

Hellmeier, Sebastian; Vüllers, Johannes

Article — Published Version

Dynamics and determinants of right-wing populist mobilisation in Germany

West European Politics

Provided in Cooperation with:
WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Suggested Citation: Hellmeier, Sebastian; Vüllers, Johannes (2022) : Dynamics and determinants of right-wing populist mobilisation in Germany, West European Politics, ISSN 1743-9655, Taylor & Francis, London, Iss. Latest Articles, pp. --, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2135909>

This Version is available at:
<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/266365>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Dynamics and Determinants of Right-wing Populist Mobilization in Germany

Sebastian Hellmeier (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)

Johannes Vüllers (INEF, Duisburg)

Online Appendix

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	−2.12*** (0.58)	−2.28** (0.72)	−2.34* (0.98)	−2.00** (0.68)
EDF: Migration balance	0.00 (3.00)	0.23 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)
EDF: Population (log)	1.91** (3.00)	1.58** (3.00)	1.89 (3.00)	1.56*** (3.00)
EDF: Average age	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.75 (3.00)
EDF: Unemployment rate	0.00 (3.00)	0.38 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.08 (3.00)
EDF: Income tax per capita (log)	1.74* (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	2.06 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)
EDF: Share of foreign-born population	1.09** (3.00)	0.79 (3.00)	1.20* (3.00)	0.88* (3.00)
EDF: Refugees (share)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)
EDF: AfD vote share 2013	1.04** (3.00)	0.88* (3.00)	1.06 (3.00)	0.98** (3.00)
EDF: Voter turnout (2013)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)	0.00 (3.00)
EDF: Year	2.89*** (3.00)	2.91*** (3.00)	2.90*** (3.00)	2.78*** (3.00)
EDF: City	38.59 (81.00)	39.52 (80.00)	41.02 (81.00)	25.39** (81.00)
EDF: State	3.88* (14.00)	3.93* (14.00)	3.67 (14.00)	5.59* (14.00)
AIC	531.92	490.09		534.38
BIC	744.39	711.80		726.80
Log Likelihood	−209.90	−186.35		−216.42
Deviance	237.96	211.25	228.52	111.50
Deviance explained	0.86	0.80	0.86	0.76
Dispersion	1.00	1.00	2.11	1.00
R ²	0.83	0.79	0.83	0.43
GCV score	303.70	272.75	209.97	268.43
Num. obs.	327	323	327	327
Num. smooth terms	12	12	12	12

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table A.1: Summary statistics for main models including estimated degrees of freedom (EDF) and approximate statistical significance. Main model (M1), model with the city of Dresden (M2), quasi-Poisson model (M3) and negative binomial model (M4).

	Model 5	Model 6
(Intercept)	-41.81** (15.79)	-17.28 (15.83)
Migration balance	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.04)
Population (log)	1.98*** (0.41)	1.92*** (0.39)
Average age	-0.00 (0.26)	-0.23 (0.26)
Unemployment rate	-0.08 (0.22)	-0.20 (0.24)
Income tax per capita (log)	3.18 (1.63)	0.77 (1.86)
Share of foreign-born population	-0.21** (0.07)	-0.17* (0.07)
Refugees (share)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
AfD vote share (2013)	0.86** (0.31)	0.84** (0.30)
Voter turnout (2013)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)
AIC	618.40	558.98
BIC	663.88	608.25
Log Likelihood	-297.20	-266.49
Num. obs.	327	327
Num. groups: City	82	82
Num. groups: Year	4	4
Var: City (Intercept)	3.32	2.68
Var: Year (Intercept)	0.60	0.99

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table A.2: Additional generalized linear mixed-effects models. Poisson model (M5) and negative binomial model (M6) with random intercepts for city and year.

Southern Germany	Western Germany
Badische Zeitung	Aachener Nachrichten
Bayerische Rundschau	Aachener Zeitung
Bayerische Staatszeitung	Aarb-Bote
Coburger Tageblatt	Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz
Die Kitzinger	Bonner General-Anzeiger
Fränkischer Tag (regional section)	Darmstädter Echo
Heilbronner Zeitung	Express
Münchner Abendzeitung	Frankfurter Neue Presse
Neue Württembergische Zeitung	Frankfurter Rundschau
Nürnberger Nachrichten	Gelnhäuser Tageblatt
Nürnberger Zeitung	Hochheimer Zeitung
Passauer Neue Presse	Hofheimer Zeitung
Reutlinger General-Anzeiger	Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger
Saale-Zeitung	Kölnische Rundschau
Sonntag Aktuell	Kreis-Anzeiger
Schwäbische Zeitung	Lampertheimer Zeitung
Südkurier	Lauterbacher Anzeiger
Südwest Presse	Main-Taunus-Kurier
Landshuter Zeitung	Neue Westfälische
Straubinger Tagblatt	Oberhessische Zeitung
Mittelbayerische Zeitung	Rhein-Zeitung
Münchner Merkur	Rheinische Post
Nordbayerischer Kurier	Saarbrücker Zeitung
	Trierischer Volksfreund
Northern Germany	Usinger Anzeiger
Hamburger Abendblatt	Westdeutsche Zeitung
Nordkurier	Westfalen-Blatt
Schweriner Volkszeitung	Wiesbadener Kurier
Hamburger Morgenpost	Wiesbadener Tagblatt
Aller-Zeitung	Rhein-Lahn-Zeitung
Calenberger Zeitung	Westerwälder Zeitung
Deister-Anzeiger	Rhein-Hunsrück-Zeitung
Eichsfelder Tageblatt	Oeffentlicher Anzeiger
Göttinger Tageblatt	Rüsselsheimer Echo
Leine-Zeitung Garbsen/Seelze	
Leine-Zeitung Neustadt/Wunstorf	Eastern Germany
Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung	Berliner Zeitung
Neue Presse	Berliner Kurier
Nordwest-Zeitung	Berliner Morgenpost
Ostsee-Zeitung	Lausitzer Rundschau - Elbe-Elster-Rundschau
Peiner Allgemeiner Zeitung	Leipziger Volkszeitung
Wolfsburger Allgemeine Zeitung	Märkische Allgemeine
	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung
	Ostthüringer Zeitung
	Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten
	Sächsische Zeitung
	Schweriner Volkszeitung
	Thüringer Allgemeine
	Thüringische Landeszeitung
	Berliner Zeitung

Table A.3: Full list of regional newspapers available at GBI-Genios wiso (visit <https://www.wiso-net.de/> for more information.)

Aachen	Koblenz
Augsburg	Köln
Bergisch Gladbach	Krefeld
Berlin	Leipzig
Bielefeld	Leverkusen
Bochum	Lübeck
Bonn	Ludwigshafen am Rhein
Bottrop	Magdeburg
Braunschweig	Mainz
Bremen	Mannheim
Bremerhaven	Moers
Chemnitz	Mönchengladbach
Cottbus	Mülheim an der Ruhr
Darmstadt	München
Dessau-Roßlau	Münster
Dortmund	Neuss
Dresden	Nürnberg
Duisburg	Oberhausen
Düsseldorf	Offenbach am Main
Erfurt	Oldenburg (Oldb)
Erlangen	Osnabrück
Essen	Paderborn
Flensburg	Pforzheim
Frankfurt am Main	Plauen
Freiburg im Breisgau	Potsdam
Fürth	Recklinghausen
Gelsenkirchen	Regensburg
Gera	Remscheid
Görlitz	Reutlingen
Göttingen	Rostock
Hagen	Saarbrücken
Halle (Saale)	Salzgitter
Hamburg	Schwerin
Hamm	Siegen
Hannover	Solingen
Heidelberg	Stuttgart
Heilbronn	Trier
Herne	Ulm
Hildesheim	Wiesbaden
Ingolstadt	Wilhelmshaven
Jena	Witten
Kaiserslautern	Wolfsburg
Karlsruhe	Wuppertal
Kassel	Würzburg
Kiel	Zwickau

Table A.4: Full list of all major cities in Germany in PEPGAD.

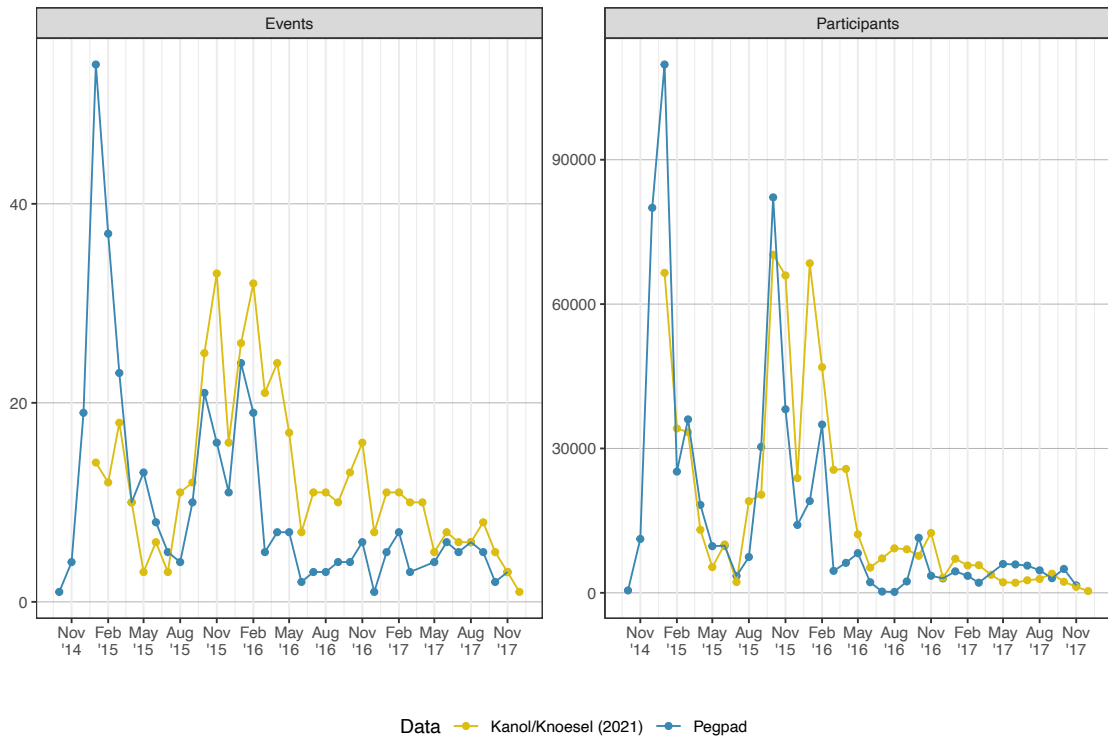


Figure A.1: Validity test I: Comparison between PEGPAD and data compiled by Kanol and Knoesel (2021). We only use events classified as “mostly right-wing” in Kanol and Knoesel (2021) to exclude marches by neonazis and other extremist groups.

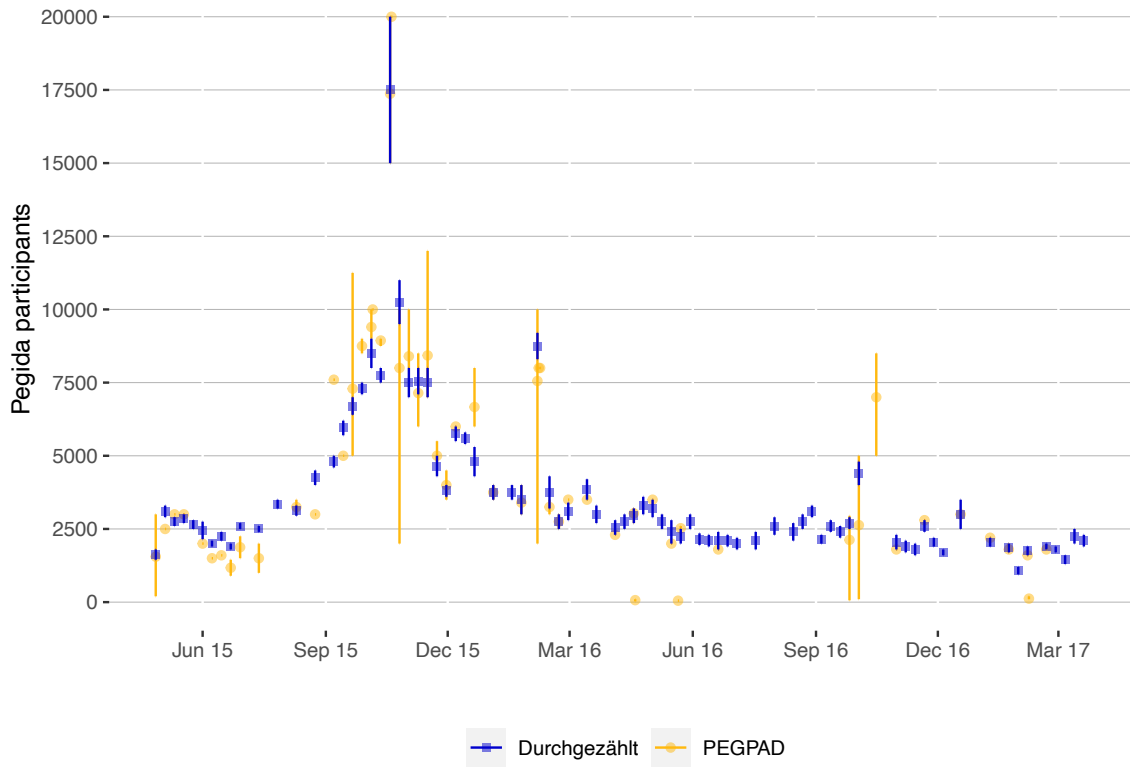


Figure A.2: Validity test II: Comparison between PEGPAD and data compiled by Berger, Poppe and Schuh (2016). The data is limited to an overlapping sample of both data sets. Error bars represent maximum and minimum participant numbers.

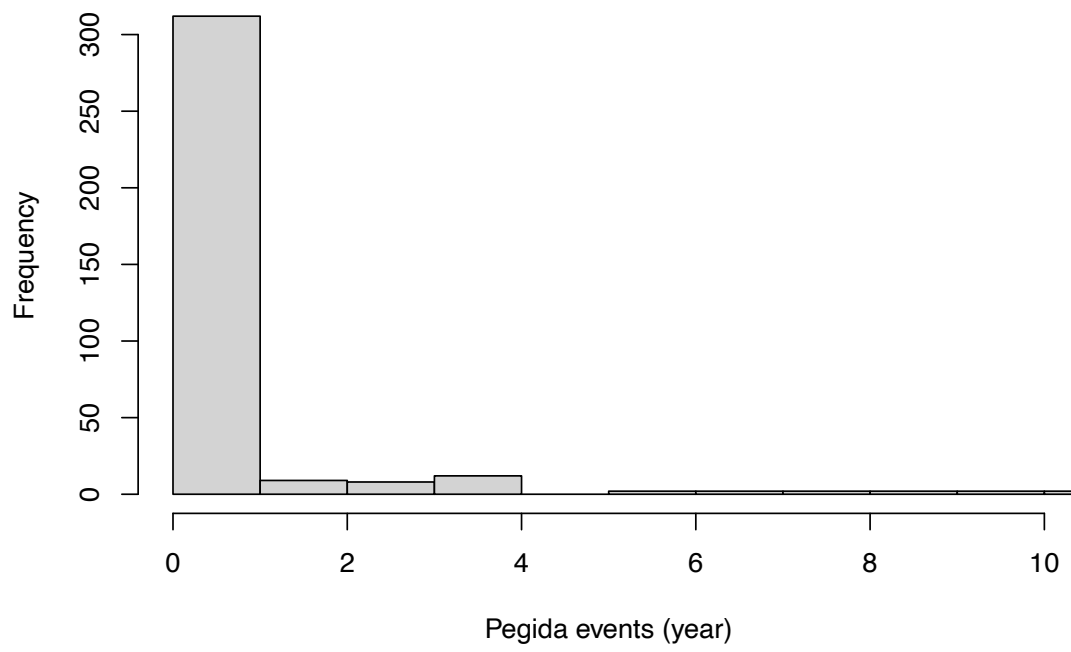


Figure A.3: Histogram of yearly protest event counts.

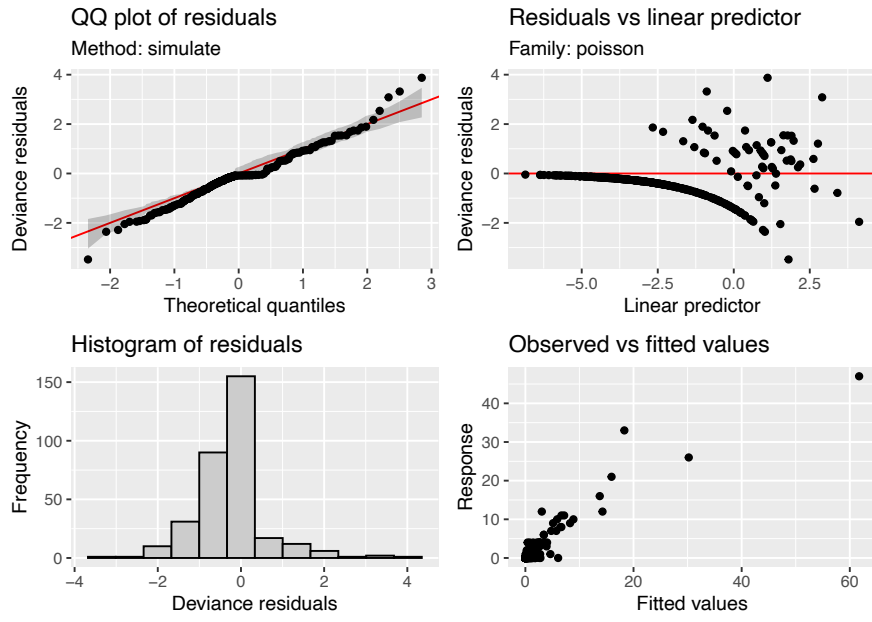


Figure A.4: Model diagnostics for Poisson GAM model (M1).

Coding Instructions for the *PEGIDA Protest Action Database (PEGPAD)*

August 19, 2022

1 Introduction

The PEGIDA Protest Action Database (PEGPAD) contains information about reported protest activities by the PEGIDA movement as well as protest activities by countermovements or PEGIDA opponents in 92 major German cities. The database covers events that occurred between October 2014 and December 2017. It is not limited to street protest but also includes different protest tactics such as sit-ins, civil disobedience, etc.

2 Sample of German Cities

The database records protest events in 92 German cities. The sample of cities (see Appendix for a list of all cities included in the database) comprises all current major and middle-sized cities ("Groß- und Mittelstädte") and those cities that formerly belonged to this category. In order to qualify as a major or middle-sized city more than 100,000 inhabitants are required.

3 Selection of Media Sources

In order to obtain information about protest and counter-protest activities we rely on regional newspaper articles recorded in the online database GBI-Genios wiso (<https://www.wiso-net.de>). The database provides access to digital articles from 89 newspapers with a regional scope (For a full list of all outlets see the Appendix.). For every city we automatically retrieved all articles resulting from the following search string: "[city] AND pegida AND (demo* OR protest* OR *demo OR *protest)". Duplicate entries were deleted from the result list based on text similarity and the final set of articles was handed over to research assistants for manual coding.

4 Unit of Analysis: Event Report

The database is comprised of event reports. Each row in the data set represents an individual observation of a protest event either by PEGIDA followers or opponents, reported by a media outlet. There can be multiple reports about a single event. Each report contains information about the city where the event occurred and the exact date. If multiple clearly distinguishable events occurred in the same city on the same day, they are treated as separate events. For the advantages of this approach see Weidmann and Rød (2015).

5 Definition of a Protest Action Event

The database contains all observable collective activities with the aim to publicly support or oppose the PEGIDA movement itself or its goals within clearly identifiable spatial and temporal boundaries.

1. There was an actual, observable protest action; we do not code intentions to organize protest actions.
2. The activity was carried out by a group of people or by individuals in the name of an organization. We do not code interview statements or verbal acts of protest.
3. The activity is explicitly related to the wider PEGIDA movement. We do not code demonstrations exclusively by AfD supporters or opponents.
4. The action occurred in public. We do not code protest actions that occurred in private spaces during meetings of organizations.
5. We do not code protest actions such as a performance series or festivals that occur over multiple days.

6 Variables

6.1 Values and Labels

The following list specifies the variables included in the PEGPAD and the values they can take. In general, we code missing values (99) if the corresponding information cannot be ascertained from the news report. This NA rule applies to all variables except the ones listed as "general event information". In order to qualify as an event information for these variables is required. Variables that require text input can be left empty if no information is available.

All variables with text input (such as *organizations* see below) should be entered with alphanumeric characters and apostrophes only (no special characters such as commas, quotes etc.), unless explicitly specified otherwise. Exceptions include the separator (;) for multiple entries. Separators should not be followed by a whitespace.

6.2 General report information

Coder ID

This variable identifies the research assistant who files the event report.

Article ID

This variable includes identifying information about the article that contains the event report. This information is needed to establish a connection between the article's text and the event report. Please copy and paste the file name without .html extension.

6.3 General event information (required information)

City

This variable includes the name of the city. Do not code events in cities other than the one you have been assigned. If multiple events occur in the same city on the same day code these as different event reports.

Event date

Enter the exact event date.

Make sure that you do not confound publication day of the article and event date. If you cannot clearly identify the event date do not code the event. If no date is given, enter the article's publication date. You may look at a calendar to verify information such as "last Friday". Also do not include events that appear as background story of an article, e.g. if an article talks about a protest event that is related to an ongoing court trial. As a rule of thumb, do not include events that occurred more than one month ago. Do not code plans for future protest activities.

Side

Indicate whether or not the protest supported or opposed the PEGIDA movement.

Tactic

What kind of protest activity was conducted?

Please list all tactics that were used during the event, separated by a semicolon. Use the word "demonstration" for all different kinds of street protest and actions that occurred during a street demonstration.

6.4 Participant Variables

Participants

Who were the actors participating in the protest action?

If more than one actor is given in the article, we separate them by a semicolon. Please list all names of involved organizations and descriptions of societal groups. Use capital letters to indicate proper names.

Be as precise and concise as possible when listing the groups of participants. Only include information about participants if it is informative with regard to the social background of the group, i.e. do not code "demonstrators", but code "students".

Individual organizers

Who were the individual organizers of the event?

Please list the names of individuals that are mentioned as organizers of the event, separate them by a semicolon. Do not list the names of famous participants, speakers or sponsors of the action.

Number of participants

Include information about the number of participants as provided in the news article. The input be both an exact *number* or a *phrase*. In the former case, enter the exact number. In the latter case, enter the exact phrase used to describe the number of participants, e.g. "several hundreds". Moreover, if the article phrases the number of participants as **more than** / **around** / **ca** 100, code as 100. If more than one estimate is given in the article, please separate them by a semicolon (;). If a range of participants is given, use the lowest estimate, e.g. code "between 200 and 400" as "200".

Violence by participants

Did protest participants use violent means? If yes, what kind of violence? If it is unclear who is responsible for the violence, code the described levels of violence for both parties (e.g. police and demonstrators).

99 = no information

0 = explicit report of nonviolence; 1 = property damages; 2 = physical attacks against police forces; 3 = physical attacks against counter-demonstrators/PEGIDA sympathizers; 4 = attacks against both police and counter-demonstrators

6.5 Police Variables

Level of police engagement

How did the police react to protest? If it is unclear who is responsible for the violence, code the described levels of violence for both parties (e.g. police and demonstrators).

99 = no information or no presence; 0 = passive role/presence; 1 = low-level interventions (e.g. Platzverweise); 2 = physical intervention (e.g. arrests)

6.6 Further Event Variables

End of activity

Could the action go according to the initial plan?

99 = no information; 0 = explicit report of regular termination; 1 = activity was disturbed but completed; 2 = activity was ended before schedule

Cause of disturbance

What was the cause for disturbances of the protest action?

e.g. police dispersal, weather, counter-demonstrators

Slogans

Please list slogans chanted by protest participants if they are directly quoted in the news report, separated by a semicolon. Do not add quotation marks.