

Appendix

Table A1. Populist Attitude Items in the GLES 2025 Post-Election Survey corresponding to Akkerman et al. (2014)

GLES 2025 Populist Attitudes Items	Response Scale
What people call compromise in politics is really just selling out on one's principles.	(1) Strongly disagree (2) Somewhat disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Somewhat agree (5) Strongly agree
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	
The politicians in the German Bundestag need to follow the will of the people.	
Differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people.	
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician.	
Politicians talk too much and take too little action.	
Cronbach's α	0.815

Notes: The response categories shown are the reverse-coded versions of the original GLES 2025 items, so that a higher numeric value indicates stronger populist attitudes.

Table A2. OLS Regression Tables from Figure 1

	AfD		BSW	
	Model A	Model B	Model A	Model B
Gender female (ref. male)	-0.086* (0.044) -0.012	-0.041 (0.044) -0.007	0.104* (0.049) 0.018	0.094 (0.050) 0.016
Age (linear)	-0.007*** (0.001) -0.037	-0.007*** (0.001) -0.036	-0.009*** (0.002) -0.056	-0.010*** (0.002) -0.060
Education level: Medium (ref. lower)	-0.020 (0.059) -0.003	-0.018 (0.059) -0.003	-0.110 (0.065) -0.017	-0.130* (0.066) -0.021
Education level: Higher (ref. lower)	-0.052 (0.061) -0.007	-0.039 (0.062) -0.006	-0.380*** (0.069) -0.063	-0.403*** (0.069) -0.067
Region: West (ref. east)	0.001 (0.056) 0.000	0.004 (0.056) 0.000	0.475*** (0.063) 0.064	0.473*** (0.063) 0.064
Candidate evaluation (Wagenknecht / Weidel)	0.842*** (0.008) 0.816	0.836*** (0.008) 0.811	0.709*** (0.009) 0.727	0.710*** (0.009) 0.728
Populist attitude index (as quintiles)	0.086*** (0.018) 0.035	0.081*** (0.018) 0.034	0.125*** (0.020) 0.061	0.125*** (0.020) 0.061
Restrict immigration	0.037*** (0.010) 0.032	0.031** (0.010) 0.027	0.002 (0.011) 0.002	0.002 (0.011) 0.003
Economic growth over climate protection	0.048*** (0.010) 0.041	0.038*** (0.010) 0.033	0.011 (0.011) 0.012	0.012 (0.011) 0.012
Lower taxes, Lower social spendings	0.013 (0.010) 0.009	0.007 (0.010) 0.005	-0.038*** (0.011) -0.034	-0.040*** (0.011) -0.035
Against governmental gender equality measures		0.077** (0.024) 0.027		0.005 (0.027) 0.002
Against gender-sensitive language		-0.008 (0.019) -0.002		0.051* (0.021) 0.023
Low share of women in parliament sufficient		0.189*** (0.053) 0.020		-0.149** (0.059) -0.030
Constant	-0.035 (0.127)	-0.281* (0.138)	0.787*** (0.142)	0.836*** (0.154)
N	5921	5921	5921	5921
Adj. R ²	0.772	0.774	0.602	0.603

Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001; Unstandardized beta coefficients are reported first, standard errors are shown in parentheses, and standardized coefficients are reported second.

Table A3. Robustness Tests

	AfD Model C incl. PID	BSW Model C incl. PID	AfD Model C incl. Ukraine	BSW Model C incl. Ukraine	AfD Model C incl. Age categories	BSW Model C incl. Age categories
Gender female (ref. male)	-0.027 (0.043)	0.074 (0.049)	-0.056 (0.045)	0.071 (0.050)	-0.049 (0.044)	0.093 (0.050)
Age (linear)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.002)		
Education level: Medium (ref. lower)	-0.011 (0.057)	-0.112 (0.065)	-0.024 (0.059)	-0.136* (0.065)	-0.030 (0.059)	-0.118 (0.066)
Education level: Higher (ref. lower)	0.014 (0.059)	-0.388*** (0.068)	-0.041 (0.062)	-0.393*** (0.068)	-0.050 (0.061)	-0.397*** (0.069)
Region: West (ref. east)	-0.012 (0.054)	0.420*** (0.062)	-0.016 (0.056)	0.421*** (0.063)	0.004 (0.056)	0.471*** (0.063)
Candidate evaluation (Wagenknecht / Weidel)	0.741*** (0.009)	0.674*** (0.009)	0.831*** (0.009)	0.686*** (0.009)	0.837*** (0.008)	0.710*** (0.009)
Populist attitude index (as quintiles)	0.064*** (0.017)	0.130*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.018)	0.081*** (0.020)	0.085*** (0.018)	0.125*** (0.020)
Restrict immigration	0.041*** (0.010)	-0.000 (0.011)	0.031*** (0.010)	-0.001 (0.011)	0.030*** (0.010)	0.002 (0.011)
Economic growth over climate protection	0.030*** (0.010)	0.007 (0.011)	0.037*** (0.010)	0.004 (0.011)	0.040*** (0.010)	0.012 (0.011)
Lower taxes, Lower social spendings	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.033*** (0.011)	0.007 (0.010)	-0.043*** (0.011)	0.007 (0.010)	-0.039*** (0.011)
Against governmental gender equality measures	0.109*** (0.023)	0.009 (0.026)	0.087*** (0.024)	-0.001 (0.027)	0.087*** (0.024)	0.006 (0.027)
Against gender-sensitive language	-0.008 (0.019)	0.047* (0.021)	-0.005 (0.019)	0.059*** (0.021)	-0.009 (0.019)	0.054* (0.022)
Low share of women in parliament sufficient	0.131* (0.051)	-0.184*** (0.058)	0.141*** (0.053)	-0.216*** (0.059)	0.145*** (0.053)	-0.187*** (0.059)
Party identification	1.900*** (0.095)	2.242*** (0.156)				
Stop supplying arms to UKR			0.155*** (0.057)	0.541*** (0.064)		
Age category 1					-0.045 (0.068)	-0.118 (0.076)
Age category 2					-0.064 (0.071)	-0.293*** (0.079)
Age category 3					-0.223*** (0.076)	-0.381*** (0.085)
Age category 4					-0.375*** (0.075)	-0.477*** (0.084)
Constant	-0.212 (0.133)	0.923*** (0.152)	-0.247 (0.138)	1.003*** (0.154)	-0.469*** (0.122)	0.592*** (0.135)
N	5,835	5,835	5,908	5,908	5,921	5,921
Adj. R ²	0.791	0.619	0.774	0.609	0.774	0.604

Legend: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05; Standard errors in parentheses

Table A4. Structural Equation Models

	BSW	AfD
DV: Against governmental gender equality measures		
IV: Gender female (ref. male)		-0,375*** (0,034)
DV: Against gender-sensitive language		
IV: Gender female (ref. male)		-0,260*** (0,039)
DV: Low share of women in parliament sufficient		
IV: Gender female (ref. male)		-0,173*** (0,017)
DV: PTV	AfD	BSW
IV: Gender female (ref. male)	-0.041 (0.055)	0.094 (0.061)
Age (linear)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.010*** (0.002)
Education level: Medium (ref. lower)	-0.018 (0.083)	-0.130 (0.095)
Education level: Higher (ref. lower)	-0.039 (0.082)	-0.403*** (0.069)
Region: West (ref. east)	0.004 (0.056)	0.473*** (0.070)
Candidate evaluation (Wagenknecht / Weidel)	0.836*** (0.012)	0.710*** (0.013)
Populist attitude index (as quintiles)	0.081*** (0.021)	0.125*** (0.023)
Restrict immigration	0.031** (0.014)	0.002 (0.014)
Economic growth over climate protection	0.038*** (0.013)	0.012 (0.014)
Lower taxes, Lower social spendings	0.007 (0.013)	-0.040*** (0.014)
Against governmental gender equality measures	0.077** (0.036)	0.005 (0.040)
Against gender-sensitive language	-0.008 (0.025)	0.051* (0.026)
Low share of women in parliament sufficient	0.190*** (0.065)	-0.149** (0.070)
Constant	-0.262* (0.195)	0.836*** (0.174)
N	5,921	5,921

Legend: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05; Standard errors in parentheses