

# Flesh of the same Flesh: A Study of Voters for the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the 2017 Federal Election

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Supplemental Appendices:  
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## Appendix A - Variable Coding

**Socio-demographics:** *Age* - respondent age at the time of the election survey; *Gender* - 0 = male respondent, 1 = female respondent; *University Degree* - 0 = no degree, 1 = university degree; *Income* - basic income categories 1 = under 500 euro, 2 = 500 to under 750 euros, 3 = 750 to under 1000 euros, 4 = 1000 to less than 1250 Euro, 5 = 1250 to less than 1500 Euro, 6 = 1500 to less than 2000 Euro, 7 = 2000 to less than 2500 Euro, 8 = 2500 to less than 3000 Euro, 9 = 3000 to less than 4000 Euro, 10 = 4000 to less than 5000 Euro, 11 = 5000 to less than 7500 Euro, 12 = 7500 to less than 10000 Euro, 13 = 10000 Euro and more; *Unemployed* - 0 = not unemployed, 1 = currently unemployed at time of pre-election survey; *Union Member* - 0 = not a member of a union, 1 = currently a union member; *Eastern Germany* - 1 = from Eastern Germany; 0 from Western Germany.

**Political Knowledge:** *Political Knowledge* - The political knowledge variable was created through the estimation of factor analysis on seven knowledge questions. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the seven variables was 0.669. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.27. The following seven questions were coded so that 0 = not correct, 1 = correct. 1.) First or second vote fills more of the Bundestag seats? 2.) What is the threshold for parties gaining seats in the Bundestag 3.) Recognized Martin Schulz as member of SPD? 4.) Recognize Katrin Gring-Eckardt as member of Green Party? 5.) Recognize Christian Lindner as member of FDP? 6.) Did Germany have a budget deficit last year? 7.) Was the unemployment rate last year above or below 10%?

**Political Attitudes:** *Political Ideology* - The respondent is asked to self-place their ideology on a 1 (left) to 11 (right) scale; *Anti-Immigrant Sentiment* - estimating factors analysis based on three statements created the anti-immigrant sentiment variable. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the three variables was 0.738. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.505. The statements indicate that immigrants make the economy, culture, and crime worse, -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree; *Fear of globalization* - Respondent is asked how scared they are of globalization, and the scale is 0 = not scared at all to 7 = very scared; *Gov. Reduce Income Inequality* - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement "the government should take measures to reduce income differentials." -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree; *Satisfaction w/ Democracy* - Respondent is asked "how satisfied or dissatisfied are you - all in all - with democracy as it exists in Germany?" -2 = very dissatisfied, -1 = dissatisfied, 0 = partly satisfied, 1 = satisfied, 2 = very satisfied; *Prospective Economic Situation* - Respondent is asked "what will be your own economic situation this year?" -2 = much worse, -1 = a little worse, 0 =

stay the same, 1 = a little better, 2 = much better; Party ID is coded as the party the respondent identifies with. *Anti-European Integration* - The respondent is asked provided the statement that European integration should go further and asked their level of agreement. -2 = strongly agree, -1 = agree, 0 = neutral, 1 = disagree, 2 = strongly disagree.

## Appendix B - Descriptive Statistics

Table B1: Descriptive Statistics - Socio-demographics

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Age	16	51	50.18	95	19.19
Income	1	8	7.65	13	2.44
	0	1			
Gender	52%	48%			
University Degree	96.49%	3.51%			
Unemployed	81.54%	18.46%			
Union Member	89.19%	10.81%			
Eastern Germany	69.87%	30.13%			

Table B2: Descriptive Statistics - Political Knowledge

Question	Correct
First or second vote files more of the Bundestag seats?	64.91%
What is the threshold for parties gaining seats in the Bundestag?	70.67%
Recognize Katrin Gring-Eckardt as member of Green Party?	56.43%
Recognize Christian Lindner as member of FDP?	79.78%
Recognize Martin Schulz as member of SPD?	90.78%
Did Germany have a budget deficit last year?	54.55%
Was the unemployment rate last year above or below 10%?	76.52%

Table B3: Descriptive Statistics - Political Attitudes

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Political Ideology	1	5	5.19	11	1.93
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-1.74	-0.09	0	2.1	1
Fear of Globalization	1	4	3.67	7	1.67
Government Reduce Income Inequality	-2	0	1.09	2	1.06
Satisfaction with Democracy	-2	0	0.52	2	1.1
Prospective Economic Situation	-2	0	0.2	2	0.65
Anti-European Integration	-2	0	-0.92	2	1.09

Table B4: Descriptive Statistics - Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Immigrants bad for the German economy	-2	0	-0.327	2	0.967
Immigrants bad for German culture	-2	0	-0.371	2	1.317
Immigrants lead to more crime	-2	0	0.148	2	1.245

Table B5: Descriptive Statistics - Party Identification

Variable	AfD	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left	Other
Party ID	4.19%	4.83%	7.98%	18.13%	9.7%	8.37%	50.99%

## Appendix C - Additional Variables & Data Checks

There were a number of variables tested or included in the original multivariate analysis, which were excluded in the final analysis for one of two reasons. First, some variables were excluded due to a high correlation with other; more theoretically grounded independent variables of interest. Second, a few variables were excluded after it was determined that there was not a significant or substantive relationship with the dependent variables of interest due to degrees of freedom limitations. In this section, we provide the variable, coding, reason for exclusion, and descriptive statistics.

Most empirical models estimated for predicting vote choice include some measure of political participation or political interest as a control variable. In the original analysis, two different measures were included in the multivariate analysis in order to account for political participation. The measures were excluded due to a lack of variation and the results from inclusion yielded no substantive findings. Likewise, the inclusion of a variable that measured political interest was excluded for the same reason. The political interest variable was measured from 0 = no interest to 4 = a lot of interest. The mean for the political interest variable was 2.23, and the variable had a standard deviation of 0.996.

### Political Participation:

*Conventional Participation* - The conventional political participation measure was created through the estimation of factor analysis on eight conventional acts of political participation. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the eight variables was 0.627. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.189. The following eight items were coded so that 0 = did not participate, 1 = participated. 1.) Citizens Initiative 2.) Demonstration 3.) Signature Collection 4.) Donated - Political Parties or Organizations 5.) Boycotted/Consumed Products (Ethics or Pol) 6.) Letter to Newspaper or Periodical 7.) Public Discussions at Meetings 8.) Supports Party in Election Campaign.

*Unconventional Participation* - The unconventional political participation measure was created through the estimation of factor analysis on nine unconventional acts of political participation. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the eight variables was 0.726. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.283. The following nine items were coded so that 0 = did not participate, 1 = participated. 1.) Political Post on Social Media 2.) Shared Political Post on Social Media 3.) "Liked" Political Post on Social Media 4.) Write Comments on Political Post 5.) Email Political Letter to the Editor 6.) Wrote Political Blog Article 7.) Online Petitions/Sign Campaign 8.) Citizens Participation Platform 9.) Contacted Politicians Online.

Table C1: Descriptive Statistics - Conventional Political Participation

Participatory Act	Participated
Citizen's Initiative	3.86%
Demonstration	7.31%
Signature Collection	19.53%
Donated - Political Parties or Organizations	4.41%
Boycotted/Consumed Products (ethical or political)	22.89%
Letter to Newspaper or Periodical	1.79%
Public Discussions at Meetings	7.77%
Supports Party in Election Campaign	3.59%

Table C2: Descriptive Statistics - Unconventional Political Participation

Participatory Act	Participated
Political Post on Social Media	3.95%
Share Political Post on Social Media	9.91%
“Liked” Political Post on Social Media	14.36%
Write Comments on Political Post	3.76%
Email Political Letter to the Editor	1.51%
Wrote Political Blog Article	0.37%
Online Petitions/Sign Campaign	13.77%
Citizens’ Participation Platform	2.3%
Contacted Politicians Online	3.3%

The original analysis also included candidate evaluations for the two main chancellor candidates: Angela Merkel (CDU/CSU) and Martin Schulz (SPD). The variables were excluded due to a high correlation with a more theoretically grounded variable, and a lack of substantive findings. In particular, the only real finding from their conclusion was that CDU/CSU candidates are statistically more likely to view Merkels candidate qualities favorably, whereas SPD voters rated Schulz high in candidate qualities and Merkel low. The results are not surprising and do not provide any substantive discussion in regards to comparing voters for other parties. In addition, the variable measuring voters assessment of Merkels candidate qualities was highly correlated with satisfaction with democracy at .48. The high correlation led to concerns over model convergence. Therefore, the evaluations were excluded.

? Candidate Evaluations: The study used two measures in order to capture evaluations of the two main chancellorship candidates. The measures were created through the estimation of factor analysis on four candidate evaluation traits for each candidate. The traits included are 1.) Assertiveness 2.) Trustworthiness 3.) Sympathetic human being 4.) Reasonable ideas to boost economy. The four variables are coded on a numeric scale: -2 = does not apply at all, -1 = rather does not apply, 1 = partly, 2 = is more applicable, 3 = fully applies. For the measure indicating evaluations of Merkel’s traits, the Cronbach’s Alpha score for the four variables was 0.8. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.516. For the measure indicating evaluations of Schulz’s traits, the Cronbach’s Alpha score for the four variables was 0.818. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.538.

Table C3: Descriptive Statistics - Evaluations of Merkel

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Assertive	-2	0	0.88	2	1.3
Trustworthy	-2	0	0.55	2	1.5
Sympathetic Human	-2	0	0.5	2	1.48
Reasonable Ideas to Boost Economy	-2	0	0.33	2	3

Table C3: Descriptive Statistics - Evaluations of Schulz

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Assertive	-2	0	-0.83	2	1.49
Trustworthy	-2	0	-0.83	2	1.57
Sympathetic Human	-2	0	-0.81	2	1.67
Reasonable Ideas to Boost Economy	-2	0	-0.75	2	1.44

Lastly, there were a handful of political attitudes directed at immigrants that were excluded from the final analysis. These attitudes were excluded due to a high correlation with other anti-immigrant attitudes (.5 or higher). Before final exclusion, several models were estimated in order to verify that these variables did not have the same substantive effect as the final anti-immigrant sentiment index. After extensive testing, it was determined that these variables did not contribute any substantive information in terms of predicting vote choice. Further, the final anti-immigrant attitudes including in the analysis are more theoretically and empirically grounded.

**Anti-Immigrant Attitudes:** *Immigrants Required to Adapt* - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement Immigrants should be required to adapt to German culture. -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree; *Refugee Ceiling* - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement “Germany needs an annual ceiling for the reception of refugees.” -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree; *Fear of refugees* - Respondent is asked “how scared are you of refugees.” 1 = not at all scared to 7 = very scared; *Fear of international terrorism* - Respondent is asked, “how scared are you of international terrorism.” 1 = not at all scared to 7 = very scared.

Table C4: Descriptive Statistics - Excluded Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Immigrants Required to Adap	-2	0	0.655	3	1.19
Refugee Ceiling	-2	0	0.524	3	1.46
Fear of Refugees	-2	0	0.429	3	1.79
Fear of International Terrorism	-2	0	0.542	3	1.59