# Appendix

Table A-1: Coding of variables, European Social Survey

| Variable | Question | Coding |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Party vote | Party voted for in the last general election in each country scored by the CHES estimated party position scales on authoritarian values and the salience of populist rhetoric | 0 to 100 |
| Education | Highest level of education | 1 to 5 |
| Cohort | Based on age: 1900-1945; 1946-1964; 1965-1979; 1980-1996 | Interwar generation; Baby Boomers; Generation X; Millennials |
| Social class | Oesch class scheme. Based on isco08, emplrel emplno | Unskilled workers; Skilled workers; Small business owners; Lower-grade service class; Higher-grade service class |
| Unemp | Ever been unemployed for more then 3 months / ever been unemployed for more than 12 months | never; 3 months; 12 months |
| Married | Legal marital status: married/civil union not married | 0 to 1 |
| Separated | Legal marital status: legally separated/legally divorced | 0 to 1 |
| Children | Based on household members: no (0), yes (1) | 0 to 1 |
| Religiosity | Strength of religiosity: low to high | 0 to 10 |
| Ethnic minority | Belong to ethnic minority: no, yes | 0 to 1 |
| Urban | Urbanization | 1 to 5 |
| Lrscale | Left-right scale: left (0) to right (10) | 0 to 10 |
| Freehms | Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish: (1) disagree to (5) agree | 1 to 5 |
| Behave | Important to behave properly | 1 to 6 |
| Rules | Important to do what is told and follow rules | 1 to 6 |
| Safety | Important that government is strong and ensures safety | 1 to 6 |
| Secure | Important to live in secure and safe surroundings | 1 to 6 |
| Tradition | Important to follow traditions and customs | 1 to 6 |
| Authoritarian values | Rescaled sum of behave, rules, safety, secure and tradition | 0 to 100 |
| Adventure | Important to have an exciting life | 1 to 6 |
| Creative | Important to be creative | 1 to 6 |
| Free | Important to be free | 1 to 6 |
| Listen | Important to listen to people different from her/him | 1 to 6 |
| Surprise | Important to do different things in life | 1 to 6 |
| Libertarian values | Rescaled sum of adventure, creative, free, listen and surprise | 0 to 100 |
| Trstprl | Trust in parliament | 0 to 10 |
| Trstplt | Trust in politicians | 0 to 10 |
| Trstprt | Trust in parties | 0 to 10 |
| Populist values | Rescaled sum of trust in parliaments, politicians and parties | 0 to 100 |
| Say | Political system allows people to have a say in what government does | 1 to 5 |
| Influence | Political system allows people to have influence on politics | 1 to 5 |
| Efficacy | Perceived responsiveness: rescaled sum of say and influence | 0 to 100 |
| Imbgeco | Immigration bad or good for country's economy: (0) bad to (10) good | 0 to 10 |
| Imueclt | Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants: (0) undermined to (10) enriched | 0 to 10 |
| Imwbcnt | Immigrants make country worse or better place to live: (0) worse to (10) better | 0 to 10 |
| Immig | Rescaled sum of imbgeco, imueclt and imwbcnt | 0 to 100 |

Table A-2: Descriptive statistics, EES 1-7

|   | Mean | SD | Min | Max | N |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Cohort | 2.39 | 1.05 | 1.00 | 4.00 | 339157 |
| Domicile | 2.86 | 1.23 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 341494 |
| Religiosity | 4.77 | 3.01 | 0.00 | 10.00 | 339363 |
| Populist (low trust) | 64.36 | 22.04 | 0.00 | 100.00 | 326813 |
| Authoritarian values | 68.27 | 17.40 | 0.00 | 100.00 | 319288 |
| Behave | 4.39 | 1.23 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 327473 |
| Rules | 3.92 | 1.37 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 326531 |
| Safety | 4.71 | 1.19 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 326193 |
| Secure | 4.70 | 1.20 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 328592 |
| Tradition | 4.33 | 1.34 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 328411 |
| Adventure | 3.09 | 1.46 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 327706 |
| Creative | 4.39 | 1.26 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 327503 |
| Free | 4.79 | 1.10 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 328259 |
| Listen | 4.60 | 1.08 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 327522 |
| Surprise | 4.01 | 1.36 | 1.00 | 6.00 | 327865 |
| Mig. culture | 5.46 | 2.57 | 0.00 | 10.00 | 324687 |
| EU integration | 5.21 | 2.68 | 0.00 | 10.00 | 220389 |
| Mig. economy | 4.81 | 2.33 | 0.00 | 10.00 | 323297 |
| Data: European Social Survey, 2002-2014, Rounds 1-7. |

Table A-3: Descriptive statistics, EES 9

|   | Mean | SD | Min | Max | N |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Gender | 0.47 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 50403 |
| Married | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 50403 |
| Separated | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0 | 1 | 50403 |
| Children | 0.47 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 50403 |
| Education | 3.35 | 1.28 | 1 | 5 | 50403 |
| Ethnic minority | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0 | 1 | 50403 |
| Religiosity | 4.55 | 3.13 | 0 | 10 | 50403 |
| Satisfaction economy | 4.73 | 2.47 | 0 | 10 | 50403 |
| Authoritarian values | 66.99 | 16.96 | 0 | 100 | 50403 |
| Populist values | 39.32 | 23.33 | 0 | 100 | 50403 |
| External efficacy | 30.38 | 21.75 | 0 | 100 | 50403 |
| Pro immigration | 52.38 | 22.92 | 0 | 100 | 50403 |
| Data: European Social Survey, 2018, Round 9. |

Table A-4: Descriptive statistics, EES 9, factors

|   |   | N | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Birth cohort | Interwar | 6678 | 13.2 |
|  | Baby Boomers | 16663 | 33.1 |
|  | Gen X | 12303 | 24.4 |
|  | Millennials | 10954 | 21.7 |
| Class scheme | Higher-grade service class | 8223 | 16.3 |
|  | Lower-grade service class | 7886 | 15.6 |
|  | Small business owners | 5021 | 10.0 |
|  | Skilled workers | 15208 | 30.2 |
|  | Unskilled workers | 9517 | 18.9 |
| Ever unemployed | never unemployed | 35726 | 70.9 |
|  | 3 months | 6786 | 13.5 |
|  | 12 months | 7595 | 15.1 |
| Data: European Social Survey, 2018, Round 9. |

Table A-5: Regression coefficients: vote for authoritarian-populist parties, ESS9

|   | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Baby Boomers | 0.205 | 1.370 | 1.328+ | 1.553\* |
|  | (1.087) | (0.836) | (0.758) | (0.769) |
| Generation X | 0.358 | 1.587 | 1.774 | 2.089+ |
|  | (1.812) | (1.305) | (1.240) | (1.219) |
| Millennials | -0.039 | 2.724\* | 3.149\*\* | 3.465\*\*\* |
|  | (1.720) | (1.128) | (0.966) | (0.980) |
| Children |  | 0.158 | -0.040 | -0.065 |
|  |  | (0.147) | (0.152) | (0.160) |
| Married |  | 0.359 | 0.153 | 0.229 |
|  |  | (0.380) | (0.448) | (0.476) |
| Separate |  | 1.478\*\* | 0.749 | 0.906\* |
|  |  | (0.497) | (0.466) | (0.455) |
| Gender |  | 1.888\*\*\* | 1.535\*\*\* | 1.597\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.344) | (0.331) | (0.336) |
| Unskilled workers |  | 2.049\* | 0.582 | 0.432 |
|  |  | (0.878) | (0.983) | (0.939) |
| Skilled workers |  | 1.862\*\*\* | 0.861 | 0.746 |
|  |  | (0.542) | (0.647) | (0.651) |
| Lower-grade service class |  | 0.488 | 0.056 | -0.020 |
|  |  | (0.335) | (0.494) | (0.447) |
| Small business owners |  | 1.502\*\*\* | 0.612 | 0.663 |
|  |  | (0.329) | (0.466) | (0.435) |
| Education |  | -1.018\*\*\* | -0.508\*\* | -0.504\*\* |
|  |  | (0.202) | (0.193) | (0.175) |
| Ethnic minority |  | -3.707 | -2.888 | -2.822 |
|  |  | (2.254) | (2.235) | (2.199) |
| Religiosity |  | -0.204 | -0.138 | -0.161 |
|  |  | (0.144) | (0.100) | (0.114) |
| Dissatisfied with state of economy |  | 0.422 | -0.199 | -0.063 |
|  |  | (0.343) | (0.240) | (0.273) |
| Placement on left-right scale |  | 2.807\*\*\* | 2.350\*\*\* | 2.339\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.384) | (0.403) | (0.413) |
| Authoritarianism |  |  | 0.809+ | 0.594 |
|  |  |  | (0.488) | (0.516) |
| External efficacy |  |  |  | -4.940\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (1.269) |
| Political trust |  |  | -6.465\* |  |
|  |  |  | (2.942) |  |
| Pro immigration |  |  | -16.821\*\*\* | -17.332\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (2.206) | (2.361) |
| Constant | 45.384\*\*\* | 30.630\*\*\* | 44.832\*\*\* | 43.374\*\*\* |
|  | (1.268) | (2.530) | (4.188) | (3.607) |
| Country fixed effects | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Num.Obs. | 22470 | 20095 | 18810 | 18802 |
| R2 | 0.418 | 0.504 | 0.525 | 0.525 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.417 | 0.503 | 0.524 | 0.524 |
| F | 671.123 | 522.409 | 494.597 | 493.758 |
| Std. Errors | Clustered | Clustered | Clustered | Clustered |
| + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 |
| Data: European Social Survey 2018, Round 9. Note: The table show the coefficients of OLS regression models that estimate the vote for authoritarian-populist parties. |



Figure A-1: Attitudes towards EU integration and migrants. Data: ESS, 1-7, weighted data.