

Multidimensional and intersectional cultural grievances over gender, sexuality and immigration: Supplementary material

Gefjon Off

Postdoctoral researcher, Political Science, Leuphana University of Lüneburg*

A Interview guide (translated)

- Intro
 - Please introduce yourself briefly.
 - Please describe what a usual day looks like for you.
- General
 - How do you experience the current political atmosphere in Germany?
 - To what extent are you happy or unhappy with the current federal government?
- Nostalgia
 - Let us consider society, ignore your personal situation for a moment. How is Germany compared to the past? How did the economic/ political/ social situation change? What do you think about that?
 - And now the other way around. If you ignore the general situation, how did your personal/family economic/ political/ social situation change compared to the past? How do you think about that?
 - When thinking about the past, both societally and personally, is there something you are longing for?

*gefjon.off@leuphana.de

- Law & Order

- Some people say that the world nowadays has become complex, ambiguous, and confusing (e.g., various forms of relationships instead of traditional marriage, various diets instead of meat, gender-equal language instead of male forms, no one understands the EU). How do you feel about this development?
- Such developments can be addressed politically. What do you think about political leadership that takes action against strong change and unrest/chaos?

- Inclusion

- Let us talk about being German. What do you think “Being German” means?
- Do you feel to belong to the Germans?
- There are, of course, many individuals and groups with own needs and features. Do you see yourself as part of a particular societal group?
- You say that you are [above-mentioned social group]. Think about this/ these group(s). Do you feel listened to, respected, and appreciated as a member of these groups in Germany?
- Are there moments where you feel discriminated against, ignored, or treated badly?

- White identity

- Most people in Germany are white. Do you consider yourself as white? What does it mean for you to be [white/Non-white]?
- To what extent do you feel seen, respected, and appreciated as [white/non-white] in Germany? And to what extent do you feel politically represented (i.e., that politician take the interests/ opinions/ needs of your group into account?)
- How do you think white people are seen, respected, and appreciated in Germany compared to non-whites?

- Gender & sexuality

- What does being male/female mean to you?
- More broadly: What do you understand by the term equality?
- What, from your point of view, would be the best way for young adults to manage everyday life?
- What do you think about the efforts to bring more women into companies' management boards?

- An increasing number of media and public figures are using gendered language, such as [give an example in German language]. What do you think about that?
 - Let us now turn to abortion. The number of clinics performing abortions in Germany has been decreasing. What are your views on abortion in general?
 - Now that we have talked about men and women, I would like to talk about people how maybe don't conform with this traditional picture. Lately, gays, lesbians and trans people have increasingly been granted more rights and begun to live more freely. What's your view on homosexuality and transexuality?
 - In 2017 a law was passed to legalize same-sex marriage and adoption in Germany. How do you feel about the fact that homosexuals are allowed to get married now in Germany? Why?
 - Finally about this topic: What is your perception of women recently making sexual transgressions public and taking legal action against the perpetrators? (Mention the MeToo movement)
 - Moving to a different topic: the Islamic headscarf. What is your stance on Islamic headscarves?
- Others
 - We have already discussed how you experience the current situation compared to the past. Let's talk about the future. How do you see the future?
 - Which party are you going to vote for in the upcoming general election?
 - Is there anything that you would like to say, ask or comment on?
 - Is there any other important information that we should know about you?

B Survey data on East and West Germans' political trust and income

According to 2018 ALLBUS survey data (GESIS 2021), East Germans score on average 3.79, compared to West Germans' average score of 4.07 on a 1-7 scale where 7 equals "a great deal of trust in the federal government" and 1 equals "no trust at all". These average scores are significantly different from another, as a t-test shows ($p\text{-value} = 0.000$). As regards their socioeconomic situation, in a closed survey question, West Germans report a monthly net income of on average around 1500-1999€, compared to East Germans' self-reported monthly net income of on average 1375-1499€. Again, the difference is statistically significant ($p\text{-value} = 0.001$).

C Interviewee information

ID	Gender	Age	E/W German	Politically active	Recr. via snowballing	Contact
1	Man	60	West	Not anymore	No	Call
2	Man	55	East	No	No	In person
3	Man	46	East	Member of local town council	No	In person
4	Man	44	East	No	No	In person
5	Man	34	East	Active in local AfD chapter, part-time employed assistant for AfD federal state MP	No	In person
6	Man	63	East	No	No	In person
9	Man	37	East	Part-time employed assistant for AfD federal state MP	No	In person
10	Man	66	East	No	No	In person
11	Man	53	East	No	No	In person
12	Man	56	East	No	No	In person
13	Man	71	East	Active in local AfD chapter	No	In person
15	Man	39	East	Member of local town council	No	In person
16	Man	66	East	Member of local town council	No	In person
18	Man	50	East	No	No	In person
19	Man	63	East	No	No	In person
20	Man	66	West	No	No	Call
21	Man	56	East	No	No	In person
22	Man	55	East	Member of local town council	No	In person
23	Woman	34	East	No	Yes (Int. 5)	In person
24	Woman	35+	East	Party member	Yes (Int. 5)	In person
25	Woman	26	West	Member of local town council	No	Call
26	Man	69	East	No	Yes (Int. 5)	In person
28	Woman	50	East	Member of local town council	Yes (Int. 16)	In person
29	Woman	35	East	Participates in demonstrations	Yes (Int. 28)	In person
30	Woman	18	East	Active in local chapter of youth party organization	Yes (Int. 15)	In person
31	Man	56	East	Party member, participates in demonstrations	No	Call
32	Woman	36	East	No	No	Call
33	Woman	58	East	Participates in demonstrations	Yes (Int. 31)	Call

The interviewees are listed in order of their recruitment. Interviewees 7, 8, 14, 17 and 27 are missing because the interviewees either canceled or disclosed that they do not vote for the AfD in the interview. Interviewees working for federal state MPs do not work for the same MPs, and interviewees who are active in town councils are in different towns (except interviewees 16 and 28). With one exception, the town councils are in small towns (15,000 - 30,000 inhabitants). For interviewees recruited via snowballing, the information in brackets indicates which interviewee referred us to the interviewee. Other interviewees were recruited through different social media platforms.

D Coding

I focused on mentions of structural discrimination of social groups, i.e. instances in which I consider that the interviewees talked about their perceptions of different social groups’ discrimination/ (dis)advantages in society, rather than individual cases. Such mentions were up to several sentences long and often prompted by interview questions (see questions in Appendix A). Several mentions can stem from the same interviewee, and more complex mentions can be assigned several codes (e.g. when different social groups are mentioned in the same argument). Tables D1-D3 do not give information about how many interviewees made such statements but rather about how many such statements were made in total.

Because the interviewees generally did not perceive that LGBTQI+ discrimination exists in present-day German society, there is no coding of LGBTQI+ discrimination as perceived as “existent” (Table D1). Further, interviewees do not consistently distinguish between Black people, other POCs, Muslims and foreigners/ first-generation migrants (i.e. people without German citizenship). Similarly, they tend to equate being white with being German and non-Muslim. Therefore, the distinction between these social groups in Tables D2 and D3 is sometimes based on my interpretation of the primary meaning conveyed in the respective interviewees’ statements. To ensure that I do not distort the meaning conveyed in the interviews, I jointly analyze statements about social groups defined by ethnicity, race and nationality in the paper’s main analysis.

In mentions, in which the concerned social groups are coded as “minority members” (Tables D2, D3), interviewees jointly refer to various social groups, e.g. women, LGBTQI+ people and POC, and frame their statement as applicable to all of them. Non-minority members are people who do not form part of any such minority, i.e. white cis-heterosexual men, or people that the interviewees describe as the “majority”, “middle”, “core” or “ordinary” parts of society.

In statements about “intersectional” (dis)advantages (Table D4), interviewees not only mention several social groups in one statement but also argue about the intersections of different social group identities. For instance, they reason about the (dis)advantages of white women vs. women of color, or those of heterosexual men of color vs. homosexual white men, etc.

Table D1: Mentions of recognition, justification and non-perception of structural discrimination

Group	Perception of discrimination	Mentions
Black/ethnic discrimination	Existent and justified	4
	Existent and unjustified/ unfair	7
	Non-existent	32
LGBTQI+ discrimination	Non-existent	24
Women's discrimination	Existent and justified	15
	Existent and unjustified/ unfair	14
	Non-existent	27

Table D2: Perceived grounds of disadvantages*

Group	Kind of disadvantage	Mentions
Whites	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	13
	White guilt	8
	Violence/ harassment	7
	Financial/ material	2
Germans	Financial/ material	12
	Stronger social punishment	3
	Recognition	2
Foreigners	Harassment/ exclusion	3
Men	Financial/ material (quota)	11
	Stronger social punishment	8
	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	7
	Fathers' rights	5
Women	Financial/ material (equal pay)	9
Cis-heterosexuals	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	4
	Financial/ material	1
Non-minority members	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	4
	Financial/ material	2

*The reader will note that the codebook includes notions of violence/ harassment towards white people and foreigners. In the analysis, I analyze the more social part of this notion as part of symbolic (dis)advantages, referring to social punishment and exclusion. In line with realistic group threat theory (Stephan, Ybarra, and Rios 2009), notions of physical violence are analyzed as part of material threats, given that they constitute threats to the group's safety.

Table D3: Perceived grounds of advantages

Group	Kind of advantage	Mentions
Blacks	Representation/ visibility/ recognition/ attention	10
	Financial/ material	5
	Leeway	4
Foreigners (POC)	Financial/ material	32
	Leeway	15
	Representation/ visibility/ recognition/ attention	6
Women	Financial/ material (quota)	20
	Representation/ visibility/ recognition/ attention	7
	Leeway	1
Men	Financial/ material (equal pay)	7
LGBTQI+	Representation/ visibility/ recognition/ attention	26
	Financial/ material	2
Minority members	Representation/ visibility/ recognition/ attention	7

Table D4: Intersectional arguments about (dis)advantages*

Intersectional argumentation	Mentions
Financial/ material	2
Recognition	2
Leeway	2

*Note that only two interviewees, interviewees 4 and 5, systematically argued about intersections of different group identities. All mentions listed in Table D4 stem from these two interviews. These interviewees distinguished themselves from many other interviewees in their strong political sophistication. For instance, they made reference to books about politicians and politics that they had read. It may be noteworthy that these interviewees resided in different places and there are no evident points of contact between the two, making it unlikely that they influenced each other. As regards the prevalence of multidimensional arguments, there are more interviewees arguing about non-minority vs. minority members more generally (Tables D2 and D3) without making intersectional arguments.

E Codes by age and gender

Note that the samples of younger people/men contain a very long and sometimes repetitive interview (3.5h) that may distort the importance of certain notions in these samples to make them appear more prevalent than they would appear if this interview was excluded from the analysis.

Because the average age in East German federal states was 47.4 in 2021 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2023), and to reach meaningful sample sizes to compare older and younger interviewees, I divide the sample into interviewees older than 50 and interviewees younger than 50 to compare age groups.

Table E1: Mentions of recognition, justification and non-perception of structural discrimination by age and gender

		By age		By gender		Totals
		51+y (17 interviews)	-50y (11 interviews)	Men (20 interviews)	Women (8 interviews)	
Black/ethnic discr.	Existent & unjustified	6	1	4	3	14
	Non-existent	15	17	24	8	64
	Existent & justified	3	1	3	1	8
LGBTQI+ discr.	Non-existent	9	15	18	6	48
Women's discr.	Existent & justified	7	8	10	5	30
	Existent & unjustified	12	2	11	3	28
	Non-existent	17	10	19	8	54
Totals		69	54	89	34	246

Table E2: Perceived grounds of disadvantages by age and gender

		By age		By gender		Totals
		51+y (17 int.)	-50y (11 int.)	Men (20 int.)	Women (8 int.)	
Whites	Financial/ material	0	2	2	0	4
	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	4	9	9	4	26
	White guilt	5	3	4	4	16
	Social punishment	1	1	2	0	4
	Violence/ harassment	2	5	6	1	14
Germans	Financial/ material	8	4	10	2	24
	Recognition	2	0	1	1	4
	Social punishment	2	1	3	0	6
Foreigners	Harassment/ exclusion	3	0	1	2	6
Men	Financial/ material	4	7	10	1	22
	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	2	5	7	0	14
	Stronger punishment	3	5	8	0	16
Women	Financial/ material	5	3	4	4	16
Cis-hetero- sexuals	Financial/ material	0	1	1	0	2
	Representation/ visibility/ recognition	0	4	4	0	8
Non-minority members	Financial/ material	0	2	2	0	4
	Recognition	1	3	4	0	8
Totals		42	55	78	19	194

Table E3: Perceived grounds of advantages by age and gender

		By age		By gender		Totals
		51+y (17 int.)	-50y (11 int.)	Men (20 int.)	Women (8 int.)	
Blacks	Financial/ material	3	2	4	1	10
	Leeway	1	3	4	0	8
	Recognition/ attention/ visibility	6	4	6	4	20
Foreigners	Financial/ material	23	9	26	6	64
	Leeway	8	7	12	3	30
	Recognition	1	5	5	1	12
Women	Financial/ material	8	12	17	3	40
	Leeway	0	1	1	0	2
	Recognition	4	3	6	1	14
LGBTQI+	Financial/ material	0	2	2	0	4
	Visibility/ attention/ recognition	12	14	20	6	52
Minorities	Financial/ material	6	1	5	2	14
	Attention	2	4	4	2	12
Totals		103	85	150	38	376

References

- GESIS. 2021. German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) - Cumulation 1980-2018.
- Statistisches Bundesamt. 2023. Population by territory and average age.
- Stephan, Walter G, Oscar Ybarra, and Kimberly Rios. 2009. “Intergroup threat theory.” Chapter 3 of *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*, edited by Todd D. Nelson, 43–59. New York: Psychology Press.