

## **Online Appendix C**

### **Survey Items for Chapter 3.1**

*AfD Party Online Referendum, English translation*

#### **Support National Referenda (Section 3, Thesis 16)**

By demanding referenda like in Switzerland, the AfD wants to give the citizens of Germany the opportunity to decide over important issues in the EU, such as the future of the euro.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Doesn't matter

#### **Support Gender Quotas (Section 1, Thesis 21)**

*Option 1 (Oppose)*

In the private and public sectors, qualification should be the decisive factor in job recruitment, as opposed to the gender of an applicant. The primary goal of politics should be to support and demand equal opportunities for men and women in all areas of society, instead of imposing gender quotas or single-case rules.

*Option 2 (Support)*

For job recruitment in the private and public sector with equally qualified candidates, the under-represented gender should be preferred.

- ☐ Option 1
- ☐ Option 2
- ☐ None
- ☐ Doesn't matter

## **Support Gender Mainstreaming (Section 1, Thesis 20)**

### *Option 1 (Oppose)*

The AfD strictly rejects ideological re-education measures, such as “gender mainstreaming” (= abolition of gender identities), and opposes all attempts by the EU to impose these onto nation states. Following the Norwegian example, the financial support for gender studies should be cancelled without substitution.

### *Option 2 (Support)*

“Gender Mainstreaming” should create awareness for gender justice in politics and society. The Alternative for Germany supports this path, because it believes that changes of too rigid attitudes concerning gender roles are desirable and we would like to contribute to this politically.

- ☐ Option 1
- ☐ Option 2
- ☐ None
- ☐ Doesn't matter

## **Support Minimum Wage (Section 1, Thesis 15)**

### *Option 1 (Oppose)*

The human being is at the center of the politics of the AfD. A prosperous economy is not an end in itself, it has to serve the people and not vice versa.

Thus, the AfD believes that there should be a reliable social protection for low-income earners in Germany. A minimum wage cannot achieve this because many low-income earners work only for a limited amount of hours. A minimum wage puts exactly these jobs at risk. It is a principle of the social market economy that the government provides the necessary welfare support. This has worked well since 1949. The government should not abstain now from this responsibility. The Alternative for Germany supports the autonomy in wage bargaining that is guaranteed by the constitution. For instance, a high minimum wage shares responsibility for the high youth unemployment rate in France.

### *Option 2 (Support)*

The human being is at the center of the politics of the AfD. A prosperous economy is not an end in itself, it has to serve the people and not vice versa.

Thus, the AfD believes that there should be a minimum wage threshold in Germany, below which no paid work is allowed. The minimum wage should guarantee a humane life and a

minimum of social participation. Employers should not have a competitive advantage by undercutting wages at the cost of the employees.

- ☐ Option 1
- ☐ Option 2
- ☐ None
- ☐ Doesn't matter

### Support TTIP (Section 1, Thesis 13)

#### *Option 1 (Oppose)*

Free trade is a main foundation of our wealth. The single European market is a convincing example for this. The reduction of still existing trade barriers between Canada, the USA, and the EU is desirable, but the current closed free trade negotiations (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, CETA) should not dilute consumer protection, environment protection, legal security, social standards, or cultural policy. Moreover, the agreement should not exclude additional policy-making in these areas by democratically legitimized legislators in the member states and in the EU. The AfD cannot accept the lack of transparency in the current negotiations. It needs to become public what is negotiated with what purpose. Since the negotiations are not transparent and happen behind closed doors, **the protection of European quality, health, and security standards are not ensured, and our understanding of democracy is violated. Thus, we reject the free trade agreement with the USA in its current form.**

#### *Option 2 (Support)*

Free trade is a main foundation of our wealth. The single European market is a convincing example for this. Thus, the reduction of still existing trade barriers between Canada, the USA, and the EU is desirable. **It is important for the current free trade negotiations (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, CETA) that the achievements in consumer protection, environment protection, legal security, social standards, or cultural policy are not jeopardized. On the other hand, it should be prevented** that lobbyists misuse these legitimate concerns to get rid of competitors. The AfD cannot accept the lack of transparency in the current negotiations. It needs to become public what is negotiated with what purpose. Under no circumstances should the agreement include rules that prevent democratically legitimized legislators in the member states and in the EU to maintain or to improve proven quality, health, and security standards.

- ☐ Option 1
- ☐ Option 2
- ☐ None
- ☐ Doesn't matter

### **Support National Referenda**

And how much influence should the general public have to directly determine national decisions through referenda or plebiscites?

- ☐ None at all (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Little (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Quite a bit (*Support*)
- ☐ A very high amount (*Support*)

### **Support Gender Quotas**

The amount of women in leading positions should be increased by imposing gender quotas.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Disagree (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree (*Support*)
- ☐ Strongly agree (*Support*)

### **Support Gender Mainstreaming**

There are natural differences between men and women that lead to different gender roles in society.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (*Support*)
- ☐ Disagree (*Support*)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Strongly agree (*Oppose*)

### **Support Minimum Wage**

There should be a general minimum wage.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Disagree (*Oppose*)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree (*Support*)
- ☐ Strongly agree (*Support*)

### **Like the USA**

On a scale from -5 to +5, what is your impression of the following countries international organizations?

United States

- ☐ -5 Strongly dislike (*Oppose*)
- ☐ -4 (*Oppose*)
- ☐ -3 (*Oppose*)
- ☐ -2 (*Oppose*)
- ☐ -1 (*Oppose*)
- ☐ 0 Neutral
- ☐ +1 (*Support*)
- ☐ +2 (*Support*)
- ☐ +3 (*Support*)
- ☐ +4 (*Support*)
- ☐ +5 Strongly like (*Support*)

## Survey Items for Chapter 3.2

*SPD Facebook Survey and Local SPD Leader Survey, English translation*

### Age

What year were you born? (*Options available*)

### Becoming candidate for public office (1-4)

How often do you perform the following political activities?

Standing for public office in a local, state, or national election.

- ☐ Never (1)
- ☐ Rarely (2)
- ☐ Occasionally (3)
- ☐ Often (4)

### University degree

What is the highest education you have acquired? (*University degree if 7 or higher*)

- ☐ No education or uncompleted primary school. (1)
- ☐ Primary school completed. (2)
- ☐ Secondary school completed. (3)
- ☐ High School completed. (4)
- ☐ Technical/vocational degree completed. (5)
- ☐ Still attending university. (6)
- ☐ University education completed (BA). (7)
- ☐ Postgraduate degree completed (MA, MSc). (8)
- ☐ Doctoral degree completed (PhD). (9)

### Female

Please state your gender.

- ☐ Male (0)
- ☐ Female (1)

### **Left-right self-placement (4 items, 0-10)**

### **Left-right SPD placement (4 items, 0-10)**

Please place yourself in the following scale, and give your evaluation on where you would place the political parties, and the average voter in this scale.

Self-Placement

SPD

#### *1. The role of the state in the economy*

Support a major role for the state in regulating the economy and providing social benefits. (0)

Support a minimal role for the state in regulating the economy and providing social benefits. (10)

#### *2. Way of life*

Advocate societal and legal equality for alternative conceptions in issues related to religion, marriage, sexuality, and family life (e.g. support gay marriage). (0)

Advocate societal and legal support for traditional conceptions on issues related to religion, marriage, sexuality, and family life (e.g. support traditional marriage). (10)

#### *3. Immigration and national identity*

It is a good thing for a country to be made up of people from different national identities, religions or cultures. (0)

It is a good thing for a country if almost everyone has the same national identity, religion or culture. (10)

#### *4. EU*

European political integration should go further: Support transfer of significant policy-making powers to the EU. (0)

European political integration already gone too far: Support transfer of significant policy-making powers back to the nation states. (10)

### **Economic Freedom Index (10 items, 1-5)**

*1. Sometimes the enactment of desirable policy goals is impossible because they oppose each other. Please state which political outcome you would prefer more among the following alternatives.*

More money for the poor (1) vs. Tax cuts (5)

What is your opinion about the following general policy statement?

2. *The government should take measures to reduce differences in income. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

3. *Germany benefits from free trade.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

4. *There should be a general minimum wage. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

5. *Government spending should be reduced.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

6. *Private enterprise is more efficient than state-owned corporations.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)



- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

7. *The government should give money to declining industries to protect jobs. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

8. *People should provide for themselves or turn to family or friends for help. It's not the job of the government.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

If there would be national referendum on the following policy proposals, how would you decide?

9. *Increasing the taxes for higher income earners. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (5)
- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (4)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (2)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (1)

10. *Introducing tariffs for cheap products from abroad (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (5)
- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (4)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (2)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (1)

### **Economic Freedom Index – factor-based items (6 items, 1-5)**

*1. Sometimes the enactment of desirable policy goals is impossible because they oppose each other. Please state which political outcome you would prefer more among the following alternatives.*

More money for the poor (1) vs. Tax cuts (5)

What is your opinion about the following general policy statement?

*2. The government should take measures to reduce differences in income. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

*3. Government spending should be reduced.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

*4. Private enterprise is more efficient than state-owned corporations.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

*5. People should provide for themselves or turn to family or friends for help. It's not the job of the government.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)

- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

If there would be national referendum on the following policy proposals, how would you decide?

*6. Increasing the taxes for higher income earners. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (5)
- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (4)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (2)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (1)

### **Cosmopolitan Index (6 items, 1-5)**

To what extent do you think Germany should allow people of the following groups to come and live here?

*1. Allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most Germans*

- ☐ Allow many to come and live here (1)
- ☐ Allow some (2)
- ☐ Allow a few (3)
- ☐ Allow none (4)

*2. Allow people of a different race or ethnic group from most Germans*

- ☐ Allow many to come and live here (1)
- ☐ Allow some (2)
- ☐ Allow a few (3)
- ☐ Allow none (4)

*3. Allow people from poor countries outside of Europe*

- ☐ Allow many to come and live here (1)
- ☐ Allow some (2)
- ☐ Allow a few (3)
- ☐ Allow none (4)

If there would be national referendum on the following policy proposals, how would you decide?

*4. Banning minarets on mosques*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (1)
- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (2)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (4)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (5)

*5. Banning Islamic veils for women in public*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (1)
- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (2)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (4)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (5)

*6. Expulsion of criminal foreigners from Germany*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (1)
- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (2)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (4)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (5)

**Left-Libertarian Index (6 items, 1-5)**

What is your opinion about the following general policy statement?

*1. There are natural differences between men and women that lead to different gender roles in society. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

2. *The amount of women in leading positions should be increased by imposing gender quotas.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

Please tell us for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or is something in between.

3. *Homosexuality*

- ☐ -2 Never justifiable (1)
- ☐ -1 (2)
- ☐ 0 Something in between (3)
- ☐ +1 (4)
- ☐ +2 Always justifiable (5)

4. *Abortion*

- ☐ -2 Never justifiable (1)
- ☐ -1 (2)
- ☐ 0 Something in between (3)
- ☐ +1 (4)
- ☐ +2 Always justifiable (5)

5. *Consuming Soft Drugs (e. g. Cannabis/Marihuana)*

- ☐ -2 Never justifiable (1)
- ☐ -1 (2)
- ☐ 0 Something in between (3)
- ☐ +1 (4)
- ☐ +2 Always justifiable (5)

If there would be national referendum on the following policy proposals, how would you decide?

6. *Introducing same-sex marriage (with same rights as traditional marriage)*

- ☐ Vote 'no' (1)

- ☐ Probably vote 'no' (2)
- ☐ Can't decide (3)
- ☐ Probably vote 'yes' (4)
- ☐ Vote 'yes' (5)

### **Survey Items for Chapter 3.3**

*Facebook Surveys for Thailand, English translation*

#### **Age**

What year were you born? (*Options available*)

#### **University degree**

What is the highest education you have acquired? (*University degree if 6 or higher*)

- ☐ No education or uncompleted primary school (1)
- ☐ Primary completed (2)
- ☐ Secondary completed (M1-M3) (3)
- ☐ High school completed (M4-M6) (4)
- ☐ Technical/vocational degree completed (5)
- ☐ University education completed (BA) (6)
- ☐ Postgraduate degree completed (MA, MSc) (7)
- ☐ Doctoral degree completed (PhD) (8)

#### **Female**

What is your gender?

- ☐ Male (0)
- ☐ Female (1)

### **Retract Border Claims, 1-5**

What is your opinion about the following policy statement?

Thailand should give up its claims against Cambodia in the Preah Vihear conflict.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

### **Economic Freedom Index (7 items, 1-5)**

What is your opinion about the following policy proposals to eradicate poverty and foster economic development?

*1. Deregulate and let the free market create jobs.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

*2. The government should control prices. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

*3. Cut taxes so people have more money.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)

☐ Strongly agree (5)

*4. Reduce restrictions on trade*

☐ Strongly disagree (1)

☐ Disagree (2)

☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)

☐ Agree (4)

☐ Strongly agree (5)

*5. The state should take over the economy and provide jobs. (Reversed coding)*

☐ Strongly disagree (5)

☐ Disagree (4)

☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)

☐ Agree (2)

☐ Strongly agree (1)

*6. Give workers more to say in companies. (Reversed coding)*

☐ Strongly disagree (5)

☐ Disagree (4)

☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)

☐ Agree (2)

☐ Strongly agree (1)

*7. The government should give money to declining industries to protect jobs. (Reversed coding)*

☐ Strongly disagree (5)

☐ Disagree (4)

☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)

☐ Agree (2)

☐ Strongly agree (1)



### **Tax Cuts over Redistribution, 1-5**

Sometimes the enactment of desirable policies is impossible because they oppose each other. Please state which political outcome you would prefer more among the following alternatives.

More money for the poor (1) vs. Tax cuts (5)

### **Prefer Economic Development Index (2 items, 1-5)**

Sometimes the enactment of desirable policies is impossible because they oppose each other. Please state which political outcome you would prefer more among the following alternatives.

1. Faster economic development (5) vs. Defending Thai way of life (1) (*Reversed coding*)
2. Protect the environment (1) vs. Higher economic growth rates (5)

### **Electoral Democracy Index (4 items, 1-5)**

What is your opinion about the following policy statement?

*1. If a government is elected by the majority of people, everyone should support it.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

*2. The best way to deal with complicated political issues is to let experts in the bureaucracy try to find a solution. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

*3. All members of parliament should be elected and not selected by experts of independent institutions.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)

- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

4. *The vote of educated people should count more in an election. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

### **Checks-and-Balances Index (4 items, 1-5)**

What is your opinion about the following policy statement?

1. *When the country is facing a difficult situation, legislature and judicative should follow the view of the executive in order to deal promptly with the problem. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

2. *The most important thing for political leaders is to accomplish their goals even if they have to ignore the established procedures. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)
- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

3. *If people organize in lots of political groups, it will disrupt the harmony of the community. (Reversed coding)*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (5)

- ☐ Disagree (4)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (2)
- ☐ Strongly agree (1)

*4. Judges should have the power to ban a corrupt politician from politics, even if he is very popular among voters.*

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

### **Salience**

*In your opinion, what are the most important questions facing the country that government should address (up to five answers are possible)? (The order of answer choices was randomized)*

- 1 Economic Development**
- 2 Inflation
- 3 Unemployment
- 4 Taxes
- 5 Wages
- 6 Balanced Budget
- 7 Economic Inequality**
- 8 After Flood Management
- 9 Education
- 10 Pension System
- 11 Environment
- 12 Public Health (medical care)
- 13 Corruption**
- 14 Enforcement of Rule of Law/Malfunction of political institutions**

- 15 Crime and Security
- 16 Political division / political reconciliation
- 17 Political Conflict in the South
- 18 Border Conflict with Cambodia
- 19 Immigrant workers
- 20 ASEAN
- 21 Promoting Sufficiency Economy
- 22 Globalization
- 23 Defending the Monarchy**
- 24 Preservation of Thai values
- 25 Thaksin Shinawatra's future/ amnesty
- 26 Reform of Constitution
- 27 Terrorism
- 28 Other: