

ONLINE APPENDIX: The People as ‘Volk’ or ‘Bürger?’ The Implications of Ethnic and Civic Conceptions of the People for the Measurement of Populist Attitudes

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Questionnaire and Descriptive Information

Dependent Variables

We rely on the two items in the populism scale that mention the people: a) “The people, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions”; and b) “The politicians in the German Bundestag need to follow the will of the people”. All items are measured on a 5-point Likert-scale: **very much disagree**, **disagree**, **neutral**, **agree**, **very much agree**. See Table A.1 for the exact phrasing of the question.

Table A.1: Survey Questions - DV

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
Item 2 (DV1)	The people, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	[Die Bürger/Das Volk], und nicht die Politiker, sollte(n) die wichtigsten politischen Entscheidungen treffen
Item 3 (DV2)	he politicians in the German Bundestag need to follow the will of the people	Die Abgeordneten des Deutschen Bundestags müssen dem Willen [der Bürger/des Volkes] Folge leisten

Treatment

Respondents are randomly assigned to the populism items translated into German using either the civic conception (i.e. *Bürger*) or the ethnic conception (i.e. *Volk*).

Control Variables

As control variables, the following *demographics* are measured (see Table A.2 for the exact phrasing of the question):

- *Gender* is measured as **sex**. The answer categories are **Male** (value of 1), **Female** (value of 0), and **No answer** (value of 999).
- *Age* is measured using 6 categories: **17 or younger**, **18--29**, **30--39**, **40--49**, **50--59**, **60--74**.
- *Education* is measured as the highest successfully completed level of education, recoded into four categories: **low**, **middle**, **high**, and **none**. I create dummy variables for each level of education with the lowest category as base category.
- *Urbanness* Respondents are asked for what the type of location they live: **big city**, **suburb of a large city**, **middle-sized or small city**, **rural village**, **detached house in the countryside** – as well as giving them the options of **will not say** and **do not know**.
- *Vote Recall* Respondents were asked which party they voted for in the last election with their second vote. Answering categories were: **CDU/CSU**, **SPD**, **AfD**, **FDP**, **DIE LINKE**, **BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN**, **Other party**:, **I did not vote/was not eligible to vote** – as well as giving them the options of **will not say** and **do not know**.

- *Employment* Respondents were asked which category of employment – Full-time employed, Part-time employed, Entrepreneur, Unemployed and searching for a job, Unemployed and not searching for a job or incapacitated, Housewife/Househusband or else, Retired, Student or full-time education – applied most to them.
- *Income* Respondents were questioned on their monthly income in bins of 500 Euro – 500 or less, 501-1000, 1001-1500, 1501-2000, 2001-2500, 2501-3000, 3001-3500, 3501-4000, 4501-7500, 7501 or more – as well as giving them the options of will not say and do not know.
- *Geographical region* is measured using the same questions as the [German Longitudinal Election Study](#), asking respondents where they are born and currently live, differentiating between the different German provinces (*Bundesländer*): Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, North Rhine- Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anholt, Schleswig-Holstein, and Thuringia.

Table A.2: Survey Questions - Demographics

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
gender (D1)	Which gender do you feel you belong to?	Welchem Geschlecht fühlen Sie sich zugehörig?
age (D2)	To which of the following age groups do you belong?	Zu welcher der nachfolgenden Altersgruppen gehören Sie?
education (D3)	What is your highest educational qualification?	Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?
geographical-region (D4)	Which of the following categories best describes where you live?	Welche der folgenden Kategorien beschreibt am besten, wo Sie wohnen?
vote-recall2 (D6)	Which party did you vote for with your second vote in the last federal election in September 2021?	Welche Partei haben Sie bei der letzten Bundestagswahl im September 2021 mit Ihrer Zweitstimme gewählt?
employment (D7)	Now we would like to ask you something about your employment. Which of this list applies to you?	Nun möchten wir Sie gerne etwas zu Ihrer Erwerbstätigkeit fragen. Was von dieser Liste trifft auf Sie zu?
income (D8)	What is the total monthly net income of your household? This refers to the sum that remains after deducting taxes and social security contributions.	Wie hoch ist das monatliche Netto-Einkommen Ihres Haushaltes insgesamt? Gemeint ist die Summe, die nach Abzug von Steuern und Sozialversicherungsbeiträgen übrig bleibt.
living-place (D9)	In which federal state or on the territory of which present federal state do you currently live?	Im welchen Bundesland bzw. auf dem Gebiet welches heutigen Bundeslandes wohnen Sie derzeit?
birth-place (D10)	And in which federal state or on the territory of which present federal state were you born?	Und in welchem Bundesland bzw. auf dem Gebiet welches heutigen Bundeslandes wurden Sie geboren?

In addition, pre-treatment, we ask respondents the following questions (see Table A.3 for the exact phrasing of the question):

- *Ideological position* is measured using an 11-point scale ranging from left (0) to right (10).
- *Exclusive national identity* is measured with four statements (“being born in Germany,” “having German ancestors,” “being able to speak German,” “adhering to German traditions and customs”) on a 5-point Likert-scale: **very much disagree**, **disagree**, **neutral**, **agree**, **very much agree**.
- *Political knowledge* is measured with three items. First, respondents are asked which of the two votes is determinative for the seat distribution in parliament: **first vote**, **second vote**, **both**, **do not know**. Secondly, respondents are asked about the electoral threshold. Last, respondents are asked whether or not the unemployment rate is over ten percent.
- *Political interest* is measured by asking people how strongly they are interested in politics using a 5-point Likert-scale (**very strong**, **strong**, **medium**, **less strong**, **not at all**) – as well as giving them the options of **will not say** and **do not know**.

Attention Checks

We include two attention checks in the survey. The first one is after the demographic covariates, the second one is asked just before respondents enter the round of the experimental treatments. The attention checks are taken from Berinsky, Margolis, and Sances (2014) and adapted to the German context by the authors. If a respondent fails the first attention check, a warning appears and the respondent can only continue with the survey once the respondent has correctly answered the question correctly. The second attention check also has a warning – meaning that respondents have to select two options – but if they fail to correctly pass the check, they are excluded. Each excluded respondent due to failing an attention check is replaced with another “good respondent”.

Attention Check 1 When a big news story breaks people often go online to get up-to-the-minute details on what is going on. We want to know which websites people trust to get this information. We also want to know if people are paying attention to the question. To show that you have read this much, please ignore the question and select *BILD-Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* as your two answers. When there is a big news story, which is the one news website you would visit first? (Please only choose one). Eight (German) news outlets are provided to choose from. Respondents pass the attention check if they select *BILD-Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Attention Check 2: We would like to get a sense of your general preferences. Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you’ve read this much, just go ahead and select both red and green among the alternatives below, no matter what your favourite color is. Yes, ignore the question below and select both of those options. What is your favourite color? Six colors are provided to choose from, respondents pass the attention check if they select red and green.

Descriptive Information

Table A.4 gives an overview of the descriptive information of the variables under study.

Table A.3: Survey Questions - PreTreatment Questions

Variable	Wording ENG	Wording DE
political-knowledge1 (PT4)	In the federal election, you have two votes, a first vote and a second vote. How is that actually, which of the two votes is decisive for the distribution of seats in the Bundestag?	Bei der Bundestagswahl haben Sie ja zwei Stimmen, eine Erststimme und eine Zweitstimme. Wie ist das eigentlich, welche der beiden Stimmen ist ausschlaggebend für die Sitzverteilung im Bundestag?
political-knowledge2 (PT5)	Now we would like to know from you, from what percentage of the second votes a party can send deputies in any case in the Bundestag?	Jetzt möchten wir gerne von Ihnen wissen, ab wie viel Prozent der Zweitstimmen eine Partei auf jeden Fall Abgeordnete in den Bundestag entsenden kann?
political-knowledge3 (PT6)	And can you say approximately what the current unemployment rate is in Germany? Is it lower or higher than 10 percent?	Und können Sie ungefähr sagen, wie hoch die derzeitige Arbeitslosenquote in Deutschland ist? Ist sie niedriger oder höher als 10 Prozent?
political-interest (PT7)	Once speaking in general terms: How interested are you in politics - very strongly, strongly, moderately, less strongly, or not at all?	Einmal ganz allgemein gesprochen: Wie stark interessieren Sie sich für Politik – sehr stark, stark, mittelmäßig, weniger stark oder überhaupt nicht?
RILE (PT8)	In politics, people often talk about 'left' and 'right.' Where would you classify yourself?	In der Politik reden die Leute häufig von 'links' und 'rechts'. Wo würden Sie sich selbst einordnen?
Exclusive national identity (HT4)	Some people think that the following points are important to be truly German. Others do not think they are important. How important do you think the following points are to being German?	Manche Leute meinen, dass die folgenden Punkte wichtig sind, um wirklich deutsch zu sein. Andere halten diese nicht für wichtig. Für wie wichtig halten Sie die folgenden Punkte, um deutsch zu sein?
Exclusive national identity (HT4-1)	being born in Germany	in Deutschland geboren sein
Exclusive national identity (HT4-2)	having German ancestors	deutsche Vorfahren haben
Exclusive national identity (HT4-3)	being able to speak German	deutsch sprechen können
Exclusive national identity (HT4-4)	adhering to German traditions and customs	sich an deutsche Traditionen und Gepflogenheiten halten

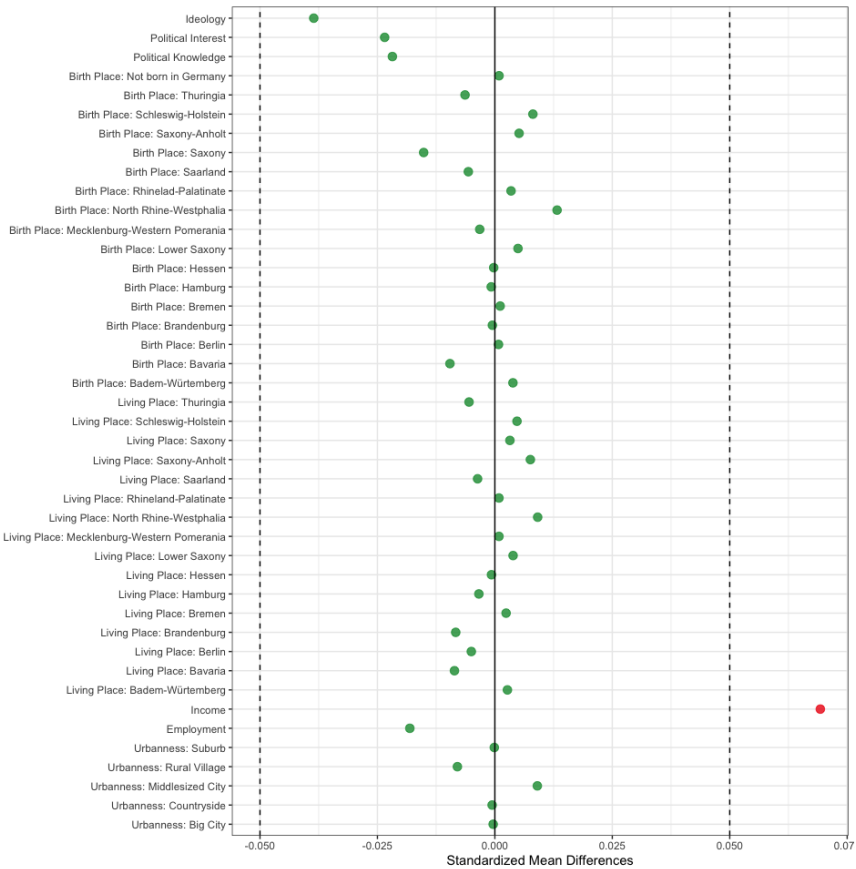
Table A.4: Descriptive Information

Variables	Mean Value	St. Dev	Min. Value	Max. Value
Far Right Party ID	0.1	0.30	0	1
Employment	4.2	3.86	1	11
Income	6.9	2.64	1	13
Treatment: Ethnic Conception	0.5	0.50	0	1
National Identity	3.6	0.90	1	5
Political Knowledge	1.5	0.82	0	3
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	3.3	1.18	0	5
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	3.8	0.98	0	5
Differences between elites and the people are bigger than differences between the people	3.5	1.00	0	5
Too much talk, no action	4.0	0.99	0	5
Compromise is selling out	3.2	1.14	0	5
Attitude towards Pluralism	4.2	0.83	0	5
Political Interest	2.9	1.10	1	6
Ideology	4.8	1.79	0	10

Balance Checks

As detailed in our pre-analysis plan, we only include variables as covariates that are unbalanced. As Figure A.1 shows, only the income covariate is unbalanced across the experimental groups. We therefore add this covariate to the regression analyses.

Figure A.1: Balance Checks



Pre-Registered and Explorative Analysis

Table A.5: Table Results H1

Statistical Values	DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	DV: MPs should follow the will of the people
p-value	0.00	0.01
t-value	-4.66	-2.53
Differences in Means	-0.13	-0.06
CI: Lower Bound	-0.19	-0.11
CI: Upper Bound	-0.08	-0.01

Table A.6: Table Results H2a

Dependent Variable	Levels of National Exclusivity	AME	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	1 (Low)	-0.01	-0.15	0.13
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	2	0.05	-0.05	0.14
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	3	0.10	0.05	0.16
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	4	0.16	0.11	0.21
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	5 (High)	0.21	0.13	0.30
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	1 (Low)	0.02	-0.10	0.13
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	2	0.03	-0.05	0.11
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	3	0.05	0.00	0.09
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	4	0.06	0.02	0.10
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	5 (High)	0.08	0.01	0.15

Table A.7: Table Results H2b

Dependent Variable	Treatment	AME	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	Civic Conception	0.82	0.71	0.92
DV: People, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions	Ethnic Conception	0.95	0.85	1.06
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	Civic Conception	0.52	0.44	0.61
DV: MPs should follow the will of the people	Ethnic Conception	0.52	0.43	0.61

Scaling

CFA

Table A.8: Confirmatory Factor Analysis - Fit Statistics

Fit Statistics	Ethnic Conception	Civic Conception	Civic Conception (6 Items)
CFI	0.99	0.99	0.98
AIC	44106.68	43468.92	52011.91
BIC	44180.07	43542.37	52097.61
RMSEA	0.06	0.08	0.08
p-value RMSEA	0.16	0.00	0.00
SRMR	0.01	0.02	0.03

Table A.9: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Variables	Values
Average of PCA Constructed Scale for Civic Conception of the People	-0.02
Average of PCA Constructed Scale for Ethnic Conception of the People	0.01
Average of Civic Conception - Average of Ethnic Conception	-0.02
p-Value for Differences in Means	0.11

Additive scale

Table A.10: Additive Scaling Analysis

Variables	Values
Average of PCA Constructed Scale for Civic Conception of the People	3.46
Average of PCA Constructed Scale for Ethnic Conception of the People	3.51
Average of Civic Conception - Average of Ethnic Conception	-0.05
p-Value for Differences in Means	0.01

Wüttke et al. Approach

IRT Analyse

Figure A.2: CFA Distribution

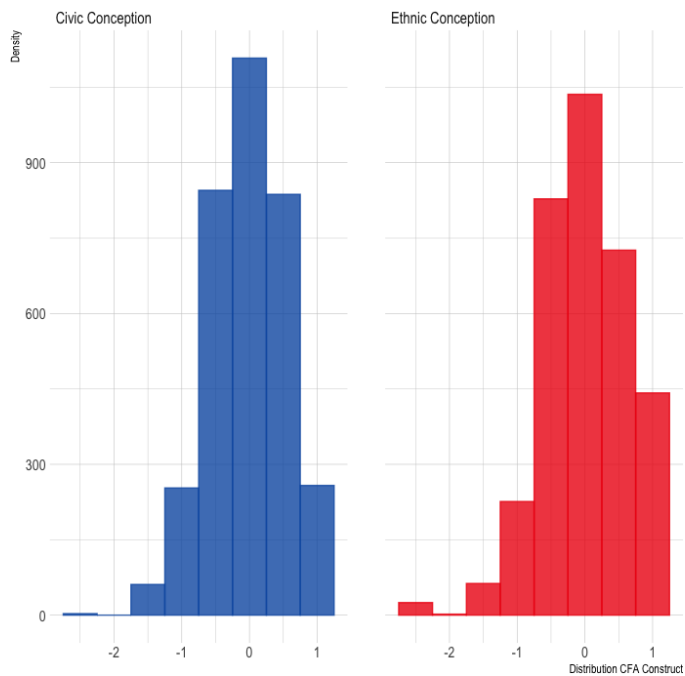


Figure A.3: Additive Scale Distribution

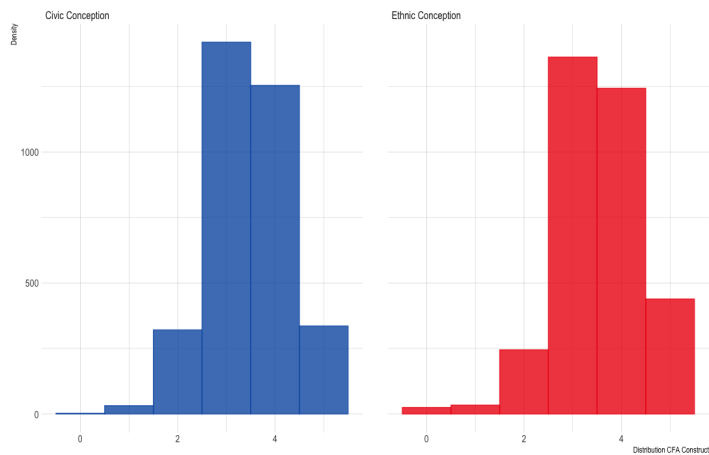


Figure A.4: Wuttke et al. Approach Distribution

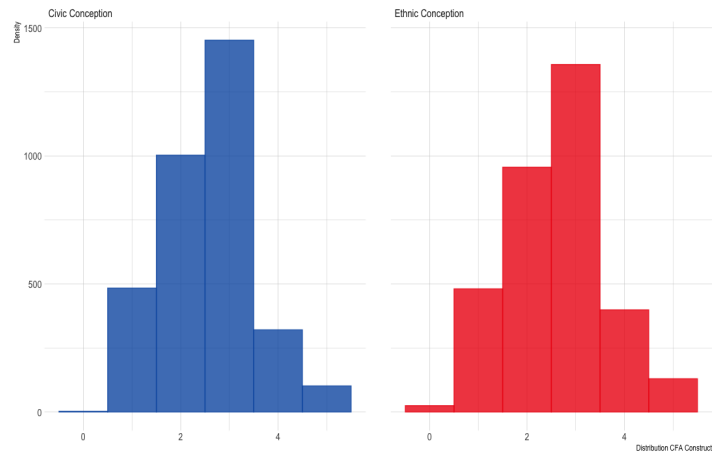


Figure A.5: IRT Distribution (1)

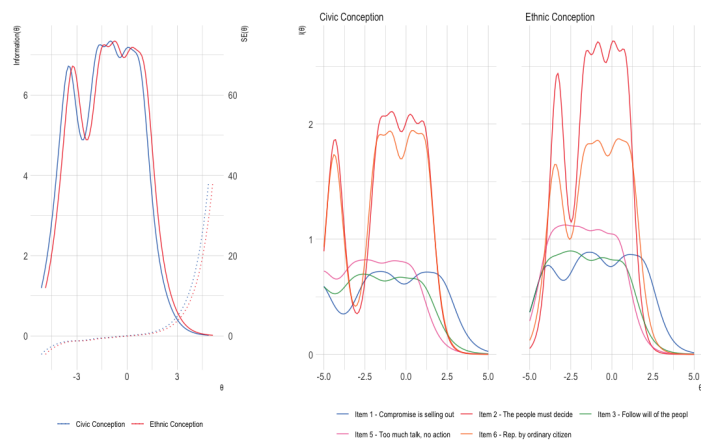


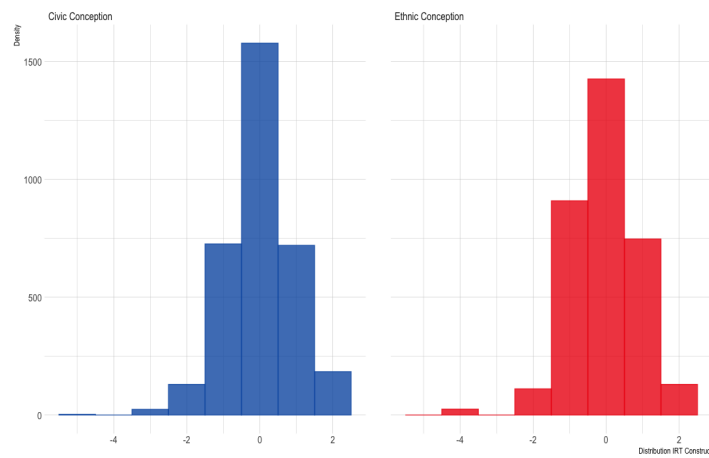
Table A.11: Wüttke et al. Approach

Variables	Values
Average of PCA Constructed Scale for Civic Conception of the People	2.57
Average of PCA Constructed Scale for Ethnic Conception of the People	2.60
Average of Civic Conception - Average of Ethnic Conception	-0.03
p-Value for Differences in Means	0.16

Table A.12: IRT Analysis

Variables	Values
Average of IRT Constructed Scale for Civic Conception of the People	-0.04
Average of IRT Constructed Scale for Ethnic Conception of the People	-0.02
Average of Civic Conception - Average of Ethnic Conception	-0.03
p-Value for Differences in Means	0.22

Figure A.6: IRT Distribution (1)



Explanatory Power: Predicting Populist Vote

Table A.13: Table Results DV: Populist Vote

Regression Coefficient	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound	Scaling Technique	Treatment
0.02	0.00	0.05	CFA Scaling	Civic Conception
-0.02	-0.04	0.00	CFA Scaling	Ethnic Conception
0.02	0.00	0.03	Addative Scale	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.03	0.00	Addative Scale	Ethnic Conception
0.01	0.00	0.03	Wüttke et al. Approach	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.01	Wüttke et al. Approach	Ethnic Conception
0.01	0.00	0.03	IRT Scaling	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.00	IRT Scaling	Ethnic Conception

Berinsky, Adam J, Michele F Margolis, and Michael W Sances. 2014. “Separating the Shirkers from the Workers? Making Sure Respondents Pay Attention on Self-Administered Surveys.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (3): 739–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12081>.

Table A.14: Table Results DV: AfD Vote

Regression Coefficient	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound	Scaling Technique	Treatment
0.00	-0.02	0.02	CFA Scaling	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.03	0.00	CFA Scaling	Ethnic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Addative Scale	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.00	Addative Scale	Ethnic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Wüttke et al. Approach	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.00	Wüttke et al. Approach	Ethnic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	IRT Scaling	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.00	IRT Scaling	Ethnic Conception

Table A.15: Table Results DV: Left Vote

Regression Coefficient	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound	Scaling Technique	Treatment
0.02	0.00	0.04	CFA Scaling	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.02	0.01	CFA Scaling	Ethnic Conception
0.01	0.00	0.03	Addative Scale	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Addative Scale	Ethnic Conception
0.01	0.00	0.02	Wüttke et al. Approach	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Wüttke et al. Approach	Ethnic Conception
0.01	0.00	0.02	IRT Scaling	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	IRT Scaling	Ethnic Conception

Table A.16: Table Results DV: Populist Vote

Regression Coefficient	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound	Items	Treatment
0.06	0.04	0.07	Item 1 - Compro- mise is selling out	Civic Conception
0.04	0.02	0.05	Item 1 - Compro- mise is selling out	Ethnic Conception
0.05	0.03	0.06	Item 2 - The people must decide	Civic Conception
0.05	0.04	0.06	Item 2 - The people must decide	Ethnic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 3 - Follow will of the peopl	Civic Conception
0.04	0.02	0.05	Item 3 - Follow will of the peopl	Ethnic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.06	Item 5 - Too much talk, no action	Civic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.06	Item 5 - Too much talk, no action	Ethnic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 6 - Rep. by ordinary citizen	Civic Conception
0.05	0.03	0.06	Item 6 - Rep. by ordinary citizen	Ethnic Conception

Table A.17: Table Results DV: AfD Vote

Regression Coefficient	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound	Scaling Technique	Treatment
0.05	0.04	0.07	Item 1 - Compro- mise is selling out	Civic Conception
0.05	0.04	0.06	Item 1 - Compro- mise is selling out	Ethnic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 2 - The people must decide	Civic Conception
0.05	0.04	0.06	Item 2 - The people must decide	Ethnic Conception
0.05	0.03	0.06	Item 3 - Follow will of the peopl	Civic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 3 - Follow will of the peopl	Ethnic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 5 - Too much talk, no action	Civic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 5 - Too much talk, no action	Ethnic Conception
0.04	0.03	0.05	Item 6 - Rep. by ordinary citizen	Civic Conception
0.05	0.04	0.06	Item 6 - Rep. by ordinary citizen	Ethnic Conception

Table A.18: Table Results DV: Left Vote

Regression Coefficient	CI: Lower Bound	CI: Upper Bound	Scaling Technique	Treatment
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 1 - Compro- mise is selling out	Civic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.00	Item 1 - Compro- mise is selling out	Ethnic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 2 - The people must decide	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 2 - The people must decide	Ethnic Conception
-0.01	-0.02	0.01	Item 3 - Follow will of the peopl	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 3 - Follow will of the peopl	Ethnic Conception
0.01	-0.01	0.02	Item 5 - Too much talk, no action	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 5 - Too much talk, no action	Ethnic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 6 - Rep. by ordinary citizen	Civic Conception
0.00	-0.01	0.01	Item 6 - Rep. by ordinary citizen	Ethnic Conception