

**When group appeals backfire: explaining the asymmetric effects of place-based appeals**

**Supplementary Material**

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## Appendix A: Relationship between population density and urban/rural identification

In this appendix, we validate our main independent variables: people's self-categorization as urban or rural (as this determines treatment assignment) and the strength of respondent's urban or rural identity.

First, we demonstrate that people's self-categorization as urban or rural correlates strongly with an objective measure of urbanity.

Figure A1 demonstrates this for Germany by plotting the logged population density of a respondent's ZIP code against the self-assessed urbanity. Black vertical lines indicate the median population density within each category of self-assessed urbanity. On a scale from 1 (very rural) to 4 (very urban), the population density of the average respondent increases substantially from each category to the next.

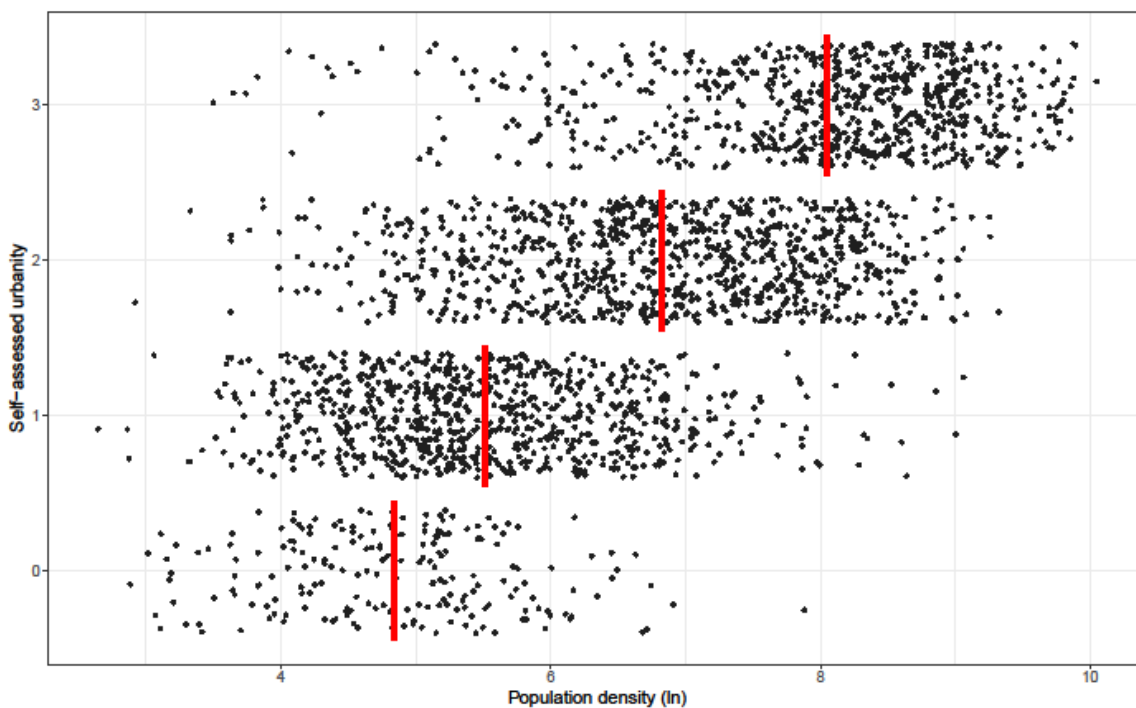
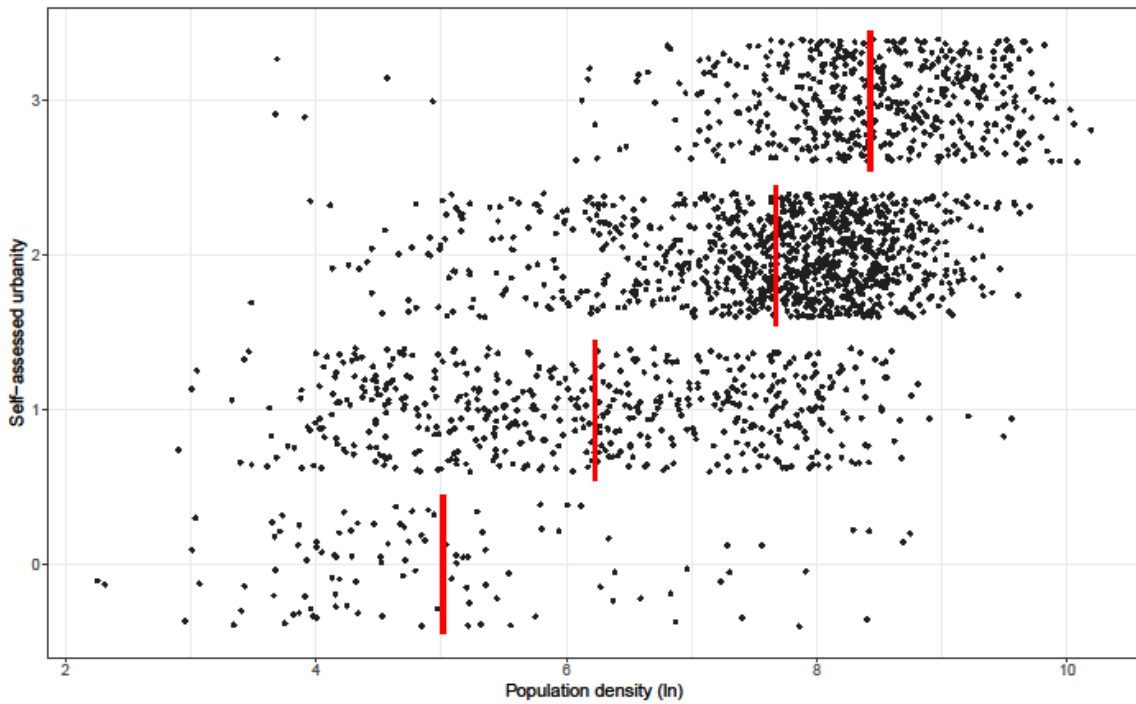


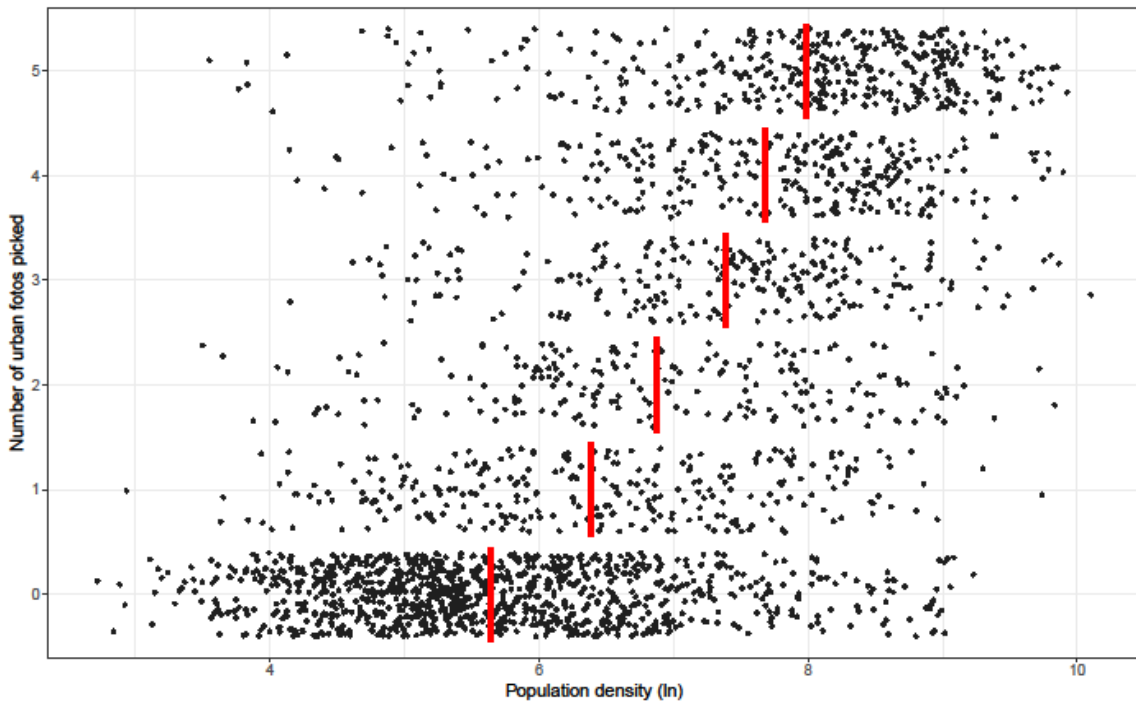
Figure A1: Subjective and objective measures of urbanity, Germany

Figure A2 demonstrates the same relationship for the UK. Again, we find that subjective and objective measures of urbanity are very strongly correlated.



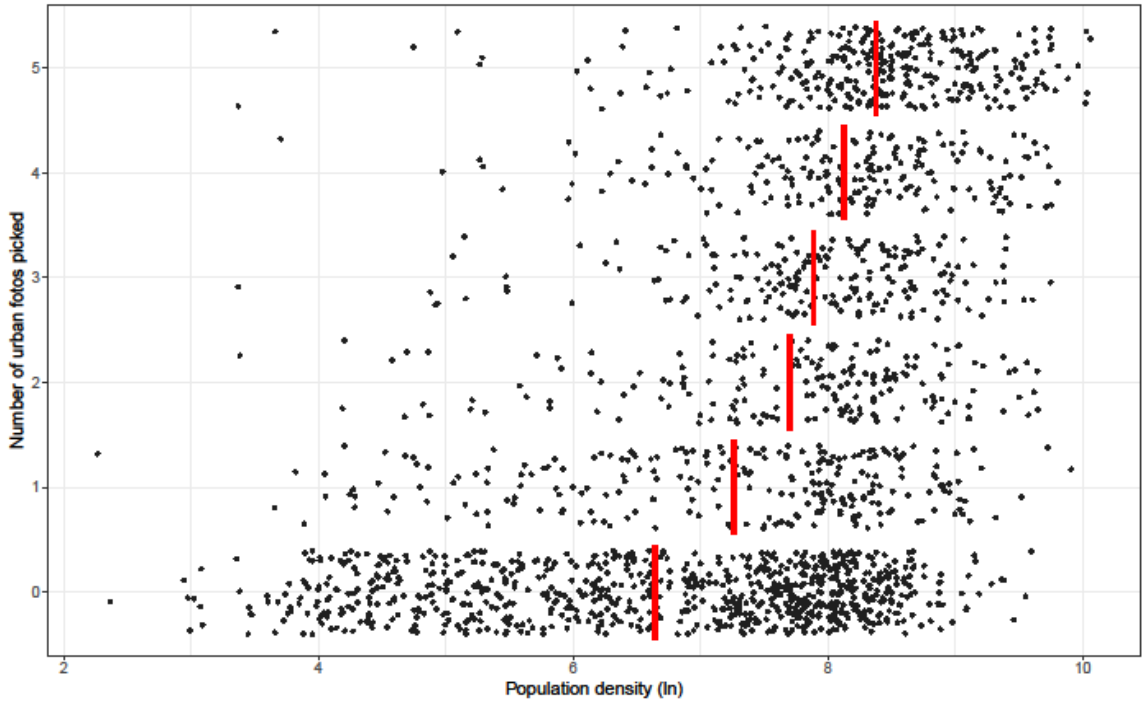
**Figure A2: Subjective and objective measures of urbanity, UK**

In a next step, we demonstrate the association between objective indicators of urbanity and our measure of identity strength. Again, we find a monotonous relationship: The more urban photos people pick in our choice task, the more densely populated is their ZIP code on average.



**Figure A3: Identity strength and objective measures of urbanity, Germany**

This relationship is stronger in Germany than in the UK. Nevertheless, we also find a monotonous relationship between the number of urban photos selected and the median population density in the UK.



**Figure A4: Identity strength and objective measures of urbanity, UK**

We now bring self-assessed residence and strength of identification together by looking at how many urban photos respondents in each self-assessment category picked. Figure A5 shows this for Germany: almost nobody who described their residence as "rural" or "very rural" picked more than 1 urban photo. By contrast, 2 out of 5 respondents who described their residence as "very urban" picked 5 urban photos.

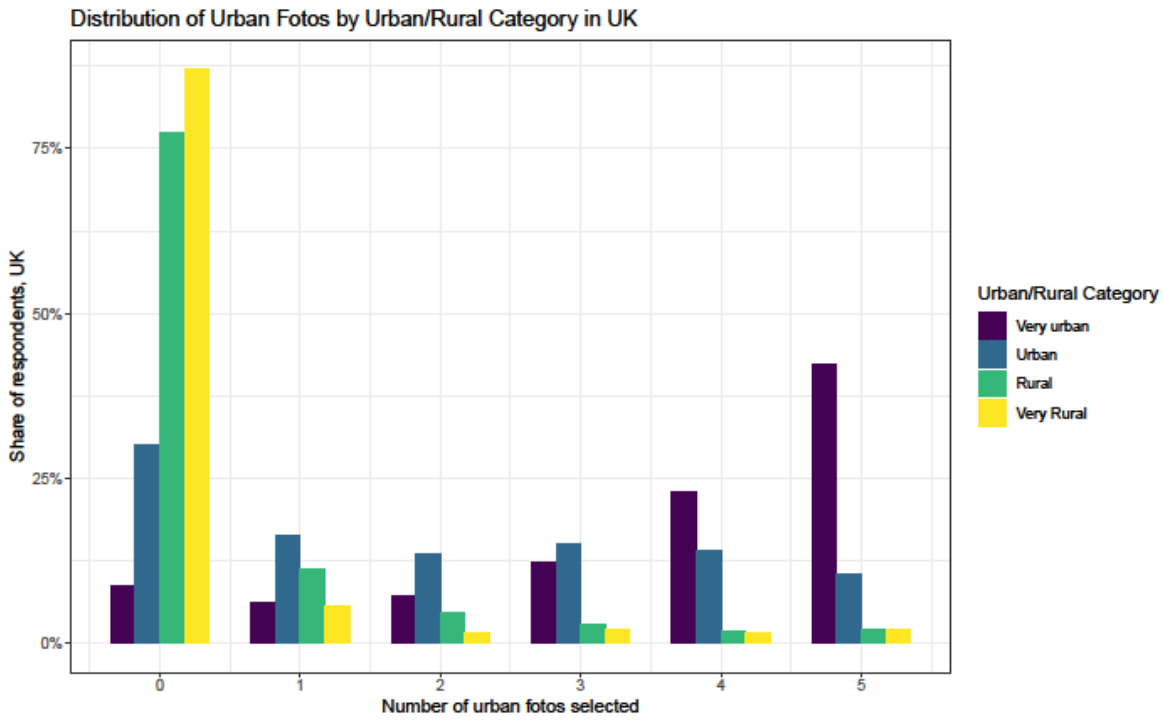


Figure A5: Subjective residence and identity strength, Germany

Figure A6 shows a very similar picture for the UK, even if the shares at both ends of the scale are slightly less extreme.

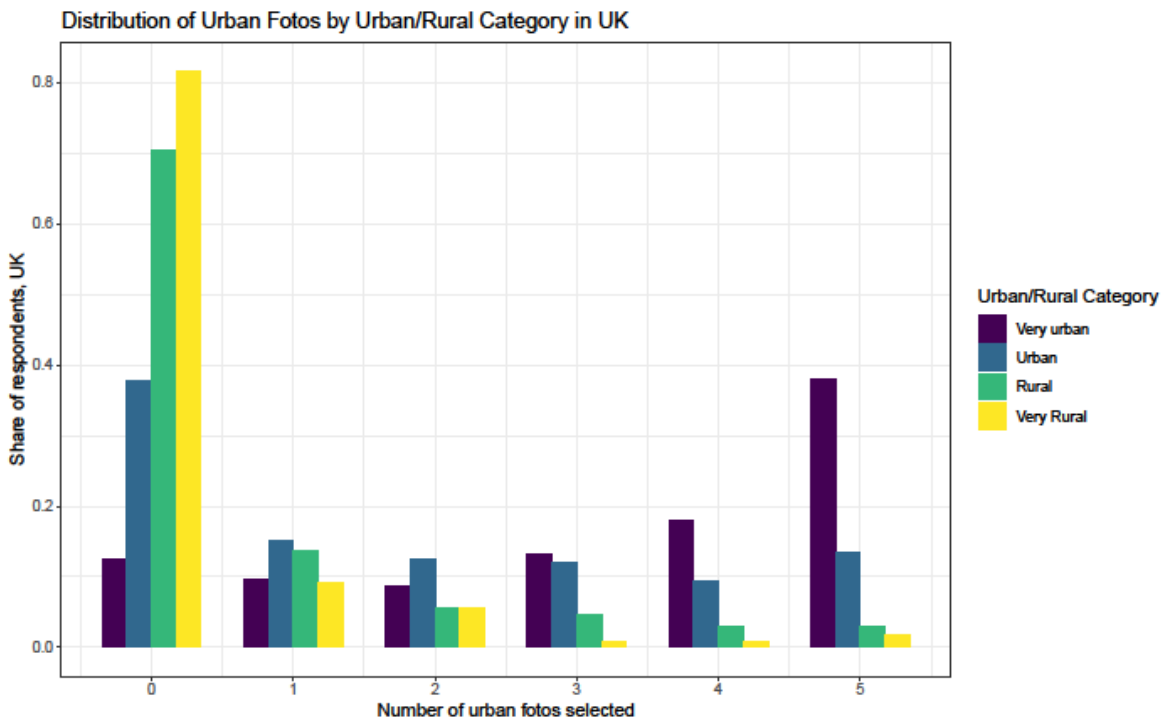


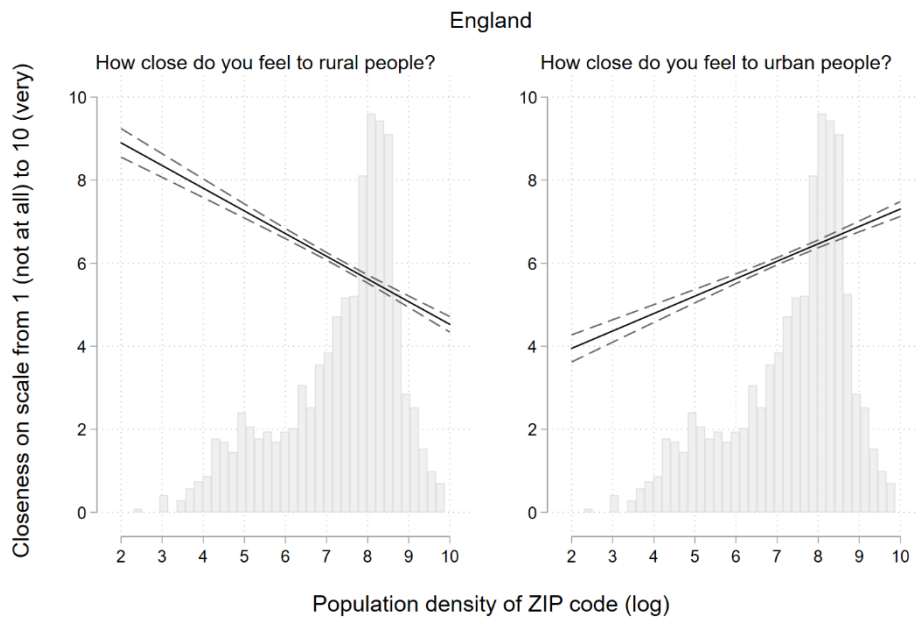
Figure A6: Subjective residence and identity strength, UK

Finally, we validate that not only “rural” but also “urban” is a meaningful identity category that can define both an ingroup and an outgroup. To do so, we use data from a different survey, conducted in November 2020, to show that perceived closeness to urban people varies just as much with local population density as perceived closeness to rural people. In this survey, we asked the question “Of the following groups, how close do you feel towards them? By ‘close’ we mean people who are most like you in terms of their ideas, interests, and feelings”, a question introduced and validated by Bornschier et al. (2021). In the UK Figure A7 shows the relationship between ZIP code population density and closeness to "rural" and "urban" people (n=2059) in Germany. As the graph shows, closeness to urban people varies just as strongly with population density as closeness to rural people, even if the most urban people do not feel just as close to urban people as the most rural people feel close to rural people.

The British survey was only conducted in England (n= 2755), making the sample more urban. Figure A8 shows the relationship between population density and the two measures of closeness. Here, closeness to rural people varies slightly more strongly with population density than closeness to urban people, but the difference is rather minor.



**Figure A7: Population density and closeness to rural and urban people, Germany**



**Figure A8: Population density and closeness to rural and urban people, England**

## **Appendix B: Measures of Place Identity and Resentment**

We measure the strength of place-based identity by showing respondents five pairs of photos, one of an urban and one of a rural environment, and have them choose in which of the two places people are more like themselves “in terms of their lifestyle and their opinions”. These photos seek to illustrate both the advantages and disadvantages of an urban or rural lifestyle.

In Sociology, Social Geography, and Environmental Studies, it is common to use photos for eliciting respondents’ preferences. For example, Buijs et al. (2009 ) elicit «landscape preferences» of Dutch respondents by showing them photos of Dutch landscapes. Similarly, Hawthorne et al. (2008) have respondents sort 19 pictures related to trail development. Respondents have to order these pictures with regard to whether they “would like to see this in the City of Delaware” or “would like to see this next to my home.” Rust et al. (2021) asked British respondents to pick their most preferred type of farm landscape from a set of 10 photos of landscapes.

Whereas these methods are being used in quantitative research, photo elicitation is more often used in qualitative settings, where participants are invited to talk about photos or to even take their own photos. A prominent recent political science example is a study by Wood et al. (2023), who show British respondents a photo of the Brexit campaign bus with the promise to invest £350 million in the NHS in order to elicit health policy preferences of respondents in “left behind communities”. Peng et al. (2020) discuss how photo elicitation has been used in the study of place identities.

The more common research design in political science is using photos as primes in priming experiments. Most relevant for our case, Jacobs and Munis run a candidate evaluation experiment, in which respondents have to evaluate candidates who are presented in front of pictures of urban or rural settings.

In our study, we combine the quantitative logic of the priming and the preference elicitation studies with the identity-related aspects of qualitative photo elicitation studies. Our goal is to depict the variety of urban and rural life circumstances and to dissociate a more abstract notion of “urban” or “rural” from the much more specific association with a respondent’s own place of residence. After all, we are not interested whether respondents identify with urbanites/ruralites in their own urban/rural place, but with urbanites or ruralites in general.



In the following, we first show the British and then the German version of this task.

**UK Version**

What do you think, in which of the two places are people more like you in terms of their lifestyle and their opinions?











Urban	Rural
	
	
	
	
	

Figure B1: Photo choice tasks, UK

German Version








Urban	Rural
	
	
	
	
	

Figure B2: Photo choice tasks, Germany

Table B3 displays the correlation matrix, indicating the strong associations between our photo-based identity measure and other place indicators such as self-reported place of residence type or self-reported urbanity of residence. These robust correlations suggest that our identity measure effectively reflects the respondent's place of residence and their connectedness to urban or rural places. Additionally, the results demonstrate that prompting respondents to choose the place where people are more similar to them goes beyond mere recollection of their residence.

**Table B3: Correlation matrix for photo-based identity measure**

**Germany**

	<b>N Urban Foto</b>	<b>Type of Place</b>	<b>Urbanity</b>
N Urban Foto	1.00	0.65	0.63
Type of Place	0.65	1.00	0.78
Urbanity	0.63	0.78	1.00

**UK**

	<b>N Urban Foto</b>	<b>Type of Place</b>	<b>Urbanity</b>
N Urban Foto	1.00	0.52	0.50
Type of Place	0.52	1.00	0.71
Urbanity	0.50	0.71	1.00

### Perception of place trajectories

As mentioned in the case selection section of the paper, we asked respondents in both countries about their perceptions of the economic and cultural situation in their region/community over the last decade. For both questions, we find that “very urban” respondents consistently evaluate this trajectory more positively than all other respondents. By contrast, there are no statistically significant differences between the three other groups of respondents.

Our question about economic development read as follows: “How has the economic situation in this region/ your community changed over the last 10 years?”

**Table B4: Distribution of responses to question about economic trajectory of region, UK**

	improved strongly (5)	improved somewhat (4)	remained the same (3)	deteriorated somewhat (2)	deteriorated strongly (1)	Mean
Very urban	9.30%	24.15%	26.30%	28.80%	11.45%	2.910555
Rather urban	1.42%	19.21%	31.00%	37.60%	10.77%	2.629065
Rather rural	1.47%	16.94%	35.73%	39.23%	6.63%	2.674033
Very rural	3.64%	12.73%	37.37%	37.37%	9.09%	2.645455

**Table B5: Distribution of responses to question about economic trajectory of region, GER**

	improved strongly (5)	improved somewhat (4)	remained the same (3)	deteriorated somewhat (2)	deteriorated strongly (1)	Mean
Very urban	8.52%	29.56%	29.29%	23.83%	8.79%	3.051931
Rather urban	4.23%	29.39%	33.40%	25.90%	7.08%	2.977801
Rather rural	4.34%	29.23%	35.68%	23.24%	7.51%	2.996479
Very rural	3.72%	23.72%	41.40%	22.33%	8.84%	2.911628

Our question about cultural development read as follows: “What would you say, how has the social and cultural life (e.g. clubs, cultural amenities) in this region/ your community changed over the last 10 years?”

**Table B6: Distribution of responses to question about social and cultural trajectory of region, UK**

	improved strongly (5)	improved somewhat (4)	remained the same (3)	deteriorated somewhat (2)	deteriorated strongly (1)	Mean
Very urban	9.43%	26.87%	25.27%	25.62%	12.81%	2.94484
Rather urban	1.62%	18.81%	32.36%	34.68%	12.54%	2.622851
Rather rural	0.92%	14.25%	34.20%	40.11%	10.54%	2.548983
Very rural	2.73%	17.27%	34.55%	30.91%	14.55%	2.627273

**Table B7: Distribution of responses to question about social and cultural trajectory of region, GER**

	improved strongly (5)	improved somewhat (4)	remained the same (3)	deteriorated somewhat (2)	deteriorated strongly (1)	Mean
Very urban	7.35%	25.53%	34.09%	24.33%	8.69%	2.985294
Rather urban	3.48%	23.65%	36.01%	25.66%	11.19%	2.825766
Rather rural	3.41%	19.62%	36.31%	29.38%	11.28%	2.745006
Very rural	4.21%	16.82%	38.32%	25.23%	15.42%	2.691589

### Measuring place-based resentment

We measure people’s place-based resentment using a five-question battery based on Munis (2020). These questions ask whether people feel that their place-based in-group is disadvantaged compared to the outgroup in terms of their economic, cultural or political situation. These are the questions we used:

How much would you agree with the following statements?

- 1) Rural areas/big cities give more in taxes to the state than they get back because the money goes to big cities
- 2) It’s fair to say that people in areas/big cities are working harder than people in big cities/rural areas because it’s more difficult to get by in in rural areas
- 3) In recent years, parties have been given too much attention to the concerns of people in big cities/ rural areas and too little attention to the concerns of people in rural areas/big cities
- 4) Generally speaking, big cities/rural areas have too much say in British politics
- 5) People in big cities/rural areas don’t understand or respect the lifestyle of people in rural areas/big cities

In addition, we also tried to capture the idea that urban dwellers may be resentful towards ruralites for explicitly political reasons. Hence, we also asked about agreement with the following question:

“Important decisions are too often postponed because politicians are too considerate of people in rural areas.”

As Table B8 and B9 show, however, this source of resentment is not more prevalent among urbanites than those sources captured by the Munis battery. In fact, the distribution of answers is very similar to the answers to the questions about political representation that are included in the Munis battery. The lack of respect for an urban lifestyle and the perceived distribution of tax revenue actually generate higher resentment among urbanites than the question about political blockades.

**Table B8: Distribution of responses to urban resentment questions, Germany.**

	Fully agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Fully disagree
big cities give more in taxes	4.4%	11.7%	48.4%	25.3%	10.2%
big cities are working harder	4.1%	12.8%	32.8%	27.3%	23.1%
parties pay too much attention to rural people	2.3%	7.9%	42.7%	27.2%	19.8%
rural areas have too much say	2.5%	7.6%	36.4%	29.7%	23.8%
rural areas don't respect lifestyle of big cities	3.6%	17.8%	43.5%	21.5%	13.6%
Important decisions postponed because of rural areas	2.7%	8.9%	36.9%	28.2%	23.4%

**Table B9: Distribution of responses to urban resentment questions, UK.**

	Fully agree	Somewhat agree	Neutral	Somewhat disagree	Fully disagree
big cities give more in taxes	6.0%	19.6%	37.3%	24.5%	12.6%
big cities are working harder	5.5%	14.1%	22.9%	28.0%	29.5%
parties pay too much attention to rural people	4.3%	12.8%	38.0%	26.9%	18.0%
rural areas have too much say	5.3%	13.2%	31.2%	29.8%	20.5%
rural areas don't respect lifestyle of big cities	6.5%	21.1%	35.9%	22.3%	14.1%
Important decisions postponed because of rural areas	5.1%	14.5%	34.8%	27.8%	17.8%

## Appendix C: Descriptive Statistics, Survey 1

In this appendix, we report descriptive statistics of the control group and all treatment groups in Survey 1 for Germany and the UK. The survey is representative the countries' population aged 18-74 in terms of gender, age, and education.

In Germany, the average age of 18-74 year olds is 47.1 years, so our survey population is marginally younger than the population. In England, the mean age in this age range is 45.5 years, so our survey population is a bit older than the population.

### *Survey 1 – Descriptive Statistics*

**Table C1: Descriptive statistics, control group Germany**

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	671	1.501	0.503	1	3
Age	671	46.274	15.768	18	74
Rural ID	671	0.395	0.489	0	1
Education high	671	0.280	0.449	0	1
Education low	671	0.197	0.398	0	1
Education medium	671	0.523	0.500	0	1

**Table C2: Descriptive statistics, treatment groups Germany**

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	2,029	1.504	0.506	1	3
Age	2,029	46.423	15.635	18	74
Rural ID	2,029	0.375	0.484	0	1
Education high	2,029	0.261	0.439	0	1
Education low	2,029	0.173	0.379	0	1
Education medium	2,029	0.566	0.496	0	1

**Table C3: Descriptive statistics, control England**

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	585	1.518	0.514	1	3
Age	585	48.395	14.652	18	74
Rural ID	585	0.280	0.450	0	1
Education high	585	0.491	0.500	0	1
Education low	585	0.174	0.380	0	1
Education medium	585	0.335	0.472	0	1

**Table C4: Descriptive statistics, treatment groups England**

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	1,710	1.507	0.509	1	3
Age	1,710	46.827	14.825	18	74
Rural ID	1,710	0.297	0.457	0	1
Education high	1,710	0.490	0.500	0	1
Education low	1,710	0.179	0.383	0	1
Education medium	1,710	0.331	0.471	0	1



## Appendix D: Regression Results, Survey 1

The following regressions are the basis for Figure 2 in the main text.

**Table D1: OLS regressions of candidate evaluation**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Evaluation of Candidate	
	Germany	UK
Symbolic Appeal	0.44** (0.19)	-0.24 (0.22)
Economic Appeal	0.31* (0.19)	0.25 (0.22)
Cultural Appeal	0.62*** (0.18)	0.53** (0.22)
Urban ID	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.17 (0.18)
Symbolic Appeal x Urban ID	-1.48*** (0.24)	-0.93*** (0.26)
Economic Appeal x Urban ID	-1.08*** (0.24)	-1.05*** (0.26)
Cultural Appeal x Urban ID	-1.37*** (0.23)	-1.41*** (0.26)
Constant	6.04*** (0.13)	6.40*** (0.16)
Observations	2,687	2,285
R <sup>2</sup>	0.08	0.08
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.08	0.08
Residual Std. Error	2.09 (df = 2679)	2.00 (df = 2277)
F Statistic	33.89*** (df = 7; 2679)	29.98*** (df = 7; 2277)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

The following regressions shows the results of appealing to urban or rural resident depending on their level of trust in parliament. For the analysis we combine the three treatments into one consolidated group labeled "Treated," and then assess and contrast all respondents who received a treatment with those who did not, for each country.

**Table D2: OLS regressions of candidate evaluation depending on level of trust**

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Evaluation of Candidate depending on Trust in Parliament				
	Germany Urban	Germany Rural	UK Urban	UK Rural
Treated	-0.68*** (0.23)	0.36 (0.25)	-1.14*** (0.22)	0.17 (0.29)
Trust in Parliament	0.27*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.13** (0.05)
Treated x Trust	-0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	0.005 (0.06)
Constant	4.62*** (0.20)	5.19*** (0.22)	5.39*** (0.18)	5.87*** (0.26)
Observations	1,667	1,020	1,618	667
R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.09	0.12	0.04
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.09	0.11	0.03
Residual Std. Error	2.03 (df = 1663)	1.90 (df = 1016)	2.01 (df = 1614)	1.73 (df = 663)
F Statistic	84.42*** (df = 3; 1663)	34.05*** (df = 3; 1016)	70.08*** (df = 3; 1614)	8.82*** (df = 3; 663)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## Appendix E: Descriptive Statistics, Survey 2

In this appendix, we report descriptive statistics of the control group and all treatment groups in Survey 2, as well as further information on the urbanites included in the sample.

**Table E1: Survey 2 – Descriptive statistics, control group**

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	596	1.535	0.509	1	3
Age	596	46.379	15.519	18	74
Rural ID	596	0.072	0.259	0	1
Education High	596	0.352	0.478	0	1
Education Low	596	0.233	0.423	0	1
Education Medium	596	0.414	0.493	0	1

**Table E2: Survey 2 – Descriptive statistics, treatment groups**

**Descriptive statistics survey 2, treatment groups**

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Gender	1,775	1.497	0.510	1	3
Age	1,775	45.532	15.220	18	74
Rural ID	1,775	0.070	0.255	0	1
Education High	1,775	0.343	0.475	0	1
Education Low	1,775	0.210	0.407	0	1
Education Medium	1,775	0.448	0.497	0	1

**Table E3: Survey 2 – Urbanites with strong and weak identity**

Characteristics of urbanites with strong and weak identity

	<b>strong (N=626)</b>	<b>weak (N=1599)</b>	<b>Overall (N=2225)</b>
<b>Age</b>			
18-27	93 (14.9%)	240 (15.0%)	333 (15.0%)
28-37	145 (23.2%)	313 (19.6%)	458 (20.6%)
38-47	111 (17.7%)	291 (18.2%)	402 (18.1%)
48-57	277 (44.2%)	755 (47.2%)	1032 (46.4%)
<b>Gender</b>			
female	282 (45.0%)	844 (52.8%)	1126 (50.6%)
male	344 (55.0%)	755 (47.2%)	1099 (49.4%)
<b>Education</b>			
low	144 (23.0%)	327 (20.5%)	471 (21.2%)
middle	284 (45.4%)	694 (43.4%)	978 (44.0%)
high	198 (31.6%)	578 (36.1%)	776 (34.9%)
<b>Employed</b>			
employed	376 (60.1%)	966 (60.4%)	1342 (60.3%)
not employed	250 (39.9%)	633 (39.6%)	883 (39.7%)
<b>Income</b>			
high income	159 (25.4%)	573 (35.8%)	732 (32.9%)
low income	212 (33.9%)	437 (27.3%)	649 (29.2%)
middle income	255 (40.7%)	589 (36.8%)	844 (37.9%)
<b>Residence Length</b>			
Less than 5	53 (8.5%)	203 (12.7%)	256 (11.5%)
Between 5 and 10	62 (9.9%)	188 (11.8%)	250 (11.2%)

Characteristics of urbanites with strong and weak identitiy

	<b>strong (N=626)</b>	<b>weak (N=1599)</b>	<b>Overall (N=2225)</b>
More than 10	237 (37.9%)	647 (40.5%)	884 (39.7%)
Always	274 (43.8%)	561 (35.1%)	835 (37.5%)
<b>City Identity</b>			
high	497 (79.4%)	1248 (78.0%)	1745 (78.4%)
low	129 (20.6%)	351 (22.0%)	480 (21.6%)
<b>Resentment</b>			
low	431 (68.8%)	1247 (78.0%)	1678 (75.4%)
high	195 (31.2%)	352 (22.0%)	547 (24.6%)
<b>Urbanity</b>			
high	481 (76.8%)	784 (49.0%)	1265 (56.9%)
low	145 (23.2%)	815 (51.0%)	960 (43.1%)
<b>Neighborhood</b>			
High-rise buildings	214 (34.2%)	188 (11.8%)	402 (18.1%)
Single-family houses	73 (11.7%)	742 (46.4%)	815 (36.6%)
Upscale residential area	339 (54.2%)	669 (41.8%)	1008 (45.3%)

## Appendix F: Regression Results, Survey 2

The regression in Table F1 is the basis for Figure 4 in the main text.

**Table F1: OLS regression of candidate evaluation (survey 2)**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Evaluation of Candidate (Survey 2)
Urban	-0.72*** (0.16)
Rural	-0.63*** (0.16)
Antagonistic/Innovation	-0.81*** (0.16)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.40** (0.16)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.47*** (0.16)
Harmonious/Rent	1.14*** (0.16)
Constant	6.23*** (0.09)
Observations	2,369
R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error	2.22 (df = 2362)
F Statistic	31.35*** (df = 6; 2362)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

The regression in Table F2 is the basis for Figure 5 in the main text. In this analysis, we pool the antagonistic innovation and rent as well as the harmonious innovation and rent treatment. We separate reactions to the pooled antagonistic or harmonious treatment by the strength of respondents' urban identity and anti-rural resentment.

**Table F2: OLS regression for Identity & Resentment (pooled antagonistic and harmonious treatments)**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Evaluation of Candidate
Antagonistic	-0.63 <sup>***</sup> (0.16)
Harmonious	0.86 <sup>***</sup> (0.16)
High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.14 (0.23)
High Identity/High Resentment	0.51 (0.33)
Antagonistic x High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.28 (0.35)
Harmonious x High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.02 (0.33)
Antagonistic x High Identity/High Resentment	0.71 (0.46)
Harmonious x High Identity/High Resentment	-0.54 (0.48)
Constant	6.21 <sup>***</sup> (0.11)
Observations	1,703
R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error	2.24 (df = 1694)
F Statistic	16.81 <sup>***</sup> (df = 8; 1694)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

In Table F3, we repeat this analysis but show the results for the each of the treatments separately.

**Table F3: OLS regression for Identity & Resentment (all treatments separately)**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Evaluation of Candidate
Antagonistic/Innovation	-0.87 <sup>***</sup> (0.19)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.39 <sup>**</sup> (0.19)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.55 <sup>***</sup> (0.19)
Harmonious/Rent	1.19 <sup>***</sup> (0.19)
High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.14 (0.23)
High Identity/High Resentment	0.51 (0.33)
Antagonistic/Innovation x High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.42 (0.46)
Antagonistic/Rent x High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.26 (0.41)
Harmonious/Innovation x High Identity/Low Resentment	-0.22 (0.40)
Harmonious/Rent x High Identity/Low Resentment	0.20 (0.40)
Antagonistic/Innovation x High Identity/High Resentment	1.06 <sup>*</sup> (0.59)
Antagonistic/Rent x High Identity/High Resentment	0.39 (0.54)
Harmonious/Innovation x High Identity/High Resentment	-0.16 (0.63)
Harmonious/Rent x High Identity/High Resentment	-0.90 (0.56)
Constant	6.21 <sup>***</sup> (0.11)
Observations	1,703
R <sup>2</sup>	0.09
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.08
Residual Std. Error	2.23 (df = 1688)
F Statistic	11.23 <sup>***</sup> (df = 14; 1688)

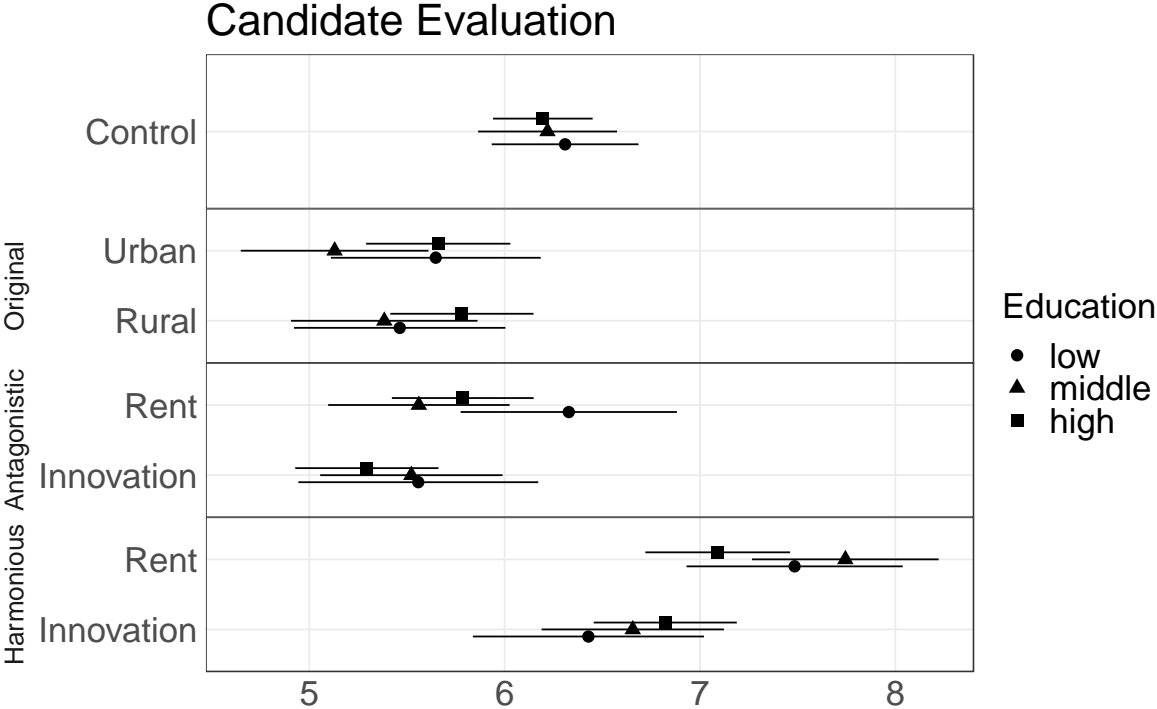
Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01



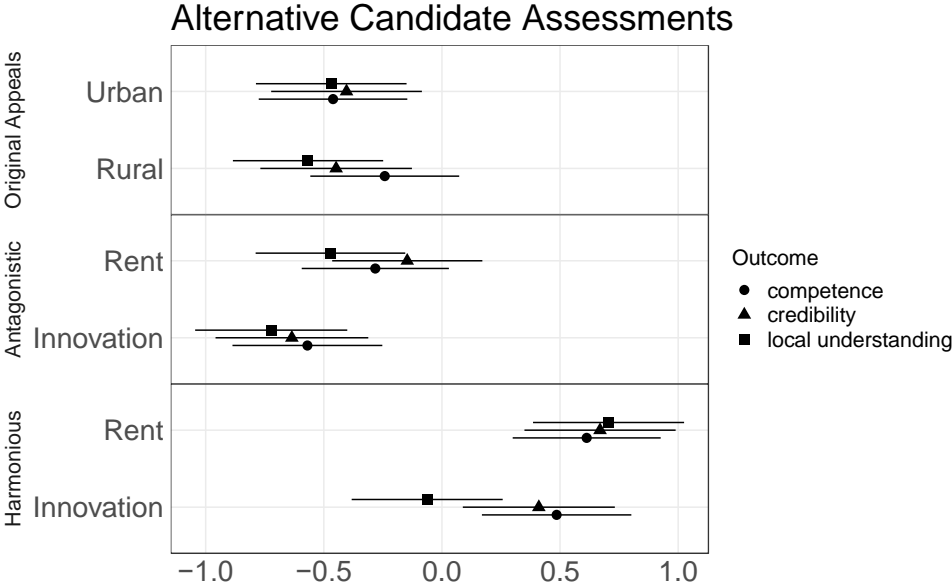
In Figure F4, we show whether urbanites with different education levels respond differently to the group appeals. By looking at heterogeneous treatment effects for different education groups, we can provide some evidence against potential solidarity of low educated urbanites with rural people based on (assumed) similar status or class.

**Figure F4:** Effect of treatment on candidate evaluation by different educational groups



In Figure F5, we further assess how urban respondents evaluate our candidate in more depth. Here, we draw on post-treatment items asking about the credibility, competence, and local understanding of the candidate. We find that all of these alternative, more specific candidate evaluations exhibit similar patterns and align with the overall candidate assessment presented in the main analysis.

**Figure F5:** *Effect of treatment on alternative candidate assessments*



## Appendix G: Additional Results, Survey 2

In this appendix, we provide additional analyses of the data from survey 2 to test alternative explanations for our findings. In the main text, we present tests for some alternative explanations. In the following, we show the regression tables on which the figures in the text are based.

Table G1 shows the regression that is the basis for Figure 6 in the main text.

**Table G1: Representation Ideal: OLS regression of candidate evaluation**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Evaluation of Candidate (Survey 2)
Antagonistic/Innovation	-0.80*** (0.27)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.47* (0.27)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.35 (0.26)
Harmonious/Rent	1.23*** (0.27)
Universalist	0.49** (0.20)
Antagonistic/Innovation x Universalist	-0.14 (0.36)
Antagonistic/Rent x Universalist	-0.03 (0.35)
Harmonious/Innovation x Universalist	0.04 (0.35)
Harmonious/Rent x Universalist	-0.20 (0.36)
Constant	6.10*** (0.15)
Observations	1,490
R <sup>2</sup>	0.08
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error	2.26 (df = 1480)
F Statistic	14.08*** (df = 9; 1480)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table G2 shows the regression that is the basis for Figure 7 in the main text.

**Table G2: Deservingness: OLS regression of candidate evaluation**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Evaluation of Candidate (Survey 2)
Antagonistic/Innovation	-0.82 <sup>***</sup> (0.21)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.54 <sup>**</sup> (0.21)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.28 (0.20)
Harmonious/Rent	1.18 <sup>***</sup> (0.21)
Deservingness	-0.08 (0.21)
Antagonistic/Innovation x Deservingness	0.18 (0.36)
Antagonistic/Rent x Deservingness	0.28 (0.35)
Harmonious/Innovation x Deservingness	0.55 (0.36)
Harmonious/Rent x Deservingness	0.03 (0.36)
Constant	6.29 <sup>***</sup> (0.12)
Observations	1,537
R <sup>2</sup>	0.08
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error	2.21 (df = 1527)
F Statistic	13.97 <sup>***</sup> (df = 9; 1527)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table G3 shows the regression that is the basis for Figure 8 in the main text.

**Table G3: Welfare Quota: OLS regression of candidate evaluation**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Evaluation of Candidate (Survey 2)
Antagonistic/Innovation	-0.67*** (0.23)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.49** (0.23)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.48** (0.23)
Harmonious/Rent	1.35*** (0.23)
Welfare Quota (% receiving social assistance)	-0.03 (0.18)
Antagonistic/Innovation x Welfare Quota	-0.29 (0.32)
Antagonistic/Rent x Welfare Quota	0.19 (0.32)
Harmonious/Innovation x Welfare Quota	0.02 (0.32)
Harmonious/Rent x Welfare Quota	-0.40 (0.32)
Constant	6.23*** (0.13)
Observations	1,761
R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error	2.24 (df = 1751)
F Statistic	15.49*** (df = 9; 1751)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

As an additional analysis that is not presented in the main text, Table G4 distinguishes respondents according to the length of residence in the particular city they live in. Overall, the results show that there is almost no difference between urbanites who have lived in the respective city their entire life and even those who have lived less than 5 years in their city.

**Table G4: Length of Residence in City: OLS regression of candidate evaluation**

	<i>Dependent variable:</i> Evaluation of Candidate
Antagonistic/Innovation	-1.34** (0.54)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.50 (0.45)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.50 (0.47)
Harmonious/Rent	1.29*** (0.48)
5-10 years in city	0.10 (0.37)
> 10 years in city	-0.28 (0.30)
Always	0.20 (0.31)
Antagonistic/Innovation x 5-10 years	0.08 (0.72)
Antagonistic/Rent x > 5-10 years	-0.74 (0.66)
Harmonious/Innovation x > 5-10 years	-0.004 (0.66)
Harmonious/Rent x > 5-10 years	-0.65 (0.68)
Antagonistic/Innovation x > 10 years	0.79 (0.59)
Antagonistic/Rent x > 10 years	0.12 (0.52)
Harmonious/Innovation x > 10 years	0.24 (0.54)
Harmonious/Rent x > 10 years	-0.03 (0.55)
Antagonistic/Innovation x Always	0.47 (0.59)
Antagonistic/Rent x Always	0.38 (0.52)

Harmonious/Innovation x Always	-0.27 (0.54)
Harmonious/Rent x < Always	-0.23 (0.54)
Constant	6.26*** (0.27)
<hr/>	
Observations	1,757
R <sup>2</sup>	0.08
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error	2.23 (df = 1737)
F Statistic	8.23*** (df = 19; 1737)

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

**Table G5: Municipal population density: OLS regression of candidate evaluation**

As an additional analysis, Table G5 distinguishes respondents according to the population density of their municipality. Overall, the results show that there is almost no difference between urbanites living in the most dense cities and those who live in less densely populated cities.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i> Evaluation of Candidate
Antagonistic/Innovation	-0.68*** (0.23)
Antagonistic/Rent	-0.29 (0.23)
Harmonious/Innovation	0.53** (0.23)
Harmonious/Rent	1.19*** (0.23)
Municipal Population Density	0.0000 (0.0000)
Antagonistic/Innovation x Population Density	-0.0000 (0.0000)
Antagonistic/Rent x Population Density	-0.0000 (0.0000)
Harmonious/Innovation x Population Density	-0.0000 (0.0000)
Harmonious/Rent x Population Density	-0.0000 (0.0000)
Constant	6.15*** (0.13)
Observations	1,761
R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.07
Residual Std. Error (	2.24
F Statistic	15.02***

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

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