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On behalf of the people?

Perceptions, usage and effects of references to the people in political communication

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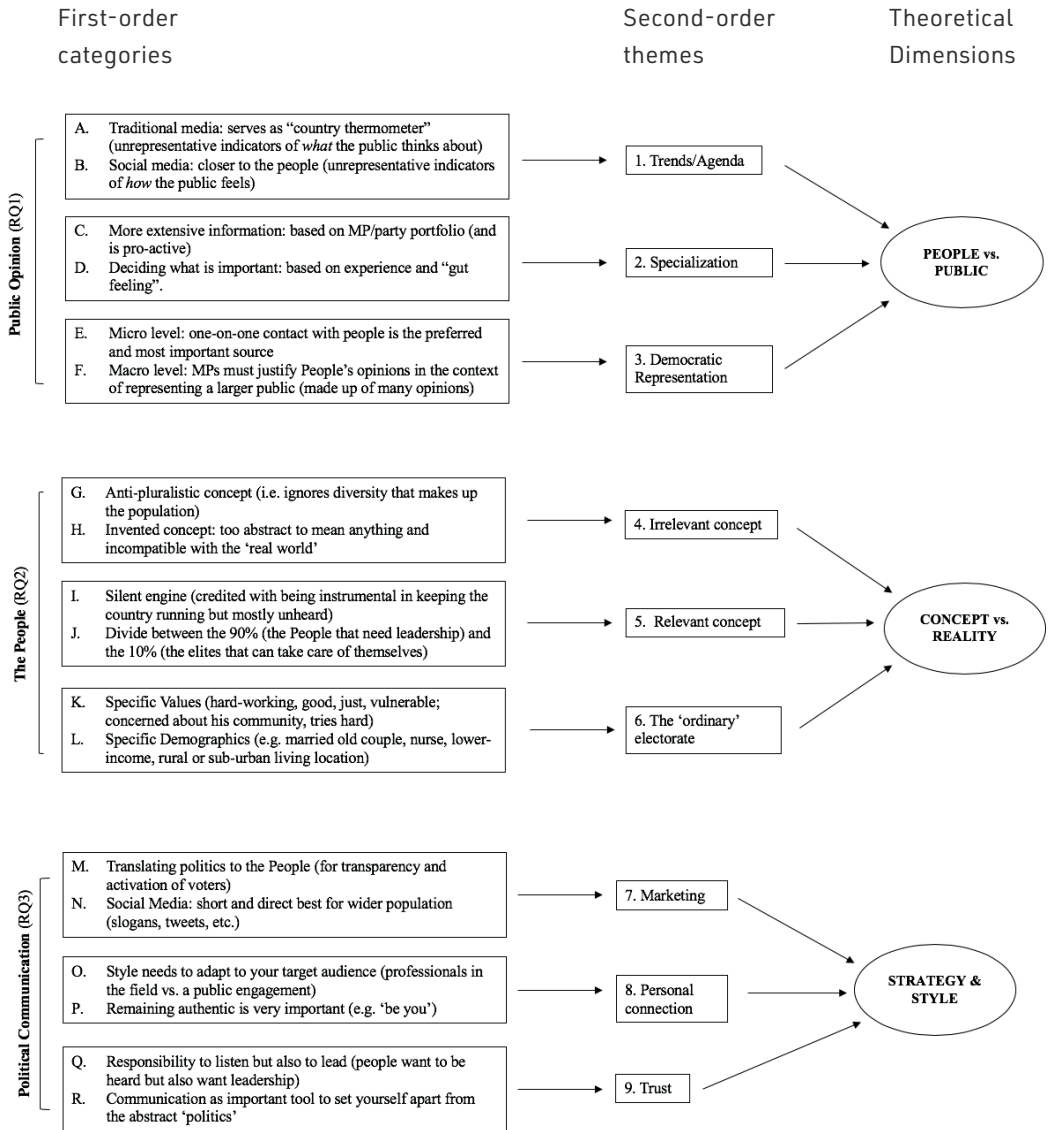
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APPENDIX A: Data Structure



APPENDIX B: Interview Protocol

Open questions

[Note: The interview protocol is structured around the two pillars of Study 1: How do politicians generate a perception of the people, their views and opinions (1) and how do they refer to the people in their communication (2)]

Source

1. How do you form your perception of public opinion? This has already been addressed in the survey: you were asked to rank potential sources of information. So could you reflect a bit on what your thinking process was when you were ranking them?

How do you come to know what issues the public is concerned about at any point of time?

Offer, if needed: What I mean is, do you ever do this by talking to citizens directly (whether that's F2F or online) or do you use research on public opinion or other sources (IF NEEDED: media, journalists, other politicians, advisors, interest groups...)? [Offer as few options as possible and only in cases where respondent seems 'stuck']

PROBE 1: WHY do you prefer (the ones they list as the most important)? [Do you trust some more than others? Are they more reliable?]

PROBE 2: How do you select what's important? You must get much more information than you as for/need.

PROBE 3: How accurate do you think these sources are? Do you think that everyone is represented equally – or is this even important?

Representation

1. We've spoken a bit about public opinion, now, but in a way this assumes one uniform "public" [that holds those opinions]. When you assess public opinion in all the ways we've just discussed, who do you think this is most representative of?

PROBE 1: Are some segments of the population over- or under-represented, and does this even present a problem? In reality, can/should everyone be heard?

PROBE 2: Sometimes, in political catchphrases, we hear a reference to the term "us" or "we" – Let me give an example: Clinton, for example, used the slogan "Putting People first", Obama's catchphrase was "Yes we can", even Thomas Jefferson used the phrase "We are all Republicans"...

Who do you think this "us" is? Or the people are in Clinton's "Putting People first? Is this something you can relate to in the context of The Netherlands, your party and your constituents?

PROBE 3: Do you feel like you should represent all the people or some more than others (like those who voted for you)?

2. Can you describe the People you represent and perhaps name three characteristics they possess?

PROBE: Do you think the people you represent are different from the people other politicians/parties represent?

Executive Power

Last question:

1. How does this knowledge of what the public *wants*, and what the People's *will is*, and *who* those people are, translate into the way you address the people?

PROBE: You were presented with a few statements where you had to guess the public opinion. How would you use the knowledge of the Public's will on any of those statements in your communication about this issue (when you take a stance on this issue) to the public?

[Political Communication = addressing the people; campaigning, any other form of communicating political content to the people, not within politics itself]

2. When you think about communicating to your electorate as a whole, is there a "right" way of communication with your audience... What I mean is, how important is the style of communication when you address the people? And does your perception of the public opinion (that you've learned about from the sources we spoke about) influence the way you communicate with them?

*PROBE: How do you make sure that you reach your target audience?
What role does the media play, here?*

APPENDIX C: Representative data

Table C1: Dimensions, Themes, Categories and Data

Theoretical Dimensions, Second-order themes and First-Order Categories	Representative Data
<p>PEOPLE vs PUBLIC Trends/Agenda A. Traditional media as “country thermometer” (unrepresentative indicators of <i>what</i> the public thinks about)</p> <p>B. Social Media: closer to the people (unrepresentative indicators of <i>how</i> the public feels)</p>	<p>A1. “My day always begins with reading an overview of the news. Then you know what the big topics are.”</p> <p>A2. “Independent journalism doesn’t exist anymore. Does the press know public opinion more than me? No, you can’t let yourself be fooled by that.”</p> <p>B1. “Social media are nowadays a source for certain groups to express themselves. But it is not a representative group that is active there.”</p> <p>B2. “[On social media are] those who are complainers, they find fault with everything. And this group is particularly good at arousing certain themes that the average citizen isn’t engaged with at all. And then you get a strongly distorted picture.”</p> <p>B3. “Twitter is the most important medium for me, but Twitter is for the in-crowd. That is to say, mainly for the politicians and journalists themselves. And a few opinion leaders. But that is only a very small world you are a part of.”</p>
<p>Specialization C. More extensive information: based on MP/ party portfolio (and is pro-active)</p>	<p>C1. “I do [topic x], so for me, speaking to the experts in that field is very important And I receive a media report on [topic x], so I read the newspapers about that topic.”</p> <p>C2. “My subject is [topic x] and I have worked in it my whole life. Well, 33 years, so half of my life! And in that time, I have developed diverse views and can relate the things that happen now fairly easily to the knowledge that I already have.”</p>
<p>D. Deciding what is important: based on experience and “gut feeling”</p>	<p>D1. “Whether it is talking to people or assessing what information sources are trustworthy: it’s a bit of a feeling, a bit of experience that you have. You know your feelings, it’s not always rational.”</p> <p>D2. “look, I am someone who works at the intersection of politics and society for over 30 years. I’m a political scientist, so I know quite a bit about one thing, quite a bit more about another. I just assess the information on the basis of what I know.”</p>
<p>Democratic Representation E. Micro-level: one-on-one contact with people is the preferred and most important source</p>	<p>E1. “The best source is speaking to people. That does take up a great deal of time and is least effective in getting a quick overview of [...] what the public wants.”</p> <p>E2. “Saturdays, at the sport games of my children, I’ll try to tell or ask something on the sidelines. Or waiting in line at the butcher, I’ll shoot the breeze a bit. I try to do that as much as possible.”</p> <p>E3. “I really don’t think that there are sources that represent <i>the</i> public opinion. Public opinion is made up of a lot of different sources and I use all of them.”</p>

F. Macro-level: MPs must justify People's opinions in the context of representing a larger public (made up of many opinions)

F1. "Look, public opinion, I believe, is just a cacophony of conflicting voices. Our society is incredibly multiform and a certain part of the population is better at bringing their points out into the open than another."

F2. "It is, of course, a really important interplay: you have to listen to the opinion of the residents but at the same time you are no jukebox! It's not like 'you ask, we play'. You also have to present new visions, new ideas, things people haven't thought about."

CONCEPT vs REALITY

The People: an irrelevant concept

G. Anti-pluralistic concept (i.e. ignores diversity that makes up the population)

G1. "I have some trouble with the understanding of the People. Especially in the populist corner you see that they present themselves as the exclusive representatives of those people. But 'the People' is as diverse as it can get and I think we need to keep acknowledging that diversity."

H. Invented concept: too abstract to mean anything and incompatible with the 'real world'

H1. "The People don't exist. Because if you generalize then you exclude and I think that there are a lot of people in The Netherlands that don't feel represented."

H2. "We pretend to speak on behalf of the People, you know, but the People, here, is invented. Who they are, but especially who they are not."

The People: a relevant concept
I. Silent engine (credited with being instrumental in keeping the country running but mostly unheard)

I1. "The People means everyone that lives in the Netherlands. Everyone is the People."

I2. "Instead of the concept of the people, we have the 'silent engine'. Those are the people who don't necessarily send out five Tweets a day but who are just teachers, police men, nurses, or... well, keep society going."

J. Divide between the 90% (the People that need leadership) and the 10% (the elites that can take care of themselves)

J1. "We can certainly relate to the term of 'The People' because we try to create a sense of belonging - *you* can belong to [the party] as well. We are here got the 90% who are listened to the least."

J2. "I think it's good that there is more attention to groups that often do not feel heard and are then represented. Thus, if you speak about the People versus the elite, then I think it's really good that there is attention to the people."

J3. "I think that we can relate to [the concept of The People], because what we stand for is good education, good care, those basic principles in which a large part of society has interest. And within our party we often discuss the contrast between 90% of the people who just work, who receive a wage, and often have debt, for example, but still want good education and good care. That is 90% of the people irrespective of their specific problems. And with this big set of interests, these shared interests, so to speak, we can speak of the interest of The People, in my opinion."

The 'ordinary' electorate
K. Specific Values
(e.g., hard-working, good, just, vulnerable, concerned about his community, tries hard)

K1. "Our voters are the hardworking Dutchmen. The large middle-class. Just people who have to work hard, hard working."

K2. "Our voters are people of good will, they are hard-working and value that things happen justly."

L. Specific Demographics
(e.g., married old couple; student; nurse;
rural or sub-urban living location)

L1. "The People are the family who lives in Alphen aan de Rijn, Trilgras 47 (example of a rural Dutch address). That is the situation in which most Dutch people are in."

L2. "There is a difference between the city and the counties. I come from the countryside, myself, and I have resisted against the urban culture that dominates The Hague. A lot of politicians come from the Hague or Amsterdam, They are overrepresented and they heavily impact the tone of the debate. So I try to represent the voices from the counties."

L3. "You don't speak on behalf of all the Dutch citizens. You can say that you *want* to, or that it's your *ambition*, to be a representative of the People, but in practice you normally stand for your supporters. We are, of course a fairly elitist party. Our supporters care about the environment, are higher educated and young."

L4. "We clearly make a choice that we, in our political viewpoints, stand for the 90%, the greatest common denominator of the normal Dutch citizen. Not so much the very wealthy, but the working people, or those looking for work, living on social security, with lower income, poor, older couples, students."

STRATEGY & STYLE

Marketing

M. Translating politics into something useful for the people (for transparency and activation of voters)

M1. "We really use the public opinion consciously, here. We really try to translate our policy debates, so that people understand, like 'ok, it means this and that for me'. Even with something as difficult as the finance sector, you can still say 'ok, this will mean something for the people, it will mean something for you mortgage approval, for your bank fees, etc.'"

M2. "For a politician, people have no idea what you do. I'm doing this for over a year, and they still don't. Nobody knows what I do and it's important that they do know because of two reasons: 1) you want to be re-elected and 2) you also want people to know where to find you if they have concerns about something."

M3. "We have an activating style of communication because people of course want to know what your viewpoints are, but you also have to activate them. Politicians highly overestimate themselves and how society looks at them. If you walk around here [the parliament], you have a feeling that you are the center of the world, but that's not true. I'm debating something about fiscal policy on Thursday night, but I also know that that the people are sitting on terraces watching the Belgium-England game."

N. Social Media: short and direct best for wider population (slogans, tweets, etc)

N1. "Social media are gaining so, that is becoming more important in reaching the public. You have to anticipate the changing trends and say 'fine, let's post a picture on Instagram, instead of issuing a press release'. It has to be attractive or there has to be a twist, so that people share it."

N2. "We noticed that short blogs are read more often. Images work even better than text."

N3. "I always use slogans, I like to think of slogans, To communicate what something is about briefly and to the point. You look for something that is appealing and something that the people can relate to."

N4. "Communication... I mean, yes, via social media. There are so many means for that nowadays. I notice that in my party as well: nice films, really short and powerful - not with long texts, that doesn't reach. Everything has to be quick, in one little sentence. I'm not very good at it, but I have to do it because it also has to be sold to society."

Personal Connection

O. Style needs to adapt to your target audience (professionals in the field vs. public engagements)

O1. "We just speak everyday language. Nowadays populist parties are right-wing, but when I came to parliament some time ago, we were the populists because we spoke everyday language. Others would say 'you play up to them' but no, not at all. I'm not going to speak extra 'Jip-en-Janneke' language, that's for certain. But I'm just going to explain it the way it is."

O2. "I think you should use different types of communication for different target groups. Especially when I stand in front of an audience full of doctors un training, well then I speak differently than when I have to say something to the heartland. So you have to be aware of who your audience is and make a connection with your style."

O3. "The people that make up the core of the silent engine are not the ones we hear most about. So you have to know who you are representing when you speak. The leader of [a conservative party] is always polite and straight. But our Prime Minister is much looser. He says things like "oh, piss off" and others say that's wrong. But you have to appeal to a certain part of the population."

P. Remaining authentic is very important (e.g., 'be you')

P1. "Saying what people want to hear, playing up to them, is a nasty business, I think. It's negative populism. But there is also positive populism: just being clear and explicit and that is very important, I think. It's important that you are authentic because we already have so much sameness. How do you make sure you are authentic? You just are who you are!"

P2. "I will not adapt, just like that. I have to be more critical. You cannot make compromises with yourself. You have to simply state what you stand for and then look afterwards at how it compares. It is not that the public opinion influences my style of communication, but the other way around! The people that vote for you will like what you have to say, so it's a good fit."

P2. "I think that as a politician you need to be clear about which political movement you stand for. And this can mean that you sometimes have to take on the less popular standpoints. Or taking standpoints that do not conform with the mainstream in the political opinion. But you should primarily reason from your party's ideology and party program, and that is the basis from which you should communicate. Even if it is not what dominates the public opinion."

Trust

Q. Responsibility to listen but also to lead (people want to be heard but also want leadership)

Q1. "The public opinion doesn't need to be right. It's just the theme that is important, that is the public opinion, then. And I don't have the ambition to serve the public opinion. And I'm not burdened with 'Oh God, hopefully that percentage of my voters will agree with that.' I'm not concerned with that."

Q2. "You always have to listen. It's not like leadership is just making decisions and not listening. I'm convinced that society wants leadership. I think that people want decisions to be made, at some point. People want leadership. But you know, that leadership, it also means trusting someone. People find that important."

Q3. "If the entire public opinion would say 'well, we support [policy opposed to party policy]. We would *not* go along with this. Rather, we would think "Oh, OK, the public opinion indicates this, but we stand way over here. So how will we get the public on our side?' Politics is not only listening to public opinion, but also to a great extent influencing public opinion."

Q4. "In politics you have to show leadership. Especially in light of the differences in public opinion and values. You are here for that purpose and people expect that from you. You don't need to return to the people all the time. You are given a certain mandate and you have to live up to it. The [political] elite has become a bad word, but I think it's super important – that there is an elite that makes the decisions."

Q5. "Most of the time it is weighing interests and a struggle between interests. And then you make choices and with those choices you build up your political position and afterwards you create a narrative of why that was the better approach."

R. Communication as important tool to set yourself apart from the abstract 'politics'

R1. "You have to be active and show that you are committed to the voter. This requires effort, but as a representative of the people, you are totally not in contact with the people when you are here [in The Hague]. So you have to make sure that you do not estrange from the voter, so you have to bring across what you did when you're not here."

R2. "I believe, that unless you're a very famous politician who gets a lot of attention on social media, you have to go to the organizations directly and tell them what you do. Then the people make a connection and think 'Hey, that's [politician's name] from the [party name]! He's doing a good job!'"

R3. "I always emphasize that I, myself, am from the sector of [specialty]. That I know 'what I am talking about', that I've gotten my hands dirty. I use it to create a certain sense of trust. I try to communicate that I'm a [profession], I'm a father, I'm a grandfather. I mean well by all the people. And every time you come across me, you will meet the same person."

R4. "Showing your face, going on working visits, speaking to certain professional groups... you have to deal with one subject for a long time and then maybe people recognize you for that. You so easily become part of the abstraction that is politics. So I try to articulate things in the form of personal stories, to avoid becoming part of the abstract."

APPENDIX D: Descriptive characteristics of the respondents

Party	Participants	Age
PvdA	1	M= 47.28
D66	1	SD = 10.1
50PLUS	1	
CDA	2	Time in office*
SP	5	M= 2.5
VVD	6	SD= 1.45
GroenLinks	6	
Gender		
Female	8	
Male	14	*a large share of parliament was replaced during the most recent Dutch national elections in March 2017
G		
Government	9	
Opposition	13	

APPENDIX E: Core statements grouped by RQ and first-order category

RQ1: Sources of public opinion	Core statements:
A. Traditional media: serves as "country thermometer" (unrepresentative indicators of what the public thinks about)	<p>Reading the newspapers before work or media reports that are prepared for them: but mistrust. Scanning for themes, topics and trends (mediated through co-workers)</p> <p>Journalists are lazy. Some topics are sexy but not relevant (or feasible) still covered.</p> <p>There is not one PO. Different sources for different issues.</p> <p>Journalists and media cannot be trusted</p> <p>News as a quick overview of the trends</p>
B. Social media: closer to the people (unrepresentative indicators of how the public feels)	<p>Social media: individual voices and reactions</p> <p>Social media: overrepresentation</p> <p>People are not (in) the traditional media, but rather on social media</p> <p>Loudmouths (social media) and companies and the rich (traditional media) are overrepresented</p>
C. More extensive information: based on MP/ party portfolio (and is pro-active)	<p>Mention in debates the people you come across or reach out to – and the efforts you make to seek info.</p> <p>Organizations and spokespersons from issues can give you advice</p> <p>Meetings/Work visits: time consuming</p> <p>Proactive: seek out people who have to do with topic; experts</p> <p>Depends on the MP's portfolio – no other topics.</p> <p>Research: priority when faced with debates and meetings</p>
D. Deciding what is important: based on experience and "gut feeling".	<p>Practice vs. preference. Cannot get it all from the people but would like to. Too much info. Not practical. No time.</p> <p>Depends of your expertise; your gut feeling</p> <p>Depends on party ideology/ own ideology</p> <p>It's a lot of information. You have to make decisions.</p> <p>You have to stand up for the issues you believe in and the people you believe in, then they will follow.</p>

E. Micro level: one-on-one contact with people is the preferred and most important source

You trust the people.

Most important: personal stories (SP)

Emails and one-on-one meetings – some time always dedicated to that; Door-to-door contact (not frequent)

Holding your eyes and ears open when you're in the market; at a game, at someone's home

Going to the homes of ordinary people

People: real life (at the butcher, soccer game, kid's school)

Some days reserved for just meeting with people or work visits

Public opinion is easy to identify on a small scale. The abstractions are tricky.

F. Macro level: MPs must justify People's opinions in the context of representing a larger public (made up of many opinions)

Public opinion tells you what to highlight.

Relate to public opinion but it doesn't change your viewpoint.

Because: you listen to everything and everyone but at the end of the day: must make decision

Public opinion should not change your (the MP's) opinion

Try to convince people of your opinion, not the other way around.

Democracy = assessment of all the opinions and interests and the responsibility of a representative to make the best decision, considering the context of it all.

Over and under-representation leads to the fragmentation of the political system (50+ because they were not present online)

Constantly look at the micro (person) and macro (society) level.

"I think from the man and a lot of others think from the collective" -> Listen to the person stories but make them applicable to the population as a whole.

RQ2: The People

G. Anti-pluralistic concept (i.e. ignores diversity that makes up the population)

Diversity cannot be ignored (majority)

There is not one "people" – there are many 'peoples' in one society and the term 'the People' ignores this variety

This is populist rhetoric – not useful for society as it is

H. Invented concept: too abstract to mean anything and incompatible with the 'real world'

Not a useful concept in terms of governing: it does not relate to the real world

Does not mean anything – invented concept for campaigning and marketing

Pretend to speak in the name of the people = populism. People are invented. Especially who they are not.

You cannot speak on behalf of the people. You try to make everyone feel included but that isn't possible.

I. Silent engine (credited with being instrumental in keeping the country running but mostly unheard)

Term reminiscent of the 'silent engine'

People in the 'silent engine' keep the country running, the hard workers that are quiet in their demands but essential to society functioning

Majority of the people can be categorized in these terms: just working in ordinary jobs and keep the country running

J. Divide between the 90% (the People that need leadership) and the 10% (the elites that can take care of themselves)

We have a specific voter and person to represent: those that need us and need politics to be on their side

Useful term: society is made up of 90% of people who need politics and 10% who are rich enough to take care of themselves

90% are 'the People' and those are the people that need representation

Populist term but useful in our case.

(SP): some years ago we were the populists and then it was a good thing. Still use the same terminology because the meaning of it has not changed (for them)

The "we" narrative enables you to appeal to many people as potential voters. You've decided for them where they belong, they just have to give in.

K. Specific Values (hard-working, good, just, vulnerable; concerned about his community, tries hard)

Older, married, also all extremes

Values: Hardworking; less heard; NOT the loudmouths

Someone that just tried hard, is hard working, and doesn't demand much

Exception: young, educated city residents (GL)

Self-aware: "bakfiets" mamas are our 'people' but we are in the minority (GL)

L. Specific Demographics (e.g., married old couple, nurse, lower-income, rural or suburban living location)

My neighbor, the family down the street.

People in my community

Ordinary: most of the people, live their lives; all Dutch people; this is the situation of the regular citizen.

Outside of The Hague living in the country.

But resulting policies must work for the whole country - also minorities.

RQ3: Communication

M. Translating politics to the People (for transparency and activation of voters)

Translate the jargon - put politics in terms the people can understand.

Relate it to their situation: "what does this mean for me" (why is public opinion useful) "for the future"

Understandable language. No jargon.

Normal Dutch; understandable Dutch for people; simple language

Something that people can use and can "kaas van maaken" (make cheese out of..)

N. Social Media: short and direct best for wider population (slogans, tweets, etc.)	Your job as a representative: Represent and communicate: be the bridge between party and people
	Short reactions.
	Short blog, Images even better.
	Newsletter, Website, Twitter – quick contributions
	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, Reddit Don't love these but good to reach audience
	Like the use of slogans. Useful. "Quick and dirty".
	Slogans are appealing; brief and to the point.
	In practice: everything has to be quick. In one sentence. It has to be sold.
O. Style needs to adapt to your target audience (professionals in the field vs. a public engagement)	Different vocabulary for elite and citizens. But do not adapt the way you speak with citizens themselves.
	Different for different stakeholders. Not different people within the population – only professionals vs. public.
	Election program determines communication (what you talk about)
	What do these people want to hear about? Public opinion gives a hint.
	Positive populism: activating population with simple language leads to increased participation
	Positively enthusiastic voice always works. And a mode of asking questions – Listening.
P. Remaining authentic is very important (e.g., 'be you')	Don't use different voices.
	There is no way to learn to be authentic – you have to just be 'you'. Best communication strategy.
	Observation: Communicating seems important but MPs seem unaware of their own process and only reflect on it when prompted.
	Identify who the People are, who you are and how you fit together use this in communication.
	Do not butter them up. Don't suck up to them. That's negative populism and underestimates the people.
	Don't speak extra 'Jip and Janneke' (casual slang). It's fake. (GL)

Q. Responsibility to listen but also to lead (people want to be heard but also want leadership)

Yes, more Jip & Janneke (CDA) when you talk to people so that they trust you. Lots of the voters are MBO educated (vocational education).

Do be straightforward and clear. Be authentic. "Be you".

Your own style is not something you adapt to different groups. The direct way is just you.

Do not compromise your own style - that is your authority to portray.

The ones that belong to the people (90%) don't realize it sometimes. You have to tell them they are the people.

No compromise with your own viewpoints.

Public opinion does not matter. Take it and give your own spin on it.

Party ideology and own opinions are communicated

Public opinion indicates trends of what to talk about, not what to think about it, as a politician. Party ideology dictates that.

Trust that your own ideas are good. Hence, they have to be presented as such to the Dutch citizen.

R. Communication as important tool to set yourself apart from the abstract 'politics'

Telling, formulating, presenting. You have to know who your voters are to do so properly.

Ambition: use public opinion to reach a lot of people with a message that is authentically yours.

Trust is reciprocal. We need to trust our sources but people need to trust us as their representatives.

Communication style is your connection with the people (and it's a skill!!)

Different ways to do that: Rutte is much looser: says stuff like "piss off" whereas Buma is polite...

You so easily become part of 'the' politics. The abstraction of it. Politicians see themselves as too important. You have to remember that. And connect with the people.

When you are labeled an elitist/intellectual party: your communication and style help you reach a broader base communicate that you are there for all the people.

APPENDIX F: Search Strings

Parliamentary data

"mensen" OR "burgers" OR "burger" OR "Nederlander" OR "Nederlanders"
OR "volk" OR "electoraat" OR "stemmer" OR "stemmers"

News media (LexisNexis)

gewone Nederlander! OR stille motor OR de hardwerkende burger! OR
hardwerkende burgers OR de gewone burger! OR gewone burgers OR
de normale Nederlander! OR de normale burger! OR normale mens* OR
hardwerkende Nederlander! OR de hardwerkende belastingbetaler! OR
ons eigen volk OR het gewone volk OR ons eigen land OR onze eigen cultuur
OR de gewone man OR de gewone vrouw OR (Henk en Ingrid) OR (Jan met
de Pet) OR de modale man OR (Jip en Janneke) OR Kiezers OR burger*
OR electoraat OR stemmer* OR volk OR (Jan Modaal) AND (PvdA OR PvdD
OR Partij voor de Dieren OR Partij van de Arbeid OR GroenLinks OR GL OR
SGP OR ChristenUnie OR CU OR PVV OR Partij voor de Vrijheid OR VVD OR
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie OR CDA OR D66 OR Democraten
66 OR SP OR Mark Rutte OR FvD OR Geert Wilders) AND NOT SECTION
(Buitenland OR Sport OR Kunst)

APPENDIX G: Experimental Manipulations

Support condition:

V: "Door lokale politici in Groningen is geëist dat tegen het einde van het jaar geld vrij gemaakt wordt om alle beschadigde woningen te herstellen. Waarom steunt u dit?"

Neutral	Pluralist	Nationalist	Oppositional
<p>A: "Het gaat erom dat de juiste keuze wordt gemaakt. Het vrijmaken van geld op korte termijn is een eerlijke oplossing en zal bijdragen aan het herstel van het vertrouwen in de politiek. De kosten zijn al opgenomen in de rijksbegroting, waardoor de uitgaven grotendeels onopgemerkt blijven.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben uitgezeten dat er snel grote bedragen vrijgemaakt kunnen worden voor de bestrijding van rampen, dat kan ook op lokaal niveau. Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over deze renovaties - het gaat erom dat de juiste beslissing wordt genomen en het vertrouwen in de politiek wordt hersteld."</p>	<p>A: "Het gaat erom dat de juiste keuze voor iedereen gemaakt wordt, ongeacht waar mensen wonen. Beloften zijn niet genoeg. Het vrijmaken van geld op korte termijn is een eerlijke oplossing voor de getroffen burgers, en zal bijdragen aan het herstel van het vertrouwen in de politiek. We willen de mensen laten weten dat de regering om hen allemaal geeft, of ze nu in de stad of op het platteland wonen.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben uitgezeten dat er snel grote bedragen vrijgemaakt kunnen worden voor de bestrijding van rampen, en we moeten burgers laten zien dat die fondsen ook op lokaal niveau voor hen beschikbaar zijn. Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over deze renovaties - het gaat erom dat de mensen weten dat politici geven om hun problemen, of ze nu in Groningen, Amsterdam, Maastricht of Nieuwkerk aan den IJssel wonen."</p>	<p>A: "Het gaat erom dat de juiste keuze voor de hardwerkende Nederlanders worden gemaakt. Beloften zijn niet genoeg. Het vrijmaken van geld op korte termijn is de juiste keuze voor de gewone Nederlanders, die wonen ook, of juist, in Groningen. Ook gaat het om het herstellen van het vertrouwen in de politiek voor de rest van het land: laat de Nederlanders zien dat de Tweede Kamer de inwoners van dit land tot prioriteit maakt.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben uitgezeten dat er snel grote bedragen vrijgemaakt kunnen worden voor de bestrijding van een wereldwijde ramp - dus waarom kunnen we niet hetzelfde doen voor het hardwerkende volk hier in ons eigen land? Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over deze renovaties - het gaat erom dat de Nederlanders zien dat politici hen, en Nederland, op de eerste plaats worden gezet."</p>	<p>A: "Het gaat erom dat de juiste keuze voor ons gemaakt wordt, niet voor de grote gasbedrijven. Dit is het aloude verhaal van grote bedrijven die hardwerkende burgers dwingen hun rekening te betalen. De regels voor deze bedrijven zijn anders dan voor de rest van ons. Als wij het huis van onze bureaus beschadigen dan moeten wij ook voor de kosten opdraaien. Zij hebben hele dorpen beschadigd en verwachten dat de gewone belastingbetaler dat op zich neemt. Zij verschuilen zich graag achter hun dure advocaten in hun dure kantoren en zijn bereid het proces nog jaren te vertragen. Ik vind dat beloften niet genoeg zijn. We moeten dit geld direct vrijmaken en de kosten direct op deze bedrijven verhalen.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben uitgezeten dat we grote bedragen kunnen vrijmaken voor de bestrijding van een wereldwijde ramp - dus waarom zou er geen geld vrijgemaakt kunnen worden voor onze burgers? Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over deze renovaties - het gaat erom dat wij laten zien dat wij ons niet zomaar opzij laten zetten door die grote bedrijven en voor de schulden waarvoor zij de burgers laten opdraaien."</p>

Opposed condition:

V: "Door lokale politici in Groningen is geëist dat tegen het einde van het jaar geld vrij gemaakt wordt om alle beschadigde woningen te herstellen. Waarom verzet u zich tegen deze eis?"

Neutral	Pluralist	Nationalist	Oppositional
<p>A: "Het gaat om de meest verantwoorde financiële keuze. Het vrijmaken van geld op korte termijn zal negatieve financiële consequenties hebben. De middelen voor zo'n project zullen uit een al overbelast budget moeten komen.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben al een te zware tol geëist en overheidsuitgaven zijn enorm gestegen. De kosten voor dit project zijn simpelweg te hoog. Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over deze renovaties - het gaat erom dat nu de beste economische beslissing genomen wordt."</p>	<p>A: "Het gaat erom dat de juiste keuzes voor de mensen gemaakt worden, ongeacht waar deze mensen wonen. Het vrijmaken van geld op korte termijn zal op dit moment voor de meeste mensen negatieve financiële gevolgen hebben. De middelen voor dit project zullen uit een al te krappe overheidsbegroting moeten komen en mensen uit alle provincies zullen hiervan de consequenties ondervinden.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden zijn voor alle mensen financieel zwaar geweest en de kosten die met deze eisen gepaard gaan zullen worden verhaald op alle Nederlandse burgers: arm en rijk, jong en oud, van de stad of het platteland. Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over de noodzaak van deze renovaties - het gaat erom de beste beslissing te nemen voor iedereen die hierdoor geraakt zal worden, of zij nu in Amsterdam, Groningen, Maastricht of Nieuwkerk aan den IJssel wonen."</p>	<p>A: "Het gaat erom dat we voorkomen dat er nog meer geld wordt gestolen uit de zakken van de hardwerkende Nederlanders. Het vrijmaken van geld op korte termijn zal negatieve financiële gevolgen hebben voor de gewone Nederlander. Hoe betaalt Nederland dit? Het geld zal uit onze nationale begroting moeten komen - en dus uit de portemonnee van de hardwerkende belastingbetaler.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben al een enorme financiële tol geëist voor het gemiddelde Nederlandse gezin. Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over de noodzaak van deze renovaties - het gaat erom de beste beslissingen te nemen voor dit land en zijn burgers."</p>	<p>A: "Het gaat hier om dat we de juiste keuze maken voor ons, niet voor de gasmaatschappijen die graag zien dat de reparaties betaald worden uit de nationale begroting - en dus uit onze zakken. Dit is het aloude verhaal van grote bedrijven die hardwerkende burgers dwingen hun rekening te betalen. De regels voor deze bedrijven zijn anders dan voor de rest van ons. Maar zij moeten betalen! Als wij het huis van onze burens beschadigen dan moeten wij ook voor de kosten opdraaien. Zij hebben hele dorpen beschadigd en verwachten dat de gewone belastingbetaler dat op zich neemt. We moeten wachten met de renovaties totdat de gasbedrijven worden gedwongen voor de kosten op te draaien.</p> <p>De afgelopen maanden hebben een enorme tol geëist van het gemiddelde Nederlandse gezin. Dit heeft niets te maken met mijn persoonlijke mening over de noodzaak van deze renovaties - het gaat erom de beste keuze te maken voor ons, niet voor hen."</p>

APPENDIX H: Sample vignettes



We kunnen dit niet betalen. We moeten eerst de economie stabiliseren.

10:00 - 10:00

Retweets Quote Tweets Likes



Condition

Neutral

Source of knowledge

No source



Hoewel we het niet altijd over alles eens zijn, zijn we het hierover met elkaar eens. Als ik met de mensen spreek, hoor ik dat ze wijdverspreid tegen het oppakken van de rekening zijn. We moeten eerst een betere situatie voor alle Nederlanders creëren. [#politiekvooriederer](#)

10:00 - 10:00

Retweets Quote Tweets Likes



Pluralist

The people



De hardwerkende Nederlanders zijn tegen het oppakken van deze rekening! We moeten Nederland, ons eigen land, eerst helpen. [#politiekvooronsvolk](#) [#politiekvooronsland](#) [#Nederlandeerst](#)

10:00 - 10:00

Retweets Quote Tweets Likes



Nationalist

No source



Condition
Oppositional

Source of knowledge
Gut feeling

A

APPENDIX I: Additional Tables

Table 11. Hierarchical regression model showing the differences in effect of cues in reference to the people on perception of representation.

	Model				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Experimental Condition					
Neutral	-.07 (.10)	-.10 (.10)	-.11 (.10)	-.13 (.10)	-.12 (.09)
National	.11 (.10)	.12 (.10)	.14 (.10)	.10 (.10)	.11 (.09)
Oppositional	.14 (.10)	.12 (.10)	.12 (.10)	.13 (.10)	.13 (.09)
Political Attitudes					
Political Interest		.11*** (.02)	.11*** (.02)	.06* (.02)	.06* (.02)
Political alignment		-.03 (.02)	-.04* (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)
Pro-People Populism			.21*** (.04)	.18*** (.03)	.18*** (.03)
Anti-elite Populism			.01 (.04)	-.09* (.04)	-.09* (.04)
Issue Factors					
Issue importance				.05 (.03)	.05 (.03)
Issue agreement				.31*** (.03)	.25*** (.04)
Issue exposure (pro/con)					.34* (.14)
Observations	1043	1043	1043	1043	1043
Constant	4.66*** (.07)	4.36*** (.16)	3.59*** (.23)	2.14*** (.24)	2.12*** (.24)
R ²	.01	.03	.06	.18	.19
R ² change	.00	.02	.06	.18	.18

Note: Plural experimental condition used as reference variable. Unstandardized regression weights. Standard errors reported within brackets.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 12: Multilevel model showing the differences in effect of types if people-centrism and source perception of representation for overall observations.

	Model				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
People-centrism					
Plural	.00 (.06)	.12 (.07)	.11 (.07)	.12 (.07)	.10 (.07)
National	.18** (.05)	-.05 (.07)	-.05 (.7)	-.05 (.07)	-.06 (.07)
Oppositional	.17** (.06)	.10 (.07)	.10 (.07)	.10 (.07)	.02 (.08)
Source					
Gut	.02 (.05)	.02 (.06)	.02 (.07)	.02 (.07)	-.01 (.06)
People	-.11* (.05)	-.14* (.06)	-.14* (.06)	-.15* (.06)	-.16** (.06)
Political issues					
Party Preference		.04 (.11)	.04 (.11)	.03 (.11)	.25 (.11)
Party_P*Plural		.15 (.12)	.17 (.12)	.17 (.12)	.17 (.12)
Party_P*National		.15 (.12)	.14 (.12)	.15 (.12)	.15 (.12)
Party_P*Oppositional		.21 (.12)	.22 (.12)	.22 (.12)	.22 (.12)
Political Interest		.00 (.02)	.00 (.02)	-.20 (.02)	-.02 (.02)
Political Alignment		.07*** (.02)	.04* (.02)	.05** (.02)	.05** (.02)
Pro-People Populism			.10** (.03)	.08** (.03)	.08* (.03)
Anti-elite Populism			.20*** (.04)	.20*** (.04)	.20*** (.03)
Issue Factors					
Tweet Interest				.12*** (.02)	.11*** (.03)
Order_2					.03 (.04)
Order_3					.04 (.02)
Observations	3129	3129	3129	3129	3129
Constant	4.29*** (.06)	3.83*** (.16)	2.56*** (.26)	2.21*** (.23)	2.16*** (.23)
ICC	.451	.439	.416	.409	.411
LL null model	-5222.122	-5201.01	-5169.454	-5158.825	-5151.790
LL full model	-5222.122	-5203.01	-5169.454	-5158.825	-5151.791

Note: Neutral experimental condition used as reference variable. Unstandardized regression weights. Standard errors reported within brackets. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 13. Multilevel model showing the differences in effect of types if people-centrism and source perception of representation in congruent parties.

	Model				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>People-centrism</i>					
Plural	.10 (.09)	.11 (.09)	.11 (.09)	.11 (.09)	.09 (.09)
National	.34*** (.09)	.33*** (.09)	.34*** (.09)	.35*** (.09)	.16 (.10)
Oppositional	.27** (.09)	.27** (.09)	.29** (.09)	.30** (.09)	.25** (.09)
<i>Source</i>					
Gut	.02 (.07)	.01 (.07)	.01 (.07)	.01 (.07)	-.03 (.07)
People	-.07 (.07)	-.07 (.07)	-.06 (.07)	-.06 (.07)	-.09 (.07)
<i>Political issues</i>					
Political Interest		.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.00 (.03)	.00 (.03)
Political Alignment		.07** (.02)	.04 (.02)	.04 (.02)	.04 (.02)
Pro-People Populism			.08 (.04)	.06 (.04)	.07 (.04)
Anti-elite Populism			.24*** (.03)	.24*** (.05)	.23*** (.05)
<i>Issue Factors</i>					
Tweet Interest				.08* (.03)	.08* (.03)
Order_2					.17*** (.04)
Order_3					.05* (.02)
Observations	1196	1196	1196	1196	1196
Constant	4.37*** (.08)	3.88*** (.20)	2.57*** (.28)	2.35*** (.34)	2.29*** (.29)
ICC	.539	.529	.08	.09	.10
LL null model	-1947.957	-1943.361	-1921.469	-1918.797	-1911.182
LL full model	-1947.914	-1943.305	-1921.365	-1918.678	-1911.062

Note: Neutral experimental condition used as reference variable. Unstandardized regression weights. Standard errors reported within brackets. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table I4. Multilevel model showing the differences in effect of types if people-centrism and source perception of representation in incongruent parties.

	Model				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>People-centrism</i>					
Plural	-.04 (.08)	-.04 (.08)	-.03 (.08)	-.04 (.08)	-.04 (.08)
National	.09 (.08)	.09 (.09)	.10 (.08)	.09 (.08)	.08 (.09)
Oppositional	.13 (.09)	.13 (.09)	.13 (.08)	.13 (.08)	.13 (.08)
<i>Source</i>					
Gut	.00 (.06)	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)	-.00 (.06)
People	-.14* (.06)	-.14* (.06)	-.14* (.06)	-.14* (.06)	-.14* (.06)
<i>Political issues</i>					
Political Interest		-.03 (.03)	-.01 (.03)	-.04 (.03)	-.04 (.03)
Political Alignment		.06** (.02)	.04* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)
Pro-People Populism			.11** (.04)	.09* (.04)	.09* (.04)
Anti-elite Populism			.16*** (.04)	.17*** (.04)	.17*** (.04)
<i>Issue Factors</i>					
Tweet Interest				.11*** (.03)	.11*** (.03)
Order_2					.03 (.04)
Order_3					.04 (.02)
Observations	1933	1933	1933	1933	1933
Constant	4.25*** (.06)	3.97*** (.18)	2.82*** (.22)	2.44*** (.23)	2.40*** (.28)
LL null model	-3332.146	-3327.700	-3309.837	-3302.659	-3300.815
LL full model	-3332.144	-3327.698	-3309.833	-3302.653	-3300.810

Note: Neutral experimental condition used as reference variable. Unstandardized regression weights. Standard errors reported within brackets. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$