

Conceptions of National Identity and Ambivalence Towards Immigration

ONLINE APPENDIX

Descriptive statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Aid Refugees?	2,178	2.718	1.318	1	5
Treatment	2,178	1.514	0.500	1	2
Civic	2,178	0.614	0.169	0	1
Ethnocultural	2,178	0.504	0.197	0	1
Attachment to the nation	2,178	3.471	0.960	1	5
Education (low)	2,178	0.338	0.473	0	1
Education (high)	2,178	0.278	0.448	0	1
Age	2,178	50	15	13	90
Female	2,178	0.495	0.500	0	1
East Germany	2,178	0.164	0.371	0	1
Political Interest	2,178	0.586	0.258	0	1
PID (AfD)	2,178	0.059	0.236	0	1
PID (FDP)	2,178	0.040	0.196	0	1
PID (SPD)	2,178	0.196	0.397	0	1
PID (Greens)	2,178	0.085	0.279	0	1
PID (Left)	2,178	0.104	0.305	0	1

Table A1: Summary Statistics for 2015 YouGov Panel.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Restrict Immigration?	14,378	5.133	1.725	1	7
Civic	14,378	0.612	0.169	0	1
Ethnocultural	14,378	0.511	0.193	0	1
Attachment to the nation	14,378	3.511	1.009	1	5
Education (low)	14,378	0.270	0.444	0	1
Education (high)	14,378	0.367	0.482	0	1
Age	14,378	45	15	17	88
Female	14,378	0.539	0.498	0	1
East Germany	14,378	0.182	0.385	0	1
Political Interest	14,378	3.318	1.039	1	5
Strength PID	14,378	2.708	1.745	0	5
PID (AfD)	14,378	0.093	0.291	0	1
PID (CDU)	14,378	0.203	0.403	0	1
PID (FDP)	14,378	0.035	0.184	0	1
PID (SPD)	14,378	0.178	0.383	0	1
PID (Greens)	14,378	0.092	0.289	0	1
PID (Left)	14,378	0.095	0.293	0	1

Table A2: Summary Statistics for GLES 2016 Panel (W1).

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Civic	5,163	0.641	0.162	0	1
Ethnocultural	5,163	0.523	0.193	0	0.9
Mean (immigration)	5,163	5.099	1.575	1	7
Variance (immigration)	5,163	0.667	0.861	0	8.6
Attachment to the nation	5,163	3.546	1.008	1	5
Education (low)	5,163	0.205	0.404	0	1
Education (high)	5,163	0.426	0.495	0	1
Age	5,163	50	14	17	88
Female	5,163	0.488	0.500	0	1
East Germany	5,163	0.176	0.381	0	1
PID (strength)	5,163	2.894	1.678	0	5
Political interest	5,163	3.510	0.999	1	5
PID (AfD)	5,163	0.090	0.286	0	1
PID (CDU)	5,163	0.215	0.411	0	1
PID (FDP)	5,163	0.038	0.192	0	1
PID (Greens)	5,163	0.100	0.299	0	1
PID (Left)	5,163	0.110	0.312	0	1

Table A3: Summary Statistics GLES Panel (w1-w8).

Main Dependent Variables

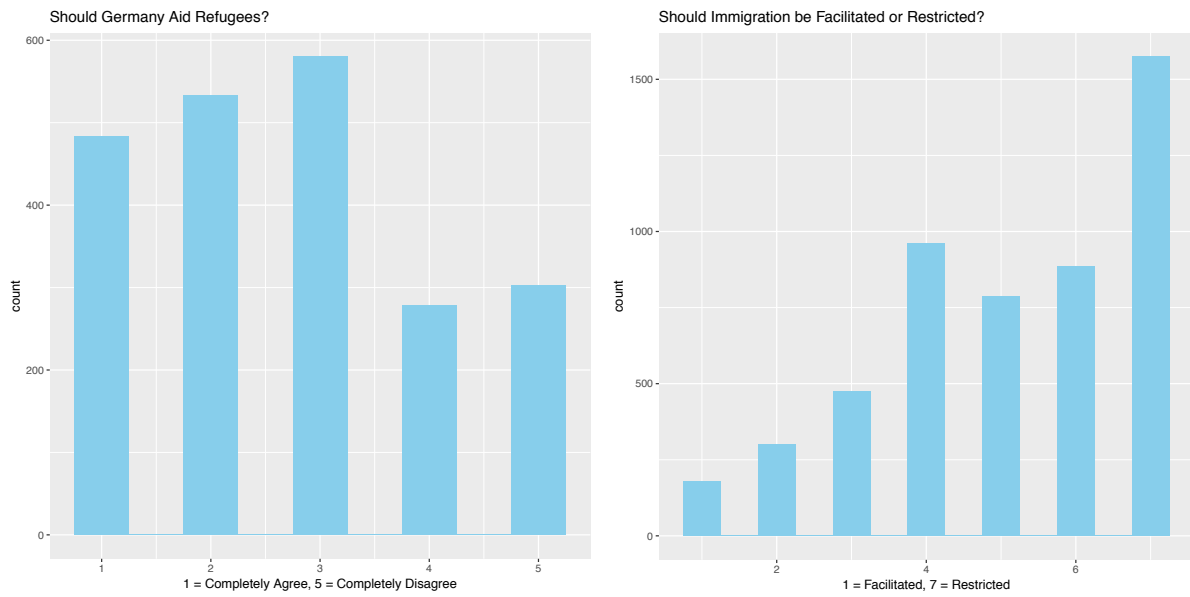


Figure A1: Histograms of Main Variables

Main Tables without Weights

<i>Dependent variable: Should Germany make efforts to help refugees at sea (even if more refugees come to Germany)?</i>				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Ordinal model	Variance model	Variance model	Variance model
<i>Variance model</i>				
Civic conception	–	-0.79* (0.39)	-1.22* (0.52)	–
Ethno-cultural conception	–	-1.90*** (0.50)	-2.64*** (0.68)	–
Civic * Ethno-cultural	–	2.76*** (0.72)	3.40*** (0.98)	–
[Reference: Ideal-type Conceptions]				
Mixed Conceptions (nominal)	–	–	–	0.19** (0.06)
No Conception (nominal)	–	–	–	0.08 (0.06)
Attachment to nation	–	-0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)
Political interest	–	0.23* (0.09)	0.30* (0.13)	0.38*** (0.10)
Experimental Treatment	–	0.02 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)
Traditionalist	–	–	-0.21 (0.45)	–
Universal	–	–	-0.45 (0.36)	–
Traditionalist*Universal	–	–	0.64 (0.62)	–
Ideological moderation	–	–	0.62** (0.21)	–
Strength of PID	–	–	0.03 (0.03)	–
Additional controls	–	X	✓	✓
<i>Choice model</i>				
Civic conception	-0.95*** (0.25)	-0.55* (0.22)	-0.46 (0.25)	-1.05** (0.34)
Ethno-cultural conception	2.88*** (0.25)	1.72*** (0.48)	1.26* (0.60)	3.43*** (0.59)
Attachment to the nation	0.17*** (0.05)	0.10* (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.18** (0.07)
Political interest	-0.56*** (0.18)	-0.26* (0.13)	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.68** (0.24)
Experimental treatment	0.24*** (0.08)	0.13* (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.28** (0.10)
Additional controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	2178	2178	1538	2178
<i>Likelihood ratio test</i> (χ^2)	–	47.37***	69.09***	48.81***
<i>AIC</i>	6327	6291	4435	6310

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A4: Results from 2015 YouGov data. Reported are coefficients from ordered logistic regressions and ordered logistic heteroskedastic models with standard errors in parantheses. Additional controls in variance and choice models (party identification, education, age, gender, place of residence) and cutoff points of the choice model not shown.

<i>Dependent variable: Should immigration be facilitated or restricted?</i>				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Choice model (w1)	Variance model (w1)	Variance model (w1)	Panel (w1-w4, w6-w8)
	<i>Ordered logistic</i>	<i>Heteroskedastic</i>	<i>Heteroskedastic</i>	<i>OLS</i>
<i>Variance model</i>				
Civic conception	–	-0.72*** (0.12)	-0.67*** (0.12)	–
Ethno-cultural conception	–	-1.25*** (0.16)	-1.03*** (0.16)	–
Civic * Ethno-cultural	–	1.63*** (0.24)	1.37*** (0.24)	–

Attachment to nation	–	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	–
Political interest	–	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	–
Strength of PID	–	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	–
Traditionalist	–	–	-1.26*** (0.15)	–
Universal	–	–	-0.49*** (0.11)	–
Traditionalist*Universal	–	–	1.58*** (0.15)	–
Additional controls	–	X	✓	–

<i>Choice model</i>				
Civic conception	-0.88*** (0.11)	-0.45*** (0.08)	-0.30*** (0.06)	-0.84*** (0.14)
Ethno-cultural conception	3.15*** (0.13)	1.84*** (0.16)	1.29*** (0.14)	-1.12*** (0.24)
Civic*Ethno-cultural	–	–	–	1.27*** (0.33)
Additional controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	14,378	14,378	14,378	5,163
<i>Likelihood ratio test</i> (χ^2)	–	107.67***	227.04***	–
<i>AIC</i>	44986	46114	46000	13001

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A5: Results from GLES data. Reported are coefficients from ordered logistic regressions and ordered logistic heteroskedastic models with standard errors in parentheses. Additional controls (education, age, gender, attachment to the nation, place of residence) and cutoff points of the choice model not shown.

	Dependent variable: Should Germany make efforts to help refugees at sea (even if more refugees come to Germany)?					
	(1) (OLS)	(2) (OLS) (ref: one-sided)	(3) (OLS) (ref: one-sided)	(4) (Ordered logistic) (ref: one-sided)	(5) (Ordered logistic) (ref: ethno-cultural)	(6) (Ordered logistic) (ref: civic)
Treatment	0.11* (0.06)	0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.07)	0.06 (0.11)	0.16 (0.15)	0.04 (0.15)
Treatment*Mixed conceptions	-	0.25 (0.14)	0.33* (0.13)	0.51** (0.19)	0.40 (0.22)	0.53* (0.22)
Treatment*No conception	-	0.08 (0.14)	0.15 (0.13)	0.14 (0.20)	-0.13 (0.21)	0.16 (0.22)
Treatment*Ethno-cultural	-	-	-	-	-	0.13 (0.21)
Treatment*Civic	-	-	-	-	0.03 (0.22)	-
Mixed conceptions	-	0.05 (0.22)	-0.29 (0.21)	-0.47 (0.30)	-0.71* (0.34)	-0.04 (0.35)
No conception	-	-0.35 (0.22)	-0.37 (0.21)	-0.40 (0.31)	-0.69* (0.35)	-0.02 (0.36)
Ethno-cultural	-	-	-	-	-	0.67* (0.34)
Civic	-	-	-	-	-0.67* (0.34)	-
Additional controls	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,178	2,178	2,178	2,178	2,178	2,178
AIC	7385	7323	7012	6462	6406	6358

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A6: Results from 2015 YouGov data. Reported are unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Additional controls (party identification, education, age, gender, place of residence, attachment to the nation, political interest) and cutoff points of the ordinal models not shown.

Alternative Explanations for Response Variability (2015)

When testing whether individuals with mixed conceptions of national identity exhibit higher response variability than individuals with ideal-type conceptions we assume such response variability is due to internal conflict and difficulty in shaping an opinion. However, high response variability may also be due to other factors such as uncertainty or indifference. An individual who is uncertain ‘does not have enough information to form a reliable opinion, but may arrive at one when provided with additional information’ (?: 3). An individual is indifferent when he or she has neither positive nor negative considerations towards an attitude object (?). ? point out that if high response variability is indeed due to internalized conflict, additional information should not reduce response variability as more information will not reduce uncertainty, but rather increase the salience of the conflicting considerations. We therefore test whether the effect of mixed conceptions on response variability is stronger among individuals who are politically informed, than among individuals who are not politically informed. We use a variable capturing political interest as a proxy for having political information. Involvement/sophistication denotes the extent to which citizens’ political cognitions are ‘numerous, cut a wide substantive swath, and are highly organized, or “constrained”’ (?: 332). We believe that political interest is a reasonable—although perhaps not perfect—indicator, given that it is one of the main determinants of involvement/sophistication thus defined (?). As can be seen in Table A7, individuals with mixed conceptions of national identity exhibit higher response variability when they are politically interested, than when they are not. This goes against the idea that uncertainty is driving response variability. Figure A2 further illustrates this effect.

<i>Dependent variable: Should Germany make efforts to help refugees at sea (even if more refugees come to Germany)?</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Variance model <i>Full Sample</i>	Variance model <i>Politically Interested</i>	Variance model <i>Politically non-interested</i>
<i>Variance model</i>			
Civic conception	-0.00 (0.91)	-1.82* (0.71)	-0.06 (0.52)
Ethno-cultural conception	-0.68 (1.04)	-3.19*** (0.96)	-1.25* (0.63)
Civic * Ethno-cultural	0.69 (1.57)	5.01*** (1.32)	1.34 (0.98)
Political Interest	1.34 (1.01)		
Political interest* Civic	-1.80 (1.47)		
Political Interest * Ethno-cultural	-2.79 (1.83)		
Political Interest * Civic * Ethno-cultural	4.47 (2.64)		

<i>Choice model</i>			
Civic conception	-0.94 (0.63)	-0.25 (0.22)	-0.76* (0.37)
Ethno-cultural conception	2.99 (1.75)	0.98 (0.52)	2.15** (0.77)
Additional controls	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	2178	973	1205
<i>AIC</i>	6291	2716	3546

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A7: Results from 2015 YouGov data. Reported are coefficients from ordered logistic regressions and ordered logistic heteroskedastic models with standard errors in parantheses. Additional controls in choice models (party identification, education, age, gender, place of residence) and cutoff points not shown.

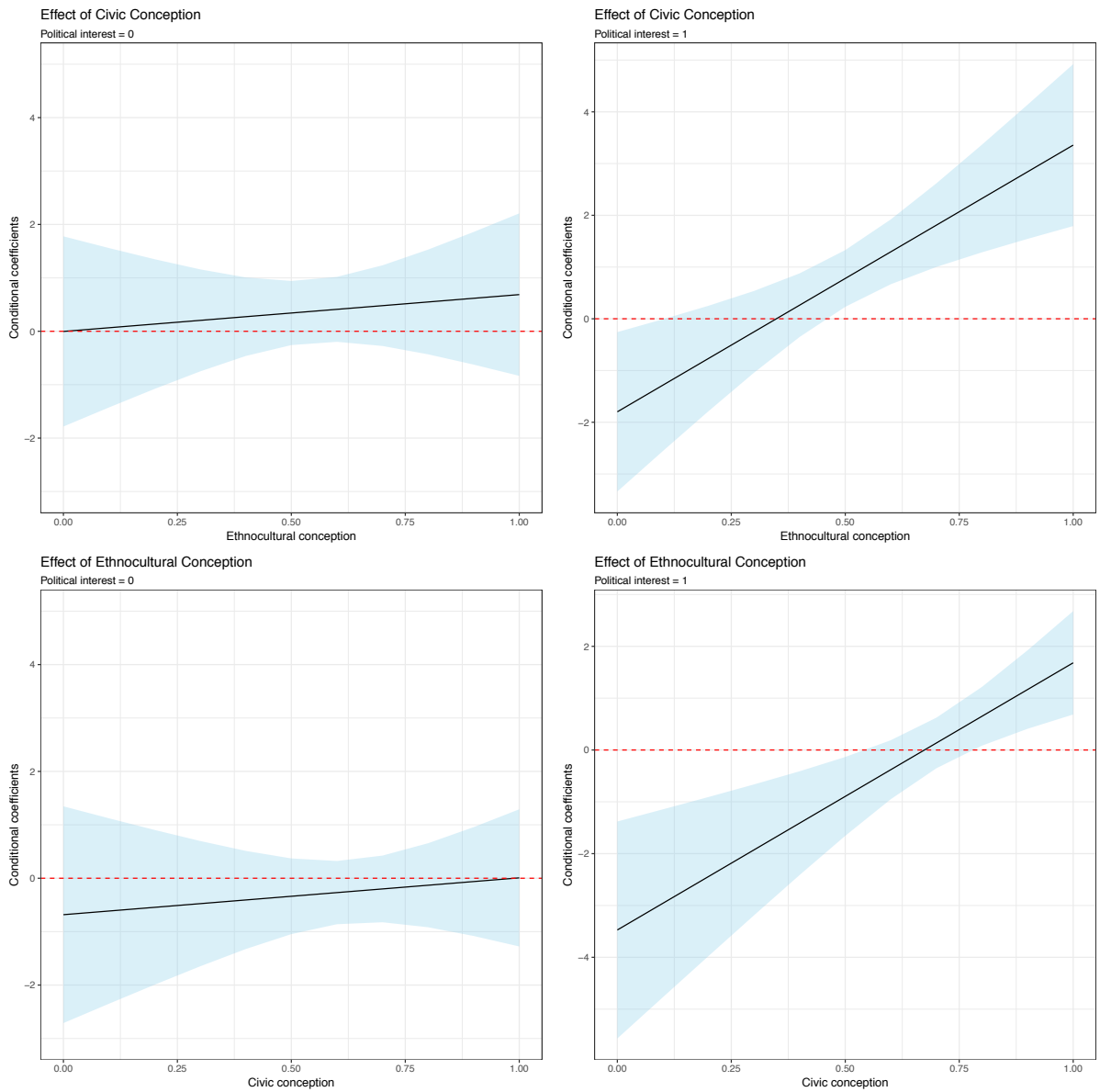


Figure A2: Conditional coefficients of the civic conceptions on response variability, given range of values of the ethno-cultural conception for individuals in control and treatment group and with low and high political interest. Coefficients from Table A7 model 1. Dashed lines are 95% confidence intervals. 2015 YouGov data.

Justification of control variables and Discussion on Identities and Values

In the main paper we include a number of control variables in order to control for potential omitted variable bias. In the following, we elaborate on the justification for their inclusion:

Identifying with a certain party may affect both conceptions of the nation, as well as the certainty with which an opinion is held. Feeling strongly attached to a party may also have such an effect, since such individuals are more likely to form opinions based on party cues. We therefore control for strength of party identification. Feeling attached to the nation may also be linked to both conceptions and response variability, independently of the content of this conception. We also control for political interest to make sure that we are not capturing ‘non-attitudes’ among individuals with mixed conceptions. Since attitude moderation is an alternative explanation for ambivalence (?) we include a scale of ideological extremity (where the lowest value is the median of the ideological scale). We also control for socio-demographic variables and party identification.

In some of our model specifications, we also control for political values. The conviction that a true compatriot should have democratic convictions is conceptually distinct from having internalized these convictions as part of one’s personal identity. But the social identity approach predicts that when a national identity becomes psychologically salient category prototypes are activated and become guiding principles for group members’ thoughts and actions. What follows from this reasoning for our work? The crucial question is whether we should control for, e.g., universalism in our analysis. Doing so might mean over-controlling, given that related values—such as tolerance—are a crucial element in the mechanism that we assume connects conceptions of national identity and ambivalence. Not controlling for these values might mean allowing for an omitted variable bias. In effect, we present results with and without such controls (see Tables 3 and 4). The results remain very similar. We acknowledge, however, that this nexus is not well understood and more research is needed to disentangle the relationship between the cognitive representation of group prototypes, group norms, and norms/values in general.

More specifically, we include two values from Shalom Schwartz’s inventory of universal values (????), namely universalism and tradition. Individuals who score high on universalism seek social justice for all people, irrespective of their economic, social, or political background. High priority of universalism may induce individuals both to embrace a civic conception of the nation and show solidarity with refugees. Second, individuals who score high on tradition show respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. As such, high priority of tradition may induce individuals to embrace an ethno-cultural conception of the nation and be reserved toward foreigners, given that Germany has traditionally been an ethno-culturally homogeneous nation that only recently experienced significant immigration. For the effects of these universal values on attitudes toward immigration and ethno-cultural outgroups, see, e.g., ? and ?. Given previous research, which shows that (political) values may induce ambivalence (?), we also include an interaction between universalism and tradition—individuals who think that both universalisms and tradition are important may feel ambivalent about immigrants and refugees, independently from their conceptions of the nation. Explicitly controlling for values thus represents a strong test of the uniqueness of the identity conception effects, given that some people are likely to exhibit these values because they identify with the nation and are motivated to adopt ingroup norms. The civic conception of national identity, in particular, is closely related to values, as it defines

national membership in terms of having internalized certain liberal values. From this point of view, considerations based on the civic conception are essentially considerations based on values, but the motivation to act on them stems from the identity component. At the same time, values may be relevant for people's attitude formation irrespective of whether they are seen as constitutive of the national ingroup. Previous research has indeed shown that values may shape policy attitudes (?) and induce ambivalence (?).

Marginal Effect of National Identity Conceptions on Over-Time Variability in Immigration Opinions (w1-w8).

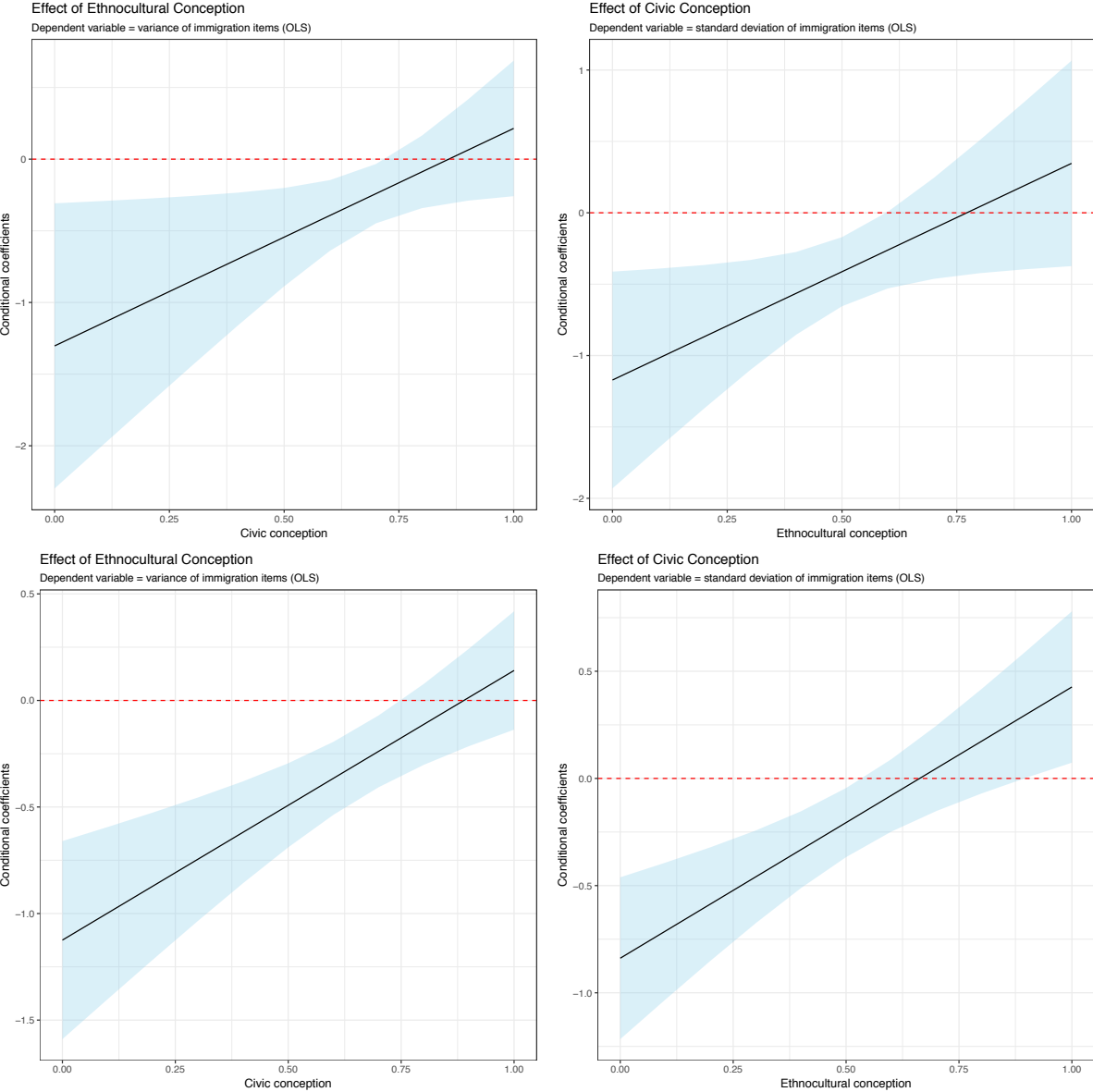


Figure A3: Conditional effect of the ethno-cultural (civic) conception over a range of scores on the civic (ethnocultural) dimension. Shaded area are 95% confidence intervals. Lower plots without weights.

Translated English and original German question wording

Unless indicated otherwise, question wording in the RS 2015 and GLES 2017 data are identical.

Solidarity with refugees (RS 2015)

Germany should make more efforts to help refugees in distress at sea [even if more refugees would then come to Germany]. (1) *Agree completely* – (5) *Disagree completely*

Deutschland sollte mehr Anstrengungen unternehmen, um in Seenot geratene Flüchtlinge zu retten [auch wenn dann eine größere Anzahl von Flüchtlingen nach Deutschland käme]. (1) Stimme voll und ganz zu – (5) Stimme überhaupt nicht zu

Attitudes toward immigration (GLES 2017)

Let's talk about immigration. Do you think immigration should be facilitated or restricted? (1) Immigration should be restricted – (7) Immigration should be facilitated

Jetzt geht es um Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer. Sollten die Zuzugsmöglichkeiten für Ausländer erleichtert oder eingeschränkt werden? (1) Zuzug von Ausländern erleichtern – (7) Zuzug von Ausländern einschränken

Ethnocultural and civic conceptions of the nation

Some people think that the following things are important to be a true German. How do you rate these things? How important is it..

Manche Menschen meinen, dass die folgenden Dinge wichtig sind, um wirklich Deutscher zu sein. Andere halten sie für nicht wichtig. Wie stufen Sie diese Dinge ein? Wie wichtig ist es...

- ...to have been born in Germany? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...in Deutschland geboren zu sein? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to have German ancestors? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...deutsche Vorfahren zu haben? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to have lived in Germany for all of one's life? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...das ganze Leben in Deutschland verbracht zu haben? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to share German manners and norms? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...die deutschen Sitten und Normen zu teilen? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to speak accent-free German? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...akzentfrei deutsch zu sprechen? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to have a Christian world view? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...ein christliches Weltbild zu haben? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to have democratic convictions? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...demokratische Überzeugungen zu haben? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to attend to one's civic duties? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...den staatsbürgerlichen Pflichten nachzukommen? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig
- ...to respect German political institutions and laws? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important
...alle gesellschaftlichen Gruppen gleich zu behandeln? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig

Attachment to the nation (RS 2015)

- How important is being German to you? (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important

Wie wichtig ist es für Sie, deutsch zu sein? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig

- For me, to possess German citizenship is: (1) Not important at all – (5) Extremely important

Wie wichtig ist es für Sie, die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit zu besitzen? (1) Überhaupt nicht wichtig – (5) Sehr wichtig

Attachment to the nation (GLES 2017)

Please state whether these statements apply to you.

Bitte geben Sie an, ob diese Aussagen auf Sie zutreffen oder nicht.

- Being German is very important to me. (1) applies not at all – (5) applies squarely
Es ist mir sehr wichtig, deutsch zu sein. (1) Trifft überhaupt nicht zu – (5) Trifft voll und ganz zu
- When talking about Germans, I often say "we" instead of "they". (1) Applies not at all – (5) Applies squarely
Wenn ich über die Deutschen rede, sage ich häufiger „wir“ statt „sie“. (1) Trifft überhaupt nicht zu – (5) Trifft voll und ganz zu

Political interest (RS2015)

Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics? (0) Not at all – (1) Very much

Wie stark interessieren Sie sich im Allgemeinen für Politik? (0) überhaupt nicht – (1) sehr stark

Political interest (GLES2017w1)

Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics? (1) Not at all – (5) Very much

Wie stark interessieren Sie sich im Allgemeinen für Politik? (1) überhaupt nicht– (5) sehr stark

Party identity

In the Federal Republic, many people lean toward a political party for an extended period of time although they vote for a different party now and then. How about you: Do you—generally speaking—lean toward a political party? And if so: Which party? (1) CDU/CSU, (2) FDP, (3) SPD, (4) Greens, (5) Left, (6) AfD, (7) Another party, (8) None

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 gesprochen - einer bestimmten Partei zu? Und wenn ja, welcher? (1) CDU/CSU, (2) FDP, (3) SPD, (4) Bündnis 90/die Grünen, (5) Die Linke, (6) AfD, (7) Andere Partei, (8) Keine Partei

Strength of party identity

[Asked only if respondent reported a party identity]

How strongly or weakly do you lean—all things considered—toward this party? (1) very strongly – (5) very weakly

Wie stark oder wie schwach neigen Sie - alles zusammengenommen - dieser Partei zu? (1) sehr stark – (5) sehr schwach

Education low (RS2015)

Dummy variable, coded 1 if highest degree is “Anlernausbildung oder berufliches Praktikum”, “Lehre oder vergleichbarer Abschluss” or “Ohne berufsqualifizierenden Abschluss”, otherwise 0.

Education high (RS2015)

Dummy variable, coded as 1 if highest degree is “Fachhochschulabschluss (Diplom(FH), Bachelor, Master)”, “Universitätsabschluss (Diplom, Magister, Bachelor, Master)”, “Promotion”, or “Professur, Habilitation”, otherwise 0.

(The remaining categories of the education item are “Berufsvorbereitungsjahr”, “Berufsqualifizierender Abschluss”, “Meister/Techniker/Fachschulabschluss”, and “Vorbereitungsdienst für den mittleren Dienst”. They constitute the reference group in the regression analyses.)

Education low (GLES2017w1)

Dummy variable, coded 1 if highest degree is “Schule beendet ohne Abschluss“ or “Hauptschulabschluss, Volksschulabschluss, Abschluss der polytechnischen Oberschule 8. oder 9. Klasse”, otherwise 0.

Education high (GLES2017w1)

Dummy variable, coded 1 if highest degree is “Fachhochschulreife (Abschluss einer Fachoberschule etc.)” or “Abitur bzw. erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse (Hochschulreife), otherwise 0.

(The remaining category of the education item is “Realschulabschluss, Mittlere Reife, Fachschulreife oder Abschluss der polytechnischen Oberschule 10. Klasse”. It constitutes the reference group in the regression analyses.)

Age

In years

Gender

Dummy variable, coded 1 “female” and 0 “male”

State of residence

Dummy variable, coded 1 “East Germany” (Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen) and 0 “West Germany” (the remaining 11 states)

Additional information about the YouGov and GLES surveys

Response rates

YouGov uses a system of inviting people in which panelist will receive an email that includes a url link asking them to take a survey. When they click on the link they are sent to the survey currently in field that requires their demographic breakdown the most. This means that there is no response rate for individual surveys available as such. The average response rate for YouGov surveys fielded in Germany during the time of this survey (July 2015) was 21 percent.

Participation rate in the first wave of the GLES campaign panel was 25 percent (Roßteutscher et al. 2018a: 22-23).

Incentives

YouGov respondents who completed the questionnaire received an equivalent of €1.5.

The GLES panel survey used a complex incentive scheme. E.g., incentives varied across waves and respondents, depending on survey length and number of previously completed waves. Incentives usually varied between €1.5 and €2. For details, see the study description (Roßteutscher et al. 2018a: 14-15)

GLES campaign panel waves used in the analysis

We analyse all seven waves of the 2017 GLES campaign panel survey that are available in the most current publicly available data set (version 5.0.0; see Roßteutscher et al. 2018b) and include the immigration item. This applies to waves 1-4 and 6-8. The following table reports details about field time, the total respective sample sizes, and the items we use from each of these waves.

Table 1: GLES campaign panel waves used in the analysis

Field time	Survey	N	Relevant items
2016, Oct-Dec	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 1	15,802	National identity conceptions, immigration attitude, controls
2017, Feb-Mar	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 2	11,050	immigration attitude
2017, May	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 3	9,372	immigration attitude
2017, Jul	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 4	8,955	immigration attitude
2017, Sep (week1)	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 6	8,329	immigration attitude
2017, Sep (week2)	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 7	7,672	immigration attitude
2017, Sep (week3)	Campaign panel survey 2017, wave 8	8,382	immigration attitude

Notes: We draw on the newly recruited sample for the campaign panel. Sample sizes refer to completed interviews. For more information, see Roßteutscher et al. (2018a).

References

Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Schoen, Harald; Weßels; Bernhard; Wolf, Christof; Preißinger, Maria; Kratz, Agatha; Wuttke, Alexander; Manger, Lea. 2018a. Short-term Campaign Panel 2017 (GLES), Studienbeschreibung, Version 5.0.0. <https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/download.asp?db=E&id=62096>, last accessed July 17, 2018.

Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Schoen, Harald; Weßels; Bernhard; Wolf, Christof; Preißinger, Maria; Kratz, Agatha; Wuttke, Alexander; Manger, Lea. 2018b. Short-term Campaign Panel 2017 (GLES), Data file, Version 5.0.0. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4232/1.12930>.

Additional findings

Table 2: Model fit of ESEM with one, two, and three factors

	No. of factors	Chi ² (df)	CFI	RMSEA [90% CI]
2015 (YouGov)	1	4529 (27)	.796	.262 [.256, .269]
	2*	149 (19)	.994	.053 [.045, .061]
	3	42 (12)	.999	.032 [.022, .043]
2016 (GLES, wave 1)	1	37907 (27)	.798	.299 [.296, .301]
	2*	1466 (19)	.992	.070 [.067, .073]
	3	329 (12)	.998	.041 [.037, .045]

Notes: N₂₀₁₅ = 2,426, N₂₀₁₆ = 15,744; * Factor loadings and correlations reported in main text.

Table 3: Factor loadings and correlation in ESEM with three factors

	2015 (YouGov)			2016 (GLES, wave 1)		
	F1	F2	F3	F1	F2	F3
to have been born in Germany	0.82	0.07	-0.12	0.80	0.15	0.00
to have German ancestors	0.96	-0.10	0.02	0.93	-0.01	0.08
to have lived in Germany for all of one's life	0.83	-0.03	-0.07	0.46	0.46	-0.05
to have a Christian world view	0.21	0.35	-0.07	0.18	0.20	0.21
to speak accent-free German	0.70	0.01	0.09	0.26	0.44	0.05
to share German manners and norms	0.05	0.81	0.02	0.00	0.82	0.15
to have democratic convictions	0.01	0.29	0.68	0.04	0.00	0.82
to attend to one's civic duties	-0.01	0.56	0.46	0.00	0.21	0.82
to treat all of society's groups the same	-0.01	-0.01	0.63	-0.01	-0.22	0.66
Correlation with F2	.68***			.78***		
Correlation with F3	-.23**			-.02		
	.18			.19**		

Notes: Reported are unstandardized loadings; loadings > |.3| are shaded in grey; for model fits, see table above; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$