

**Populism in context. A cross-country investigation of the Facebook usage  
of populist appeals during the 2019 European Parliament elections**

**Appendix**

Table A1. Sample sizes of and macro-level differences between countries (part 1).

Country	Number of posts coded (share of all posts)	Geographical location in Europe	Year of EU (EC) accession	Seats in the 2014 EP	Trust in the EU <sup>a</sup> (%)	Positive EU image <sup>a</sup> (%)	Negative EU image <sup>a</sup> (%)	Feeling as a citizen of the EU <sup>a</sup> (%)	Net contributor <sup>b</sup>	National elections 2019/20 <sup>c</sup>	Media system	Governmental system
<b>Austria</b>	691 (100%)	Central	1995	18	52	45	17	80	Yes	Yes	Democratic corporatist <sup>f</sup>	Federal parliamentary republic
<b>Denmark</b>	233 (53%)	Northern	1973	13	68	54	13	82	Yes	Yes	Democratic corporatist <sup>f</sup>	Parliamentary monarchy
<b>France</b>	692 (65%)	Western	1958	74	33	36	24	64	Yes	No	Polarised pluralist <sup>f</sup>	Semi-presidential republic
<b>Germany</b>	380 (100%)	Central	1958	96	48	51	12	88	Yes	No	Democratic corporatist <sup>f</sup>	Federal parliamentary republic
<b>Hungary</b>	704 (100%)	Central/ Eastern	2004	21	55	52	11	84	No	No	Politicised media <sup>g</sup>	Parliamentary republic
<b>Ireland</b>	266 (100%)	Western	1973	11	54	63	10	85	Yes	No	Liberal <sup>f</sup>	Parliamentary republic
<b>Italy</b>	1947 (100%) <sup>d</sup>	Southern	1951	73	37	38	20	57	Yes	No	Polarised pluralist <sup>f</sup>	Parliamentary republic

Table A1. Sample sizes of and macro-level differences between countries (part 2).

Country	Number of posts coded (share of all posts)	Geographical location in Europe	Year of EU (EC) accession	Seats in the 2014 EP	Trust in the EU <sup>a</sup> (%)	Positive EU image <sup>a</sup> (%)	Negative EU image <sup>a</sup> (%)	Feeling as a citizen of the EU <sup>a</sup> (%)	Net contributor <sup>b</sup>	National elections 2019/20 <sup>c</sup>	Media system	Governmental system
<b>Poland</b>	132 (20%)	Central/ Eastern	2004	51	54	54	7	84	No	Yes	Hybrid liberal <sup>g</sup>	Parliamentary republic
<b>Romania</b>	737 (100%)	Central/ Eastern	2007	32	52	60	10	73	No	No	Politicised media <sup>g</sup>	Semi-presidential republic
<b>Spain</b>	755 (100%)	Southern	1986	54	47	44	13	87	No	Yes	Polarised pluralist <sup>f</sup>	Parliamentary monarchy
<b>Sweden</b>	272 (50%)	Northern	1995	20	56	50	17	83	Yes	No	Democratic corporatist <sup>f</sup>	Parliamentary monarchy
<b>UK</b>	253 (45%)	Western	1973	73	29	38	31	58	Yes	(Yes) <sup>e</sup>	Liberal <sup>f</sup>	Parliamentary monarchy

<sup>a</sup> European Commission, 2019. <sup>b</sup> BBC, 2019. (<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-48256318>). <sup>c</sup> Haßler et al., 2021.

<sup>d</sup> The Italian party, Lega, posted a disproportionately large amount of posts (N = 3,231), therefore a random sample was drawn from their material making its sample size equal to the second largest party sample (605 posts).

<sup>e</sup> UK held a national election in December 2019 which was not planned/announced at the time of the EP election.

<sup>f</sup> Hallin & Mancini (2008).

<sup>g</sup> Dobek-Ostrowska (2015).

Table A2. Overview of the analyzed constructs, operationalizations, and descriptive statistics (part 1)

Construct	Variable(s)	Coding Scheme <sup>a</sup>	Mean	SD	Min	Max	holsti CR <sup>b</sup>
(1) Populism	Anti-Elite Populism	Criticism (in the form of blaming, questioning legitimacy, calling for resistance and/or accusing of betrayal) towards political actors, bureaucrats and political administration, media, journalists, pundits, polling companies and/or supranational elites (e.g. EU, NATO).	0.15	0.35	0	1	0.91-0.98
	People-centrism	References to the people as a unit (or national community) that is described as politically distinct from other entities (e.g. the elite). The source of the reference presents itself as advocating the people. Examples: 'our nation', 'our country'.	0.10	0.30	0	1	0.86
Policy issues were coded as separate binary variables. In this way, different policies could be coded as equally presented in a post. All policies mentioned in a post had to be coded. The following policy issues were used in the presented analysis:					0	1	
(2) Policy Issue <sup>c</sup>	Economy and finance	austerity policy, taxation, Euro crisis etc.	0.13	0.33	0	1	0.85
	Labor & social issues	labor market, education, social policy, pension policy, family policy, rents, health policy, child and youth policy.	0.18	0.38	0	1	0.89
	Immigration	integration, stopping migration, fighting causes of migration etc.	0.07	0.25	0	1	0.99-1.00
	Environmental policy	climate change, energy policy, electricity prices etc.	0.09	0.29	0	1	0.93

Table A2. Overview of the analyzed constructs, operationalizations, and descriptive statistics (part 2)

<i>(3) Political Level</i>	European level	the topics that the post refers to or are mainly related to the European level (e.g. EU relations with (non-)member states or international organizations, joint EU policy)	0.42	0.49	0	1	0.82
	National level	the topics that the post refers to or are mainly related to the national level (national politics of individual states)	0.57	0.49	0	1	0.84
	Local level	the topics that the post refers to or are mainly related to the local level (politics below the national level)	0.15	0.35	0	1	0.96
	Global level <sup>d</sup>	the topics that the post refers to or are mainly related to the global level (e.g. UN, NATO, United Nations Climate Change Conference, G7)	0.02	0.14	0	1	0.89
	Other level <sup>d</sup>	the topics that the post refers to or are mainly related to another level (e.g. bilateral, intergovernmental relations between individual states without the participation of the EU)	0.01	0.08	0	1	0.99
<i>(6) Party characteristics</i>	Party group <sup>e</sup>	EPP (24%), S&D (21%), RE (13%), ID (12%), Independents (12%), Greens/EFA (8%), GUE/NGL (6%), ECR (5%)	–	–	0	1	-
	Government party	being in the government coalition at the time of the Election Day	0.33	0.47	0	1	-
<i>(7) FB activity</i>	Number of posts (num_posts)	number of posts posted during the investigation period	466.9	792.6	22	3179	

*Note:* <sup>a</sup>All variables were coded as binary, unless stated otherwise. <sup>b</sup>Column contains inter-coder reliability scores for inter-country reliability tests. In case more than one category was used to calculate the variable, min and max values are reported. <sup>c</sup>Other coded issues include: domestic policy (M=0.04); transport and infrastructure (M=0.02); culture, education and research (M=0.02); defense (M=0.01); European policy (M=0.02); foreign policy (M=0.02); other policy (M=0.01). <sup>d</sup>global and other levels are merged in the analysis due to convergence issue. <sup>e</sup>Data gathered from EU website: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/election-results-2019/en/breakdown-national-parties-political-group/2019-2024/>. <sup>f</sup>Data gathered from The PopuList: <https://popu-list.org/>.

Table A3. The list of national political parties.

Country code	Party name	Party Group	Gov (1)/ Opp (0)	No. of posts
at	Die Grünen - Die Grüne Alternative (GRÜNE)	Greens/EFA	0	131
at	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ)	ID	1	173
at	Das neue Österreich (NEOS)	RE	0	151
at	Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP)	EPP	1	183
at	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ)	S&D	0	178
de	Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)	ID	0	107
de	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU)	EPP	1	79
de	Die Linke	GUE/NGL	0	54
de	Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)	RE	0	124
de	Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Grüne)	Greens/EFA	0	93
de	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)	S&D	1	70
dk	Dansk Folkeparti (DF)	ID	1	72
dk	Det Konservative Folkeparti (DKF)	EPP	1	24
dk	Det Radikale Venstre (RV)	RE	0	47
dk	Enhedslisten. De rød-grønne (Ø)	GUE/NGL	0	37
dk	Socialdemokraterne (SD)	S&D	0	42
dk	Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF)	Greens/EFA	0	18
dk	Venstre (V)	RE	1	66

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es	Ciudadanos - Partido de la Ciudadanía (C's)	RE	0	111
es	Partido Popular (PP)	EPP	0	171
es	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)	S&D	1	213
es	PODEMOS	GUE/NGL	0	168
es	VOX	ECR	0	107
fr	Europe Écologie-Les Verts (EELV)	Greens/EFA	0	165
fr	La France insoumise (FI)	GUE/NGL	0	43
fr	La République en Marche (REM)	ALDE	1	131
fr	Les Républicains (LR)	EPP	0	58
fr	Parti socialiste (PS)	S&D	0	142
fr	Rassemblement National (RN)	Independents	0	153
hu	Demokratikus Koalíció (DK)	S&D	0	209
hu	Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Szövetség- Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (Fidesz-KDNP)	EPP	1	210
hu	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (Jobbik)	Independents	0	169
hu	Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP)	S&D	0	232
hu	Momentum Mozgalom (Momentum)	RE	0	120
ie	Fianna Fáil (FF)	RE	0	44
ie	Fine Gael (FG)	EPP	1	22
ie	Green Party Ireland (GP)	Greens/EFA	0	90
ie	Sinn Féin (SF)	GUE/NGL	0	134
it	Forza Italia (FI)	EPP	0	324

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it	Fratelli D'Italia (FDI)	ECR	0	167
it	Lega Nord (LN)	ID	1	607 <sup>a</sup>
it	Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S)	Independents	1	607
it	Partito Democratico (PD)	S&D	0	254
pl	Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	EPP	0	38
pl	Polish People's Party (PSL)	EPP	0	5
pl	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	ECR	1	25
pl	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)	S&D	0	44
pl	Wiosna Roberta Biedronia (Wiosna)	S&D	0	29
pl	Modern	RE	0	8
ro	Partidul Mișcarea Populară (PMP)	EPP	0	99
ro	Partidul Național Liberal (PNL)	EPP	0	342
ro	Partidul Social Democrat (PSD)	S&D	1	35
ro	Partidul Pro Romania (ProRomania)	S&D	0	101
ro	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România (UDMR)	EPP	0	263
ro	Uniunea Salvați România + Partidul Libertății, Unității și Solidarității (USR+PLUS)	RE	0	155
se	Centerpartiet (C)	RE	0	29
se	Kristdemokraterna (Kd)	EPP	0	33
se	Miljöpartiet de gröna (MDG)	Greens/EFA	1	58
se	Moderaterna (M)	EPP	0	63

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se	Socialdemokraterna (S)	S&D	1	64
se	Sverigedemokraterna (Sd)	ECR	0	65
se	Vänsterpartiet (V)	GUE/NGL	0	59
uk	Conservative Party (Cons.)	ECR	1	24
uk	Green Party (GP)	Greens/EFA	0	61
uk	Labour Party (Lab.)	S&D	0	91
uk	Liberal Democrats (Lib dems)	RE	0	65
uk	The Brexit Party (Brexit Party)	Independents	0	18
Total				8074

<sup>a</sup>The Italian Lega, posted a disproportionately large amount of posts (N=3,231). We drew a random sample from their posts to make its sample size equal to the sample of the second largest party (605 posts). Acronyms: EPP = European People's Party; S&D = Party of European Socialists – Socialists and Democrats; RE = Renew Europe; ECR = European Conservatives and Reformists Group; ID = Identity and Democracy; Greens/EFA = European Greens/European Free Alliance; GUE/NGL = Party of the European Left.

*Table A4. Models with GUE/NGL (Party of the European Left) as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)*

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>anti-elite appeals</b>		<b>people-centric appeals</b>		<b>populist posts (AE + PC)</b>	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [Greens/EFA]	0.41	0.23	0.29	0.29	0.04 *	0.06
group [EPP]	0.24 **	0.12	0.96	0.83	0.20	0.19
group [ECR]	1.00	0.61	1.60	1.73	1.93	2.11
group [Independents]	2.99	1.87	1.00	1.11	2.12	2.36
group [ID]	2.60	1.84	0.81	1.02	1.99	2.49
group [RE]	0.31 *	0.15	0.38	0.34	0.20	0.20
group [S&D]	0.41	0.20	0.47	0.40	0.43	0.38

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table A5. Models with Greens/EFA as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)

<i>Predictors</i>	anti-elite appeals		people-centric appeals		populist posts (AE + PC)	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [EPP]	0.60	0.30	3.15	2.65	4.25	5.82
group [ECR]	2.42	1.46	5.18	5.52	43.56 *	64.14
group [Independents]	7.28 **	4.50	3.26	3.57	44.46 *	66.33
group [GUE/NGL]	2.46	1.37	3.29	3.23	22.11 *	31.38
group [ID]	6.34 **	4.41	2.66	3.29	43.79 *	69.32
group [RE]	0.75	0.37	1.25	1.09	4.38	6.10
group [S&D]	0.99	0.48	1.53	1.29	9.29	12.43

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table A6. Models with S&D as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)

<i>Predictors</i>	anti-elite appeals		people-centric appeals		populist posts (AE + PC)	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [RE]	0.75	0.31	0.82	0.58	0.46	0.38
group [ID]	6.38 **	3.93	1.74	1.91	4.59	5.01
group [GUE/NGL]	2.47	1.20	2.17	1.85	2.42	2.14
group [Greens/EFA]	1.00	0.48	0.63	0.53	0.09	0.13
group [EPP]	0.60	0.24	2.06	1.36	0.46	0.36
group [ECR]	2.44	1.28	3.43	3.19	4.46	4.25
group [Independents]	7.34 ***	3.99	2.12	2.05	4.94	4.79

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table A7. Models with RE as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>anti-elite appeals</b>		<b>people-centric appeals</b>		<b>populist posts (AE + PC)</b>	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [ID]	8.46 ***	5.46	2.14	2.45	9.45	10.93
group [GUE/NGL]	3.28 *	1.65	2.65	2.34	4.77	4.57
group [Greens/EFA]	1.32	0.66	0.77	0.67	0.18	0.26
group [EPP]	0.80	0.34	2.52	1.78	0.95	0.82
group [ECR]	3.24 *	1.77	4.20	4.04	9.09 *	9.27
group [Independents]	9.73 ***	5.49	2.58	2.58	10.13 *	10.54
group [S&D]	1.33	0.55	1.23	0.88	1.99	1.62

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table A8. Models with ECR (European Conservatives and Reformists Group) as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>anti-elite appeals</b>		<b>people-centric appeals</b>		<b>populist posts (AE + PC)</b>	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [Independents]	3.02	1.96	0.62	0.73	1.06	1.21
group [EPP]	0.25 **	0.13	0.61	0.56	0.10 *	0.10
group [Greens/EFA]	0.41	0.25	0.19	0.20	0.02 **	0.03
group [GUE/NGL]	1.02	0.62	0.64	0.69	0.52	0.56
group [ID]	2.62	1.86	0.51	0.66	0.99	1.24
group [RE]	0.31 *	0.17	0.24	0.23	0.10 *	0.10
group [S&D]	0.41	0.22	0.30	0.28	0.21	0.20

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table A9. Models with ID as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>anti-elite appeals</b>		<b>people-centric appeals</b>		<b>populist posts (AE + PC)</b>	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [GUE/NGL]	0.39	0.28	1.31	1.65	0.57	0.71
group [Greens/EFA]	0.16 **	0.11	0.38	0.47	0.02 *	0.03
group [EPP]	0.09 ***	0.06	1.23	1.34	0.11 *	0.12
group [ECR]	0.38	0.27	2.06	2.64	1.05	1.33
group [Independents]	1.16	0.82	1.27	1.63	1.17	1.44
group [RE]	0.12 ***	0.08	0.49	0.56	0.11	0.13
group [S&D]	0.16 **	0.10	0.60	0.67	0.23	0.25

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table A10. Models with Independents as reference category (only the party type variables are presented)

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>anti-elite appeals</b>		<b>people-centric appeals</b>		<b>populist posts (AE + PC)</b>	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>Predictors</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>SE</i>
group [ECR]	0.33	0.22	1.68	1.96	0.94	1.09
group [EPP]	0.08 ***	0.05	1.00	0.96	0.09 *	0.10
group [Greens/EFA]	0.14 **	0.08	0.31	0.34	0.02 *	0.03
group [GUE/NGL]	0.34	0.21	1.06	1.18	0.50	0.56
group [ID]	0.88	0.62	0.85	1.10	0.95	1.17
group [RE]	0.10 ***	0.06	0.40	0.40	0.10 *	0.10
group [S&D]	0.14 ***	0.07	0.49	0.48	0.20	0.20

\*  $p < 0.05$  \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$