**Online Appendix for “Elite cueing or political predispositions? Explaining public opinion towards TTIP”**

1. **The Questionnaire**

*Party preference*

Which party would you vote for if there were parliamentary elections next Sunday?

Alternative for Germany (AfD)

CDU/CSU

FDP

Greens

The Left

SPD

Other\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

No response

Ciudadanos

Partido regional (CiU, PNV, Coalición Canaria etc.)

PP – Partido Popular

PODEMOS-IU-EQUO - Unidos Podemos

PSOE - Partido Socialista Obrero Español

UPYD - Unión Progreso y Democracia

Other\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

No response

*Information about TTIP*

The European Union and the United States are currently negotiating a trade agreement, called Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership or TTIP, that should facilitate trade between the two entities. How well informed do you feel about this planned agreement?

3 very well informed

2 fairly well informed

1 not very well informed

0 not well informed at all

*The experiment*

GROUP 1: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 2: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the CDU/CSU (in Spain: PP) spoke out in favour of TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 3: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the CDU/CSU (in Spain: PP) spoke out in opposition to TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 4: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the SPD (in Spain: PSOE) spoke out in favour of TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 5: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the SPD (in Spain: PSOE) spoke out in opposition to TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 6: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the Greens (in Spain: Podemos) spoke out in favour of TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 7: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the Greens (in Spain: Podemos) spoke out in opposition to TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 8: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the AfD (in Spain: Ciudadanos) spoke out in favour of TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

GROUP 9: Currently there is a vivid political debate about this agreement. Recently, the AfD (in Spain: Ciudadanos) spoke out in opposition to TTIP. How do you view this planned trade agreement?

Responses:

7 I strongly support TTIP

6 I moderately support TTIP

5 I slightly support TTIP

4 Neither support nor oppose

3 I slightly oppose TTIP

2 I moderately oppose TTIP

1 I strongly oppose TTIP

99 do not know

*TTIP knowledge (manipulation check)*

In your opinion, to which extent did the following actors support or oppose the planned trade agreement between the European Union and the United States of America (TTIP)?

European Commission

European Parliament

Alternative for Germany (AfD)

CDU/CSU

Greens

SPD

German government

Responses:

5 strongly supports TTIP

4 supports TTIP

3 neither supports nor opposes

2 opposes TTIP

1 strongly opposes TTIP

99 do not know

1. **Additional Results**

**Table A1: Explaining “don’t know” responses**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Germany** | **Spain** |
| CDU/PP pro | 0.379 | -0.226 |
|  | (0.274) | (0.243) |
| CDU/PP con | 0.005 | 0.395\* |
|  | (0.290) | (0.225) |
| SPD/PSOE pro | -0.240 | -0.036 |
|  | (0.311) | (0.230) |
| SPD/PSOE con | -0.345 | -0.224 |
|  | (0.322) | (0.238) |
| Greens/Podemos pro | 0.013 | 0.164 |
|  | (0.308) | (0.227) |
| Greens/Podemos con | 0.151 | -0.038 |
|  | (0.297) | (0.235) |
| AfD/Ciudadanos pro | 0.313 | 0.215 |
|  | (0.279) | (0.230) |
| AfD/Ciudadanos con | 0.069 | 0.021 |
|  | (0.288) | (0.242) |
| Interest in politics | -0.454\*\*\* | -0.326\*\*\* |
|  | (0.082) | (0.068) |
| TTIP information | -1.364\*\*\* | -1.706\*\*\* |
|  | (0.133) | (0.100) |
| Age | -0.014\*\* | 0.009\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Male | 0.980\*\*\* | 0.612\*\*\* |
|  | (0.163) | (0.122) |
| Education=Primary | -0.152 | 11.466 |
|  | (1.177) | (313.367) |
| Education=Secondary | -0.456 | 11.338 |
|  | (1.162) | (313.367) |
| Education=Professional | -0.494 | 11.346 |
|  | (1.165) | (313.367) |
| Education=High school diploma | -0.893 | 11.308 |
|  | (1.164) | (313.367) |
| Education=University degree | -0.749 | 11.343 |
|  | (1.170) | (313.367) |
| Constant | -0.179 | -11.616 |
|  | (1.198) | (313.367) |
|  |  |
| Observations | 1,990 | 1,974 |
| Log Likelihood | -590.584 | -867.019 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 1,217.168 | 1,770.037 |
| *Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01 |  |

*Note:* the table shows coefficients from a logistic regression model with a dummy variable coded 1 for respondents opting for the “don’t know” response as dependent variable. Standard errors are in parentheses. The base category for the treatments is the control group; for the education variable it is “no formal educational attainment”.

**Table A2: Mean TTIP support by level of information (control group)**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Germany** | **Spain** |
| **Information** | **TTIP support** | **Information** | **TTIP support** |
| Not at all | 2.09 | Not at all | 4.59 |
| Not well  | 3.36 | Not well  | 3.98 |
| Pretty well | 3.10 | Pretty well | 3.52 |
| Very well | 2.80 | Very well | 1.64 |

**Table A3: Results of the manipulation check, by respondents’ degree of information**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Party** | **Control group** | **Pro treatment** | **Con treatment** |
| *Germany* | Lowinfo | High info | Lowinfo | High info | LowInfo | High info |
| CDU/CSU | 4.1 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 3.5 |
| SPD | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 3.7 | 2.7 | 2.8 |
| Greens | 2.1 | 2.4 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 1.8 | 1.8 |
| AfD | 2.0 | 2.1 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 1.5 | 1.7 |
| *Spain* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| PP | 4.3 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 3.1 |
| PSOE | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 2.2 | 2.4 |
| Unidos Podemos | 1.7 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 1.6 | 1.6 |
| Ciudadanos | 3.9 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 4.3 | 2.7 | 2.9 |

**Table A4: Number of party supporters and non-supporters by treatment**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Party supporters** | **Non-party supporters** |
|  | **pro** | **con** | **control** | **pro** | **con** | **control** |
| CDU/CSU | 40 | 36 | 72 | 160 | 174 | 328 |
| SPD | 24 | 42 | 69 | 176 | 158 | 331 |
| Greens | 28 | 20 | 50 | 172 | 180 | 350 |
| AfD | 26 | 28 | 54 | 174 | 173 | 346 |
| PP | 22 | 16 | 49 | 178 | 184 | 351 |
| PSOE | 22 | 30 | 54 | 178 | 170 | 346 |
| Podemos | 49 | 59 | 111 | 151 | 141 | 289 |
| Ciudadanos | 33 | 29 | 59 | 167 | 171 | 341 |

**Table A5: Mean TTIP support by party preference (control group)**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Germany** | **Spain** |
| **Party preference** | **TTIP support** | **Party preference** | **TTIP support** |
| AfD  | 3.00 | Ciudadanos  | 5.02 |
| CDU/CSU  | 3.98 | Podemos  | 2.51 |
| Grüne  | 2.59 | PP  | 5.38 |
| SPD  | 3.11 | PSOE  | 3.84 |
| Other or none | 2.84 | Other or none | 3.47 |

**Table A6: Cueing, party preference, and TTIP support**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Coefficient****(std. err.)** |
| Non-preferred party pro cue | -0.21\*\* |
|  | (0.09) |
| Non-preferred party con cue | -0.26\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) |
| Preferred party in treatment groups | 0.02 |
|  | 0.12 |
| Spain | 0.74\*\*\*  |
|  | (0.07) |
| Constant | 2.31\*\*\*  |
|  | (0.12) |
| Observations | 3,208 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.04 |

*Note:* these are the coefficients from a linear regression model with TTIP support as dependent variable (standard errors in parentheses). \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

**Table A7:** **Cueing, party preference, and TTIP support (interaction with country)**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Coefficient****(std. err.)** |
| Preferred party pro cue | 0.05 |
|  |  (0.19) |
| Preferred party con cue | -0.27 |
|  | (0.18) |
| Party preference: CDU / CSU | 1.11\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) |
| Party preference: SPD | 0.66\*\*\*  |
|  | (0.15) |
| Party preference: Grüne | -0.14 |
|  | (0.16) |
| Party preference: Others (Germany) | -0.15 |
|  | (0.13) |
| Party preference: PP | 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.18) |
| Party preference: Podemos | -1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) |
| Party preference: Ciudadanos | 1.15\*\*\* |
|  | (0.17) |
| Party preference: Others (Spain) | 0.20 |
|  | (0.15) |
| Non-preferred party in treatment  | -0.17\*\* |
| groups | (0.08) |
| Preferred party pro cue x Spain | 0.44\* |
|  | (0.26) |
| Preferred party con cue x Spain | -0.16 |
|  | (0.25) |
| Constant | 2.79\*\*\* |
|  |  (0.13) |
| Observations | 3,208 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.19 |

*Note:* the table reports the coefficients from a linear regression model with TTIP support as dependent variable (with standard errors in parentheses). \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.