

Does affective polarisation increase turnout? Evidence from Germany, the Netherlands and Spain

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Online Appendices

Appendix A Study 1 (Politbarometer, Germany)

TABLE A1. FULL MODEL ARIMA

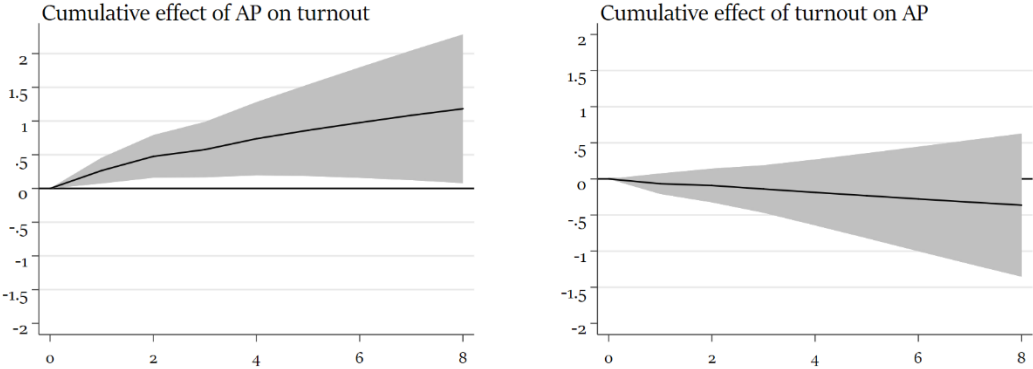
	b/se
Affective polarisation	0.022*** (0.003)
- <i>first lag</i>	-0.001 (0.004)
- <i>second lag</i>	0.006+ (0.003)
Ideological polarisation	-0.001 (0.001)
- <i>first lag</i>	0.001 (0.002)
- <i>second lag</i>	0.001 (0.001)
Inparty sympathy (lag)	0.007* (0.003)
Saliency of cultural issues (lag)	0.026+ (0.015)
Saliency of economic issues (lag)	-0.029 (0.023)
Time until next election	-0.204*** (0.048)
Time until next election ²	0.169*** (0.044)
Intercept	0.921*** (0.023)
ARMA (turnout)	
- <i>first lag</i>	0.558*** (0.064)
- <i>second lag</i>	0.135* (0.065)
Sigma	0.015*** (0.001)
N	253

TABLE A2. FULL MODEL VAR

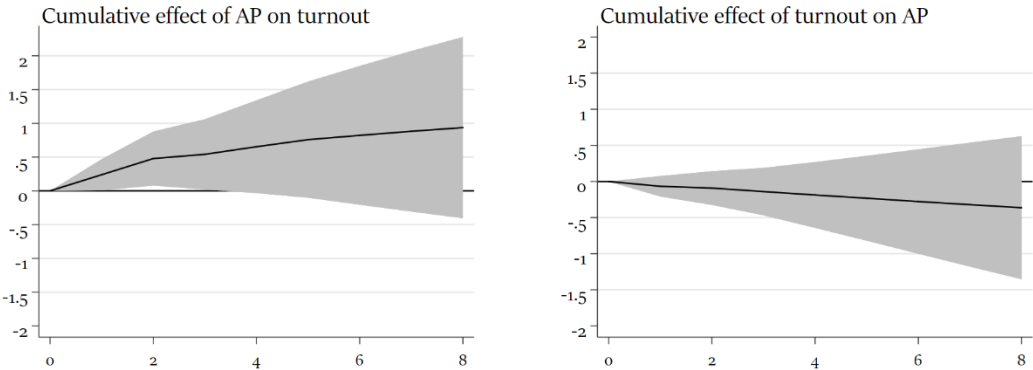
	b/se
Turnout intention	
Turnout intention (lag 1)	0.463*** (0.067)
Turnout intention (lag 2)	0.092 (0.065)
Affective polarisation (lag 1)	0.136+ (0.075)
Affective polarisation (lag 2)	0.007 (0.076)
Ideological polarisation (lag 1)	0.009 (0.026)
Ideological polarisation (lag 2)	0.033 (0.026)
Inparty sympathy (lag 1)	0.133 (0.110)
Cultural issue salience (lag 1)	0.502* (0.207)
Economic issue salience (lag 1)	-0.582* (0.250)
Time elapsed since previous election	-2.119*** (0.488)
Time elapsed since previous election ²	2.039*** (0.436)
Intercept	-0.421 (1.040)
Affective polarization	
Turnout intention (lag 1)	-0.014 (0.059)
Turnout intention (lag 2)	0.051 (0.057)
Affective polarisation (lag 1)	0.676*** (0.066)
Affective polarisation (lag 2)	0.177** (0.067)
Ideological polarisation (lag 1)	-0.038 (0.023)
Ideological polarisation (lag 2)	0.009 (0.023)
Inparty sympathy (lag 1)	-0.088 (0.096)
Cultural issue salience (lag 1)	0.217 (0.182)
Economic issue salience (lag 1)	-0.489* (0.220)
Time elapsed since previous election	-0.808+ (0.429)
Time elapsed since previous election ²	0.918* (0.384)
Intercept	1.176 (0.915)
N	254

FIGURE A1. CUMULATIVE IMPULSE RESPONSE FUNCTIONS BY POLITICAL INTEREST

Low interest



High interest



Note: with 95% confidence intervals. *Note:* ‘low’ political interest refers to categories 1 and 2, ‘high’ to categories 3 and 4.
Source: Politbarometer

TABLE A3. FULL MODEL BUNDESLAND ELECTIONS REAL TURNOUT

	m1	m2	m3
	b/se	b/se	b/se
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.034+ (0.021)		0.032 (0.023)
Affective polarisation (lead)		0.01 (0.029)	-0.002 (0.032)
Inparty sympathy (lag)	0.016 (0.011)		0.014 (0.015)
Inparty sympathy (lead)		0.025 (0.015)	0.009 (0.021)
Bundesland (ref: Schleswig-Holstein)			
- Hamburg	-0.032 (0.030)	-0.024 (0.031)	-0.023 (0.032)
- Niedersachsen	-0.028 (0.031)	-0.023 (0.031)	-0.028 (0.031)
- Bremen	-0.077* (0.030)	-0.073* (0.032)	-0.076* (0.032)
- Nordrhein-Westfalen	-0.096** (0.032)	-0.094** (0.032)	-0.095** (0.033)
- Hessen	-0.022 (0.031)	-0.016 (0.031)	-0.02 (0.032)
- Rheinland-Pfalz	-0.036 (0.032)	-0.037 (0.032)	-0.037 (0.033)
- Baden-Württemberg	-0.048 (0.033)	-0.049 (0.034)	-0.047 (0.034)
- Bayern	-0.047 (0.030)	-0.051 (0.031)	-0.049 (0.031)
- Saarland	0.022 (0.030)	0.007 (0.031)	0.018 (0.032)
- Berlin	-0.028 (0.032)	-0.026 (0.031)	-0.028 (0.032)
- Brandenburg	-0.108** (0.033)	-0.111** (0.034)	-0.110** (0.035)
- Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	-0.035 (0.032)	-0.037 (0.033)	-0.037 (0.034)
- Sachsen	-0.088* (0.036)	-0.090* (0.037)	-0.091* (0.037)
- Sachsen-Anhalt	-0.142*** (0.032)	-0.146*** (0.033)	-0.143*** (0.034)
- Thüringen	-0.107** (0.034)	-0.109** (0.035)	-0.108** (0.035)
Party ideological polarization	0.029** (0.009)	0.032** (0.010)	0.028** (0.010)
Closeness of 1 st and 2 nd party	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.006)
Time	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
Intercept	0.627*** (0.106)	0.611*** (0.130)	0.582*** (0.142)
N	100	101	99

Note: Sample sizes vary due to the inclusion of different (lag or lead) variables in each model.

TABLE A4. ROBUSTNESS CHECK: WEIGHTED AFFECTIVE POLARIZATION MEASURE

	b/se
Affective polarisation	0.017+
	(0.009)
- <i>first lag</i>	-0.006
	(0.010)
- <i>second lag</i>	0.009
	(0.007)
Ideological polarisation	0
	(0.001)
- <i>first lag</i>	-0.001
	(0.002)
- <i>second lag</i>	0.001
	(0.001)
Inparty sympathy (lag)	0.007**
	(0.003)
Salience of cultural issues (lag)	0.029+
	(0.017)
Salience of economic issues (lag)	-0.014
	(0.032)
Time until next election	-0.253***
	(0.054)
Time until next election ²	0.214***
	(0.051)
Intercept	0.911***
	(0.030)
ARMA (turnout)	
- <i>first lag</i>	0.584***
	(0.070)
- <i>second lag</i>	0.172**
	(0.063)
Sigma	0.016***
	(0.001)
N	
	253

Appendix B
Study 2 (E-DEM, Spain)

TABLE B1. FULL MODEL LAGGED DV PANEL REGRESSION

	Predicting turnout b/se	Predicting affective polarization b/se
Turnout intention (lag)	0.494*** (0.026)	0.027 (0.025)
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.125*** (0.031)	0.614*** (0.030)
Political interest (ref: low)		
- medium	-0.093 (0.064)	-0.033 (0.051)
- high	-0.370*** (0.070)	-0.128* (0.058)
Ingroup sympathy	-0.066* (0.031)	0.079** (0.031)
Perceived party polarisation on decentralization	-0.006 (0.019)	0.031+ (0.018)
Divergence of immigration attitude	-0.099* (0.043)	0.072+ (0.037)
Divergence of economic attitude	-0.029 (0.040)	0.023 (0.035)
Divergence of Catalonia attitude	0.022 (0.046)	0.04 (0.040)
Identification with the region	0.011 (0.009)	0.009 (0.008)
Intercept	0.172 (0.113)	-0.222* (0.102)
N	1316	1323

TABLE B2. INTERACTION MODELS

	Model 1 b/se	Model 2 b/se
Turnout intention (lag)	0.488*** (0.042)	0.494*** (0.042)
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.138* (0.065)	0.125*** (0.035)
Political interest (ref: very interested)		
- quite interested	-0.076 (0.063)	-0.04 (0.104)
- hardly or not interested	-0.339*** (0.073)	-0.367** (0.120)
Affective polarisation (lag) x Political interest (ref: very)		
- quite interested	-0.097 (0.064)	
- hardly or not interested	0.11 (0.074)	
Ingroup sympathy	-0.067+ (0.035)	-0.067+ (0.035)
Perceived elite polarisation on decentralization	-0.009 (0.021)	-0.006 (0.021)
Extremity of immigration attitude	-0.100* (0.044)	-0.07 (0.088)
Extremity of economic attitude	-0.032 (0.041)	-0.029 (0.042)
Extremity of Catalonia attitude	0.023 (0.045)	0.021 (0.045)
Identification with the region	0.012 (0.009)	0.011 (0.009)
Divergence of immigration attitude x Political interest (ref: low)		
- Medium		-0.06 (0.103)
- High		0.001 (0.121)
Intercept	0.173 (0.115)	0.145 (0.132)
N	1316	1316

FIGURE B1. REPLICATION WITH POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE INSTEAD OF POLITICAL INTEREST

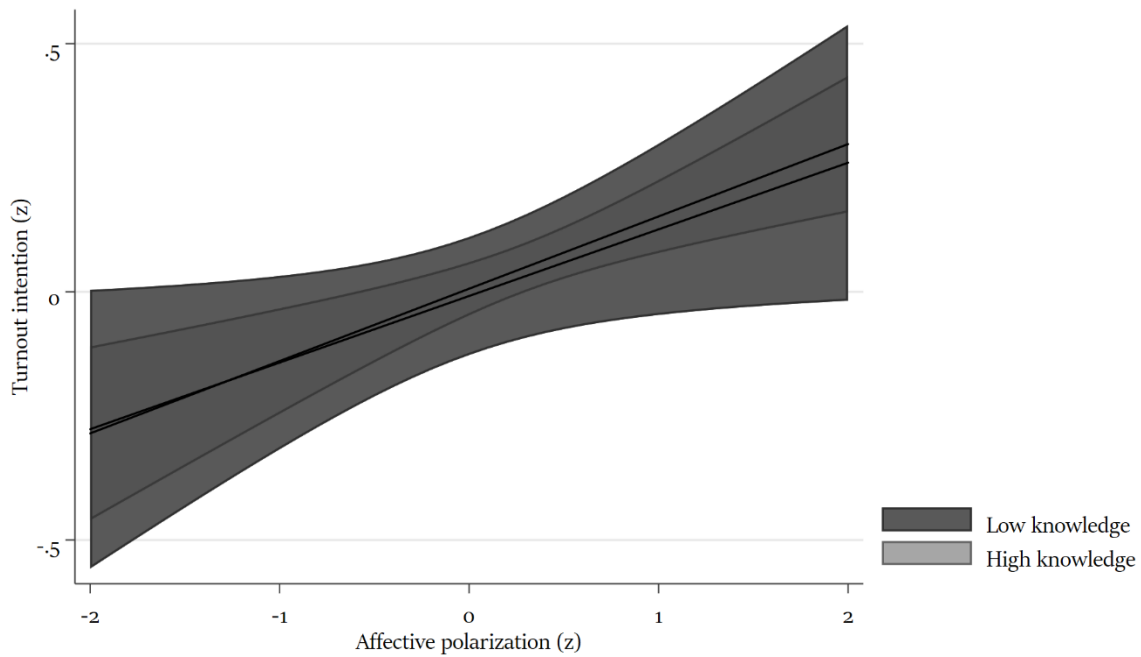
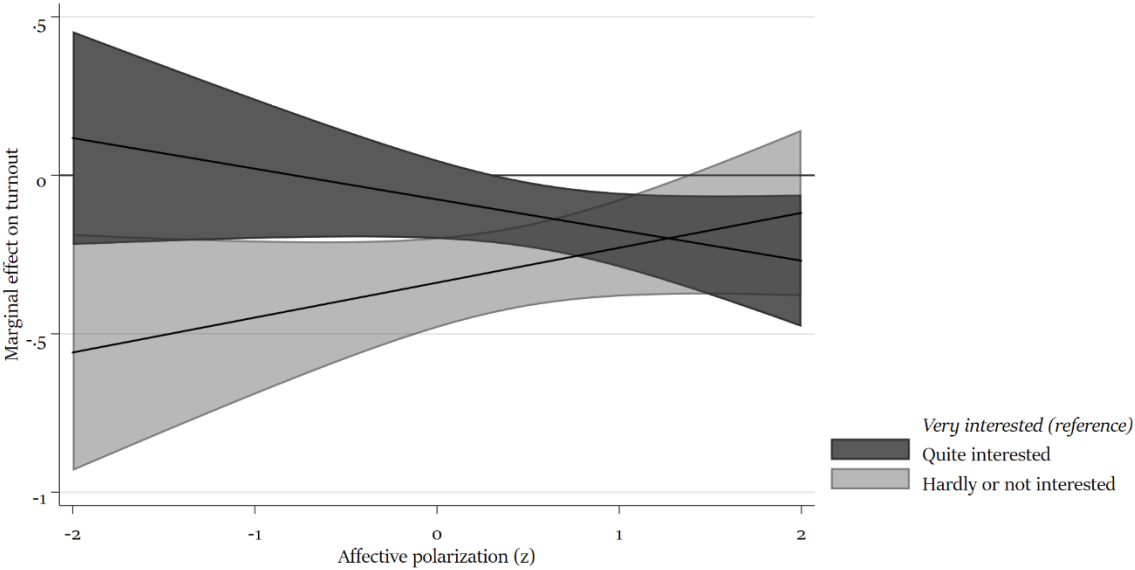


TABLE B3. ROBUSTNESS: WEIGHTED AFFECTIVE POLARIZATION MEASURE

	Predicting turnout b/se	Predicting affective polarization b/se
Turnout intention (lag)	0.494*** (0.026)	0.021 (0.024)
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.119*** (0.031)	0.621*** (0.029)
Political interest (ref: low)		
- medium	-0.092 (0.064)	-0.04 (0.051)
- high	-0.370*** (0.070)	-0.137* (0.058)
Ingroup sympathy	-0.063* (0.031)	0.075* (0.031)
Perceived elite polarisation on decentralization	-0.005 (0.019)	0.029 (0.018)
Extremity of immigration attitude	-0.098* (0.043)	0.069+ (0.037)
Extremity of economic attitude	-0.028 (0.040)	0.025 (0.035)
Extremity of Catalonia attitude	0.019 (0.046)	0.048 (0.039)
Identification with the region	0.011 (0.009)	0.008 (0.008)
Intercept	0.172 (0.113)	-0.203* (0.102)
N	1316	1323

FIGURE B2. MARGINAL EFFECTS OF INTEREST CONDITIONAL ON AFFECTIVE POLARIZATION



Appendix C
Study 3 (LISS, the Netherlands)

FIGURE C1. TRENDS IN AFFECTIVE POLARISATION AND TURNOUT

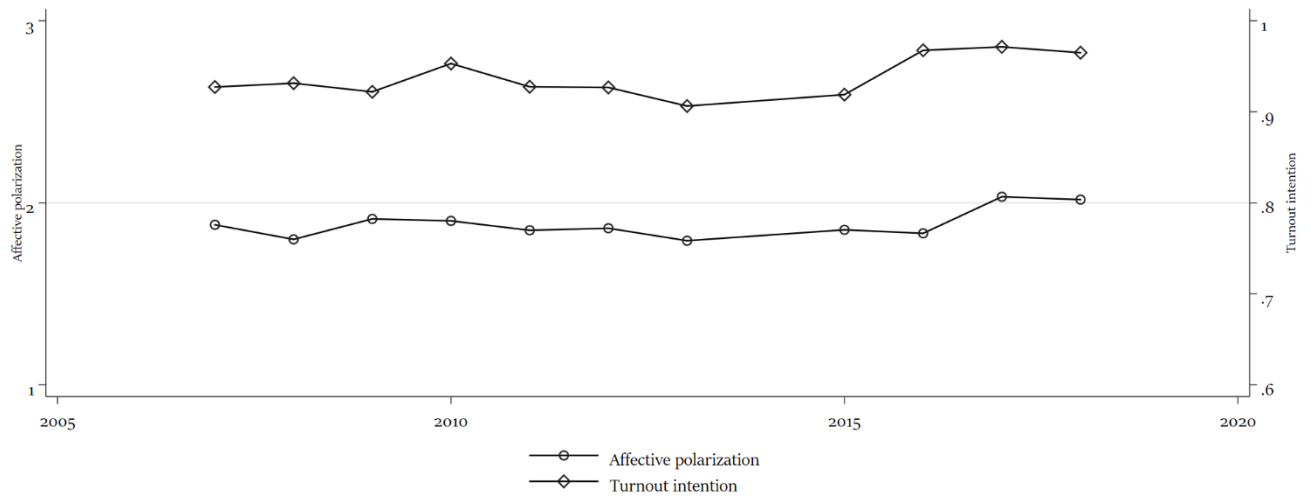


TABLE C1. FULL TABLE LAGGED DV MODEL

	Predicting turnout	Predicting affective polarization
	b/se	b/se
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.192*** (0.053)	0.497*** (0.006)
Inparty sympathy (lag)	0.205*** (0.031)	-0.012** (0.004)
Turnout intention (lag)	2.740*** (0.106)	0.153*** (0.021)
Political interest (ref: high)		
- fairly interested	-0.353* (0.141)	-0.143*** (0.013)
- not interested	-1.299*** (0.155)	-0.240*** (0.017)
Ideology (ref: far left)		
- Moderate left	-0.09 (0.166)	-0.150*** (0.016)
- Center	-0.544*** (0.159)	-0.278*** (0.018)
- Moderate right	-0.213 (0.156)	-0.281*** (0.016)
- Far right	0.047 (0.178)	-0.221*** (0.018)
High educated	0.458*** (0.103)	0.080*** (0.011)
- 2010	-0.084 (0.138)	0.185*** (0.016)
- 2011	0.757*** (0.156)	0.098*** (0.016)
- 2012	-0.245+ (0.141)	-0.012 (0.016)
- 2013	0.054 (0.140)	0.108*** (0.016)
- 2014	-0.359** (0.130)	0.004 (0.016)
- 2017	1.118*** (0.209)	0.137*** (0.016)
- 2018	1.196*** (0.355)	0.333*** (0.021)
- 2019	0.796* (0.326)	0.143*** (0.020)
Intercept	0.187 (0.304)	0.184*** (0.039)
Level 2 (respondent)		
Intercept	0.013 (0.090)	-1.220*** (0.037)
Level 1 (respondent-wave)		
Intercept		-0.441*** (0.006)
N	21415	27233

TABLE C2. INTERACTIONS WITH POLITICAL INTEREST

	Model 1	Model 2
	b/se	b/se
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.450** (0.153)	0.184*** (0.052)
Political interest (ref: high)		
- fairly interested	-0.351* (0.143)	-0.511* (0.242)
- not interested	-1.339*** (0.157)	-1.336*** (0.256)
Affective polarisation x Political interest (ref: high)		
- fairly interested	-0.244 (0.160)	
- not interested	-0.361* (0.166)	
Left-right extremity	0.132*** (0.034)	0.081 (0.100)
Left-right extremity x Political interest (ref: high)		
- fairly interested		0.092 (0.109)
- not interested		0.006 (0.114)
Inparty sympathy (lag)	0.212*** (0.030)	0.213*** (0.030)
Turnout intention (lag)	2.754*** (0.106)	2.746*** (0.106)
High educated	0.478*** (0.102)	0.487*** (0.103)
- 2010	-0.083 (0.138)	-0.08 (0.138)
- 2011	0.748*** (0.156)	0.756*** (0.156)
- 2012	-0.244+ (0.141)	-0.244+ (0.141)
- 2013	0.056 (0.140)	0.055 (0.140)
- 2014	-0.349** (0.130)	-0.348** (0.130)
- 2017	1.105*** (0.209)	1.112*** (0.209)
- 2018	1.187*** (0.354)	1.191*** (0.355)
- 2019	0.791* (0.326)	0.804* (0.327)
Intercept	-0.317 (0.280)	-0.222 (0.330)
Level 2 (respondent)		
Intercept	-0.007 (0.092)	0.005 (0.091)
N	21415	21415

TABLE C3. ROBUSTNESS CHECK: WEIGHTED AFFECTIVE POLARIZATION MEASURE

	Predicting turnout	Predicting affective polarization
	b/se	b/se
Affective polarisation (lag)	0.054 (0.056)	0.438*** (0.007)
Inparty sympathy (lag)	0.240*** (0.035)	0.016*** (0.005)
Turnout intention (lag)	2.761*** (0.106)	0.173*** (0.023)
Political interest (ref: high)		
- fairly interested	-0.383** (0.141)	-0.155*** (0.014)
- not interested	-1.335*** (0.155)	-0.241*** (0.019)
Ideology (ref: far left)		
- Moderate left	-0.146 (0.166)	-0.168*** (0.018)
- Center	-0.626*** (0.158)	-0.315*** (0.019)
- Moderate right	-0.310* (0.155)	-0.298*** (0.018)
- Far right	-0.019 (0.177)	-0.221*** (0.020)
High educated	0.470*** (0.103)	0.094*** (0.012)
- 2010	-0.091 (0.139)	0.458*** (0.018)
- 2011	0.752*** (0.156)	0.217*** (0.018)
- 2012	-0.254+ (0.142)	0.133*** (0.018)
- 2013	0.04 (0.141)	0.236*** (0.018)
- 2014	-0.351** (0.130)	0.234*** (0.018)
- 2017	1.108*** (0.209)	0.373*** (0.018)
- 2018	1.185*** (0.355)	0.360*** (0.023)
- 2019	0.808* (0.325)	0.304*** (0.022)
Intercept	0.009 (0.318)	-0.194*** (0.045)
Level 2 (respondent)		
Intercept	0.007 (0.090)	-1.191*** (0.036)
Level 1 (respondent-wave)		
Intercept		-0.336*** (0.006)
N	21415	27233