# **Appendix**

Replication material is available at <a href="https://osf.io/g8d53/">https://osf.io/g8d53/</a>

### Descriptive statistics and measurement models:

Below are the descriptive statistics and measurement models of all the latent constructs used in the analyses. Distribution of indicator items are displayed on Figure A4 at the end of this section. We report McDonald's (1999) omega ( $\omega$ ) for the reliabilities; to compute the omega's we fitted confirmatory factor models by allowing all the latent constructs to covary instead of defining structural relationships between them. Similar to Cronbach's alpha, higher omegas correspond to higher reliabilities; values exceeding .8 indicate good reliability (Crutzen & Peters, 2015; Rodriguez, Reise, & Haviland, 2016).

Latent	Indicator	Item	Mean	SD	%	Range &
Construct	Abbreviation	Wording			Missing	Response
						Categories
						[1-7]
		Please indicate to what extent do you agree or disagree with the				
		following statements				
	an1	Elected politicians sell out to various interests groups	5.63	1.41	39.01 <sup>a</sup>	strongly
	an2	Elected politicians sell out to big business	5.53	1.40	39.47 <sup>a</sup>	
	an3	High level public officials seek power for its own sake	5.22	1.44	38.85 <sup>a</sup>	
Populism	an5	Politicians do not want to improve the lives of ordinary people	4.58	1.66	38.39 <sup>a</sup>	
(Populist Attitudes &	pp2	The politicians in Congress need to follow the will of the people	5.72	1.26	40.40 <sup>a</sup>	disagree -
Anti-Elitism)	pp3	The power of a few special interests prevents our country from	5.18	1.63	41.18 <sup>a</sup>	strongly agree
		making progress				
	pp4	The people, not the politicians, should make the most important	5.03	1.53	40.87 <sup>a</sup>	
		policy decisions				

		How certain are you that during the next national elections you will					
Positive	a615	do any work for one of the parties or candidates?	2.11	.11 1.69 0.00 no		not at all	
Political Engagement:	a616	give money to an individual candidate running for public office?	2.16	1.73	0.00	certain	
active support in elections	a617	give money to a political party?	2.05	1.67	0.00	absolutely certain	
		Please consider to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements.					
	rd1	In extreme circumstances, it is acceptable for someone in your community to physically harm a government official to express political discontent.	1.92	1.48	38.24 <sup>b</sup>		
Negative Political	rd2	In extreme circumstances, it is acceptable for someone in your community to protest violently to express political discontent.	2.49	1.71	38.08 <sup>b</sup>	strongly	
Engagement:  legitimate  radical	rd3	In extreme circumstances, it is acceptable for someone in your community to destroy property to express political discontent	2.22	1.59	35.60 <sup>b</sup>	disagree - strongly agree	
political action	rdt5	In extreme circumstances, it is acceptable for someone in your community to call for violence to express political discontent.	2.26	1.56	37.00 <sup>b</sup>		
	rdt6	In extreme circumstances, it is acceptable for people in your community to arm and isolate themselves to express political discontent.	2.96	1.82	39.32 <sup>b</sup>		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Planned missing: Out of 85 total statements of the pre-treatment batteries (including attention checks) checks), participants were shown only 49. 36 were randomly hidden for each respondent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup>Planned missing: Out of 32 total statements in post-treatment batteries, participants were shown only 20. The other 12 were randomly hidden for each respondent.

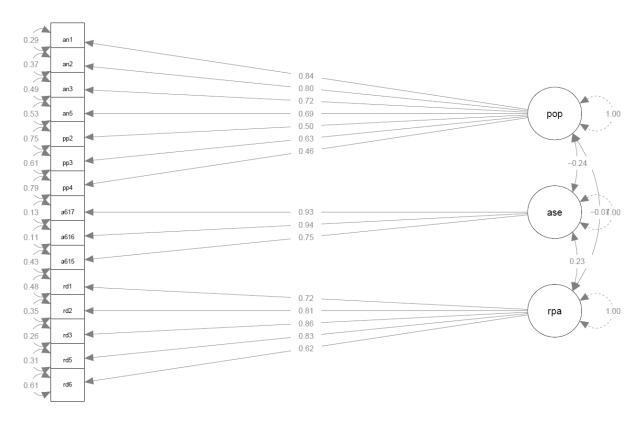


Figure A1: All latent constructs used in Study 1 U.S.

		McDonald's ω	Cronbach's α
pop:	composite measure of populist attitudes (anti-elitism & populism)	.85	.85
ase:	positive political engagement - active support in elections	.91	.91
rpa:	negative political engagement - legitimate radical political action	.89	.88
	Omega - Alpha Total	.87	.72
All fa	ctor loadings are significant at p <.000 level	1	

Table A2: Stu	dy 2 German	у				
Latent	Indicator	Item	Mean	SD	%	Range &
Construct	Abbreviation	Wording			Missing	Response
						Categories
						[1-7]

		Below are some statements on various political issues.				
		Please indicate whether you agree or disagree on a				
		scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is strongly disagree and 7 is				
		strongly agree				
Populist Attitudes	POPp1	I take pride in being an ordinary person	3.64	1.54	1.97	
measured in	POPp3	Politicians should follow rather than lead the people	2.51	1.55	1.32	
three	POPa1	The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves	4.27	1.60	1.64	strongly
dimensions:	POPa3	Politicians do not want to improve the lives of ordinary people	3.43	1.55	1.97	disagree
People-Centrism,	POPm1	You can tell if a person is good or bad if you know their politics	3.25	1.62	1.64	strongly
Anti-Elitism,	POPm3	Politics is a struggle between good and evil	2.61	1.62	1.97	agree
Manichean View						
of Politics						
		There are different views on voting. Please state your				
		opinion on the following:				
Negative	vp1	It is right not to participate in elections to protest	2.33	1.71	1.97	strongly
Political	vp3	A good citizen is characterized by the fact that s/he she always votes (R)	2.93	1.74	1.97	disagree
Engagement:						-
abstaining to vote						strongly
						agree
		There are different opinions as to what it takes to be a good citizen. As far as you are concerned personally on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is not at all important and 7 is very important, how important is it:				
Positive	ASP	to be active in social or political associations	4.59	1.56	1.64	not at all
Political	alV	always to vote in elections	5.82	1.48	1.32	important
Engagement:	KWA	to keep watch on the actions of government	5.37	1.28	1.32	-
being an active						very
citizen						important
(R) is reverse-score	d.					

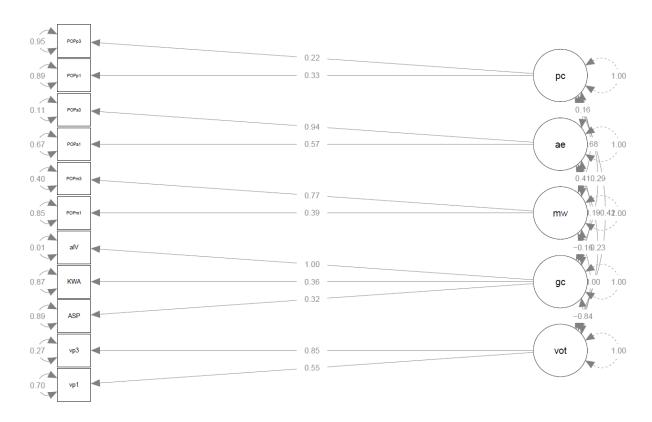


Figure A2: All latent constructs used in Study 2 DE

		McDonald's ω	Cronbach's
			α
pc:	people-centrism	.14	.14
ae:	anti-elitism	.74	.70
mw:	Manichean view of politics	.52	.46
gc:	positive political engagement: being an active citizen	.54	.64
vot:	negative political engagement: abstaining to vote	.67	.63
	Omega - Alpha Total	.44	.30
All fact	or loadings are significant at p <.000 level except the indicato	rs of <b>pc</b> , which are	
significa	ant at p <.05 level		

Latent	Variable	Item	Mean	SD	%	Range &
Construct	Name	Wording			Missing	Response
						Categorie
		There are different views about the political				
		opinions regarding the [demonstration]. To				
		what extent do you agree with the following				
		statements?				
	POPp1	Politicians should always listen closely to the	6.07	1.00	0.90	
		problems of the people				
	POPp2	Politicians don't have to spend time among	5.91	1.36	0.60	
		ordinary people to do a good job (R)				
	POPp3	The will of the people should be the highest	5.09	1.33	0.60	
		principle in this country's politics				
	POPa1	The government is pretty much run by a few	4.27	1.55	0.90	
		big interests looking out for themselves				
Populist Attitudes	POPa2	Government officials use their power to try	3.72	1.21	1.49	
measured in		to improve people's lives (R)				strongl disagre
	POPa3	Quite a few of the people running the	3.54	1.58	0.60	uisagie
dimensions:  People-Centrism,		government are crooked				- strongl
Anti-Elitism,		When you think of somebody who disagrees				agree [1-
Manichean view of politics		with you about the concerns of the				agree [1
manichean view of politics		[demonstration], to what extent do you agree				
		with the following statements?				
	POPm1	You can tell if a person is good or bad if you	3.14	1.59	1.79	
		know their politics				
	POPm2	The people I disagree with politically are not	2.54	1.47	2.09	
		evil (R)				
	POPm3	The people I disagree with politically are just	3.31	1.60	2.09	
		misinformed				
		The following statements refer to the				
		demonstrators who participate in				

		[demonstration]. To what extent do you agree with these statements?				
Political	GrpIDdt1	I feel a distance between myself and this group.	3.48	1.33	4.48	
Engagement:	GrpIDdt2	I feel detached from this group.	3.20	1.30	5.07	
(+) engagement:	GrpIDdt3	I feel alienated to this group.	3.15	1.35	5.07	
(dis)identification with the	GrpIDds1	I have nothing in common with most members of this group.	3.14	1.22	4.78	strongly disagree
demonstrators at the German re-	GrpIDds2	I'm dissimilar to the average person of this group.	3.35	1.16	4.78	-
unification in Leipzig  (-) engagement:  (dis)identification with the demonstrators at the PEGIDA meeting	GrpIDds3	I'm completely different from other members of this group.	3.27	1.19	4.78	strongly agree [1-5]
(R) is reverse-scored.						

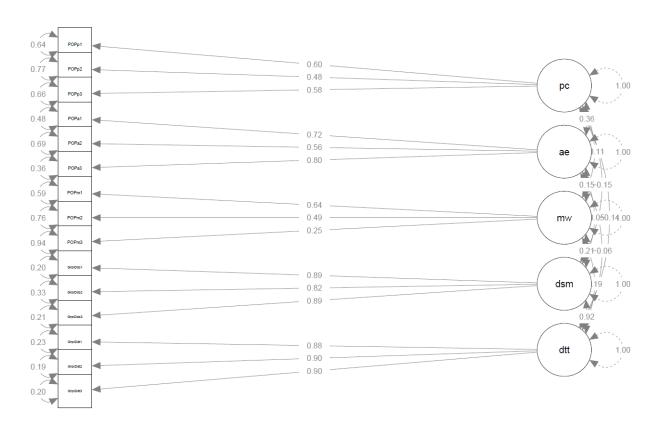


Figure A3 All latent constructs used in Study 3 DE

		McDonald's ω	Cronbach's
			α
рс:	people-centrism	.57	.57
ae:	anti-elitism	.74	.73
mw:	Manichean view of politics	.47	.40
dsm:	group-dissimilarity	.90	.90
dtt:	group-detachment	.92	.92
	Omega - Alpha Total	.82	.72
All factor	loadings are significant at p <.000 level except P	OPm3, which is significant at p	<.05
level			

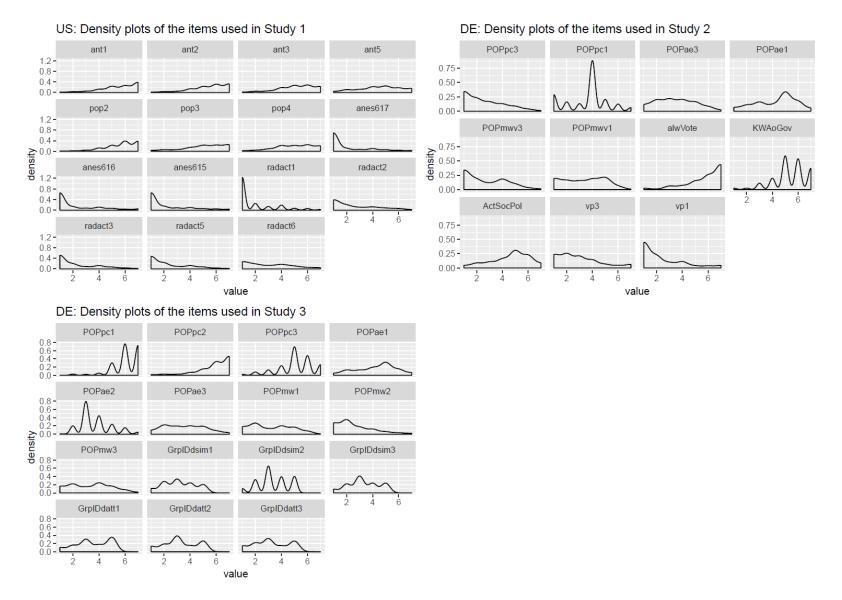


Figure A4 Density plots of all the items used in three studies

# Summary of the independent, dependent variables and the treatments in the studies:

Table A4: Study	1 U.S.			
	IV	Treatment: Speech by a fictional congressional candidate	DV1: (+) Political Engagement	DV2: (-) Political Engagement
Experimental Group	Populist attitudes (composite)	Read the populist version	Active support in elections	Legitimate radical political action
Control Group	Populist attitudes (composite)	Read the non- populist version	Active support in elections	Legitimate radical political action
T-11- 45- C4- 4-	2 C			
Table A5: Study	IV IV	Treatment: Populist views of politics	DV1: (+) Political Engagement	DV2: (-) Political Engagement
Experimental Group	Populist attitudes (1) people-centrism, (2) anti-elitism, (3) Manichean view of politics)	(1) anti- establishment, (2) people-centrism, (3) out-group exclusion)	being an active citizen in politics	abstaining from voting
Control Group	Populist attitudes (1) people-centrism, (2) anti-elitism, (3) Manichean view of politics)	received no treatment	being an active citizen in politics	abstaining from voting
Table A6: Study	3 Cormany			
	IV	Treatment: Seeing the Slogan Wir sind das Volk in	DV1: (+) Political Engagement	DV2: (-) Political Engagement
Experimental Group 1	Populist attitudes (1) people-centrism, (2) anti-elitism, (3) Manichean view of politics)	the PEGIDA context		Identification with the demonstrators (by reporting feeling similar and attached to the group)
Experimental Group 2	Populist attitudes (1) people-centrism, (2) anti-elitism, (3) Manichean view of politics)	the German Reunification (LEIPZIG) context	Identification with the demonstrators (by reporting feeling similar and attached to the group)	
Control Group	Populist attitudes (1) people-centrism, (2) anti-elitism, (3) Manichean view of politics)	Saw a peace march without any slogans	the group)  Identification with the demonstrators (by reporting feeling similar and attached to the group)	

#### Experimental treatments:

#### Study 1:

<u>Non-populist speech:</u> The old saying "You don't know what you've got until it's gone" was seldom so right. Some might not understand today, but future generations will certainly question our judgment and wonder how we could have failed to see the significance of this place. They will want to know what was wrong with "those people back then". And they will be right. If the demolition goes through, a large piece of our community's history will be gone forever.

This stadium could be used for a whole host of great things, from a sport museum to a space for kids to practice. Just imagine how incredible it would be: the chance of practicing on the same field where legends they all hear about made their names. However, instead of children dressed for sports, the area will be filled with parked cars and dollar stores. It will mark the disappearance of a community, of jobs that employ, directly or indirectly, hundreds of people in this region. The disappearance of a large chunk of this side's economy.

Still, some might argue that many other jobs, construction jobs, could be created through the demolition, and that all this economic activity would just move to another part of town. Unfortunately, that is not the case. First, those construction jobs would also be created if we chose to update the existing structure. Second, it is highly questionable whether the city center needs such an investment to boost its economic activity that, today, thank you very much, is all well. On top of that, the project as it stands is poorly designed, and sadly captures the worst of two worlds. It is neither a remarkably original design destined to become a new landmark, nor does it live up to the old stadium's glorious past. Tens of millions of dollars would be spent on building this new space, and the benefits for our community are all but clear. It is often repeated that the city will win. I still fail to see what.

No doubt, the construction may well end up bringing jobs and even more prosperity to the region where it will be set. But what about the area that will lose one of its most traditional sites? What about all those small shops and restaurants whose survival depends on the thousands of fans coming in? Sacrificing one part of the city is as bad a way as there is of developing another. If this becomes reality, our community has only to lose.

<u>Populist speech</u>: It was decades ago that, thanks to the grit and determination of our community, our stadium came off of the paper plans and came to life. Since then, championships were spectacularly won and sports legends have played their best here. But in fact, most fans who've been here these past decades, they don't think about the championship games when they're asked why this place is so meaningful. Instead, they recall the day their fathers first brought them to a game. The day they first saw all those strangers hugging and celebrating and felt they belonged there. Or the day after that terrible week, when we were the clear underdogs and we crushed them, and, for only a moment, no problem in life seemed to matter anymore.

But now some people are seeking the dubious glory of being known as those who tore down this historical stadium. They want to pour incredible amounts of money into a suspiciously expensive replica of every new arena-slash-shopping-mall that can be found in all over. Actually want to spend much more money than would be needed to update our existing house to contemporary requirements - while keeping its age-old magic.

But keeping up a treasure of our city is a wish that only we, the fans, have. That is of no concern for those who make the calls. For them, the prohibitive ticket prices that will surely be applied in a new stadium are fine. It might help to attract "the right kind of people" to the skyboxes. They see no problem in separating us from our beloved stadium. Separating us from that unforgettable smell of barbecue, beer and fireworks smoke, when people pour from all over the country to cheer, sing, celebrate - man, I've even seen a few couples getting married around there! But no, the city's priority is that some development company with good friends up there gets a multimillion dollars project. These are the only beneficiaries. Money talks, history walks.

The people's voice was never heard. Just as a terminal diagnosis of a loved one, the community is expected to prepare for the end. The thing is, that this fatal disease is not inevitable! Citizens have a right to say if they approve! And I have no doubts the answer is no! These guys might have power, but united we can show that messing with our dearest memories is not on the table. Generations to come will learn from our example. Our community's history is not for sale.

Study 2:

Participants in the control-group proceeded directly to the dependent variables after answering the batteries before the experimental treatment; participants in the experimental-group responded to the following extra-items on populism before proceeding to the dependent variables.

	Die demokratischen Parteien zerreden alles	Democratic parties ignore problems and do		
nt	und lösen die Probleme nicht.	not solve problems.		
Anti-Establishment	Politiker umgehen die bestehenden Gesetze,	Politicians bend/dodge existing laws when it		
shr				
blis	wenn es um ihre eigenen Vorteile geht.  Politiker nehmen sich mehr Rechte heraus als	comes to their own advantages.		
stal		Politicians take/use more rights than ordinary		
Ē	normale Bürger.	citizens.		
nti	Das Allgemeinwohl wird heutzutage	The common good is ignored for the sake of		
$\mathbf{A}_{\mathrm{J}}$	gegenüber den Bedürfnissen des	the need of the establishment.		
	Establishments ignoriert.			
	Nur die Gesellschaft kann ein Land stark	Only the people can make a country strong.		
H	machen.			
ris	Die Meinung des kleinen Mannes ist ehrlicher	The ordinary people's opinion is more honest		
ent	als die von Politikern oder Experten.	than the political experts' opinions.		
Č	In einer Demokratie sollte sich immer der	The will of the majority should prevail in a		
ple	Wille der Mehrheit durchsetzen.	democracy.		
People Centrism	Die Politik sollte sich um die schweigende	Politics should watch for the silent majority		
<b>L</b>	Mehrheit kümmern, die vor allem damit	(ordinary people)		
	beschäftigt ist, über die Runden zu kommen.			
	Dass Bürger sich auch mit Gewalt gegen	I find the citizens' anger against the asylum-		
u	Asylantenheime zur Wehr setzen, finde ich	seekers understandable.		
Sio	verständlich.			
lus	Wir sollten keine Ausländer hier integrieren,	We should support foreigners in their home		
£ <b>X</b> C	sondern sie in ihre Heimatländer	countries, not integrate them here.		
Out-group Exclusion	zurückbringen und dort unterstützen.			
no.	Die Wut der Bürger auf die Zuwanderung ist	The rage of the citizens against refugees is		
-61	absolut verständlich.	absolutely understandable.		
)ut	In Deutschland darf man nichts Schlechtes	In Germany, one cannot speak against		
	über Ausländer sagen, ohne gleich als Rassist	foreigners without being labeled as racist.		
	beschimpft zu werden.			
These e	xtra-items on populism are adopted from the following	owing sources: Akkerman, Mudde, and		
	e (2014); Swiss pilot-study of Silva et al. (2018);			
	<u> </u>			

#### Study 3:

Participants in the control-group responded to the populism battery after being exposed to the images displayed in the first column of the table below; participants in the PEGIDA-condition responded to the populism battery after being exposed to the images displayed in the second column; participants in the Leipzig-condition responded to the populism battery after being exposed to the images displayed in the third column. All participants were also asked to write their comments on the demonstrating group. All participants in the experimental groups (PEGIDA & Leipzig) are specifically instructed to pay attention to the slogans in the images; the slogans were also provided as text in the instructions of the questionnaire.

	Control Group	Experimental Treatment 1 (PEGIDA demonstration)	Experimental Treatment 2 (Leipzig demonstration)
People-Centric Slogan	1	STREETHENDERS LIPSULISHING THE STREET STREETHENDERS WITH STREETHENDERS WITH STREETHEND THE STREE	EMOI
Anti-Establishment Slogan	2	Politiker=Leben fernder Realität	Nach to factor SED - Ge stank gehören alle bonzen auf die Finklagebank VV V

- 1 Autor: Rufus46, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ostermarsch\_M%C3%BCnchen\_2005.jpg
- 2 Autor: blu-news.org, CC BY-SA 2.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rucksack\_und\_Friede\_(12269701676).jpg
- 3 Autor: Metropolico.org, CC BY-SA 2.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PEGIDA\_Demonstration\_Dresden\_2015-03-23\_16903273726\_2e40a0b844\_o.jpg
- 4 Autor: Kalispera Dell, CC BY 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PEGIDA\_Demo\_DRESDEN\_25\_Jan\_2015\_116139763.jpg "Politicians live in a different reality"
- 5 Autor: Thomas Lehmann, CC-BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv\_Bild\_183-1989-1104-008, Berlin, Plakate\_auf\_Kundgebung\_am\_Alexanderplatz.jpg
- 6 Autor: Wolfgang Kluge, CC-BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv\_Bild\_183-1990-0129-029, Leipzig, Montagsdemonstration.jpg "All big-wigs need to go to trial"

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