**Appendix**

**When economic and cultural interests align: the anti-immigration voter coalitions driving far right party success in Europe**

*Last updated 14th March 2020*

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# Appendix 1. Party classification

We adopt the term ‘far right’ in accordance with Lucassen and Lubbers (2012). As we similarly distinguish between perceived cultural and economic concerns over immigration and the extent to which they impact on support for such parties, we deem it appropriate to adopt similar terminology. We define ‘far right’ parties as parties that propose nationalist solutions to a variety of socio-economic problems (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015), compete along the national identity axis (Ellinas 2011) and ‘own’ the immigration issue (Van Spagne 2010; Lucassen and Lubbers 2012).

We examine a total of 31 parties in our empirical analysis (see table A1.1). Because our sample of countries is larger than that of Lucassen and Lubbers (2012), who focus on 11 countries and use data only from the first round of the ESS (2002-2003), we extend their list using a similar classification as that offered in other articles that use larger samples (e.g. Immerzeel et al 2015; Halikiopoulou and Vlandas 2016) and examine more recent ESS waves (e.g. Rooduijn and Burgoon 2018). We exclude the N-VA and Fidesz from our analysis as none of these sources code these parties as ‘far right’. We consider PiS as a borderline case given that the literature is divided on this party: Immerzeel and et al (2015) code it as Conservative whereas Harrison and Bruter (2011), Pankowski and Kormak (2013) and Halikiopoulou and Vlandas (2016) code it as ‘far right’. Results that include PiS are presented in appendix 5.

## Table A1.1: List of far right parties

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **Far Right Party** | **Borderline Far Right Party** | **ESS Wave** | **Source** |
| **Austria** | Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) |  | R1, R2, R3 and R7, R8 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Austria** | Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ) |  | R3 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Belgium (Flanders)** | Flemish Interest (VB) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Belgium (Wallonia)** | Front National Belge (FNb) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Bulgaria** | National Union Attack (ATAKA) |  | R3, R4, R5 and R6 | Immerzeel et al 2015 |
| **Denmark** | Danish People’s Party (DF) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Finland** | True Finns (PS) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **France** | Front National (FN) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **France** | Mouvement National Republicain (MNR) |  | R1, R2, R3 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Germany** | National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) |  | R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Germany** | The Republicans (REP) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Germany** | Alternative for Germany (AfD) |  | R8 | Halikiopoulou 2018 |
| **Greece** | Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) |  | R2, R4 and R5 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Greece** | Golden Dawn (GD) |  | R5 | Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2015; Halikiopoulou and Vlandas 2016 |
| **Hungary** | Movement for a better Hungary (Jobbik) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et. Al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Italy** | Northern League (LN) |  | R1, R2 and R6, R8 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Italy** | Allianza Nationale (AN) |  | R1 and R2 | Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Italy** | Fiamma Tricolore (MS-FT) |  | R1 and R2 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012 |
| **Lithuania** | Order and Justice Party (TT) |  | R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Halikiopoulou and Vlandas 2016 |
| **Netherlands** | List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) |  | R1, R2, R3 and R4 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Netherlands** | Party for Freedom (PVV) |  | R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Norway** | Progress Party (FrP) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Poland** |  | Law and Justice Party (Pis) | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Pankowski, 2010; Harrison and Bruter 2011; Pankowski and Kormak 2013; Halikiopoulou and Vlandas 2016 |
| **Poland** | Congress of the New Right (KPN) |  | R6 and R7, R8 | Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Poland** | League of Polish Families (LPR) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4 and R5 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Slovakia** | Slovak National Party (SNS) |  | R3, R4 and R5 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Slovenia** | Slovenian National Party (SNS) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Sweden** | Sweden Democrats (SD) |  | R5, R6 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Switzerland** | Swiss People’s Party (SVP) |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **Switzerland** | Swiss Democrats |  | R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6 and R7 | Lucassen and Lubbers 2012; Immerzeel et al 2015 |
| **United Kingdom** | United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) |  | R3 and R7, R8 | Immerzeel et. Al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |
| **United Kingdom** | British National Party (BNP) |  | R3 | Immerzeel et. Al 2015; Rooduijn and Burgoon 2017 |

# Appendix 2. Descriptive information

## Table A2.1: Summary statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Description** | **Mean** | **Standard deviation** | **Minimum** | **Maximum** | **Number observations** |
| Far right vote | 0.066635 | 0.249389 | 0 | 1 | 151948 |
| Economic concerns over immigration | 5.068976 | 2.41297 | 0 | 10 | 233126 |
| Cultural concerns over immigration | 4.317209 | 2.504216 | 0 | 10 | 233606 |
| Strict economic concerns over immigration (i.e. economic concerns but not cultural concerns), based on a cut-off point of 5 | 0.163006 | 0.369372 | 0 | 1 | 228311 |
| Strict cultural concerns over immigration (i.e. cultural concerns but not economic concerns) , based on a cut-off point of 5 | 0.075932 | 0.264889 | 0 | 1 | 228311 |
| Economic *and* cultural concerns, based on a cut-off point of 5 | 0.19745 | 0.398076 | 0 | 1 | 228311 |
| Male respondent | 0.470589 | 0.499135 | 0 | 1 | 242581 |
| Age | 48.17545 | 18.51791 | 13 | 123 | 241941 |
| Bottom income decile | 0.083542 | 0.2767 | 0 | 1 | 192622 |
| Bottom half of income distribution | 0.509807 | 0.499905 | 0 | 1 | 192622 |
| Education | 12.51584 | 3.857022 | 0 | 56 | 240878 |
| Left-right scale | 5.100996 | 2.167993 | 0 | 10 | 215335 |
| *Source of income (wage is reference category)* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wage | 0.588947 | 0.492026 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| Self employed | 0.070324 | 0.255693 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| Pension | 0.268551 | 0.443207 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| Unemployed | 0.018429 | 0.134496 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| Other social benefits | 0.027746 | 0.164246 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| Investments | 0.005184 | 0.071817 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| Other sources | 0.011627 | 0.107201 | 0 | 1 | 236860 |
| *Occupation (Managers is reference category)* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Manager | 0.086858 | 0.281628 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Professionals | 0.154266 | 0.361204 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Technicians | 0.161049 | 0.367577 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Clerks | 0.102096 | 0.302776 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Service | 0.15742 | 0.364197 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Agriculture | 0.034324 | 0.18206 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Craft | 0.119659 | 0.324564 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Operators | 0.079072 | 0.269852 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Elementary | 0.105255 | 0.306883 | 0 | 1 | 219381 |
| Trust in national parliament | 4.593119 | 2.557438 | 0 | 10 | 237406 |
| Trust in European parliament | 4.472181 | 2.420747 | 0 | 10 | 220693 |

## Table A2.2: Correlation

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Male** | **Age** | **Bottom income decile** | **Bottom half of income distribution** | **Education** | **Left right scale** | **Wage** | **Self-employed** | **Pension** |
| **Male** | 1 | -0.001554177 | -0.04395506 | -0.059767137 | -0.005024546 | 0.050851907 | 0.001695689 | 0.046825088 | -0.02465 |
| **Age** | -0.001554177 | 1 | 0.058321152 | 0.160426254 | -0.256666671 | 0.041622853 | -0.534312716 | -0.055329658 | 0.681151 |
| **Bottom income decile** | -0.04395506 | 0.058321152 | 1 | 0.28205157 | -0.125621978 | -0.032680531 | -0.206558914 | -0.014551358 | 0.10871 |
| **Bottom half of income distribution** | -0.059767137 | 0.160426254 | 0.28205157 | 1 | -0.273607503 | -0.0424057 | -0.309438712 | -0.050338208 | 0.263628 |
| **Education** | -0.005024546 | -0.256666671 | -0.125621978 | -0.273607503 | 1 | -0.046243881 | 0.237174731 | 0.033265851 | -0.26921 |
| **Left-right scale** | 0.050851907 | 0.041622853 | -0.032680531 | -0.0424057 | -0.046243881 | 1 | -0.03631141 | 0.053793154 | 0.030768 |
| **Wage** | 0.001695689 | -0.534312716 | -0.206558914 | -0.309438712 | 0.237174731 | -0.03631141 | 1 | -0.329349462 | -0.73917 |
| **Self-employed** | 0.046825088 | -0.055329658 | -0.014551358 | -0.050338208 | 0.033265851 | 0.053793154 | -0.329349462 | 1 | -0.15495 |
| **Pension** | -0.024653346 | 0.681151036 | 0.108710235 | 0.263627633 | -0.269212011 | 0.030767751 | -0.739168226 | -0.154945548 | 1 |
| **Unemployment benefits** | 0.012767548 | -0.04616647 | 0.139902929 | 0.118164953 | -0.021931631 | -0.034673562 | -0.173583456 | -0.036386823 | -0.08166 |
| **Other social benefits** | -0.020402168 | -0.061857098 | 0.176682698 | 0.136383599 | -0.029361007 | -0.027085576 | -0.201289865 | -0.042194682 | -0.0947 |
| **Investments** | 0.015263921 | 0.031898122 | 0.009596782 | -0.012355475 | 0.017759243 | 0.028618253 | -0.09338185 | -0.019574843 | -0.04393 |
| **Other sources** | -0.005478352 | -0.075587622 | 0.100355126 | 0.062851619 | 0.014178204 | -0.012793453 | -0.12038241 | -0.025234741 | -0.05664 |
| **Manager** | 0.115409488 | 0.059706198 | -0.044046589 | -0.111824712 | 0.108213194 | 0.065295221 | -0.033795838 | 0.086977017 | 0.004828 |
| **Professionals** | -0.03258563 | -0.01867431 | -0.072519282 | -0.167169333 | 0.413130809 | -0.043735202 | 0.078826935 | 0.000160907 | -0.05703 |
| **Technicians** | -0.043812381 | -0.022542183 | -0.057372945 | -0.089195026 | 0.097059988 | -0.003683666 | 0.068832076 | -0.030478504 | -0.03753 |
| **Clerks** | -0.149648944 | 0.004835527 | -0.018504063 | 0.013095725 | -0.037105025 | -0.003898032 | 0.003961907 | -0.040815628 | 0.015578 |
| **Service** | -0.187920892 | -0.088537356 | 0.039395859 | 0.072062173 | -0.101856755 | -0.012668035 | 0.009680437 | -0.018391686 | -0.02893 |
| **Agriculture** | 0.049270952 | 0.067954583 | 0.062322577 | 0.082559315 | -0.136368752 | 0.054543232 | -0.133045416 | 0.17863038 | 0.052513 |
| **Craft** | 0.246152243 | 0.009966991 | 0.017609586 | 0.081211864 | -0.162726653 | 0.004418023 | -0.020161303 | -0.006846865 | 0.023647 |
| **Operators** | 0.14271737 | 0.040280731 | 0.026944096 | 0.076739834 | -0.162154933 | -0.007082818 | -0.019576844 | -0.040075624 | 0.040178 |
| **Elementary** | -0.062093763 | 0.010099419 | 0.107888757 | 0.143059725 | -0.212967636 | -0.015285024 | -0.058705971 | -0.045264179 | 0.046184 |
| **Trust in parliament** | 0.047506304 | -0.032413959 | -0.104413849 | -0.169415568 | 0.161737321 | 0.070668061 | 0.06963178 | -0.001513065 | -0.05872 |
| **Trust in European parliament** | -0.042213294 | -0.109156207 | -0.040003385 | -0.083620463 | 0.109094451 | 0.032394747 | 0.068395907 | 0.002120255 | -0.0651 |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Unemployment benefits** | **Social benefits** | **Investments** | **Other sources** | **Manager** | **Professionals** | **Technicians** | **Clerks** | **Service** |
| **Male** | 0.012767548 | -0.020402168 | 0.015263921 | -0.005478352 | 0.115409488 | -0.03258563 | -0.043812381 | -0.149648944 | -0.18792 |
| **Age** | -0.04616647 | -0.061857098 | 0.031898122 | -0.075587622 | 0.059706198 | -0.01867431 | -0.022542183 | 0.004835527 | -0.08854 |
| **Bottom income decile** | 0.139902929 | 0.176682698 | 0.009596782 | 0.100355126 | -0.044046589 | -0.072519282 | -0.057372945 | -0.018504063 | 0.039396 |
| **Bottom half of income distribution** | 0.118164953 | 0.136383599 | -0.012355475 | 0.062851619 | -0.111824712 | -0.167169333 | -0.089195026 | 0.013095725 | 0.072062 |
| **Education** | -0.021931631 | -0.029361007 | 0.017759243 | 0.014178204 | 0.108213194 | 0.413130809 | 0.097059988 | -0.037105025 | -0.10186 |
| **Left-right scale** | -0.034673562 | -0.027085576 | 0.028618253 | -0.012793453 | 0.065295221 | -0.043735202 | -0.003683666 | -0.003898032 | -0.01267 |
| **Wage** | -0.173583456 | -0.201289865 | -0.09338185 | -0.12038241 | -0.033795838 | 0.078826935 | 0.068832076 | 0.003961907 | 0.00968 |
| **Self-employed** | -0.036386823 | -0.042194682 | -0.019574843 | -0.025234741 | 0.086977017 | 0.000160907 | -0.030478504 | -0.040815628 | -0.01839 |
| **Pension** | -0.081663967 | -0.094698708 | -0.043932368 | -0.056635035 | 0.00482754 | -0.057025568 | -0.037534901 | 0.01557841 | -0.02893 |
| **Unemployment benefits** | 1 | -0.022238685 | -0.01031691 | -0.013299956 | -0.026691029 | -0.034288719 | -0.021955364 | -0.00259852 | 0.016798 |
| **Other social benefits** | -0.022238685 | 1 | -0.011963637 | -0.01542282 | -0.027481012 | -0.039457392 | -0.026563735 | 0.00319464 | 0.040124 |
| **Investments** | -0.01031691 | -0.011963637 | 1 | -0.007154913 | 0.037423719 | 0.001989039 | -0.001900584 | -0.001580631 | -0.00521 |
| **Other sources** | -0.013299956 | -0.01542282 | -0.007154913 | 1 | -0.012911656 | -0.011491285 | -0.011800319 | 0.005828314 | 0.032784 |
| **Manager** | -0.026691029 | -0.027481012 | 0.037423719 | -0.012911656 | 1 | -0.149102889 | -0.149388773 | -0.108431265 | -0.13586 |
| **Professionals** | -0.034288719 | -0.039457392 | 0.001989039 | -0.011491285 | -0.149102889 | 1 | -0.211048698 | -0.153186059 | -0.19193 |
| **Technicians** | -0.021955364 | -0.026563735 | -0.001900584 | -0.011800319 | -0.149388773 | -0.211048698 | 1 | -0.153479772 | -0.1923 |
| **Clerks** | -0.00259852 | 0.00319464 | -0.001580631 | 0.005828314 | -0.108431265 | -0.153186059 | -0.153479772 | 1 | -0.13958 |
| **Service** | 0.016798056 | 0.040123813 | -0.00521172 | 0.032783861 | -0.135855547 | -0.19192966 | -0.192297659 | -0.13957594 | 1 |
| **Agriculture** | -0.002840435 | -0.009268888 | 0.004446261 | -0.005240812 | -0.056735733 | -0.080153296 | -0.080306979 | -0.058289436 | -0.07303 |
| **Craft** | 0.015676963 | 0.001709439 | -0.008301438 | -0.01032651 | -0.117089057 | -0.165417338 | -0.165734503 | -0.120295531 | -0.15072 |
| **Operators** | 0.018153513 | 0.00539034 | -0.012005761 | -0.007180573 | -0.09244953 | -0.130607894 | -0.130858316 | -0.094981253 | -0.119 |
| **Elementary** | 0.051966689 | 0.06189104 | -0.012904157 | 0.018702147 | -0.100559314 | -0.142064976 | -0.142337365 | -0.103313123 | -0.12944 |
| **Trust in parliament** | -0.04403692 | -0.02115806 | 0.014391637 | 0.0029725 | 0.044845604 | 0.133555192 | 0.047152064 | -0.005480607 | -0.03042 |
| **Trust in European parliament** | -0.031439497 | -0.010902001 | -0.003097336 | 0.011360836 | 0.017180732 | 0.081869775 | 0.020175294 | 0.002084439 | -0.00536 |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Agriculture** | **Craft** | **Operators** | **Elementary** | **Trust in parliament** | **Trust in European parliament** |
| **Male** | 0.049270952 | 0.246152243 | 0.14271737 | -0.062093763 | 0.047506304 | -0.042213294 |
| **Age** | 0.067954583 | 0.009966991 | 0.040280731 | 0.010099419 | -0.032413959 | -0.109156207 |
| **Bottom income decile** | 0.062322577 | 0.017609586 | 0.026944096 | 0.107888757 | -0.104413849 | -0.040003385 |
| **Bottom half of income distribution** | 0.082559315 | 0.081211864 | 0.076739834 | 0.143059725 | -0.169415568 | -0.083620463 |
| **Education** | -0.136368752 | -0.162726653 | -0.162154933 | -0.212967636 | 0.161737321 | 0.109094451 |
| **Left-right scale** | 0.054543232 | 0.004418023 | -0.007082818 | -0.015285024 | 0.070668061 | 0.032394747 |
| **Wage** | -0.133045416 | -0.020161303 | -0.019576844 | -0.058705971 | 0.06963178 | 0.068395907 |
| **Self-employed** | 0.17863038 | -0.006846865 | -0.040075624 | -0.045264179 | -0.001513065 | 0.002120255 |
| **Pension** | 0.05251256 | 0.023647119 | 0.040178141 | 0.046184398 | -0.058723379 | -0.065101218 |
| **Unemployment benefits** | -0.002840435 | 0.015676963 | 0.018153513 | 0.051966689 | -0.04403692 | -0.031439497 |
| **Other social benefits** | -0.009268888 | 0.001709439 | 0.00539034 | 0.06189104 | -0.02115806 | -0.010902001 |
| **Investments** | 0.004446261 | -0.008301438 | -0.012005761 | -0.012904157 | 0.014391637 | -0.003097336 |
| **Other sources** | -0.005240812 | -0.01032651 | -0.007180573 | 0.018702147 | 0.0029725 | 0.011360836 |
| **Manager** | -0.056735733 | -0.117089057 | -0.09244953 | -0.100559314 | 0.044845604 | 0.017180732 |
| **Professionals** | -0.080153296 | -0.165417338 | -0.130607894 | -0.142064976 | 0.133555192 | 0.081869775 |
| **Technicians** | -0.080306979 | -0.165734503 | -0.130858316 | -0.142337365 | 0.047152064 | 0.020175294 |
| **Clerks** | -0.058289436 | -0.120295531 | -0.094981253 | -0.103313123 | -0.005480607 | 0.002084439 |
| **Service** | -0.073031917 | -0.150720507 | -0.119003777 | -0.129442932 | -0.030421544 | -0.005359406 |
| **Agriculture** | 1 | -0.062943608 | -0.049698128 | -0.054057708 | -0.01235562 | -0.017212991 |
| **Craft** | -0.062943608 | 1 | -0.102565116 | -0.111562252 | -0.068932808 | -0.048539504 |
| **Operators** | -0.049698128 | -0.102565116 | 1 | -0.088085753 | -0.079148034 | -0.052933788 |
| **Elementary** | -0.054057708 | -0.111562252 | -0.088085753 | 1 | -0.08607948 | -0.035851131 |
| **Trust in parliament** | -0.01235562 | -0.068932808 | -0.079148034 | -0.08607948 | 1 | 0.520312072 |
| **Trust in European parliament** | -0.017212991 | -0.048539504 | -0.052933788 | -0.035851131 | 0.520312072 | 1 |

## Figure A2.1: Distribution of cultural concerns



## Figure A2.2: Distribution of economic concerns



## Figure A2.3: Percentage of far right voters in the entire electorate and among those with cultural concerns





## Figure A2.4: Percentage of far right voters in the entire electorate and among those with economic concerns





## Figure A2.5: Percentage of far right voters in the entire electorate versus percentage of far right voters with economic concerns (left hand side) and percentage of far right voters with cultural concerns (right hand side)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |
|  |  |

## Figure A2.6: Number of far right and non-far right voters with different levels of cultural concerns



## Figure A2.7: Number of far right and non-far right voters with different levels of economic concerns



## Table A2.3. Far right voters with economic and cultural concerns

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Economic concerns over immigration** | **Did not vote for far right** | **Voted for far right** |
| 0 | 4,353 | 86 |
| 1 | 4,112 | 88 |
| 2 | 15,341 | 309 |
| 3 | 19,781 | 444 |
| 4 | 17,603 | 497 |
| 5 | 34,539 | 1,590 |
| 6 | 12,649 | 758 |
| 7 | 12,398 | 995 |
| 8 | 8,709 | 843 |
| 9 | 4,522 | 535 |
| 10 | 6,372 | 1,051 |
| **Cultural concerns over immigration** | **Did not vote for far right** | **Voted for far right** |
| 0 | 9244.145 | 124.3178 |
| 1 | 8200.76 | 111.2039 |
| 2 | 22216.06 | 431.5777 |
| 3 | 23570.52 | 619.6374 |
| 4 | 16377.33 | 581.1398 |
| 5 | 26111.18 | 1423.463 |
| 6 | 10368.34 | 738.9172 |
| 7 | 9595.537 | 846.3265 |
| 8 | 6817.179 | 852.3091 |
| 9 | 3514.269 | 502.4339 |
| 10 | 4661.552 | 985.8045 |

## Figure A2.8. Distribution of concerns among far right voters (cut-off point of 5)



## Figure A2.9. Distribution of concerns among far right voters (cut-off point of 7)



## Figure A2.10. Percentage of far right voters overall when manipulating the numbers of voters with different immigration concerns (cut-off point of 5)



## Figure A2.11. Percentage of far right voters overall when manipulating the numbers of voters with different immigration concerns (cut-off point of 7)



# Appendix 3. Main regression tables – without PiS (starts on next page)

## Table A3.1.a. Multilevel random intercept logistic regression table – baseline without PiS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Column | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Economic concerns over immigration | 0.175\*\*\* | 0.162\*\*\* | 0.164\*\*\* | 0.163\*\*\* | 0.152\*\*\* | 0.120\*\*\* | 0.114\*\*\* | 0.114\*\*\* | 0.220\*\*\* |
| Cultural concerns over immigration | 0.235\*\*\* | 0.222\*\*\* | 0.192\*\*\* | 0.192\*\*\* | 0.188\*\*\* | 0.161\*\*\* | 0.153\*\*\* | 0.153\*\*\* | 0.272\*\*\* |
| Interaction between economic and cultural concerns |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.020\*\*\* |
| Male | 0.480\*\*\* | 0.482\*\*\* | 0.429\*\*\* | 0.432\*\*\* | 0.390\*\*\* | 0.435\*\*\* | 0.403\*\*\* | 0.409\*\*\* | 0.411\*\*\* |
| Age | -0.011\*\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.017\*\*\* | -0.015\*\*\* | -0.012\*\*\* | -0.013\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* |
| Bottom income dummy | 0.064 | -0.025 | 0.056 | 0.008 | -0.026 | -0.056 | -0.062 |  |  |
| Lower half of income dummy |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.101\*\*\* | 0.104\*\*\* |
| Education (in years) |  | -0.070\*\*\* | -0.075\*\*\* | -0.075\*\*\* | -0.043\*\*\* | -0.038\*\*\* | -0.038\*\*\* | -0.037\*\*\* | -0.035\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: wages* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Self-employed |  |  |  | -0.236\*\*\* | -0.181\*\*\* | -0.202\*\*\* | -0.211\*\*\* | -0.213\*\*\* | -0.218\*\*\* |
| Pensions |  |  |  | -0.099\*\* | -0.097\*\* | -0.095\*\* | -0.082\* | -0.117\*\*\* | -0.117\*\*\* |
| Unemployed |  |  |  | 0.400\*\*\* | 0.396\*\*\* | 0.366\*\*\* | 0.393\*\*\* | 0.328\*\*\* | 0.329\*\*\* |
| Other social benefits |  |  |  | 0.241\*\*\* | 0.216\*\*\* | 0.187\*\* | 0.193\*\* | 0.130 | 0.141 |
| Investments |  |  |  | -0.268 | -0.223 | -0.217 | -0.205 | -0.210 | -0.215 |
| Other sources |  |  |  | -0.334\*\* | -0.309\* | -0.285\* | -0.239 | -0.294\* | -0.286\* |
| Placement on left-right scale |  |  | 0.242\*\*\* | 0.245\*\*\* | 0.254\*\*\* | 0.272\*\*\* | 0.272\*\*\* | 0.273\*\*\* | 0.271\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: manager* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Professional |  |  |  |  | -0.215\*\*\* | -0.204\*\*\* | -0.191\*\*\* | -0.193\*\*\* | -0.187\*\*\* |
| Technician |  |  |  |  | 0.157\*\*\* | 0.154\*\*\* | 0.184\*\*\* | 0.178\*\*\* | 0.169\*\*\* |
| Clerical |  |  |  |  | 0.329\*\*\* | 0.325\*\*\* | 0.358\*\*\* | 0.347\*\*\* | 0.335\*\*\* |
| Service |  |  |  |  | 0.568\*\*\* | 0.541\*\*\* | 0.547\*\*\* | 0.530\*\*\* | 0.521\*\*\* |
| Agriculture |  |  |  |  | 0.266\*\*\* | 0.283\*\*\* | 0.259\*\*\* | 0.226\*\* | 0.209\*\* |
| Craft |  |  |  |  | 0.638\*\*\* | 0.587\*\*\* | 0.624\*\*\* | 0.605\*\*\* | 0.588\*\*\* |
| Operator |  |  |  |  | 0.667\*\*\* | 0.603\*\*\* | 0.622\*\*\* | 0.603\*\*\* | 0.592\*\*\* |
| Elementary |  |  |  |  | 0.546\*\*\* | 0.492\*\*\* | 0.511\*\*\* | 0.482\*\*\* | 0.470\*\*\* |
| Trust in National Parliament |  |  |  |  |  | -0.188\*\*\* | -0.140\*\*\* | -0.139\*\*\* | -0.139\*\*\* |
| Trust in European Parliament |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.097\*\*\* | -0.097\*\*\* | -0.097\*\*\* |
| Constant | -5.155\*\*\* | -3.920\*\*\* | -5.033\*\*\* | -5.061\*\*\* | -5.848\*\*\* | -4.900\*\*\* | -4.562\*\*\* | -4.624\*\*\* | -5.198\*\*\* |
| Observations | 124,046 | 123,674 | 119,680 | 117,971 | 113,175 | 112,730 | 106,950 | 106,950 | 106,950 |
| Number of groups | 123 | 123 | 123 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 |
| Log likelihood | -24658 | -24385 | -22731 | -22642 | -21570 | -21048 | -19864 | -19860 | -19818 |
| Wald Chi2 | 5043 | 5234 | 6103 | 6125 | 6132 | 6690 | 6474 | 6478 | 6360 |
| Prob > chi2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

*Note: this table presents the results from a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data; the standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Table A3.1.b. Average marginal effects for key variables of column 8 in table A3.1.a

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Economic concerns over immigration | 0.00212\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000381) |
| Cultural concerns over immigration | 0.00286\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000496) |
| Observations | 106,950 |

*Note: this table presents the average marginal effects for key variables of column 8 in table A3.1.a which was carried out using a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data; the standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Figure A3.1. Predicted probabilities using column 8 of table A3.1.a

**

## Figure A3.2. Predicted probabilities using column 9 of table A3.1.a



## Table A3.2. Multilevel random intercept logistic regression table – baseline without PiS – different proxies for trust

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Column* | *1* | *2* | *3* | *4* | *5* |
| Economic concerns over immigration | 0.114\*\*\* | 0.117\*\*\* | 0.125\*\*\* | 0.117\*\*\* | 0.122\*\*\* |
| Cultural concerns over immigration | 0.153\*\*\* | 0.157\*\*\* | 0.161\*\*\* | 0.158\*\*\* | 0.162\*\*\* |
| Trust in National Parliament | -0.140\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in the legal system |  | -0.088\*\*\* |  |  |  |
| Trust in the police |  |  | -0.038\*\*\* |  |  |
| Trust in politicians |  |  |  | -0.124\*\*\* |  |
| Trust in political parties |  |  |  |  | -0.092\*\*\* |
| Trust in European Parliament | -0.097\*\*\* | -0.130\*\*\* | -0.153\*\*\* | -0.102\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* |
| Male | 0.403\*\*\* | 0.380\*\*\* | 0.357\*\*\* | 0.364\*\*\* | 0.374\*\*\* |
| Age | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* |
| Bottom income dummy | -0.062 | -0.059 | -0.051 | -0.051 | -0.050 |
| Education (in years) | -0.038\*\*\* | -0.039\*\*\* | -0.041\*\*\* | -0.041\*\*\* | -0.043\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: wages* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Self employed | -0.211\*\*\* | -0.221\*\*\* | -0.216\*\*\* | -0.205\*\*\* | -0.231\*\*\* |
| Pension | -0.082\* | -0.091\*\* | -0.075\* | -0.075\* | -0.093\*\* |
| Unemployed | 0.393\*\*\* | 0.396\*\*\* | 0.396\*\*\* | 0.384\*\*\* | 0.383\*\*\* |
| Social benefits | 0.193\*\* | 0.198\*\* | 0.200\*\* | 0.197\*\* | 0.198\*\* |
| Investments | -0.205 | -0.195 | -0.212 | -0.197 | -0.176 |
| Other sources | -0.239 | -0.251 | -0.251 | -0.246 | -0.253 |
| Placement on left-right scale | 0.272\*\*\* | 0.265\*\*\* | 0.264\*\*\* | 0.269\*\*\* | 0.258\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: manager* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Professional | -0.191\*\*\* | -0.187\*\*\* | -0.196\*\*\* | -0.197\*\*\* | -0.156\*\* |
| Technician | 0.184\*\*\* | 0.185\*\*\* | 0.187\*\*\* | 0.182\*\*\* | 0.207\*\*\* |
| Clerical | 0.358\*\*\* | 0.360\*\*\* | 0.364\*\*\* | 0.358\*\*\* | 0.379\*\*\* |
| Service | 0.547\*\*\* | 0.554\*\*\* | 0.568\*\*\* | 0.561\*\*\* | 0.599\*\*\* |
| Agriculture | 0.259\*\*\* | 0.264\*\*\* | 0.256\*\*\* | 0.281\*\*\* | 0.291\*\*\* |
| Craft | 0.624\*\*\* | 0.644\*\*\* | 0.657\*\*\* | 0.649\*\*\* | 0.687\*\*\* |
| Operator | 0.622\*\*\* | 0.641\*\*\* | 0.650\*\*\* | 0.646\*\*\* | 0.654\*\*\* |
| Elementary | 0.511\*\*\* | 0.541\*\*\* | 0.544\*\*\* | 0.534\*\*\* | 0.561\*\*\* |
| Constant | -4.562\*\*\* | -4.531\*\*\* | -4.676\*\*\* | -4.696\*\*\* | -4.580\*\*\* |
| Observations | 106,950 | 106,821 | 107,002 | 106,972 | 94,321 |
| Number of groups | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 108 |
| Log likelihood | -19864 | -19946 | -20039 | -19929 | -17949 |

*Note: this table presents the results from a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data; the standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Table A3.3.a. Multilevel random intercept logistic regression table – binary concern variables without PiS

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Binary materialist (coded 1 if economic concerns over immigration > 5) | 0.523\*\*\* |
| Binary culturalist (coded 1 if cultural concerns over immigration > 5) | 0.591\*\*\* |
| Male | 0.405\*\*\* |
| Age | -0.014\*\*\* |
| Lower half of income dummy | 0.110\*\*\* |
| Education (in years) | -0.043\*\*\* |
| Placement on left-right scale | 0.286\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: wages* |  |
| Self-employed | -0.203\*\*\* |
| Pensions | -0.107\*\* |
| Unemployed | 0.361\*\*\* |
| Other social benefits | 0.124 |
| Investments | -0.218 |
| Other sources | -0.302\* |
| *Reference category: manager* |  |
| Professional | -0.203\*\*\* |
| Technician | 0.197\*\*\* |
| Clerical | 0.373\*\*\* |
| Service | 0.562\*\*\* |
| Agriculture | 0.270\*\*\* |
| Craft | 0.650\*\*\* |
| Operator | 0.649\*\*\* |
| Elementary | 0.530\*\*\* |
| Trust in National Parliament | -0.150\*\*\* |
| Trust in European Parliament | -0.112\*\*\* |
| Constant | -3.608\*\*\* |
| Observations | 106,950 |
| Number of groups | 122 |
| Log likelihood | -20067 |
| Wald Chi2 | 6294 |
| Prob > chi2 | 0 |

*Note: this table presents the results from a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data; the standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Table A3.3.b. Average marginal effects of key variables in Table A3.3.a

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Binary materialist (coded 1 if economic concerns over immigration > 5) | 0.0102\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00179) |
| Binary materialist (coded 1 if cultural concerns over immigration > 5) | 0.0115\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00201) |
| Observations | 106,950 |

*Note: this table presents the average marginal effects for key variables of table A3.3.a which was carried out using a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data; the standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Figure A3.3. Predicted probabilities using table A3.3.a



## Table A3.4. Multilevel random intercept logistic regression table – binary concern variables with interaction term, without PiS

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Binary materialist | 0.663\*\*\* |
| Binary culturalist | 0.786\*\*\* |
| Binary materialist \* Binary culturalist | -0.352\*\*\* |
| Age respondent | -0.013\*\*\* |
| Low income dummy | 0.113\*\*\* |
| Education in years | -0.042\*\*\* |
| Left-right scale | 0.285\*\*\* |
| *Source of income (ref: wages)* |  |
| Self-employed | -0.204\*\*\* |
| Pension | -0.109\*\* |
| Unemployment benefits | 0.361\*\*\* |
| Other social benefits | 0.125 |
| Investments | -0.222 |
| Other sources | -0.306\* |
| *Occupation (ref: managers)* |  |
| Professionals | -0.199\*\*\* |
| Technicians | 0.195\*\*\* |
| Clerks | 0.370\*\*\* |
| Service | 0.562\*\*\* |
| Agriculture | 0.266\*\*\* |
| Craft | 0.644\*\*\* |
| Operators | 0.647\*\*\* |
| Elementary | 0.526\*\*\* |
| Trust in parliament | -0.150\*\*\* |
| Trust in European parliament | -0.112\*\*\* |
| Constant | -3.655\*\*\* |
|  | 0.614\*\*\* |
| Observations | 106,950 |
| Number of groups | 122 |
| Log likelihood | -20050 |
| Wald Chi2 | 6280 |
| Prob > chi2 | 0 |

*Note: The table presents results from a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data. The standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Figure A3.4. Predicted probabilities using table A3.4

A screenshot of a cell phone

Description automatically generated

## Table A3.5.a. Multilevel random intercept logistic regression table – bining concerns into four dummy variables - without PiS

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *Economic concerns over immigration (reference category is dummy variable equal to 1 if economic concerns equal to 0 or 1 – see notes for coding)* |  |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 1 | -0.058 |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 2 | 0.336\*\*\* |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 3 | 0.673\*\*\* |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 4 | 0.765\*\*\* |
| *Cultural concerns over immigration (reference category is dummy variable equal to 1 if cultural concerns equal to 0 or 1 – see notes for coding)* |  |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 1 | 0.367\*\*\* |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 2 | 0.851\*\*\* |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 3 | 1.191\*\*\* |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 4 | 1.352\*\*\* |
| Male | 0.414\*\*\* |
| Age | -0.014\*\*\* |
| Lower half of income dummy | 0.102\*\*\* |
| Education (in years) | -0.037\*\*\* |
| Placement on left-right scale | 0.275\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: wages* |  |
| Self-employed | -0.217\*\*\* |
| Pensions | -0.115\*\*\* |
| Unemployed | 0.326\*\*\* |
| Other social benefits | 0.129 |
| Investments | -0.209 |
| Other sources | -0.291\* |
| *Reference category: manager* |  |
| Professional | -0.193\*\*\* |
| Technician | 0.172\*\*\* |
| Clerical | 0.342\*\*\* |
| Service | 0.527\*\*\* |
| Agriculture | 0.217\*\* |
| Craft | 0.601\*\*\* |
| Operator | 0.604\*\*\* |
| Elementary | 0.480\*\*\* |
| Trust in national parliament | -0.143\*\*\* |
| Trust in European Parliament | -0.101\*\*\* |
| Constant | -4.379\*\*\* |
| Observations | 106,950 |
| Number of groups | 122 |
| Log likelihood | -19875 |
| Wald Chi2 | 6367 |
| Prob > Chi2 | 0 |

*Note: each type of concerns is ‘binned’ into five dichotomous variables: dummy variable 1 is 0/1; 2 is 2/3, 3 is 4/5/6, 4 is 7/8 and 5 is 9/10. The table presents results from a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data. The standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Table A3.5.b. Average marginal effects of key variables in Table A3.5.a

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *Economic concerns over immigration (reference category is dummy variable equal to 1 if economic concerns equal to 0 or 1)* |  |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 1 | -0.000783 |
|  | (0.00132) |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 2 | 0.00552\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00162) |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 3 | 0.0132\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00269) |
| Economic concerns dummy variable 4 | 0.0157\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00321) |
| *Cultural concerns over immigration (reference category is dummy variable equal to 1 if cultural concerns equal to 0 or 1 – see notes for coding)* |  |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 1 | 0.00442\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00110) |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 2 | 0.0132\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00238) |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 3 | 0.0224\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00394) |
| Cultural concerns dummy variable 4 | 0.0278\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00502) |
| Observations | 106,950 |

*Note: this table presents the average marginal effects for key variables of table A3.5.a which was carried out using a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data; the standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Table A3.6: Distribution of materialists and culturalists using binary variables

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Binary culturalist** |  |
| **Binary materialist** | **No (0)** | **Yes (1)** |
| **No (0)** | 129,335 (56.65%) | 18,718 (8.2%) |
| **Yes (1)** | 34,693 (15.20%) | 45,562 (19.96%) |

*Note: Post-stratification design and population weights applied. The binary materialist variable is coded 1 if the respondents choose a response strictly above 5 to the question with regards to the economic impact of immigration, and 0 otherwise. Similarly, the binary culturalist variable is coded 1 if the respondents choose a response strictly above 5 to the question with regards to the cultural impact of immigration, and 0 otherwise.*

## Table A3.7: Distribution of far right voters among strict materialists and strict culturalists

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Vote for far right** | |  | **Vote for far right** | |
| **Strict materialists** | **No (0)** | **Yes (1)** | **Strict culturalists** | **No (0)** | **Yes (1)** |
| **No (0)** | 118,174  (95.2%) | 5,969  (4.8%) | **No (0)** | 127,292  (95.3%) | 6,209  (4.7%) |
| **Yes (1)** | 19,933  (94.6%) | 1,133  (5.4%) | **Yes (1)** | 10,815  (92.4%) | 894  (7.6%) |

*Note: post-stratification, design and population weights applied. Although being a strict culturalist, as opposed to a non-strict culturalist, results in a larger increase in the predicted probability of voting for the far right than being a strict materialist, as opposed to a non-strict materialist, the number of far right voters that are strict materialists is greater than the number of far right voters that are strict culturalists.*

## Table A3.8. Relationship between individual level coefficients and votes for far right parties at the country-wave level

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Column | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Variable is composed of the country-wave logistic regression specific coefficient of economic concerns | 0.07972\*\*\* |  | 0.08572\*\*\* |
| Variable is composed of the country-wave logistic regression specific coefficient of cultural concerns |  | 0.01528 | 0.03806 |
| Constant | 0.07384\*\*\* | 0.07916\*\*\* | 0.06752\*\*\* |
| Observations | 108 | 108 | 108 |
| R-squared | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.05 |

*Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. This regression is run using a country-wave level dataset. The dependent variable is the country-wave average far right party success. The two independent variables are coefficients from the respective country-wave logistic regression of individual far right party votes on economic and cultural concerns, with a series of individual level controls. Thus, each coefficient captures the size of the impact of having economic and cultural concerns, respectively, on the probability of voting for the far right in that specific country-wave.*

# Appendix 4. Simulations

## Table A4.1. A hypothetical far right electorate with anti-immigration concerns

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Far right** | | |  | **Economic concerns** | | **Cultural concerns** | |
|  | **Actual** | **percentage** |  | **Actual** | **percentage** | **Actual** | **percentage** |
| No | 170 | 85% | No | 100 | 50% | 180 | 90% |
| Yes | 30 | 15% | Yes | 100 | 50% | 20 | 10% |

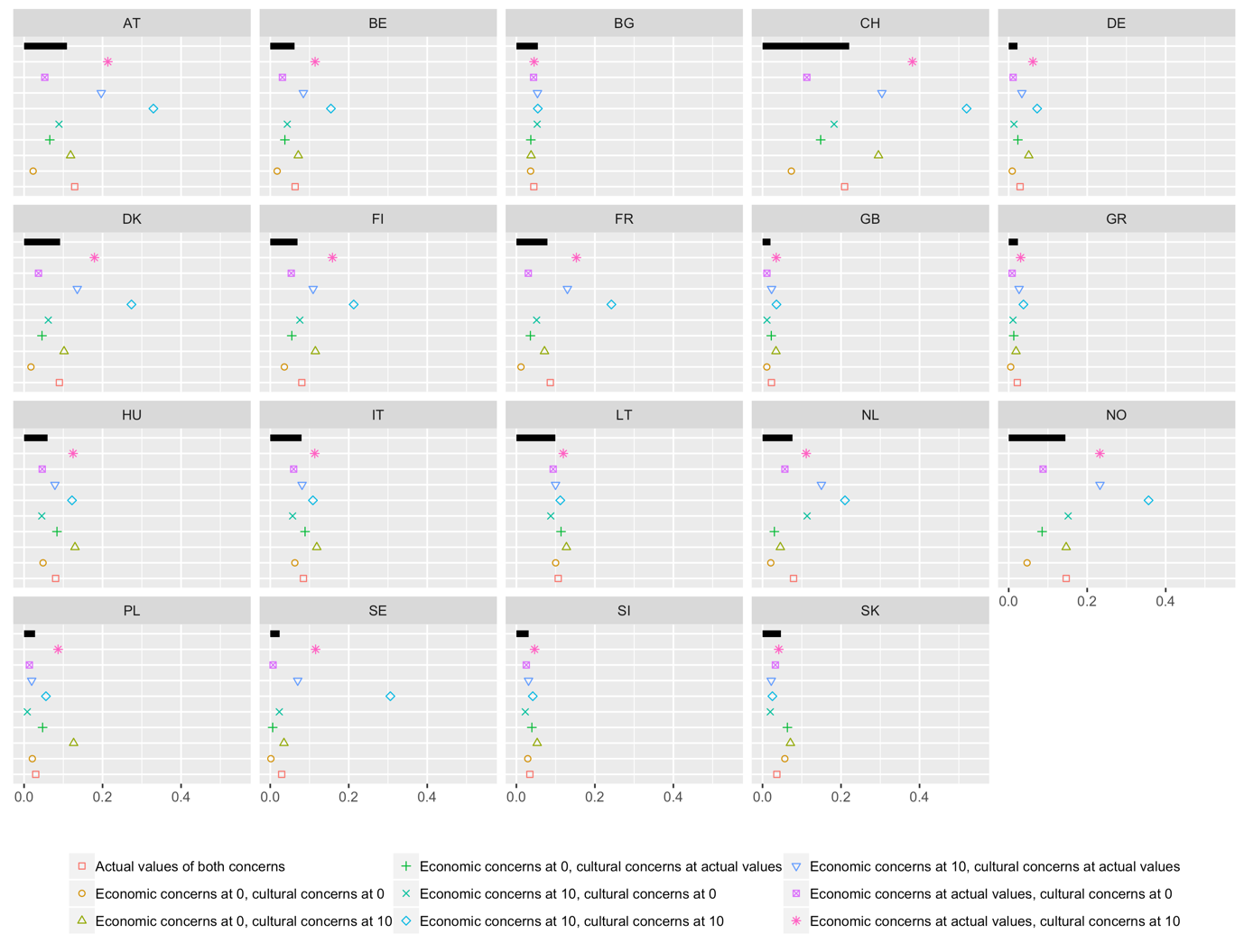
## Table A4.2. A hypothetical far right electorate: tabulation of far right voters and anti-immigration concerns

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Economic concerns** |  |  | **Cultural concerns** |  |
| **Far right** | **No** | **Yes** |  | **No** | **Yes** |
| **No** | 90 (45%) | 80 (40%) |  | 160 (80%) | 10 (5%) |
| **Yes** | 10 (5%) | 20 (10%) |  | 20 (10%) | 10 (5%) |

## Table A4.3. A hypothetical far right electorate: regression results



## Figure A4.1: Simulations of predicted country level far right party support for different hypothetical distributions of economic and cultural concerns by country



*Note: black line represents actual far right party votes in the country.*

## Table A4.4. Estimates from country specific regressions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **vright** | **econXcultX** | **econXcult0** | **econXcult10** | **econ0cultX** | **econ0cult0** | **econ0cult10** | **econ10cultX** | **econ10cult0** | **econ10cult10** |
| SK | 4.69% | 3.65% | 3.28% | 4.14% | 6.33% | 5.68% | 7.10% | 2.22% | 1.98% | 2.51% |
| SI | 3.13% | 3.43% | 2.53% | 4.65% | 3.94% | 2.90% | 5.30% | 3.10% | 2.27% | 4.18% |
| SE | 2.40% | 2.91% | 0.72% | 11.56% | 0.63% | 0.17% | 3.50% | 7.00% | 2.32% | 30.60% |
| PL | 2.81% | 2.97% | 1.35% | 8.67% | 4.72% | 2.10% | 12.62% | 1.94% | 0.82% | 5.57% |
| NO | 14.45% | 14.65% | 8.75% | 23.23% | 8.52% | 4.68% | 14.64% | 23.26% | 15.14% | 35.63% |
| NL | 7.64% | 7.90% | 5.70% | 11.13% | 3.02% | 2.10% | 4.53% | 15.00% | 11.36% | 21.00% |
| LT | 9.93% | 10.66% | 9.37% | 11.96% | 11.37% | 10.01% | 12.74% | 9.97% | 8.76% | 11.20% |
| IT | 7.98% | 8.46% | 5.97% | 11.35% | 8.87% | 6.27% | 11.86% | 8.11% | 5.70% | 10.88% |
| HU | 5.99% | 8.03% | 4.62% | 12.48% | 8.38% | 4.83% | 12.97% | 7.86% | 4.51% | 12.21% |
| GR | 2.36% | 2.20% | 0.88% | 3.04% | 1.30% | 0.51% | 1.87% | 2.65% | 1.10% | 3.76% |
| GB | 2.03% | 2.27% | 1.12% | 3.50% | 2.22% | 1.09% | 3.42% | 2.30% | 1.13% | 3.55% |
| FR | 7.92% | 8.64% | 3.03% | 15.28% | 3.57% | 1.17% | 7.16% | 13.00% | 5.16% | 24.20% |
| FI | 6.96% | 8.04% | 5.36% | 15.85% | 5.49% | 3.60% | 11.50% | 10.93% | 7.54% | 21.27% |
| DK | 9.19% | 8.99% | 3.67% | 17.93% | 4.57% | 1.75% | 10.19% | 13.55% | 6.17% | 27.36% |
| DE | 2.23% | 2.90% | 1.13% | 6.17% | 2.33% | 0.90% | 5.11% | 3.35% | 1.34% | 7.25% |
| CH | 22.09% | 20.90% | 11.29% | 38.20% | 14.81% | 7.34% | 29.53% | 30.41% | 18.23% | 51.99% |
| BG | 5.48% | 4.44% | 4.38% | 4.52% | 3.68% | 3.62% | 3.74% | 5.37% | 5.30% | 5.46% |
| BE | 6.20% | 6.34% | 3.11% | 11.44% | 3.73% | 1.76% | 7.14% | 8.44% | 4.34% | 15.46% |
| AT | 10.93% | 12.90% | 5.28% | 21.34% | 6.55% | 2.31% | 11.85% | 19.66% | 8.89% | 32.95% |

*Note: X captures keeping the distribution of values for that particular independent variable at its true value. For instance, econXcultX means that the distribution of values for economic and cultural concerns are kept as in the original true data. By contrast, econ0cult10 means that all economic concerns for all individuals are set at 0, whereas all cultural concerns for all individuals are kept at 10. The percentage show then capture the predicted national level support by aggregating all individual predicted probabilities given the coefficients and the distribution of values within the data.*

# Appendix 5. Results including PiS

## Table A5.1. Economic concerns and far right voters – with PiS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Far right voters and non-voters** | | | | |
| **Economic concerns** | **0** | **1** | **SUM** | **0** | **1** |
| **0** | 4219 | 222 | 4441 | 95.0% | 5.0% |
| **1** | 4000 | 201 | 4201 | 95.2% | 4.8% |
| **2** | 14932 | 719 | 15650 | 95.4% | 4.6% |
| **3** | 19337 | 889 | 20226 | 95.6% | 4.4% |
| **4** | 17142 | 959 | 18101 | 94.7% | 5.3% |
| **5** | 33518 | 2613 | 36130 | 92.8% | 7.2% |
| **6** | 12279 | 1128 | 13408 | 91.6% | 8.4% |
| **7** | 11977 | 1417 | 13394 | 89.4% | 10.6% |
| **8** | 8404 | 1149 | 9553 | 88.0% | 12.0% |
| **9** | 4314 | 743 | 5057 | 85.3% | 14.7% |
| **10** | 6131 | 1293 | 7424 | 82.6% | 17.4% |
| **TOTAL** | 136252 | 11333 | 147585 |  |  |

## Table A5.2. Cultural concerns and far right voters – with PiS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Far right voters and non-voters** | | | |  |
| **Cultural concerns** | **0** | **1** | **SUM** | **0** | **1** |
| **0** | 8975 | 393 | 9368 | 95.8% | 4.2% |
| **1** | 7996 | 316 | 8312 | 96.2% | 3.8% |
| **2** | 21586 | 1062 | 22648 | 95.3% | 4.7% |
| **3** | 22914 | 1276 | 24190 | 94.7% | 5.3% |
| **4** | 15892 | 1067 | 16958 | 93.7% | 6.3% |
| **5** | 25167 | 2367 | 27535 | 91.4% | 8.6% |
| **6** | 10069 | 1038 | 11107 | 90.7% | 9.3% |
| **7** | 9348 | 1093 | 10442 | 89.5% | 10.5% |
| **8** | 6601 | 1069 | 7669 | 86.1% | 13.9% |
| **9** | 3427 | 590 | 4017 | 85.3% | 14.7% |
| **10** | 4572 | 1075 | 5647 | 81.0% | 19.0% |
| **TOTAL** | 136548 | 11346 | 147894 |  |  |

## Table A5.3. Multilevel random intercept logistic regression table –with PiS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Column | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Economic concerns over immigration | 0.162\*\*\* | 0.149\*\*\* | 0.153\*\*\* | 0.153\*\*\* | 0.144\*\*\* | 0.117\*\*\* | 0.111\*\*\* | 0.110\*\*\* | 0.184\*\*\* |
| Cultural concerns over immigration | 0.222\*\*\* | 0.208\*\*\* | 0.178\*\*\* | 0.179\*\*\* | 0.176\*\*\* | 0.152\*\*\* | 0.144\*\*\* | 0.143\*\*\* | 0.228\*\*\* |
| Economic concerns \* Cultural concerns |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.014\*\*\* |
| Male | 0.423\*\*\* | 0.422\*\*\* | 0.371\*\*\* | 0.374\*\*\* | 0.328\*\*\* | 0.365\*\*\* | 0.334\*\*\* | 0.343\*\*\* | 0.344\*\*\* |
| Age | -0.009\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.013\*\*\* | -0.010\*\*\* | -0.010\*\*\* | -0.011\*\*\* | -0.011\*\*\* | -0.011\*\*\* |
| Bottom income dummy | 0.034 | -0.062 | 0.000 | -0.053 | -0.078 | -0.106\* | -0.115\*\* |  |  |
| Lower half of income dummy |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.124\*\*\* | 0.125\*\*\* |
| Education (in years) |  | -0.071\*\*\* | -0.077\*\*\* | -0.076\*\*\* | -0.043\*\*\* | -0.038\*\*\* | -0.038\*\*\* | -0.036\*\*\* | -0.035\*\*\* |
| Placement on left-right scale |  |  | 0.272\*\*\* | 0.274\*\*\* | 0.282\*\*\* | 0.299\*\*\* | 0.298\*\*\* | 0.299\*\*\* | 0.299\*\*\* |
| *Reference category: wages* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Self-employed |  |  |  | -0.222\*\*\* | -0.175\*\*\* | -0.196\*\*\* | -0.203\*\*\* | -0.206\*\*\* | -0.208\*\*\* |
| Pensions |  |  |  | -0.094\*\* | -0.097\*\* | -0.097\*\* | -0.080\* | -0.123\*\*\* | -0.123\*\*\* |
| Unemployed |  |  |  | 0.452\*\*\* | 0.436\*\*\* | 0.405\*\*\* | 0.428\*\*\* | 0.336\*\*\* | 0.338\*\*\* |
| Other social benefits |  |  |  | 0.274\*\*\* | 0.253\*\*\* | 0.227\*\*\* | 0.237\*\*\* | 0.150\* | 0.157\* |
| Investments |  |  |  | -0.229 | -0.212 | -0.203 | -0.184 | -0.195 | -0.197 |
| Other sources |  |  |  | -0.267\* | -0.257\* | -0.239 | -0.213 | -0.289\* | -0.287\* |
| *Reference category: manager* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Professional |  |  |  |  | -0.205\*\*\* | -0.193\*\*\* | -0.182\*\*\* | -0.186\*\*\* | -0.183\*\*\* |
| Technician |  |  |  |  | 0.146\*\*\* | 0.147\*\*\* | 0.172\*\*\* | 0.164\*\*\* | 0.158\*\*\* |
| Clerical |  |  |  |  | 0.283\*\*\* | 0.285\*\*\* | 0.314\*\*\* | 0.299\*\*\* | 0.292\*\*\* |
| Service |  |  |  |  | 0.536\*\*\* | 0.513\*\*\* | 0.520\*\*\* | 0.497\*\*\* | 0.492\*\*\* |
| Agriculture |  |  |  |  | 0.279\*\*\* | 0.305\*\*\* | 0.284\*\*\* | 0.239\*\*\* | 0.226\*\*\* |
| Craft |  |  |  |  | 0.613\*\*\* | 0.571\*\*\* | 0.610\*\*\* | 0.585\*\*\* | 0.574\*\*\* |
| Operator |  |  |  |  | 0.639\*\*\* | 0.584\*\*\* | 0.610\*\*\* | 0.586\*\*\* | 0.580\*\*\* |
| Elementary |  |  |  |  | 0.525\*\*\* | 0.476\*\*\* | 0.498\*\*\* | 0.461\*\*\* | 0.454\*\*\* |
| Trust in National Parliament |  |  |  |  |  | -0.175\*\*\* | -0.124\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.123\*\*\* |
| Trust in European Parliament |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.106\*\*\* | -0.105\*\*\* | -0.106\*\*\* |
| Constant | -4.902\*\*\* | -3.639\*\*\* | -4.925\*\*\* | -4.961\*\*\* | -5.763\*\*\* | -4.902\*\*\* | -4.539\*\*\* | -4.618\*\*\* | -5.004\*\*\* |
| Observations | 124,046 | 123,674 | 119,680 | 117,971 | 113,175 | 112,730 | 106,950 | 106,950 | 106,950 |
| Number of groups | 123 | 123 | 123 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 |
| Log likelihood | -27479 | -27173 | -25006 | -24841 | -23684 | -23153 | -21776 | -21769 | -21743 |
| Wald Chi2 | 4931 | 5176 | 6551 | 6558 | 6587 | 7139 | 6934 | 6939 | 6854 |

*Note: The table presents results from a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression taking into account the hierarchical nature of the data. The standard errors are robust and clustered by country-wave. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.*

## Figure A5.1: Predicted probabilities using column 8 of table A5.3

A screenshot of a cell phone

Description automatically generated