

Online appendix¹

1. German question wording

| Variable name | Measure |
|------------------------|--|
| Vote Decision | <p>Bei der Bundestagswahl können Sie ja zwei Stimmen vergeben. Die Erststimme für einen Kandidaten aus Ihrem Wahlkreis, die Zweitstimme für eine Partei. Hier ist ein Musterstimmzettel, ähnlich wie Sie ihn bei der Bundestagswahl erhalten. Was werden Sie bei dieser Bundestagswahl auf Ihrem Stimmzettel ankreuzen?</p> <p>Dummy variables were created from the item for the second vote with 1 meaning ‘intention to vote for party x’ and 0 ‘no intention to vote for party x’.</p> |
| Party Identification | <p>Und jetzt noch einmal kurz zu den politischen Parteien. In Deutschland neigen viele Leute längere Zeit einer bestimmten politischen Partei zu, obwohl sie auch ab und zu eine andere Partei wählen. Wie ist das bei Ihnen: Neigen Sie - ganz allgemein - einer bestimmten Partei zu? Und wenn ja, welcher?</p> <p>Dummy variables were created from the item with 1 meaning ‘identification with party x’ and 0 ‘no identification with party x’.</p> |
| Economic Liberalism* | <p>Die Regierung sollte Maßnahmen ergreifen, um die Einkommensunterschiede zu verringern.</p> <p>Besserverdienende Bürger sollten mehr Steuern bezahlen als bisher.</p> <p>Manche wollen weniger Steuern und Abgaben, auch wenn das weniger sozialstaatliche Leistungen bedeutet, andere wollen mehr sozialstaatliche Leistungen, auch wenn das mehr Steuern und Abgaben bedeutet. Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage?</p> |
| Ethnocentrism* | <p>Einwanderer sollten verpflichtet werden, sich der deutschen Kultur anzupassen.</p> <p>Nun geht es um die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer. Sollten die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer erleichtert oder eingeschränkt werden?</p> <p>Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage?</p> |
| Moral Traditionalism* | <p>Gleichgeschlechtliche Ehen sollten gesetzlich anerkannt werden.</p> <p>Die Menschen sollten sich stärker an den Geboten Gottes orientieren.</p> |
| Environmental Concern* | <p>Die Energieversorgung sollte auch durch die Nutzung von Atomkraft gesichert werden.</p> <p>Nun zu einigen politischen Streitfragen. Manche meinen, dass die Bekämpfung des Klimawandels auf jeden Fall Vorrang haben sollte, auch wenn das dem Wirtschaftswachstum schadet. Andere meinen, dass das Wirtschaftswachstum auf jeden Fall Vorrang haben sollte, auch wenn das die Bekämpfung des Klimawandels erschwert. Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage?</p> |
| Ideology | <p>In der Politik reden die Leute häufig von links und rechts. Wenn Sie eine Skala von 1 bis</p> |

¹ to: Mader & Schoen, 2014. Chancellor Merkel, the European debt crisis and the AfD: An analysis of voting behaviour in the 2013 Federal Election.

11 benutzen, wo würden Sie sich selbst einordnen?

Candidate Preference Nun einige Fragen zu den Kanzlerkandidaten der Bundestagswahl 2013. Angela Merkel und Peer Steinbrück sind ja die Kanzlerkandidaten der beiden großen Parteien. Wen hätten Sie nach der Bundestagswahl lieber als Bundeskanzlerin oder Bundeskanzler?

Dummy variables were created from the item with 1 meaning 'preference for candidate x' and 0 'no preference for candidate x'.

Attitude towards the Euro Crisis In Zeiten der europäischen Schuldenkrise sollte Deutschland EU-Mitgliedsstaaten, die starke wirtschaftliche und finanzielle Schwierigkeiten haben, finanziell unterstützen.

Item was recoded so that higher values reflect opposition of financial aid to other EU members

* See following section of the appendix for detailed information on the operationalization

2. Operationalization of policy-related predispositions

Table A2.1: Results of an exploratory factor analysis

| | F1 | F2 | F3 | F4 |
|--|------|-----|-----|-----|
| Besserverdienende Bürger sollten mehr Steuern bezahlen als bisher. (recoded) | 0.64 | | | |
| Die Regierung sollte Maßnahmen ergreifen, um die Einkommensunterschiede zu verringern. (recoded) | 0.63 | | | |
| Manche wollen weniger Steuern und Abgaben, auch wenn das weniger sozialstaatliche Leistungen bedeutet, andere wollen mehr sozialstaatliche Leistungen, auch wenn das mehr Steuern und Abgaben bedeutet. Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage? (recoded) | 0.41 | | | |
| Nun geht es um die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer. Sollten die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer erleichtert oder eingeschränkt werden? Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage? | 0.58 | | | |
| Einwanderer sollten verpflichtet werden, sich der deutschen Kultur anzupassen. | 0.60 | | | |
| Gleichgeschlechtliche Ehen sollten gesetzlich anerkannt werden. (recoded) | 0.50 | | | |
| Die Menschen sollten sich stärker an den Geboten Gottes orientieren. | 0.51 | | | |
| Manche meinen, dass die Bekämpfung des Klimawandels auf jeden Fall Vorrang haben sollte, auch wenn das dem Wirtschaftswachstum schadet. Andere meinen, dass das Wirtschaftswachstum auf jeden Fall Vorrang haben sollte, auch wenn das die Bekämpfung des Klimawandels erschwert. Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage? (recoded) | 0.54 | | | |
| Die Energieversorgung sollte auch durch die Nutzung von Atomkraft gesichert werden. | 0.58 | | | |
| Eigenvalue | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.6 |

Notes: Oblique rotation was used and no specification concerning the number of factors to be extracted was made; loadings smaller .3 are not shown

Exploratory factor analysis

To ensure the validity of the measures for the policy-related predispositions, an exploratory factor analysis was used to gauge the general appropriateness of the items. The results are reported in Table A2.1 and clearly reveal that four dimensions underlie the data. Three of the four factors have eigenvalues higher than one. All factor loadings are sufficiently high and no cross-loadings higher than 0.3 exist. These results justify running a confirmatory factor analysis to validate the measurement of the predispositions further.

Table A2.2: Confirmatory factor analysis with four latent variables

| | EL | ETH | MT | EC |
|---|------|-----|----|----|
| Economic Liberalism (EL) | | | | |
| Besserverdienende Bürger sollten mehr Steuern bezahlen als bisher.* (recoded) | 0.75 | | | |
| Die Regierung sollte Maßnahmen ergreifen, um die Einkommensunterschiede zu verringern. (recoded) | 0.62 | | | |
| Manche wollen weniger Steuern und Abgaben, auch wenn das weniger sozialstaatliche Leistungen bedeutet, andere wollen mehr sozialstaatliche Leistungen, auch wenn das mehr Steuern und Abgaben bedeutet. Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage? (recoded) | 0.46 | | | |
| Ethnocentrism (ETH) | | | | |
| Nun geht es um die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer. Sollten die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer erleichtert oder eingeschränkt werden? Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage?* | 0.84 | | | |
| Einwanderer sollten verpflichtet werden, sich der deutschen Kultur anzupassen. | 0.53 | | | |
| Moral Traditionalism (MT) | | | | |
| Gleichgeschlechtliche Ehen sollten gesetzlich anerkannt werden.* (recoded) | 0.56 | | | |
| Die Menschen sollten sich stärker an den Geboten Gottes orientieren. | 0.56 | | | |
| Environmental Concern (EC) | | | | |
| Manche meinen, dass die Bekämpfung des Klimawandels auf jeden Fall Vorrang haben sollte, auch wenn das dem Wirtschaftswachstum schadet. Andere meinen, dass das Wirtschaftswachstum auf jeden Fall Vorrang haben sollte, auch wenn das die Bekämpfung des Klimawandels erschwert. Und wie ist das bei Ihnen? Wo stehen Sie bei dieser Frage?* (recoded) | 0.67 | | | |
| Die Energieversorgung sollte auch durch die Nutzung von Atomkraft gesichert werden. | 0.63 | | | |

Notes: $\text{Chi}^2_{\text{corr}}$ (df=22) = 194.08, RMSEA = 0.066 (0.055/0.078), CFI 0.86, SRMR = 0.070; reported are standardized loadings; all loadings are statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$); * indicates that items were used as marker indicators; a representative weight was used in the analysis; for further specifications see the text.

Confirmatory factor analysis

The four policy-related predispositions were subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis using Mplus 7.1. The items were specified as continuous (reflective) indicators, since the reactions of the respondents to all items were measured by at least a five-point Likert-scale (Bentler & Chou 1987). To scale the latent variables, marker variables were chosen. In table A2.2, the marker variables are marked with a star. All covariances between the latent variables were estimated freely, all error covariances set to zero (Byrne 2012). The items were only allowed to load on the respective latent factor. It was necessary to set the factor loadings of both indicators of moral traditionalism equal to ensure identification of the model. The full information maximum likelihood estimator which is robust to non-normality and non-independence of the observations was employed (Muthén & Muthén 1998-2012). A

representative weight was used in the analysis. The global fit parameters indicate that the model fits the data reasonably well (Chi^2corr ($df=22$) = 194.08, $\text{RMSEA} = 0.066$ (0.055/0.078), $\text{CFI} = 0.86$, $\text{SRMR} = 0.070$). As documented in Table A2.2, the direction of the (completely standardized) loadings are in accord with expectations, all loadings are statistically significant, and of sufficient size to consider them as salient (Brown 2006: 130). In sum, these results justify the calculation of factor scores.

Table A2.3: Factor determinacy values of the factor scores

| | EL | ETH | MT | EC |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Factor determinacy value | 0.84 | 0.87 | 0.70 | 0.81 |

EL = Economic Liberalism; ETH = Ethnocentrism; MT = Moral Traditionalism; EC = Environmental Concern.

Calculation of factor scores, determinacy check, and descriptive statistics

Given the results from the exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, factor scores were calculated from the results of the confirmatory factor analysis reported in the preceding section. To check the reliability of the calculated factor scores, the factor determinacy values were inspected (Brown 2006: 37; Grice 2001: 432). Factor determinacy values vary from 0-1 with higher values indicating more reliable scores (Muthén 1998-2004: 47; Muthén & Muthén 1998-2012: 731). The calculation of the values is biased by the number of indicators used. Values higher than 0.8 are usually considered indicating an adequate factor score solution (Gorsuch 1983: 260; Grice 2001: 436). Table A2.3 documents the respective values for all four factor scores. Except the value for moral traditionalism, all factor determinacies exceed the suggested critical values of 0.8. Moral traditionalism is measured by two indicators which cover slightly different aspects. Since the minimal number of two indicators was used in measuring this construct, we consider it justifiable to proceed with the analysis using all four factor scores.

Table A2.4: Descriptive statistics of policy predispositions

| | Very Low | | | | Very High | Mean* |
|-----------------------|----------|------|------|------|-----------|-------|
| | 0 | .25 | .5 | .75 | 1 | |
| Economic Liberalism | 24 % | 39 % | 23 % | 10 % | 3 % | .36 |
| Ethnocentrism | 4 % | 18 % | 28 % | 16 % | 23 % | .59 |
| Moral Traditionalism | 26 % | 30 % | 25 % | 10 % | 9 % | .39 |
| Environmental Concern | 3 % | 16 % | 37 % | 33 % | 10 % | .56 |

Notes: Weighed data. For ease of presentation, factor scores were rescaled to 0-1 and then collapsed to a five-point scale. E.g., “.5” represents factor scores greater than or equal to .4 and smaller than .6. * mean of original factor scores.

3. Multinomial logit analyses of vote choice

Long- and short-term factors as determinants

Table A3.1: Effects of party identification, policy predispositions, ideology, candidate preferences and attitudes towards the Euro crisis on vote choice in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference is vote choice for CDU/CSU)

| | FDP | SPD | Greens | Left Party | AfD |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | | | | |
| CDU/CSU | -2.58*** (0.64) | -2.15* (0.89) | -1.92* (0.81) | -3.82*** (0.76) | -2.45*** (0.69) |
| SPD | -2.21* (0.98) | 1.90** (0.65) | 0.15 (0.82) | -2.06** (0.73) | -1.60 (0.83) |
| Greens | -22.48 (0.90) | 0.59 (1.01) | 2.18* (0.97) | -1.86 (1.00) | -0.54 (1.18) |
| no PI | -1.57* (0.77) | 0.45 (0.70) | 0.92 (0.84) | -1.79* (0.72) | -0.65 (0.66) |
| <i>policy-related Predispositions</i> | | | | | |
| Economic Liberalism | -0.12 (1.34) | -3.98** (1.45) | -0.95 (1.41) | -6.86*** (1.59) | 0.22 (1.35) |
| Ethnocentrism | -4.19** (1.48) | -0.05 (1.30) | -0.80 (1.50) | -0.93 (1.70) | 1.47 (1.60) |
| Moral Traditionalism | -1.82 (0.96) | -1.44 (0.90) | -1.61 (0.97) | -1.92 (1.06) | -0.65 (0.94) |
| Environmental Concern | -1.27 (2.62) | -0.72 (1.84) | 7.87*** (2.20) | 2.48 (2.14) | 3.11 (2.13) |
| Ideology | 2.22 (1.28) | -2.49** (0.95) | -2.41 (1.27) | -3.22* (1.44) | -0.19 (1.08) |
| <i>Candidate Orientation</i> | | | | | |
| Merkel | -1.00 (0.80) | -2.05*** (0.57) | -2.80*** (0.64) | -2.49*** (0.62) | -1.74** (0.63) |
| Steinbrück | -0.64 (1.40) | 2.41** (0.75) | 0.32 (0.81) | 0.76 (0.87) | 1.34 (0.92) |
| <i>Issue orientation</i> | | | | | |
| Opposition to Financial Aid | -0.55 (0.89) | -1.84 (1.08) | -1.82 (1.14) | -0.84 (1.16) | 3.90** (1.35) |
| Constant | 3.97 (2.58) | 5.06* (2.10) | -0.34 (2.46) | 6.46** (2.42) | -4.46 (2.54) |
| -2 LL _{Nullmodell} | 1857.4 | | | | |
| Modell- χ^2 | 4821.3 | | | | |
| Korr. Pseudo-R ² (McFadden) | 0.45 | | | | |
| Observations | 593 | | | | |

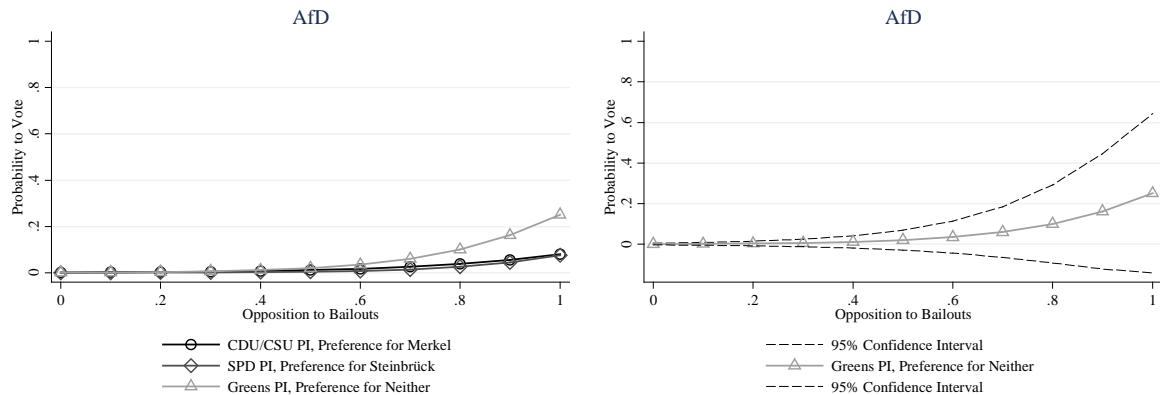
Notes: Entries in the first two columns are logistic regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p<0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Table A3.1.x: Effects of party identification, policy predispositions, candidate preferences and attitudes towards the Euro crisis on vote choice in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference is vote choice for CDU/CSU)

| | FDP | SPD | Greens | Left Party | AfD |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | | | | |
| CDU/CSU | -2.46*** (0.63) | -2.45** (0.88) | -2.06* (0.80) | -4.08*** (0.73) | -2.51*** (0.67) |
| SPD | -2.28* (0.96) | 1.62* (0.65) | -0.02 (0.82) | -2.36** (0.72) | -1.55 (0.85) |
| Greens | -14.95*** (0.86) | 0.34 (1.07) | 2.03* (1.02) | -2.11 (1.08) | -0.62 (1.22) |
| no PI | -1.40 (0.75) | 0.07 (0.70) | 0.65 (0.82) | -2.28** (0.73) | -0.67 (0.65) |
| <i>policy-related Predispositions</i> | | | | | |
| Economic Liberalism | 0.05 (1.33) | -4.02** (1.48) | -0.88 (1.43) | -7.24*** (1.65) | 0.29 (1.37) |
| Ethnocentrism | -4.10** (1.53) | -0.85 (1.32) | -1.47 (1.44) | -1.88 (1.68) | 1.52 (1.65) |
| Moral Traditionalism | -1.69 (0.98) | -1.73 (0.94) | -1.91 (1.03) | -2.28* (1.11) | -0.58 (0.96) |
| Environmental Concern | -2.05 (2.96) | -0.79 (1.86) | 7.86*** (2.21) | 2.12 (2.12) | 3.28 (2.14) |
| Ideology | - | - | - | - | - |
| <i>Candidate Orientation</i> | | | | | |
| Merkel | -0.86 (0.78) | -2.12*** (0.57) | -2.91*** (0.63) | -2.59*** (0.61) | -1.76** (0.60) |
| Steinbrück | -0.52 (1.38) | 2.37** (0.74) | 0.27 (0.80) | 0.73 (0.85) | 1.30 (0.93) |
| <i>Issue orientation</i> | | | | | |
| Opposition to Financial Aid | -0.47 (0.91) | -1.72 (1.07) | -1.73 (1.14) | -0.77 (1.13) | 3.91** (1.34) |
| Constant | 5.18 (2.87) | 4.73* (2.11) | -0.83 (2.46) | 6.30** (2.40) | -4.70 (2.56) |
| -2 LL _{Nullmodell} | 1955.7 | | | | |
| Modell- χ^2 | 2745.8 | | | | |
| Korr. Pseudo-R ² (McFadden) | 0.44 | | | | |
| Observations | 593 | | | | |

Notes: Entries in the first two columns are logistic regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Figure A3.1: Effect of attitudes towards the European debt crisis on vote choice for the AfD



Notes: The graphs are derived from the multinomial regression model reported in Table A3.1. Predictions are for citizens with average values for the policy predispositions and ideology.

Table A3.2: Predicted Probabilities of CDU/CSU and SPD vote choice

| | CDU/CSU Vote Choice | | | SPD Vote Choice | | |
|------------|---------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| | PI CDU/CSU | PI SPD | No PI | PI CDU/CSU | PI SPD | No PI |
| Merkel | 88 (81/95) | 36 (15/57) | 50 (25/74) | 2 (0/6) | 51 (32/71) | 16 (4/29) |
| neither | 52 (26/77) | 6 (0/12) | 9 (1/18) | 10 (0/26) | 71 (51/89) | 24 (7/41) |
| Steinbrück | 22 (0/50) | 1 (0/2) | 2 (0/6) | 49 (10/87) | 94 (91/98) | 68 (51/86) |

Notes: Entries show predicted probabilities of vote for the CDU/CSU and the SPD for voters with a preference for Merkel, Steinbrück, or neither; 95% confidence intervals are reported in parentheses; results are calculated from regression models in Table A3.1.; policy-related predispositions, ideology and attitudes towards the Euro crisis were set to their means.

Long-term factors as determinants only

Table A3.3: Effects of party identification, policy predispositions, and ideology on vote choice in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference is vote choice for CDU/CSU)

| | FDP | SPD | Greens | Left Party | AfD |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | | | | |
| CDU/CSU | -2.72*** (0.62) | -2.92*** (0.85) | -2.56** (0.85) | -4.50*** (0.68) | -3.05*** (0.65) |
| SPD | -2.22* (0.99) | 2.75*** (0.65) | 0.60 (0.83) | -1.64* (0.75) | -0.97 (0.92) |
| Greens | 14.61*** (0.93) | 0.51 (0.97) | 2.05* (0.96) | -2.03* (0.99) | -0.66 (1.10) |
| no PI | -1.52* (0.76) | 0.49 (0.67) | 0.90 (0.86) | -1.88** (0.67) | -0.65 (0.63) |
| <i>policy-related Predispositions</i> | | | | | |
| Economic Liberalism | 0.23 (1.40) | -4.73*** (1.34) | -0.91 (1.29) | -6.80*** (1.55) | 0.66 (1.16) |
| Ethnocentrism | -4.10** (1.57) | -0.90 (1.18) | -1.08 (1.33) | -1.10 (1.63) | 3.87** (1.42) |
| Moral Traditionalism | -1.78 (0.92) | -0.53 (0.86) | -0.81 (0.97) | -1.06 (1.00) | -0.19 (0.91) |
| Environmental Concern | -1.00 (2.65) | -1.13 (1.45) | 6.90*** (1.91) | 1.57 (1.90) | 2.75 (1.73) |
| Ideology | 2.09 (1.31) | -2.86** (0.90) | -3.06* (1.22) | -3.52* (1.44) | -0.60 (0.93) |
| Constant | 2.55 (2.29) | 4.08* (1.65) | -2.37 (2.10) | 4.95* (2.19) | -4.10* (1.92) |
| -2 LL _{Nullmodell} | 1856.4 | | | | |
| Modell- χ^2 | 2564.2 | | | | |
| Korr. Pseudo-R ² (McFadden) | 0.40 | | | | |
| Observations | 593 | | | | |

Notes: Entries are logistic regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Table A3.3.x: Effects of party identification, policy predispositions, and ideology on vote choice in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference is vote choice for CDU/CSU)

| | FDP | SPD | Greens | Left Party | AfD |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | | | | |
| CDU/CSU | -2.60*** (0.60) | -3.26*** (0.85) | -2.84*** (0.85) | -4.85*** (0.65) | -3.12*** (0.63) |
| SPD | -2.37* (0.99) | 2.47*** (0.65) | 0.41 (0.82) | -1.93** (0.73) | -0.97 (0.95) |
| Greens | -14.85*** (0.95) | 0.30 (1.06) | 1.93 (1.03) | -2.23* (1.08) | -0.68 (1.13) |
| no PI | -1.39 (0.74) | 0.10 (0.68) | 0.59 (0.85) | -2.34*** (0.67) | -0.74 (0.63) |
| <i>policy-related Predispositions</i> | | | | | |
| Economic Liberalism | 0.34 (1.38) | -4.99*** (1.33) | -1.14 (1.31) | -7.37*** (1.54) | 0.62 (1.18) |
| Ethnocentrism | -4.07* (1.60) | -1.62 (1.16) | -1.80 (1.24) | -1.95 (1.60) | 3.88** (1.47) |
| Moral Traditionalism | -1.71 (0.95) | -0.76 (0.89) | -1.12 (1.04) | -1.36 (1.03) | -0.22 (0.94) |
| Environmental Concern | -1.74 (3.04) | -0.99 (1.54) | 7.03*** (1.94) | 1.44 (1.93) | 3.02 (1.75) |
| Ideology | - | - | - | - | - |
| Constant | 3.94 (2.69) | 3.54* (1.77) | -3.05 (2.12) | 4.53* (2.13) | -4.49* (1.97) |
| -2 LL _{Nullmodell} | 1857.7 | | | | |
| Modell- χ^2 | 2844.4 | | | | |
| Korr. Pseudo-R ² (McFadden) | 0.39 | | | | |
| Observations | 593 | | | | |

Notes: Entries are logistic regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

4. Regression analyses of attitudes towards the European debt crisis

Table A4.1: Effects of party identification and policy predispositions on candidate preferences in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference category is “preference for neither candidate”)

| | Opposition the Financial Aid Model 1 | Model 2 |
|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | |
| CDU/CSU | -0.12** (0.04) | -0.11** (0.04) |
| SPD | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) |
| Greens | -0.04 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.05) |
| no PI | -0.03 (0.05) | -0.03 (0.05) |
| <i>Policy-related Predispositions</i> | | |
| Economic Liberalism | 0.22** (0.08) | 0.23** (0.08) |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.52*** (0.07) | 0.52*** (0.07) |
| Moral Traditionalism | 0.01 (0.06) | 0.02 (0.06) |
| Environmental Concern | 0.10 (0.11) | 0.09 (0.11) |
| Ideology | 0.03 (0.07) | - |
| Constant | 0.16 (0.11) | 0.17 (0.11) |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.20 | .20 |
| Observations | 593 | 593 |

Notes: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

5. Multinomial logit analyses of candidate preference

Table A5.1: Effects of party identification, policy predispositions, and ideology on candidate preferences in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference category is “preference for neither candidate”)

| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Merkel | Steinbrück | Merkel | Steinbrück |
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | | | |
| CDU/CSU | 3.46*** (0.61) | 1.31 (0.83) | 3.73*** (0.59) | 1.34 (0.83) |
| SPD | 0.55 (0.49) | 2.96*** (0.46) | 0.74 (0.48) | 3.00*** (0.46) |
| Greens | -0.09 (0.51) | 0.94 (0.52) | -0.02 (0.52) | 0.95 (0.52) |
| no PI | 0.41 (0.51) | 1.18 (0.60) | 0.75 (0.49) | 1.24* (0.58) |
| <i>Policy-related Predispositions</i> | | | | |
| Economic Liberalism | 0.00 (1.07) | -2.86* (1.17) | 0.51 (1.07) | -2.75* (1.17) |
| Ethnocentrism | -2.04* (0.98) | -2.61** (1.00) | -1.40 (0.95) | -2.57** (0.97) |
| Moral Traditionalism | -1.83* (0.82) | -0.45 (0.73) | -1.45 (0.84) | -0.34 (0.72) |
| Environmental Concern | -2.81 (1.53) | -3.38* (1.58) | -2.81 (1.51) | -3.34* (1.56) |
| Ideology | 2.76** (0.87) | 0.52 (0.88) | - | - |
| Constant | 2.46 (1.60) | 3.58* (1.67) | 2.80 (1.58) | 3.62* (1.66) |
| -2 LL _{Nullmodell} | 1173.8 | | 1173.8 | |
| Modell- χ^2 | 175.3 | | 162.2 | |
| Korr. Pseudo-R ² (McFadden) | 0.34 | | 0.33 | |
| Observations | 574 | | 574 | |

Notes: Entries are logistic regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Table A5.1x: Effects of party identification, policy predispositions, and ideology on candidate preferences in the 2013 federal election (multinomial logistic regression; reference category is “preference for neither candidate”)

| | Model 3 | | Model 4 | |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Merkel | Steinbrück | Merkel | Steinbrück |
| <i>Party Identification</i> | | | | |
| CDU/CSU | - | - | - | - |
| SPD | - | - | - | - |
| Greens | - | - | - | - |
| no PI | - | - | - | - |
| <i>Policy-related Predispositions</i> | | | | |
| Economic Liberalism | 0.61 (0.98) | -3.40*** (1.02) | 1.21 (1.10) | -3.32** (1.13) |
| Ethnocentrism | -2.17* (0.96) | -2.77** (0.96) | -1.23 (0.94) | -2.52** (0.95) |
| Moral Traditionalism | 0.07 (0.70) | -0.07 (0.64) | 0.57 (0.64) | 0.06 (0.63) |
| Environmental Concern | -4.05** (1.29) | -2.78* (1.37) | -4.25** (1.32) | -2.76* (1.36) |
| Ideology | 3.80*** (0.87) | 1.04 (0.86) | - | - |
| Constant | 2.96* (1.44) | 4.86** (1.50) | 3.82* (1.51) | 5.03*** (1.50) |
| -2 LL _{Nullmodell} | 1173.8 | | 1173.8 | |
| Modell- χ^2 | 81.1 | | 68.0 | |
| Korr. Pseudo-R ² (McFadden) | 0.14 | | 0.11 | |
| Observations | 574 | | 574 | |

Notes: Entries are logistic regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses; all variables were rescaled to 0-1; a representative weight was used in the analyses; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

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