

# AN EMPIRICAL COMPARISON OF SEVEN POPULIST ATTITUDES SCALES Supplementary Information

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# 1 Descriptive Statistics

Table S.1: Descriptive Statistics of Online Samples.

| Country | N   | Age  | Female | Education      | Income | Ideology |
|---------|-----|------|--------|----------------|--------|----------|
| U.S.    | 505 | 32   | 55%    | 2-year college | 5th    | 4.2      |
| Brazil  | 285 | 28   | 19%    | 15 years       | 4th    | 5.5      |
| France  | 222 | 31   | 28%    | 14.5 years     | 4th    | 5.5      |
| Greece  | 310 | 31   | 26%    | 15 years       | 3rd    | 5.2      |
| Ireland | 186 | 31   | 41%    | 15 years       | 4th    | 5.4      |
| Italy   | 270 | 36   | 47%    | 15 years       | 4th    | 5.1      |
| Mexico  | 281 | 28   | 23%    | 16 years       | 7th    | 4.9      |
| Spain   | 278 | 33   | 26%    | 17 years       | 6th    | 4.4      |
| UK      | 219 | 31.5 | 41%    | 15 years       | 4th    | 5.1      |

Notes: **Age:** median age; **Education:** for American sample is the median ordered category of highest degree achieved. For the others, median number of years completed of formal education; **Income:** median income decile; **Ideology:** mean left-right self-placement on a 1-9 scale, where 1 is the left.

## 2 Questionnaires

### Akkerman et al., 2014

- A1 The politicians in the [National] Parliament need to follow the will of the people.
- A2 The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.
- A3 The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people.
- A4 I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician.
- A5 Elected officials talk too much and take too little action.
- A6 What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on ones principles.

### Castanho Silva et al., 2016

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#### *People-centrism:*

- Ppl1 *Politicians should always listen closely to the problems of the people.* (Also part of Elchardus and Spruyt 2016).
- Ppl2 Politicians don’t have to spend time among ordinary people to do a good job.\*
- Ppl3 The will of the people should be the highest principle in this country’s politics.

#### *Anti-elitism:*

- Ant1 The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves.
- Ant2 Government officials use their power to try to improve people’s lives.\*
- Ant3 Quite a few of the people running the government are crooked.

#### *Manichaeian outlook:*

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<sup>1</sup>Items marked with a \* are reverse-coded.

Man1 You can tell if a person is good or bad if you know their politics.

Man2 The people I disagree with politically are not evil.\*

Man3 The people I disagree with politically are just misinformed.

### **CSES Module 5**

C1 *What people call compromise in politics is really just selling out on one's principles.* (Also part of Akkerman et al. 2014)

C2 Most politicians do not care about the people.

C3 Most politicians are trustworthy.

C4 Politicians are the main problem in [COUNTRY].

C5 Having a strong leader in government is good for [COUNTRY] even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.

C6 *The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.* (Also part of Akkerman et al. 2014)

C7 Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful.

### **Elchardus and Spruyt 2016**

E1 The opinion of ordinary people is worth more than that of experts and politicians.

E2 Politicians should listen more closely to the problems the people have.

E3 Ministers should spend less time behind their desks, and more among the ordinary people (we originally had this, but dropped in the latest).

E4 People who have studied for a long time and have many diplomas do not really know what makes the world go round.

## Oliver and Rahn 2016

### *Anti-elitism:*

- People like me don't have much say in what government does.
- Politics usually boils down to a struggle between the people and the powerful.
- The system is stacked against people like me.
- It doesn't really matter who you vote for because the rich control both political parties.
- People at the top usually get there because a) they have more talent and work harder; or b) from some unfair advantage.

### *Mistrust Experts:*

- I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals.
- When it comes to really important questions, scientific facts don't help very much.
- Ordinary people can really use the help of experts to understand complicated things like science and health.\*
- Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil.

### *National Affiliation:*

- It would be unwise to trust the judgments of the [NATIONAL] people for today's complicated political issues / I generally trust the collective judgments of the [NATIONAL] people, even for complex political issues. (Respondent chooses one option between the two).
- I generally consider myself to be a) different than most [NATIONALS]; or b) like most other [NATIONALS].
- How important is being a [NATIONAL] to who you are? (Response scale from 1 – not at all to 7 – extremely important).

## Schulz et al. 2017

### *Anti-elitism*

- MPs in Parliament very quickly lose touch with ordinary people.
- The differences between ordinary people and the ruling elite are much greater than the differences between ordinary people.
- People like me have no influence on what the government does.

### *Popular Sovereignty:*

- The people should have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums.
- The people should be asked whenever important decisions are taken.
- *The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.* (Also part of Akkerman et al. 2014)

### *Homogeneity of the People:*

- Ordinary people are of good and honest character.
- Ordinary people all pull together.
- Although the [NATIONALS] are very different from each other, when it comes down to it they all think the same.

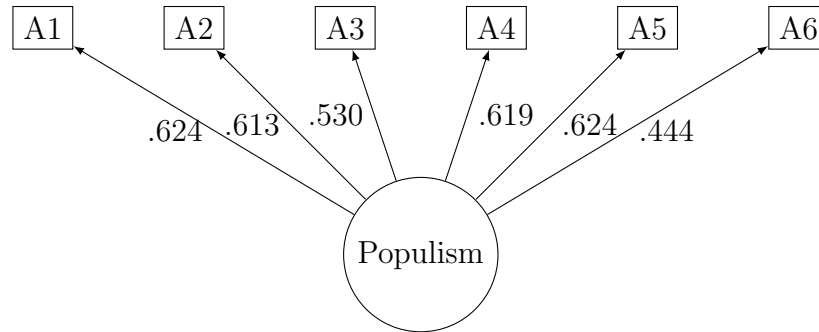
## Stanley 2011

- The ordinary people are divided by many different values.\*
- The people who belong to the political elite are divided by many different values.\*
- Ordinary people are prevented from improving their lives by the actions of unaccountable elites.
- Not all politicians are the same; some genuinely care about what the people want.\*
- Democracy is about finding compromise between different interests and opinions.\*

- Ordinary people are unable to make the correct decisions about the future of our country.\*
- The majority of politicians are honest people.\*
- Modern politics is in essence a struggle between the good, honest people and the evil elite.

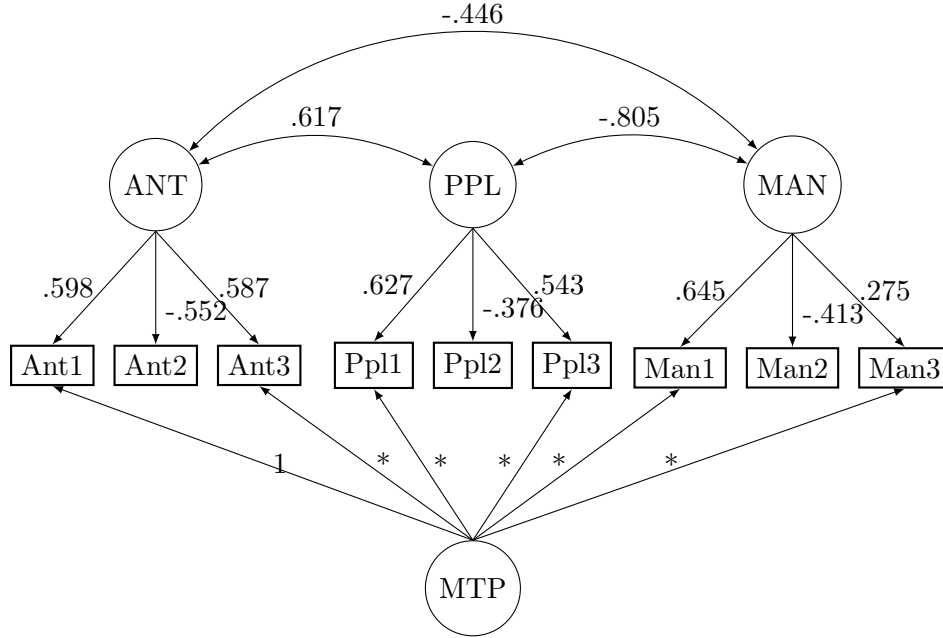
### 3 CFA Full results

Figure S.1: CFA on the Pooled Sample – Akkerman et al. 2014.



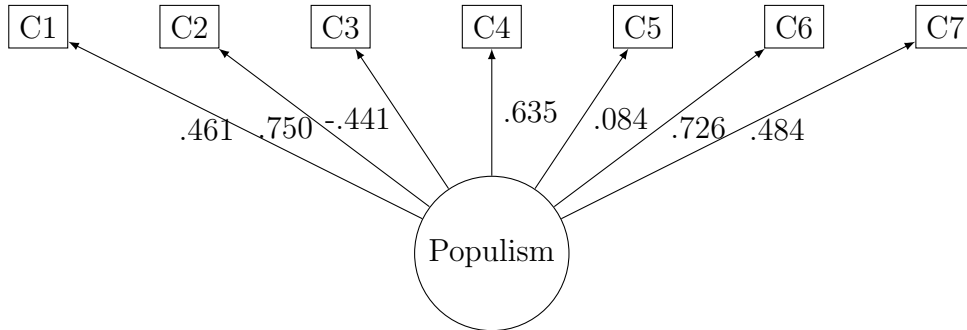
Model information:  $\chi^2 = 54.280$ ,  $df = 9$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .974; TLI: .956; RMSEA: .057 (90% CI: .043–.072); SRMR: .023. N = 2219, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust.

Figure S.2: CFA on the Pooled Sample – Castanho Silva et al. 2016.



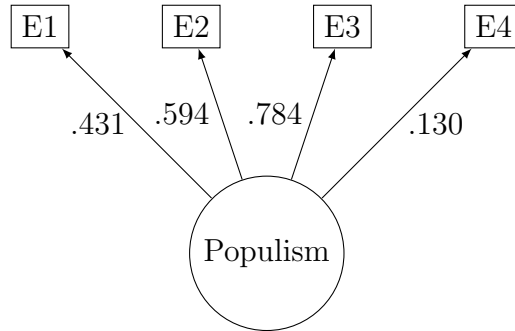
Model information:  $\chi^2 = 176.073$ ,  $df = 22$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .956; TLI: .927; RMSEA: .057 (90% CI: .050–.065); SRMR: .037. N = 2510, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust. Unstandardized factor loading of the method factor, constrained to be the same for all indicators (\*) = .97.

Figure S.3: CFA on the Pooled Sample – CSES



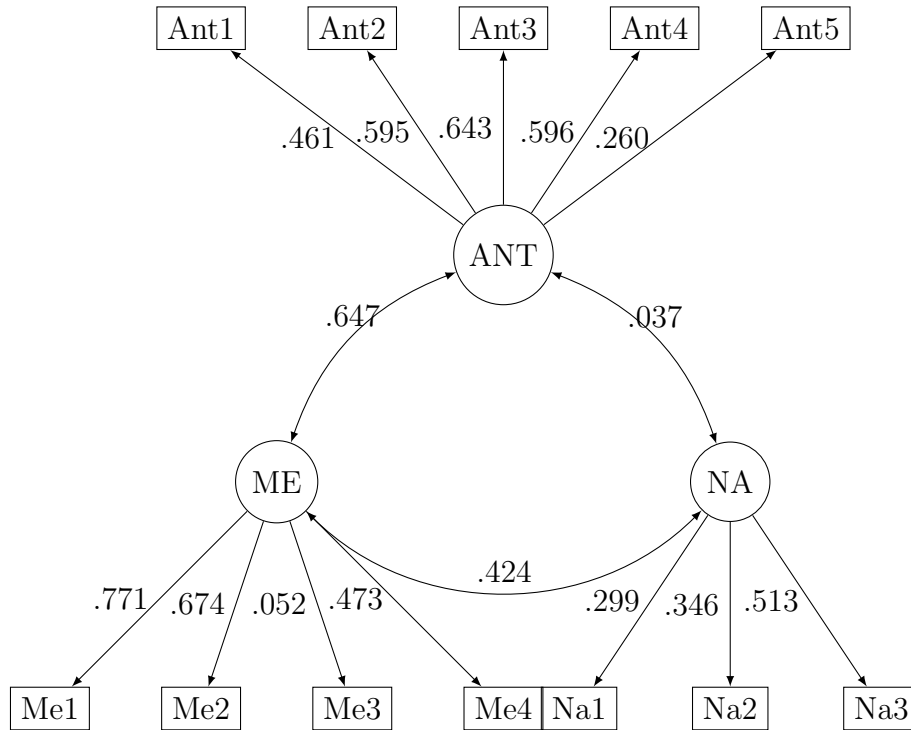
Model information:  $\chi^2 = 244.420$ ,  $df = 14$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .903; TLI: .854; RMSEA: .097 (90% CI: .086–.108); SRMR: .054. N = 2220, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust.

Figure S.4: CFA on the Pooled Sample – Elchardus and Spruyt 2014



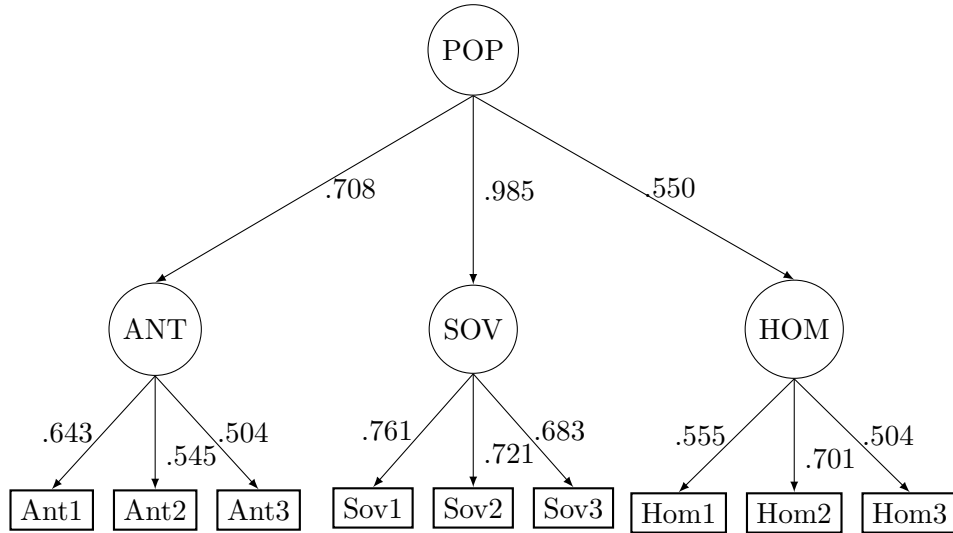
Model information:  $\chi^2 = 168.279$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .809; TLI: .426; RMSEA: .214 (90% CI: .187–.242); SRMR: .070. N = 2221, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust.

Figure S.5: CFA on the Pooled Sample – Oliver and Rahn 2016



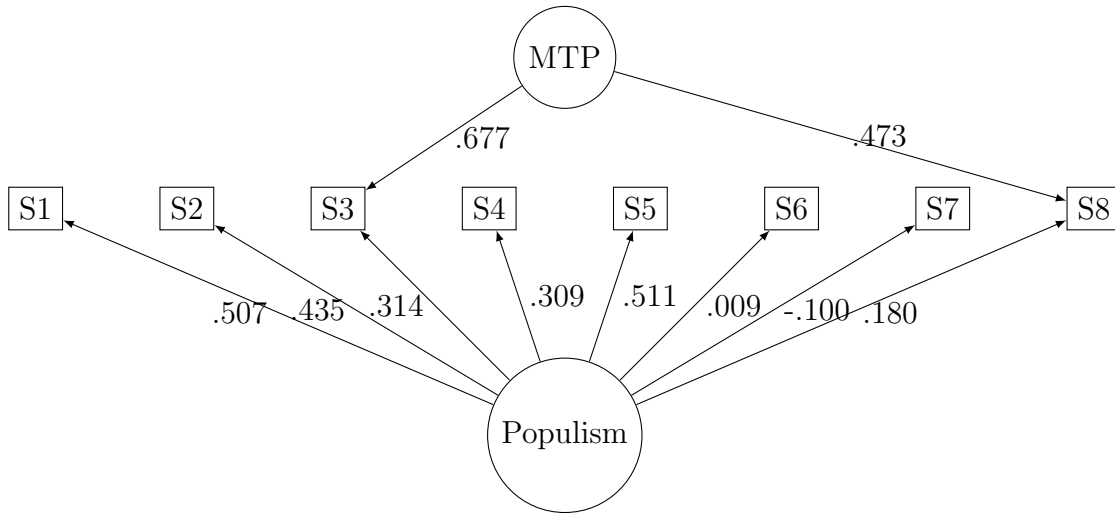
Model information:  $\chi^2 = 345.500$ ,  $df = 51$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .882; TLI: .847; RMSEA: .050 (90% CI: .045–.055); SRMR: .042. N = 2510, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust.

Figure S.6: CFA on the Pooled Sample – Schulz et al. 2017.



Model information:  $\chi^2 = 68.338$ ,  $df = 24$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .986; TLI: .978; RMSEA: .033 (90% CI: .022–.036); SRMR: .022. N = 2219, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust.

Figure S.7: CFA on the Pooled Sample – Stanley 2011



Model information:  $\chi^2 = 382.403$ ,  $df = 18$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI: .673; TLI: .492; RMSEA: .104 (90% CI: .095–.113); SRMR: .065. N = 2221, estimator: Maximum Likelihood Robust. MTP: Positive-worded method factor, uncorrelated with the Populism latent variable.