Online Appendix

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Micro-Foundations of Right-wing Populism in Europe – Empirical Progress
Through Methodological Innovation

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Chapter 2 Appendix

Original Wordings of Variables

Dataset	Variable
	Attitudes towards Pegida
D-Trend (1/2015 & 11/2015)	In Dresden und auch in anderen deutschen Städten gibt es Demonstrationen des Bündnisses "Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes", kurz „Pegida", das vor allem die Einwanderungs- und Flüchtlingspolitik kritisiert. Haben Sie grundsätzlich sehr großes, großes, wenig oder gar kein Verständnis für die Protestmärsche der „Pegida"-Bewegung?
Polit-barometer	In den letzten Monaten gibt es vor allem in Dresden Demonstrationen von Pegida, der Bewegung "Patriotischer Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes". Finden Sie die Pegida-Bewegung ...[eher gut oder] [eher schlecht?]
GLES 27	In Dresden und auch in anderen deutschen Städten gibt es Demonstrationen des Bündnisses "Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes" (Pegida), das vor allem die Einwanderungs- und Flüchtlingspolitik kritisiert. Was halten Sie ganz allgemein von den Protestmärschen der Pegida-Bewegung? Bitte beschreiben Sie dies mit der Skala von -5 bis +5.
GLES 32, 36, 37	Hier sind einige Gruppen und Bewegungen, die die Unterstützung der Öffentlichkeit suchen. Bitte geben Sie für jede dieser Gruppen bzw. Bewegungen an, ob Sie diese sehr oder nur etwas unterstützen, oder ob Sie sie etwas oder ganz ablehnen.(K) Islamkritische Gruppen, wie z.B. PEGIDA
	Socioeconomic Deprivation
D-Trend (1/2015 & 11/2015)	Wenn Sie an Ihre eigene wirtschaftliche Situation denken, ist Ihre persönliche wirtschaftliche Situation... sehr gut, gut, weniger gut oder schlecht?
Polit-barometer	Wie beurteilen Sie heute Ihre eigene wirtschaftliche Lage? Ist sie ... gut, teils gut/ teils schlecht oder schlecht?
GLES 27, 32, 36, 37	Und nun zu Ihrer wirtschaftlichen Lage. Wie beurteilen Sie Ihre derzeitige eigene wirtschaftliche Lage?
	Anti-immigrant attitudes
D-Trend (1/2015)	Finden Sie es richtig oder nicht richtig, dass Deutschland Flüchtlinge aufnimmt, die […]? a. vor Krieg oder Bürgerkrieg geflohen sind b. aus politischen oder religiösen Gründen verfolgt werden c. wegen ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einer Volksgruppe verfolgt werden d. geflohen sind,weil sie in ihrem Heimatland keine Arbeit und kein Auskommen haben e. wegen Hunger- oder Naturkatastrophen aus ihrem Heimatland geflohen sind
D-Trend (11/2015)	Wie ist Ihre Meinung zum Thema Zuwanderung ganz allgemein: Hat Deutschland durch die Zuwanderung eher Vorteile oder eher Nachteile? **spontan: sowohl als auch / beides / weder noch [Mittelkategorie]
Polit-barometer	Wenn Sie einmal an die in Deutschland lebenden Ausländer denken: Bringen die - alles in allem gesehen - für Deutschland eher Vorteile, eher Nachteile oder gleichen sich Vor- und Nachteile aus?
GLES 27, 32, 36, 37	Es gibt zu verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Themen unterschiedliche Meinungen. Wie ist das bei Ihnen: Was halten Sie von folgenden Aussagen? [Einwanderer sollten verpflichtet werden, sich der deutschen Kultur anzupassen.]
	Political Dissatisfaction
D-Trend	Wir haben hier eine Reihe von häufig gehörten Meinungen über die Politik und

(1/2015)	die Gesellschaft zusammengestellt. Sagen Sie mir bitte, ob Sie diesen Meinungen eher zustimmen oder eher nicht zustimmen. a. Die Interessen der Bürger werden von der Politik ausreichend berücksichtigt. b. Die Bürger haben kaum Möglichkeiten, auf die Politik Einfluss zu nehmen. c. Politik ist so kompliziert, dass normale Bürger nicht verstehen, was vorgeht.
D-Trend (11/2015)	Wie zufrieden sind Sie mit der Arbeit der Bundesregierung? Sind Sie damit sehr zufrieden, zufrieden, weniger zufrieden, oder gar nicht zufrieden?
Polit-barometer	Sind Sie mit den Leistungen der Bundesregierung aus CDU/CSU und SPD eher zufrieden oder eher unzufrieden? Bitte beschreiben Sie es wieder mit dem Thermometer von plus 5 bis minus 5.'Plus 5' bedeutet, dass Sie mit den Leistungen der Regierung voll und ganz zufrieden sind. 'Minus 5' bedeutet, dass Sie mit den Leistungen der Regierung vollständig unzufrieden sind. Auch hier können Sie mit den Werten dazwischen Ihre Meinung abgestuft sagen. Wie zufrieden oder unzufrieden sind Sie also mit den Leistungen der Bundesreg. aus CDU/CSU u. SPD? Der CDU/CSU in der Regierung? Der SPD in der Regierung?
GLES 27	Nun zur derzeitigen Bundesregierung in Berlin. Sind Sie mit den Leistungen der Bundesregierung aus CDU/CSU und SPD eher zufrieden oder eher unzufrieden? Und wenn Sie die Regierungsparteien einzeln betrachten, wie zufrieden oder unzufrieden sind Sie mit deren jeweiligen Leistungen? (A) CDU (B) CSU (C) SPD
GLES 32, 36, 37	Nun zur derzeitigen Bundesregierung in Berlin. Sind Sie mit den Leistungen der Bundesregierung aus CDU/CSU und SPD eher zufrieden oder eher unzufrieden? Und wenn Sie die Regierungsparteien einzeln betrachten, wie zufrieden oder unzufrieden sind Sie mit deren jeweiligen Leistungen? (A) CDU (B) CSU (C) SPD

Table 2-A1: Original wordings of the variables used.

Chapter 3 Appendix

Measurements in ALLBUS

We assess economic deprivation using three items about their current economic situation: a recoded income scale, the respondents' self-placement in socio-economic classes and a question asking whether one receives "a fair share" compared to others. All three aspects capture parts of our concepts. However, they need not necessarily to be correlated, e.g. in case of retirement in which income might be relatively low despite reliance on previously owned wealth to secure one´s status. We therefore consider this as a formative scale, which is also reflected in a marginal value of Cronbach´s Alpha (.56, see also Table 3-A1, Appendix).

Anti-immigration attitudes is measured with a set of five items. Four of them asked the respondent whether there are more risks or opportunities associated with the influx of refugees during the last few years in various domains, such as "the welfare state". In addition, we include a fifth item, whether the influx of refugees to Germany should be stopped. These face-valid indicators cover different aspects of immigration, thereby ensuring the construct validity of anti-immigration attitudes. Cronbach´s alpha confirmed this view, by showing good reliability (.85, see also Table 3-A1, Appendix).

Populist attitudes was measured using a set of six items, which are very similar to the ones presented by Akkerman, Mudde, and Zaslove (2014). We choose to exclude one available item ("The MPs of the German Bundestag should exclusively follow the

will of the people.") which displays very low correlation with other items of the scale. A similar item is included in the GLES data set, yet small differences in the wording are likely to have biased responses in a different direction. While the wording in GLES implies that MPs should not have a free mandate but are rather "obliged" to follow the people, the German wording in ALLBUS implies that MPs should aim for the best for the people rather than somebody else (e.g. their own interests or foreign powers). The latter is clearly different in tone, yielded much higher support than all other items of the scale and showed only small correlations with the other items of the scale. We therefore regard it as justified to exclude it from the latent measurement of populist attitudes (Cronbach´s alpha: .81, see also Table 3-A1, Appendix).

Consistent with common definitions of political dissatisfaction (Torcal 2011), we use an item capturing citizens' dissatisfaction with the incumbent government, which we inverted to reflect political dissatisfaction (instead of satisfaction).

We use a single item asking the respondents to state their general sympathy for the AfD as a dependent variable assessing citizens' RRP party preference. Respondents were asked how likely it is that they would ever vote for this party on a rating scale from 1 to 10. This item allows the respondents to indicate their general closeness to the RRP party irrespective of their specific voting intentions (Gschwend, Juhl, and Lehrer 2018). This is a subtle but beneficial distinction, as vote choices might also be shaped by external factors (e.g., thresholds for parliamentary entry, coalition considerations; see van der Eijk et al. 2006).

Measurements in GLES

Detailed information on the variables we use can be found in Table 3-A2 (see Appendix). Correlations between all variables are displayed in Figure 3-A2 (see Appendix).

We assess economic deprivation using a well-established single item asking the respondents to evaluate their current economic situation. Although no other variables were demmed suited to form a latent scale, using this single item is advantageous because it makes it possible to link our results to previous findings using the same item (Schmitt-Beck 2017; Schröder 2018; Kleinert 2021).

Anti-immigration attitudes is measured with a set of three items. Specifically, these items cover the respondents' opinion on future immigration, worries about immigration and assimilation of immigrants to German culture. Thereby these items cover negativity towards hypothetical future immigration as well as immigrants who already came. Using these broad and face-valid indicators helps to ensure the construct validity of anti-immigration attitudes. Cronbach´s alpha showed good reliability (.80, see also Table 3-A2, Appendix).

Populist attitudes is measured using an approved set of six items (Akkerman, Mudde, and Zaslove 2014). This scale has been validated for various contexts (Castanho Silva et al. 2020) and showed profound explanatory power in different settings (Spruyt, Keppens, and van Droogenbroeck. 2016; Rico and Anduiza 2019; Geurkink

et al. 2020). Cronbach´s alpha reliability was sufficient (.82, see also Table 3-A2, Appendix).

Similar to study 1, we operationalize political dissatisfaction with the inverted of an item assessing satisfaction with the incumbent government (Torcal 2011).

We use a single item asking the respondents to state their general sympathy ("What do you think of…?") for the AfD as a dependent variable assessing citizens' RRP party preference. Note that this scale of general preference has the same beneficial advantages as described for the ALLBUS measurement (Gschwend, Juhl, and Lehrer 2018; van der Eijk et al. 2006). We inverted the item such that higher values reflect greater general preferences for the AfD.

Correlation Plots

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
RRP Sympathy (1)	1.00	0.17	0.33	0.47	0.48	0.30	0.32	0.19	0.21	0.31	0.23	0.29		0.10	-0.15	0.33
Economic Deprivation (2)	0.17	1.00	0.11	0.19	0.18	0.23	0.22	0.08	0.18	0.23	0.21	0.18			-0.21	
Anti-immigration A (3)	0.33	0.11	1.00	0.58	0.57	0.30	0.27	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.24		0.25		-0.29	0.37
Anti-immigration B (4)	0.47	0.19	0.58	1.00	0.80	0.37	0.34	0.20	0.24	0.29	0.31	0.11	0.21		-0.33	0.40
Anti-immigration C (5)	0.48	0.18	0.57	0.80	1.00	0.35	0.32	0.21	0.23	0.28	0.29	0.10	0.18		-0.32	0.43
Populism A (6)	0.30	0.23	0.30	0.37	0.35	1.00	0.44	0.27	0.41	0.45	0.51	0.29			-0.28	0.10
Populism B (7)	0.32	0.22	0.27	0.34	0.32	0.44	1.00	0.44	0.37	0.58	0.45	0.26			-0.23	0.09
Populism C (8)	0.19	0.08	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.27	0.44	1.00	0.33	0.36	0.35	0.18	0.05	0.06	-0.10	0.09
Populism D (9)	0.21	0.18	0.22	0.24	0.23	0.41	0.37	0.33	1.00	0.45	0.41	0.21	0.14		-0.24	
Populism E (10)	0.31	0.23	0.22	0.29	0.28	0.45	0.58	0.36	0.45	1.00	0.56	0.33			-0.20	
Populism F (11)	0.23	0.21	0.24	0.31	0.29	0.51	0.45	0.35	0.41	0.56	1.00	0.34			-0.20	0.07
Pol. Dissatisfaction (12)	0.29	0.18		0.11	0.10	0.29	0.26	0.18	0.21	0.33	0.34	1.00	-0.20	0.11		0.07
Age (13)			0.25	0.21	0.18			0.05	0.14			-0.20	1.00		-0.35	0.14
Female (14)	0.10							0.08				0.11		1.00		0.13
Education (15)	-0.15	-0.21	-0.29	-0.33	-0.32	-0.28	-0.23	-0.10	-0.24	-0.20	-0.20		-0.35		1.00	0.16
Ideology (16)	0.33		0.37	0.40	0.43	0.10	0.09	0.09			0.07	0.07	0.14	-0.13	-0.16	1.00

Figure 3-A1: Correlation plot (Wei and Simko 2021) for variables used from the ALLBUS 2018 survey (study 1; GESIS 2019). See also Table 3-A1, Appendix.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
RRP Sympathy (1)	1.00	0.20	0.18		0.34	0.35	0.36	0.35	0.43	0.12	0.23	0.21	0.26	0.21	0.17	0.20	0.30		-0.11	-0.14	0.38
Economic Deprivation A (2)	0.20	1.00	0.43	0.28	0.22	0.24	0.21	0.26	0.31	0.12	0.29	0.29	0.33	0.23	0.21	0.32	0.29			-0.26	
Economic Deprivation B (3)	0.18	0.43	1.00	0.36	0.20	0.22	0.18	0.24	0.29	0.12	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.26	0.25	0.32	0.16			-0.44	
Economic Deprivation C (4)		0.28	0.36	1.00	0.09	0.13	0.07	0.18	0.18		0.22	0.23	0.22	0.17	0.18	0.25	0.07		0.34	-0.30	
Anti-immigration A (5)	0.34	0.22	0.20	0.09	1.00	0.64	0.58	0.60	0.52	0.19	0.31	0.22	0.31	0.23	0.21	0.25	0.26	0.08		-0.26	0.29
Anti-immigration B (6)	0.35	0.24	0.22	0.13	0.64	1.00	0.58	0.54	0.54	0.17	0.35	0.25	0.34	0.23	0.25	0.27	0.26			-0.27	0.30
Anti-immigration C (7)	0.36	0.21	0.18		0.58	0.58	1.00	0.59	0.53	0.17	0.29	0.21	0.30	0.24	0.20	0.24	0.24	0.12		-0.25	0.31
Anti-immigration D (8)	0.35	0.26	0.24	0.18	0.60	0.54	0.59	1.00	0.55	0.16	0.32	0.29	0.35	0.28	0.25	0.30	0.26	0.11		-0.32	0.26
Anti-immigration E (9)	0.43	0.31	0.29	0.18	0.52	0.54	0.53	0.55	1.00	0.21	0.36	0.33	0.41	0.30	0.32	0.36	0.28			-0.36	0.32
Populism A (10)	0.12	0.12	0.12		0.19	0.17	0.17	0.16	0.21	1.00	0.29	0.18	0.25	0.29	0.23	0.25	0.18	0.22		-0.16	
Populism B (11)	0.23	0.29	0.27	0.22	0.31	0.35	0.29	0.32	0.36	0.29	1.00	0.40	0.50	0.38	0.31	0.50	0.36			-0.29	0.12
Populism C (12)	0.21	0.29	0.28	0.23	0.22	0.25	0.21	0.29	0.33	0.18	0.40	1.00	0.45	0.47	0.36	0.43	0.29		0.10	-0.27	0.09
Populism D (13)	0.26	0.33	0.30	0.22	0.31	0.34	0.30	0.35	0.41	0.25	0.50	0.45	1.00	0.42	0.36	0.51	0.36			-0.33	0.15
Populism E (14)	0.21	0.23	0.26	0.17	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.28	0.30	0.29	0.38	0.47	0.42	1.00	0.36	0.40	0.25			-0.23	0.07
Populism F (15)	0.17	0.21	0.25	0.18	0.21	0.25	0.20	0.25	0.32	0.23	0.31	0.36	0.36	0.36	1.00	0.33	0.10	0.17		-0.33	0.13
Populism G (16)	0.20	0.32	0.32	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.24	0.30	0.36	0.25	0.50	0.43	0.51	0.40	0.33	1.00	0.37			-0.30	
Pol. Dissatisfaction (17)	0.30	0.29	0.16	0.07	0.26	0.26	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.18	0.36	0.29	0.36	0.25	0.10	0.37	1.00			-0.09	0.08
Age (18)	0.09			0.08	0.05	0.12	0.11	0.05		0.22	0.08		0.05	0.05	0.17	0.07		1.00		-0.28	
Female (19)	-0.11	0.05		0.34		0.07				0.09	0.09	0.10		0.08					1.00		-0.13
Education (20)	-0.14	-0.26	-0.44	-0.30	-0.26	-0.27	-0.25	-0.32	-0.36	-0.16	-0.29	-0.27	-0.33	-0.23	-0.33	-0.30		-0.28		1.00	-0.15
Ideology (21)	0.38			0.07	0.29	0.30	0.31	0.26	0.32		0.12	0.09	0.15	0.07	0.13		0.08		-0.13	-0.15	1.00

Figure 3-A2: Correlation plot (Wei and Simko 2021) for variables used from the GLES pre-election cross-sectional survey (study 2; GLES 2022). See also Table 3-A2, Appendix.

Descriptive Statistics and Wording of Variables

ALLBUS (ZA5270)	Wording	Scale	Mean	SD	Original variable
RRP Sympathy	Please tell me, for each of the following parties, how likely it is that you would e v e r vote for this party. [Alternative for Germany "AfD"]	1-10	2.22	2.45	pv24
Economic Deprivation	Compared with how others live in Germany: Do you think you get … [more than your fair share? […]very much less than your fair share?]	1-4	2.39	0.71	id01
	There is a lot of talk about social class these days. What class would you describe yourself as belonging to?	1-5	3.19	0.67	id02
	How high is your OWN net monthly income? By this I mean the amount remaining after deductions for tax and social security contributions. [Scale from 1 to 22 collapsed into 5 categories, four steps each, first and last include five.]	1-5	2.81	1.23	incc
Anti-immigration attitudes	Over the past few years, many refugees have come to Germany. If you think about the development of German society in the next few years: Do you think that, in the following areas, there will be more opportunities, more risks or neither of these as a result of the refugees? (A) As regards the welfare state	1-5	3.78	0.97	mp16
	(B) As regards public security	1-5	4.01	0.81	mp17
	(C) As regards people living together in society	1-5	3.43	1.05	mp18
	(D) As regards the economic situation in Germany	1-5	3.10	1.08	mp19
	(E) People may have different opinions about various political issues. What about you? What do you think of the following statements? [The influx of refugees to Germany should be stopped.]	1-5	2.85	1.33	pa19
Political dissatisfaction	How satisfied are you – on the whole – with the current performance of the GERMAN GOVERNMENT?	1-6	3.60	1.19	ps01
Populist attitudes	I'm going to read you some statements now about politics in Germany. Using the list please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with this statement. (A) The Members of the Bundestag must only be bound to the will of the people. [*This item was not used in models.]	1-5	4.19	0.98	pa29
	(B) Politicians talk too much and do too little.	1-5	4.01	0.98	pa30
	(C) An ordinary citizen would represent my interests better than a professional politician.	1-5	2.78	1.20	pa31
	(D) What they call compromise in politics is in reality just a betrayal of principles.	1-5	3.10	1.14	pa32
	(E) The people and not politicians should make the important political decisions.	1-5	3.07	1.21	pa33
	(F) The people basically agree what needs to happen politically.	1-5	2.87	1.18	pa34
	(G) Politicians only care about the interests of the rich and powerful.	1-5	3.19	1.11	pa35
Age	Please tell me what month and year you were born in. [Categorized based on decade of birth]	1-8	3.96	1.76	yborn
Female	*INT.: Please tick without asking.*	1-2	1.49	0.50	sex
Education	What general school leaving certificate do you have?	1-5	3.43	1.18	educ
Ideology	Many people use the terms "left" and "right" when they want to describe different political views. Here we have a scale which runs from left to right. Thinking of your own political views, where would you place these on this scale? Please select one of the boxes and name the letter indicated beneath it.	1-10	4.94	1.68	pa01

Table 3-A1: Descriptive statistics of the variables used from the ALLBUS 2018 survey (study 1; GESIS 2019).

GLES (ZA7700)	Wording	Scale	Mean	SD	Original variable
RRP Sympathy	What do you think of the different parties in general? (H) AfD	1-11	2.46	2.69	q17h
Economic Deprivation	Now, let us shift attention to your economic situation. How would you evaluate your own current economic situation?	1-5	2.20	0.79	q13
Anti-immigration attitudes	There are various opinions on different political issues. What do you think of the following statements? (A) Immigrants should be obliged to assimilate into the German culture.	1-5	3.66	1.10	q27a
	Sometimes there are developments in society that can be really scary. How about you? How worried are you about…? (A) immigration to Germany	1-7	3.84	2.04	q38a
	And what position do you take on immigration for foreigners? (1) 1 Facilitate immigration for foreigners (11) 11 Restrict immigration of foreigners	1-11	6.47	2.88	q43
Political dissatisfaction	As to the present federal government in Berlin - are you more satisfied or less satisfied with the performance of the government of CDU/CSU and SPD in the last four years?	1-11	5.80	2.68	q52
Populist attitudes	Please say how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. (A) What people call compromise in politics is really just selling out on one's principles.	1-5	2.87	1.02	q51a
	(B) The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	1-5	3.04	1.14	q51b
	(C) The politicians in the German Bundestag need to follow the will of the people.	1-5	3.90	0.93	q51c
	(D) Differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people.	1-5	3.52	1.01	q51d
	(E) I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician.	1-5	2.94	1.08	q51e
	(F) Politicians talk too much and take too little action.	1-5	3.80	0.99	q51f
Age	Date of birth: year [Categorized based on decade of birth.]	1-8	4.57	1.85	d2a
Female	Sex; Category "diverse" was randomly assigned to categories "male" and "female" by GLES.	1-2	1.48	0.50	d1
Education	What's your highest level of general education?	1-5	3.74	1.15	d7
Ideology	Where would you place yourself on this scale? (1) 1 Left (11) 11 Right	1-11	5.39	1.98	q37

Table 3-A2: Descriptive statistics of the variables used from the GLES pre-election cross-sectional survey (study 2; GLES 2022).

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Chapter 4 Appendix

Cognitive Dissonance

In order to develop cognitive dissonance citizens need to have the general knowledge, which party suits which attitudes. In the case of this study, it is assumed that citizens are aware that strong anti-immigration attitudes are generally seen as compatible with the AfD. To provide an empirical check of this premise, a brief analysis of two waves of the GLES Panel was conducted. This panel is a representative sample of the German population and collected every one to six months. Among all waves of the GLES Panel, these two were chosen because they are (1) the closest to the field phase of this study (September 2021 (wave 19) and May 2023 (wave 24), with the survey of this study conducted in Spring 2022) and (2) include the variable of interest (kpXX_1110i). This particular item that asked the respondents, how they would place each major German party on a migration policy scale. This scale ranged from 1 "[this party] wants to ease migration" to 7 "[this party] wants to restrict migration". When asked about the programmatic position of the AfD, an overwhelming majority of 90.5% (in 2021) and 91.4% (in 2023) opted for either the most extreme value or the second highest with more than 80 percent choosing the endpoint of the scale in both instances. As this is panel data, it was also possible to estimate how stable these judgments are within persons between 2021 and 2023. 79.8% do not change their view at all and 91.1% only within one point on the scale. To allow better judgment of these values, it was also analysed how homogenous the respondents judge the connection between the Green Party and the question whether this party gives priority to fighting climate change over economic growth. 79.7% (2021) and 75.6% (2023) chose one of the two options closest to priority for fighting climate change and 54.7% do not change their opinion within

these two years (81.7% within one scale point). It is inferred from these results that the public association between anti-immigration policies and the AfD is considerably strong and might be the most pronounced association between a policy position and a party in German politics today. Citizens can therefore be expected to generally be aware of the strong association between anti-immigration stances and the AfD and the aforementioned premise is therefore met.

Explicit Measurements

AfD sympathy

Wording for this item was adopted from the GLES Short-term Campaign Panel (GLES 2019) and read: 'In general, what do you think of the following parties?' This was asked as a matrix question listing all parties currently represented in the *Bundestag*. Answers were given on an 11-point scale ranging from +5'I think a great deal of this party' and -5'I don´t think much of this party'.

Anti-immigration attitudes

The aim in operationalising anti-immigration attitudes was to be precise, comprehensive and comparable with previous research in this area, so that findings can inform each other. However, there is considerable variation in how the concept is measured. Some scholars focus on migrants who have already immigrated (e.g. 'Foreigners living in Germany should adapt to German culture', used in Schmitt-Beck 2017, Bieber et al. 2018), some on future immigration ('Should immigration be restricted?', used in Klein et al. 2018), and some only on refugees (Goerres et al. 2018; Tutic and Grehl 2021). Ultimately, wording for this item was taken from a

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GLES Short-term Campaign Panel (GLES 2019). The full item battery reads as follows:

'To what extend do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

a)   Immigrants are generally good for Germany´s economy. (mig_eco)

b)   German culture is harmed by immigrants. (mig_cul)

c)   Immigrants increase crime rates in Germany. (mig_cri)

d)   The next question´s topic is about future migration to Germany. What is your opinion, should it be easier or more difficult for foreigners to come and live here?' (mig_com)

	Stand. Est. (Std.Err.)	p
	Factor Loadings	
Index of explicit AIA		
mig_eco	1.00	
mig_cul	1.42 (0.08)	.000
mig_cri	1.21 (0.07)	.000
mig_com	1.09 (0.07)	.000
	Residual Variances	
mig_eco	0.50 (0.05)	.000
mig_cul	0.36 (0.05)	.000
mig_cri	0.46 (0.05)	.000
mig_com	0.50 (0.05)	.000
	Latent Variances	
Index of explicit AIA	0.76 (0.09)	.000
	Fit Indices	
χ^2	13.05 (2)	.001
RMSEA	0.126	
CFI	0.987	
TLI	0.961	

Table 4-A1: Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Index of explicit anti-immigration attitudes (AIA).

Answers were given on a 5-point scale ranging from 1'strongly agree' to 5'strongly disagree' with correspondingly labelled steps in between. For the last item, the scale ranged from 1'Immigration for foreigners should be made easier' to 5'Immigration for foreigners should be made more difficult'. An equally weighted index of the four items was computed, with the first item inverted from the original scale to reflect the same attitudinal direction as the other three. Table A1 reports a confirmatory factor analysis of this index. All items contribute significantly to the estimated factor. The comparative fit index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) indicate a good fit, while the RMSEA is not meaningful in interpreting the fit of the model due to limited degrees of freedom (Kenny et al. 2015).

Implicit Measurements

Table A2 lists all the primes used in the SC-IATs. Initially, these sets also included the term "Migrant" (migrant) and "Der Flügel" (the wing – a well-known branch of the party). After a pre-test of the survey with 41 participants, the error rate leading to exclusion from the analysis (with more than 20% errors; Karpinski and Steinman 2006) was relatively high in both IATs, at around 29% (migration) and 32% (AfD). In total, 42% of all respondents would have to be dropped if these rates were to persist in the main phase. To reduce this rate, three possible sources of error were investigated: a) The complexity and speed of the tests might be too difficult, especially for older participants or those with lower levels of education. b) The tests might be too long and monotonous, leading to higher error rates, especially towards the end of each IAT and in the second compared to the first. c) Individual items might be responsible and raise error rates disproportionately.

A possible age and education bias (a) was not supported by the data. Respondents who passed both IATs showed only marginal differences on these two variables (categorised age variable: 4.73 vs. 4.76; education variable: 6.24 vs. 6.33) compared to those who made too many errors on one or both tests. Issue b), regarding the length of the test, was examined using the average correct answers on each trial for each of the four setups (Migration - positive, Migration - negative, AfD - positive, AfD - negative). These setups are considered as separate cases here (rather than a pooled analysis of all trials) because switching from one setup to the other always led to a temporal decrease in correct responses in both SC-IATs, showing that respondents had to adapt to each setup separately. Although there was considerable variation in the percentage of correct answers over the course of each test, there was a positive trend in each of the four parts, meaning that participants got better as the test progressed. In fact, even within each setting, the percentage of correct answers increased from quarter to quarter. Even in the last quarter of the last set (trials 168-192), when fatigue might be expected, the correct answers reached the highest level of all the quarters. Therefore, the data implies a clear training effect and no changes in the length of the tests necessary. Finally, c) it was tested whether some items had significantly higher error rates than others. Indeed, within the migration-SC-IAT, the item 'Migrant' produced an error rate of 28%, while all other items were between 23 and 25%. This is somewhat surprising as this is the item that is linguistically closest to 'migration'. However, it may have been too close, causing confusion, and it was the only foreign word, which may at least partially explain this result. Similarly, for the AfD-SC-IAT, the item 'Der Flügel' (the wing – a well-known branch of the party) was incorrectly sorted by 23% of all respondents while the other items had error rates below 20%. Some participants also indicated in the comments that they did not know this label. Therefore, for the main data collection phase both items

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('Migrant' and 'Der Flügel') were dropped, meaning that the other items appeared more often instead. Note that this is a departure from the pre-registered report, which also included these terms. However, this decision appears justified as it does not change the overall nature of the tests, but makes them more feasible and therefore accessible to respondents, thereby increasing their validity. In addition, the introductory texts before the SC-IATs were shortened and refined. They now explicitly stated that it is more important to answer correctly than to answer quickly. With these adjustments, the error rates fell from 42% to 30% (22% for both separately). These failure rates are comparable to those in the relevant literature, which often uses a relaxed criterion and only deletes participants with a failure rate above 30% instead of the 20%-threshold applied in this study (Bos et al. 2018; Maier et al. 2022). Cases from the pre-tests were removed before all analyses presented in the article. All participants included in the final dataset were exposed to the primes listed in Table A2. English translations of the items are for informational purposes only and were not used in the IAT.

Migration	migration	AfD	AfD
Einwanderer	immigrant(s)	Alternative für Deutschland	Alternative for Germany
Zuwanderer	immigrant(s)	Deutschland. Aber normal.	Germany. But normal.
Flüchtling	refugee(s)	Alexander Gauland	Alexander Gauland
Asylbewerber	asylum seeker(s)	Alice Weidel	Alice Weidel
Ausländer	foreigner(s)	Tino Chrupalla	Tino Chrupalla

Gut	good	Schlecht	bad
Glücklich	happy	Qual	torture
Frieden	peace	Verletzt	hurt
Vergnügen	pleasure	Misserfolg	failure
Prachtvoll	magnificent	Böse	evil
Liebe	love	Übel	plague
Lachen	laugh	Schrecklich	terrible
Freude	Joy	Grausam	cruel
Wundervoll	wonderful	Scheußlich	Awful

Table 4-A2: Primes used in the SC-IAT. Primes of the migration and AfD table were used in their respective SC-IAT, 'good' and 'bad' primes were used in both SC-IAT.

In blocks 1 and 2 of each SC-IAT, the category of interest (migration, AfD) shared the correct response key with the category 'positive', whereas in blocks 3 and 4 it shared the correct response key with the category 'negative'. The first and third block served as practice blocks (24 trials each), the second and fourth block (72 trials each) were used to calculate the so-called 'D-score'. Before calculating the D-scores, non-responses and trials with responses faster than 350 ms were excluded. Errors were counted as the block average plus a penalty of 400ms. Participants with an error rate greater than 20% were excluded. After these adjustments, D-scores were calculated as the mean response time of the block in which the substantial term (migration/AfD) shared a key with the positive category, minus the mean of the block in which it shared a key with the negative category, divided by the standard deviation of all correct trials in both blocks.

Additional Descriptive Analyses

Sample

Initial quotas for entry to the survey followed stratification according to gender and age, in the general population (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022c, 2022d). However, different dropout rates across the gender-age combinations made it necessary to oversample some groups. Missings due to non-response to survey questions were rare and relatively proportionate across gender and age groups. Most missings were due to error rates on the SC-IAT above the 20% cut-off. Although there was no linear relationship between age and error rates, some age-gender combinations had disproportionately high error rates. Men in their 50s and women in their 60s had particularly high failure rates of over 40% of all cases collected. To compensate for

these missing cases a second phase of data collection was conducted. The entire data collection phase therefore started with a pre-test on 12-14 April 2022, continued with a main collection phase between 20th and 24th April, and a further collection phase between 23rd and 25th May 2022, in order to fill in the gaps in the intended quotation resulting from the above-mentioned deletion process. Figure A1 shows the intended quotation, the total number of cases collected and the actual valid cases, broken down by gender and age.

From the total sample, approximately 33% of all cases had to be dropped, leaving us with 181 male and 188 female respondents. Due to the described oversampling of certain age-gender combinations, the final data set is now relatively close to the initial quotation, allowing for limited generalisation with respect to gender and age. Other socio-demographic variables are also similar to the general population statistics: Within the sample, 61.5% were employed, compared to about 65% in the general population over 18 years (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022b). The education variable used slightly different categories, therefore its values are not entirely comparable to public statistics. The sample has a slight overrepresentation of highly educated, with a rate of 29.5% reporting a higher education degree, compared to about 23% in the general population over 18 years (Statistisches Bundesamt 2022a).
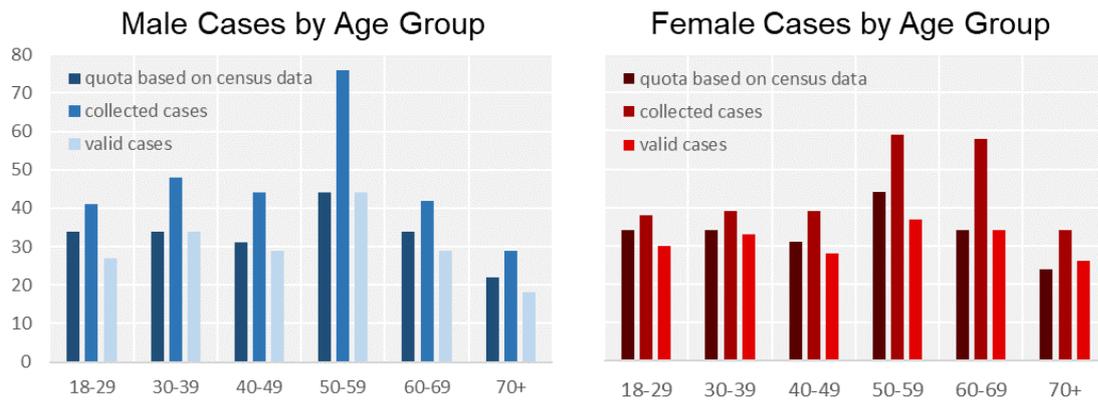
Figure 4-A1: Quotations, collected and valid cases of male and female participants, split by age groups. Individuals under the age of 18 were excluded from participation and two valid cases of individuals reporting a non-binary gender were dropped.

Universality of the SC-IAT (Extension)

In addition to the findings presented in Figure 3 of the publication, the universality of the SC-IATs in this study with regard to gender and working status was also tested (Figure A2). The results show that men have slightly lower explicit and implicit anti-immigration attitudes, while the pattern is mixed when it comes to AfD sympathy. Respondents who reported being part of the active labour force had slightly lower explicit anti-immigration attitudes and sympathy for the AfD, but lower implicit sympathy for the party. However, these differences are relatively small and should therefore not be over-interpreted.
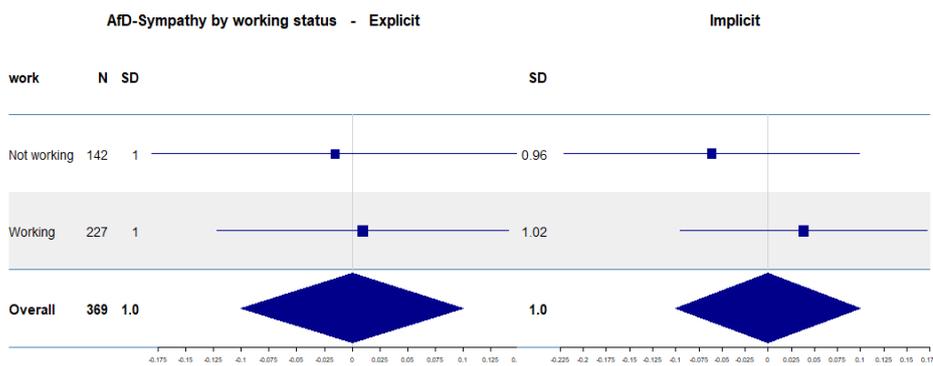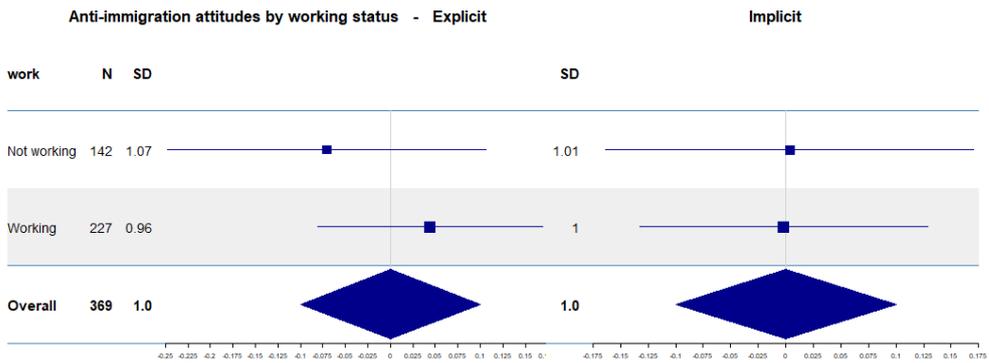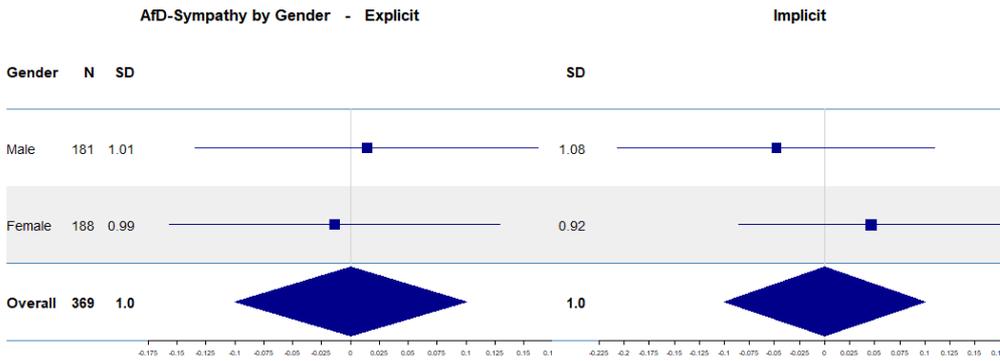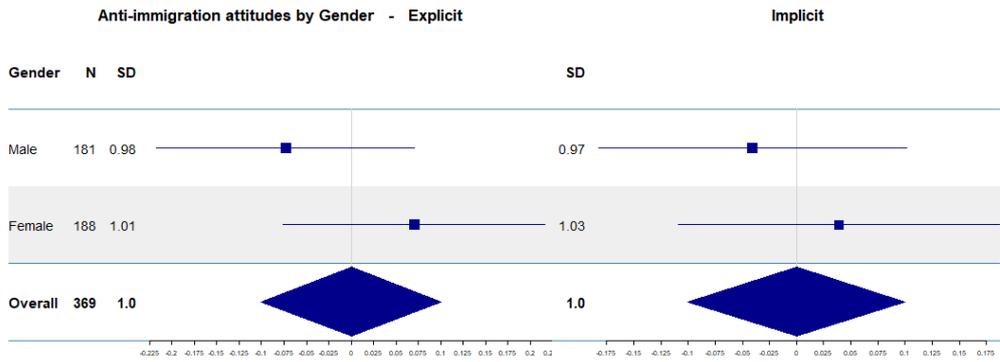
Figure 4-A2: Descriptive statistics for AIA and AfD Sympathy split by means of collection (implicit vs explicit) and gender or working status.

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Chapter 5 Appendix

Selection of Data, Variables and Parties

Country	Data	n	Fieldwork period	RRPP status	Notes
Austria	CSES	1097	19.10.2017-30.11.2017	Was in Gov	FPÖ included in government shortly after
Denmark	REC	1849	02.04.2019-19.04.2019	Was in Gov	DF supports Conservative-right minority government
Finland	CSES	875	17.04.2019-05.10.2019	Was in Gov	Ps previously in government
France	CSES	1597	09.05.2017-23.05.2017	Isolation	FN in isolation
France	REC	1706	03.04.2019-15.04.2019	Isolation	FN in isolation
Germany	CSES	1767	25.09.2017-30.11.2017	Isolation	AfD in isolation
Germany	REC	1895	04.04.2019-16.04.2019	Isolation	AfD in isolation
Hungary	CSES	945	23.04.2018-05.05.2018	In Gov	Fidesz in government
Hungary	REC	1776	03.04.2019-22.04.2019	In Gov	Fidesz in government
Italy	CSES	1607	08.03.2018-02.05.2018	Was in Gov	New Government including RRPP (Lega) was formed shortly after
Italy	REC	1815	04.04.2019-15.04.2019	In Gov	Lega in government
Norway	CSES	1659	20.09.2017-16.10.2017	In Gov	FrP in government
Poland	REC	1822	02.04.2019-18.04.2019	In Gov	PiS in government
Spain	REC	1989	03.04.2019-15.04.2019	Isolated	VOX in isolation
Sweden	CSES	3036	10.09.2018-06.11.2018	Isolated	SD in isolation

Table 5-A1 (Data Sets): Table listing countries and status of RRPPs at the time of data collection. Variable 'RRPP in government' was determined based on the Parlgov data set (Döring, Huber et al. 2022). Column "n" shows the case number for

the actual analyses where missing cases were dropped listwise. For the case of Belgium preliminary analyses reveal, that some parties listed by PopuList are negatively related to anti-immigration attitudes, thereby questioning established characteristics of RRPs. The unique party system of Belgium with its strong regional/autonomy cleavage may overlay the cleavage of immigration. We therefore regard it as justified to exclude Belgium from our analyses.

Name of Variable	Name in R-Code	RECONNECT	CSES
Age	age	W1_Q1b (Age)	E2001_Y (Year of birth)
Female	female	W1_Q2 Male 1, Female 2.	E2002 Male 1, female 2. Others coded as missing.
Education	edu	W1_Q_edu	E2003
Right-Left self-placement	rile	W1_Q16 Inverted from original.	E3020 Inverted from original.
Anti-immigration attitudes A	anti_immA	W1_Q39_3 Inverted from original. "Immigrants should adapt to [Country of Study]'s customs [be free to keep their own customs]"	E3005_3 "Immigrants are generally good for [Country]'s economy."
Anti-immigration attitudes B	anti_immB	W1_Q39_4 Inverted from original. "Immigrants [do not] take away jobs from [Country of Study]s"	E3005_4 Inverted from original. "[Country]'s culture is generally harmed by immigrants."
Anti-immigration attitudes C	anti_immC	W1_Q39_9 Inverted from original. "Restrict [Maintain] welfare benefits for immigrants"	E3005_5 Inverted from original variable. Not asked in SE. "Immigrants increase crime rates in [Country]."
Anti-immigration attitudes (index)	anti_imm	Equally weighted index of Anti-immA to C (A and B in Sweden).	Equally weighted index of Anti-immA to C.
Political Dissatisfaction	dissat	W1_Q11 Inverted from original.	E3009 Neutral center category in Norway and Finland coded as missing.

		"And how satisfied are you with the performance to date of the current national government ([name of parties] coalition) in [Country of Study]?"	"Now thinking about the performance of the [government in [CAPITAL]/president] in general, how good or bad a job do you think the government/president in [CAPITAL]] did over the past [NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE LAST GOVERNMENT TOOK OFFICE, BEFORE THE CURRENT ELECTION] years? Has [it/he/she] done a very good job? A good job? A bad job? A very bad job?"
Sympathy for RRPP	RRPP_sym	W1_Q57_XX_Y XX is country number (10-70), Y is party number (1-6). For variable-country matching see selected RRPPs in Table A3 (Available RRPPs). "How probable is it that you will ever vote for the following parties?"	E3017_A[-I] For variable-country matching see selected RRPPs in Table A3 (Available RRPPs). "I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so."

Table 5-A2 (Variables): Variables used in analyses by data set. See also the R-files in

the online appendix environment for coding information.

Country	Popu-List lists…	CSES variable	RECONNECT variable
Austria	FPÖ	E3017_C	-
	BZÖ	-	-
Denmark	DF	-	W1_Q57_60_1
	NB	-	-
	FrP	-	-
Finland	Ps (True Finns)	E3017_B	-
France	FN/RN	E3017_B	W1_Q57_20_6
	DLR/DLF	E3017_F	-
Germany	AfD	E3017_C	W1_Q57_10_6
Hungary	Fidesz	E3017_A	W1_Q57_40_6
	Jobbik	E3017_B	W1_Q57_40_1
	Fi+KNDP	-	-
	MIEP	-	-
	MH	-	-
Italy	LN	E3017_E	W1_Q57_70_6
	FdI	E3017_C	W1_Q57_70_5
	LAM	-	-
Norway	FrP	E3017_C	-
Poland	PiS	-	W1_Q57_50_4
	Kukiz`15	-	W1_Q57_50_5
	LPR	-	-
	X	-	-
Spain	VOX	-	W1_Q57_30_5
Sweden	SD	E3017_C	-
	NyD	-	-

Table 5-A3 (Available RRPPs): Table of RRPPs defined by Popu-List as "farright" and "populist" and their availability as sympathy scale in both data sets. If two were available, the more relevant with regard to vote share in the latest election was selected (underlined).

Sensitivity Analyses

For our sensitivity analyses, we rely on the pooled estimation of our results, which we also report as regression table in this Appendix, Table 5-A7. For this analyses, we created three dummy variables to represent our concept of "parliamentary status" and

entered the dummies for "in isolation" and "in government" as parts of two three-way-interaction terms in the equation. Thus, "was in government" is the reference category for both. The analyses were conducted using the "sensemakr" package in R (Cinelli et al 2020).

The first row of Table 5-A4 concerns the statistically significant difference between groups A and B. The analysis reveals that an unobserved confounder would need to account for 10.7% of the total variance of both the interaction effect and RRPP sympathy to bring the interaction effect exactly to zero, while 9.6% would be sufficient to reduce the interaction effect to a non-significant level ($\alpha=0.05$). In an extreme scenario where an unobserved confounder would explain all the remaining variance in the dependent variable, RRPP sympathy, this confounder would also need to explain 1.3% of the variance in the interaction term in order to set it to zero. The other row of the table can be interpreted accordingly for the interaction of RRPPs in government.

These values are challenging to evaluate because the likelihood that such confounders exist cannot be estimated. However, they can be put in context by comparing them with multiples of the variables present in the model. Figure 5-A1 displays the remaining estimate size for both interactions and their respective t-value assuming the presence of a confounder four times as strong as the right-left-self-placement variable in the model. This 4-times-ideology variable would then explain 75.4% of the residual variance of RRPP sympathy but only 1.5% of the first interaction term, reducing it to an effect size of -.004 (red diamond in the upper left window, see also Notes in Table 5-A4) and a t-value of 2.291 (red diamond in the lower left window). Therefore, such a confounder would just be enough to turn the

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estimate insignificant (α=0.05). For the interaction coefficient of "in government" (plots on the right) this hypothetical variable would not suffice to turn the coefficient insignificant.

Given the strong positive association of the ideology scale with sympathy for an RRPP in the models of this study, it appears rather unlikely that there is a confounder more than ten four times as influential. However, the possibility that such a confounder exists cannot be completely dismissed.

Table 5-A4 (Results of sensitivity analyses): The following table shows the result of two sensitivity analyses, conducted for both 3-way-interaction terms of the regression reported in table 5-A7, which represents a pooled analyses of those we present in the main article.

	Outcome: RRPP-Sympathy					
	Coefficient			Sensitivity		
Variable	**Est**	**S.E.**	**t-value**	$RV_{q=1}$	$RV_{q=1,\alpha=0.05}$	$R^2_{Y\sim D|X}$
anti_imm:dissat:iso	.068	.004	18.08	10.7\%	9.6\%	1.3\%
					Note: df = 25421; Bound (4x rile): $R^2_{Y\sim Z|X,D} = 75.4\%$, $R^2_{D\sim Z|X} = 1.5\%$	
anti_imm:dissat:gov	-.047	.004	-11.634	7\%	5.9\%	0.5\%
					Note: df = 25421; Bound (4x rile): $R^2_{Y\sim Z|X,D} = 74.9\%$, $R^2_{D\sim Z|X} = 0.3\%$	

Figure 5-A1 (Sensitivity plots): Sensitivity plots for "in isolation" (left panel) and "in government" (right panel). Reference was a hypothetical variable, as strongly correlated with the independent variable and the dependent as the Right-left-self-positioning scale ('rile') which we include as control variable in all our analyses. The plots illustrate the results of Table 5-A4.
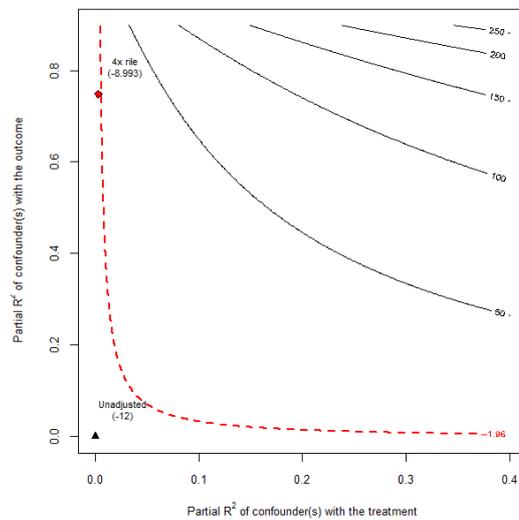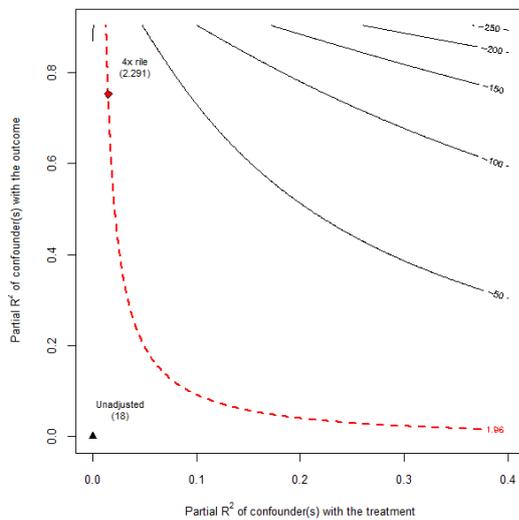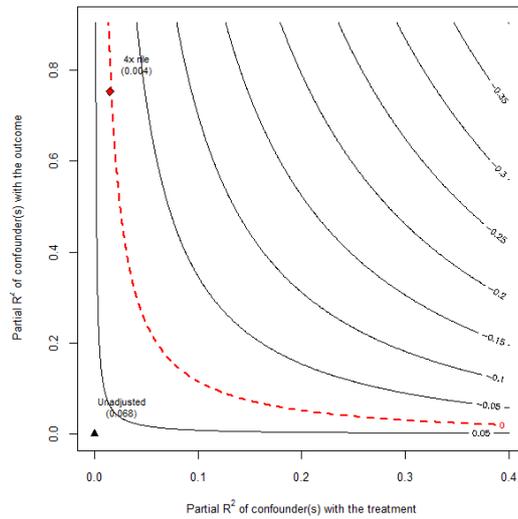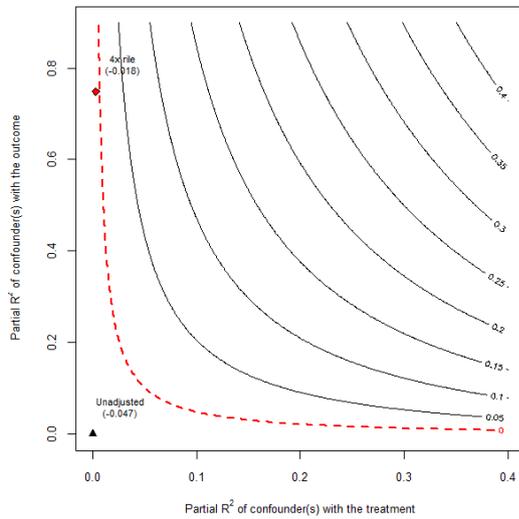
Regression Results as Tables

Table A5 (Regression Results): The following pages display the results obtained by the regression models for each country separately. The variable names correspond to the short names listed in Table 5-A2. The values of these tables were used to generate the first plot (Figure 5-1) in the article. Figure 5-2 however, used the unstandardized sympathy scales as dependent variables. The results of these models can be replicated through our attached code files.

SE (C)

Predictors	Estimates	CI	p
(Intercept)	-0.07	-0.10 – -0.04	**<0.001**
age	-0.05	-0.07 – -0.02	**<0.001**
female	-0.02	-0.04 – 0.01	0.219
edu	-0.07	-0.09 – -0.04	**<0.001**
rile	-0.15	-0.18 – -0.12	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.45	0.42 – 0.48	**<0.001**
dissat	0.21	0.18 – 0.24	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.15	0.13 – 0.18	**<0.001**
Observations	3036		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.555 / 0.554		

ES (R)

Predictors	Estimates	CI	p
(Intercept)	-0.03	-0.06 – 0.01	0.161
age	-0.05	-0.08 – -0.01	**0.012**
female	-0.09	-0.13 – -0.06	**<0.001**
edu	-0.06	-0.09 – -0.02	**0.002**
rile	-0.48	-0.52 – -0.44	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.10	0.07 – 0.14	**<0.001**
dissat	0.13	0.10 – 0.17	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.14	0.10 – 0.17	**<0.001**
Observations	1989		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.384 / 0.382		

DE (R)

Predictors	Estimates	CI	p
(Intercept)	-0.04	-0.08 – -0.00	**0.026**
age	-0.14	-0.18 – -0.11	**<0.001**
female	-0.03	-0.07 – 0.00	0.085
edu	-0.02	-0.05 – 0.02	0.383
rile	-0.43	-0.46 – -0.39	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.11	0.07 – 0.15	**<0.001**
dissat	0.29	0.25 – 0.33	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.15	0.11 – 0.18	**<0.001**
Observations	1895		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.404 / 0.402		

DE (C)

Predictors	Estimates	CI	p
(Intercept)	-0.03	-0.07 – 0.01	0.156
age	0.11	0.07 – 0.14	**<0.001**
female	-0.08	-0.11 – -0.04	**<0.001**
edu	-0.02	-0.06 – 0.02	0.309
rile	-0.20	-0.24 – -0.16	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.39	0.34 – 0.43	**<0.001**
dissat	0.14	0.09 – 0.18	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.12	0.08 – 0.15	**<0.001**
Observations	1767		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.381 / 0.378		

	FR (C)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	-0.01	-0.05 – 0.02	0.446
age	0.24	0.20 – 0.28	**<0.001**
female	-0.02	-0.05 – 0.02	0.415
edu	-0.08	-0.12 – -0.04	**<0.001**
rile	-0.22	-0.26 – -0.18	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.45	0.40 – 0.49	**<0.001**
dissat	0.11	0.07 – 0.15	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.10	0.06 – 0.14	**<0.001**
Observations	1597		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.446 / 0.443		

	AT (C)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.02	-0.03 – 0.06	0.507
age	0.07	0.02 – 0.11	**0.003**
female	-0.07	-0.11 – -0.03	**0.002**
edu	-0.10	-0.14 – -0.06	**<0.001**
rile	-0.33	-0.37 – -0.28	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.43	0.38 – 0.49	**<0.001**
dissat	0.09	0.04 – 0.14	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.03	-0.01 – 0.07	0.123
Observations	1097		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.532 / 0.529		

	FR (R)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.03	-0.01 – 0.07	0.206
age	-0.14	-0.18 – -0.10	**<0.001**
female	-0.04	-0.08 – 0.00	0.056
edu	-0.10	-0.14 – -0.05	**<0.001**
rile	-0.41	-0.45 – -0.36	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.17	0.13 – 0.22	**<0.001**
dissat	0.27	0.23 – 0.31	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	0.07	0.03 – 0.11	**<0.001**
Observations	1706		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.357 / 0.354		

	FI (C)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	-0.01	-0.06 – 0.05	0.805
age	0.07	0.01 – 0.13	**0.019**
female	-0.07	-0.13 – -0.02	**0.009**
edu	-0.09	-0.14 – -0.03	**0.003**
rile	-0.26	-0.32 – -0.20	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.44	0.39 – 0.50	**<0.001**
dissat	0.00	-0.06 – 0.06	0.971
anti imm × dissat	0.01	-0.04 – 0.06	0.716
Observations	875		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.378 / 0.373		

	IT (C)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.05	0.01 – 0.09	**0.011**
age	-0.06	-0.10 – -0.02	**0.002**
female	-0.05	-0.09 – -0.01	**0.010**
edu	-0.00	-0.04 – 0.03	0.826
rile	-0.49	-0.53 – -0.44	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.24	0.19 – 0.28	**<0.001**
dissat	0.08	0.04 – 0.12	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.03	-0.07 – 0.00	0.074
Observations	1607		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.443 / 0.441		

	PL (R)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.00	-0.02 – 0.03	0.880
age	0.01	-0.02 – 0.04	0.419
female	0.06	0.04 – 0.09	**<0.001**
edu	-0.01	-0.04 – 0.01	0.327
rile	-0.15	-0.18 – -0.11	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.02	-0.01 – 0.04	0.219
dissat	-0.73	-0.76 – -0.70	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.05	-0.07 – -0.02	**<0.001**
Observations	1822		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.672 / 0.671		

	DK (R)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.01	-0.03 – 0.05	0.732
age	-0.02	-0.06 – 0.02	0.315
female	0.01	-0.03 – 0.05	0.583
edu	-0.12	-0.16 – -0.08	**<0.001**
rile	-0.22	-0.27 – -0.18	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.34	0.29 – 0.38	**<0.001**
dissat	-0.10	-0.14 – -0.06	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.03	-0.07 – 0.00	0.085
Observations	1849		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.261 / 0.258		

	HU (R)		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	-0.01	-0.04 – 0.02	0.468
age	-0.01	-0.03 – 0.02	0.688
female	0.03	-0.00 – 0.05	0.056
edu	-0.03	-0.05 – 0.00	0.072
rile	-0.14	-0.17 – -0.11	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.02	-0.01 – 0.04	0.297
dissat	-0.72	-0.75 – -0.69	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.05	-0.08 – -0.02	**<0.001**
Observations	1776		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.676 / 0.674		

IT (R)			
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.00	-0.03 – 0.04	0.786
age	-0.03	-0.06 – 0.00	0.071
female	-0.00	-0.03 – 0.03	0.992
edu	-0.07	-0.10 – -0.03	**<0.001**
rile	-0.46	-0.49 – -0.42	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.14	0.10 – 0.18	**<0.001**
dissat	-0.30	-0.34 – -0.26	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.06	-0.09 – -0.03	**<0.001**
Observations	1815		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.522 / 0.520		

HU (C)			
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	-0.01	-0.06 – 0.03	0.537
age	-0.07	-0.11 – -0.03	**0.001**
female	0.02	-0.02 – 0.06	0.410
edu	-0.05	-0.09 – -0.00	**0.031**
rile	-0.27	-0.32 – -0.23	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.04	-0.01 – 0.08	0.091
dissat	-0.61	-0.66 – -0.57	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.10	-0.14 – -0.06	**<0.001**
Observations	945		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.596 / 0.593		

NO (C)			
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.00	-0.03 – 0.04	0.773
age	0.03	0.01 – 0.06	**0.020**
female	-0.05	-0.08 – -0.02	**0.001**
edu	-0.07	-0.10 – -0.04	**<0.001**
rile	-0.34	-0.38 – -0.29	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.29	0.25 – 0.32	**<0.001**
dissat	-0.33	-0.37 – -0.29	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.07	-0.10 – -0.04	**<0.001**
Observations	1659		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.642 / 0.640		

Table A6 (Pooled regression): This table displays the results from a pooled regression model, in which all country data sets are entered with a respective dummy variable with the labelling format: "data [Country Code] [Data Set (R for RECONNECT, C for CSES)]". The interactions between anti-immigration attitudes and political dissatisfaction are also entered as three-way-interaction terms. This analyses is delivered as supplementary material but not used or mentioned in the article.

Predictors	Estimates	CI	p
	Pooled with dummies		
(Intercept)	-0.00	-0.05 – 0.05	0.997
age	-0.01	-0.02 – 0.00	0.108
female	-0.02	-0.03 – -0.01	**<0.001**
edu	-0.05	-0.06 – -0.04	**<0.001**
rile	-0.30	-0.31 – -0.29	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.45	0.40 – 0.50	**<0.001**
dissat	0.03	-0.01 – 0.08	0.160
data se c	-0.08	-0.14 – -0.02	**0.007**
data de r	-0.05	-0.11 – 0.01	0.134
data es r	-0.03	-0.09 – 0.03	0.327
data de c	-0.03	-0.09 – 0.04	0.418
data fr c	-0.02	-0.08 – 0.04	0.499
data fr r	0.02	-0.04 – 0.08	0.598
data at c	0.01	-0.06 – 0.08	0.759
data it c	0.06	-0.00 – 0.12	0.070
data dk r	0.00	-0.06 – 0.06	0.896
data pl r	0.00	-0.06 – 0.06	0.954
data hu r	-0.01	-0.07 – 0.05	0.665

data it r	0.01	-0.05 – 0.07	0.798
data no c	0.01	-0.06 – 0.07	0.835
data hu c	-0.02	-0.08 – 0.05	0.663
anti imm × dissat	-0.01	-0.05 – 0.04	0.772
anti imm × data se c	-0.01	-0.07 – 0.04	0.614
dissat × data se c	0.09	0.04 – 0.15	**0.002**
anti imm × data de r	-0.31	-0.37 – -0.26	**<0.001**
dissat × data de r	0.24	0.18 – 0.30	**<0.001**
anti imm × data es r	-0.30	-0.36 – -0.24	**<0.001**
dissat × data es r	0.14	0.08 – 0.20	**<0.001**
anti imm × data de c	-0.14	-0.20 – -0.08	**<0.001**
dissat × data de c	0.13	0.07 – 0.19	**<0.001**
anti imm × data fr c	-0.06	-0.12 – 0.00	0.069
dissat × data fr c	0.08	0.02 – 0.14	**0.009**
anti imm × data fr r	-0.25	-0.31 – -0.19	**<0.001**
dissat × data fr r	0.23	0.17 – 0.29	**<0.001**
anti imm × data at c	-0.01	-0.08 – 0.06	0.842
dissat × data at c	0.07	-0.01 – 0.14	0.073
anti imm × data it c	-0.14	-0.21 – -0.08	**<0.001**
dissat × data it c	0.07	0.01 – 0.13	**0.028**
anti imm × data dk r	-0.13	-0.19 – -0.07	**<0.001**
dissat × data dk r	-0.10	-0.16 – -0.04	**0.001**
anti imm × data pl r	-0.45	-0.51 – -0.39	**<0.001**
dissat × data pl r	-0.68	-0.74 – -0.62	**<0.001**
anti imm × data hu r	-0.46	-0.52 – -0.40	**<0.001**
dissat × data hu r	-0.67	-0.73 – -0.61	**<0.001**
anti imm × data it r	-0.26	-0.32 – -0.20	**<0.001**

dissat × data it r	-0.39	-0.45 – -0.33	**<0.001**
anti imm × data no c	-0.15	-0.21 – -0.09	**<0.001**
dissat × data no c	-0.38	-0.44 – -0.32	**<0.001**
anti imm × data hu c	-0.42	-0.48 – -0.35	**<0.001**
dissat × data hu c	-0.64	-0.71 – -0.58	**<0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data se c	0.16	0.11 – 0.22	**<0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data de r	0.17	0.12 – 0.23	**<0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data es r	0.16	0.11 – 0.22	**<0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data de c	0.12	0.07 – 0.18	**<0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data fr c	0.11	0.05 – 0.17	**<0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data fr r	0.10	0.04 – 0.15	**0.001**
(anti imm × dissat) × data at c	0.05	-0.01 – 0.11	0.113
(anti imm × dissat) × data it c	-0.02	-0.08 – 0.03	0.418
(anti imm × dissat) × data dk r	-0.03	-0.08 – 0.03	0.360
(anti imm × dissat) × data pl r	-0.05	-0.10 – 0.01	0.108
(anti imm × dissat) × data hu r	-0.05	-0.11 – 0.00	0.069
(anti imm × dissat) × data it r	-0.04	-0.10 – 0.01	0.124
(anti imm × dissat) × data no c	-0.06	-0.12 – -0.00	**0.041**
(anti imm × dissat) × data hu c	-0.10	-0.17 – -0.03	**0.003**

Observations	25435
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.462 / 0.460

Table A7 (Pooled regression with 3-way-interaction): For this regression, all data was pooled and two additional dummy variables were coded. "isolated" if the RRPP was isolated in the country and at the time of the survey and "governing" if it was part of the government. The middle category "was in government" serves as the reference category. Three-way-interactions between anti-immigration attitudes, political dissatisfaction and the two dummy variables confirm the graphical pattern of the plots in the article. This analysis was entered in the sensitivity analyses reported above.

Predictors	Pooled with 3-way-interaction		
	Estimates	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	-0.01	-0.02 – -0.00	**0.017**
age	-0.01	-0.02 – -0.00	**0.015**
female	-0.02	-0.03 – -0.01	**<0.001**
edu	-0.06	-0.07 – -0.05	**<0.001**
rile	-0.30	-0.31 – -0.29	**<0.001**
anti imm	0.38	0.36 – 0.40	**<0.001**
dissat	0.04	0.02 – 0.06	**0.001**
anti imm × dissat	-0.01	-0.02 – 0.01	0.586
anti imm × isolated	-0.10	-0.12 – -0.07	**<0.001**
anti imm × governing	-0.29	-0.31 – -0.26	**<0.001**
dissat × isolated	0.16	0.13 – 0.18	**<0.001**
dissat × governing	-0.56	-0.58 – -0.53	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat × isolated	0.14	0.11 – 0.16	**<0.001**
anti imm × dissat × governing	-0.07	-0.09 – -0.05	**<0.001**
Observations	25435		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.443 / 0.443		

Figure A1 (Corrplots): Correlation plots (Wei and Simko 2021) of variables in the RECONNECT (left) and CSES (right) data set across all countries. See Table 5-A2 (Variables) for information on variables.
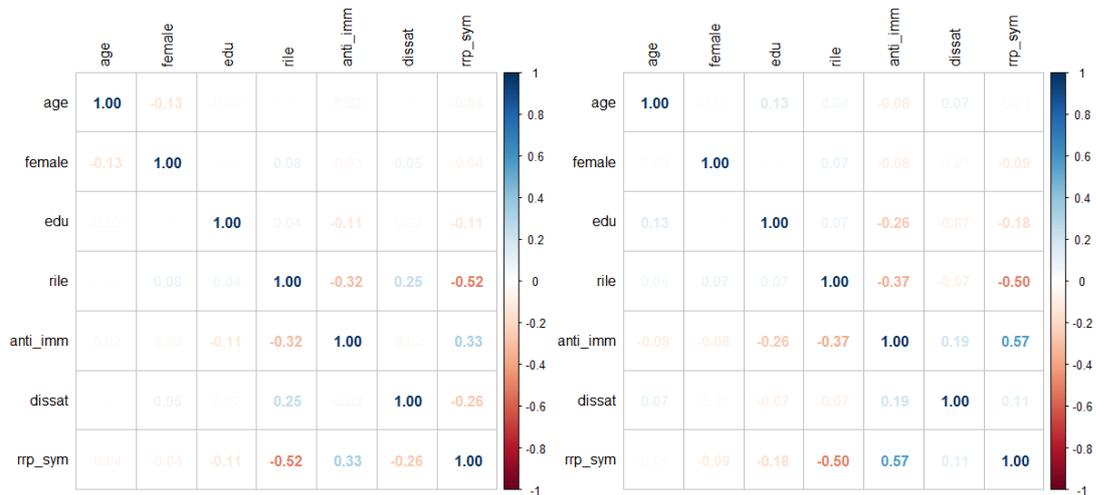
References

Wei, Taiyun; Simko, Viliam (2021): R package 'corrplot': Visualization of a Correlation Matrix. Available online at https://github.com/taiyun/coRRPPlot.

Cinelli, C., & Ferwerda, J., & Hazlett, C. (2020): sensemakr: Sensitivity Analysis Tools for OLS in R and Stata.