Chapter 3: Online Appendix

Additional Variables Utilized in Models as a Robustness Check: There were several variables tested or included in the original multivariate analysis, which were excluded in the final analysis for one of two reasons. First, some variables were excluded due to a high correlation with other, more theoretically grounded independent variables of interest. Second, a few variables were excluded after it was determined that there was not a significant or substantive relationship with the dependent variables. Therefore, they were removed due to degrees of freedom limitations (or to avoid degrees of freedom limitations). We provide coding and descriptive statistics here.

Appendix A: Additional Variable Coding

Unemployed - 0 = not unemployed, 1 = currently unemployed at time of survey.

Union Member - 0 = not a member of a union, 1 = currently a union member.

Party ID - coded as the party the respondent identifies with.

Political Interest – attention to politics 0 = hardly; 1 = only now and then, 2 = some of the time, 3 = most of the time.

Appendix B: Descriptive Statistics

Table B1: Descriptive Statistics – Socio-Demographics

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Age	18	54	53.33	96	16.59
Variable	**0**	**1**			
Gender	48.58%	51.42%			
University Degree	61.73%	38.27%			
Unemployed	61.22%	38.78%			
Union Member	84.55%	15.45%			

Table B2: Descriptive Statistics – Political Attitudes

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Political Ideology	1	5	5.34	11	2.23
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-2	1	0.77	2	1.15
Political Interest	0	2	2.45	4	1.00
Prospective Economic Evaluation	-2	0	0.19	2	0.91
EU Country Bailout	-2	0	-0.82	2	1.10
Concern Debt Crisis	0	2	1.88	4	1.00
Gov. Reduce Disparity	-2	1	0.92	2	1.00

Table B3: Descriptive Statistics – Party ID

Variable	AfD	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	Other
Party ID	0.34%	2.24%	29.73%	22.97%	9.50%	4.31%	1.11%

Appendix C: Average Marginal Effects for Independent Variables from Tables 1 and 2

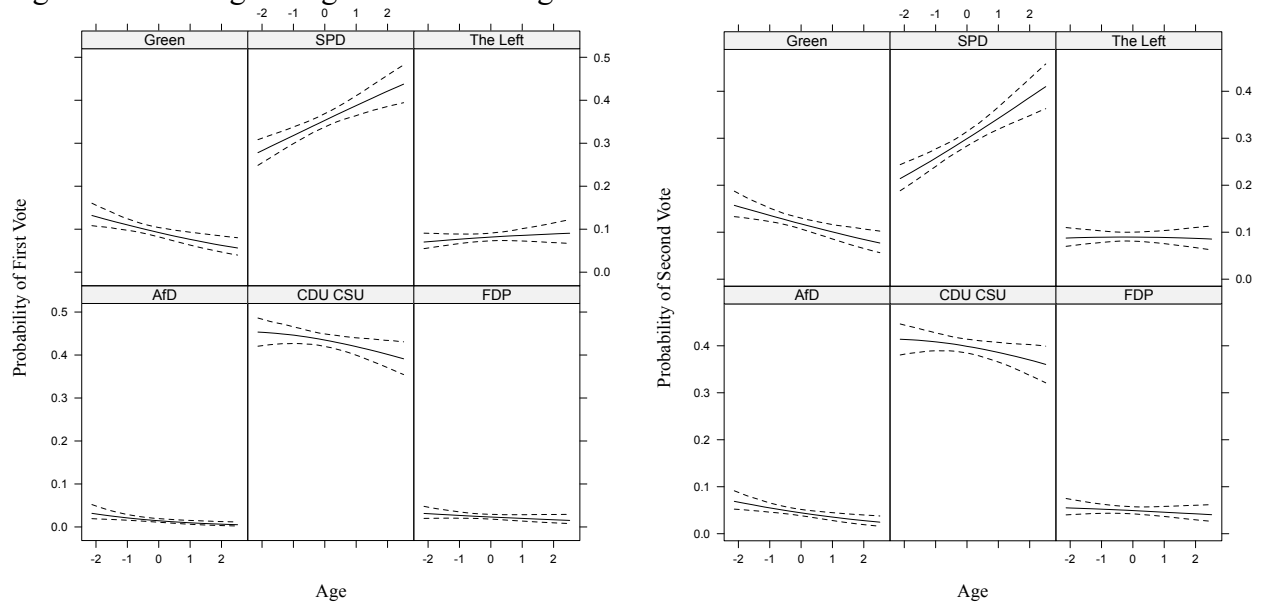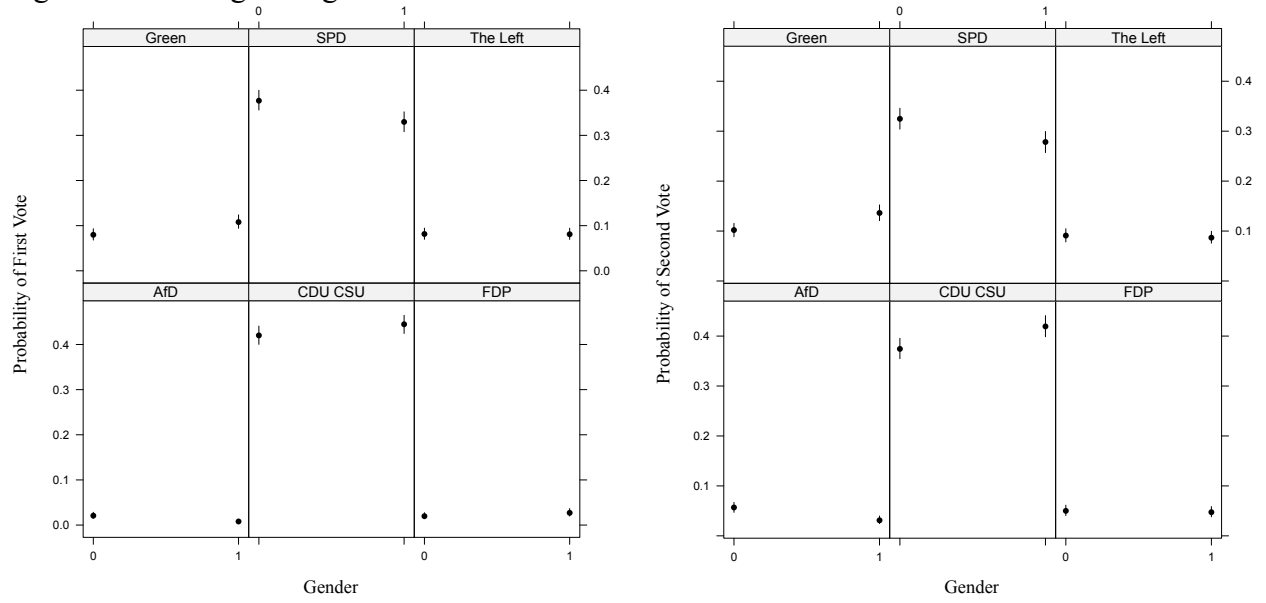Figure C1: Average Marginal Effect of Age on Vote Choice

Figure C2: Average Marginal Effect of Gender on Vote Choice

Appendix D: Alternative Models (w/ Party ID Included)

Table D1: 2013 German Federal Election 1st Vote – Multinomial Logit Model

	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left	Other
Constant	-2.71	0.67	-0.04	-1.89	-1.62	-0.26
	(2.79)	(0.74)	(1.02)	(2.61)	(1.86)	(0.82)
Age	0.19	0.31[*]	0.43[**]	0.20	0.40[*]	-0.35[*]
	(0.19)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Woman	0.71[**]	0.54[**]	0.40[*]	0.53[**]	0.45[**]	0.18
	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
University Qualification	0.18	-0.04	0.05	0.18	0.14	-0.01
	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Union Membership	-0.01	0.16	0.24	0.13	0.20	0.26
	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Political Ideology	0.07	0.12	-0.12	-0.33	-0.71[**]	-0.16
	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-0.47[*]	-0.33[*]	-0.61[**]	-0.75[**]	-0.44[*]	-0.16
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Prospective Econ Eval	0.79[**]	0.68[**]	0.50[**]	0.53[**]	0.32[*]	0.55[**]
	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
EU Country Bailout	-0.25	-0.59[**]	-0.56[**]	-0.64[**]	-0.33[*]	-0.33
	(0.19)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Concern Debt Crisis	-0.08	-0.04	-0.17	-0.13	-0.15	-0.36[*]
	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)
Gov. Reduce Disparity	0.02	-0.004	0.32[*]	0.34[*]	0.44[**]	0.24
	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Party ID - FDP	4.61	2.11[*]	1.00	1.91	0.52	-0.14
	(2.84)	(0.90)	(1.20)	(2.73)	(2.31)	(1.17)
Party ID – CDU/CSU	4.02	4.55[**]	2.20[*]	3.21	2.61	0.52
	(2.80)	(0.79)	(1.07)	(2.63)	(1.90)	(0.91)
Party ID - SPD	1.71	2.10[*]	5.21[**]	4.42	3.73[*]	1.51
	(2.92)	(0.82)	(1.07)	(2.63)	(1.89)	(0.89)
Party ID - Green	2.12	1.95	4.31[**]	6.07[*]	3.53	1.95
	(3.06)	(1.04)	(1.24)	(2.70)	(2.00)	(1.10)
Party ID - Left	2.83	1.57	3.18[*]	3.13	5.66[**]	0.55
	(3.08)	(1.21)	(1.36)	(2.80)	(2.06)	(1.44)
Party ID – Other	4.74	2.97	3.32	3.84	3.96	4.42[**]
	(3.16)	(1.54)	(1.71)	(3.02)	(2.35)	(1.54)
Party ID - None	3.49	2.73[**]	3.17[**]	3.32	3.37	1.54
	(2.79)	(0.75)	(1.03)	(2.61)	(1.86)	(0.82)
N						4,290
PRE						0.471
ePRE						0.395
Akaike Inf. Crit.						7,012.13

Note: [*]p<0.05; [**]p<0.01; standard errors in parentheses.

Table D2: 2013 German Federal Election 2nd Vote – Multinomial Logit Model

	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left	Other
Constant	-3.60	-1.97	-3.60	-3.17	-3.61	-4.55
	(2.44)	(1.15)	(2.58)	(2.41)	(2.46)	(2.50)
Age	0.14	0.15	0.33**	0.12	0.18	-0.62**
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Woman	0.34**	0.41**	0.24*	0.34**	0.27*	0.22
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)
University Qualification	-0.14	-0.22*	-0.15	-0.08	-0.12	-0.26
	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Union Membership	-0.02	0.03	0.23**	0.06	0.21*	-0.12
	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Political Ideology	0.11	0.01	-0.26**	-0.40**	-0.73**	-0.14
	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-0.36**	-0.10	-0.30**	-0.48**	-0.24*	-0.11
	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Prospective Econ Eval	0.34**	0.35**	0.17*	0.15	-0.02	0.14
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.12)
EU Country Bailout	-0.50**	-0.70**	-0.64**	-0.63**	-0.44**	-0.37**
	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Concern Debt Crisis	-0.09	-0.21*	-0.27**	-0.34**	-0.33**	-0.56**
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Gov. Reduce Disparity	-0.15	-0.04	0.23*	0.33**	0.44**	0.27*
	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Party ID - FDP	5.72*	3.58**	3.45	2.52	2.12	3.52
	(2.48)	(1.24)	(2.67)	(2.55)	(2.77)	(2.63)
Party ID – CDU/CSU	4.49	5.70**	4.35	3.09	3.49	3.30
	(2.45)	(1.16)	(2.58)	(2.42)	(2.48)	(2.52)
Party ID - SPD	2.10	3.04**	6.99**	4.12	4.16	4.21
	(2.49)	(1.17)	(2.58)	(2.42)	(2.47)	(2.51)
Party ID - Green	2.02	3.11*	5.68*	6.09*	4.07	3.77
	(2.59)	(1.22)	(2.60)	(2.43)	(2.50)	(2.56)
Party ID - Left	-6.43	2.38	4.97	3.03	6.59**	3.56
	(81.14)	(1.32)	(2.63)	(2.51)	(2.51)	(2.68)
Party ID – Other	3.66	2.59	4.91	3.74	3.76	6.88**
	(2.60)	(1.42)	(2.68)	(2.55)	(2.61)	(2.57)
Party ID - None	3.63	3.95**	5.12*	3.71	4.07	4.40
	(2.45)	(1.15)	(2.58)	(2.41)	(2.46)	(2.50)
N						4,349
PRE						0.482
ePRE						0.383
Akaike Inf. Crit.						8,098.81

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; standard errors in parentheses.

Chapter 4: Online Appendix

Additional Variables Utilized in Models as a Robustness Check: There were several variables tested or included in the original multivariate analysis, which were excluded in the final analysis for one of two reasons. First, some variables were excluded due to a high correlation with other, more theoretically grounded independent variables of interest. Second, a few variables were excluded after it was determined that there was not a significant or substantive relationship with the dependent variables. Therefore, they were removed due to degrees of freedom limitations (or to avoid degrees of freedom limitations). We provide coding and descriptive statistics here.

Appendix A: Additional Variable Coding

Unemployed - 0 = not unemployed, 1 = currently unemployed at time of pre-election survey.

Union Member - 0 = not a member of a union, 1 = currently a union member.

Political Interest – attention to politics 0 = hardly; 1 = only now and then, 2 = some of the time, 3 = most of the time.

Political Knowledge - The political knowledge variable was created through the estimation of factor analysis on seven knowledge questions. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the seven variables was 0.669. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.27. The following seven questions were coded so that 0 = not correct, 1 = correct. 1.) First or second vote fills more of the Bundestag seats? 2.) What is the threshold for parties gaining seats in the Bundestag 3.) Recognized Martin Schulz as member of SPD? 4.) Recognize Katrin Gring-Eckardt as member of Green Party? 5.) Recognize Christian Lindner as member of FDP? 6.) Did Germany have a budget deficit last year? 7.) Was the unemployment rate last year above or below 10%?

Gov. Reduce Income Inequality - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement "the government should take measures to reduce income differentials." -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree.

Conventional Participation - The conventional political participation measure was created through the estimation of factor analysis on eight conventional acts of political participation. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the eight variables was 0.627. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.189. The following eight items were coded so that 0 = did not participate, 1 = participated. 1.) Citizen's Initiative 2.) Demonstration 3.) Signature Collection 4.) Donated - Political Parties or Organizations 5.) Boycotted/Consumed Products (Ethics or Pol) 6.) Letter to Newspaper or Periodical 7.) Public Discussions at Meetings 8.) Supports Party in Election Campaign.

Unconventional Participation - The unconventional political participation measure was created through the estimation of factor analysis on nine unconventional acts of political participation. The Cronbach's Alpha score for the eight variables was 0.726. The

proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.283. The following nine items were coded so that 0 = did not participate, 1 = participated. 1.) Political Post on social media 2.) Shared Political Post on social media 3.) "Liked" Political Post on social media 4.) Write Comments on Political Post 5.) Email Political Letter to the Editor 6.) Wrote Political Blog Article 7.) Online Petitions/Sign Campaign 8.) Citizens' Participation Platform 9.) Contacted Politicians Online.

Candidate Evaluations - The study used two measures to capture evaluations of the two main chancellorship candidates. The measures were created through the estimation of factor analysis on four candidate evaluation traits for each candidate. The traits included are 1.) Assertiveness 2.) Trustworthiness 3.) Sympathetic human being 4.) Reasonable ideas to boost economy. The four variables are coded on a numeric scale: -2 = does not apply at all, -1 = rather does not apply, 1 = partly, 2 = is more applicable, 3 = fully applies. For the measure indicating evaluations of Merkel's traits, the Cronbach's Alpha score for the four variables was 0.8. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.516. For the measure indicating evaluations of Schulz's traits, the Cronbach's Alpha score for the four variables was 0.818. The proportion of the variance explained with one factor loading was 0.538.

Additional Anti-Immigrant Attitudes - Immigrants Required to Adapt - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement Immigrants should be required to adapt to German culture. -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree; Refugee Ceiling - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement "Germany needs an annual ceiling for the reception of refugees." -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree; Fear of refugees - Respondent is asked "how scared are you of refugees." 1 = not at all scared to 7 = very scared; Fear of international terrorism - Respondent is asked, "how scared are you of international terrorism." 1 = not at all scared to 7 = very scared.

Appendix B: Descriptive Statistics

Table B1: Descriptive Statistics – Socio-Demographics

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Age	16	51	50.18	95	19.19
Income	1	8	7.65	13	2.44
Variable	**0**	**1**			
Gender	52%	48%			
University Degree	96.49%	18.46%			
Unemployed	81.54%	2.58%			
Union Member	89.19%	10.81%			
Eastern Germany	69.87%	30.13%			

Table B2: Descriptive Statistics – Political Attitudes

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Political Ideology	1	5	5.19	11	1.93
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-1.74	-0.09	0	2.1	1.00
Fear of Globalization	1	4	3.67	7	1.67
Gov. Reduce Income Inequality	-2	1	1.09	2	1.06
Dissatisfaction w/ Democracy	-2	-1	-0.52	2	1.10
Economic Prospective	-2	0	0.2	2	0.65
Anti-European Integration	-2	0	-0.92	2	1.09

Table B3: Descriptive Statistics – Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Immigrants bad for German economy	-2	0	-0.327	2	0.967
Immigrants bad for German culture	-2	0	-0.371	2	1.317
Immigrants lead to more crime	-2	0	0.148	2	1.245

Table B4: Descriptive Statistics – Political Knowledge

Question	Incorrect	Correct
First or second vote files more of the Bundestag seats?	35.09%	64.91%
What is the threshold for parties gaining seats in the Bundestag?	29.33%	70.67%
Recognize Katrin Gring-Eckardt as member of Green Party?	43.57%	56.43%
Recognize Christian Lindner as member of FDP?	20.22%	79.78%
Recognize Martin Schulz as member of SPD?	9.22%	90.78$
Did Germany have a budget deficit last year?	45.45%	54.55%
Was the unemployment rate last year above or below 10%	23.48%	76.52%

Table B5: Descriptive Statistics – Party ID

Variable	AfD	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	Other
Party ID	4.19%	4.83%	7.98%	18.13%	9.7%	8.37%	50.99%

Table B6: Descriptive Statistics – Conventional Political Participation

Participatory Act	Did Not Participate	Participated
Citizen's Initiative	96.14%	3.86%
Demonstration	92.69%	7.31%
Signature Collection	80.47%	19.53%
Donated – Political Parties or Organizations	95.59%	4.41%
Boycotted/Consumed Products (Ethics or pol)	77.11%	22.89%
Letter to Newspaper or Periodical	98.21%	1.79%
Public Discussions at Meetings	92.23%	7.77%
Supports Party in Election Campaign	96.41%	3.59%

Table B7: Descriptive Statistics – Unconventional Political Participation

Participatory Act	Did Not Participate	Participated
Political Post on social media	96.05%	3.95%
Share Political Post on social media	90.09%	9.91%
"Liked" Political Post on social media	85.64%	14.36%
Write Comments on Political Post	96.24%	3.76%
Email Political Letter to the Editor	98.49%	1.51%
Wrote Political Blog Article	99.63%	0.37%
Online Petitions/Sign Campaign	86.23%	13.77%
Citizens' Participation Platform	97.7%	2.3%
Contacted Politicians Online	96.7%	3.3%

Table B8: Descriptive Statistics – Evaluations of Merkel

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Assertive	-2	1	1.88	3	1.3
Trustworthy	-2	1	1.55	3	1.5
Sympathetic Human	-2	1	1.5	3	1.48
Reasonable Ideas to Boost Economy	-2	1	1.33	3	3

Table B9: Descriptive Statistics – Evaluations of Schulz

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Assertive	-2	1	0.83	3	1.49
Trustworthy	-2	1	0.83	3	1.57
Sympathetic Human	-2	1	0.81	3	1.67
Reasonable Ideas to Boost Economy	-2	1	0.75	3	1.44

Table B10: Descriptive Statistics – Anti-Immigrant Sentiment – Excluded

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Immigrants Required to Adapt	-2	0	0.655	3	1.19
Refugee Ceiling	-2	0	0.524	3	1.46
Fear of Refugees	1	4	4.29	3	1.79
Fear of International Terrorism	1	6	05.427	3	1.59

Appendix C: Average Marginal Effects for Independent Variables from Tables 1 and 2
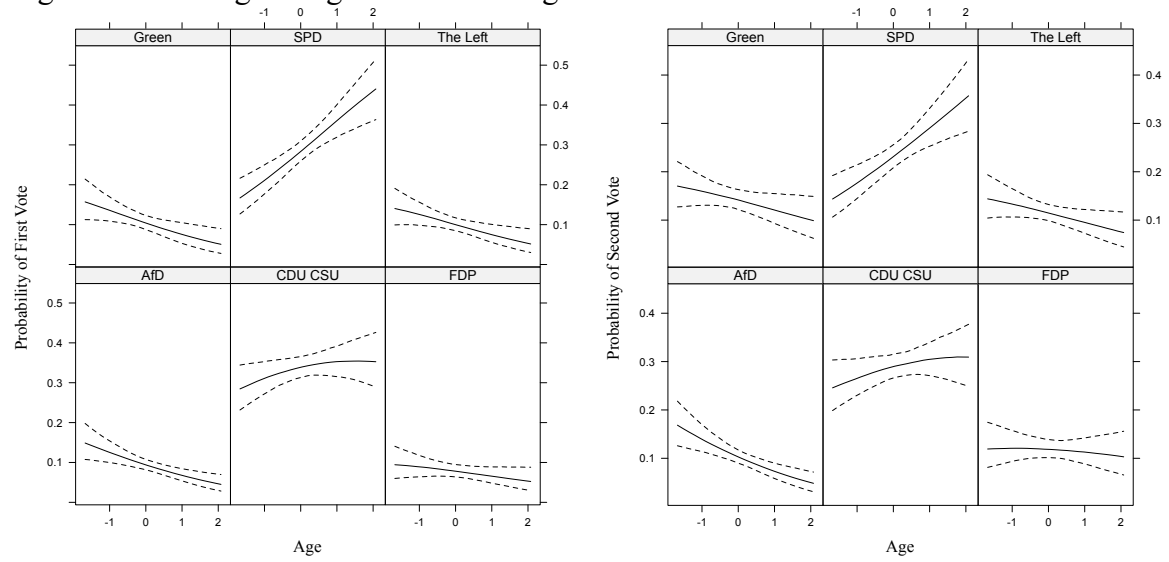
Figure C1: Average Marginal Effect of Age on Vote Choice

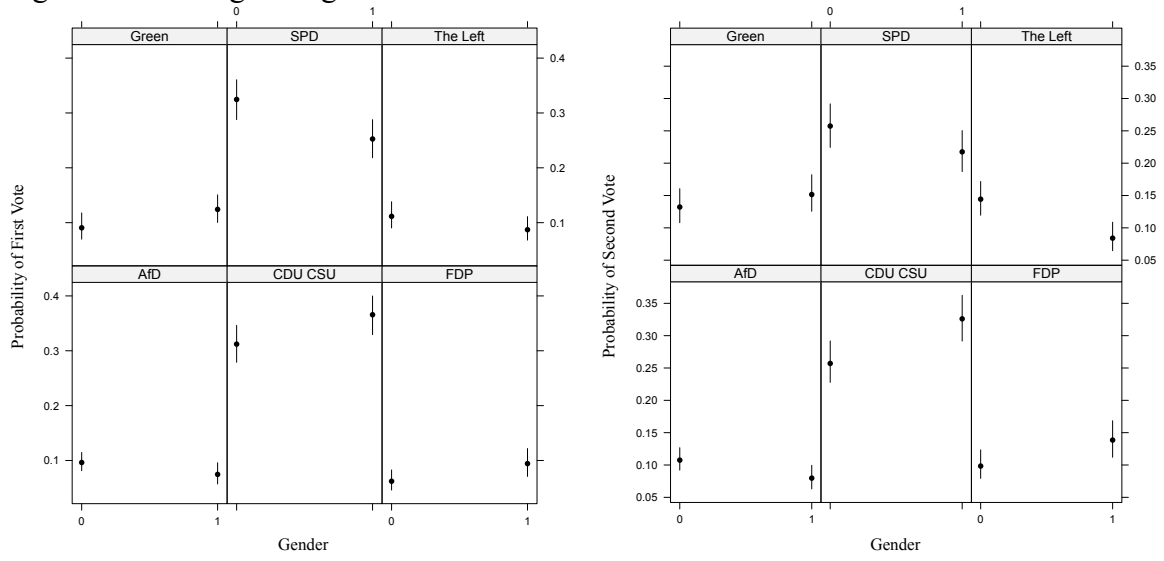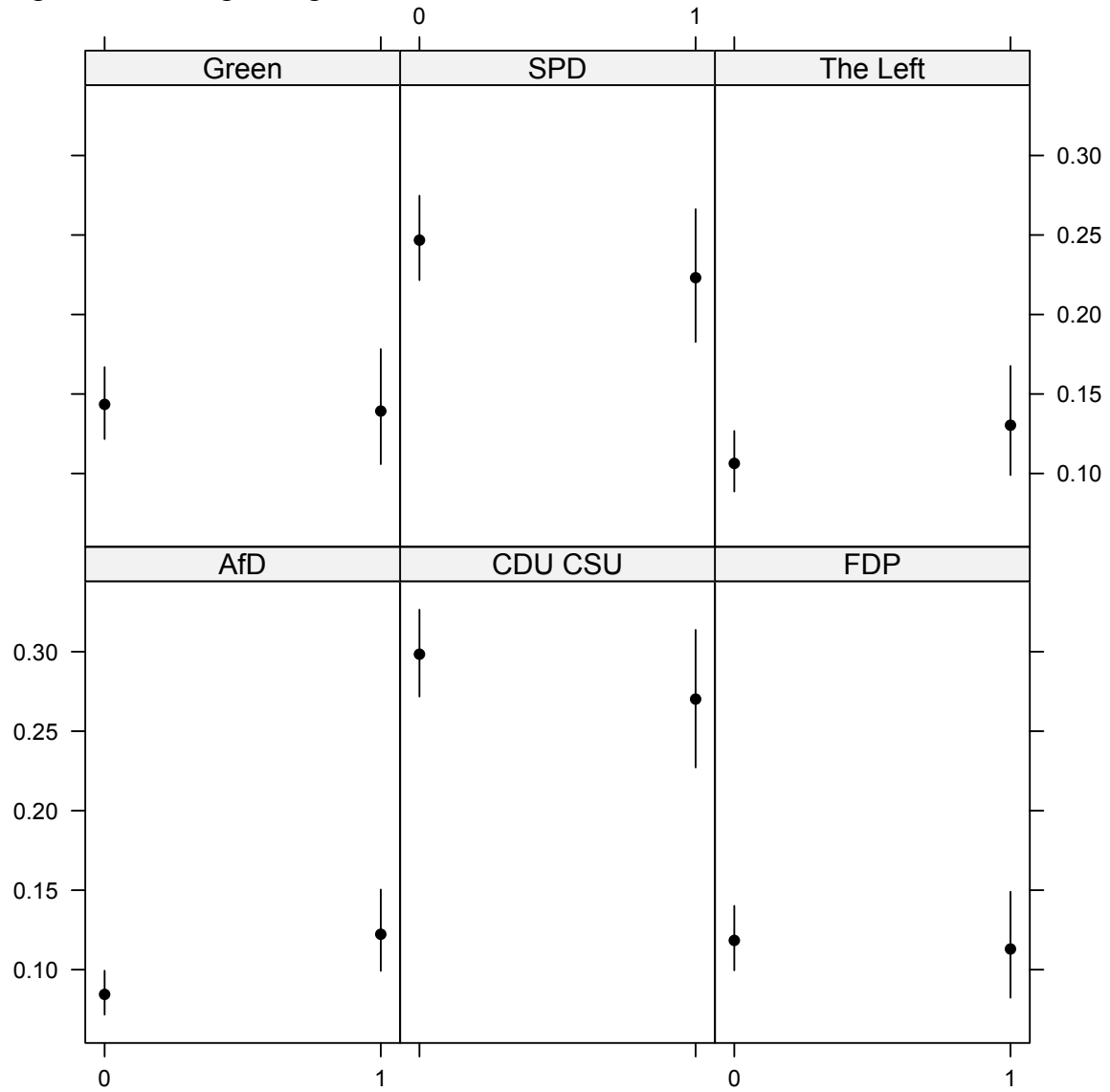Figure C2: Average Marginal Effect of Gender on Vote Choice

Figure C3: Average Marginal Effect of East German Residence on 2nd Vote Choice

Appendix D: Alternative Models (w/ Party ID Included)

Table D1: 2017 German Federal Election 1st Vote – Multinomial Logit Model

	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left
Constant	-0.40	-3.22	-1.14	-3.74	-4.76
	(0.69)	(2.20)	(1.03)	(3.46)	(3.60)
Age	0.28	0.52*	0.39	-0.07	-0.15
	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.32)	(0.34)
Woman	0.37	0.20	-0.05	0.16	-0.08
	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.26)
University Degree	-0.11	0.06	-0.13	-0.05	-0.09
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.31)
Income	0.80**	0.71**	0.47	0.43	0.03
	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.31)	(0.33)
Unemployed	0.26	0.24	0.18	0.29	0.35
	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.25)
Union Member	-0.24	-0.12	-0.20	-0.24	-0.08
	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Eastern Germany	0.06	0.30	0.07	0.36	-0.07
	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.27)
Political Knowledge	-0.14	-0.19	0.07	-0.15	0.61
	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.28)	(0.33)
Political Ideology	-0.35	-0.20	-0.93**	-1.15**	-1.77**
	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.29)	(0.32)
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-1.09**	-1.11**	-1.39**	-1.63**	-1.41**
	(0.32)	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.35)	(0.36)
Dissatisfaction w/Democracy	-0.52*	-0.95**	-0.40	-0.30	-0.22
	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.26)
Prospective Economic Situation	0.01	0.12	0.003	0.12	-0.001
	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.25)
Gov. Reduce Income Disparity	0.06	0.06	0.31	-0.15	0.33
	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.29)
Fear of Globalization	-0.16	-0.15	0.03	0.09	0.12
	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Anti-European Integration	-0.35	-0.56**	-0.57**	-0.50	-0.57*
	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Party ID - FDP	2.58*	4.30	3.02*	2.59	-3.01
	(1.01)	(2.34)	(1.31)	(3.79)	(41.55)
Party ID – CDU/CSU	1.28	7.35**	1.64	4.59	4.20
	(1.09)	(2.28)	(1.48)	(3.59)	(3.93)
Party ID - SPD	2.01	5.07*	6.33**	6.19	4.19
	(1.04)	(2.32)	(1.19)	(3.53)	(3.76)
Party ID - Green	2.29	7.78	6.14	9.58	6.81
	(3.80)	(4.17)	(3.68)	(4.94)	(5.06)
Party ID – The Left	1.34	6.26*	4.18*	5.46	8.33*
	(2.05)	(2.67)	(1.77)	(3.78)	(3.84)
Party ID – Other	1.51*	6.04**	2.68*	3.90	5.21
	(0.70)	(2.20)	(1.04)	(3.48)	(3.60)
N					1,008
PRE					0.504
ePRE					0.405
Akaike Inf. Crit.					1,972.16

Note: *p<0.05; **p<.001; standard errors in parentheses

Table D2: 2017 German Federal Election 2nd Vote – Multinomial Logit Model

	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left
Constant	-5.48	-0.32	-3.10*	-4.16	-7.27
	(6.58)	(0.67)	(1.57)	(5.35)	(6.22)
Age	0.42	0.66**	0.39	0.24	0.25
	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.31)
Woman	0.26	0.15	-0.01	0.09	-0.24
	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.24)
University Degree	0.21	0.13	0.03	-0.004	0.02
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.31)
Income	0.42	0.28	-0.20	0.05	-0.09
	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.31)	(0.32)
Unemployed	-0.06	-0.27	0.03	-1.71	-0.16
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(16.28)	(0.21)
Union Member	-0.32	-0.28	-0.28	-0.45*	-0.47*
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Eastern Germany	-0.21	-0.22	-0.26	-0.11	-0.39
	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Political Knowledge	-0.76**	-0.91**	-0.71**	-0.32	-0.27
	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.33)	(0.32)
Political Ideology	-0.50*	-0.53*	-1.09**	-0.99**	-1.72**
	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.29)
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-1.08**	-1.19**	-1.37**	-2.17**	-1.63**
	(0.30)	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.35)	(0.34)
Satisfaction w/Democracy	-0.78**	-0.97**	-0.51*	-0.74**	-0.19
	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.27)	(0.25)
Prospective Economic Situation	0.03	0.04	-0.18	0.15	0.05
	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Gov. Reduce Income Disparity	0.28	0.26	0.57**	0.53*	0.91**
	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.27)
Fear of Globalization	0.17	0.02	0.09	0.29	0.36
	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.26)
Anti-European Integration	-0.28	-0.18	-0.37	-0.39	-0.03
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Party ID - FDP	9.41	2.57*	4.27*	3.17	6.96
	(6.65)	(1.23)	(2.08)	(4.92)	(6.58)
Party ID – CDU/CSU	7.03	4.14**	1.75	4.20	-1.68
	(6.62)	(0.85)	(2.56)	(4.65)	(84.27)
Party ID - SPD	7.06	2.26*	8.07**	5.82	8.89
	(6.62)	(0.97)	(1.68)	(4.61)	(6.26)
Party ID - Green	9.62	5.37	8.46	10.44	11.20
	(8.36)	(5.17)	(5.35)	(6.85)	(8.05)
Party ID – The Left	4.98	0.66	4.74*	4.33	9.76
	(6.81)	(1.59)	(1.93)	(4.73)	(6.30)
Party ID – Other	7.15	3.08**	4.66**	4.51	7.98
	(6.59)	(0.70)	(1.60)	(4.57)	(6.23)
N					1,010
PRE					0.519
ePRE					0.407
Akaike Inf. Crit.					2,100.89

Note: *p<0.05; **p<.001; standard errors in parentheses

Chapter 5: Online Appendix

Additional Variables Utilized in Models as a Robustness Check: There were several variables tested or included in the original multivariate analysis, which were excluded in the final analysis for one of two reasons. First, some variables were excluded due to a high correlation with other, more theoretically grounded independent variables of interest. Second, a few variables were excluded after it was determined that there was not a significant or substantive relationship with the dependent variables. Therefore, they were removed due to degrees of freedom limitations (or to avoid degrees of freedom limitations). We provide coding and descriptive statistics here.

Appendix A: Additional Variable Coding

Unemployed - 0 = not unemployed, 1 = currently unemployed at time of survey.

Union Member - 0 = not a member of a union, 1 = currently a union member.

Fear of globalization - Respondent is asked how scared they are of globalization, and the scale is 0 = not scared at all to 7 = very scared.

Gov. Reduce Income Inequality - Respondent is asked their level of agreement with the statement "the government should take measures to reduce income differentials." -2 = strongly disagree, -1 = tend to disagree, 0 = neutral, 1 = rather agree, 2 = fully agree.

Economic Prospective - Respondent is asked "what will be your own economic situation this year?" -2 = much worse, -1 = a little worse, 0 = stay the same, 1 = a little better, 2 = much better.

Party ID - coded as the party the respondent identifies with.

Political Interest – attention to politics 0 = hardly; 1 = only now and then, 2 = some of the time, 3 = most of the time.

Appendix B: Descriptive Statistics

Table B1: Descriptive Statistics – Socio-Demographics

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Age	16	55	53.28	90	18.17
Income	1	9	8.31	13	2.45
	0	1			
Gender	51.86%	48.14%			
University Degree	64.16%	35.84%			
Unemployed	98.85%	1.15%			
Union Member	84.55%	15.45%			
East Germany	75%	25%			

Table B2: Descriptive Statistics – Political Attitudes

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Political Ideology	1	6	5.32	11	2.02
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-2.13	-0.09	0	2.23	1
Fear of Globalization	1	4	3.61	7	1.65
Political Interest	0	2	2.38	4	0.93
Dissatisfaction w/ Democracy	-2	-1	-0.49	2	0.92
Economic Prospective	-2	0	-0.06	2	0.77
Anti-European Integration	-2	-1	-0.80	2	1.05
Dissatisfaction w/ COVID Response	-5	-1	-0.21	5	2.91
Politicians Germany's Biggest Issue	-2	-1	-0.50	2	1.07

Table B3: Descriptive Statistics – Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

Variable	Min	Median	Mean	Max	SD
Require immigrants to adapt to German culture	-2	0	0.23	2	1.13
Minorities should adapt to German practice	-2	1	0.66	2	0.96
Immigrants bad for German economy	-2	0	-0.47	2	0.87
Immigrants bad for German culture	-2	-1	-0.45	2	1.24
Immigrants lead to more crime	-2	0	-0.03	2	1.19

Table B4: Descriptive Statistics – Party ID

Variable	AfD	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	Other
Party ID	4.15%	6.22%	24.91%	19.42%	14.72%	5.55%	25.03%

Appendix C: Average Marginal Effects for Independent Variables from Tables 1 and 2

Figure C1: Average Marginal Effect of Anti-European Union Integration on Vote Choice
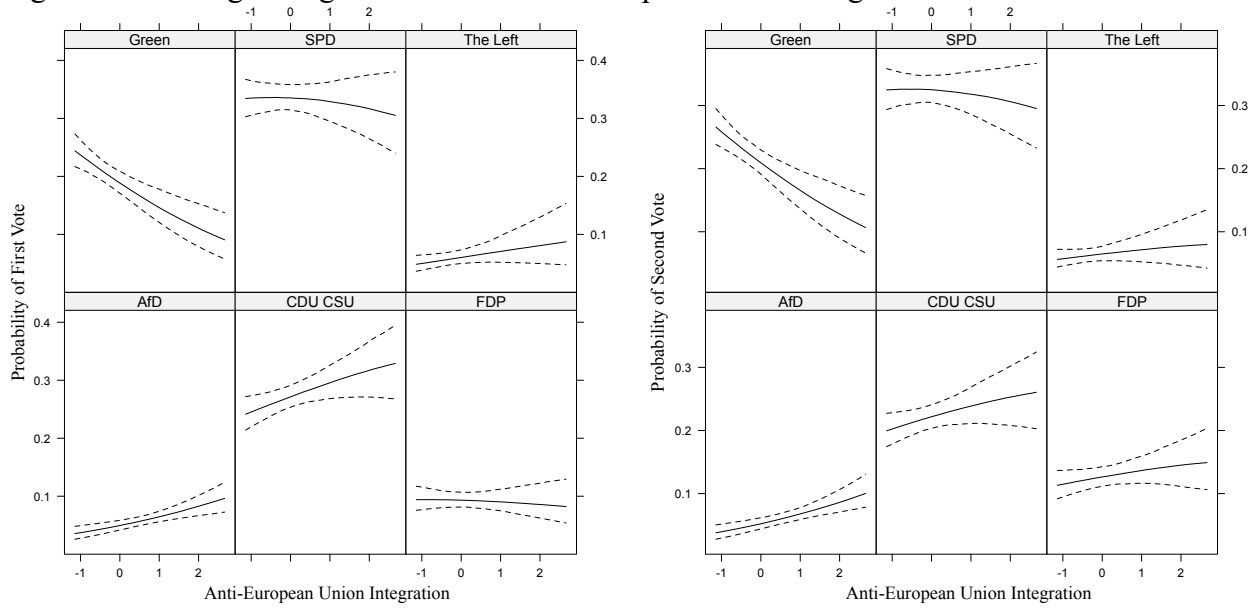
Figure C2: Average Marginal Effect of Attitudes Towards Politicians on First Vote Choice
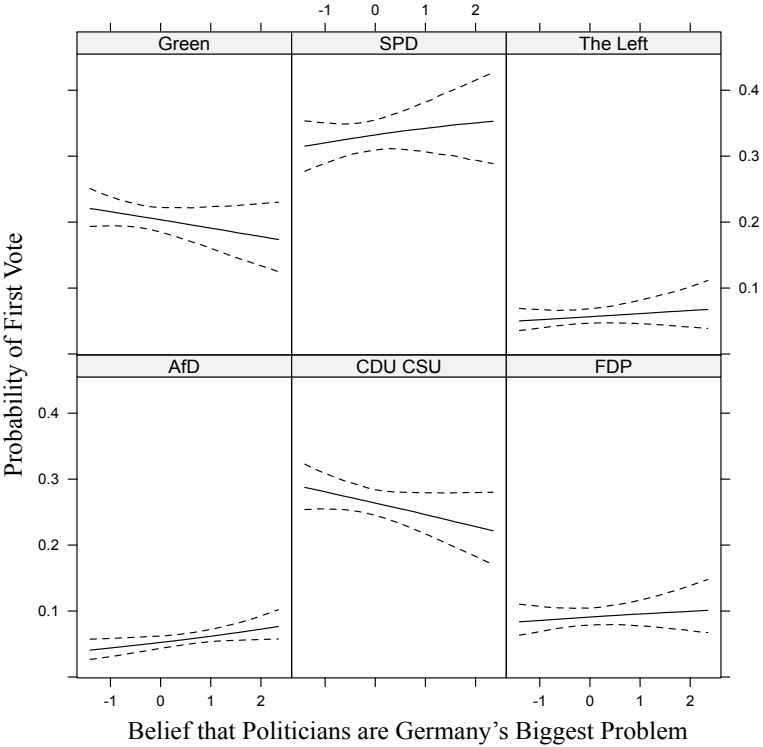
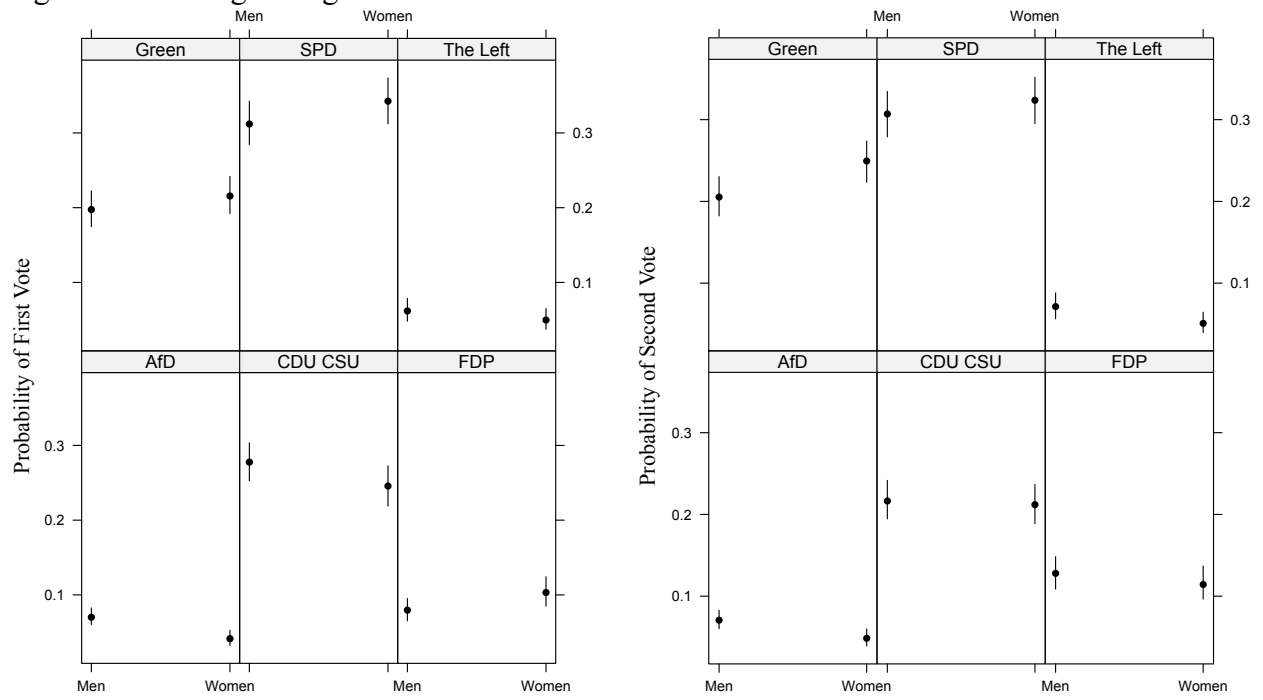# Figure C3: Average Marginal Effect of Gender on Vote Choice

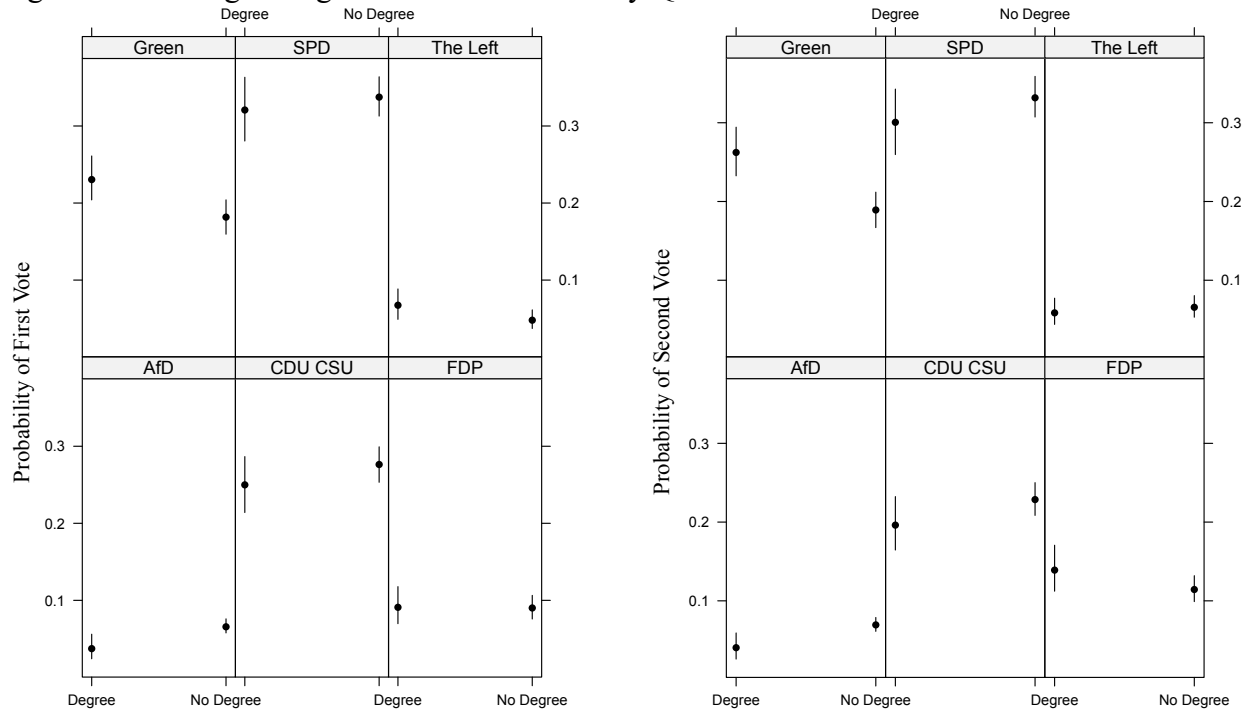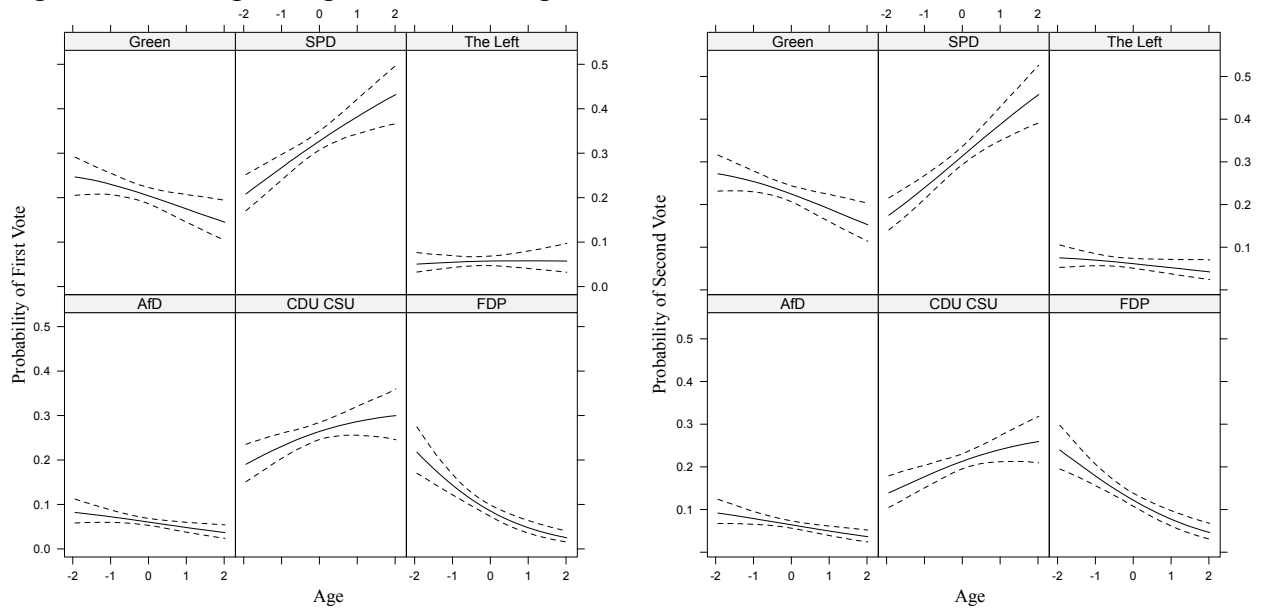Figure C4: Average Marginal Effect of University Qualification on Vote Choice

Figure C5: Average Marginal Effect of Age on Vote Choice

Appendix D: Alternative Models (w/ Party ID Included)

Table D1: 2021 German Federal Election 1st Vote – Multinomial Logit Model Output

	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left	Other
Constant	-1.28	-0.54	0.41	-4.37	-4.43	-0.72
	(0.77)	(0.73)	(0.56)	(5.73)	(4.73)	(0.63)
Age	-0.23	0.33	0.20	-0.004	0.29	-0.14
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Woman	0.82**	0.60**	0.70**	0.56**	0.50*	0.41*
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.19)
University Qualification	0.48*	0.54*	0.55*	0.59*	0.56*	0.55*
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Income	0.01	0.25	0.08	0.13	0.33	0.17
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.20)
East Germany	0.06	0.28	0.28	0.44*	0.70**	-0.26
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.25)
Political Ideology	-0.47*	-0.63**	-0.76**	-0.80**	-1.85**	-0.81**
	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.24)
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	-0.32	-0.55*	-0.70**	-1.40**	-0.94**	-0.62**
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.23)
Dissatisfaction w/ Democracy	-0.40*	-0.65**	-0.53**	-0.57**	-0.21	-0.12
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.20)
Anti-EU Integration	-0.09	0.02	-0.04	-0.28	0.06	0.07
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.17)
Politicians Germany's Biggest Issue	-0.38	-0.43*	-0.39*	-0.54**	-0.46*	-0.34
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.21)
Dissatisfaction w/ COVID Response	-0.58**	-0.75**	-0.65**	-0.39*	-0.67**	-0.18
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.21)
Party ID - FPD	6.28**	5.30**	2.94**	6.61	5.09	2.26*
	(0.96)	(0.96)	(0.89)	(5.78)	(4.93)	(0.98)
Party ID - CDU/CSU	4.49**	5.75**	2.95**	6.86	4.21	2.76**
	(0.81)	(0.76)	(0.63)	(5.74)	(4.82)	(0.68)
Party ID - SPD	4.51**	4.17**	6.52**	8.74	7.03	3.64**
	(1.14)	(1.11)	(0.97)	(5.79)	(4.81)	(1.04)
Party ID - Green	7.82	7.22	8.22	13.42	10.32	6.80
	(7.00)	(7.00)	(6.98)	(9.01)	(8.42)	(6.99)
Party ID - The Left	0.99	0.11	1.94*	5.80	6.22	0.76
	(1.36)	(1.48)	(0.89)	(5.77)	(4.77)	(0.99)
Party ID - Other	2.84**	2.61**	2.50**	6.30	5.49	2.05**
	(0.75)	(0.73)	(0.54)	(5.73)	(4.73)	(0.57)
N						2,164
PRE						0.522
ePRE						0.390
Akaike Inf. Crit.						4,130.2

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; standard errors in parentheses.

Table D2: 2021 German Federal Election 2nd Vote – Multinomial Logit Model Output

	FDP	CDU/CSU	SPD	Green	The Left	Other
Constant	-2.45*	-1.18	0.57	-4.53	-4.93	-0.97
	(1.23)	(0.84)	(0.52)	(7.17)	(5.43)	(0.63)
Age	-0.04	0.41	0.35	0.05	0.10	-0.21
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.23)
Woman	0.39*	0.49**	0.45**	0.42*	0.20	0.26
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.18)
University Qualification	0.49*	0.43	0.42	0.57*	0.15	0.31
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Income	0.16	0.33	0.10	0.28	0.13	0.27
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.20)
East Germany	0.22	0.29	0.13	0.25	0.70**	-0.08
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Political Ideology	6.71**	3.40**	1.64*	5.80	3.42	0.58
	(1.27)	(0.97)	(0.72)	(7.19)	(5.80)	(1.06)
Anti-Immigrant Sentiment	5.62**	5.79**	2.29**	6.80	4.09	2.79**
	(1.24)	(0.85)	(0.56)	(7.18)	(5.50)	(0.66)
Dissatisfaction w/ Democracy	4.32**	3.01**	5.32**	7.83	6.32	2.63**
	(1.38)	(1.05)	(0.70)	(7.19)	(5.47)	(0.87)
Anti-EU Integration	9.87	7.90	8.63	14.50	12.09	8.09
	(11.02)	(10.99)	(10.96)	(13.09)	(12.22)	(10.97)
Politicians Germany's Biggest Issue	2.02	-0.30	0.87	5.33	6.51	1.05
	(1.63)	(1.93)	(0.86)	(7.21)	(5.46)	(0.96)
Dissatisfaction w/ COVID Response	4.80**	3.08**	2.60**	6.84	5.80	2.73**
	(1.22)	(0.85)	(0.51)	(7.17)	(5.44)	(0.58)
Party ID - FPD	-0.52*	-0.36	-0.72**	-0.84**	-1.73**	-0.72**
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.27)	(0.23)
Party ID - CDU/CSU	-0.42	-0.85**	-0.80**	-1.56**	-1.34**	-0.92**
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.23)
Party ID - SPD	-0.46*	-0.53**	-0.48**	-0.57**	-0.27	-0.19
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.20)
Party ID - Green	-0.10	-0.13	-0.21	-0.46**	-0.34	0.06
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.17)
Party ID - The Left	-0.28	-0.09	-0.36*	-0.23	-0.34	-0.07
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.20)
Party ID - Other	-0.46*	-0.80**	-0.59**	-0.51**	-0.44*	-0.11
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.20)
N						2,170
PRE						0.548
ePRE						0.426
Akaike Inf. Crit.						3,991.6

Note: $p<0.05$; $p<0.01$; standard errors in parentheses.