**Supplementary Material A**

**- Descriptive statistics, full model specifications and additional marginal effects estimations**

**Table A1. Descriptive statistics for variables inserted in the models shown in Tables 2 and 3**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| FRPP vote | 62750 | .055 | .228 | 0 | 1 |
| Political trust | 78831 | .420 | .217 | 0 | 1 |
| Political trust b | 78831 | .007 | .197 | -.590 | .774 |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 78831 | -.004 | .200 | -.665 | .660 |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | 78831 | .018 | .885 | -1.690 | 2.572 |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 78831 | -.024 | .997 | -3.262 | 1.460 |
| CLP government involvement a | 78831 | .783 | .412 | 0 | 1 |
| CLP government involvement a | 78831 | .534 | .499 | 0 | 1 |
| FRPP seat share a | 78831 | .060 | 7.574 | -6.395 | 18.705 |
| FRPP government involvement a | 78831 | .040 | .196 | 0 | 1 |
| Party closeness b | 78831 | .025 | .362 | -.567 | .838 |
| Political Interest b | 78831 | .026 | .290 | -.632 | .692 |
| Left-right self-placement b | 78831 | -.001 | .205 | -.572 | .561 |
| Social contact b | 78831 | .001 | .235 | -.851 | .524 |
| Partnership | 78831 | .452 | .498 | 0 | 1 |
| Labour union member | 78831 | .239 | .427 | 0 | 1 |
| Religious service attendance b | 78831 | -.003 | .232 | -.464 | .843 |
| Gender | 78831 | .507 | .500 | 0 | 1 |
| Age b | 78831 | -.090 | 18.138 | -37.977 | 54.865 |
| Years spent in education b | 78831 | .224 | 4.160 | -14.292 | 46.797 |
| Unemployed | 78831 | .054 | .225 | 0 | 1 |
| Political closeness to CRP b | 78831 | .010 | .254 | -.186 | .983 |
| Political closeness to CLP b | 78831 | .010 | .245 | -.168 | .963 |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 78831 | .003 | .136 | -.094 | .995 |

Note: a centred at global mean; b centred at within-cluster mean

**Table A2. Multilevel linear regression models explaining political trust (full models)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|  | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | -0.281\*\*\* | -0.285\*\*\* | -0.284\*\*\* | -0.273\*\*\* | -0.255\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.035\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.040\*\*\* | -0.039\*\*\* | -0.039\*\*\* | -0.036 | -0.041\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.009 | -0.009 | -0.009 | -0.010 | -0.009 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| CRP government involvement a | 0.041 | 0.042 | 0.042 | 0.043 | 0.045 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  | 0.011 |  |  | 0.008 |
|  position a |  | (0.01) |  |  | (0.01) |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  | 0.028\*\*\* | 0.005 |  |
|  position a |  |  | (0.01) | (0.02) |  |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.056\*\* |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.02) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | 0.024 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.02) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | 0.003 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.02) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  | -0.010 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | -0.004 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | 0.026 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.049 | -0.049 | -0.049 | -0.049 | -0.040 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Party closeness b | 0.060\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Political Interest b | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 0.101\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Social contact b | 0.013\*\* | 0.013\* | 0.013\* | 0.013\* | 0.013\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Partnership | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Labour union member | 0.005 | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Religious service attendance b | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Gender | -0.002 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Age b | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Age b ^2 | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Years spent in education b | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Unemployed | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| INTERCEPT | 0.367\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.367\*\*\* | 0.365\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Random coefficient:  |  | 0.005 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  V’s anti-immigration position |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.032 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| N (country-years) | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| N (individuals) | 78831 | 78831 | 78831 | 78831 | 78831 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | 23500.69 | 23680.53 | 23683.69 | 23684.06 | 23684.77 |

Note: Multi-level linear regression mixed effects estimates; standard errors reported in parentheses; post-stratification weights applied; a centred at global mean; b centred at within-cluster mean; \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Figure A1. Marginal effects of citizens’ immigration-scepticism on public political trust**

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Note: based on Model 5 in Table A2

**Table A3. Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (full models)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|  | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political trust b  | -0.839\*\*\* | -1.020\*\*\* | -1.027\*\*\* | -1.154 | -1.031\*\* |
|  | (0.21) | (0.20) | (0.19) | (0.97) | (0.35) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.125 | -0.117 | -0.119 | -0.139 | -0.061 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.13) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.265\* | 0.285\*\* | 0.302\*\* | -0.214 | 0.290\*\* |
|  | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.56) | (0.11) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.181 | -0.180 | -0.173 | -0.145 | -0.181 |
|  | (0.29) | (0.31) | (0.30) | (0.31) | (0.30) |
| CRP government involvement a | -0.082 | -0.087 | -0.079 | -0.470 | -0.127 |
|  | (0.33) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.41) | (0.32) |
| Political trust b \*  |  | 0.099 |  |  | 0.213 |
|  CLP’s anti-immigration position a |  | (0.20) |  |  | (0.24) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  | 0.444\*\* | 0.823 |  |
|  CRP’s anti-immigration position a |  |  | (0.14) | (1.06) |  |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  |  | 0.002 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.42) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.107 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.22) |
| Political trust b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | -0.191 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.37) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  | 0.086 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (1.05) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | 0.545 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.59) |  |
| Political trust b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | -0.417 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (1.07) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.852\*\*\* | -0.833\*\* | -0.841\*\* | -0.932\*\*\* | -0.880\*\* |
|  | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.27) | (0.24) | (0.28) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.095\*\*\* | 0.096\*\*\* | 0.096\*\*\* | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.095\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 2.459\*\*\* | 2.444\*\*\* | 2.443\*\*\* | 2.444\*\*\* | 2.444\*\*\* |
|  | (0.20) | (0.20) | (0.20) | (0.20) | (0.20) |
| Political Interest b | 0.221 | 0.216 | 0.216 | 0.216 | 0.215 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 1.790\*\*\* | 1.804\*\*\* | 1.812\*\*\* | 1.811\*\*\* | 1.804\*\*\* |
|  | (0.23) | (0.24) | (0.24) | (0.24) | (0.24) |
| Political closeness to CRP b | -1.866\*\*\* | -1.865\*\*\* | -1.867\*\*\* | -1.866\*\*\* | -1.865\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) |
| Political closeness to CLP b | -1.887\*\*\* | -1.893\*\*\* | -1.894\*\*\* | -1.894\*\*\* | -1.893\*\*\* |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 4.067\*\*\* | 4.039\*\*\* | 4.038\*\*\* | 4.039\*\*\* | 4.038\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
| Social contact b | 0.146 | 0.138 | 0.138 | 0.139 | 0.137 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.13) |
| Partnership | 0.156 | 0.157 | 0.158 | 0.161 | 0.154 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
| Labour union member | 0.088 | 0.085 | 0.084 | 0.084 | 0.085 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Religious service attendance b | -0.387\*\* | -0.401\*\* | -0.403\*\* | -0.402\*\* | -0.400\*\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) |
| Gender | -0.299\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Age b | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Age b ^2 | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Unemployed | -0.121 | -0.121 | -0.122 | -0.121 | -0.122 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) |
| INTERCEPT | -3.584\*\*\* | -3.614\*\*\* | -3.626\*\*\* | -3.235\*\*\* | -3.580\*\*\* |
|  | (0.42) | (0.42) | (0.42) | (0.44) | (0.40) |
| Random coefficient: Political trust |  | 0.862\*\* | 0.660\*\* | 0.649\*\* | 0.841\*\* |
|  |  | (0.29) | (0.23) | (0.22) | (0.28) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.248\*\* | 0.256\*\* | 0.255\*\* | 0.246\*\* | 0.256\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) |
| N (country-years) | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -8350.307 | -8331.145 | -8328.150 | -8327.433 | -8330.887 |

Note: Multi-level logit regression mixed effects estimates; standard errors reported in parentheses; post-stratification weights applied; a centred at global mean; b centred at within-cluster mean; \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Figure A2. Predicted probabilities of FRPP voting depending on centre-left parties’ position-taking in government and in opposition**

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**Table A4. Selected parties’ full names and abbreviations**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Country**  | **Party** | **Abbreviation** |
| Austria  | Österreichische Volkspartei | ÖVP |
| Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs | SPÖ |
| Bündnis Zukunft Österreich | BZÖ |
| Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs | FPÖ |
| Belgium | Centre Démocrate Humaniste | CDH |
| Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten | VLD |
| Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams | CD&V/CDV |
| Parti Social Chrétien | PSC |
| Parti Socialiste | PS |
| Socialistische Partij Anders | SPA |
| Socialistische Partij | SP |
| Front National | FN |
| Vlaams Blok/Belang | VB |
| Denmark  | Det Konservative Folksparti | KF |
| Venstre | V |
| Socialdemokraterne | SD |
| Fremskridtspartiet | FP |
| Dansk Folkeparti | DF |
| Nye Borgerlige | NB |
| Finland | Kristillisdemokraatit | KD |
| Suomen Keskusta | KESK |
| Kansallinen Kokoomus | KOK |
| Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue | SDP |
| Perussuomalaiset | PS |
| France | Les Républicains | LR |
| Union pour un Mouvement Populaire | UMP |
| Parti Socialiste | PS |
| Debout la France | DLF |
| Front National | FN |
| Mouvement National Républicain | MNR |
| Mouvement Pour la France | MPF |
| Rassemblement national | RN |
| Germany | Christlich Demokratische Union | CDU |
| Christlich Soziale Union | CSU |
| Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands | SPD |
| Alternative für Deutschland | AfD |
| Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands | NPD |
| Deutsche Volksunion | DVU |
| Republikaner | REP |
| Greece | Néa Dimokratía | ND |
| Panellinio Sosialistikó Kínima | PASOK |
| Laïkós Orthódoxos Synagermós | LAOS |
| Laïkós Sýndesmos—Chrysí Avgí | XA |
| Ireland | Fianna Fáil | FF |
| Fine Gael | FG |
| Páirti Lucht Oibre | Lab |
| Italy | Forza Italia | FI |
| Democratici di Sinistra | DS |
| Partito Democratico della Sinistra | PDS |
| Lega Nord | LN |
| Fratelli d’Italia | FdI |
| Netherlands | Christen-Democratisch Appél | CDA |
| Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie | VVD |
| Partij van de Arbeid | PvdA |
| Forum voor Democratie | FvD |
| Lijst Pim Fortuyn | LPF |
| Partij voor de Vrijheid | PVV |
| Portugal | Centro Democrático e Social; | CDS |
| Partido Popular | PP |
| Partido Social Democrata | PSD |
| Partido Socialista | PS |
| Spain | Partido Popular | PP |
| Partido Socialista Obrero Español | PSOE |
| Vox | VOX |
| Sweden | Moderaterna | M |
| Kristdemokraterna | KD |
| Arbetarpartiet- Socialdemokraterna/ Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti | S/SAP |
| Sverigedemokraterna | SD |
| United Kingdom | Conservative Party | Cons |
| Labour Party | Labour |
| United Kingdom Independence Party | UKIP |
| British National Party | BNP |