LGB+ identity and its implications for the policy positions of parliamentary candidates

Online Appendix

The following analyses presents the characteristics of respondents in the sample and among the German population (Table A1). Table A2 presents the results of the regression models from Tables 1 and 2 in the manuscript with focusing on those candidates that get elected in the 20th Bundestag only. Table A3 shows the determinants of the (elected) candidates’ positions on a migration policy dimension and the determinants of the distance between a candidate’s or MP’s position and the ones of their party. Tables A4 and A5 present the regression analysis excluding those candidates from the analysis that identify themselves as LGB+, and differentiating between heterosexual candidates and survey participants who refused to respond to the question on their sexual identity. The idea is to check if the estimates presented in the main document and thus the differentiation between heterosexual candidates and LGB+ candidates are of random nature. Table A4 shows the regression results on the basis of the distance between a candidate and the average position of a candidate’s party.

Table A1: Characteristics of respondents in sample and in total population

| **Characteristics** | Candidates |  | Elected |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Actual distribution in percent | Target distribution in percent |  | Actual distribution in percent | Target distribution in percent |
| **Party affiliation** |  |  |  |  |  |
| CDU | 15,78 | 19,23 |  | 18,18 | 20,68 |
| CSU | 3,81 | 4,50 |  | 5,11 | 6,12 |
| SPD | 16,19 | 17,28 |  | 33,52 | 28,03 |
| FDP | 16,60 | 14,82 |  | 14,20 | 12,52 |
| Alliance 90/The Greens | 22,31 | 13,10 |  | 19,32 | 11,29 |
| The Left | 17,01 | 13,68 |  | 3,41 | 5,31 |
| AfD | 8,30 | 17,40 |  | 6,25 | 16,05 |
| **Sex** |  |  |  |  |  |
| male | 62,31 | 62,98 |  | 59,66 | 65,17 |
| female | 37,69 | 36,98 |  | 40,34 | 34,83 |
| diverse | 0,00 | 0,04 |  | 0,00 | 0,00 |
| **Age groups** |  |  |  |  |  |
| under 30 years | 17,55 | 15,72 |  | 7,39 | 6,39 |
| 30 to 44 years | 27,48 | 31,82 |  | 32,39 | 31,84 |
| 45 to 59 years | 37,82 | 37,41 |  | 43,18 | 47,35 |
| 60 years and older | 17,14 | 15,05 |  | 17,05 | 14,42 |
| **Candidacy type** |  |  |  |  |  |
| List | 25,44 | 30,22 |  | 1,14 | 2,18 |
| Constituency | 21,90 | 18,88 |  | 10,23 | 9,52 |
| Constituency and list | 52,65 | 50,90 |  | 88,64 | 88,30 |

Source: GLES (2023). Note: The numbers of elected MPs are calculated excluding the SSW member.

Table A2: Determinants of the positions and distances towards their parties of elected candidates on a socio-cultural and a socio-economic policy dimension in the 2021 German *Bundestag* election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|  | Position of MPs on the socio-cultural dimension | Position of MPs on the socio-economic dimension | Distance to a MPs’ party on a socio-cultural dimension | Distance to a MPs’ party on a socio-economic dimension |
| LGB+ | -1.535\*\* | -0.193 | -1.244\* | 0.047 |
|  | (0.525) | (0.429) | (0.478) | (0.323) |
| Christian Democratic Union | 1.547\*\* | 4.154\*\* | -0.619 | 0.766\*\* |
|  | (0.465) | (0.380) | (0.423) | (0.287) |
| Christian Social Union | 2.911\*\* | 4.450\*\* | -0.449 | 0.608 |
|  | (0.877) | (0.789) | (0.799) | (0.595) |
| Free Democratic Party | -1.131\* | 5.094\*\* | 0.246 | 0.210 |
|  | (0.460) | (0.374) | (0.419) | (0.282) |
| Alliance 90/The Greens | -0.469 | -0.218 | 0.868\* | 0.057 |
|  | (0.450) | (0.373) | (0.410) | (0.282) |
| The Left | 0.038 | -1.183+ | -0.312 | 0.570 |
|  | (0.789) | (0.698) | (0.781) | (0.527) |
| Alternative for Germany | 4.466\*\* | 5.298\*\* | -0.525 | 0.745+ |
|  | (0.670) | (0.580) | (0.610) | (0.438) |
| Age | -0.054 | 0.015 | 0.057 | -0.108 |
|  | (0.112) | (0.092) | (0.102) | (0.069) |
| Age (squared) | 0.001 | -0.000 | -0.001 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Female | -0.234 | -0.496+ | -0.093 | -0.085 |
|  | (0.334) | (0.282) | (0.306) | (0.213) |
| Candidate living in a… |  |  |  |  |
| …smaller city | 0.010 | -0.551+ | -0.058 | -0.284 |
|  | (0.403) | (0.331) | (0.370) | (0.250) |
| …suburb of a big city  | -0.098 | -0.964\* | -0.102 | -0.306 |
|  | (0.583) | (0.475) | (0.531) | (0.358) |
| …big city  | -0.560 | -0.863\* | -0.548 | -0.458+ |
|  | (0.405) | (0.336) | (0.371) | (0.254) |
| District candidacy only | 0.340 | -0.290 | 0.077 | -0.546 |
|  | (0.559) | (0.468) | (0.509) | (0.353) |
| Constant | 5.242\* | 4.178\* | -0.925 | 2.670+ |
|  | (2.558) | (2.099) | (2.335) | (1.584) |
| *N* | 151 | 147 | 150 | 147 |
| *AIC* | 615.667 | 539.188 | 583.574 | 456.329 |
| R² | 0.497 | 0.782 | 0.114 | 0.129 |

Note: The dependent variable is the position of an elected candidate on a socio-cultural and a socio-economic policy dimension (models 1 and 2). The dependent variable in models 3 and 4 is distance between the position of an elected candidate and her party on a socio-cultural and a socio-economic policy dimension. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Significance levels: + = p < 0.1; \* = p < 0.05; \*\* = p < 0.01.

Table A3: Determinants of the positions and distances towards their parties of elected candidates on a migration policy dimension in the 2021 German Bundestag election

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|  | Position of candidates on a migration policy dimension  | Position of MPs on a migration policy dimension | Distance to a candidates’ party on a migration policy dimension | Distance to a MPs’ party on a migration policy dimension |
| LGB+ | 0.181 | 0.247 | 0.025 | 0.146 |
|  | (0.225) | (0.450) | (0.195) | (0.368) |
| Christian Democratic Union | 2.917\*\* | 2.400\*\* | -0.014 | -0.441 |
|  | (0.251) | (0.399) | (0.219) | (0.327) |
| Christian Social Union | 4.416\*\* | 3.263\*\* | 0.107 | -0.442 |
|  | (0.405) | (0.752) | (0.363) | (0.679) |
| Free Democratic Party | 0.745\*\* | 0.441 | 0.064 | -0.073 |
|  | (0.259) | (0.394) | (0.225) | (0.322) |
| Alliance 90/The Greens | -0.709\*\* | -0.812\* | 0.431\* | 0.421 |
|  | (0.234) | (0.386) | (0.203) | (0.316) |
| The Left | -0.395 | 0.043 | 1.020\*\* | 0.899 |
|  | (0.270) | (0.676) | (0.234) | (0.553) |
| Alternative for Germany | 6.293\*\* | 6.141\*\* | 0.060 | 0.038 |
|  | (0.334) | (0.610) | (0.291) | (0.499) |
| Age | 0.123\*\* | 0.068 | 0.102\*\* | 0.050 |
|  | (0.038) | (0.096) | (0.033) | (0.079) |
| Age (squared) | -0.001\*\* | -0.001 | -0.001\*\* | -0.000 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.001) |
| Female | -0.638\*\* | -0.758\* | -0.472\*\* | -0.408+ |
|  | (0.157) | (0.291) | (0.137) | (0.238) |
| Candidate living in a… |  |  |  |  |
| …smaller city | 0.184 | -0.174 | 0.046 | 0.213 |
|  | (0.182) | (0.346) | (0.159) | (0.283) |
| …suburb of a big city  | 0.489+ | 0.138 | 0.212 | 0.323 |
|  | (0.267) | (0.499) | (0.233) | (0.408) |
| …big city  | -0.331+ | -0.698\* | -0.212 | -0.477+ |
|  | (0.194) | (0.351) | (0.169) | (0.287) |
| District candidacy only | -0.248 | -0.582 | -0.092 | -0.246 |
|  | (0.205) | (0.479) | (0.179) | (0.402) |
| Constant | 0.681 | 2.788 | -2.374\*\* | -1.164 |
|  | (0.826) | (2.199) | (0.717) | (1.800) |
| *N* | 639 | 150 | 632 | 149 |
| *AIC* | 2585.635 | 565.121 | 2376.796 | 501.546 |
| R² | 0.606 | 0.646 | 0.080 | 0.118 |

Note: The dependent variable is the position of a (elected) candidate on a migration policy dimension, ranging from very permissive migration policy positions (1) to very restrictive migration policy positions (11). The dependent variable in models 3 and 4 is distance between the position of an elected candidate and her party on a socio-cultural and a socio-economic policy dimension. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Significance levels: + = p < 0.1; \* = p < 0.05; \*\* = p < 0.01.

Table A4: Determinants of the socio-cultural policy positions of candidates and of the distance to their party in the 2021 German Bundestag election, excluding LGB+ candidates

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|  | Position of candidates on a socio-cultural dimension | Distance to a candidates’ party on a socio-cultural dimension |
| Non-responders | -0.059 | -0.164 |
|  | (0.293) | (0.226) |
| Christian Democratic Union | 1.986\*\* | -0.387+ |
|  | (0.274) | (0.212) |
| Christian Social Union | 3.449\*\* | -0.309 |
|  | (0.436) | (0.338) |
| Free Democratic Party | -1.014\*\* | 0.323 |
|  | (0.279) | (0.217) |
| Alliance 90/The Greens | -0.497+ | 0.826\*\* |
|  | (0.260) | (0.202) |
| The Left | -0.304 | 0.413+ |
|  | (0.302) | (0.235) |
| Alternative for Germany | 3.800\*\* | -0.615\* |
|  | (0.350) | (0.271) |
| Age | 0.111\*\* | 0.039 |
|  | (0.043) | (0.033) |
| Age (squared) | -0.001\* | -0.000 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Female | -0.003 | -0.136 |
|  | (0.171) | (0.133) |
| Candidate living in a… |  |  |
| …smaller city | -0.117 | -0.158 |
|  | (0.199) | (0.155) |
| …suburb of a big city  | -0.302 | -0.525\* |
|  | (0.294) | (0.228) |
| …big city  | -0.659\*\* | -0.343\* |
|  | (0.211) | (0.164) |
| District candidacy only | -0.237 | 0.086 |
|  | (0.223) | (0.173) |
| Constant | 1.304 | -0.869 |
|  | (0.954) | (0.748) |
| *N* | 604 | 600 |
| *AIC* | 2525.161 | 2200.728 |
| R² | 0.430 | 0.100 |

Note: The dependent variable is the position of a candidate on a socio-cultural policy dimension, ranging from very progressive policy positions (1) to very traditionalist policy positions (11). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Significance levels: + = p < 0.1; \* = p < 0.05; \*\* = p < 0.01.

Table A5: Determinants of the socio-economic policy positions of candidates and of the distance to their party in the 2021 German Bundestag election, excluding LGB+ candidates

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|  | Position of candidates on a socio-economic dimension | Distance to a candidates’ party on a socio-economic dimension |
| Non-responders | 0.214 | -0.019 |
|  | (0.244) | (0.199) |
| Christian Democratic Union | 4.107\*\* | 0.479\* |
|  | (0.231) | (0.187) |
| Christian Social Union | 4.603\*\* | 0.893\*\* |
|  | (0.368) | (0.297) |
| Free Democratic Party | 5.487\*\* | 0.319+ |
|  | (0.237) | (0.193) |
| Alliance 90/The Greens | -0.066 | 0.189 |
|  | (0.220) | (0.178) |
| The Left | -0.999\*\* | 0.399+ |
|  | (0.253) | (0.204) |
| Alternative for Germany | 5.426\*\* | 0.786\*\* |
|  | (0.297) | (0.240) |
| Age | 0.041 | 0.054+ |
|  | (0.036) | (0.029) |
| Age (squared) | -0.000 | -0.001+ |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Female | -0.656\*\* | -0.515\*\* |
|  | (0.145) | (0.117) |
| Candidate living in a… |  |  |
| …smaller city | -0.386\* | -0.102 |
|  | (0.167) | (0.136) |
| …suburb of a big city  | 0.171 | 0.116 |
|  | (0.247) | (0.199) |
| …big city  | -0.309+ | 0.022 |
|  | (0.179) | (0.145) |
| District candidacy only | -0.055 | 0.029 |
|  | (0.187) | (0.151) |
| Constant | 2.879\*\* | -1.183+ |
|  | (0.805) | (0.650) |
| *N* | 605 | 600 |
| *AIC* | 2325.115 | 2047.504 |
| R² | 0.744 | 0.085 |

Note: The dependent variable is the position of a candidate on a socio-economic policy dimension, ranging from state-interventionist policy positions (1) to fiscally conservative policy positions (11). Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Significance levels: + = p < 0.1; \* = p < 0.05; \*\* = p < 0.01.