Supplemental Information for “A New Electorate? Explaining the Party Preferences of Immigrant-Origin Voters at the 2017 Bundestag Election”

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# Additional tables

## Table SI 1: Multi-level linear regression on propensities to vote for immigrant voters: Comparing different ways of treating missing values for the IMGES sample, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1:Listwise deletion for MV for candidate evaluations | M2a: MCRI, all respondents | M2b: MCRI, only respondents with MV for candidate evaluations | M3a: Mean substitution, all respondents | M3b: Mean substitution, only respondents with MV for cand. eval. |
| Party identification | 2.18\*\*\* | 2.53\*\*\* | 2.62\*\* | 2.17\*\*\* | 2.84\*\*\* |
| (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.67) | (0.23) | (0.49) |
| Issue orientation | 1.53\*\*\* | 1.86\*\*\* | 1.88\*\* | 2.22\*\*\* | 2.93\*\*\* |
|  | (0.26) | (0.25) | (0.61) | (0.24) | (0.83) |
| Candidate evaluation | 4.80\*\*\* | 3.44\*\*\* | 0.10 | 4.59\*\*\* | 9.31\*\*\* |
| (0.23) | (0.22) | (0.45) | (0.21) | (2.11) |
| *Controls* |  |  |  |  |  |
|  Age | -1.30\* | -1.30\*\* | -1.12 | -0.62\* | -0.34 |
|  | (0.52) | (0.42) | (0.67) | (0.31) | (0.49) |
|  Gender: male | 0.15 | 0.13 | -0.11 | -0.02 | -0.37\* |
|  | (0.13) | (0.12) | (0.19) | (0.09) | (0.15) |
|  Education | 0.34\* | 0.43\*\* | 0.02 | 0.27\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.16) | (0.25) | (0.12) | (0.19) |
|  Political Interest | 0.76\*\* | 1.20\*\*\* | 1.14\*\* | 0.24 | -0.13 |
|  | (0.28) | (0.24) | (0.42) | (0.18) | (0.31) |
|  Post-Soviet Descent (Base: Turkish) | -0.32\* | -0.38\*\* | -0.01 | -0.12 | -0.82\*\* |
| (0.16) | (0.14) | (0.26) | (0.12) | (0.30) |
| Generation (base: 2nd) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  1.5th | 0.42\* | 0.51\*\* | 0.18 | 0.26 | 0.12 |
|  | (0.18) | (0.18) | (0.33) | (0.15) | (0.25) |
|  1st | 0.14 | 0.19 | -0.10 | 0.11 | 0.41 |
|  | (0.22) | (0.21) | (0.35) | (0.17) | (0.25) |
| Constant | 0.61\* | 0.86\*\* | 1.76\*\* | 1.07\*\*\* | -1.87 |
|  | (0.28) | (0.27) | (0.58) | (0.24) | (1.20) |
| Variance (Level2 Random Intercept) | 0.27\*\*\* | 0.21\*\*\* | 0.35\*\*\* | -0.09 | 0.05 |
| (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.08) |
| Variance (Level1 Error) | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.77\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* | 0.66\*\*\* | 0.48\*\*\* |
| (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| N | 4028 | 5406 | 1378 | 5406 | 1378 |
| AIC | 16812 | 19837 | 5732 | 24222 | 6168 |
| BIC | 17546 | 20112 | 5912 | 24341 | 6262 |

Omitted in Table: Stackvariable for specific party; Weighted data; M2a and M2b: MCRI as described above, M3a and M3b: mean replacement for missing values with group mean (Turkish and Post-Soviet), Stacked data;

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

## Table SI 2: Party preferences of immigrant voters at the 2017 Bundestag election by immigrant group

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Second vote | Mean Propensities –to-vote |
|  | IMGES: Turkish descent | IMGES: Post-Soviet descent | IMGES: Turkish descent | IMGES: Post-Soviet descent |
| CDU/CSU | 20 | 27 | 4.8 | 5.6 |
| SPD | 35 | 12 | 6.2 | 5.1 |
| LINKE | 16 | 21 | 4.6 | 4.3 |
| GREENS | 13 | 8 | 5.0 | 3.7 |
| FDP | 4 | 12 | 3.7 | 3.9 |
| AfD | 0 | 15 | 0.4 | 2.4 |
| Other | 12 | 5 |  |  |
| *N* | *275* | *301* | *398-435* | *371-413* |

Weighted data; PTV ranging from 0 to 10.

## Table SI 3: Multi-level linear regression models on PTVs, interaction between natives and immigrants, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Without missing values |
| Party identification | 3.39\*\*\* |
|   | (0.11) |
| Candidate evaluations | 4.87\*\*\* |
|   | (0.14) |
| Issue orientations | 0.89\*\*\* |
|  | (0.14) |
| Party ID \* Immigrant | -1.15\*\*\* |
|  | (0.30) |
| Candidate eval \* Immigrant | -1.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.25) |
| Issue orientations \* Immigrant | 1.37\*\*\* |
|  | (0.34) |
| *Controls* |  |
|  Age | -0.90\*\*\* |
|   | (0.16) |
|  Gender: male | -0.04 |
|   | (0.07) |
|  Education | 0.53\*\*\* |
|  | (0.10) |
|  Political Interest | 0.12 |
|  | (0.14) |
| Immigrant (Reference cat: Natives) | 0.65\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) |
| Controlling for Party (Reference cat.: CDU/CSU) |  |
|  SPD | 1.35\*\*\* |
|   | (0.20) |
|  LEFT Party | 0.07 |
|   | (0.22) |
|  GREENS | 0.40 |
|   | (0.25) |
|  FDP | -0.12 |
|   | (0.22) |
|  AfD | -1.34\*\*\* |
|   | (0.24) |
| Constant | 0.81 |
|  | (0.59) |
| Variance (Level2 Random Intercept) | 0.03 |
| (0.06) |
| Variance (Level1 Error) | 0.65\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) |
| N | 15720 |
| Mean AIC | 71140 |
| Mean BIC | 71293 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean coefficients after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

# Sensitivity Analysis

To corroborate our results, we also conducted several sensitivity analyses on our findings of the differences between natives and immigrants, the direct and moderating effects of immigrant-specific variables (Table 2, Model 3 and Table 3, Model 9), as well as the initial effects (Table 4, Model 13) in the respective full models that are displayed in the following section. We first estimated our models only for those respondents without missing values on the key variables to see if listwise deletion changed our findings (Tables SI 4 and SI 5). However, we find similar results concerning the direction and significance of effects if we exclude those with missing values for party identification, candidate evaluations, issue orientations, and propensity-to-vote.

Next, we estimated the models separately for the groups of voters and non-voters to look for differences between the politically mobilised and non-mobilised (see Table SI 4, SI 5 and SI 6 on pages 7-9). However, we find the same significant results for direct effects and initial effects. For the moderating effects, only one out of nine product-term variables (the negative product-term of partisanship and discrimination) for the group of voters, and none for the group of non-voters, is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. In general, our findings for direct, moderation and initial effects were similar.

Finally, we estimated all models presented in Tables 2, 3, and 4 separately for the group of Turkish-descent and post-Soviet-origin immigrant-origin voters. The results confirm the applicability of the Michigan model for both sub-groups (Table SI 7 on p. 10) and the meaninglessness of any direct and moderating effects of the immigrant-specific variables (see Table SI 8 on page 11). The formative effects (see Table SI 9 on page 12) of length of stay, ethnic identity and discrimination, as indicated in the path models, hold for the sub-group of post-Soviet voters. For Turkish-descent voters, time spent in Germany lowers the number of missing values only for party identification, while ethnic identity and discrimination experiences show more ambiguous initial effects than we find for the group of all immigrant-origin voters. In general, length of stay in Germany shows larger and more coherent effects on missing values for the Michigan model variables than the other immigrant-specific variables. In addition, we estimate all models with dummy variables for income (including one dummy for missing data on income) to show that results do not change substantially (see Table SI 10, SI 11 and SI 12 on pages 13 to 15).

## Table SI 4: Robustness checks for those without missing values, voters & non-voters for Modell 3, direct effects: multi-level linear regression models on PTVs, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Without missing values | Voters | Non-voters only |
| Party identification | 1.93\*\*\* | 2.27\*\*\* | 2.17\*\*\* |
|   | (0.21) | (0.35) | (0.35) |
| Candidate evaluations | 4.81\*\*\* | 3.60\*\*\* | 2.26\*\*\* |
|   | (0.23) | (0.34) | (0.46) |
| Issue orientations | 2.06\*\*\* | 2.42\*\*\* | 1.98\*\*\* |
|  | (0.23) | (0.46) | (0.37) |
| *Immigrant-specific factors* |  |  |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | 0.49 | -0.27 | -0.05 |
|  | (0.41) | (0.39) | (0.59) |
|  Ethnic Identity | -0.02 | -0.07 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
|  Discrimination Index | 0.04 | 0.12 | -0.19 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.15) |
| *Controls* |  |  |  |
|  Age | -0.49 | -1.04\* | -0.41 |
|   | (0.48) | (0.43) | (0.69) |
|  Gender: male | 0.14 | 0.06 | -0.10 |
|   | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.21) |
|  Education | 0.27 | 0.19 | 0.46 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.17) | (0.29) |
|  Political Interest | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.28) | (0.28) | (0.43) |
|  Post-Soviet Descent | 0.08 | -0.20 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.18) | (0.17) | (0.27) |
| Controlling for Party (Reference cat.: CDU/CSU) |  |  |  |
|  SPD | 1.35\*\*\* | 1.26\*\*\* | 0.84\* |
|   | (0.20) | (0.24) | (0.34) |
|  LEFT Party | 0.07 | -0.08 | 0.09 |
|   | (0.22) | (0.28) | (0.34) |
|  GREENS | 0.40 | 0.34 | 0.27 |
|   | (0.25) | (0.29) | (0.45) |
|  FDP | -0.12 | -0.04 | -0.25 |
|   | (0.22) | (0.26) | (0.44) |
|  AfD | -1.34\*\*\* | -1.51\*\*\* | -1.39\*\* |
|   | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.42) |
| Constant | 0.81 | 2.54\*\*\* | 2.17\* |
|  | (0.59) | (0.58) | (0.91) |
| Variance (Level2 Random Intercept) | 0.03 | -0.08 | -0.06 |
| (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.11) |
| Variance (Level1 Error) | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.86\*\*\* |
| (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| N | 3378 | 3612 | 1806 |
| Mean AIC | 14816 | 12376 | 10983 |
| Mean BIC | 14933 | 13440 | 12008 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean coefficients after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

## Table SI 5: Robustness checks for those without missing values, voters & non-voters: p-values of product-term variables of immigrant-specific and Michigan model variables

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Party ID | Candidate evaluations | Issue orientations |
| *Only cases without missing values (N=3,378)* |  |  |  |
| Length of stay | .179 | .029 | .264 |
| Ethnic identification | .551 | .572 | .571 |
| Discrimination | .074 | .718 | .190 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *Only voters (N=3,612)* |  |  |  |
| Length of stay | .414 | .202 | .369 |
| Ethnic identification | .832 | .799 | .762 |
| Discrimination | .045 | .732 | .809 |
|  |  |  |  |
|  *Only non-voters (N=1,806)* |  |  |  |
| Length of stay | .172 | .113 | .214 |
| Ethnic identification | .539 | .396 | .832 |
| Discrimination | .772 | .438 | .210 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean p-values after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

## Table SI 6: Robustness checks for voters/non-voters: selected coefficients for path models on PTV, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|   | Voters only | Non-voters only |
| MV Party ID (Dummy) ← |   |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.29\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* |
|   | (0.05) | (0.02) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.02\* | -0.03\*\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | 0.03 | -0.01 |
|   | (0.02) | (0.01) |
|  Constant | 0.19\*\*\* | 0.22\*\*\* |
|   | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| MV Candidates (Dummy) ← |  |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.31\*\* | -0.13\*\*\* |
|   | (0.07) | (0.05) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.03\* | 0.00\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.12\*\* | -0.03\*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) | (0.01) |
|  Constant | 0.51\*\*\* | 0.31\*\*\* |
|   | (0.07) | (0.06) |
| MV Issues (Dummy) ← |  |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.25\* | -0.11\*\*\* |
|   | (0.06) | (0.05) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.02\*\*\* | 0.03\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.00) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.02 | -0.01 |
|   | (0.02) | (0.01) |
|  Constant | 0.36\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* |
|   | (0.06) | (0.04) |
| N | 3612 | 1806 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean coefficients after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

## Table SI 7: Robustness checks by immigrant group: multi-level linear regression models on PTVs, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 2: Immigrants | Model 3: Immigrants (full) | Model 4: Immigrants (base + controls) | Model 5: Immigrants (baseline) |
|  | Turkish | Post-Soviet | Turkish | Post-Soviet | Turkish | Post-Soviet | Turkish | Post-Soviet |
| Party identification | 1.52\*\* | 2.53\*\*\* | 1.52\*\* | 2.53\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.45) | (0.40) | (0.45) | (0.40) |  |  |  |  |
| Candidate evaluations | 3.58\*\*\* | 3.11\*\*\* | 3.56\*\*\* | 3.11\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
| (0.39) | (0.34) | (0.39) | (0.34) |  |  |  |  |
| Issue orientations | 2.45\*\*\* | 1.98\*\*\* | 2.45\*\*\* | 1.98\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.38) | (0.31) | (0.38) | (0.31) |  |  |  |  |
| *Immigrant-specific factors* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  Length of stay |  |  | -0.42 | 0.14 | -0.52 | 0.36 | -0.52 | 0.36 |
|  |  |  | (0.48) | (0.49) | (0.40) | (0.39) | (0.40) | (0.39) |
|  Ethnic Identity |  |  | 0.03 | -0.06 | -0.00 | -0.05 | -0.00 | -0.05 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  Discrimination Index |  |  | -0.08 | 0.23 | -0.25\* | 0.22 | -0.25\* | 0.22 |
|  |  | (0.09) | (0.15) | (0.11) | (0.17) | (0.11) | (0.17) |
| *Controls* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  Age | 0.16 | -0.93\* | -0.08 | -0.86 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.49) | (0.40) | (0.55) | (0.51) |  |  |  |  |
|  Gender: male  | 0.19 | -0.23 | 0.20 | -0.22 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.15) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.15) |  |  |  |  |
|  Education | 0.59\*\* | -0.01 | 0.62\*\* | -0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.21) | (0.21) | (0.21) | (0.21) |  |  |  |  |
|  Political Interest | 0.03 | 0.30 | 0.05 | 0.28 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.30) | (0.28) | (0.29) | (0.28) |  |  |  |  |
| Controlling for Party (Reference cat.: CDU/CSU) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  SPD | 1.68\*\*\* | 0.65\*\* | 1.68\*\*\* | 0.65\*\* | 1.33\*\*\* | -0.45 | 1.33\*\*\* | -0.45 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.23) | (0.27) | (0.23) | (0.39) | (0.26) | (0.39) | (0.26) |
|  LINKE | 0.53 | -0.65\* | 0.53 | -0.65\* | -0.23 | -1.30\*\*\* | -0.23 | -1.30\*\*\* |
|  | (0.31) | (0.26) | (0.31) | (0.26) | (0.44) | (0.32) | (0.44) | (0.32) |
|  GREENS | 1.11\*\* | -0.42 | 1.11\*\* | -0.42 | 0.16 | -1.86\*\*\* | 0.16 | -1.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.39) | (0.28) | (0.39) | (0.28) | (0.50) | (0.31) | (0.50) | (0.31) |
|  FDP | 0.17 | -0.50 | 0.16 | -0.50 | -1.10\*\* | -1.63\*\*\* | -1.10\*\* | -1.63\*\*\* |
|  | (0.33) | (0.28) | (0.33) | (0.28) | (0.38) | (0.28) | (0.38) | (0.28) |
|  AfD | -1.67\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* | -1.68\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* | -4.45\*\*\* | -3.14\*\*\* | -4.45\*\*\* | -3.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.36) | (0.26) | (0.36) | (0.26) | (0.37) | (0.33) | (0.37) | (0.33) |
| Constant | 1.18\*\* | 2.73\*\*\* | 1.53\* | 2.83\*\*\* | 5.44\*\*\* | 5.57\*\*\* | 5.44\*\*\* | 5.57\*\*\* |
|  | (0.39) | (0.38) | (0.69) | (0.61) | (0.51) | (0.39) | (0.51) | (0.39) |
| Variance (Level2 Random Intercept) | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.03 | -0.09 | -0.03 | -0.09 |
| (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
| Variance (Level1 Error) | 0.72\*\*\* | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.72\*\*\* | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.94\*\*\* | 1.03\*\*\* | 0.94\*\*\* | 1.03\*\*\* |
| (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| N | 2,592 | 2,820 | 2,592 | 2,820 | 2,592 | 2,820 | 2,592 | 2,820 |
| Mean AIC | 11649 | 14043 | 11653 | 14044 | 12804 | 14975 | 12804 | 14975 |
| Mean BIC | 11737 | 14132 | 11758 | 14151 | 12868 | 15040 | 12868 | 15040 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean coefficients after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

## Table SI 8: Robustness checks by immigrant group: p-values of product-term variables of immigrant-specific and Michigan model variables

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Party ID | Candidate evaluations | Issue orientations |
| *Turkish descent* |  |  |  |
| Length of stay | .625 | .161 | .408 |
| Ethnic identification | .632 | .345 | .379 |
| Discrimination | .106 | .201 | .464 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *Post-Soviet descent* |  |  |  |
| Length of stay | .264 | .139 | .576 |
| Ethnic identification | .853 | .115 | .281 |
| Discrimination | .200 | .809 | .499 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean p-values after multiple imputation analyses with m=5 with ; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

## Table SI 9: Robustness checks by immigrant group: selected coefficients for path models on PTV, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|   | M13aOnly Turkish | M13bOnly Post-soviet |
| MV Party ID (Dummy) ← |  |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.17\*\*\* | -0.14\*\*\* |
|   | (0.05) | (0.04) |
|  Ethnic identity | -0.04\*\* | 0.02\*\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.02\*\* | 0.05\*\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.02) |
|  Constant | 0.34 | 0.11 |
|   | (0.09) | (0.03) |
| MV Candidates (Dummy) ← |  |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.03 | -0.31\*\*\* |
|   | (0.08) | (0.06) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.00 | 0.03\*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.05\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.02) |
|  Constant | 0.26 | 0.38 |
|   | (0.10) | (0.05) |
| MV Issues (Dummy) ← |  |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | 0.13 | -0.50\*\*\* |
|   | (0.07) | (0.05) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.03\*\*\* | 0.03\*\* |
|   | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.03 | -0.02 |
|   | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  Constant | 0.02 | 0.47 |
|   | (0.06) | (0.05) |
| N | 2592 | 2820 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean coefficients after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05

## Table SI 10: Robustness checks including income for immigrants: multi-level linear regression models on PTVs, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | Model 2: Migrants | Model 3: Migrants  | Model 4: Migrants  | Model 5: Migrants  |
| Party identification | 2.09\*\*\* | 2.08\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.36) | (0.36) |  |  |
| Candidate evaluations | 3.36\*\*\* | 3.36\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.34) | (0.34) |  |  |
| Issue orientations | 2.38\*\*\* | 2.38\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.24) | (0.24) |  |  |
| *Immigrant-specific factors* |  |  |  |  |
|  Length of stay |  | -0.22 | -0.66 | -0.02 |
|  |  | (0.34) | (0.35) | (0.21) |
|  Ethnic identity |  | -0.03 | -0.05 | -0.04 |
|  |  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
|  Discrimination  |  | 0.02 | -0.13 | -0.13 |
|  |  | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
| Controls |  |  |  |  |
|  Age | -0.63\* | -0.79\* | -0.89\* |  |
|  | (0.32) | (0.39) | (0.43) |  |
|  Gender: male  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.01 |  |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.11) |  |
|  Education | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.28 |  |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.16) |  |
|  Political interest | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0.19 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  *Income (ref.cat high income)* |  |  |  |
|  Medium income | -0.37\* | -0.37\* | -0.35\* |  |
|  | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.17) |  |
|  Low income | -0.47\* | -0.47\* | -0.52\* |  |
|  | (0.20) | (0.20) | (0.22) |  |
|  Missing income | -0.65\*\* | -0.65\*\* | -0.70\*\* |  |
|  | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.24) |  |
| Post-Soviet descent (base: Turkish) | -0.03 | -0.09 | -0.13 |  |
| (0.11) | (0.14) | (0.15) |  |
| Controlling for Party (Reference cat.: CDU/CSU) |  |  |
|  SPD | 1.16\*\*\* | 1.16\*\*\* | 0.38 | 0.38 |
|  | (0.24) | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.28) |
|  The Left | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.75\*\* | -0.75\*\* |
|  | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.28) | (0.28) |
|  Greens | 0.29 | 0.29 | -0.96\*\* | -0.96\*\* |
|  | (0.31) | (0.31) | (0.33) | (0.33) |
|  FDP | -0.12 | -0.12 | -1.37\*\*\* | -1.37\*\*\* |
|  | (0.30) | (0.30) | (0.28) | (0.28) |
|  AfD | -1.44\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* | -3.69\*\*\* | -3.69\*\*\* |
|  | (0.30) | (0.30) | (0.29) | (0.29) |
| Constant | 2.40\*\*\* | 2.74\*\*\* | 6.36\*\*\* | 5.43\*\*\* |
|  | (0.35) | (0.56) | (0.51) | (0.31) |
| Variance (Level2 Random Intercept) | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.10 | -0.06 |
| (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Variance (Level1 Error) | 0.83\*\*\* | 0.83\*\*\* | 1.02\*\*\* | 1.03\*\*\* |
|   | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| N | 5412 | 5412 | 5412 | 5412 |
| Mean AIC | 25991 | 25996 | 28098 | 28110 |
| Mean BIC | 26117 | 26141 | 28223 | 28182 |

## Table SI 11: Robustness checks including income for immigrants: p-values of product-term variables of immigrant-specific and Michigan model variables

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | Party ID | Candidate evaluations | Issue orientations |
| Length of stay | .935 | .001 | .622 |
| Ethnic identification | .847 | .212 | .488 |
| Discrimination | .801 | .172 | .434 |

Mean p-values based on Appendix, Table A.1, Model 9, with three additional dummy variables for income as in Table SI10

## Table SI 12: Robustness checks including income for immigrants: selected coefficients for path models on PTV, unstandardized coefficients

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|   | M13cWith Income |
| MV Party ID (Dummy) ← |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.15\*\*\* |
|   | (0.02) |
|  Ethnic identity | -0.01 |
|   | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | 0.00 |
|   | (0.01) |
|  Constant | 0.23 |
|   | (0.04) |
| MV Candidates (Dummy) ← |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.22\*\*\* |
|   | (0.04) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.02 |
|   | (0.01) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.06\*\*\* |
|   | (0.01) |
|  Constant | 0.37 |
|   | (0.05) |
| MV Issues (Dummy) ← |  |
|  Length of stay in Germany | -0.18\*\*\* |
|   | (0.04) |
|  Ethnic identity | 0.03\*\*\* |
|   | (0.00) |
|  Discrimination index | -0.02 |
|   | (0.01) |
|  Constant | 0.19 |
|   | (0.03) |
| N | 5412 |

Weighted and stacked data, robust standard errors in parentheses, mean coefficients after multiple imputation analyses with m=5; Full model as in Table A.2 including paths from three dummy variables for income as in SI10 to party identification; all continuous independent variables recoded to range from 0 to 1. \*\*\*: p < 0.001; \*\*: p < 0.01; \*: p < 0.05