|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Wording | Scale |
| *Dependent variables* | | |
| Cultural threat | Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It is better for a country if almost everyone has the same customs and traditions."  And would you say that cultural life in Germany in general is undermined or enriched by immigrants?  Are Germany's crime problems increasing or decreasing due to immigrants? | 1 “enriched/decreasing”  7 “undermined/increasing” |
| Islamophobia | To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  a. Islam is an archaic religion that cannot adapt to the present.  b. I think the Islamic religion and its aggressive sides are prone to approach terrorism. | 1 “fully disagree”  7 “fully agree” |
| Populism | To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  a. Politicians in parliament must act according to the will of the people.  b. The people, not politicians, should make the most important political decisions.  c. The political differences between the elite and the citizens are greater than the differences between the citizens.  d. Elected representatives talk too much and act too little. | 1 “fully disagree”  7 “fully agree” |
| Authoritarian submission/ aggression | To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "What our country really needs instead of more "civil rights" is a good dose of law and order."  And to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "What our country really needs is disciplined citizens who uniformly follow our national leaders." | 1 “fully disagree”  7 “fully agree” |
| *Independent micro-level variables* | | |
| Localism | To what extent do you feel attached to...  a. your place of residence  b. the region in which you live | 1 “not attached at all”  7 “strongly attached” |
| Place resentment | To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  a. Federal government politicians are not really interested in our region.  b. The government has not done enough to improve the economic situation of our region.  c. The rest of the German population does not have enough respect for people from my region. | 1 “fully disagree”  7 “fully agree” |
| Gender | What is your gender? | 0 “female”  1 “male” |
| Education | What is the highest level of general education that you have achieved? | 0 “low/ medium education”  1 “high education” |
| Age | Recoded from What year were you born? | 1 “18-29”  2 "30-39"  3 "40-49"  4 "50-59"  5 "60+” |
| Occupation | Which of the following best describes your current job? | 0 “Modern professional occ., traditional professional occ., senior managers or administrators, clerical and intermediate occ.”  1 “Technical and craft occ., semi-routine and service occ., manual occ.” |
| Employment | If you now think of your current situation: Which of these best applies to your situation (in the last seven days)? | 0 “paid work, retired etc.”  1 “unem-ployed/unable to work because of long-time sickness” |

Where necessary, wording/scales for the attitudinal items where reversed so that higher levels of the respective attitude correspond to higher values of the variable

Table A.1: Operationalisations of micro-level variables

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | N | Mean | Minimum | P25 | P50 | P75 | Maximum | SD |
| Male | 25479 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Education: high | 25378 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Age: 18-29 | 25479 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.3 |
| Age: 30-39 | 25479 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| Age: 40-49 | 25479 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| Age: 50-59 | 25479 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| Age: 60+ | 25479 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Technical/ manual occ. | 25479 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| Unemployed/ unable to work | 25479 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.2 |
| Cultural threat | 25274 | 4.4 | 1.0 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 7.0 | 1.3 |
| Islamophobia | 24040 | 5.0 | 1.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 6.5 | 7.0 | 1.7 |
| Authoritarianism | 24756 | 3.9 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 7.0 | 1.5 |
| Populism | 25138 | 5.3 | 1.0 | 4.5 | 5.3 | 6.2 | 7.0 | 1.1 |
| Localism | 25479 | 5.6 | 1.0 | 5.0 | 6.0 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 1.4 |
| Place resentment | 23782 | 3.8 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 7.0 | 1.5 |
| County: city | 401 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| County: urban/suburban | 401 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| County: rural | 401 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| County: very rural | 401 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| % on benefits | 401 | 10.7 | 2.5 | 6.5 | 9.8 | 13.2 | 30.4 | 5.4 |
| % foreigners | 401 | 10.0 | 1.9 | 6.2 | 9.2 | 13.1 | 35.0 | 5.1 |
| % female aged 25-30 | 401 | 2.9 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 5.7 | 0.7 |
| LE (men older 60) | 401 | 21.9 | 19.9 | 21.3 | 21.9 | 22.4 | 24.3 | 0.8 |
| Macro-Region | 401 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.4 |

Table A.2: Descriptive statistics for all variables in the models (person-level)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | N | Mean | Minimum | P25 | P50 | P75 | Maximum | SD | Moran‘s R |
| Cultural threat | 401 | 4.4 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 5.7 | 0.3 | 0.188 |
| Islamophobia | 401 | 5.0 | 3.6 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 5.2 | 6.3 | 0.4 | 0.143 |
| Populism | 401 | 5.3 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 5.3 | 5.5 | 6.3 | 0.2 | 0.163 |
| Authoritarianism | 401 | 3.9 | 3.0 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 4.1 | 5.0 | 0.3 | 0.161 |
| Place resentment | 401 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 3.8 | 4.1 | 5.3 | 0.5 | 0.486 |
| Localism | 401 | 5.6 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 5.6 | 5.8 | 6.5 | 0.3 | 0.119 |

Table A.3: Descriptive statistics and spatial autocorrelation for PRR attitudes, localism, place resentment, and AfD vote share (county-level)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variable |  | % Variance |  |
|  | individual | local | county |
| Cultural Threat | 98.8 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Islamophobia | 99.4 | 0.1 | 0.5 |
| Populism | 99.7 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Authoritarianism | 98.6 | 1.2 | 0.2 |

Table A.4: Partitioning of remaining (random) variance in models with micro-level variables

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | Cultural threat | Islamophobia | Authoritarianism | Populism |
|  | b | b | b | b |
| Male | -0.013 | 0.152\*\*\* | 0.113\*\*\* | 0.063\*\*\* |
| Education: high | -0.459\*\*\* | -0.503\*\*\* | -0.584\*\*\* | -0.331\*\*\* |
| 30-39 | 0.196\*\*\* | 0.350\*\*\* | 0.211\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* |
| 40-49 | 0.146\*\*\* | 0.532\*\*\* | 0.179\*\*\* | 0.216\*\*\* |
| 50-59 | 0.001 | 0.555\*\*\* | 0.137\*\*\* | 0.299\*\*\* |
| 60+ | -0.150\*\*\* | 0.754\*\*\* | 0.355\*\*\* | 0.369\*\*\* |
| Technical/manual occ. | 0.210\*\*\* | 0.164\*\*\* | 0.206\*\*\* | 0.181\*\*\* |
| Unemployed/sick | 0.072 | 0.086 | 0.004 | 0.245\*\*\* |
| Urban/suburban | -0.042 | -0.044 | -0.010 | 0.041 |
| Rural | -0.050 | -0.089 | -0.034 | 0.069 |
| Really rural | -0.065 | -0.074 | -0.100 | 0.050 |
| pct on benefits | -0.009\*\* | -0.011\*\* | 0.002 | -0.005\* |
| pct foreigners | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.006 | 0.004 | 0.010\*\*\* |
| share female of 25-30 | -0.110\*\*\* | -0.120\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.045\* |
| LE (men older 60) | -0.092\*\*\* | -0.054\* | -0.060\*\* | -0.054\*\*\* |
| East | 0.215\*\*\* | 0.262\*\*\* | 0.179\*\*\* | 0.228\*\*\* |
| Constant | 6.824\*\*\* | 6.156\*\*\* | 5.423\*\*\* | 6.260\*\*\* |
| Variance: county | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.001 | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* |
| Variance: locality | 0.017\*\*\* | 0.008\*\* | 0.031\*\*\* | 0.002 |
| Variance: person | 1.546\*\*\* | 2.663\*\*\* | 2.184\*\*\* | 1.229\*\*\* |
| Observations | 23669 | 22890 | 23410 | 23620 |

Table A.5: Multi-level models of PRR attitudes in Germany re-estimated without place-based attitudes