**Supplementary Material B**

**-**

**Alternative model specifications**

This appendix file provides a number of alternative model specification to assess the robustness of those presented in Tables 2 and 4 in the main article.

**B1**: Model specifications without control variables (p. 3)

**B2**: Model specifications combining the two-way interaction effects between party position-taking and immigration scepticism/political trust in one model (p. 6)

**B3**: Model specifications changing the generalised political trust variable for trust *in parties* (p. 10)

**B4**: Model specifications changing parties’ ANTI-IMMIGRATION position for IMMIGRATE\_POLICY (p. 15)

**B5**: Vote choice models with the two-way interaction between parties’ and citizens’ anti-immigration positions (p. 20)

**B6**: Model specifications adding a third clustering level at the level of countries and year-fixed effects (p. 23)

**B1: Model specifications without control variables**

**Table B1.1 Multilevel linear regression models explaining political trust (no controls)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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 | -0.313\*\*\* | -0.319\*\*\* | -0.318\*\*\* | -0.299\*\*\* | -0.288\*\*\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.010) | (0.024) | (0.015) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.058\*\*\* | 0.057\*\*\* | 0.057\*\*\* | 0.058\*\*\* | 0.053\*\*\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.013) | (0.015) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.041\*\*\* | -0.041\*\*\* | -0.041\*\*\* | -0.031 | -0.041\*\*\* |
|  | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.031) | (0.012) |
| CLP government involvement a | 0.016 | 0.017 | 0.017 | 0.012 | 0.017 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.027) |
| CRP government involvement a | 0.060 | 0.061 | 0.061 | 0.062 | 0.062 |
|  | (0.032) | (0.032) | (0.032) | (0.034) | (0.032) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  | 0.014 |  |  | 0.013 |
|  position a |  | (0.011) |  |  | (0.014) |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  | 0.036\*\*\* | 0.007 |  |
|  position a |  |  | (0.008) | (0.029) |  |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.058\*\* |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.021) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | 0.007 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.021) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | -0.002 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.018) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  | -0.025 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.027) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | -0.014 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.033) |  |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | 0.030 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (0.031) |  |
| INTERCEPT | 0.358\*\*\* | 0.358\*\*\* | 0.358\*\*\* | 0.357\*\*\* | 0.357\*\*\* |
|  | (0.038) | (0.038) | (0.038) | (0.038) | (0.038) |
| Random coefficient:  |  | 0.006 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.005 |
|  V’s anti-immigration position |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.036 | 0.036 | 0.036 | 0.035 | 0.036 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| N (country-years) | 90567 | 90567 | 90567 | 90567 | 90567 |
| N (individuals) | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | 22205.30 | 22424.58 | 22429.81 | 22531.81 | 22428.19 |

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

**Table B1.2 Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (no controls)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|  | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political trust b  | -2.360\*\*\* | -2.746\*\*\* | -2.755\*\*\* | -2.398 | -2.769\*\*\* |
|  | (0.373) | (0.258) | (0.237) | (1.737) | (0.358) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.012 | 0.022 | 0.021 | -0.015 | 0.283\* |
|  | (0.160) | (0.166) | (0.165) | (0.156) | (0.141) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.076 | 0.106 | 0.118 | -1.119 | 0.125 |
|  | (0.145) | (0.155) | (0.156) | (0.696) | (0.141) |
| CL\_gov3=1 | -0.072 | -0.086 | -0.078 | -0.017 | -0.093 |
|  | (0.419) | (0.447) | (0.445) | (0.447) | (0.415) |
| CR\_gov3=1 | -0.313 | -0.354 | -0.345 | -1.237\* | -0.501 |
|  | (0.552) | (0.578) | (0.577) | (0.602) | (0.562) |
| Political trust b \*  |  | 0.176 |  |  | 0.640\*\* |
|  CLP’s anti-immigration position a |  | (0.250) |  |  | (0.239) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  | 0.493\*\* | 0.479 |  |
|  CRP’s anti-immigration position a |  |  | (0.158) | (1.762) |  |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.028 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.496) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.472 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.291) |
| Political trust b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | -0.780 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.420) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  | -0.465 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (1.758) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | 1.303 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.727) |  |
| Political trust b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | -0.053 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (1.771) |  |
| INTERCEPT | -2.929\*\*\* | -2.960\*\*\* | -2.973\*\*\* | -2.098\*\* | -2.860\*\*\* |
|  | (0.610) | (0.636) | (0.634) | (0.641) | (0.603) |
| Random coefficient: Political trust |  | 1.820\*\* | 1.570\*\* | 1.535\*\*\* | 1.644\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.592) | (0.491) | (0.427) | (0.486) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.745\*\* | 0.796\*\* | 0.794\*\* | 0.742\*\*\* | 0.746\*\* |
|  | (0.233) | (0.246) | (0.244) | (0.224) | (0.231) |
| N (country-years) | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 70673 | 70673 | 70673 | 70673 | 70673 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -13381.99 | -13256.00 | -13253.91 | -13252.36 | -13253.56 |

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

**B2: Model specifications combining the two-way interaction effects between party position-taking and immigration scepticism/political trust in one model**

**Table B2.1 Multilevel linear regression models explaining political trust (two-way party-position-taking interactions in one model)[[1]](#footnote-1)**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | trust |
|  | b/se |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | -0.284\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.049\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  | -0.001 |
|  position a | (0.010) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.039\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  | 0.028\*\* |
|  position a | (0.009) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.006\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) |
| CRP government involvement a | 0.042 |
|  | (0.027) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.009 |
|  | (0.024) |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.049 |
|  | (0.032) |
| Party closeness b | 0.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) |
| Political Interest b | 0.087\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 0.103\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) |
| Social contact b | 0.013\* |
|  | (0.005) |
| Partnership | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.002) |
| Labour union member | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.003) |
| Religious service attendance b | 0.084\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) |
| Gender | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) |
| Age b | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) |
| Age b ^2 | 0.000\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | 0.000 |
|  | (0.000) |
| Unemployed  | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) |
| INTERCEPT | 0.368\*\*\* |
|  | (0.032) |
| Random coefficient:  | 0.638 |
|  V’s anti-immigration position | (0.209) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.252 |
|  | (0.087) |
| N (country-years) | 49 |
| N | 78831 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | 23683.699 |

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

**Table B2.2 Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (two-way party-position-taking interactions in one model)[[2]](#footnote-2)**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | FRPP\_vote |
|  | b/se |
| Political trust b  | -1.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.190) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.122 |
|  | (0.118) |
| Political trust b \*  | -0.093 |
|  CLP’s anti-immigration position a | (0.183) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.303\*\* |
|  | (0.107) |
| Political trust b \*  | 0.476\*\* |
|  CRP’s anti-immigration position a | (0.165) |
| CRP government involvement a | -0.079 |
|  | (0.338) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.173 |
|  | (0.305) |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.845\*\* |
|  | (0.264) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.096\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 2.444\*\*\* |
|  | (0.204) |
| Political Interest b | 0.215 |
|  | (0.113) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 1.813\*\*\* |
|  | (0.237) |
| Political closeness to CRP b | -1.866\*\*\* |
|  | (0.187) |
| Political closeness to CLP b | -1.894\*\*\* |
|  | (0.270) |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 4.038\*\*\* |
|  | (0.150) |
| Social contact b | 0.138 |
|  | (0.135) |
| Partnership | 0.158 |
|  | (0.086) |
| Labour union member | 0.084 |
|  | (0.063) |
| Religious service attendance b | -0.403\*\* |
|  | (0.137) |
| Gender | -0.295\*\*\* |
|  | (0.059) |
| Age b | 0.011\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) |
| Age b ^2 | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) |
| Unemployed | -0.123 |
|  | (0.124) |
| INTERCEPT | -3.626\*\*\* |
|  | (0.421) |
| Random coefficient: Political trust | 0.638\*\* |
|  | (0.209) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.255\*\* |
|  | (0.086) |
| N (country-years) | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 62750 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -8328.026 |

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

**B3: Model specifications changing the generalised political trust variable for trust in parties**

**Table B3.1 Multilevel linear regression models explaining political trust (political trust *in parties* as the dependent variable)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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 | -0.247\*\*\* | -0.253\*\*\* | -0.252\*\*\* | -0.240\*\*\* | -0.226\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.010) | (0.009) | (0.021) | (0.015) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.053\*\*\* | 0.053\*\*\* | 0.053\*\*\* | 0.053\*\*\* | 0.039\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.012) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.042\*\*\* | -0.042\*\*\* | -0.042\*\*\* | -0.039\* | -0.044\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.018) | (0.009) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.010 | -0.010 | -0.010 | -0.010 | -0.010 |
|  | (0.024) | (0.024) | (0.024) | (0.025) | (0.025) |
| CRP government involvement a | 0.048 | 0.048 | 0.048 | 0.049 | 0.051 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.025) | (0.027) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  | 0.011 |  |  | 0.000 |
|  position a |  | (0.009) |  |  | (0.014) |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  | 0.029\*\*\* | 0.002 |  |
|  position a |  |  | (0.007) | (0.019) |  |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.050\*\* |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.019) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | 0.024 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.017) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | 0.015 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.017) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  | -0.011 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.024) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | -0.004 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.019) |  |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | 0.030 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (0.021) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.064 | -0.064 | -0.064 | -0.064 | -0.055 |
|  | (0.034) | (0.034) | (0.034) | (0.034) | (0.035) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.006\*\*\* | 0.007\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) |
| Party closeness b | 0.074\*\*\* | 0.073\*\*\* | 0.073\*\*\* | 0.073\*\*\* | 0.073\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Political Interest b | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 0.082\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Social contact b | 0.010\* | 0.010\* | 0.010\* | 0.010\* | 0.010\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Partnership | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Labour union member | 0.007\*\* | 0.007\*\* | 0.007\*\* | 0.007\*\* | 0.007\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Religious service attendance b | 0.081\*\*\* | 0.079\*\*\* | 0.080\*\*\* | 0.080\*\*\* | 0.080\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Gender | 0.004 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Age b | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Age b ^2 | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.001\*\* | -0.001\*\* | -0.001\*\* | -0.001\*\* | -0.001\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Unemployed | -0.018\*\*\* | -0.018\*\*\* | -0.018\*\*\* | -0.018\*\*\* | -0.018\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| INTERCEPT | 0.327\*\*\* | 0.327\*\*\* | 0.327\*\*\* | 0.326\*\*\* | 0.325\*\*\* |
|  | (0.032) | (0.032) | (0.032) | (0.030) | (0.031) |
| Random coefficient:  |  | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  V’s anti-immigration position |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| N (country-years) | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| N (individuals) | 79545 | 79545 | 79545 | 79545 | 79545 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | 17106.91 | 17226.31 | 17230.13 | 17230.69 | 17230.31 |

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

**Table B3.2 Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (political trust *in parties* as an independent variable)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|  | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political trust in parties b  | -0.586\*\* | -0.743\*\*\* | -0.750\*\*\* | -0.751 | -0.720\* |
|  | (0.194) | (0.186) | (0.168) | (0.878) | (0.307) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.126 | -0.121 | -0.122 | -0.144 | -0.076 |
|  | (0.122) | (0.120) | (0.121) | (0.112) | (0.132) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.268\* | 0.288\*\* | 0.305\*\* | -0.249 | 0.292\*\* |
|  | (0.106) | (0.106) | (0.107) | (0.573) | (0.110) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.177 | -0.168 | -0.162 | -0.133 | -0.171 |
|  | (0.294) | (0.298) | (0.298) | (0.301) | (0.289) |
| CRP government involvement a | -0.081 | -0.077 | -0.072 | -0.490 | -0.111 |
|  | (0.330) | (0.335) | (0.334) | (0.411) | (0.315) |
| Political trust in parties b \*  |  | 0.085 |  |  | 0.080 |
|  CLP’s anti-immigration position a |  | (0.184) |  |  | (0.246) |
| Political trust in parties b \*  |  |  | 0.446\*\*\* | 0.601 |  |
|  CRP’s anti-immigration position a |  |  | (0.128) | (1.156) |  |
| Political trust in parties b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.040 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.381) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.084 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.220) |
| Political trust in parties b \* CLP’s  |  |  |  |  | 0.005 |
|  anti-immigration position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.348) |
| Political trust in parties b \*  |  |  |  | -0.031 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.942) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | 0.585 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.601) |  |
| Political trust in parties b \* CRP’s  |  |  |  | -0.179 |  |
|  anti-immigration position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (1.168) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.872\*\*\* | -0.850\*\* | -0.860\*\* | -0.957\*\*\* | -0.888\*\* |
|  | (0.256) | (0.263) | (0.263) | (0.243) | (0.277) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.096\*\*\* | 0.096\*\*\* | 0.096\*\*\* | 0.092\*\*\* | 0.095\*\*\* |
|  | (0.016) | (0.017) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.017) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 2.568\*\*\* | 2.550\*\*\* | 2.548\*\*\* | 2.548\*\*\* | 2.551\*\*\* |
|  | (0.211) | (0.210) | (0.210) | (0.211) | (0.209) |
| Political Interest b | 0.201 | 0.199 | 0.200 | 0.199 | 0.199 |
|  | (0.116) | (0.115) | (0.115) | (0.115) | (0.115) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 1.766\*\*\* | 1.784\*\*\* | 1.790\*\*\* | 1.789\*\*\* | 1.784\*\*\* |
|  | (0.237) | (0.238) | (0.237) | (0.237) | (0.238) |
| Political closeness to CRP b | -1.894\*\*\* | -1.892\*\*\* | -1.894\*\*\* | -1.894\*\*\* | -1.892\*\*\* |
|  | (0.189) | (0.187) | (0.188) | (0.188) | (0.187) |
| Political closeness to CLP b | -1.895\*\*\* | -1.898\*\*\* | -1.899\*\*\* | -1.899\*\*\* | -1.898\*\*\* |
|  | (0.274) | (0.273) | (0.273) | (0.274) | (0.274) |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 4.075\*\*\* | 4.059\*\*\* | 4.058\*\*\* | 4.059\*\*\* | 4.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.152) | (0.149) | (0.149) | (0.149) | (0.149) |
| Social contact b | 0.118 | 0.118 | 0.118 | 0.119 | 0.117 |
|  | (0.135) | (0.138) | (0.138) | (0.139) | (0.138) |
| Partnership | 0.163 | 0.166 | 0.166 | 0.170 | 0.163 |
|  | (0.087) | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.087) | (0.087) |
| Labour union member | 0.084 | 0.083 | 0.082 | 0.082 | 0.083 |
|  | (0.063) | (0.063) | (0.063) | (0.062) | (0.063) |
| Religious service attendance b | -0.414\*\* | -0.430\*\* | -0.431\*\* | -0.430\*\* | -0.430\*\* |
|  | (0.138) | (0.140) | (0.140) | (0.140) | (0.140) |
| Gender | -0.290\*\*\* | -0.289\*\*\* | -0.289\*\*\* | -0.289\*\*\* | -0.289\*\*\* |
|  | (0.057) | (0.057) | (0.057) | (0.057) | (0.057) |
| Age b | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Age b ^2 | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.024\*\*\* | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.023\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Unemployed | -0.099 | -0.097 | -0.098 | -0.097 | -0.097 |
|  | (0.124) | (0.125) | (0.125) | (0.125) | (0.125) |
| INTERCEPT | -3.595\*\*\* | -3.630\*\*\* | -3.640\*\*\* | -3.221\*\*\* | -3.600\*\*\* |
|  | (0.416) | (0.419) | (0.418) | (0.445) | (0.397) |
| Random coefficient: Political trust in  |  | 0.667\*\* | 0.451\*\* | 0.443\*\* | 0.665\*\* |
|  parties |  | (0.223) | (0.162) | (0.154) | (0.224) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.248\*\* | 0.252\*\* | 0.251\*\* | 0.241\*\* | 0.252\*\* |
|  | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.085) | (0.080) | (0.085) |
| N (country-years) | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 63204 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -8425.171 | -8409.656 | -8405.834 | -8405.124 | -8409.552 |

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

**B4: Model specifications changing parties’ ANTI-IMMIGRATION position for IMMIGRATE\_POLICY**

**Table B4.1 Multilevel linear regression models explaining political trust (with parties’ IMMIGRATE\_POLICY position)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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\*\*\* | -0.262\*\*\* | -0.255\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.011) | (0.010) | (0.016) | (0.015) |
| CLP’s IMMIGRATE position a | 0.035\*\*\* | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.025\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.012) |
| CRP’s IMMIGRATE position a | -0.030\*\*\* | -0.029\*\*\* | -0.029\*\*\* | -0.027 | -0.031\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.027) | (0.008) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.014 | -0.014 | -0.014 | -0.015 | -0.014 |
|  | (0.026) | (0.026) | (0.026) | (0.026) | (0.026) |
| CRP government involvement a | 0.049 | 0.049 | 0.049 | 0.050 | 0.055 |
|  | (0.031) | (0.031) | (0.031) | (0.029) | (0.032) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s IMMIGRATE |  | 0.014 |  |  | 0.000 |
|  position a |  | (0.009) |  |  | (0.014) |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s IMMIGRATE |  |  | 0.024\*\*\* | -0.017 |  |
|  position a |  |  | (0.007) | (0.025) |  |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.055\*\* |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.020) |
| CLP’ IMMIGRATE a \*  |  |  |  |  | 0.019 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.019) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s IMMIGRATE |  |  |  |  | 0.020 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.017) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  | -0.022 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.020) |  |
| CRP’s IMMIGRATE position a \*  |  |  |  | -0.002 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.027) |  |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s IMMIGRATE |  |  |  | 0.044 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (0.026) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.096\*\* | -0.096\*\* | -0.096\*\* | -0.095\*\* | -0.085\*\* |
|  | (0.029) | (0.029) | (0.029) | (0.029) | (0.029) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.007\*\*\* | 0.007\*\*\* | 0.007\*\*\* | 0.007\*\*\* | 0.007\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Party closeness b | 0.060\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Political Interest b | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 0.101\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Social contact b | 0.013\*\* | 0.013\* | 0.013\* | 0.013\* | 0.013\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Partnership | 0.006\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Labour union member | 0.005 | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Religious service attendance b | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Gender | -0.002 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Age b | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Age b ^2 | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Unemployed | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| INTERCEPT | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.367\*\*\* | 0.363\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.036) | (0.036) | (0.034) | (0.036) |
| 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 | 0.005 | 0.005 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.001) | (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 | 23496.595 | 23676.962 | 23679.681 | 23680.657 | 23681.384 |

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

**Table B4.2 Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (with parties’ IMMIGRATE\_POLICY position)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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\*\*\* | -1.008\*\*\* | -1.028\*\*\* | 1.147 | -1.033\*\* |
|  | (0.208) | (0.195) | (0.187) | (0.757) | (0.337) |
| CLP’s IMMIGRATE position a | -0.194 | -0.188 | -0.191 | -0.131 | -0.105 |
|  | (0.107) | (0.106) | (0.107) | (0.107) | (0.120) |
| CRP’s IMMIGRATE position a | 0.229\* | 0.245\* | 0.256\* | -1.315 | 0.263\* |
|  | (0.100) | (0.103) | (0.103) | (0.892) | (0.110) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.194 | -0.191 | -0.186 | -0.143 | -0.210 |
|  | (0.329) | (0.343) | (0.342) | (0.354) | (0.326) |
| CRP government involvement a | -0.216 | -0.224 | -0.219 | -1.460 | -0.328 |
|  | (0.347) | (0.362) | (0.360) | (0.749) | (0.362) |
| Political trust b \*  |  | 0.119 |  |  | 0.285 |
|  CLP’s IMMIGRATE position a |  | (0.167) |  |  | (0.226) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  | 0.304\* | -2.309\* |  |
|  CRP’s IMMIGRATE position a |  |  | (0.120) | (1.080) |  |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  |  | 0.005 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.418) |
| CLP’ IMMIGRATE position a \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.173 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.221) |
| Political trust b \* CLP’s IMMIGRATE |  |  |  |  | -0.267 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.321) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  | -2.209\*\* |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.794) |  |
| CRP’s IMMIGRATE position a \*  |  |  |  | 1.579 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.901) |  |
| Political trust b \* CRP’s IMMIGRATE |  |  |  | 2.622\* |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (1.087) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.801\*\*\* | -0.782\*\*\* | -0.788\*\*\* | -1.246\*\* | -0.895\*\*\* |
|  | (0.215) | (0.222) | (0.221) | (0.451) | (0.264) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.094\*\*\* | 0.095\*\*\* | 0.095\*\*\* | 0.091\*\*\* | 0.092\*\*\* |
|  | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 2.459\*\*\* | 2.444\*\*\* | 2.442\*\*\* | 2.441\*\*\* | 2.443\*\*\* |
|  | (0.203) | (0.203) | (0.203) | (0.204) | (0.203) |
| Political Interest b | 0.221 | 0.216 | 0.216 | 0.216 | 0.215 |
|  | (0.115) | (0.114) | (0.114) | (0.113) | (0.114) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 1.789\*\*\* | 1.804\*\*\* | 1.808\*\*\* | 1.809\*\*\* | 1.803\*\*\* |
|  | (0.233) | (0.237) | (0.237) | (0.238) | (0.237) |
| Political closeness to CRP b | -1.867\*\*\* | -1.865\*\*\* | -1.866\*\*\* | -1.865\*\*\* | -1.865\*\*\* |
|  | (0.190) | (0.187) | (0.187) | (0.187) | (0.187) |
| Political closeness to CLP b | -1.886\*\*\* | -1.892\*\*\* | -1.892\*\*\* | -1.892\*\*\* | -1.890\*\*\* |
|  | (0.270) | (0.271) | (0.270) | (0.271) | (0.271) |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 4.067\*\*\* | 4.040\*\*\* | 4.039\*\*\* | 4.034\*\*\* | 4.038\*\*\* |
|  | (0.153) | (0.150) | (0.150) | (0.149) | (0.150) |
| Social contact b | 0.146 | 0.138 | 0.139 | 0.137 | 0.137 |
|  | (0.131) | (0.135) | (0.135) | (0.135) | (0.135) |
| Partnership | 0.158 | 0.160 | 0.160 | 0.163 | 0.156 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.087) |
| Labour union member | 0.087 | 0.084 | 0.084 | 0.085 | 0.084 |
|  | (0.062) | (0.063) | (0.063) | (0.062) | (0.062) |
| Religious service attendance b | -0.387\*\* | -0.400\*\* | -0.402\*\* | -0.401\*\* | -0.400\*\* |
|  | (0.136) | (0.137) | (0.137) | (0.138) | (0.137) |
| Gender | -0.299\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.296\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* |
|  | (0.059) | (0.059) | (0.059) | (0.059) | (0.059) |
| Age b | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Age b ^2 | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Unemployed | -0.120 | -0.120 | -0.122 | -0.124 | -0.122 |
|  | (0.123) | (0.124) | (0.124) | (0.124) | (0.124) |
| INTERCEPT | -3.489\*\*\* | -3.518\*\*\* | -3.526\*\*\* | -2.260\*\* | -3.422\*\*\* |
|  | (0.463) | (0.477) | (0.476) | (0.818) | (0.456) |
| Random coefficient: Political trust |  | 0.848\*\* | 0.717\*\* | 0.493\* | 0.819\*\* |
|  |  | (0.288) | (0.246) | (0.211) | (0.274) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.247\*\* | 0.258\*\* | 0.257\*\* | 0.232\*\* | 0.255\*\* |
|  | (0.084) | (0.084) | (0.083) | (0.073) | (0.082) |
| N (country-years) | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -8350.140 | -8331.006 | -8329.131 | -8325.092 | -8330.350 |

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

**B5: Vote choice models with the two-way interaction between parties’ and citizens’ anti-immigration positions**

**Table B5.1 Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (with the two-way interaction between parties’ and citizens’ anti-immigration positions)**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | FRPP\_vote | FRPP\_vote |
|  | b/se | b/se |
|  |  |  |
| Political trust b  | -0.824\*\*\* | -0.818\*\*\* |
|  | (0.210) | (0.210) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 2.540\*\*\* | 2.570\*\*\* |
|  | (0.193) | (0.188) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.131 | -0.126 |
|  | (0.120) | (0.120) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.285\*\* | 0.307\*\* |
|  | (0.109) | (0.113) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  | 0.024 |  |
|  position a | (0.211) |  |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  | -0.317 |
|  position a |  | (0.163) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.196 | -0.185 |
|  | (0.310) | (0.311) |
| CRP government involvement a | -0.096 | -0.085 |
|  | (0.342) | (0.342) |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.758\*\* | -0.757\*\* |
|  | (0.288) | (0.290) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.094\*\*\* | 0.094\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 0.219 | 0.219 |
|  | (0.112) | (0.112) |
| Political Interest b | 1.787\*\*\* | 1.795\*\*\* |
|  | (0.238) | (0.238) |
| Left-right self-placement b | -1.865\*\*\* | -1.866\*\*\* |
|  | (0.189) | (0.189) |
| Political closeness to CRP b | -1.893\*\*\* | -1.896\*\*\* |
|  | (0.269) | (0.269) |
| Political closeness to CLP b | 4.069\*\*\* | 4.068\*\*\* |
|  | (0.153) | (0.152) |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 0.149 | 0.149 |
|  | (0.130) | (0.130) |
| Social contact b | 0.155 | 0.156 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.086) |
| Partnership | 0.088 | 0.087 |
|  | (0.062) | (0.062) |
| Labour union member | -0.397\*\* | -0.397\*\* |
|  | (0.136) | (0.136) |
| Religious service attendance b | -0.293\*\*\* | -0.292\*\*\* |
|  | (0.060) | (0.060) |
| Gender | 0.012\*\*\* | 0.012\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Age b | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Age b ^2 | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.023\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.118 | -0.118 |
|  | (0.122) | (0.122) |
| Unemployed | -3.589\*\*\* | -3.607\*\*\* |
|  | (0.427) | (0.428) |
| / |  |  |
| Random coefficient: Citizens’  | 0.730\*\* | 0.670\*\* |
|  anti-immigration position  | (0.243) | (0.214) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.269\*\* | 0.268\*\* |
|  | (0.092) | (0.091) |
| N (country-years) | 36 | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 62750 | 62750 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -8334.152 | -8332.510 |

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

**B6: Model specifications adding a third clustering level at the level of countries and year-fixed effects**

**Table B6.1 Multilevel linear regression models explaining political trust (adding a third clustering level at the level of countries and year-fixed effects)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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\*\*\* |
|  | (0.015) | (0.017) | (0.015) | (0.024) | (0.017) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.003 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.008) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.027\* | -0.027\* | -0.027\* | -0.038\*\* | -0.025\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.014) | (0.011) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.014 | -0.014 | -0.014 | -0.016 | -0.015 |
|  | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) |
| CRP government involvement a | -0.019 | -0.019 | -0.019 | -0.025 | -0.022 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.017) | (0.016) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  | 0.011 |  |  | 0.008 |
|  position a |  | (0.010) |  |  | (0.014) |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  | 0.028\*\* | 0.005 |  |
|  position a |  |  | (0.011) | (0.023) |  |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.056\*\*\* |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.013) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.009 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.011) |
| Citizens’ b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | 0.003 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.018) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b \*  |  |  |  | -0.010 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.029) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | 0.013 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.008) |  |
| Citizens’ b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | 0.026 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (0.025) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.046\*\* | -0.046\*\* | -0.046\*\* | -0.047\*\*\* | -0.048\*\*\* |
|  | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.014) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Party closeness b | 0.060\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* | 0.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Political Interest b | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.087\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 0.101\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Social contact b | 0.013\* | 0.013 | 0.013 | 0.013 | 0.013 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Partnership | 0.006\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Labour union member | 0.004 | 0.005 | 0.005 | 0.005 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Religious service attendance b | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| Gender | -0.002 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Age b | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Age b ^2 | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* | 0.000\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Unemployed | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Year: 2010 (ref. 2006) | -0.035\*\*\* | -0.036\*\*\* | -0.036\*\*\* | -0.037\*\*\* | -0.038\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.011) |
| Year: 2014 (ref. 2006) | -0.038\*\*\* | -0.037\*\*\* | -0.037\*\*\* | -0.036\*\*\* | -0.037\*\*\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.010) |
| Year: 2018 (ref. 2006) | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.005 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) | (0.012) |
| INTERCEPT | 0.424\*\*\* | 0.425\*\*\* | 0.425\*\*\* | 0.432\*\*\* | 0.427\*\*\* |
|  | (0.034) | (0.034) | (0.034) | (0.036) | (0.035) |
| 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 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.009 | 0.009 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Random intercept: countries | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| N (countries) | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| N (country-years) | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| N (individuals) | 78831 | 78831 | 78831 | 78831 | 78831 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | 23521.006 | 23700.852 | 23704.017 | 23704.818 | 23704.838 |

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

**Table B6.2 Multilevel logit models explaining FRPP voting (adding a third clustering level at the level of countries and year-fixed effects)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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\*\* | -1.021\*\*\* | -1.028\*\*\* | -1.155 | -1.029\*\* |
|  | (0.258) | (0.270) | (0.238) | (0.958) | (0.367) |
| CLP’s anti-immigration position a | -0.073 | -0.073 | -0.074 | -0.125 | 0.017 |
|  | (0.176) | (0.178) | (0.178) | (0.187) | (0.117) |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a | 0.258 | 0.282\* | 0.299\* | -0.352 | 0.279\* |
|  | (0.142) | (0.143) | (0.144) | (0.322) | (0.140) |
| CLP government involvement a | -0.183 | -0.197 | -0.190 | -0.186 | -0.191 |
|  | (0.328) | (0.344) | (0.342) | (0.326) | (0.333) |
| CRP government involvement a | 0.031 | 0.016 | 0.022 | -0.517 | -0.016 |
|  | (0.358) | (0.360) | (0.359) | (0.364) | (0.348) |
| Political trust b \*  |  | 0.097 |  |  | 0.212 |
|  CLP’s anti-immigration position a |  | (0.182) |  |  | (0.239) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  | 0.442\*\* | 0.821 |  |
|  CRP’s anti-immigration position a |  |  | (0.160) | (1.079) |  |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.004 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.312) |
| CLP’ anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  |  | -0.140 |
|  CLP government involvement a |  |  |  |  | (0.151) |
| Political trust b \* CLP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  |  | -0.195 |
|  position a \* CLP government a |  |  |  |  | (0.337) |
| Political trust b \*  |  |  |  | 0.085 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (1.037) |  |
| CRP’s anti-immigration position a \*  |  |  |  | 0.687 |  |
|  CRP government involvement a |  |  |  | (0.355) |  |
| Political trust b \* CRP’s anti-immigration  |  |  |  | -0.416 |  |
|  position a \* CRP government a |  |  |  | (1.020) |  |
| FRPP government involvement a | -0.576 | -0.574 | -0.583 | -0.757\* | -0.595 |
|  | (0.333) | (0.323) | (0.324) | (0.328) | (0.357) |
| FRPP seat share a | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.090\*\*\* | 0.090\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.086\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) |
| Citizens’ anti-immigration position b | 2.458\*\*\* | 2.443\*\*\* | 2.442\*\*\* | 2.442\*\*\* | 2.442\*\*\* |
|  | (0.200) | (0.201) | (0.201) | (0.203) | (0.200) |
| Political Interest b | 0.222 | 0.216 | 0.217 | 0.217 | 0.216 |
|  | (0.122) | (0.120) | (0.119) | (0.119) | (0.120) |
| Left-right self-placement b | 1.791\*\*\* | 1.805\*\*\* | 1.812\*\*\* | 1.812\*\*\* | 1.804\*\*\* |
|  | (0.318) | (0.325) | (0.324) | (0.324) | (0.325) |
| Political closeness to CRP b | -1.868\*\*\* | -1.866\*\*\* | -1.868\*\*\* | -1.868\*\*\* | -1.866\*\*\* |
|  | (0.240) | (0.236) | (0.236) | (0.237) | (0.236) |
| Political closeness to CLP b | -1.891\*\*\* | -1.896\*\*\* | -1.897\*\*\* | -1.897\*\*\* | -1.896\*\*\* |
|  | (0.329) | (0.332) | (0.331) | (0.331) | (0.331) |
| Political closeness to FRPP b | 4.063\*\*\* | 4.035\*\*\* | 4.033\*\*\* | 4.034\*\*\* | 4.034\*\*\* |
|  | (0.237) | (0.236) | (0.235) | (0.235) | (0.235) |
| Social contact b | 0.145 | 0.138 | 0.138 | 0.139 | 0.137 |
|  | (0.162) | (0.166) | (0.166) | (0.166) | (0.166) |
| Partnership | 0.154\*\* | 0.153\*\* | 0.154\*\* | 0.154\*\* | 0.153\*\* |
|  | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.047) |
| Labour union member | 0.087 | 0.083 | 0.083 | 0.082 | 0.083 |
|  | (0.068) | (0.067) | (0.066) | (0.066) | (0.067) |
| Religious service attendance b | -0.387 | -0.400 | -0.402 | -0.401 | -0.399 |
|  | (0.212) | (0.211) | (0.211) | (0.210) | (0.210) |
| Gender | -0.299\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* | -0.295\*\*\* |
|  | (0.062) | (0.062) | (0.062) | (0.062) | (0.062) |
| Age b | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.011\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Age b ^2 | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Years spent in education b | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Unemployed | -0.121 | -0.122 | -0.123 | -0.122 | -0.122 |
|  | (0.137) | (0.137) | (0.138) | (0.137) | (0.137) |
| Year: 2010 (ref. 2006) | 0.129 | 0.105 | 0.107 | 0.059 | 0.085 |
|  | (0.279) | (0.279) | (0.279) | (0.267) | (0.277) |
| Year: 2014 (ref. 2006) | 0.403 | 0.421 | 0.419 | 0.390 | 0.436 |
|  | (0.327) | (0.337) | (0.336) | (0.308) | (0.337) |
| Year: 2018 (ref. 2006) | 0.242 | 0.207 | 0.208 | 0.092 | 0.285 |
|  | (0.453) | (0.451) | (0.451) | (0.450) | (0.438) |
| INTERCEPT | -3.880\*\*\* | -3.884\*\*\* | -3.894\*\*\* | -3.295\*\*\* | -3.880\*\*\* |
|  | (0.573) | (0.556) | (0.556) | (0.498) | (0.542) |
| / |  |  |  |  |  |
| Random coefficient: Political trust |  | 0.872\*\* | 0.669\*\* | 0.660\*\* | 0.851\*\* |
|  |  | (0.332) | (0.221) | (0.207) | (0.315) |
| Random intercept: country-years | 0.207\*\* | 0.207\*\* | 0.208\*\* | 0.191\*\* | 0.205\*\* |
|  | (0.075) | (0.078) | (0.077) | (0.070) | (0.075) |
| Random intercept: countries | 0.028 | 0.033 | 0.032 | 0.038 | 0.033 |
|  | (0.045) | (0.042) | (0.042) | (0.037) | (0.043) |
| N (countries) | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| N (country-years) | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| N (individuals) | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 | 62750 |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -8349.074 | -8329.673 | -8326.712 | -8325.671 | -8329.338 |

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

1. A Wald test shows that the two interaction coefficient terms are statistically different from each other at the 10% level (p=0.0534). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. A Wald test shows that the two interaction coefficient terms are statistically different from each other at the 10% level (p=0.0603). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)