

What electoral outcomes foster electoral consent/dissent?

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Representativeness of survey sample

	Population	Survey
Age		
18-29yo	18.51	16.44
30-39yo	18.19	18.32
40-49yo	17.08	18.89
50-59yo	24.64	21.49
60-69yo	21.58	24.95
Gender		
Men	50.01	53.04
Women	49.99	46.67
Education		
No degree	4.00	2.79
Low secondary school degree	28.60	23.02
Polytechnic school degree	6.50	11.97
Secondary school degree	23.50	25.29
University degree	33.50	35.98
Region		
Baden-Württemberg	12.84	12.01
Bayern	15.78	14.32
Berlin	4.07	4.93
Brandenburg	3.29	3.41
Bremen	0.75	0.78
Hamburg	2.17	2.51
Hessen	7.19	7.26
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	2.12	1.97
Niedersachsen	9.97	8.60
Nordrhein-Westfalen	21.38	21.75
Rheinland-Pfalz	5.02	5.57
Saarland	1.20	1.38

Sachsen	5.09	5.81
Sachsen-Anhalt	2.78	3.07
Schleswig-Holstein	3.66	3.65
Thüringen	2.70	3.05

Note: Entries are percentages.

Appendix 2. Questions wording

English

We would like to know how you would feel about some scenarios of electoral outcomes for the German Bundestag. In each scenario, we indicate the percentage of seats that each party gets in parliament, which parties form the governing coalition, how many cabinet seats each party has in the government, and which party the Chancellor is from.

Here is a first scenario [...]

Suppose that this is the electoral outcome. Would you personally find this electoral outcome acceptable or unacceptable? (0 Not acceptable at all ... 10 Completely acceptable).

Now suppose there is a protest organized to contest this electoral outcome. How likely would you participate in this protest? (0 Very unlikely ... 10 Very likely).

German

Wir würden gerne wissen, was Sie von einigen Szenarien für den Ausgang der deutschen Bundestagswahlen halten würden. In jedem Szenario geben wir an, wie viel Prozent der Sitze im Parlament die Parteien erhalten, welche Parteien die Regierung bilden, wie viele Kabinettsitze jede Partei in der Regierung hat und aus welcher Partei der oder die Bundeskanzler in ist.

Hier ist das erste Szenario [...]

Nehmen Sie an, dass dies das Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl ist. Würden Sie persönlich dieses Wahlergebnis akzeptieren können? (0 Gar nicht akzeptieren ... 10 Voll und ganz akzeptieren).

Angenommen, es wird ein Protest organisiert, um dieses Wahlergebnis anzufechten. Wie wahrscheinlich wäre es, dass Sie an diesem Protest teilnehmen? (0 Sehr unwahrscheinlich ... 10 Sehr wahrscheinlich).

Appendix 3. Descriptive statistics of independent variables

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Parl. seat share of most liked party	25,892	0.18	0.08
Parl. seat share of most disliked party	25,902	0.16	0.06
Gov. seat share of most liked party	25,892	0.17	0.19
Gov. seat share of most disliked party	25,902	0.17	0.16
Most liked party Chancellor	25,892	0.23	0.42
Most disliked party Chancellor	25,902	0.24	0.43
Parl. seat share of most liked party (vote intention)	22,459	0.18	0.08
Parl. seat share of most disliked party (vote intention)	25,277	0.16	0.06
Gov. seat share of most liked party (vote intention)	22,459	0.18	0.19
Gov. seat share of most disliked party (vote intention)	25,277	0.18	0.16
Most liked party Chancellor (vote intention)	22,459	0.25	0.43
Most disliked party Chancellor (vote intention)	25,277	0.25	0.44
Effective number of governing parties	26,740	3.24	0.75
Largest party in government	26,740	0.50	0.50
Degree of polarization of governing parties	26,740	0.63	0.17
Frequency of coalition since 1990	26,740	0.14	0.14
Effective number of parliamentary parties	26,740	5.50	0.39
Total seat share of governing parties	26,740	0.55	0.03
Raw number of governing parties	26,740	3.78	0.73
Degree of polarization of governing parties (CMP)	26,740	5.40	1.30
Frequency of coalition since 1945	26,740	0.11	0.11

Appendix 4. Full regression results for partisan hypotheses

	Accept (Baseline)	Accept (Alternative measures)	Accept (First iteration)	Accept (No BSW government)	Accept (No mild preference)	Accept (Controls)
Parl. seat share of most liked party	-0.158** (0.034)	-0.180** (0.035)	-0.175** (0.050)	-0.176** (0.044)	-0.258** (0.048)	-0.145** (0.034)
Parl. seat share of most disliked party	-0.035 (0.033)	0.039 (0.036)	-0.040 (0.054)	0.061 (0.041)	0.004 (0.047)	-0.021 (0.033)
Gov. seat share of most liked party	0.260** (0.036)	0.349** (0.040)	0.126 (0.075)	0.323** (0.050)	0.445** (0.051)	0.262** (0.036)
Gov. seat share of most disliked party	-0.720** (0.034)	-0.843** (0.037)	-0.826** (0.069)	-0.835** (0.045)	-0.767** (0.049)	-0.720** (0.034)
Most liked party Chancellor	0.586** (0.042)	0.619** (0.047)	0.637** (0.083)	0.501** (0.058)	0.739** (0.057)	0.588** (0.042)
Most disliked party Chancellor	-0.426** (0.035)	-0.424** (0.039)	-0.376** (0.070)	-0.331** (0.051)	-0.390** (0.052)	-0.428** (0.035)
Number of parliamentary parties	-0.014 (0.023)	-0.010 (0.024)	-0.085 (0.052)	-0.002 (0.034)	-0.030 (0.033)	-0.015 (0.022)
Number of governing parties	-0.217** (0.051)	-0.240** (0.055)	-0.078 (0.114)	-0.318** (0.090)	-0.226** (0.072)	-0.211** (0.051)
Largest party in government	-0.065 (0.054)	-0.157** (0.058)	0.027 (0.117)	-0.136 (0.082)	-0.200** (0.076)	-0.062 (0.053)
Total vote share of governing parties	-0.034 (0.023)	-0.010 (0.025)	-0.011 (0.051)	-0.004 (0.032)	-0.023 (0.033)	-0.036 (0.023)
Polarization of governing parties	-0.146** (0.032)	-0.129** (0.034)	0.073 (0.066)	-0.195** (0.042)	-0.139** (0.044)	-0.147** (0.031)
Frequency of coalition	0.042 (0.025)	0.030 (0.027)	0.066 (0.056)	0.042 (0.035)	0.041 (0.035)	0.043 (0.024)
Socio-demographics	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Constant	3.969** (0.032)	4.081** (0.034)	3.803** (0.044)	3.940** (0.042)	3.872** (0.045)	4.693** (0.259)
N	25,872	22,055	5,185	13,024	12,576	25,872
R2	0.197	0.221	0.183	0.187	0.236	0.208
	Protest (Baseline)	Protest (Alternative measures)	Protest (First iteration)	Protest (No BSW governing)	Protest (No mild preference)	Protest (Controls)
Parl. seat share of	0.087*	0.047	0.130*	0.089	0.119*	0.070

most liked party						
Parl. seat share of most disliked party	(0.040) -0.097**	(0.043) -0.088*	(0.059) -0.157**	(0.052) -0.134**	(0.060) -0.113*	(0.040) -0.101**
Gov. seat share of most liked party	(0.031) -0.149**	(0.035) -0.208**	(0.052) -0.134	(0.040) -0.141*	(0.048) -0.291**	(0.031) -0.151**
Gov. seat share of most disliked party	(0.041) 0.690**	(0.046) 0.795**	(0.083) 0.747**	(0.057) 0.780**	(0.060) 0.707**	(0.041) 0.687**
Most liked party Chancellor	(0.037) -0.446**	(0.041) -0.495**	(0.073) -0.472**	(0.048) -0.430**	(0.056) -0.545**	(0.037) -0.441**
Most disliked party Chancellor	(0.041) 0.699**	(0.046) 0.655**	(0.081) 0.747**	(0.059) 0.567**	(0.058) 0.723**	(0.041) 0.691**
Number of parliamentary parties	(0.043) -0.019	(0.047) -0.010	(0.084) 0.057	(0.062) -0.007	(0.065) 0.024	(0.043) -0.021
Number of governing parties	(0.026) 0.118*	(0.028) 0.158*	(0.057) -0.103	(0.039) 0.047	(0.038) 0.093	(0.026) 0.122*
Largest party in government	(0.058) 0.028	(0.063) 0.107	(0.125) -0.182	(0.105) -0.071	(0.084) 0.116	(0.058) 0.031
Total vote share of governing parties	(0.062) 0.066*	(0.067) 0.021	(0.130) 0.112	(0.095) 0.083*	(0.089) 0.070	(0.061) 0.064*
Polarization of governing parties	(0.026) 0.119**	(0.029) 0.113**	(0.058) -0.057	(0.036) 0.123**	(0.038) 0.094	(0.026) 0.126**
Frequency of coalition	(0.034) -0.065*	(0.037) -0.057	(0.069) -0.064	(0.046) -0.078*	(0.050) -0.051	(0.034) -0.065*
	(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.060)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.027)
Socio-demographics	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Constant	2.935** (0.036)	3.028** (0.039)	3.002** (0.048)	2.934** (0.047)	3.196** (0.053)	1.387** (0.230)
N	25,872	22,055	5,185	13,024	12,576	25,872
R2	0.165	0.181	0.176	0.150	0.179	0.174

Note: Entries are coefficient estimates from OLS regressions predicting the acceptability of the outcome (upper panel) and the likelihood to protest this outcome (lower panel). All covariates are standardized. The first column is the baseline. The second column uses alternative measures of partisan preferences (negative and positive vote intentions instead of party-liking scales). In the third column, the sample is reduced to the first iteration of the survey question. In the fourth column, it is reduced to the outcomes in which the BSW is not in the governing coalition. In the fifth column, it is reduced to respondents with strong positive partisan preferences (more than two points between first and second preferences). In the sixth column, we add socio-demographic control variables: age (continuous), gender (categorical), education level (categorical), and region (categorical). Standard errors clustered by respondent are in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Appendix 5. Full regression results for structural hypotheses

	Accept (Baseline)	Accept (Alternative measures)	Accept (First iteration)	Accept (No BSW government)	Accept (Controls)
Parl. seat share of most liked party	-0.158** (0.034)	-0.153** (0.034)	-0.175** (0.050)	-0.176** (0.044)	-0.145** (0.034)
Parl. seat share of most disliked party	-0.035 (0.033)	-0.025 (0.033)	-0.040 (0.054)	0.061 (0.041)	-0.022 (0.033)
Gov. seat share of most liked party	0.260** (0.036)	0.259** (0.036)	0.126 (0.075)	0.323** (0.050)	0.262** (0.036)
Gov. seat share of most disliked party	-0.720** (0.034)	-0.748** (0.034)	-0.826** (0.069)	-0.835** (0.045)	-0.719** (0.034)
Most liked party Chancellor	0.586** (0.042)	0.583** (0.042)	0.637** (0.083)	0.501** (0.058)	0.588** (0.042)
Most disliked party Chancellor	-0.426** (0.035)	-0.415** (0.036)	-0.376** (0.070)	-0.331** (0.051)	-0.428** (0.035)
Number of parliamentary parties	-0.014 (0.023)	-0.047* (0.021)	-0.085 (0.052)	-0.002 (0.034)	-0.015 (0.022)
Number of governing parties	-0.217** (0.051)	-0.102** (0.039)	-0.078 (0.114)	-0.318** (0.090)	-0.210** (0.051)
Largest party in government	-0.065 (0.054)	0.076 (0.042)	0.027 (0.117)	-0.136 (0.082)	-0.062 (0.053)
Total vote share of governing parties	-0.034 (0.023)	-0.069** (0.021)	-0.011 (0.051)	-0.004 (0.032)	-0.036 (0.023)
Polarization of governing parties	-0.146** (0.032)	-0.079** (0.029)	0.073 (0.066)	-0.195** (0.042)	-0.147** (0.031)
Frequency of coalition	0.042 (0.025)	0.046* (0.022)	0.066 (0.056)	0.042 (0.035)	0.043 (0.024)
Socio-demographics	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Constant	3.969** (0.032)	3.969** (0.032)	3.803** (0.044)	3.940** (0.042)	5.131** (0.277)
N	25,872	25,872	5,185	13,024	25,872
R2	0.197	0.196	0.183	0.187	0.208

	Protest (Baseline)	Protest (Alternative measures)	Protest (First iteration)	Protest (No BSW government)	Protest (Controls)
Parl. seat share of most liked party	0.087* (0.040)	0.087* (0.040)	0.130* (0.059)	0.089 (0.052)	0.070 (0.040)
Parl. seat share of most disliked party	-0.097**	-0.102**	-0.157**	-0.134**	-0.101**

Gov. seat share of most liked party	(0.031) -0.149**	(0.031) -0.143**	(0.052) -0.134	(0.040) -0.141*	(0.031) -0.151**
Gov. seat share of most disliked party	(0.041) 0.690**	(0.041) 0.722**	(0.083) 0.747**	(0.057) 0.780**	(0.041) 0.686**
Most liked party Chancellor	(0.037) -0.446**	(0.037) -0.450**	(0.073) -0.472**	(0.048) -0.430**	(0.037) -0.441**
Most disliked party Chancellor	(0.041) 0.699**	(0.042) 0.683**	(0.081) 0.747**	(0.059) 0.567**	(0.041) 0.692**
Number of parliamentary parties	(0.043) -0.019	(0.044) 0.014	(0.084) 0.057	(0.062) -0.007	(0.043) -0.021
Number of governing parties	(0.026) 0.118*	(0.023) 0.071	(0.057) -0.103	(0.039) 0.047	(0.026) 0.122*
Largest party in government	(0.058) 0.028	(0.044) -0.057	(0.125) -0.182	(0.105) -0.071	(0.058) 0.031
Total vote share of governing parties	(0.062) 0.066*	(0.047) 0.081**	(0.130) 0.112	(0.095) 0.083*	(0.061) 0.065*
Polarization of governing parties	(0.026) 0.119**	(0.024) 0.087**	(0.058) -0.057	(0.036) 0.123**	(0.026) 0.125**
Frequency of coalition	(0.034) -0.065*	(0.031) -0.026	(0.069) -0.064	(0.046) -0.078*	(0.034) -0.065*
	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.060)	(0.038)	(0.027)
Socio-demographics	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Constant	2.935** (0.036)	2.935** (0.036)	3.002** (0.048)	2.934** (0.047)	1.336** (0.256)
N	25,872	25,872	5,185	13,024	25,872
R2	0.165	0.164	0.176	0.150	0.174

Note: Entries are coefficient estimates from OLS regressions predicting the acceptability of the outcome (upper panel) and the likelihood to protest this outcome (lower panel). All covariates are standardized. The first column is the baseline. The second column uses alternative measures of partisan preferences (negative and positive vote intentions instead of party-liking scales). In the third column, the sample is reduced to the first iteration of the survey question. In the fourth column, it is reduced to the outcomes in which the BSW is not in the governing coalition. In the fifth column, we add socio-demographic control variables: age (continuous), gender (categorical), education level (categorical), and region (categorical). Standard errors clustered by respondent are in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Appendix 6. Regression results with raw rather than standardized covariates

	Accept (Baseline)	Protest (Baseline)
Parl. seat share of most liked party	-1.901** (0.407)	1.052* (0.483)
Parl. seat share of most disliked party	-0.602 (0.582)	-1.686** (0.548)
Gov. seat share of most liked party	1.380** (0.192)	-0.790** (0.220)
Gov. seat share of most disliked party	-4.405** (0.209)	4.222** (0.227)
Most liked party Chancellor	1.397** (0.100)	-1.063** (0.099)
Most disliked party Chancellor	-0.996** (0.082)	1.637** (0.101)
Number of parliamentary parties	-0.036 (0.058)	-0.047 (0.066)
Number of governing parties	-0.289** (0.068)	0.156* (0.078)
Largest party in government	-0.129 (0.108)	0.055 (0.124)
Total vote share of governing parties	-1.134 (0.755)	2.187* (0.871)
Polarization of governing parties	-0.856** (0.185)	0.699** (0.199)
Frequency of coalition	0.292 (0.170)	-0.452* (0.185)
Socio-demographics	NO	NO
Constant	7.169** (0.509)	0.412 (0.571)
N	25,872	25,872
R2	0.197	0.165

Entries are coefficient estimates from OLS regressions predicting the acceptability of the outcome (first column) and the likelihood to protest this outcome (second column). Both columns show the baseline estimation with raw rather than standardized covariates. Standard errors clustered by respondent are in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.