

## Appendix of Tables

Table 3.A1 Description of the independent variables and coding

Variable	Description	Coding	Dataset
Strength of party identification (with Union, SPD, FDP, Green Party, and Left Party respectively)	“In general terms, are do you feel close to a particular political party? And if so, which one?”; “All in all, how strongly or weakly attached are you to this party?”	Multiplicative index; 5-point scale; 1 = strong identification with this party; 0 = no identification with this party	Both
Age	Age	Continuous variable	Both
Female	Gender	Female = 1; male = 0	Both
Education	Formal education	0 = lowest formal qualification 1 = intermediary secondary qualification 2 = completed higher secondary education	Both
Unemployed	Mode of employment	1 = yes; 0 = no; respondents are coded “1” if they are currently unemployed	Both
Union member	“Are you a member of a trade union?”	1 = yes; 0 = no; respondents are coded “1” if they are trade union members	Both
Left–right self-placement	“In politics people often talk about ‘left’ and ‘right.’ Where would you rate yourself?”	Continuous variable; 11-point scale; 1 = right; 0 = left	Trackings
Ethnocentrism	“Should laws on immigration of foreigners be relaxed or made tougher?”; “What is your personal opinion on the integration of foreigners?”	Additive index of two continuous variables; split in half: 7-/11-point scale; 1 = high ethnocentric (make immigration restrictions tougher; foreigners should completely assimilate to the German culture); 0 = not ethnocentric (relax immigration restrictions; foreigners should be able to live according to their own culture)	Panel
Identification with European Union	“How strongly do you feel attached to the European Union?”	Continuous variable; 5-point scale; 1 = very attached to European Union; 0 = not attached at all to European Union	Panel
Public debt	“What is your personal opinion on the contraction of debts?”	Continuous variable; split in half: 7-/11-point scale; 1 = state should contract less debt; strong 0 = state should contract more debt	Panel
Redistribution	“What is your position on taxes and on government spending on welfare state benefits?”	Continuous variable; split in half: 7-/11-point scale; 1 = higher taxes and more government spending on welfare state benefits; 0 = lower taxes and less government spending on welfare state benefits	Panel

Table 3.A2 GLES Online Trackings 8–30 and Long-Term Media Dataset, descriptive statistics

	Mean	Std Dev.	Min	Max	N
Dependent variables: Most important issue facing the country (relative salience)					
Labor market	0.28		0	1	22,219
Pensions and healthcare	0.12		0	1	22,219
Immigration	0.23		0	1	22,219
Financial crisis	0.26		0	1	22,219
Independent variables:					
Level I					
Strength of party identification:					
CDU/CSU	0.18	0.33	0	1	23,266
SPD	0.18	0.32	0	1	23,271
FDP	0.02	0.13	0	1	23,280
Green Party	0.08	0.23	0	1	23,282
Left Party	0.06	0.21	0	1	23,281
Age	0.34	0.20	0	1	24,685
Female	0.49		0	1	24,687
Education:					
Low	0.30		0	1	24,459
Medium	0.39		0	1	24,459
High	0.31		0	1	24,459
Unemployed	0.06		0	1	24,451
Union membership	0.16		0	1	24,241
Left–right self-placement	0.46	0.22	0	1	21,859
Level II					
News content (relative salience)					
Labor market	4.08	1.39	1.83	7.36	24,687
Pensions and healthcare	3.06	1.33	0.83	6.33	24,687
Immigration	3.79	4.02	0.84	18.20	24,687
Financial crisis	3.97	2.40	1.06	9.64	24,687

*Notes:* The level I variables age, left–right self-placement, and strength of party identification have been centered at their within-cluster mean. All level II variables have been centered at their grand mean.

Table 3.A3: GLES Election Campaign Panel 2009–13 and Campaign Content Dataset (TV), descriptive statistics

	Mean	Std Dev.	Min	Max	N
Dependent variables: Most important issue facing the country (relative salience)					
Labor market	0.37		0	1	5371
Pensions and healthcare	0.09		0	1	5371
Immigration	0.14		0	1	5371
Financial crisis	0.26		0	1	5371
Independent variables:					
Strength of party identification:					
CDU/CSU	0.18	0.31	0	1	7028
SPD	0.17	0.29	0	1	7035
FDP	0.06	0.28	0	1	7035
Green Party	0.08	0.22	0	1	7035
Left Party	0.05	0.17	0	1	7035
Age	0.42	0.23	0	1	7056
Female	0.51		0	1	7056
Education:					
Low	0.11		0	1	770
Medium	0.46		0	1	3220
High	0.43		0	1	2982
Unemployed	0.04		0	1	7028
Union membership	0.12		0	1	7056
Ethnocentrism	0.66	0.25	0	1	7000
Identification with EU	0.38	0.25	0	1	6909
Public debt	0.30	0.23	0	1	5467
Redistribution	0.45	0.23	0	1	6587
TV news content (relative salience):					
Labor market	5.29	3.16	0	10.44	5083
Pensions and healthcare	2.29	2.57	0	12.12	5083
Immigration	1.30	1.43	0	7.32	5083
Financial crisis	2.55	2.22	0	13.26	5083

*Notes:* With the exception of unemployment all independent variables on level I have been measured in 2009. If the variable was collected in more than just one wave in 2009 we use an average index. Values of TV news content indicate the average share of total news coverage ten days before the date of interview.

Table 3.A4 Direct effects of predispositions and agenda-setting effects on national issue salience (multilevel logistic regressions)

Most important problem:	Labor market		Pensions and healthcare		Immigration		Financial crisis	
Level I								
Intercept	-1.12**	(0.12)	-2.02**	(0.07)	-1.51**	(0.15)	-1.11**	(0.11)
Strength of party identification:								
CDU/CSU	-0.03	(0.06)	0.25**	(0.08)	-0.05	(0.07)	0.36**	(0.06)
SPD	0.26**	(0.06)	0.32**	(0.08)	-0.15	(0.08)	0.27**	(0.07)
FDP	-0.34*	(0.13)	0.10	(0.18)	-0.33	(0.17)	0.49**	(0.13)
Green Party	-0.19*	(0.08)	0.02	(0.11)	-0.43**	(0.11)	-0.14	(0.09)
Left Party	0.47**	(0.08)	0.06	(0.12)	-0.22	(0.12)	-0.54**	(0.10)
Age	-0.17	(0.09)	0.57**	(0.11)	-0.17	(0.11)	0.24**	(0.09)
Female	0.47**	(0.03)	0.15**	(0.04)	0.28**	(0.04)	-0.19**	(0.04)
Education:								
Intermediate	-0.17**	(0.04)	-0.11*	(0.05)	-0.11*	(0.05)	0.06	(0.04)
High	-0.50**	(0.04)	-0.31**	(0.06)	-0.37**	(0.06)	0.14**	(0.05)
Unemployed	0.68**	(0.06)						
Union membership	0.10*	(0.04)						
Left-right self-placement					1.67**	(0.11)	0.51**	(0.09)
Level II								
News coverage	-0.21	(0.84)	2.37**	(0.48)	2.73**	(0.36)	2.07**	(0.45)
Variance components:								
Intercept variance	0.30	(0.09)	0.08	(0.03)	0.48	(0.14)	0.26	(0.08)
-2 log likelihood	22717.05		14866.06		15233.62		20360.12	
ICC in Random Intercept Only Model	0.08	(0.02)	0.05	(0.02)	0.33	(0.07)	0.13	(0.03)
ICC in Random Intercept Fixed Slope Model	0.08	(0.02)	0.02	(0.01)	0.13	(0.03)	0.07	(0.02)
N individuals	20,568		20,933		19,152		19,152	
N groups	23		23		23		23	

Notes: \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01. Random Intercept and Fixed Slope Models. Entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Table 3.A5 Moderating effects of predispositions on agenda-setting effects: Labor market issues (multilevel logit regression)

Most important problem:	I	II	III	IV	V
<b>Labor market</b>					
Strength of party identification:					
CDU/CSU	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
SPD	0.26** (0.06)	0.26** (0.06)	0.26** (0.06)	0.26** (0.06)	0.26** (0.06)
FDP	-0.34* (0.13)	-0.34* (0.13)	-0.34* (0.13)	-0.33* (0.13)	-0.34* (0.13)
Green Party	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.19* (0.08)
Left Party	0.47** (0.08)	0.47** (0.08)	0.46** (0.08)	0.47** (0.08)	0.47** (0.08)
Age	-0.17 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.09)
Female	0.47** (0.03)	0.47** (0.03)	0.47** (0.03)	0.47** (0.03)	0.47** (0.03)
Education:					
Intermediate	-0.17** (0.04)	-0.17** (0.04)	-0.17** (0.04)	-0.17** (0.04)	-0.17** (0.04)
High	-0.50** (0.04)	-0.50** (0.04)	-0.50** (0.04)	-0.50** (0.04)	-0.50** (0.04)
Unemployment	0.68** (0.06)	0.68** (0.06)	0.68** (0.06)	0.68** (0.06)	0.68** (0.06)
Union membership	0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)
News coverage of labor market	0.20 (0.84)	0.18 (0.84)	0.13 (0.85)	0.20 (0.84)	0.21 (0.84)
Unemployment*news coverage	0.24 (0.48)				
Union membership*news coverage		0.16 (0.30)			
Intermediate education*news coverage			0.11 (0.27)		
High education*news coverage			0.14 (0.30)		
SPD*news coverage				0.71* (0.34)	
Left Party*news coverage					-0.11 (0.53)
Intercept	-1.12** (0.12)	-1.12** (0.12)	-1.12** (0.12)	-1.12** (0.12)	-1.12** (0.12)
Intercept variance	0.30 (0.09)	0.30 (0.09)	0.30 (0.09)	0.30 (0.09)	0.30 (0.09)
N individuals	20,568	20,568	20,568	20,568	20,568
N groups	23	23	23	23	23
-2 log likelihood	22716.80	22716.77	22716.78	22712.74	22717.01

Notes: \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01. Cells display logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Table 3.A6 Moderating effects of predispositions on the agenda-setting effects: Pensions and healthcare (multilevel logit regression)

Most important problem: Pensions and healthcare	I	II	III
Strength of party identification:			
CDU/CSU	0.25** (0.08)	0.25** (0.08)	0.25** (0.08)
SPD	0.32** (0.08)	0.32** (0.08)	0.32** (0.08)
FDP	0.10 (0.18)	0.10 (0.18)	0.10 (0.18)
Green Party	0.02 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)
Left Party	0.06 (0.12)	0.06 (0.12)	0.06 (0.12)
Age	0.59** (0.12)	0.57** (0.11)	0.57** (0.11)
Female	0.15** (0.04)	0.15** (0.04)	0.16** (0.04)
Education:			
Intermediate	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)
High	-0.31** (0.06)	-0.31** (0.06)	-0.31** (0.06)
News coverage of pensions and healthcare	2.40** (0.48)	2.38** (0.53)	2.55** (0.50)
Age*news coverage	-0.66 (0.80)		
Intermediate education*news coverage		0.08 (0.38)	
High education*news coverage		-0.13 (0.42)	
Female*news coverage			-0.36 (0.32)
Intercept	-2.02** (0.07)	-2.02** (0.08)	-2.03** (0.08)
Intercept variance	0.08 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)
N individuals	20,933	20,933	20,933
N groups	23	23	23
-2 log likelihood	14865.38	14865.79	14864.78

Notes: \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01. Cells display logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Table 3.A7 Moderating effects of predispositions on agenda-setting effects: Immigration  
(multilevel logit regression)

Most important problem: Immigration	I	II	III
Strength of party identification:			
CDU/CSU	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)
SPD	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)
FDP	-0.33* (0.17)	-0.33* (0.17)	-0.33* (0.17)
Green Party	-0.43** (0.11)	-0.43** (0.11)	-0.42** (0.11)
Left Party	-0.22 (0.12)	-0.22 (0.12)	-0.22 (0.12)
Age	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.22* (0.11)
Female	0.28** (0.04)	0.28** (0.04)	0.28** (0.04)
Education:			
Intermediate	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)
High	-0.37** (0.06)	-0.37** (0.06)	-0.37** (0.06)
Left–right self-placement	1.67** (0.11)	1.67** (0.11)	1.68** (0.11)
News coverage of immigration	2.73** (0.36)	2.73** (0.36)	2.73** (0.36)
Left–right self-placement *news coverage	0.06 (0.24)		
Green Party*news coverage		-0.04 (0.20)	
Age*news coverage			0.77** (0.24)
Intercept	-1.51** (0.15)	-1.51** (0.15)	-1.51** (0.15)
Intercept variance	0.48 (0.14)	0.48 (0.14)	0.48 (0.14)
N individuals	19,152	19,152	19,152
N groups	23	23	23
-2 log likelihood	15233.56	15233.57	15223.46

Notes: \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01. Cells display logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

Table 3.A8 Moderating effects of predispositions on the agenda-setting effects: Financial crisis  
(multilevel logit regression)

Most important problem: Financial crisis	I	II
Strength of party identification:		
CDU/CSU	0.36** (0.06)	0.36** (0.06)
SPD	0.28** (0.07)	0.27** (0.07)
FDP	0.49** (0.13)	0.49** (0.13)
Green Party	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.09)
Left Party	-0.55** (0.11)	-0.54** (0.10)
Age	0.23** (0.09)	0.24** (0.09)
Female	-0.19** (0.04)	-0.19** (0.04)
Education:		
Intermediate	0.06 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)
High	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
Left–right self-placement	0.56** (0.09)	0.51** (0.09)
News coverage of the financial crisis	2.08** (0.45)	2.06** (0.45)
Left–right self-placement *news coverage	-0.83** (0.31)	
CDU/CSU*news coverage		0.18 (0.21)
Intercept	-1.11** (0.11)	-1.11** (0.11)
Intercept variance	0.36** (0.06)	0.36** (0.06)
N individuals	19,152	19,152
N groups	23	23
-2 log likelihood	20352.89	20359.37

Notes: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01. Cells display logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.



Table 3.A9 Direct effects of personal characteristics on national issue salience (logit regression)

	Labor market		Pensions and healthcare		Immigration		Financial crisis	
	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II
Strength of PI:								
CDU/CSU	0.43 (0.28)	-0.10 (0.40)	0.06 (0.31)	0.73 (0.92)	0.06 (0.31)	-0.64 (0.62)	0.71* (0.33)	0.49 (0.49)
SPD	0.28 (0.31)	-0.42 (0.42)	0.52 (0.33)	0.38 (1.12)	-0.24 (0.35)	-0.41 (0.70)	0.05 (0.35)	-0.69 (0.67)
FDP	-0.02 (0.42)	-1.04 (0.79)	-0.59 (0.57)	0.46 (1.44)	0.38 (0.45)	0.34 (0.85)	0.88 (0.51)	0.57 (0.73)
Green Party	-0.45 (0.36)	-0.75 (0.58)	-0.10 (0.40)	1.16 (1.06)	0.03 (0.53)	-0.30 (1.51)	-0.08 (0.42)	-1.14 (0.98)
Left Party	0.99* (0.48)	0.40 (0.57)	-0.47 (0.57)	0.54 (1.62)	-0.53 (0.58)	-2.56 (1.71)	-1.24* (0.56)	-2.69 (1.90)
Age	0.81* (0.34)	-0.05 (0.48)	1.03** (0.39)	-0.49 (0.86)	1.26** (0.38)	0.50 (0.74)	-0.16 (0.38)	-0.41 (0.66)
Female	0.74** (0.15)	0.93** (0.21)	0.41* (0.17)	0.27 (0.45)	0.38* (0.17)	0.43 (0.33)	-0.28 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.30)
Education:								
Intermediate	-0.45 (0.27)	-0.43 (0.30)	-0.36 (0.33)	0.82 (1.08)	0.03 (0.26)	1.05 (0.66)	-0.06 (0.27)	-0.01 (0.50)
High	-0.66** (0.27)	-0.71* (0.32)	-0.22 (0.33)	0.82 (1.07)	-0.19 (0.27)	0.25 (0.74)	-0.11 (0.27)	-0.29 (0.52)
Unemployment	0.09 (0.40)	0.87* (0.42)						
Union member	0.31 (0.24)	0.38 (0.28)						
Ethnocentrism					3.55** (0.49)	6.39** (1.59)	-0.11 (0.40)	1.59** (0.54)

EU identification							-0.02 (0.34)	-1.45 (0.82)
Public debt							-0.39 (0.36)	0.31 (0.58)
Redistribution							-0.51 (0.39)	0.53 (0.74)
Intercept	0.15 (0.33)	-1.75** (0.38)	-1.82** (0.35)	-4.79** (1.38)	-4.23** (0.55)	-8.98** (1.71)	0.64 (0.56)	-2.84** (0.98)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.05**	0.05**	0.02*	0.02	0.12**	0.19**	0.03**	0.07*
N	872	872	875	875	873	873	671	671

*Notes:* \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Cells contain logit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. N = only individuals who gave answers in at least two waves. Dependent variable in Model I: 1 = issue has been named at least once; 0 = issue has been never named. Dependent variable in Model II: 1 = issue has always been named; 0 = issue has been named less often or never.