be active for the populist at  $\bar{\theta}$ . Since  $\mu$  is active for the moderate would imply  $c_M > \mathbb{E}c_P$  the only possibility is that  $\mu$  is not active for the moderate either and  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M), \tau_P) = c_M(\bar{\theta}(\tau_P, \tau_M), \tau_M)$  as claimed.  $\square$

We can now start the core of the proof of the proposition. From Lemma 12, we have  $c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P) := (1 - \tau_P)\bar{\theta} + f(\tau_P) - z = \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon} [(1 - \tau_P)\bar{\theta} + f(\tau_P) + \eta] h(\eta) d\eta - z$ . Now, consider the largest crossing point below  $\bar{\theta}$ , if it exists (if not then we have single crossing and we are done), and denote it by  $\underline{\theta}$ . Since  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ ,  $c_M(\bar{\theta}, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\bar{\theta}, \tau_P)$  implies that at any crossing point  $\underline{\theta} < \bar{\theta}$  we must have  $c_M(\underline{\theta}, \tau_M) > \mathbb{E}c_P(\underline{\theta}, \tau_P)$ . Clearly, at  $\underline{\theta}$  the slope of  $w_P$  must be lower than that of  $w_M$ , that is,  $w_P$  must cross  $w_M$  from below. In addition,  $c_M(\underline{\theta}, \tau_M) < x$  otherwise we will not have any second crossing at  $\underline{\theta}$ . We now show that Assumption 4 guarantees that the slope of  $w_P$  to the left of  $\underline{\theta}$  will always be lower than that of  $w_M$ . This implies that we cannot have another crossing point in this region.

Consider a crossing point to the left of  $x$ , with  $\tau_P < \tau_M$ . We saw that at such  $\underline{\theta}$  we have:

- (a) (same level):  $w_M(\underline{\theta}, \tau_M) = w_P(\underline{\theta}, \tau_P)$ ;
- (b) (flatter  $w_P$ ):  $w'_M(\underline{\theta}, \tau_M) \geq w'_P(\underline{\theta}, \tau_P)$ ;

(c) (lower consumption):  $c_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  for all  $\theta \leq \underline{\theta}$ .

We want to show that for all  $\theta \leq \underline{\theta}$  we have  $w_P(\theta, \tau_P) - w_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq 0$ . Note that for  $s = M, P$  we have

$$w_s(\theta, \tau_s) = w_s(\underline{\theta}, \tau_s) - \int_{\underline{\theta}}^{\theta} w'_s(t, \tau_s) dt.$$

and hence using, property (a) above, we have:

$$w_P(\theta, \tau_P) - w_M(\theta, \tau_M) = \int_{\underline{\theta}}^{\theta} w'_M(t, \tau_M) dt - \int_{\underline{\theta}}^{\theta} w'_P(t, \tau_P) dt = \int_{\underline{\theta}}^{\theta} [w'_M(t, \tau_M) - w'_P(t, \tau_P)] dt.$$

**Part 1. Using Assumption 4.** Obviously, if  $w'_M(\theta, \tau_M) \geq w'_P(\theta, \tau_P)$  for all  $\theta \leq \underline{\theta}$  we would be done. The change in slope of the functions  $w_P$  and  $w_M$  are given by their second derivatives:

$$w''_M(\theta, \tau_M) = (1 - \tau_M)^2 \mu''(c_M(\theta, \tau_M) - x)$$

and

$$w''_P(\theta, \tau_P) = (1 - \tau_P)^2 \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) - x\}^-} \mu''(\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) + \eta - x) h(\eta) d\eta - h(x - \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P)) (1 - \tau_P)^2 \mu'_-(0).$$

where, to emphasize the properties of  $\mu$  we used  $\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) - x\}^- := \min\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) - x\}$ . Recall that at all such  $\theta < \underline{\theta}$  we have  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) < c_M(\theta, \tau_M) < x$ . Now, let  $c = c_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ . We have both:

$$(1 - \tau_M)^2 \mu''(c - x) \leq (1 - \tau_P)^2 \mu''(c - x) \quad \text{and}$$

$$(1 - \tau_P)^2 \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) - x} \mu''(\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) + \eta - x) h(\eta) d\eta \geq (1 - \tau_P)^2 \int_{-\varepsilon}^{x-c} \mu''(c + \eta - x) h(\eta) d\eta.$$

In the first inequality we simply used  $0 \leq \tau_P < \tau_M < 1$ ; to show the second inequality, we used  $\mu''' < 0$  and the fact that  $\mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P) < c < x$  and  $\mu'' \geq 0$ . Finally, note that the second statement of Assumption 4 implies  $h(x - c) \geq h(x - \mathbb{E}c_P(\theta, \tau_P))$ . Now, bringing these results together, and noticing that  $(1 - \tau_P)^2 > 0$ , the first statement of Assumption 4 implies  $w''_P(\theta, \tau_P) \geq w''_M(\theta, \tau_M)$ . This is the desired result. It states that for each  $\theta$  to the left of  $\underline{\theta}$  the slope of  $w_P$  is lower than that of  $w_M$ .

**Part 2. Using Assumption 5.** Recall again we want to show that for all  $\theta \leq \underline{\theta}$ :

$$w_P(\theta, \tau_P) - w_M(\theta, \tau_M) = \int_{\underline{\theta}}^{\theta} [w'_M(t, \tau_M) - w'_P(t, \tau_P)] dt \geq 0.$$

Again, if we show that  $w'_M(t, \tau_M) - w'_P(t, \tau_P) \geq 0$  for all  $t < \underline{\theta}$  and conceivable  $\tau_P, \tau_M$ , we are done.

If we now write the first derivative of the functions we have



$$w'_M(t, \tau_M) = (1 - \tau_M)[1 + \mu'(c_M(t, \tau_M) - x)];$$

and

$$w'_P(t, \tau_P) = (1 - \tau_P) \left[ 1 + \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x\}^-} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \right],$$

where, to emphasize the properties of  $\mu$ , we wrote:  $\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x\}^- := \min\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x\}$  and then we used  $\mu(0) = 0$ . We hence have:

$$\begin{aligned} & w'_M(t, \tau_M) - w'_P(t, \tau_P) \\ &= (\tau_P - \tau_M) + (1 - \tau_M)\mu'(c_M(t, \tau_M) - x) - (1 - \tau_P) \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x\}^-} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \\ &\geq -\tau_0 + (1 - \tau_0)\mu'(c_M(t, \tau_M) - x) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x\}^-} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \\ &\geq -\tau_0 + (1 - \tau_0)\mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x) - \int_{-\varepsilon}^{\{\varepsilon, \mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) - x\}^-} \mu'(\mathbb{E}c_P(t, \tau_P) + \eta - x)h(\eta)d\eta \geq 0. \end{aligned}$$

The first equality is by definition. The inequality in the second row is due to the fact we have replaced the multiplicative terms of taxes with their worst cases possibilities. The inequality in the last row is due to the fact that we replaced  $c_M$  for  $\mathbb{E}c_P$  and we know that  $\mathbb{E}c_P < c_M < x$  and  $\mu$  is convex. The very last inequality is guaranteed by Assumption 5 using  $c = \mathbb{E}c_P$ .  $\square$

## E Parameter Values and Figures from the Simulated Example

In Figures 6 and 7 we report a graphical representation of our loss function  $\mu$  and distribution of  $\theta$  with support  $\mathbb{R}_+$  and  $\mathbf{E}(\theta) = 25$ . The inefficiency parameter for the populist equals  $z = 1$ , while the reference point equals  $x = 30$ . Finally, we set:

$$f(\tau) = \begin{cases} \tau \mathbf{E}(\theta) - \alpha \frac{\tau^2}{2} & \text{if } \tau \leq \tau_0, \\ -\infty & \text{if } \tau > \tau_0, \end{cases} \quad \text{with } \tau_0 = 0.5, \text{ and } \alpha = 20.$$

$$\eta \sim \mathcal{U}[-\varepsilon, \varepsilon] \quad \text{uniform, with } \varepsilon = 17.$$

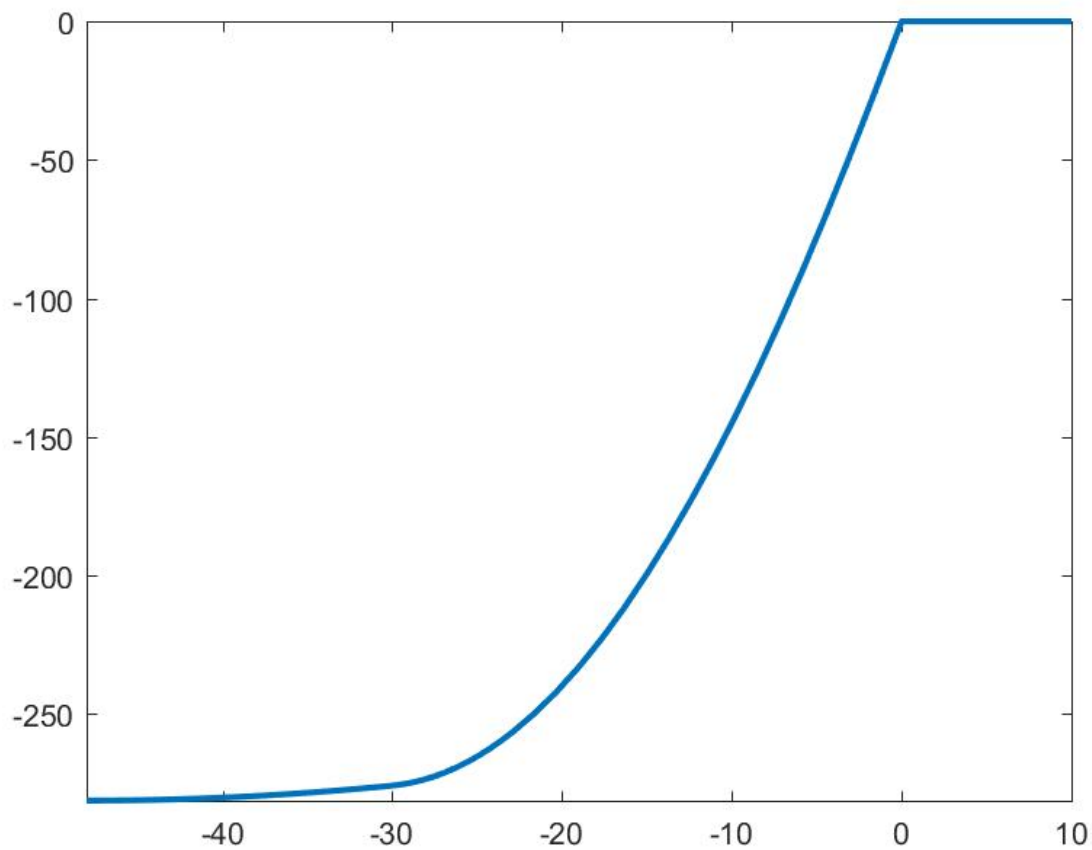


Figure 6: **Voters' preferences.** The figure represents the loss function  $\mu$  as a function of  $c - x$ .

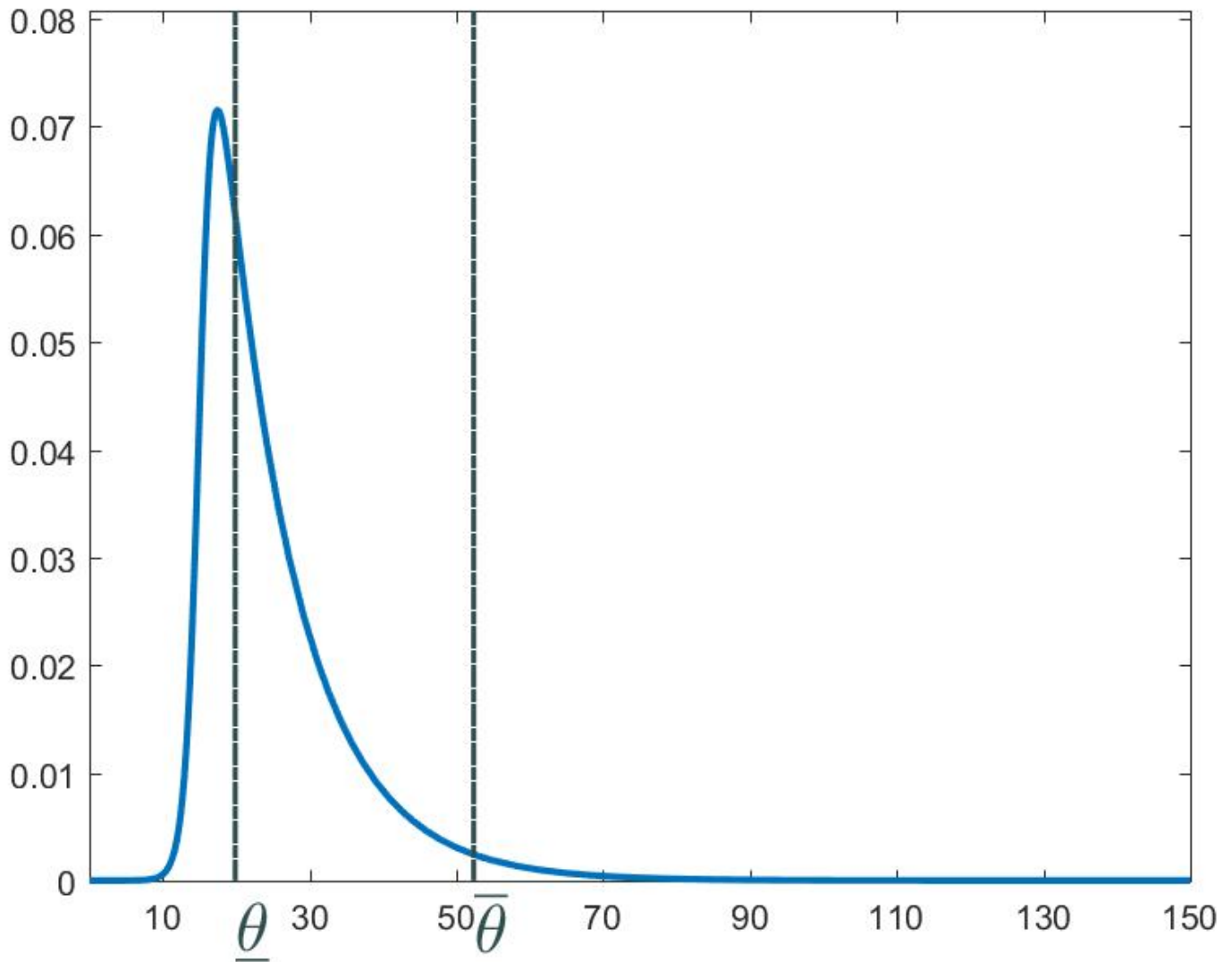


Figure 7: **The distribution of income and the double crossing.** The figure reports the (density) distribution of  $\theta$ . The vertical dashed lines represent the equilibrium crossing points. Voters prefer  $M$  between the two points and  $P$  for  $\theta$  outside the two vertical lines.

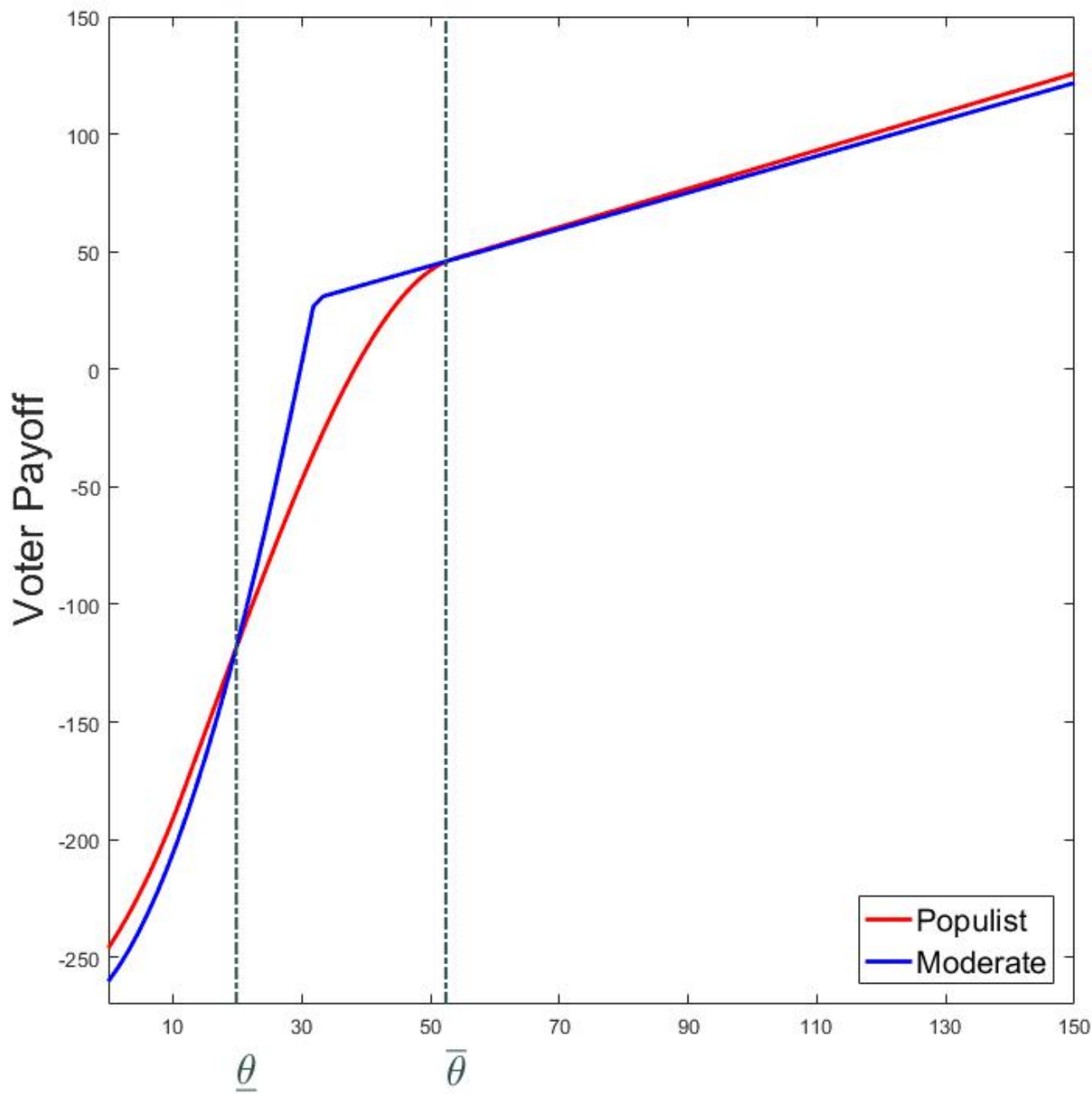


Figure 8: **The crossing in the space of utilities.** The figure reports both  $w_P$  (in red) and  $w_M$  (in blue) as a function of  $\theta$  for the equilibrium level of taxes. The vertical dashed lines represent the equilibrium crossing points. As it can be seen from the figure, voters prefer  $M$  between the two points and  $P$  for  $\theta$  outside the two vertical lines.

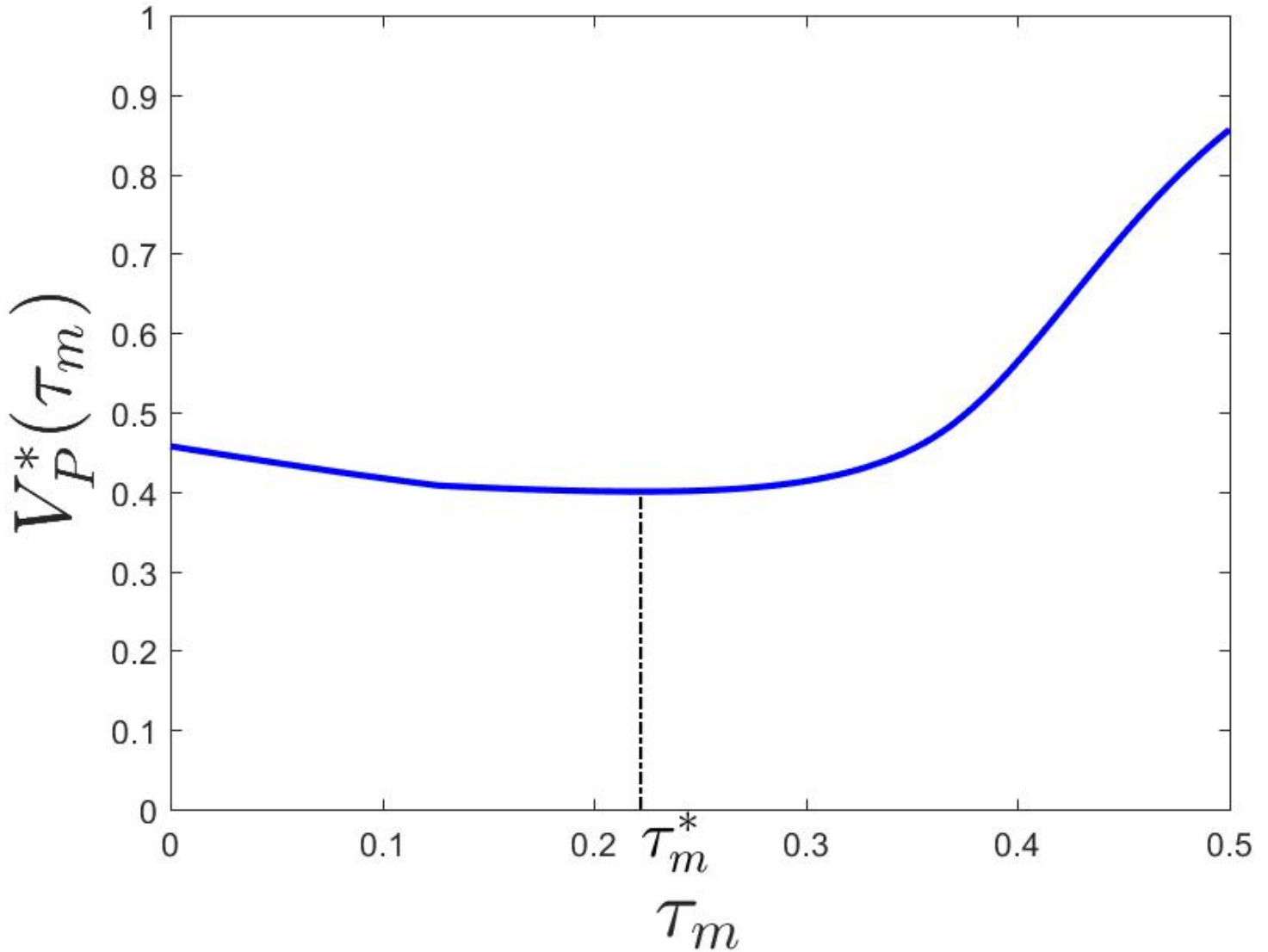


Figure 9: **The share of votes for  $P$ .** The figure reports the share of voters that prefer  $P$ , that is the populist's payoff, once  $P$  reacts optimally to  $M$ , as a function of  $\tau_M$ . Since population is constant,  $M$ 's payoff equals  $1 - V_P^*(\tau_M)$ . The vertical dashed line represent the equilibrium value for  $\tau_M$  (i.e.,  $\tau_M^* = 0.22$ ). As it can be seen from the figure, for  $\tau_M^* = 0.22$ ,  $V_P^*$  is minimal.

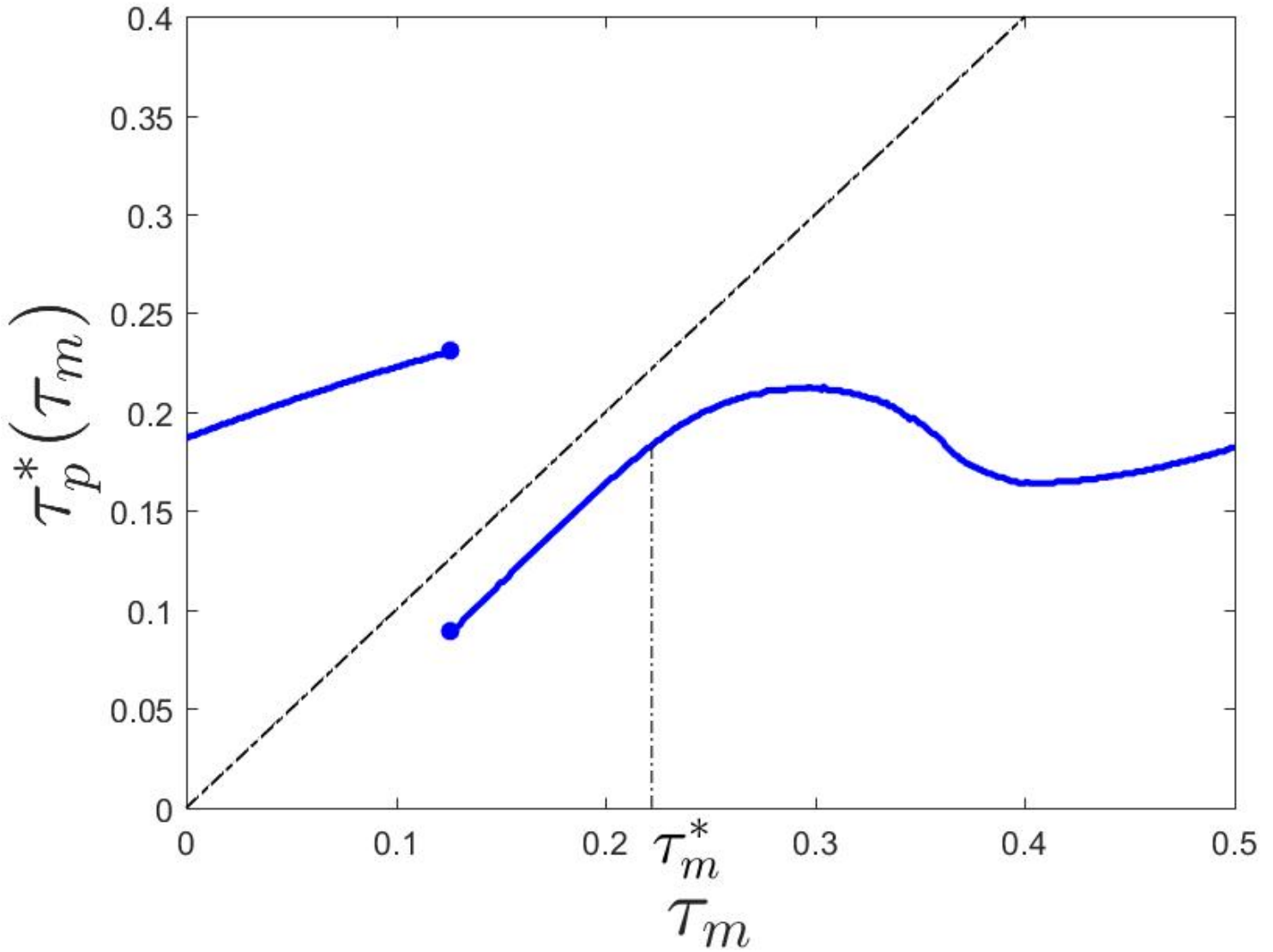


Figure 10: **The populist's Best Response Function.** The figure reports  $P$ 's optimal choice as a function of  $\tau_M$  (the best response). The vertical dashed line represent the equilibrium value for  $\tau_M$  (i.e.,  $\tau_M^* = 0.22$ ). As it can be seen from the figure, for  $\tau_M > .12$  the populist finds it optimal to set  $\tau_p < \tau_M$ .

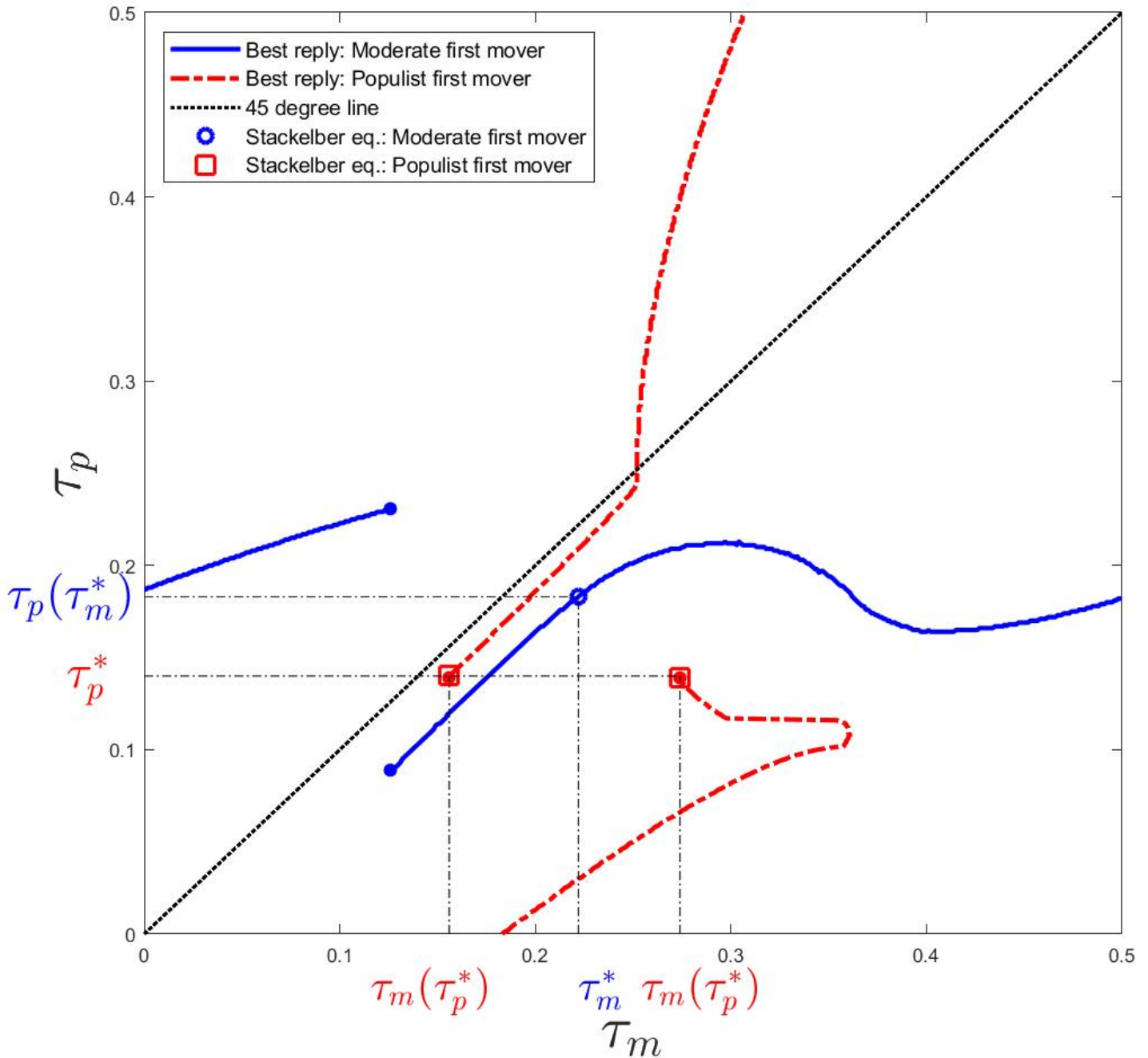


Figure 11: **The moderate and populist's Best Response Functions.** The figure reports both  $P$  and  $M$  best responses (in solid blue and dashed red, respectively) and indicates the Stackelberg equilibria. The equilibrium for the benchmark timing is indicated on the  $P$  best response with a blue circle. The equilibria emerging in the game when  $P$  moves first are indicated on the  $M$  best response with the two red squares. Note that since the game is of zero sum, indifference for  $M$  also implies constant payoff for  $P$ . In accordance to our theoretical results, in both cases, the populist tax is lower than that of the moderate (they both lie below the 45 degree line). In addition, note that for the parameters used, there is no Nash in pure strategies due to the lack of convexity of the sets in the best response correspondences.