Online Appendix
How small-state allies perceive Germany:
Assessing public-elite differences in Latvia

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Table A1. Overview of Parliamentary Parties in Latvia

Party Name	Vote Share Oct. 2022 Election	European Parliament Affiliation	Party Family	Position
New Unity (JV)	19.2	EPP	centrist	pro-European Union stance and a focus on liberal economic policies
Union of Greens and Farmers (ZZS)	12.6	New unaffiliated	Agrarian	environmental advocacy with agrarian interests.
United List (AS)	11.1	ECR	right-of-center electoral alliance	regional interests, economic development, and effective crisis management.
National Alliance (NA)	9.4	ECR	conservative	national identity, traditional values, and strong national defense.
For Stability! (ST!)	6.9	New unaffiliated	right	interests of ethnic minorities and promotes conservative social values.
Latvia First (LPV)	6.3	PfE	right	pro-business policies and national interests, positioning itself as a decisive alternative to the existing political establishment.
The Progressives (P)	6.2	Greens/EFA	left	social justice, environmental sustainability, and progressive social policies.

Note. Data source: European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, 2023

Table A2. Agreement with German leadership, accounting for higher education and high-income

	Agreement to German leadership			
Age	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Gender	-0.024	0.040	-0.027	0.040
	(0.130)	(0.137)	(0.130)	(0.137)
Latvian speakers	-0.686	-0.585	-0.675	-0.579
	(0.140)**	(0.147)**	(0.139)**	(0.147)**
Education	0.098			
	(0.077)			
Household income		-0.000		
		(0.000)		
University degree			0.000	
			(.)	
Richest 10%				-0.195
				(0.259)
cut1	-2.551	-2.787	-2.912	-2.776
	(0.402)**	(0.342)**	(0.282)**	(0.304)**
cut2	-0.636	-0.873	-0.998	-0.860
	(0.384)	(0.320)**	(0.255)**	(0.276)**
cut3	1.413	1.136	1.047	1.149
	(0.383)**	(0.313)**	(0.248)**	(0.269)**
cut4	3.063	2.829	2.695	2.841
	(0.423)**	(0.366)**	(0.296)**	(0.326)**
N	820	735	820	735

Note. Coefficient and standard error in parenthesis. + $p<0.1$; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$

Table A3. Percentage of Answers - Type of Relationship

Type of relationship	Economic	Political	Security	Cultural	Education	Neither
No (in%)	323 (32.24%)	712 (71.06%)	629 (62.77%)	730 (72.85%)	705 (70.36%)	933 (93.11%)
Yes(in%)	679 (67.76%)	290 (28.94%)	373 (37.23%)	272 (27.15%)	297 (29.64%)	69 (6.89%)

Table A4. Agreement to German leadership role, accounting for the importance of the type of relationship

	Agreement to German leadership
Age	0.006
	(0.004)
Gender	0.290
	(0.141)$^{+}$
Latvian speakers	0.440
	(0.148)*
Relation security	0.713
	(0.154)**
Relation political	0.457
	(0.168)*
Relation economic	0.412
	(0.163)$^{+}$
Relation cultural	0.291
	(0.187)
Relation education	-0.086
	(0.182)
Constant	-2.123
	(0.280)**
F	10.93
N	1002

Note. Coefficient and standard error in parenthesis. + $p<0.1$; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$

Table A5. Germany's political dialogue with Russia

	Germany's political dialogue with Russia
Age	0.001
	(0.004)
Gender	0.159
	(0.142)
Latvian speaker	-0.207
	(0.144)
Household income	0.000
	(0.000)
Education	-0.153
	(0.083)
Constant	-0.064
	(0.385)
F	1.551
N	875

Note. Coefficient and standard error in parenthesis. + $p<0.1$; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$

Table A6. Wording and translation of survey questions

Variable	Questions
NATO allies	**Question:** Please rank Latvia's 3 most important security allies in NATO out of the provided options. Response format: (1) The United States; (2) Germany; (3) The UK; (4) France; (5) Estonia; (6) Lithuania; (7) Canada; (8) Poland; (9) Denmark; (10) Other NATO country; (11) Hard to tell **Question (Latvian original wording):** Kuras trīs NATO dalībvalstis, Jūsuprāt, drošības jomā ir pašas svarīgākās Latvijas sabiedrotās? Atbildes formats: (1) ASV; (2) Vācija; (3) Lielbritānija; (4) Francija; (5) Igaunija; (6) Lietuva; (7) Kanāda; (8) Polija; (9) Dānija, (10) Kāda cita NATO dalībvalsts; (11) Grūti pateikt/ NA
German leadership	**Question:** When it comes to future security issues in the Baltic Sea Region, Germany should assume the leadership role. Response format: (1) Strongly agree; (2) Rather agree; (3) Neither agree nor disagree; (4) Rather disagree; (5) Strongly disagree; (8) Hard to tell **Question (Latvian original wording):** Runājot par nākotnes drošības jautājumiem Baltijas jūras reģionā, Vācijai būtu jāuzņemas vadošā loma Atbildes formats: (1) Pilnībā piekrītat; (2) Drīzāk piekrītat; (3) Ne piekrītat, ne nepiekrītat; (4) Drīzāk nepiekrītat; (5) Pilnībā nepiekrītat; (8) Grūti pateikt/ NA
German military assistance	**Question:** In case Latvia comes under a military attack, Germany would provide direct military assistance Response format: (1) Strongly agree; (2) Rather agree; (3) Neither agree nor disagree; (4) Rather disagree; (5) Strongly disagree; (8) Hard to tell **Question (Latvian original wording):** Gadījumā, ja Latvija tiktu pakļauta militāram uzbrukumam, Vācija sniegtu tiešu militāru palīdzību Atbildes formats: (1) Pilnībā piekrītat; (2) Drīzāk piekrītat; (3) Ne piekrītat, ne nepiekrītat; (4) Drīzāk nepiekrītat; (5) Pilnībā nepiekrītat; (8) Grūti pateikt/ NA

Dialogue with Russia	**Question:** The German government should remain committed to a regular political dialogue with Russia Response format: (1) Strongly agree; (2) Rather agree; (3) Neither agree nor disagree; (4) Rather disagree; (5) Strongly disagree; (8) Hard to tell **Question (Latvian original wording):** Vācijas valdībai būtu jāturpina pastāvīgs politiskais dialogs ar Krieviju Atbildes formats: (1) Pilnībā piekrītat; (2) Drīzāk piekrītat; (3) Ne piekrītat, ne nepiekrītat; (4) Drīzāk nepiekrītat; (5) Pilnībā nepiekrītat; (8) Grūti pateikt/ NA
Type of relationship: Economic Political Security Cultural Education	**Question:** What kind of relationship with Germany do you find particularly important for Latvia? Note: Can be multiple answers Response format: (1) Economic; (2) Political; (3) Security; (4) Cultural; (5) Education/Science; (6) Neither of these; (8) Hard to tell. **Question (Latvian original wording):** Kāda veida attiecības ar Vāciju Jums šķiet īpaši svarīgas Latvijai? Var būt vairākas atbildes Atbildes formats: (1) Ekonomiskās; (2) Politiskās; (3) Drošības; (4) Kultūras; (5) Izglītības/ zinātnes; (6) Neviena no šīm; (8) Grūti pateikt/ NA