

Supplementary Material

Reconciling National and Supranational Identities: Civilizationism in European Far-Right Discourse

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1 Data

Data for the party manifestos analyses were taken from the Manifesto Project database, version 2020-2.

Table A1 presents a list of the parties and leaders included in the Twitter analysis.

Table A1: Parties and Leaders in Twitter Analysis

Country	Party	Leader
France	Rassemblement National	Le Pen
	Les Républicains	Wauquiez
		Leonetti
		Jacob
	La République En Marche	Macron
	Mouvement Démocrate	Bayrou
Germany	Parti Socialiste	Faure
	La France Insoumise	Mélenchon
	Alternative für Deutschland	Weidel
	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands	Kramp-Karrenbauer Laschet
	Freie Demokratische Partei	Linder
	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	Klingbeil
		Walter-Borjans
		Esken
Italy	Die Grünen	Baerbock
		Riexinger
	Die Linke	Kipping
		Wissler
	Fratelli d'Italia	Hennig-Wellso
Italy	Lega	Salvini
	Fratelli d'Italia	Meloni

	Forza Italia	Berlusconi
	Movimento 5 Stelle	Di Maio
	Partito Democratico	Zingaretti Letta
Netherlands		
	Forum voor Democratie	Baudet
	Partij voor de Vrijheid ¹	Wilders
	Juiste Antwoord 2021	Eerdmans
	ChristenUnie	Segers
	Christen-Democratisch Appèl	Buma De Jonge Hoekstra
	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	Rutte
	Democraten 66	Kaag
	Volt Nederland	Dassen
	Partij van de Arbeid	Asscher Ploumen
	DENK	Kuzu Azarkan
	GroenLinks	Klaver
	Socialistische Partij	Marijnissen
	50PLUS	Krol den Haan
	Partij voor de Dieren	Thieme Ouwehand
	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	van der Staaij

¹ PVV has been suspended from Twitter and is not included in the dataset. Wilders' tweets are used in place of the party's.

Spain	Vox	Abascal
	Partido Popular	Casado
	Ciudadanos	Rivera Arrimadas
	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Sánchez
	Podemos	Iglesias Belarra
Sweden	Sverigedemokraterna	Åkesson
	Kristdemokraterna	Busch
	Moderata Samlingspartiet	Billström
	Liberalerna	Pehrson
	Centerpartiet	Löf
	Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti	Löfven
	Miljöpartiet de Gröna	Lövin Bolund Stenevi
	Vänsterpartiet	Sjöstedt Dadgostar

2 Notes on Text Analysis

To identify civilizational discourse in the party manifestos and tweets, I employed a two-stage process. First, I identified words related to “civilization” in each of the languages used in the texts. I primarily used Google Translate and online dictionaries, such as WordReference.com, to create these lists. To ensure I identified the correct words, I verified the lists by searching for online sources mentioning Huntington’s “clash of civilizations” in each language. This included searches on online bookstores, newspapers, and Wikipedia. Once I settled on a list of terms, I stemmed them and used a dictionary-based automated text analysis (employed using the R package “quanteda”) to identify every manifesto sentence and tweet in which “civilization” (or a related word) was mentioned.

As discussed in the manuscript, the word “civilization” is polysemic in many languages; in other words, it may take on meanings irrelevant to this study’s treatment of “civilization” as a supranational community of belonging. To address these challenges, I manually inspected the set of civilization-related passages identified using the aforementioned method. I identified multi-word phrases containing “civilization” that refer exclusively to the meaning implied in the study. For example, references to “our civilization” and “European civilization” clearly fit within the bounds set by my definition of civilization as a supranational community of belonging. Similarly, phrases that attributed civilizational importance to cultural elements—such as “civilizational values” or “civilizational identity”—were also included. This refined list of civilizational phrases was used in a second dictionary-based automated text analysis. The resulting manifesto sentences and tweets were coded as containing civilizationism.

Particular challenges arose in coding the German and Greek texts, in which the words “*Kultur*” and “*politismos*” (πολιτισμός) can be translated as either “civilization” or “culture.” In these cases, I adopted a conservative approach and only included phrases that explicitly linked “culture/civilization” to a supranational entity (e.g., “European culture/civilization” or “Western culture/civilization”). This may have resulted in undercounting the use of civilizational discourse by some actors, so results for German and Greek texts should be treated accordingly.

3 Regression Tables

Tables A2 and A3 display results for logistic regressions for civilizational discourse in party manifestos. Model 1 in each table was used to produced Figure 2 in the manuscript.

Table A2: Logistic Regression on Civilizational Discourse in Party Manifestos

	Civilizationism			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Ecological	0.066 (0.378)	-0.150 (0.412)	0.019 (0.388)	-0.179 (0.426)
Social Democratic	-0.044 (0.330)	-0.115 (0.360)	-0.073 (0.338)	-0.172 (0.372)
Agrarian	-14.78 (470.6)	-16.18 (1,110)	-14.66 (461.1)	-16.34 (1,087)
Liberal	-0.378 (0.358)	-0.543 (0.404)	-0.399 (0.365)	-0.589 (0.413)
Christian Democratic	0.685** (0.321)	0.602* (0.360)	0.601* (0.330)	0.581 (0.370)
Conservative	0.610* (0.319)	0.891** (0.366)	0.681** (0.329)	0.892** (0.377)
Nationalist	0.905*** (0.320)	1.071*** (0.362)	0.909*** (0.330)	1.054*** (0.373)
Ethnic and Regional	-1.462** (0.636)	-1.122 (0.704)	-1.479** (0.649)	-1.245* (0.725)
Special Interest	0.149 (0.456)	-0.185 (0.509)	0.039 (0.468)	-0.113 (0.516)
Constant	-1.783*** (0.242)	-1.950*** (0.516)	-1.939** (0.813)	-2.391** (1.082)
Country FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Year FE	No	No	Yes	Yes

Observations	1,063	1,063	1,063	1,063
AIC	924.5	847.3	947.1	876.8
Pseudo-R ²	0.08	0.26	0.13	0.30

Note: *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01.

Table A3: Logistic Regression on Civilizational Discourse in Party Manifestos

	Civilizationism			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Far Right	1.002*** (0.219)	1.070*** (0.250)	1.089*** (0.229)	1.090*** (0.256)
Constant	-1.760*** (0.092)	-1.913*** (0.434)	-1.819** (0.777)	-2.341** (1.033)
Country FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Year FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,063	1,063	1,063	1,063
AIC	939.2	858.6	957.3	888.7
Pseudo-R ²	0.04	0.21	0.08	0.25

Note: *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01.

Tables A4 and A5 display results for logistic regressions for civilizational discourse in party tweets. Model 1 in each table was used to produced Figure 3 in the manuscript.

Table A4: Logistic Regression on Civilizational Discourse on Twitter

	Civilizationism	
	(1)	(2)
Ecological	-1.199 (1.025)	-0.145 (1.038)
Social Democratic	-0.394 (0.330)	-0.188 (0.331)
Agrarian	-12.28 (195.8)	-10.62 (195.8)
Liberal	-1.712*** (0.548)	-1.450** (0.549)
Christian Democratic	0.714* (0.375)	1.677*** (0.416)
Conservative	1.794*** (0.234)	1.867*** (0.237)
Nationalist	1.578*** (0.233)	2.004*** (0.238)
Special Interest	-0.016 (0.466)	0.819* (0.484)
Constant	-8.286*** (0.224)	-7.390*** (0.229)
Country FE	No	Yes
Observations	666,000	666,000
AIC	7,912	7,699
Pseudo-R ²	0.05	0.07

Note: *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01.

Table A5: Logistic Regression on Civilizational Discourse on Twitter

	Civilizationism	
	(1)	(2)
Far Right	0.946*** (0.091)	1.299*** (0.106)
Constant	-7.649*** (0.071)	-6.433*** (0.085)
Country FE	No	Yes
Observations	666,000	666,000
AIC	8,159	7,855
Pseudo-R ²	0.01	0.05

Note: *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01.