CODEBOOK "Populism"

for the article

'Climate-Soviets,' 'Alarmism,' and 'Eco-dictatorship': The Framing of Climate Change Scepticism by the Populist Radical Right Alternative for Germany

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In order to code populism, I follow the ideational approach by Cas Mudde who defines populism as:

> "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite'' and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people." (Mudde 2004).

Thus, in short, populism consists of two main dimensions: people-centrism and anti-elitism. It pitches a homogeneous and virtuous people against an also homogeneous but evil and self-interested elite.

People-centrism refers to 'the people' (or such terms as citizens, the 'little guy,' etc.) with a positive connotation, as a homogeneous entity, or as victims of the 'corrupt' elites.

- Note, however, that as populists claim to speak for the people, references to the people need to include the majority of the people – references to specific subgroups which do not constitute >50% of the people (e.g., pensioneers) will *not* be coded as populism.
- Popular sovereignty: References to the expression of the 'general will' of the people by means of direct democracy will also be coded as (as subdimension of) people-centrism

Anti-elitism refers to criticism of the elite in general – but *not* of a single party or politician. This is, because – like the people – the elite is perceived to be a homogeneous group. References to the elite need to be negative.

Full-fledged populism: However, as studies on populism point out, to code a chunk of text as 'populist', it needs to display both dimensions of the concept of populism: people-centrism *and* anti-elitism (Rooduijn et al. 2014, 567).

Dimension	Keywords	Example
People-centrism	Volk, die (deutschen) Bürger, alle Bürger, einfache Bürger, die breite Bevölkerung, Normalbürger, die kleinen Leute, normale Leute, Leistungsträger, Steuerzahler, Steuerbürger, Arbeitnehmer, unser Land	„**Die Bürger zahlen dafür die Zeche** mit steigender Arbeitslosigkeit und deutlichen Wohlstands-einbußen." „Die **ganz normalen Leute,** die das Land immer noch

		am Laufen halten, **zahlen die Zeche** für die CO2-Ideologie, die die GroKo sich ohne jeden kritischen Einwand zu eigen gemacht hat.“
Anti-elitism	Die Politiker, Altparteien, Parteienkartell, politische Eliten, politisches Establishment, Merkel & Co, Berlin und Brüssel, CDU-SPD-Politik-Betrieb, Klimaindustrie, Klimalobbyisten, die Konzerne, Bürokraten in Brüssel, Einheitsparteipolitbüro	„Mit ihren Forderungen macht SPD-Frau Krautzberger deutlich, **wie abgehoben und realitätsfern die politischen Eliten der Altparteien inzwischen sind**“
Full-fledged populism	---	“Wie **diese Menschen** [people-centrism] zur Arbeit und die Kinder zur Schule kommen, scheint **die ideologisch verblendeten Politiker** [anti-elitism] nicht zu interessieren“