

Table A1. Support for Canada–US border closure, linear models (United States)

	Model 1.0.0		Model 1.0.1		Model 1.0.2		Model 1.1		Model 1.2		Model 1.3		Model 1.4		Model 1.5	
	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)
Intercept	0.18	(0.01)***	0.07	(0.02)***	0.23	(0.02)***	0.07	(0.02)***	0.07	(0.02)***	0.07	(0.02)***	0.02	(0.02)	0.07	(0.02)***
Trudeau cue	0.08	(0.01)***	0.08	(0.01)***	0.08	(0.01)***	0.08	(0.01)***	0.08	(0.01)***	0.07	(0.01)***	0.18	(0.02)***	0.07	(0.01)***
Ideology (liberal–conservative)	—		0.30	(0.03)***	—		0.30	(0.03)***	0.39	(0.04)***	0.30	(0.03)***	0.30	(0.03)***	0.39	(0.04)***
Party identification (ref = Democrat)																
Independent	—		0.15	(0.02)***	—		0.15	(0.02)***	0.15	(0.02)***	0.15	(0.02)***	0.21	(0.03)***	0.15	(0.02)***
Republican	—		0.30	(0.02)***	—		0.30	(0.02)***	0.30	(0.02)***	0.30	(0.02)***	0.40	(0.02)***	0.30	(0.02)***
Most important issue: Immigration	—		—		0.00	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.08	(0.04)*	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.08	(0.04)*
Ideology × Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		-0.19	(0.04)***	—		—		-0.19	(0.04)***
Independent × Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-0.12	(0.03)***	—	
Republican × Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-0.19	(0.02)***	—	
MII: Immigration × Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		—		0.13	(0.05)*	—		0.13	(0.05)*
Sex (male)	—		0.00	(0.01)	0.05	(0.01)***	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
Age (years logged)	—		0.05	(0.03)	0.13	(0.03)***	0.05	(0.03)	0.05	(0.03)	0.05	(0.03)	0.05	(0.03)	0.05	(0.03)
Education	—		-0.12	(0.02)***	-0.22	(0.02)***	-0.12	(0.02)***	-0.12	(0.02)***	-0.12	(0.02)***	-0.12	(0.02)***	-0.12	(0.02)***
Race/ethnicity (ref = White)																
Black	—		-0.03	(0.02)	-0.14	(0.02)***	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Hispanic	—		-0.02	(0.02)	-0.06	(0.02)**	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Asian	—		-0.02	(0.03)	-0.07	(0.03)*	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.03)
Other	—		-0.03	(0.02)	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Region (ref = Northeast)																
Midwest	—		-0.04	(0.02)*	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.04	(0.02)*	-0.03	(0.02)*	-0.04	(0.02)*	-0.03	(0.02)*	-0.03	(0.02)*
South	—		-0.03	(0.01)*	0.01	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*
West	—		-0.04	(0.02)**	-0.04	(0.02)*	-0.04	(0.02)**	-0.04	(0.02)*	-0.04	(0.02)**	-0.04	(0.02)*	-0.04	(0.02)*
R ²	0.01		0.37		0.08		0.37		0.38		0.37		0.39		0.38	
n	4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875	

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Models are fit by ordinary least squares with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting). All continuous independent variables are mean-centered.

Table A2. Support for Canada–US border closure, linear models (Canada)

	Model 2.0.0		Model 2.0.1		Model 2.0.2		Model 2.1		Model 2.2		Model 2.3		Model 2.4		Model 2.5	
	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)
Intercept	0.37	(0.01)***	0.38	(0.01)***	0.38	(0.01)***	0.38	(0.01)***	0.37	(0.01)***	0.38	(0.01)***	0.40	(0.01)***	0.38	(0.01)***
Trump cue	-0.09	(0.01)***	-0.10	(0.01)***	-0.10	(0.01)***	-0.10	(0.01)***	-0.10	(0.01)***	-0.11	(0.01)***	-0.15	(0.02)***	-0.11	(0.01)***
Ideology (left–right)	—		0.17	(0.03)***	—		0.17	(0.03)***	0.07	(0.03)*	0.17	(0.03)***	0.17	(0.03)***	0.07	(0.03)*
Party identification (ref = Liberal Party)																
New Democratic Party	—		-0.11	(0.02)***	—		-0.11	(0.02)***	-0.10	(0.02)***	-0.11	(0.02)***	-0.08	(0.02)***	-0.10	(0.02)***
Green Party	—		-0.08	(0.03)**	—		-0.08	(0.03)**	-0.08	(0.03)**	-0.08	(0.03)**	-0.05	(0.04)	-0.08	(0.03)**
Bloc Québécois	—		0.05	(0.02)*	—		0.05	(0.02)*	0.05	(0.02)	0.05	(0.02)*	0.01	(0.03)	0.05	(0.02)
Conservative Party	—		0.05	(0.01)***	—		0.05	(0.01)***	0.05	(0.01)***	0.05	(0.01)***	0.00	(0.02)	0.05	(0.01)***
Other party/no party	—		0.02	(0.01)	—		0.02	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.02	(0.01)
Most important issue: Immigration	—		—		0.02	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.08	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.07	(0.05)
Ideology × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		0.21	(0.05)***	—		—		0.20	(0.05)***
New Democratic Party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-0.05	(0.04)	—	
Green Party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-0.05	(0.06)	—	
Bloc Québécois × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.08	(0.04)	—	
Conservative Party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.11	(0.02)***	—	
Other party/no party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.09	(0.03)**	—	
MII: Immigration × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		0.16	(0.05)**	—		0.14	(0.05)**
Sex (male)	—		0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)*	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)
Age (years logged)	—		0.12	(0.03)***	0.19	(0.03)***	0.12	(0.03)***	0.12	(0.03)***	0.12	(0.03)***	0.12	(0.03)***	0.12	(0.03)***
Education	—		-0.08	(0.02)***	-0.10	(0.02)***	-0.08	(0.02)***	-0.08	(0.02)***	-0.08	(0.02)***	-0.08	(0.02)***	-0.08	(0.02)***
Race/ethnicity (ref = White)																
Indigenous	—		0.10	(0.03)***	0.06	(0.02)*	0.10	(0.03)***	0.10	(0.03)***	0.10	(0.03)***	0.10	(0.03)***	0.10	(0.03)***
Black	—		-0.03	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)
Asian	—		0.03	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)+	0.04	(0.02)+
Other	—		-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)+	-0.03	(0.02)
Region (ref = Ontario)																
Atlantic	—		-0.01	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)
Quebec	—		0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
Prairies	—		-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*	-0.03	(0.01)*
British Columbia	—		-0.01	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)
R^2	0.03		0.15		0.08		0.15		0.16		0.15		0.16		0.16	
n	4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429	

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Models are fit by ordinary least squares with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting). All continuous independent variables are mean-centered.

Table A3. Support for Canada–US border closure, ordinal logit models (United States)

	Model A3.0.0		Model A3.0.1		Model A3.0.2		Model A3.1		Model A3.2		Model A3.3		Model A3.4		Model A3.5	
	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)
Intercept–5	-0.17	(0.05)**	-1.05	(0.13)***	0.04	(0.10)	-1.05	(0.13)***	-1.01	(0.13)***	-1.03	(0.13)***	-1.31	(0.14)***	-1.00	(0.13)***
Intercept–4	0.56	(0.05)***	0.04	(0.12)	0.81	(0.10)***	0.04	(0.13)	0.08	(0.13)	0.05	(0.13)	-0.22	(0.13)	0.09	(0.13)
Intercept–3	1.33	(0.06)***	1.08	(0.12)***	1.62	(0.10)***	1.08	(0.12)***	1.12	(0.13)***	1.09	(0.12)***	0.84	(0.13)***	1.13	(0.13)***
Intercept–2	2.00	(0.07)***	1.90	(0.13)***	2.31	(0.11)***	1.90	(0.13)***	1.95	(0.13)***	1.92	(0.13)***	1.68	(0.14)***	1.97	(0.13)***
Trudeau cue	0.34	(0.07)***	0.51	(0.08)***	0.36	(0.07)***	0.51	(0.08)***	0.42	(0.08)***	0.47	(0.08)***	0.97	(0.11)***	0.39	(0.09)***
Ideology (liberal–conservative)	—		2.24	(0.22)***	—		2.24	(0.22)***	2.83	(0.29)***	2.25	(0.22)***	2.24	(0.22)***	2.83	(0.29)***
Party identification (ref = Democrat)																
Independent	—		0.75	(0.11)***	—		0.75	(0.11)***	0.74	(0.11)***	0.75	(0.11)***	1.10	(0.16)***	0.75	(0.11)***
Republican	—		2.27	(0.13)***	—		2.27	(0.13)***	2.26	(0.13)***	2.27	(0.13)***	2.89	(0.17)***	2.26	(0.13)***
Most important issue: Immigration	—		—		0.11	(0.22)	0.00	(0.22)	0.01	(0.22)	-0.38	(0.23)	0.00	(0.22)	-0.38	(0.24)
Ideology × Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		-1.20	(0.35)***	—		—		-1.18	(0.35)***
Independent x Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-0.68	(0.21)**	—	
Republican x Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-1.23	(0.19)***	—	
MII: Immigration × Trudeau cue	—		—		—		—		—		1.22	(0.48)*	—		1.16	(0.47)*
Sex (male)	—		0.01	(0.08)	0.33	(0.07)***	0.01	(0.08)	0.02	(0.08)	0.01	(0.08)	0.02	(0.08)	0.02	(0.08)
Age (years logged)	—		0.46	(0.20)*	0.90	(0.17)***	0.46	(0.20)*	0.47	(0.20)*	0.47	(0.20)*	0.47	(0.20)*	0.48	(0.20)*
Education	—		-0.77	(0.15)***	-1.12	(0.13)***	-0.77	(0.15)***	-0.78	(0.15)***	-0.78	(0.15)***	-0.78	(0.15)***	-0.79	(0.15)***
Race/ethnicity (ref = White)																
Black	—		-0.31	(0.13)*	-0.88	(0.12)***	-0.31	(0.13)*	-0.30	(0.13)*	-0.31	(0.13)*	-0.29	(0.13)*	-0.30	(0.13)*
Hispanic	—		-0.20	(0.14)	-0.40	(0.12)**	-0.20	(0.14)	-0.19	(0.14)	-0.21	(0.14)	-0.19	(0.14)	-0.20	(0.14)
Asian	—		-0.28	(0.18)	-0.51	(0.16)**	-0.28	(0.18)	-0.30	(0.18)	-0.25	(0.19)	-0.30	(0.18)	-0.27	(0.19)
Other	—		-0.25	(0.17)	-0.31	(0.15)*	-0.25	(0.17)	-0.24	(0.17)	-0.26	(0.17)	-0.22	(0.17)	-0.25	(0.17)
Region (ref = Northeast)																
Midwest	—		-0.23	(0.13)	-0.10	(0.11)	-0.23	(0.13)	-0.22	(0.13)	-0.22	(0.13)	-0.20	(0.13)	-0.21	(0.13)
South	—		-0.19	(0.11)	0.16	(0.10)	-0.19	(0.11)	-0.20	(0.11)	-0.18	(0.11)	-0.19	(0.11)	-0.19	(0.11)
West	—		-0.26	(0.13)*	-0.18	(0.12)	-0.26	(0.13)*	-0.26	(0.13)*	-0.25	(0.13)*	-0.24	(0.13)	-0.25	(0.13)
Likelihood ratio χ^2	40.72***		2,365.13***		396.62***		2,364.74***		2,388.44***		2,376.96***		2,440.25***		2,399.79***	
Nagelkerke pseudo- R^2	0.01		0.41		0.08		0.41		0.41		0.41		0.42		0.42	
n	4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875		4,875	

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Models are fit by ordinal logistic regression with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting). All continuous independent variables are mean-centered.

Table A4. Support for Canada–US border closure, ordinal logit models (Canada)

	Model A4.0.0		Model A4.0.1		Model A4.0.2		Model A4.1		Model A4.2		Model A4.3		Model A4.4		Model A4.5	
	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)	b	(SE)
Intercept–5	0.90	(0.06)***	0.98	(0.11)***	1.01	(0.09)	0.98	(0.11)***	0.95	(0.11)***	1.02	(0.11)***	1.15	(0.13)***	0.99	(0.11)***
Intercept–4	1.74	(0.07)***	1.91	(0.12)***	1.89	(0.09)	1.90	(0.12)***	1.88	(0.12)***	1.95	(0.11)***	2.08	(0.14)***	1.92	(0.11)***
Intercept–3	2.55	(0.08)***	2.80	(0.12)***	2.72	(0.10)	2.79	(0.12)***	2.77	(0.12)***	2.84	(0.12)***	2.98	(0.15)***	2.81	(0.12)***
Intercept–2	3.79	(0.11)***	4.13	(0.15)***	3.99	(0.13)	4.13	(0.15)***	4.12	(0.15)***	4.17	(0.15)***	4.33	(0.17)***	4.16	(0.15)***
Trump cue	-0.66	(0.08)***	-0.79	(0.09)***	-0.70	(0.09)	-0.79	(0.09)***	-0.75	(0.09)***	-0.85	(0.09)***	-1.11	(0.16)***	-0.81	(0.09)***
Ideology (left–right)	—		1.41	(0.24)***	—		1.40	(0.24)***	0.88	(0.32)**	1.39	(0.24)***	1.41	(0.24)***	0.92	(0.32)**
Party identification (ref = Liberal Party)																
New Democratic Party	—		-0.60	(0.14)***	—		-0.59	(0.14)***	-0.59	(0.14)***	-0.60	(0.14)***	-0.63	(0.19)***	-0.60	(0.14)***
Green Party	—		-0.38	(0.18)*	—		-0.38	(0.18)*	-0.38	(0.18)*	-0.41	(0.18)*	-0.35	(0.27)	-0.41	(0.18)*
Bloc Québécois	—		0.45	(0.27)	—		0.45	(0.27)	0.43	(0.27)	0.46	(0.27)	0.21	(0.38)	0.44	(0.27)
Conservative Party	—		0.47	(0.13)***	—		0.47	(0.13)***	0.47	(0.13)***	0.47	(0.13)***	0.07	(0.19)	0.47	(0.13)***
Other party/no party	—		0.22	(0.13)	—		0.22	(0.13)	0.23	(0.13)	0.23	(0.13)	-0.11	(0.19)	0.24	(0.13)
Most important issue: Immigration	—		—		0.34	(0.25)	0.17	(0.26)	0.16	(0.26)	-0.45	(0.35)	0.19	(0.26)	-0.41	(0.35)
Ideology × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		0.98	(0.41)*	—		—		0.91	(0.42)*
New Democratic Party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.04	(0.27)	—	
Green Party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		-0.11	(0.37)	—	
Bloc Québécois × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.43	(0.50)	—	
Conservative Party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.73	(0.24)**	—	
Other party/no party × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		—		0.62	(0.25)*	—	
MII: Immigration × Trump cue	—		—		—		—		—		1.30	(0.46)**	—		1.24	(0.47)**
Sex (male)	—		0.05	(0.09)	0.20	(0.09)*	0.04	(0.09)	0.04	(0.09)	0.04	(0.09)	0.05	(0.09)	0.03	(0.09)
Age (years logged)	—		1.12	(0.22)***	1.55	(0.21)***	1.13	(0.22)***	1.14	(0.22)***	1.11	(0.22)***	1.13	(0.22)***	1.12	(0.22)***
Education	—		-0.73	(0.17)***	-0.81	(0.16)***	-0.73	(0.17)***	-0.70	(0.17)***	-0.74	(0.17)***	-0.70	(0.17)***	-0.71	(0.17)***
Race/ethnicity (ref = White)																
Indigenous	—		0.78	(0.30)**	0.46	(0.26)	0.78	(0.30)**	0.80	(0.30)**	0.79	(0.30)**	0.81	(0.31)**	0.80	(0.30)**
Black	—		-0.24	(0.19)	-0.27	(0.19)	-0.27	(0.20)	-0.29	(0.20)	-0.29	(0.20)	-0.30	(0.20)	-0.31	(0.20)
Asian	—		0.22	(0.17)	0.25	(0.17)	0.22	(0.17)	0.22	(0.17)	0.23	(0.17)	0.23	(0.17)	0.23	(0.17)
Other	—		-0.22	(0.14)	-0.18	(0.14)	-0.22	(0.14)	-0.22	(0.14)	-0.21	(0.14)	-0.24	(0.14)	-0.22	(0.14)
Region (ref = Ontario)																
Atlantic	—		-0.15	(0.20)	-0.23	(0.19)	-0.15	(0.20)	-0.15	(0.20)	-0.17	(0.20)	-0.16	(0.19)	-0.18	(0.20)
Quebec	—		0.02	(0.13)	0.03	(0.12)	0.02	(0.13)	0.02	(0.13)	0.01	(0.13)	0.02	(0.13)	0.01	(0.13)
Prairies	—		-0.34	(0.12)**	-0.21	(0.11)	-0.33	(0.12)**	-0.33	(0.12)**	-0.35	(0.12)**	-0.34	(0.12)**	-0.35	(0.12)**
British Columbia	—		-0.18	(0.13)	-0.27	(0.13)*	-0.18	(0.13)	-0.18	(0.13)	-0.19	(0.13)	-0.20	(0.13)	-0.20	(0.13)
Likelihood ratio χ^2	115.55***		661.24***		354.11***		662.45***		675.27***		680.71***		690.09***		691.69***	
Nagelkerke pseudo- R^2	0.03		0.16		0.09		0.16		0.16		0.16		0.16		0.16	
n	4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429		4,429	

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Models are fit by ordinal logistic regression with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting). All continuous independent variables are mean-centered.

Figure A1. Support for Canada–US border closure, party identification and Trudeau cue (United States)

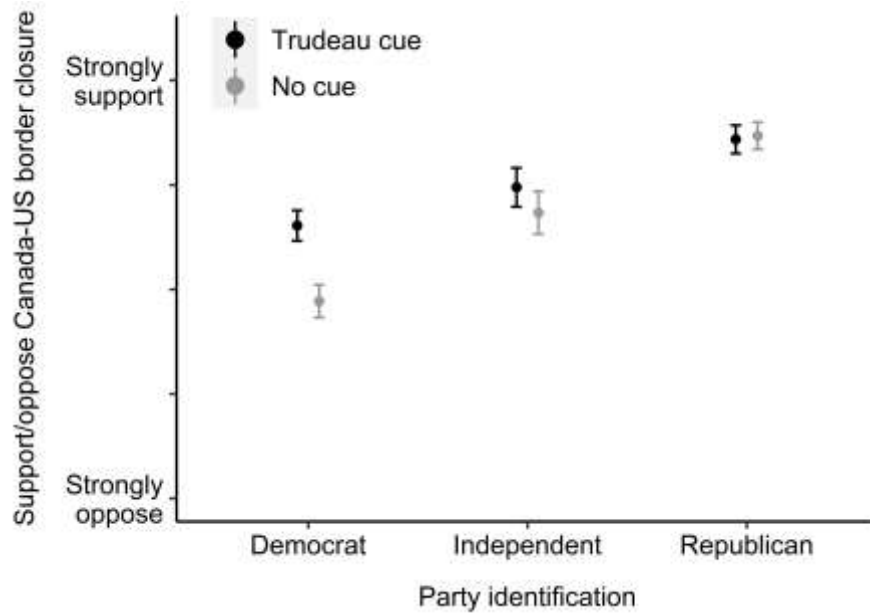


Figure A2. Support for Canada–US border closure, party identification and Trump cue (Canada)

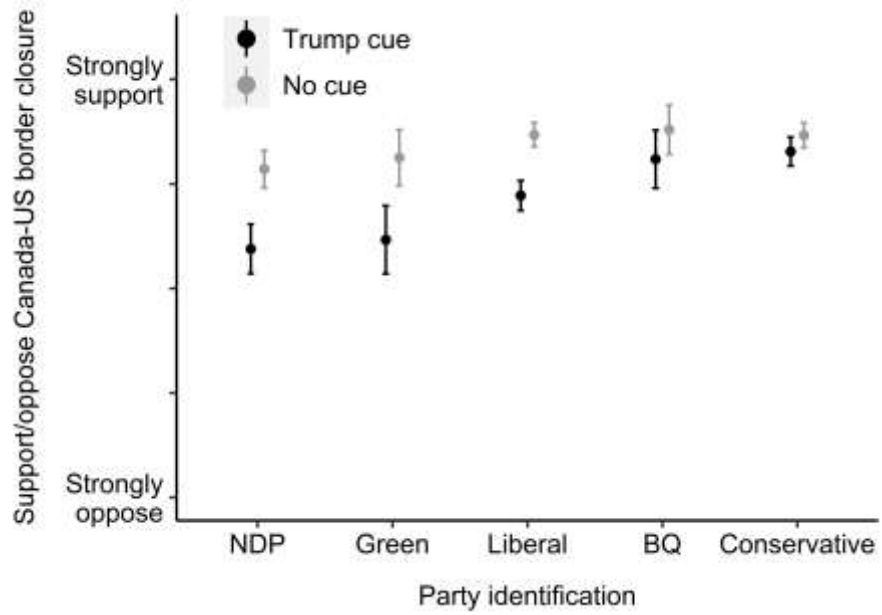


Figure A3. Ideology by party identification (United States)

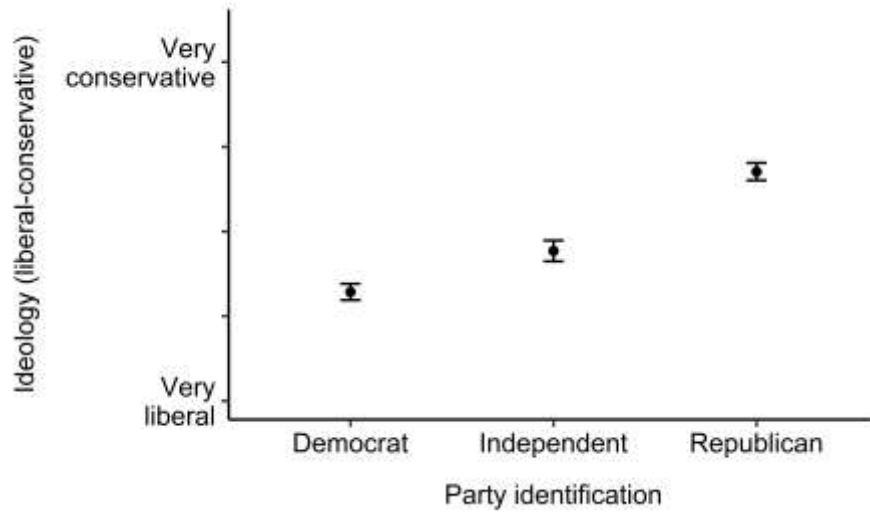
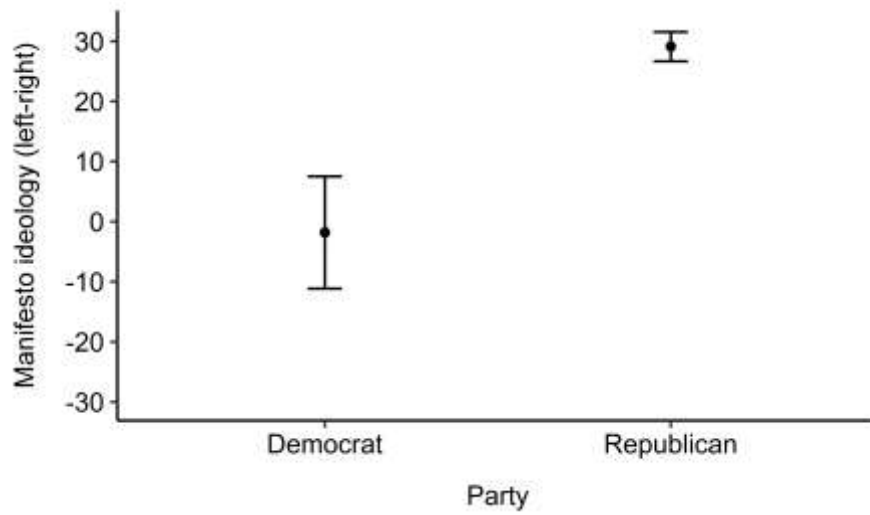


Figure A4. Party manifesto scoring, 1992–2020 (United States)



Source: Manifesto Project database, version 2021a

Figure A5. Ideology by party identification (Canada)

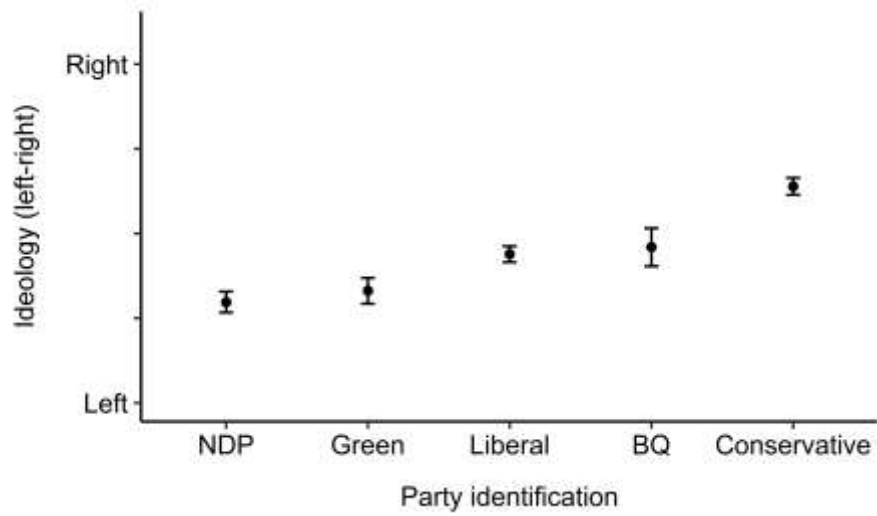
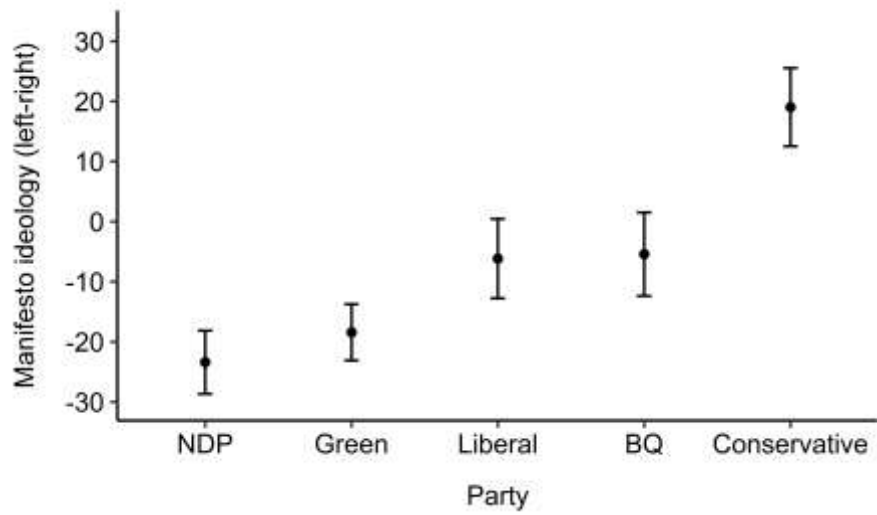


Figure A6. Party manifesto scoring, 1993–2015 (Canada)



Source: Manifesto Project database, version 2021a

Table A5. Test of interaction between Trudeau cue and national identity prime treatments, linear model (United States)

	Model A5	
	b	(SE)
Intercept	0.17	(0.02)***
Trudeau cue	0.10	(0.02)***
National identity prime	0.02	(0.02)
Trudeau cue × national identity prime	-0.04	(0.02)
R^2	0.01	
n	4,875	

Notes: *** $p \leq 0.001$. Models are fit by ordinary least squares with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting).

Table A6. Test of interaction between Trump cue and national identity prime treatments, linear model (Canada)

	Model A6	
	b	(SE)
Intercept	0.36	(0.01)***
Trump cue	-0.11	(0.02)***
National identity prime	0.02	(0.01)
Trump cue × national identity prime	-0.04	(0.02)
R^2	0.01	
n	4,429	

Notes: *** $p \leq 0.001$. Models are fit by ordinary least squares with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by province and poststratification weighting).

Table A7. Immigration as most important issue, binary logit (United States)

	Model A7	
	b	(SE)
Intercept	-3.86	(0.35)***
Ideology (liberal–conservative)	0.14	(0.50)
Party identification (ref = Democrat)		
Independent	0.52	(0.35)
Republican	0.31	(0.26)
Sex (male)	0.28	(0.23)
Age (years logged)	-0.71	(0.53)
Education	-0.33	(0.38)
Race/ethnicity (ref = White)		
Black	-0.72	(0.44)
Hispanic	0.88	(0.30)**
Asian	1.16	(0.41)**
Other	-0.59	(0.46)
Region (ref = Northeast)		
Midwest	0.44	(0.36)
South	0.01	(0.34)
West	-0.16	(0.39)
Likelihood ratio χ^2	69.43	***
Nagelkerke pseudo- R^2	0.05	
n	4,875	

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Model is fit by binary logistic regression with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting). All continuous independent variables are mean-centered.

Table A8. Immigration as most important issue, binary logit (Canada)

	Model A8	
	b	(SE)
Intercept	-3.29	(0.26)***
Ideology (left–right)	1.40	(0.50)**
Party identification (ref = Liberal Party)		
New Democratic Party	-0.06	(0.45)
Green Party	0.05	(0.56)
Bloc Québécois	-1.40	(0.83)
Conservative Party	0.28	(0.28)
Other party/no party	0.37	(0.29)
Sex (male)	0.42	(0.21)*
Age (years logged)	-0.69	(0.51)
Education	-0.82	(0.35)*
Race/ethnicity (ref = White)		
Indigenous	-0.60	(0.63)
Black	1.56	(0.40)***
Asian	0.50	(0.32)
Other	0.17	(0.28)
Region (ref = Ontario)		
Atlantic	0.18	(0.41)
Quebec	0.12	(0.30)
Prairies	-0.32	(0.29)
British Columbia	0.08	(0.30)
Likelihood ratio χ^2	121,81	***
Nagelkerke pseudo- R^2	0.08	
n	4,429	

Notes: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Model is fit by binary logistic regression with standard errors adjusted for the complex sample design (stratification by state and poststratification weighting). All continuous independent variables are mean-centered.

Table A9. Means tests, left–right (0–10) placement of foreign leaders (United States)

	Mean	(SE)	n
Left-right ideology: Prime Minister of Canada	3.43	(0.11)	981
Left-right ideology: Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau	3.60	(0.10)	1,005
Mean difference	0.17	(0.15)	
t	1.117		
ρ	0.264		
Left-right ideology: Prime Minister of Canada	3.43	(0.11)	981
Left-right ideology: Former President Donald Trump	7.60	(0.14)	981
Mean difference	4.17	(0.20)	
t	20.845		
ρ	<0.001		
Left-right ideology: Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau	3.60	(0.10)	1,001
Left-right ideology: Former President Donald Trump	7.06	(0.14)	1,001
Mean difference	3.47	(0.19)	
t	18.468		
ρ	<0.001		
Left-right ideology: Prime Minister of Canada/ Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau (combined)	3.52	(0.07)	1,982
Left-right ideology: Former President Donald Trump	7.33	(0.10)	1,982
Mean difference	3.81	(0.14)	
t	27.808		
ρ	<0.001		

Table A10. Means tests, foreign leader feeling thermometers (0–100) (United States)

	Mean	(SE)	n
Thermometer: Prime Minister of Canada	50.19	(1.29)	898
Thermometer: Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau	46.50	(1.20)	933
Mean difference	-3.69	(1.77)	
t	-2.087		
<i>p</i>	0.037		
Thermometer: Prime Minister of Canada	50.22	(1.30)	892
Thermometer: Former President Donald Trump	47.00	(1.67)	892
Mean difference	-3.21	(2.53)	
t	-1.269		
<i>p</i>	0.205		
Thermometer: Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau	46.29	(1.20)	926
Thermometer: Former President Donald Trump	43.88	(1.59)	926
Mean difference	-2.41	(2.29)	
t	-1.053		
<i>p</i>	0.293		
Thermometer: Prime Minister of Canada/Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau (combined)	48.19	(0.88)	1,818
Thermometer: Former President Donald Trump	45.39	(1.15)	1,818
Mean difference	-2.80	(1.70)	
t	-1.646		
<i>p</i>	0.100		

Appendix: Expanded discussion of ideology, foreign policy attitudes, and support for the Canada–US border closure

An alternative explanation for the US results we present in the article centers on ideological differences in foreign policy orientations: American liberals may be more inclined toward cooperative internationalism, less inclined toward isolationism, and thus more favorably disposed toward policies that receive endorsements from foreign leaders. We similarly draw on data from our August 2021 survey to test this possibility in an exploratory structural equation modeling (ESEM) framework (Asparouhov and Muthén 2009; Marsh et al. 2014). We test two alternative ESEMs with latent variables for ideology, foreign policy postures (cooperative internationalism, militant internationalism, isolationism, and support for global justice) (Gravelle, Reifler, and Scotto 2017, 2021); the two models differ with respect to their ultimate dependent variables: either a “multilateralist foreign leader” latent variable measured using feeling thermometers gauging views of Trudeau along with French President Emmanuel Macron and (then-) German Chancellor Angela Merkel, or the Trudeau thermometer alone (see Tables A9-A10 below).

The ESEM results confirm that cooperative internationalism exerts a strong positive effect on views toward multilateralist foreign leaders generally and Trudeau specifically. Militant internationalism and isolationism, on the other hand, exert modest negative effects. Even when controlling for these effects, ideology still exerts a significant and substantively large effect on feelings toward Trudeau (and foreign leaders). At the same time, ideology also influences each of cooperative internationalism, militant internationalism, and isolationism directly (cf. Gravelle, Reifler, and Scotto 2020). This implies indirect effects of ideology on views of foreign leaders via foreign policy postures. Yet, cooperative internationalism, militant internationalism, and isolationism do not fully mediate the effect of ideology, which continues to exert a direct effect. After partitioning the direct, indirect, and total effects specified in the ESEMs, it is clear that ideology strongly influences Americans’ views of foreign leaders, and only part of its effect is channeled through broad foreign policy postures. In light of this, we contend that our argument’s focus on ideology and its relationship to support for border restrictions is appropriate.

References

- Asparouhov, Tihomir, and Bengt Muthén. 2009. “Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling.” *Structural Equation Modeling* 16(3): 397–438.
- Gravelle, Timothy B., Jason Reifler, and Thomas J. Scotto. 2017. “The Structure of Foreign Policy Attitudes in Transatlantic Perspective: Comparing the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany.” *European Journal of Political Research* 56(4): 757–776.
- . 2020. “Personality Traits and Foreign Policy Attitudes: A Cross-National Exploratory Study.” *Personality and Individual Differences* 153: 109607.
- . 2021. “The Structure of Foreign Policy Attitudes among Middle Power Publics: A Transpacific Replication.” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 75(2): 217–36.
- Marsh, Herbert W., Alexandre J.S. Morin, Philip D. Parker, and Gurbinder Kaur. 2014. “Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling: An Integration of the Best Features of Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analysis.” *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* 10: 85–110.

Table A11. Exploratory structural equation model: Foreign policy attitudes, ideology, and feelings toward foreign leaders (standardized) (United States)

Factor structure	CI	ISO	MI	GJ	IDEO	LDR
The U.S. should work more through international organizations, like the UN.	0.77	0.07	0.02	0.09	—	—
In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies.	0.63	-0.07	0.34	0.03	—	—
The best way for the U.S. to be a world leader in foreign affairs is to build international consensus.	0.85	-0.03	0.40	0.04	—	—
The U.S. should be more committed to diplomacy and not so fast to use the military in international crises.	0.67	0.32	-0.13	-0.05	—	—
The U.S.'s interests are best protected by avoiding involvement with other nations.	0.07	0.86	0.02	0.03	—	—
The U.S. shouldn't risk its citizens' happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations.	0.04	0.75	0.04	-0.02	—	—
[Country] needs to simply mind its own business when it comes to international affairs.	-0.07	0.76	-0.05	0.12	—	—
[Country] doesn't need to withdraw from international affairs, it just needs to stop letting international organizations tell us what we can and can't do.	-0.17	0.14	0.59	0.00	—	—
[Country] should always do what is in its own interest, even if our allies object.	-0.13	0.42	0.44	-0.01	—	—
[Country] should take all steps including the use of force to prevent aggression by any expansionist power.	0.08	-0.06	0.80	0.06	—	—
[Country] needs a strong military to be effective in international relations.	0.05	0.02	0.71	-0.17	—	—
[Country] should be more willing to share its wealth with other nations, even if it doesn't coincide with our political interests.	0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.88	—	—
[Country] should spend significantly more money on foreign aid.	0.06	-0.02	0.04	0.82	—	—
[Country] already does enough to help the world's poor.	0.02	0.32	0.35	-0.33	—	—
Left-Right: 0-Left, 10-Right	—	—	—	—	0.79	—
Ideology: Very liberal / Somewhat liberal / Moderate / Somewhat Conservative / Very Conservative	—	—	—	—	0.83	—
Party identification: Democrat / Lean Democrat / Independent (no lean) / Lean Republican / Republican	—	—	—	—	0.82	—
Feeling thermometer (0-100): Justin Trudeau	—	—	—	—	—	0.95
Feeling thermometer (0-100): Emmanuel Macron	—	—	—	—	—	0.76
Feeling thermometer (0-100): Angela Merkel	—	—	—	—	—	0.85

Notes: CI = Cooperative Internationalism; ISO = Isolationism; MI = Militant Internationalism; GJ = Global Justice; IDEO: Ideology; LDR: feelings toward foreign leaders. Rescaled 0-10 to facilitate model convergence.

Table A11. Exploratory structural equation model: Foreign policy attitudes, ideology, and feelings toward foreign leaders (standardized) (United States), cont'd.

	Coef.	(SE)
Direct effects		
IDEO → CI	-0.75	(0.02) ***
IDEO → ISO	0.20	(0.04) ***
IDEO → MI	0.66	(0.03) ***
IDEO → GJ	-0.63	(0.02) ***
IDEO → LDR	-0.31	(0.06) ***
CI → LDR	0.44	(0.06) ***
ISO → LDR	-0.14	(0.03) ***
MI → LDR	0.10	(0.05) *
GJ → LDR	-0.05	(0.05)
Named → LDR	-0.06	(0.03)
Specific indirect effects		
IDEO → CI → LDR	-0.33	(0.04) ***
IDEO → ISO → LDR	-0.03	(0.01) ***
IDEO → MI → LDR	-0.07	(0.03) *
IDEO → GJ → LDR	0.03	(0.03)
Total indirect effects		
IDEO → LDR	-0.26	(0.05) ***
Total effects		
IDEO → LDR	-0.57	(0.02) ***

Notes: Notes: CI = Cooperative Internationalism; ISO = Isolationism; MI = Militant Internationalism; GJ = Global Justice; IDEO: Ideology; LDR: feelings toward foreign leaders; Named: foreign leaders' names are provided. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Model fit: $n = 2,118$; $\chi^2 = 267.044$, d.f. = 144, $p < 0.001$; RMSEA = 0.020 (0.016–0.024); CFI = 0.992; SRMR = 0.020.

Table A12: Exploratory structural equation model: Foreign policy attitudes, ideology, and feelings toward Justin Trudeau (standardized) (United States)

Factor structure	CI	ISO	MI	GJ	IDEO	JT
The U.S. should work more through international organizations, like the UN.	0.73	0.07	0.02	0.12	—	—
In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies.	0.65	-0.08	0.34	0.03	—	—
The best way for the U.S. to be a world leader in foreign affairs is to build international consensus.	0.86	-0.03	0.40	0.04	—	—
The U.S. should be more committed to diplomacy and not so fast to use the military in international crises.	0.68	0.31	-0.14	-0.06	—	—
The U.S.'s interests are best protected by avoiding involvement with other nations.	0.07	0.86	0.02	0.03	—	—
The U.S. shouldn't risk its citizens' happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations.	0.05	0.75	0.04	-0.02	—	—
[Country] needs to simply mind its own business when it comes to international affairs.	-0.07	0.76	-0.05	0.12	—	—
[Country] doesn't need to withdraw from international affairs, it just needs to stop letting international organizations tell us what we can and can't do.	-0.16	0.14	0.60	-0.01	—	—
[Country] should always do what is in its own interest, even if our allies object.	-0.13	0.42	0.44	-0.01	—	—
[Country] should take all steps including the use of force to prevent aggression by any expansionist power.	0.08	-0.05	0.81	0.07	—	—
[Country] needs a strong military to be effective in international relations.	0.06	0.02	0.71	-0.17	—	—
[Country] should be more willing to share its wealth with other nations, even if it doesn't coincide with our political interests.	0.03	0.05	-0.02	0.85	—	—
[Country] should spend significantly more money on foreign aid.	0.04	-0.02	0.04	0.85	—	—
[Country] already does enough to help the world's poor.	0.01	0.32	0.35	-0.31	—	—
Left-Right: 0-Left, 10-Right	—	—	—	—	0.79	—
Ideology: Very liberal / Somewhat liberal / Moderate / Somewhat Conservative / Very Conservative	—	—	—	—	0.82	—
Party identification: Democrat / Lean Democrat / Independent (no lean) / Lean Republican / Republican	—	—	—	—	0.82	—
Feeling thermometer (0-100): Justin Trudeau	—	—	—	—	—	0.95

Notes: CI = Cooperative Internationalism; ISO = Isolationism; MI = Militant Internationalism; GJ = Global Justice; IDEO: Ideology; JT: feelings toward Justin Trudeau. Rescaled 0-10 to facilitate model convergence; error variance fixed to value obtained in the model reported in Table A9.

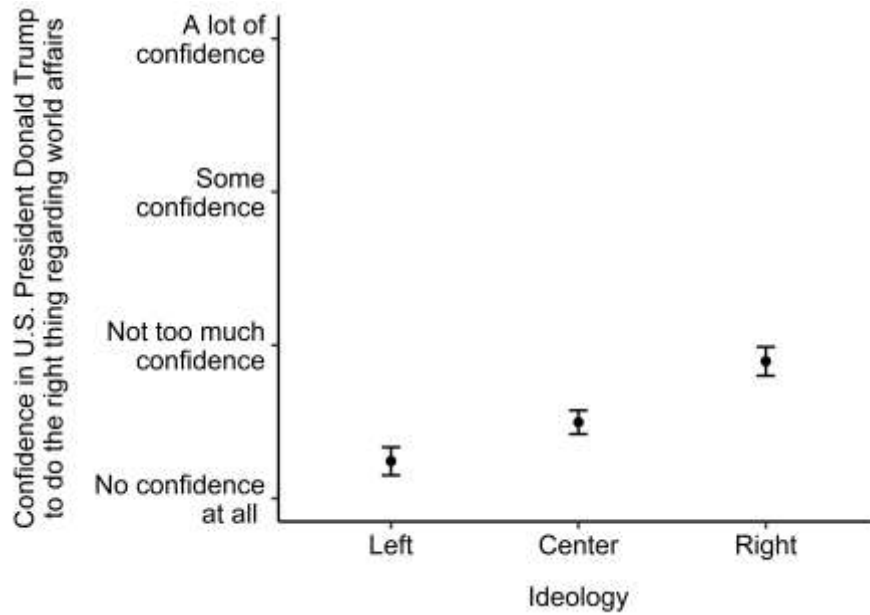
Table A12: Exploratory structural equation model: Foreign policy attitudes, ideology, and feelings toward Justin Trudeau (standardized) (United States), cont'd.

	Coef.	(SE)
Direct effects		
IDEO → CI	-0.75	(0.02) ***
IDEO → ISO	0.20	(0.04) ***
IDEO → MI	0.66	(0.03) ***
IDEO → GJ	-0.64	(0.02) ***
IDEO → JT	-0.39	(0.06) ***
CI → JT	0.33	(0.06) ***
ISO → JT	-0.09	(0.03) **
MI → JT	0.15	(0.05) **
GJ → JT	-0.07	(0.05)
Named → JT	-0.07	(0.03) *
Specific indirect effects		
IDEO → CI → JT	-0.24	(0.04) ***
IDEO → ISO → JT	-0.02	(0.01) **
IDEO → MI → JT	-0.10	(0.03) **
IDEO → GJ → JT	0.04	(0.03)
Total indirect effects		
IDEO → JT	-0.20	(0.05) ***
Total effects		
IDEO → JT	-0.59	(0.02) ***

Notes: CI = Cooperative Internationalism; ISO = Isolationism; MI = Militant Internationalism; GJ = Global Justice; IDEO: Ideology; JT: feelings toward Justin Trudeau; Named: foreign leaders' names are provided. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.

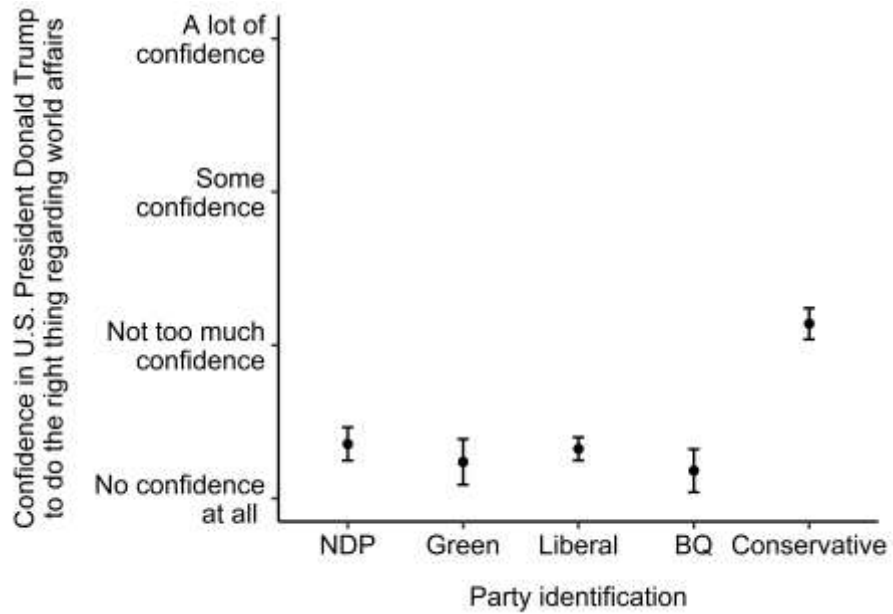
Model fit: $n = 2,118$; $\chi^2 = 188.641$, d.f. = 108, $p < 0.001$; RMSEA = 0.019 (0.014–0.023); CFI = 0.995; SRMR = 0.018.

Figure A7. Ideology and confidence in Donald Trump (Canada)



Source: Pew Research Center 2017–2020 Global Attitudes surveys, Canadian samples, n = 4,119

Figure A8. Party identification and confidence in Donald Trump (Canada)



Source: Pew Research Center 2017–2020 Global Attitudes surveys, Canadian samples, n = 4,119