APPENDIX 1: Summary statistics for main variables

Table A1: Summary statistics of variables, sample used to test H1 and H2

	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Schleswig-Holstein					
internal efficacy	2670	3.18	1.220	1 (very low)	5 (very high)
turnout	2670	0.83	0.379	0 (no)	1 (yes)
social class	2670	0.25	0.430	0 (high class)	1 (lower class)
gender	2670	0.51	0.500	0 (male)	1 (female)
age	2670	16.80	0.739	16	18
migration background	2670	0.20	0.400	0 (no)	1 (yes)
Variables used in additional models					
parental education	2524	0.36	0.479	0 (high)	1 (low)
political interest	2669	3.29	0.956	1 (very low)	5 (very high)
duty to vote	2667	2.56	0.503	1 (low)	3 (strong)
pol discussion family (in days, week before election)	2623	3.44	2.120	0	7
pol discussion friends (in days, week before election)	2593	3.30	2.215	0	7
turnout parents	2504	0.89	0.317	0 (none)	1 (>= one)
turnout of friends	2669	3.83	1.264	0 (don't know)	5 (very many)
Brandenburg and Saxony					
internal pol efficacy	2171	3.53	0.938	1 (very low)	5 (very high)

turnout	2171	0.89	0.314	0 (no)	1 (yes)
social class	2171	0.28	0.449	0 (high class)	1 (lower class)
gender	2171	0.54	0.512	0 (male)	2 (diverse)
age	2171	17.69	1.072	16	19
migration background	2171	0.08	0.267	0 (no)	1 (yes)
Variables used in additional models					
political interest	2171	3.30	0.938	1 (very low)	5 (very high)
eligible EU election 2019	2168	0.52	0.500	0 (no)	1 (yes)
pol discussion family (in days, week before election)	2148	2.43	1.917	0	7
pol discussion friends (in days, week before election)	2130	3.58	2.238	0	7
turnout parents	2064	0.92	0.266	0 (none)	1 (>= one)
turnout of friends	2169	3.95	1.224	0 (don't know)	5 (very many)

Table A2: Summary statistics of variables, sample used to test H3; for values see Table A1

	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Schleswig-Holstein					
Internal efficacy W1	552	3.21	1.212	1 (v low)	5 (v high)
Turnout W1	552	0.87	0.341	0 (no)	1 (yes)
Turnout W2	552	0.94	0.234	0 (no)	1 (yes)
Social class W1	552	0.24	0.430	0 (high class)	1 (lower class)
Gender W1	552	0.55	0.498	0 (male)	1 (female)

Age W1	552	17.46	0.554	16	18
Age W2	552	17.94	0.304	16	18
Migration BG W1	552	0.18	0.385	0 (no)	1 (yes)

Brandenburg and Saxony

Internal efficacy W1	699	3.67	0.919	1 (v low)	5 (v high)
Turnout W1	699	0.93	0.251	0 (no)	1 (yes)
Turnout W2	699	0.96	0.189	0 (no)	1 (yes)
Social class W1	699	0.27	0.443	0 (high class)	1 (lower class)
Gender W1	699	0.53	0.508	0 (male)	2 (diverse)
Age W1	699	17.65	1.068	16	19
Age W2	699	19.70	1.069	17	22
Migration BG W1	699	0.08	0.269	0 (no)	1 (yes)

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APPENDIX 2: Distribution of alternative mobilizing factors by social class

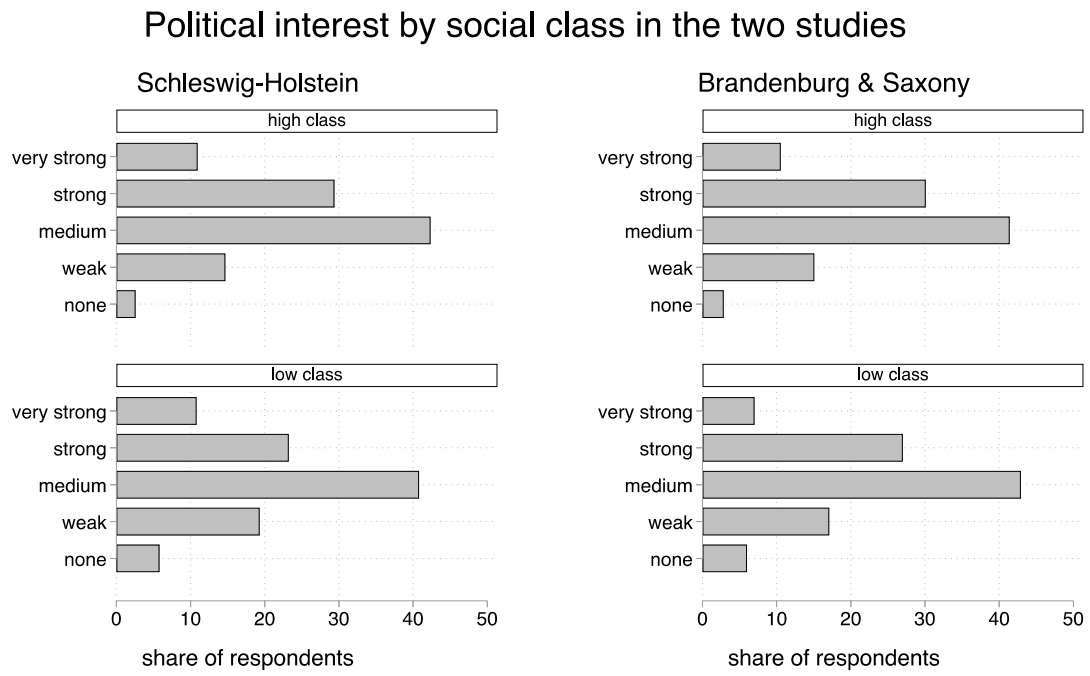

Figure A1: Distribution of political interest by social class in the two surveys, wave 1

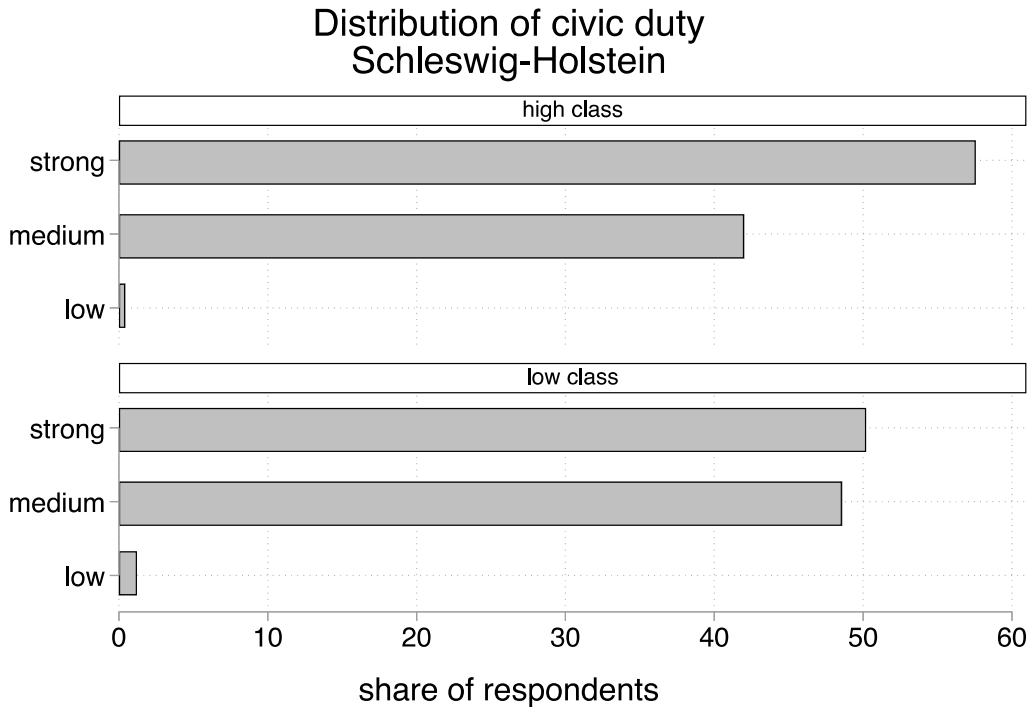

Figure A2: Distribution of duty to vote by social class in the Schleswig-Holstein survey, wave 1

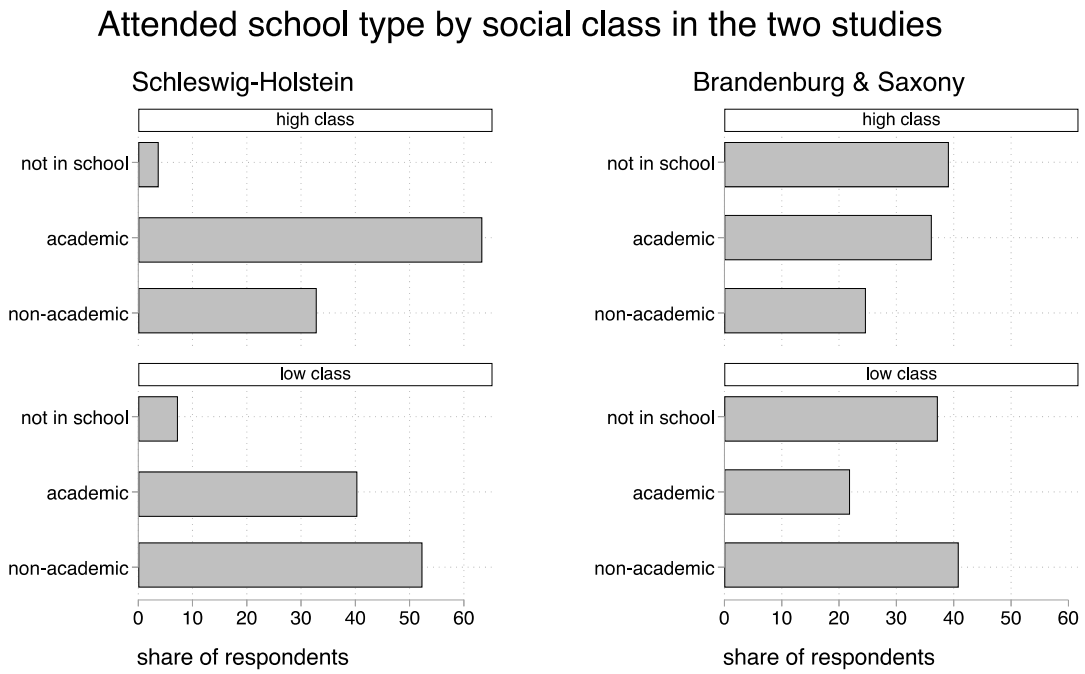

Figure A3: Distribution of school type attendance by social class in the two surveys, wave 1

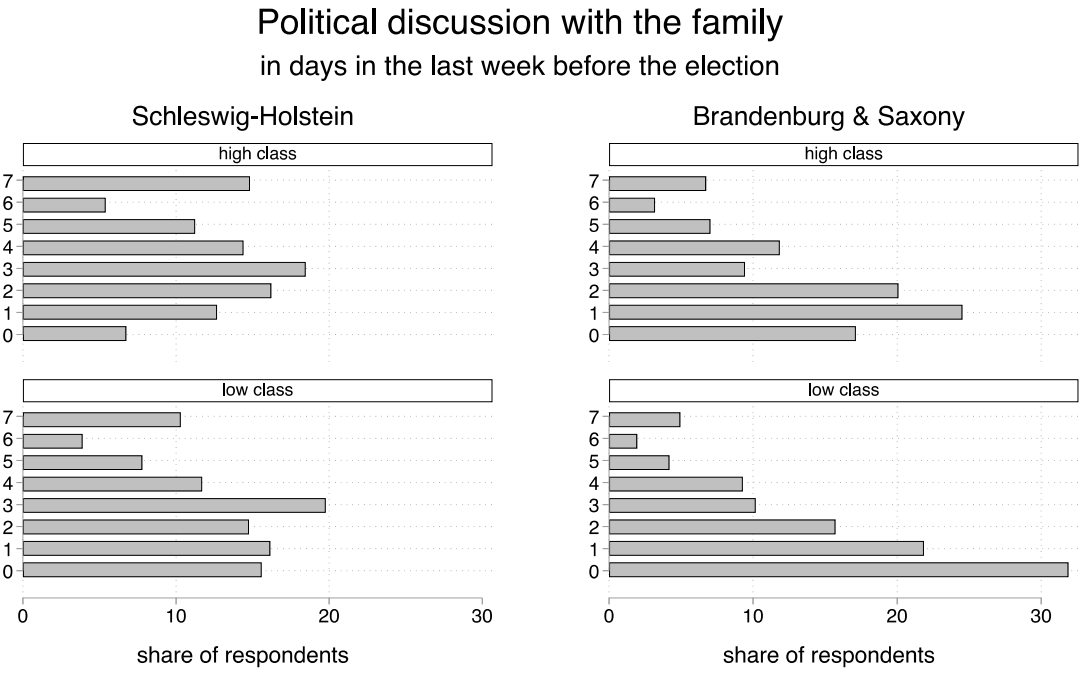

Figure A4: Distribution of frequency of political discussion with family by social class in the two surveys, wave 1

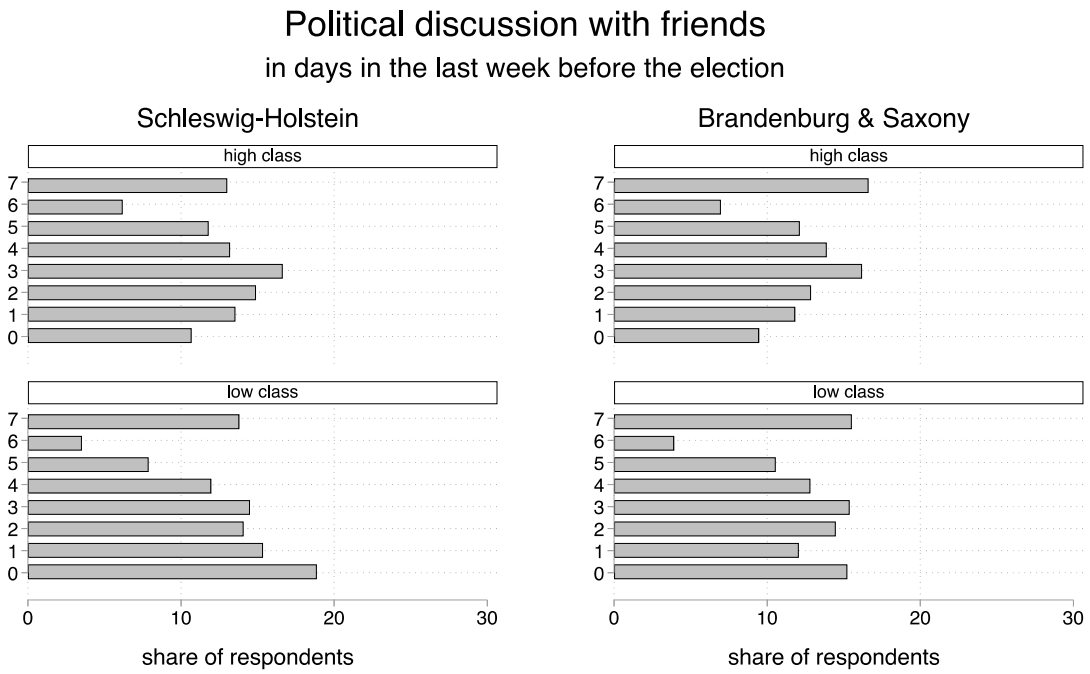

Figure A5: Distribution of frequency of political discussion with friends by social class in the two surveys, wave 1

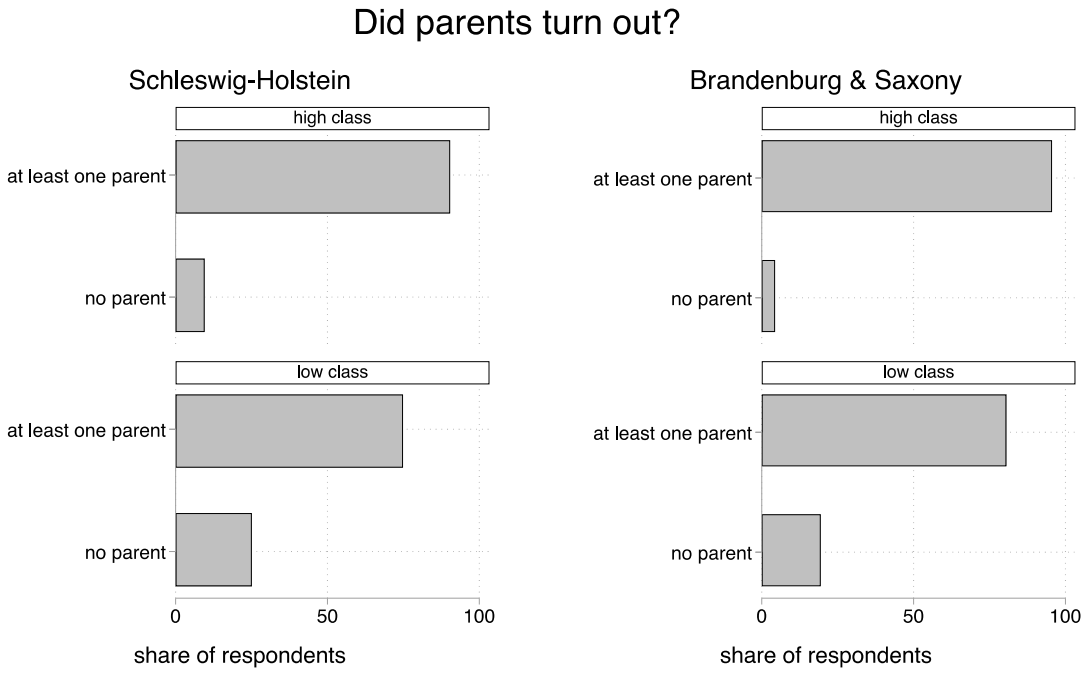

Figure A6: Share of respondents who reported parental turnout by social class, wave 1

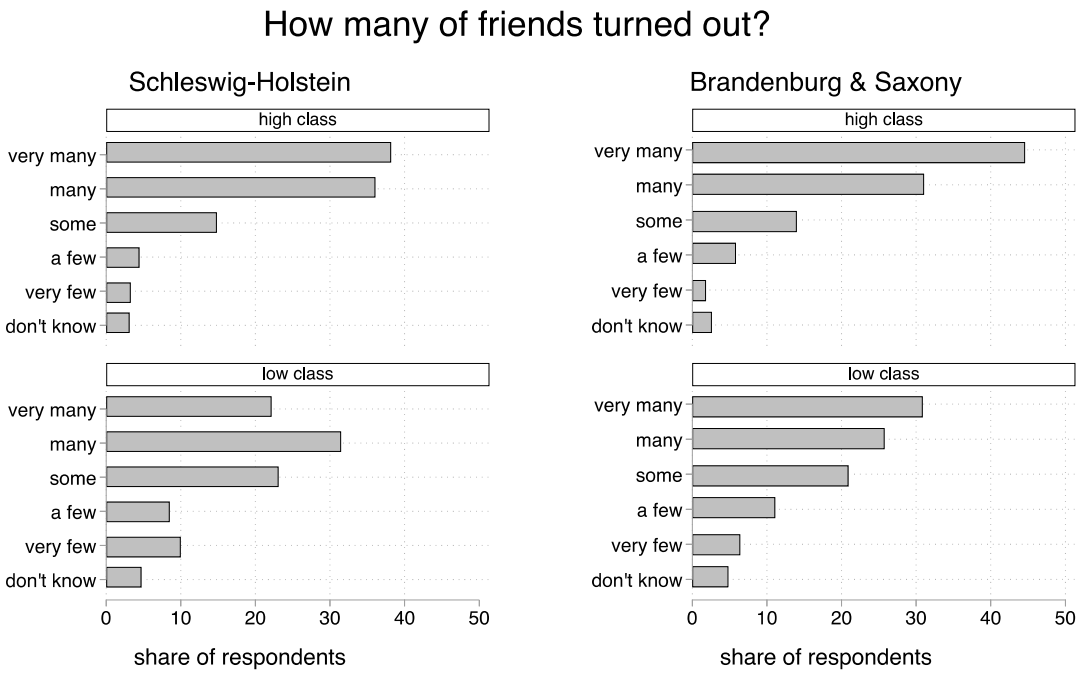

Figure A7: Share of respondents who reported turnout among their friends by social class, wave 1

Note: We regard individuals who do not know how many of their friends turned out to have received the lowest mobilizing impulse from their friends; we thus decided to keep this category in the analysis for theoretical reasons and to increase the number of observations.

APPENDIX 3: Results for additional models

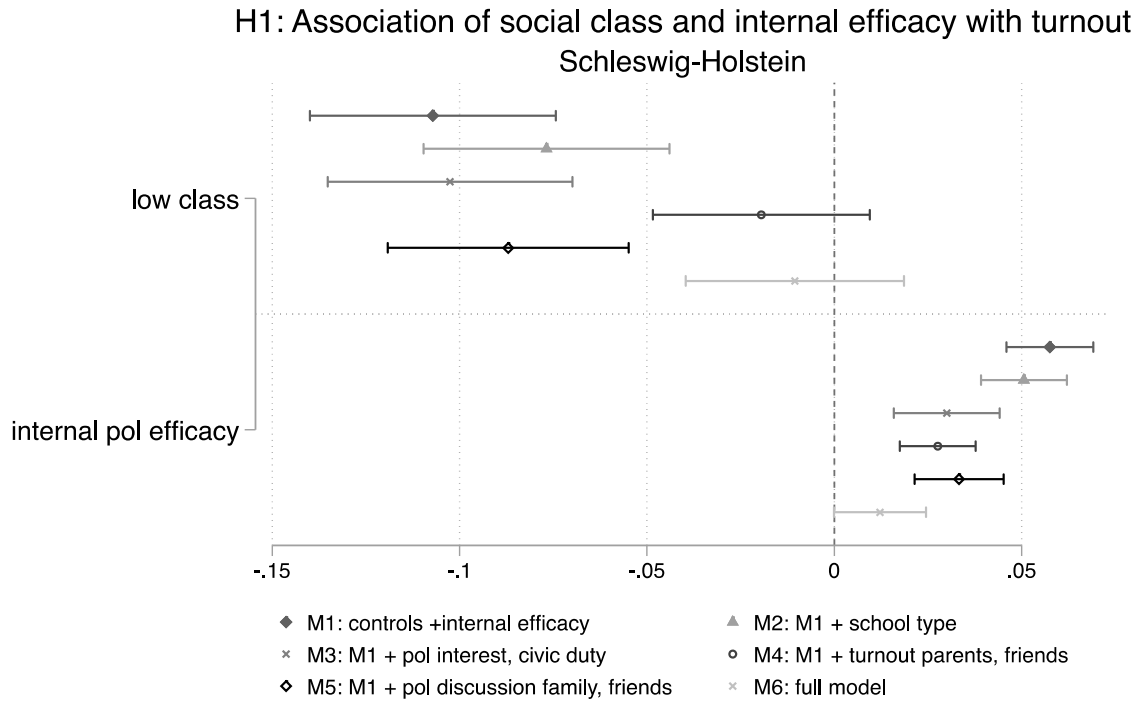

Figure A8a: Evidence on H1, Schleswig-Holstein: Results of linear probability models; plot of point estimates with 95% CIs of coefficients on internal efficacy and social class; DV = first turnout; robustness checks

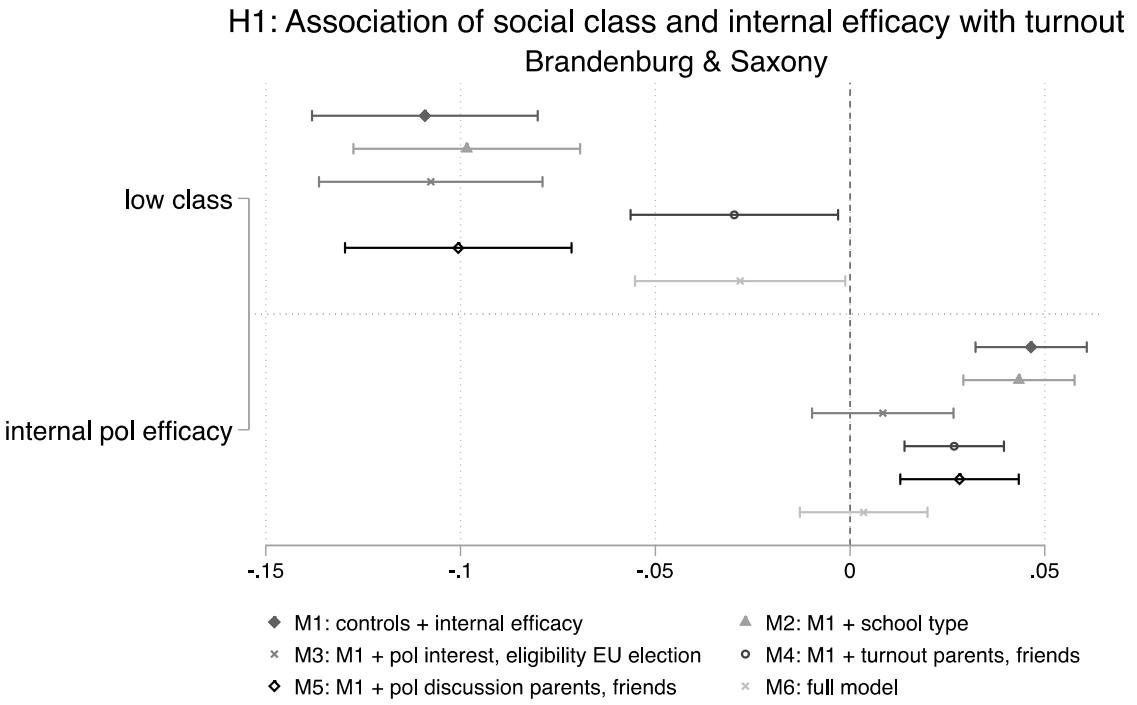

Figure A8b: Evidence on H1, Brandenburg and Saxony: Results of linear probability models; plot of point estimates with 95% CIs of coefficients on internal efficacy and social class; DV = first turnout; robustness checks

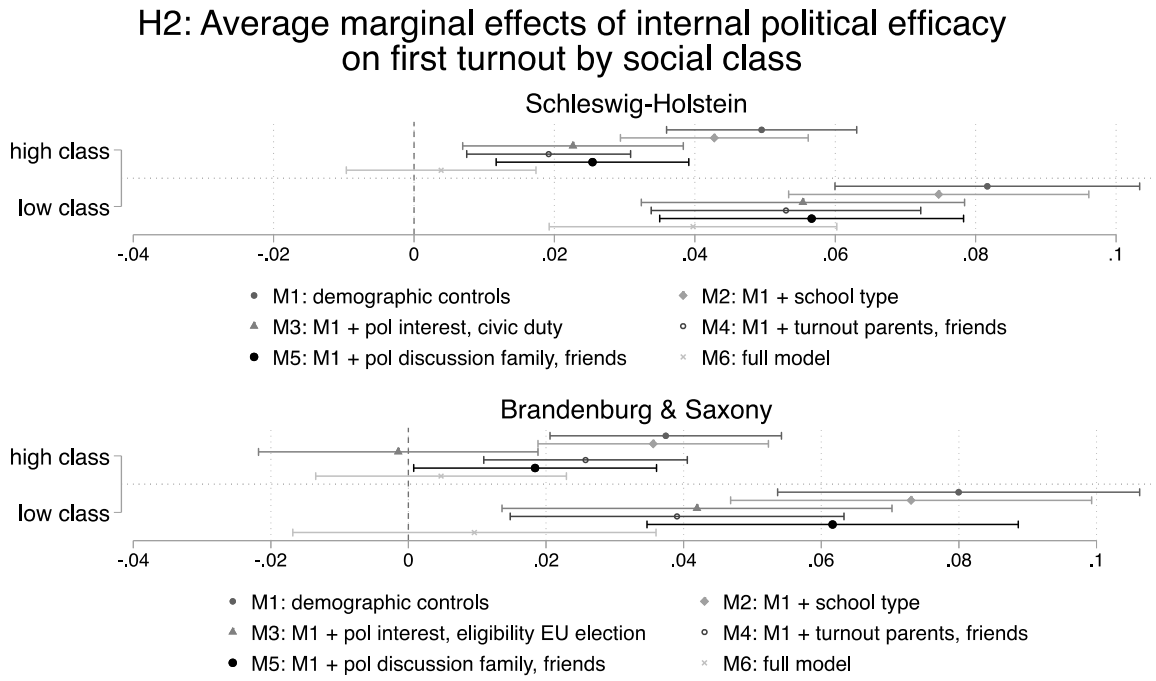

Figure A9: Evidence on H2: Results of linear probability models; average marginal effects of internal efficacy on first turnout by social class with 95% CIs; robustness checks

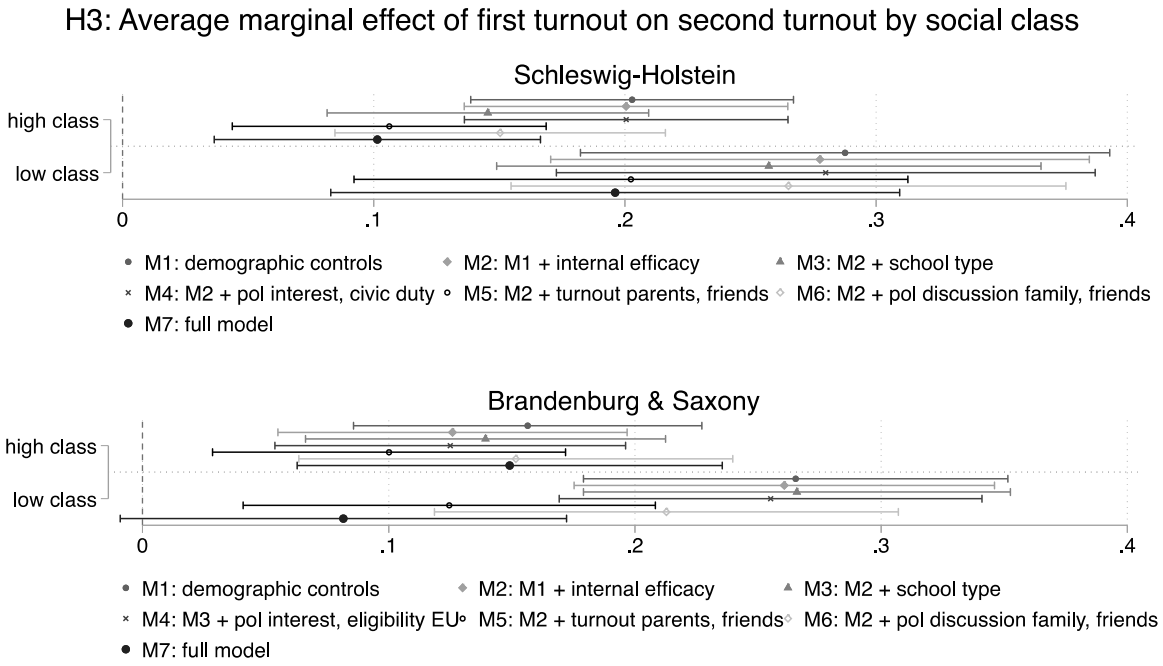

Figure A10: Evidence on H3: Results of linear probability models; average marginal effects of first turnout on second turnout by social class with 95% CIs; robustness checks

APPENDIX 4: Tabular results

Results for H1:

Table A3: Linear probability regression models of turnout on social background, internal political efficacy, and controls (all measured in wave 1), Schleswig-Holstein

Schleswig-Holstein

	M1: DV=turnout	M2: DV=turnout	M3: DV=turnout	M4: DV=turnout	M5: DV=turnout	M6: DV=turnout	M7: DV=turnout
lower class (ref: high)	-0.118***	-0.107***	-0.0768***	-0.103***	-0.0195	-0.0870***	-0.0105
	(0.0170)	(0.0167)	(0.0167)	(0.0167)	(0.0148)	(0.0164)	(0.0149)
age	-0.0174+	-0.0148	-0.0165+	-0.0145	-0.00813	-0.00736	-0.00649
	(0.00978)	(0.00962)	(0.00960)	(0.00955)	(0.00827)	(0.00941)	(0.00836)
migration background (ref: none)	-0.0972***	-0.0991***	-0.104***	-0.104***	-0.000762	-0.0761***	-0.00730
	(0.0182)	(0.0179)	(0.0176)	(0.0178)	(0.0161)	(0.0176)	(0.0162)
female (ref: male)	-0.0166	0.00462	-0.00191	0.0154	-0.0132	-0.0149	-0.0205+
	(0.0144)	(0.0144)	(0.0141)	(0.0144)	(0.0123)	(0.0140)	(0.0124)
internal pol efficacy		0.0575***	0.0506***	0.0300***	0.0276***	0.0333***	0.0122+
		(0.00590)	(0.00584)	(0.00720)	(0.00516)	(0.00607)	(0.00626)
school type (ref: non-academic)							
academic track			0.144***				0.0631***
			(0.0151)				(0.0135)
not in school			-0.00993				-0.0519

			(0.0355)				(0.0327)
political interest				0.0602***			0.0113
				(0.00924)			(0.00834)
duty to vote				-0.00734			-0.0451***
				(0.0141)			(0.0122)
turnout parents					0.482***		0.439***
					(0.0202)		(0.0208)
turnout friends					0.0551***		0.0433***
					(0.00517)		(0.00563)
pol discussion family						0.0384***	0.0163***
						(0.00366)	(0.00334)
pol discussion friends						0.0117***	0.00345
						(0.00346)	(0.00318)
Constant	1.175***	0.936***	0.898***	0.833***	0.267+	0.723***	0.351*
	(0.165)	(0.164)	(0.163)	(0.167)	(0.143)	(0.161)	(0.146)
Observations	2680	2670	2670	2666	2503	2573	2411

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A4: Linear probability regression models of turnout on social background, internal political efficacy, and controls (all measured in wave 1), Brandenburg and Saxony

Brandenburg and Saxony

	M1: DV=turnout	M2: DV=turnout	M3: DV=turnout	M4: DV=turnout	M5: DV=turnout	M6: DV=turnout	M7: DV=turnout
lower class	-0.119***	-0.109***	-0.0984***	-0.108***	-0.0297*	-0.101***	-0.0282*
(ref: high)	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0146)	(0.0136)	(0.0148)	(0.0138)
age	-0.00638	-0.00329	0.0139+	-0.0245*	0.00136	-0.00295	-0.00950
	(0.00702)	(0.00694)	(0.00828)	(0.0105)	(0.00618)	(0.00697)	(0.00978)
migration background	-0.0513*	-0.0633*	-0.0648**	-0.0596*	0.0131	-0.0315	0.0231
(ref: none)	(0.0249)	(0.0248)	(0.0246)	(0.0245)	(0.0229)	(0.0251)	(0.0231)
gender (ref: male)							
female	-0.0160	0.00745	0.00444	0.00786	-0.00314	-0.00665	-0.00368
	(0.0134)	(0.0137)	(0.0136)	(0.0135)	(0.0120)	(0.0137)	(0.0122)
diverse	0.0385	0.0316	0.0290	0.0349	0.0233	0.0301	0.0226
	(0.0777)	(0.0798)	(0.0793)	(0.0790)	(0.0708)	(0.0783)	(0.0701)
Brandenburg							
(ref: Saxony)	-0.0186	-0.0211	-0.0164	-0.0143	-0.0108	-0.0206	-0.00550
	(0.0161)	(0.0159)	(0.0159)	(0.0159)	(0.0141)	(0.0160)	(0.0145)
internal pol efficacy							
		0.0465***	0.0434***	0.00843	0.0268***	0.0281***	0.00349
		(0.00728)	(0.00728)	(0.00927)	(0.00650)	(0.00776)	(0.00836)
school type (ref: non-academic)							
academic track							

			0.0947***				0.0490**
			(0.0181)				(0.0162)
not in school							
			0.0200				-0.0199
			(0.0172)				(0.0157)
political interest							
				0.0598***			0.0326***
				(0.00907)			(0.00852)
eligible EU							
(ref: not eligible)				0.0538*			0.0624**
				(0.0220)			(0.0201)
turnout parents							
					0.387***		0.370***
					(0.0230)		(0.0236)
turnout friends							
					0.0504***		0.0458***
					(0.00504)		(0.00526)
pol discussion family							
						0.0170***	0.00391
						(0.00382)	(0.00347)
pol discussion friends							
						0.00874**	-0.00175
						(0.00331)	(0.00308)
Constant							
	1.054***	0.829***	0.492**	1.107***	0.241*	0.820***	0.392*
Observations	(0.130)	(0.133)	(0.155)	(0.184)	(0.121)	(0.134)	(0.174)
	2274	2171	2171	2168	2063	2109	2007

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Tabular Results for H2:

Table A5: Linear probability regression models of turnout on the interaction between social background and internal political efficacy, and controls (all measured in wave 1), Schleswig-Holstein

Schleswig-Holstein

	M1: DV=turnout	M2: DV=turnout	M3: DV=turnout	M4: DV=turnout	M5: DV=turnout	M6: DV=turnout
lower class (ref: high)	-0.199***	-0.169***	-0.196***	-0.120**	-0.178***	-0.118**
	(0.0433)	(0.0427)	(0.0431)	(0.0378)	(0.0426)	(0.0380)
internal pol efficacy	0.0492***	0.0423***	0.0216**	0.0190**	0.0252***	0.00318
	(0.00692)	(0.00683)	(0.00803)	(0.00595)	(0.00701)	(0.00691)
lower class # internal PE	0.0299*	0.0300*	0.0304*	0.0326**	0.0295*	0.0349**
	(0.0130)	(0.0128)	(0.0129)	(0.0113)	(0.0128)	(0.0113)
age	-0.0145	-0.0163+	-0.0142	-0.00801	-0.00701	-0.00642
	(0.00961)	(0.00959)	(0.00954)	(0.00826)	(0.00940)	(0.00835)
female (ref: male)	-0.101***	-0.106***	-0.106***	-0.00253	-0.0779***	-0.00901
	(0.0179)	(0.0176)	(0.0178)	(0.0161)	(0.0176)	(0.0162)
migration BG (ref: none)	0.00492	-0.00160	0.0157	-0.0125	-0.0145	-0.0197
	(0.0144)	(0.0141)	(0.0144)	(0.0123)	(0.0140)	(0.0124)
School type (ref: non-academic)						

academic track		0.144***				0.0632***
		(0.0151)				(0.0135)
not in school		-0.00803				-0.0508
		(0.0355)				(0.0327)
pol interest			0.0601***			0.0112
			(0.00923)			(0.00832)
duty to vote			-0.00816			-0.0461***
			(0.0141)			(0.0122)
turnout parents				0.482***		0.438***
				(0.0202)		(0.0208)
turnout friends				0.0548***		0.0434***
				(0.00516)		(0.00562)
pol discussion family					0.0385***	0.0163***
					(0.00366)	(0.00333)
pol discussion friends					0.0117***	0.00331
					(0.00346)	(0.00318)
Constant	0.957***	0.921***	0.857***	0.293*	0.744***	0.382**
	(0.164)	(0.163)	(0.167)	(0.143)	(0.161)	(0.146)
Observations	2670	2670	2666	2503	2573	2411

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A6: Linear probability regression models of turnout on the interaction between social background and internal political efficacy, and controls (all measured in wave 1), Brandenburg and Saxony

Brandenburg and Saxony

	M1: DV=turnout	M2: DV=turnout	M3: DV=turnout	M4: DV=turnout	M5: DV=turnout	M6: DV=turnout
lower class (ref: high)	-0.257***	-0.231***	-0.259***	-0.0772	-0.250***	-0.0469
	(0.0556)	(0.0555)	(0.0551)	(0.0508)	(0.0559)	(0.0516)
internal pol efficacy	0.0343***	0.0325***	-0.00452	0.0231**	0.0157+	0.00201
	(0.00853)	(0.00850)	(0.0103)	(0.00749)	(0.00895)	(0.00924)
lower class # internal PE	0.0428**	0.0384*	0.0441**	0.0137	0.0435**	0.00539
	(0.0156)	(0.0155)	(0.0154)	(0.0141)	(0.0157)	(0.0143)
age	-0.00363	0.0131	-0.0246*	0.00120	-0.00325	-0.00957
	(0.00693)	(0.00828)	(0.0105)	(0.00618)	(0.00696)	(0.00978)
gender (ref: male) female	-0.0623*	-0.0638**	-0.0585*	0.0131	-0.0304	0.0232
	(0.0247)	(0.0246)	(0.0245)	(0.0229)	(0.0251)	(0.0231)
diverse	0.00740	0.00447	0.00779	-0.00316	-0.00695	-0.00373
	(0.0136)	(0.0136)	(0.0135)	(0.0120)	(0.0137)	(0.0122)
migration BG (ref: none)	0.0355	0.0326	0.0388	0.0244	0.0341	0.0231
	(0.0797)	(0.0793)	(0.0789)	(0.0709)	(0.0782)	(0.0701)
Brandenburg						

(ref: Saxony)	-0.0212	-0.0167	-0.0145	-0.0108	-0.0204	-0.00552
	(0.0159)	(0.0159)	(0.0158)	(0.0141)	(0.0160)	(0.0145)
school type (ref: non-academic)						
academic track		0.0923***				0.0487**
		(0.0181)				(0.0162)
not in school		0.0196				-0.0199
		(0.0172)				(0.0157)
pol interest			0.0603***			0.0327***
			(0.00906)			(0.00853)
eligible EU			0.0530*			0.0622**
(ref: not eligible)			(0.0220)			(0.0202)
turnout parents				0.386***		0.370***
				(0.0230)		(0.0236)
turnout friends				0.0502***		0.0457***
				(0.00504)		(0.00526)
pol discussion family					0.0176***	0.00401
					(0.00382)	(0.00348)
pol discussion friends					0.00857**	-0.00176
					(0.00331)	(0.00308)
Constant	0.879***	0.546***	1.153***	0.259*	0.869***	0.400*
	(0.134)	(0.157)	(0.185)	(0.122)	(0.135)	(0.175)
Observations	2171	2171	2168	2063	2109	2007

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Tabular Results for H3:

Table A7: Linear probability regression models of second turnout on social background, first turnout, their interaction, and internal political efficacy, as well as controls, Schleswig-Holstein

Schleswig-Holstein

	M0: DV= 2nd turnout	M1: DV= 2nd turnout	M2: DV= 2nd turnout	M3: DV= 2nd turnout	M4: DV= 2nd turnout	M5: DV= 2nd turnout	M6: DV= 2nd turnout	M7: DV= 2nd turnout
1st turnout	0.226***	0.203***	0.200***	0.145***	0.201***	0.106***	0.150***	0.101**
	(0.0280)	(0.0327)	(0.0328)	(0.0326)	(0.0328)	(0.0318)	(0.0335)	(0.0331)
lower class (ref: high)	0.0160	-0.0567	-0.0481	-0.0783	-0.0489	-0.0534	-0.0781	-0.0452
	(0.0221)	(0.0581)	(0.0588)	(0.0592)	(0.0587)	(0.0603)	(0.0605)	(0.0615)
age	0.0293	0.0301	0.0304	0.0506	0.0302	0.0708*	0.0565+	0.0861*
	(0.0310)	(0.0310)	(0.0310)	(0.0312)	(0.0310)	(0.0308)	(0.0341)	(0.0338)
female (ref: male)	0.00820	0.00639	0.00957	0.00432	0.0113	-0.00340	0.00244	-0.00651
	(0.0191)	(0.0191)	(0.0194)	(0.0190)	(0.0195)	(0.0179)	(0.0197)	(0.0190)
migration bg (ref: none)	-0.0210	-0.0217	-0.0220	-0.0385	-0.0215	-0.0248	-0.0353	-0.0240
	(0.0250)	(0.0250)	(0.0250)	(0.0243)	(0.0250)	(0.0245)	(0.0255)	(0.0255)
1st turnout # low class		0.0848	0.0772	0.112+	0.0795	0.0962	0.115+	0.0947
		(0.0626)	(0.0631)	(0.0633)	(0.0630)	(0.0640)	(0.0650)	(0.0654)
internal PE			0.00794	0.00228	0.00151	0.000122	-0.000456	-0.00518
			(0.00806)	(0.00782)	(0.00944)	(0.00746)	(0.00836)	(0.00895)

school type (ref: non-academic)				0.0332				0.0246
academic track				(0.0249)				(0.0247)
not in school				0.0297 (0.0241)				0.0214 (0.0240)
pol interest					0.0154 (0.0115)			0.0118 (0.0113)
duty to vote					0.0284 (0.0191)			0.0352+ (0.0183)
turnout parents						0.120* (0.0519)		0.108* (0.0532)
turnout friends						0.00845 (0.00834)		0.00875 (0.00926)
pol disc family							0.00752 (0.00484)	0.00400 (0.00464)
pol disc friends							0.00241 (0.00490)	-0.000488 (0.00475)
Constant	0.216 (0.557)	0.224 (0.557)	0.191 (0.558)	-0.117 (0.560)	0.0904 (0.559)	-0.561 (0.553)	-0.234 (0.611)	-0.967 (0.612)
Observations	552	552	552	543	552	503	519	487

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table A8: Linear probability regression models of second turnout on social background, first turnout, their interaction, internal efficacy, and controls, Brandenburg and Saxony

Brandenburg and Saxony

	M0: DV= 2nd turnout	M1: DV= 2nd turnout	M2: DV= 2nd turnout	M3: DV= 2nd turnout	M4: DV= 2nd turnout	M5: DV= 2nd turnout	M6: DV= 2nd turnout	M7: DV= 2nd turnout
1st turnout	0.200***	0.156***	0.126***	0.139***	0.125***	0.100**	0.152***	0.149***
	(0.0279)	(0.0360)	(0.0361)	(0.0372)	(0.0363)	(0.0365)	(0.0449)	(0.0439)
lower class (ref: high)	-0.0258+	-0.126*	-0.155**	-0.153**	-0.151**	-0.0424	-0.0800	0.0366
	(0.0157)	(0.0545)	(0.0541)	(0.0551)	(0.0542)	(0.0538)	(0.0618)	(0.0605)
age	-0.000957	-0.00131	-0.00119	0.00221	-0.0127	-0.00453	-0.00227	-0.0164
	(0.00727)	(0.00726)	(0.00731)	(0.00774)	(0.0111)	(0.00684)	(0.00919)	(0.0128)
gender (ref: male)								
female	-0.0144	-0.0140	-0.0127	-0.0132	-0.0137	-0.0147	-0.00487	-0.00721
	(0.0139)	(0.0139)	(0.0144)	(0.0146)	(0.0145)	(0.0135)	(0.0180)	(0.0164)
diverse	0.00426	0.00680	0.00720	0.0121	0.0124	0.0221	0.0960	0.0419
	(0.0937)	(0.0936)	(0.106)	(0.131)	(0.106)	(0.117)	(0.194)	(0.171)
migration BG (ref: none)	-0.0539*	-0.0570*	-0.0659*	-0.0701**	-0.0667*	-0.0408	-0.113***	-0.0783*
	(0.0254)	(0.0254)	(0.0258)	(0.0264)	(0.0259)	(0.0261)	(0.0331)	(0.0320)
Brandenburg (ref: Saxony)	0.00518	0.00359	0.000158	0.00163	0.00179	-0.00701	-0.00751	-0.00431
	(0.0169)	(0.0169)	(0.0170)	(0.0173)	(0.0170)	(0.0159)	(0.0210)	(0.0190)

1st turnout # low class	0.109+	0.135*	0.126*	0.130*	0.0245	0.0612	-0.0675
	(0.0569)	(0.0565)	(0.0574)	(0.0567)	(0.0557)	(0.0651)	(0.0630)
internal PE		0.00510	0.00646	0.00154	0.00553	-0.00464	0.00777
		(0.00785)	(0.00804)	(0.00986)	(0.00733)	(0.0101)	(0.0115)
school type (ref: non-academic)							
academic track			0.0165				0.00108
			(0.0514)				(0.0525)
not in school			-0.0307				-0.0205
			(0.0191)				(0.0228)
pol interest				0.00576			-0.00812
				(0.00956)			(0.0109)
eligible EU (ref: not eligible)				0.0314			0.0395
				(0.0231)			(0.0266)
turnout parents					0.00514		-0.0884
					(0.0520)		(0.0635)
turnout friends					0.0210**		0.0188*
					(0.00750)		(0.00900)
pol disc family						0.00754	0.00260
						(0.00574)	(0.00528)

pol disc friends							0.0194***	0.0118*
							(0.00533)	(0.00485)
Constant	0.808***	0.858***	0.871***	0.811***	1.075***	0.867***	0.795***	1.110***
	(0.151)	(0.153)	(0.157)	(0.165)	(0.219)	(0.156)	(0.199)	(0.259)
Observations	725	725	699	685	697	653	512	486

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

APPENDIX 5: Graphs for parental education as alternative measure of individuals background, Schleswig-Holstein only

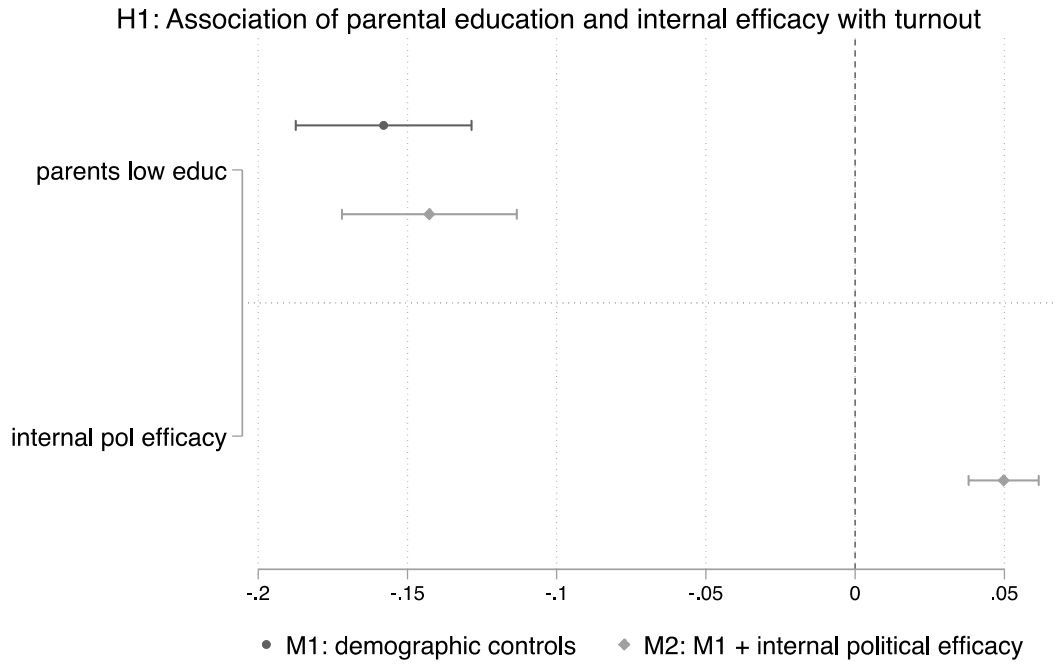

Figure A11: Evidence on H1 using parental education instead of social class in Schleswig-Holstein study: Results of linear probability models; plot of point estimates with 95% CIs of coefficients on parental education and internal efficacy

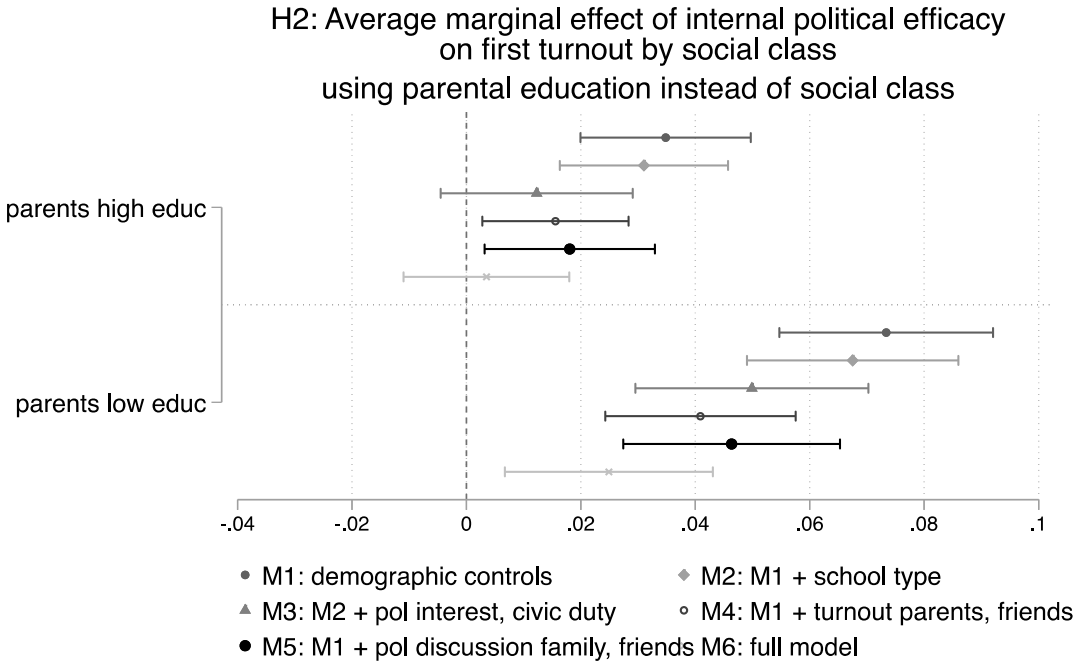

Figure A12: Evidence on H2 using parental education instead of social class in Schleswig-Holstein study: Results of linear probability models; average marginal effect of internal pol efficacy on first turnout by parental education with 95% CIs

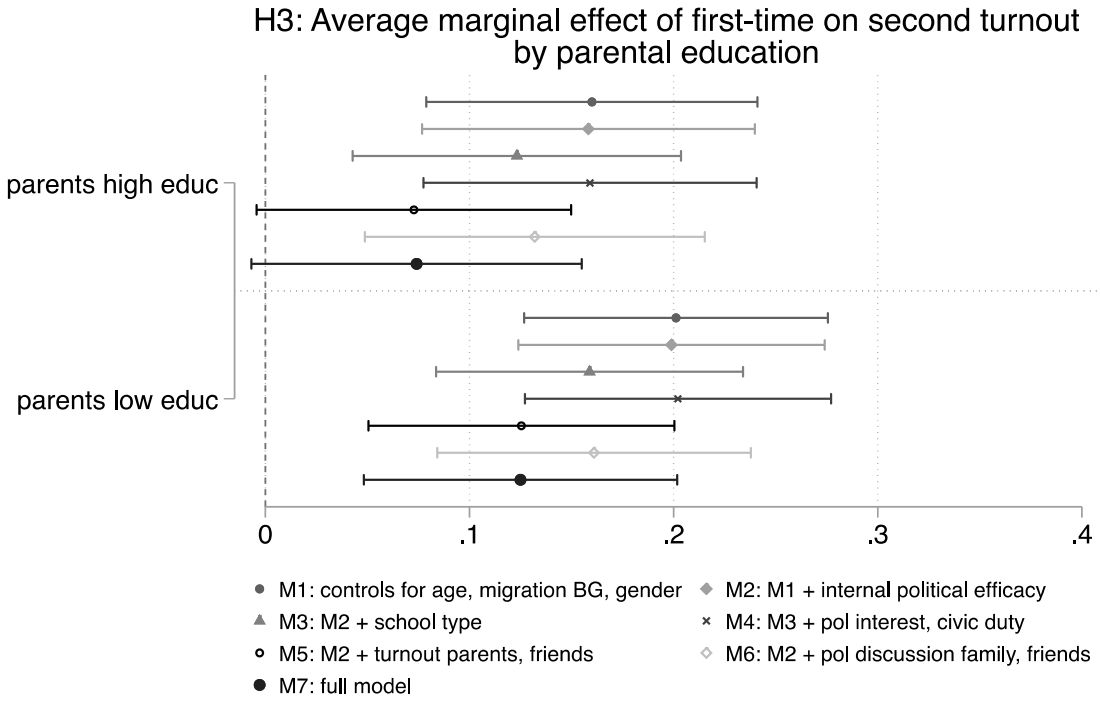

Figure A13: Evidence on H3 using parental education instead of social class in Schleswig-Holstein study: Results of linear probability models; average marginal effects of first turnout on second turnout by parental education with 95% CIs

APPENDIX 6: Results for H1 and H2 based on panel sample

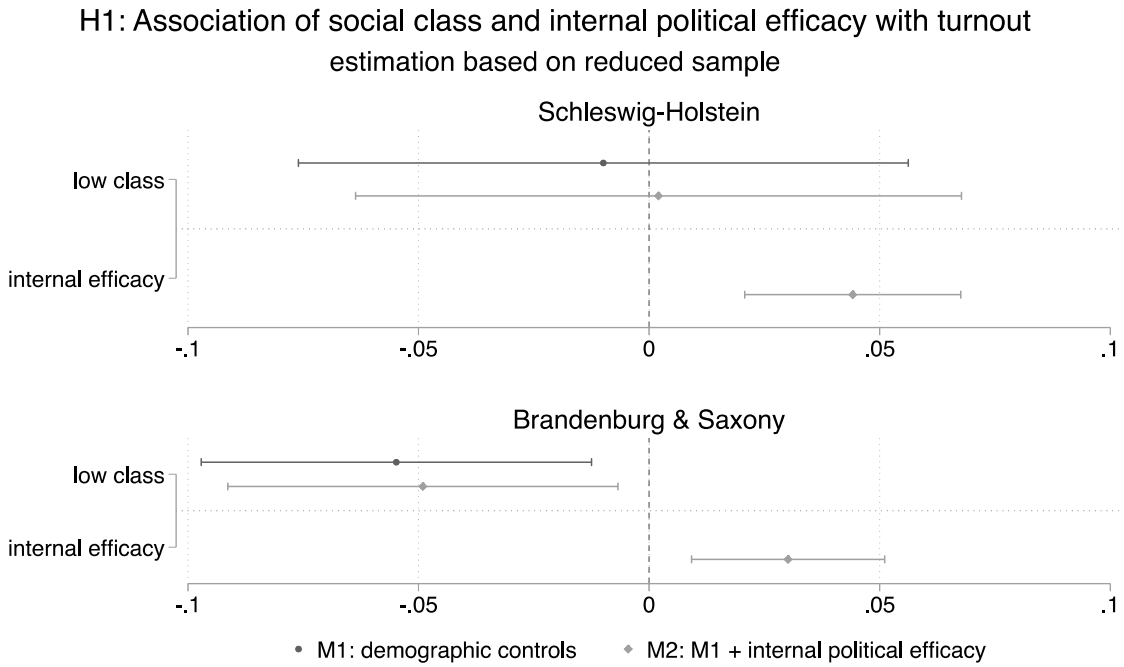

Figure A14: Evidence on H1 using a reduced sample (only individuals with information for all relevant variables in waves 1 and 2 of the surveys): Results of linear probability models; plot of point estimates with 95% CIs of coefficients of social class and internal efficacy (on first turnout)

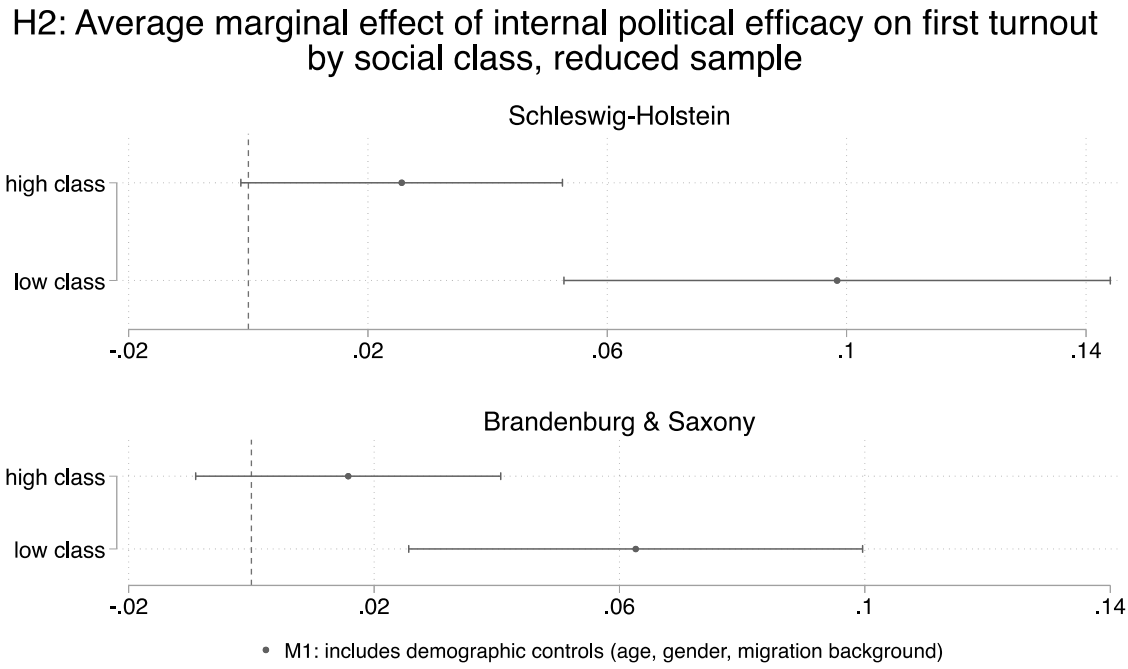

Figure A15: Evidence on H2 using a reduced sample (only individuals with information for all relevant variables in waves 1 and 2 of the surveys): Results of linear probability models; average marginal effect of internal efficacy on first turnout by social class

APPENDIX 7: Comparison of turnout rates in the surveys to official turnout rates

In Table A9 we compare the self-reported turnout in our survey with the turnout rates in the elections in all three federal states to turnout rates in the German Longitudinal Election Study, which offers high-quality post-election survey data after each national election. We use the cross-sectional data collected after the national election 2017 for Schleswig-Holstein[1] and the respective data collected after the national election 2021 for Brandenburg and Saxony[2].

Furthermore, we add information on turnout rates based on official statistics, which tend to be lower than those reported in surveys. Thanks to Germany's system of so-called representative election statistics, we can also compare with official estimates of turnout rates within age groups in Brandenburg[3] and Saxony[4] – Schleswig-Holstein did not compile 'representative election statistics' for its 2017 state election, but for the 2017 national election[5]. The State Returning Officer compiles the representative election statistics based on the results of a stratified random sample of polling stations. At these

[1] GLES 2017 Nachwahl-Querschnitt. Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Schoen, Harald. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA6801 Datenfile Version 4.0.1, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.13235 (last accessed: 18 November 2024)

[2] GLES Querschnitt 2021, Nachwahl. Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Debus, Marc; Faas, Thorsten. GESIS, Köln. ZA7701 Datenfile Version 2.1.0, https://doi.org/10.4232/1.14169 (last accessed: 18 November 2024)

[3] Available at https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/ergebnisse-der-repraesentativen-wahlstatistik-der-landtagswahl-2019-in-brandenburg-a1e82057e2a1c825 and https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/publikationen/fachbeitrag/2022/wahlstatistik-bundestagswahl-brandenburg (last accessed: 13 November 2024)

[4] Available at https://wahlen.sachsen.de/landtagswahl-2019-repraesentative-wahlstatistik.html and https://wahlen.sachsen.de/bundestagswahl-2021-rws-repraesentative-wahlstatistik.html?_cp=%7B%22accordion-content-8118%22%3A%7B%220%22%3Atrue%7D%2C%22previousOpen%22%3A%7B%22group%22%3A%22accordion-content-8121%22%2C%22idx%22%3A0%7D%2C%22accordion-content-8121%22%3A%7B%220%22%3Atrue%7D%7D#a-5413 (last accessed 13 November 2024)

[5] Available at: https://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Statistik_informiert_SPEZIAL/SI17_SPEZIAL_XI_2017.pdf (last accessed 13 November 2024)

polling stations, voters are given ballot papers that indicate the gender and age group to which they belong. In order to preserve the anonymity of the voters concerned, only age groups covering several years are printed on the ballot papers.

Table A9: comparison of turnout rates in our surveys to official turnout rates

Schleswig-Holstein	**State-level election 2017**	**National election 2017**
Turnout in survey	82.5 %	94.2 %
Turnout in GLES 2017	(not available)	91.6 %
Turnout in official statistics	64.2 %	77.4 %
Turnout among 16- to 17-year-olds in official statistics	(not available)	(not eligible)
Turnout among 18- to 24-year-olds in official statistics	(not available)	69.0 %

Brandenburg	**State-level election 2019**	**National election 2021**
Turnout in survey	88.3 %	95.8 %
Turnout in GLES 2021	(not available)	90.0 %
Turnout in official statistics	61.3 %	75.6 %
Turnout among 16- to 17-year-olds in official statistics	58.0 %	(not eligible)
Turnout among 18- to 21-year-olds in official statistics	48.2 %	69.3%

Saxony	**State-level election 2019**	**National election 2021**
Turnout in survey	88.9 %	95.8 %
Turnout in GLES 2021	(not available)	93.3 %
Turnout in official statistics	66.5 %	52.2 %
Turnout among 16- to 17-year-olds in official statistics	(not eligible)	(not eligible)
Turnout among 18- to 21-year-olds in official statistics	61.5 %	51.2 %

148

149

APPENDIX 8: Comparison of distribution of social background in the surveys to the distribution of social background in the ALLBUS and SHELL youth study

To validate our measure of social class, we compared the distributions of social background in the surveys used to the distributions of social backgrounds in two other German surveys: the SHELL youth study from 2019 (Albert et al 2019); and the ALLBUS 2018 (the German General Social Survey). While the SHELL youth study focuses on adolescents, the ALLBUS includes a significant share of young adults; we thus use both to validate our measures of social background. The SHELL Youth Study does not include self-reported social class, bus assesses parental education with a question highly similar to the surveys used in this article, i.e., asking for parents' highest school leaving certificate. The ALLBUS, in turn, includes both self-reported social class – though providing one answer category less than the surveys used in the article, see note below table A10 – as well as parental education – assessed as the highest general school leaving certificate. For the ALLBUS, shares refer to respondents age 18-29 to ensure comparability to our samples of young adults.

Table A10: comparison of social background in the surveys to social class in other surveys

	Schleswig-Holstein survey	**Brandenburg and Saxony survey**	**SHELL youth study 2019**	**ALLBUS**
Social class				
Lower class	23.5 % *24.6 %*	27.5 % *28.1 %*	(not available)	30.1 %
Upper class	71.3 % *75.4 %*	66.7 % *71.9 %*	(not available)	66.8 %
Missing	5.2 %	5.8%	(not available)	3.1 %
Parental education				
Low-educated parents	32.8 % *33.8 %*	(not available)	36.3 %	52.2 %
High-educated parents	57.5 % *60.7 %*	(not available)	60.3 %	42.7 %

Missing	9.7 % *5.5 %*	(not available)	3.4 %	5.1 %	

Notes:

- Numbers in *italic* refer to the sample used for testing H1 and H2 (i.e., individuals who did not drop out, without missing values on the main variables). Other numbers refer to the full sample in waves 1 of the surveys.
- Rates in the ALLBUS refer to individuals age 18-29.
- Definitions of class background:
  - Lower class in the Schleswig-Holstein and Brandenburg and Saxony surveys: lower class, working class, lower middle class,
  - Lower class in the ALLBUS: lower class, working class
  - Higher class in the Schleswig-Holstein and Brandenburg and Saxony surveys: mid middle class, upper middle class, upper class.
  - Higher class in the ALLBUS: middle class, upper middle class, upper class
- Definition of low- / high-educated parents:
  - Low-educated parents: no parent has obtained (Fach-)Abitur
  - High-educated parents: one or both parents have obtained (Fach-)Abitur

References

Albert, M., Quenzel, G., and Hurrelmann, K. 2019. SHELL Jugendstudie. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. Datenfile Version 1.0.0, https://doi.org/10.7802/2106

GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2019): German General Social Survey - ALLBUS 2018. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5272 Data File Version 1.0.0, doi: 10.4232/1.13325

APPENDIX 9: Results for H1, H2, and H3 excluding respondents who were eligible in the European election in the Brandenburg & Saxony survey

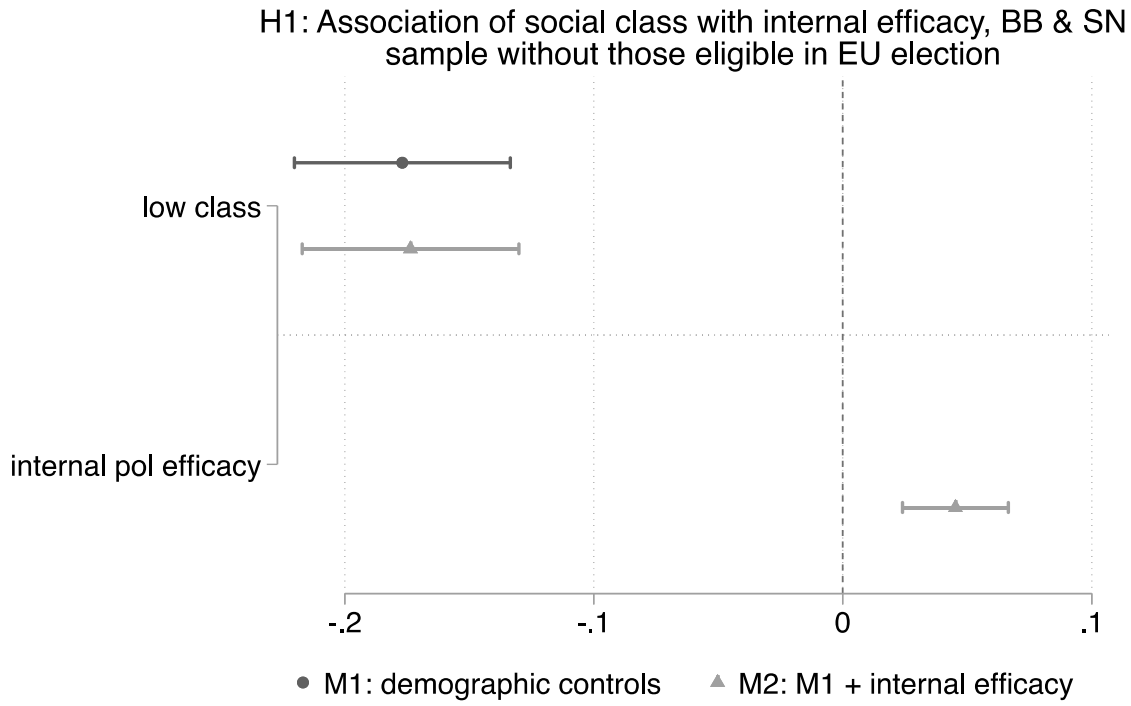

Figure A16: Evidence on H1 using a reduced sample in the Brandenburg & Saxony survey (only individuals who were not eligible in the European election): Results of linear probability models; plot of point estimates with 95% CIs of coefficients of social class and internal efficacy (on first turnout)

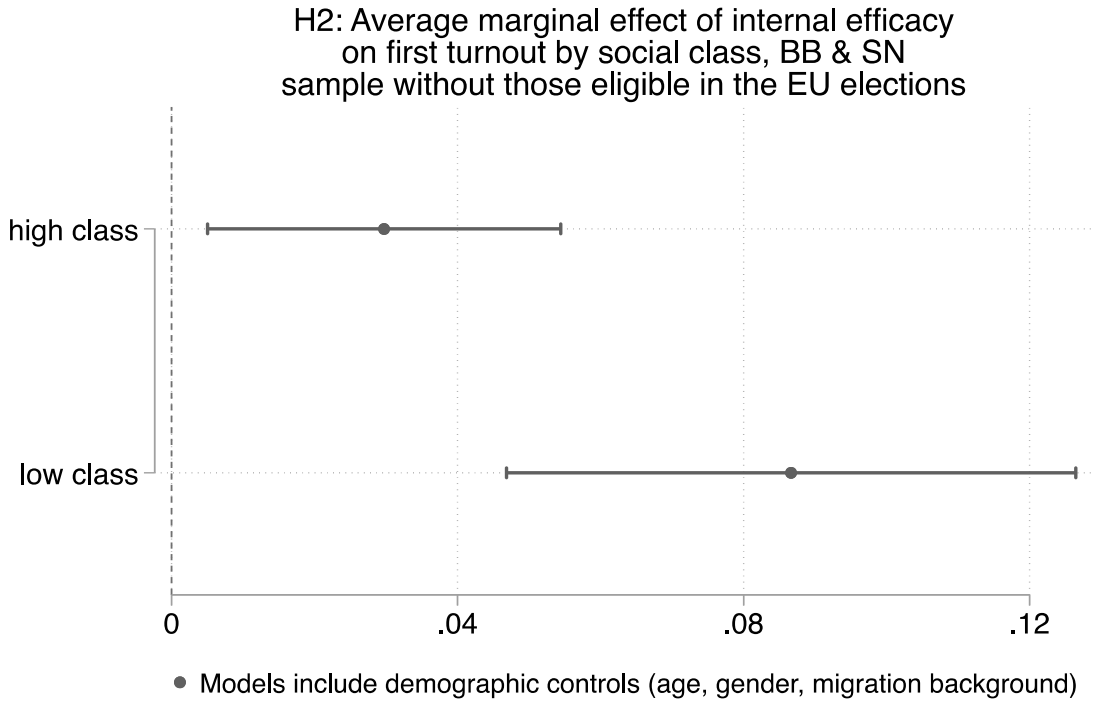

Figure A17: Evidence on H2 using a reduced sample in the Brandenburg & Saxony survey (only individuals who were not eligible in the European election): Results of linear probability models; average marginal effect of internal efficacy on first turnout by social class

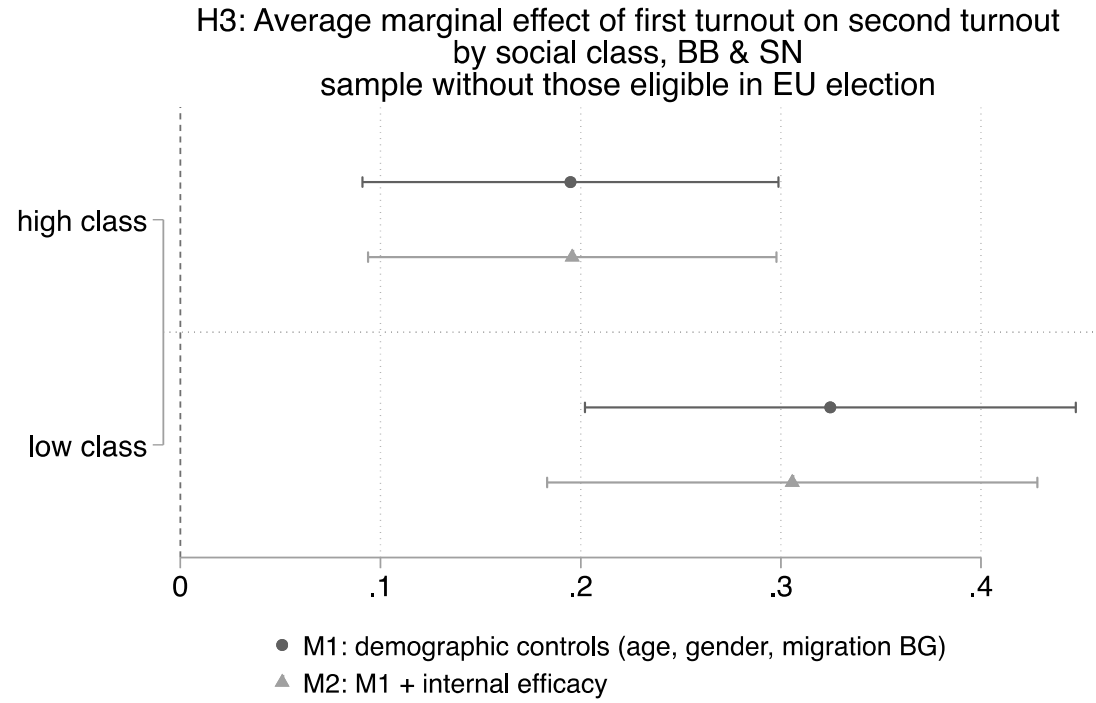

Figure A18: Evidence on H3 using a reduced sample in the Brandenburg & Saxony survey (only individuals who were not eligible in the European election): Results of linear probability models; average marginal effect of first turnout on second turnout by social class