**Online Appendix - Critical Junctures and the Crystallization of Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism**

Descriptive statistics (with weights applied)

Table A.1. Normative component: Attitudes and values

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Obs | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| Immigration orientations, NO | 929 | 5.6 | 2.7 | 0 | 10 |
| Immigration orientations, UK | 945 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 0 | 10 |
| EU membership support, NO | 869 | 0.19 | 0.39 | 0 | 1 |
| EU membership support, UK | 932 | 0.49 | .50 | 0 | 1 |
| Climate vs economic growth, NO | 986 | 3.2 | 1.2 | 1 | 5 |
| Climate vs economic growth, UK | 989 | 2.7 | 1.2 | 1 | 5 |
| Human rights, NO | 922 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 1 | 5 |
| Human rights, UK | 953 | 2.6 | 1.0 | 1 | 5 |
| Customs, NO | 923 | 3.3 | 1.0 | 1 | 5 |
| Customs, UK | 914 | 3.4 | 1.0 | 1 | 5 |
| Political authority, NO | 1,003 | 1.4 | 3.3 | -6 | 6 |
| Political authority, UK | 1,010 | -0.9 | 3.4 | -6 | 6 |
| Political attachments, NO | 940 | 0.6 | 1.1 | -4 | 4 |
| Political attachments, UK | 970 | 0.7 | 1.3 | -4 | 4 |

Table A.2. Normative component: Societal priorities (with weights)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | % mentioned (=1) | Obs |
| Social equality and solidarity, NO | 41.2 | 1,003 |
| Social equality and solidarity, UK | 34.8 | 1,010 |
| Environmental protection, NO | 33.1 | 1,003 |
| Environmental protection, UK | 48.4 | 1,010 |
| Cultural diversity and openness to others, NO | 19.0 | 1,003 |
| Cultural diversity and openness to others, UK | 18.8 | 1,010 |
| Traditions, NO | 18.0 | 1,003 |
| Traditions, UK | 7.3 | 1,010 |
| National defense, NO | 27.8 | 1,003 |
| National defense, UK | 16.6 | 1,010 |
| Empower the PM, NO | 2.3 | 1,003 |
| Empower the PM, UK | 6.0 | 1,010 |

Table A.3. Conceptions of democracy (weights applied). 1=ranking the democracy component as most important.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | % top rank (=1) | Obs |
| People decide, NO | 21.6 | 1,003 |
| People decide, UK | 16.7 | 1,010 |
| Constitutional rights, NO | 23.0 | 1,003 |
| Constitutional rights, UK | 15.6 | 1,010 |
| No one above the law, NO | 26.1 | 1,003 |
| No one above the law, UK | 46.4 | 1,010 |
| Free speech, NO | 29.2 | 1,003 |
| Free speech, UK | 21.3 | 1,010 |

Table A.4. Virtues (weights applied). 1=ranking the virtue on top.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | % top rank (=1) | Obs |
| Courage, NO | 4.0 | 1,003 |
| Courage, UK | 5.7 | 1,010 |
| Generosity, NO | 10.1 | 1,003 |
| Generosity, UK | 9.3 | 1,010 |
| Honesty, NO | 65.9 | 1,003 |
| Honesty, UK | 73.2 | 1,010 |
| Humour, NO | 9.1 | 1,003 |
| Humour, UK | 4.3 | 1,010 |
| Self-control, NO | 10.8 | 1,003 |
| Self-control, UK | 7.4 | 1,010 |

Table A.5. Party preference (propensity to vote).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Obs | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| NO: Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV) | 902 | 3.4 | 3.0 | 1 | 10 |
| NO: Arbeiderpartiet (Ap) | 913 | 5.0 | 3.2 | 1 | 10 |
| NO: Senterpartiet (Sp) | 893 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 1 | 10 |
| NO: Kristelig Folkeparti (KrF) | 919 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 1 | 10 |
| NO: Venstre (V) | 905 | 2.8 | 2.4 | 1 | 10 |
| NO: Høyre (H) | 916 | 4.6 | 3.3 | 1 | 10 |
| NO: Fremskrittspartiet (FrP) | 917 | 4.1 | 3.3 | 1 | 10 |
|  | | | | | |
| UK: Labour | 957 | 4.8 | 3.5 | 1 | 10 |
| UK: Conservative Party | 952 | 5.0 | 3.8 | 1 | 10 |
| UK: Liberal Democrats | 933 | 3.8 | 2.9 | 1 | 10 |
| UK: Brexit Party | 952 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 1 | 10 |

**Models not included in the main manuscript**

Part 1: Re-running analyses in figure 2 and table 2 but including the individual independent variables one by one.

Table A.6.1. Societal priorities, only immigration. (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | -0.24\*\*\* | -0.24\*\*\* | -0.39\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* | 0.26\*\*\* | 0.06 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.99\*\*\* | 0.56\*\* | 0.40 | -4.04\*\*\* | -2.47\*\*\* | -4.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.20) | (0.23) | (0.33) | (0.24) | (0.33) |
| *N* | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.2. Societal priorities, only EU (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | 0.04 | -0.40 | 0.11 | 1.01\*\*\* | 0.33 | -0.91 |
|  | (0.22) | (0.22) | (0.23) | (0.30) | (0.26) | (0.50) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.30 | -0.39\* | -1.59\*\*\* | -2.40\*\*\* | -1.17\*\*\* | -3.01\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.20) | (0.28) | (0.24) | (0.36) |
| *N* | 869 | 869 | 869 | 869 | 869 | 869 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.3. Societal priorities, only climate vs economic growth (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | -0.25\*\*\* | -0.96\*\*\* | -0.28\*\*\* | 0.50\*\*\* | 0.41\*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.44\* | 2.19\*\*\* | -0.60\* | -3.24\*\*\* | -2.32\*\*\* | -4.18\*\*\* |
|  | (0.22) | (0.27) | (0.26) | (0.35) | (0.32) | (0.51) |
| *N* | 986 | 986 | 986 | 986 | 986 | 986 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.4. Societal priorities, only human rights (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human rights | 0.04 | -0.14 | -0.08 | 0.17 | -0.05 | 0.42\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.47\* | -0.34 | -1.26\*\*\* | -1.94\*\*\* | -0.78\*\* | -4.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.24) | (0.23) | (0.28) | (0.31) | (0.25) | (0.45) |
| *N* | 922 | 922 | 922 | 922 | 922 | 922 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.5. Societal priorities, only customs (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | -0.03 | -0.20\* | -0.02 | 0.54\*\*\* | 0.31\*\* | -0.38 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.11) | (0.14) | (0.10) | (0.27) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.23 | -0.06 | -1.39\*\*\* | -3.37\*\*\* | -1.94\*\*\* | -2.51\*\*\* |
|  | (0.29) | (0.28) | (0.36) | (0.52) | (0.37) | (0.76) |
| *N* | 923 | 923 | 923 | 923 | 923 | 923 |

Table A.6.6. Societal priorities, only political authority (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.06\* | -0.04 | -0.06\* | 0.11\*\*\* | 0.05 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.27\*\* | -0.65\*\*\* | -1.38\*\*\* | -1.71\*\*\* | -1.03\*\*\* | -3.73\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.12) | (0.10) | (0.24) |
| *N* | 1003 | 1003 | 1003 | 1003 | 1003 | 1003 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.7. Societal priorities, only political attachments (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachment | -0.20\*\* | -0.21\*\* | -0.14 | 0.36\*\* | 0.28\*\* | -0.08 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.12) | (0.09) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.18\* | -0.58\*\*\* | -1.37\*\*\* | -1.76\*\*\* | -1.11\*\*\* | -3.81\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.11) | (0.15) | (0.12) | (0.27) |
| *N* | 940 | 940 | 940 | 940 | 940 | 940 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.8. Societal priorities, only immigration. (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.20\*\*\* | -0.41\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.38\*\*\* | 0.37\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.74\*\*\* | 0.80\*\*\* | -0.05 | -4.20\*\*\* | -3.52\*\*\* | -4.79\*\*\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.36) | (0.23) | (0.40) |
| *N* | 945 | 945 | 945 | 945 | 945 | 945 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.9. Societal priorities, only EU (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | -1.24\*\*\* | -0.98\*\*\* | -0.98\*\*\* | 1.20\*\*\* | 1.59\*\*\* | 1.74\*\*\* |
|  | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.20) | (0.32) | (0.25) | (0.42) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.01 | 0.51\*\*\* | -0.99\*\*\* | -3.23\*\*\* | -2.61\*\*\* | -3.89\*\*\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.28) | (0.22) | (0.38) |
| *N* | 932 | 932 | 932 | 932 | 932 | 932 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.10. Societal priorities, only climate vs economic growth (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | -0.47\*\*\* | -1.17\*\*\* | -0.26\*\*\* | 0.60\*\*\* | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.45\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.62\*\* | 3.08\*\*\* | -0.76\*\*\* | -4.35\*\*\* | -3.23\*\*\* | -4.06\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.25) | (0.21) | (0.40) | (0.29) | (0.45) |
| *N* | 989 | 989 | 989 | 989 | 989 | 989 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.11. Societal priorities, only human rights (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human rights | -0.31\*\*\* | -0.24\*\* | -0.35\*\*\* | 0.34\*\* | 0.25\* | 0.52\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.13) | (0.10) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.16 | 0.56\*\* | -0.57\* | -3.43\*\*\* | -2.25\*\*\* | -4.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.20) | (0.20) | (0.25) | (0.39) | (0.29) | (0.47) |
| *N* | 953 | 953 | 953 | 953 | 953 | 953 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.12. Societal priorities, only customs (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | -0.26\*\* | -0.15 | -0.35\*\*\* | 0.56\*\*\* | 0.38\*\* | 0.21 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.15) | (0.12) | (0.21) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.19 | 0.42 | -0.28 | -4.45\*\*\* | -2.85\*\*\* | -3.36\*\*\* |
|  | (0.27) | (0.26) | (0.31) | (0.56) | (0.45) | (0.76) |
| *N* | 914 | 914 | 914 | 914 | 914 | 914 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.13. Societal priorities, only political authority (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.18\*\*\* | -0.19\*\*\* | -0.15\*\*\* | 0.20\*\*\* | 0.20\*\*\* | 0.18\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.85\*\*\* | -0.24\*\* | -1.67\*\*\* | -2.57\*\*\* | -1.60\*\*\* | -2.76\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.11) | (0.15) | (0.10) | (0.16) |
| *N* | 1010 | 1010 | 1010 | 1010 | 1010 | 1010 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.6.14. Societal priorities, only political attachments (UK)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.49\*\*\* | -0.30\*\*\* | -0.40\*\*\* | 0.37\*\*\* | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.72\*\*\* |
| attachments | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.12) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.32\*\*\* | 0.17\* | -1.25\*\*\* | -2.87\*\*\* | -2.10\*\*\* | -3.57\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.19) | (0.13) | (0.25) |
| *N* | 970 | 970 | 970 | 970 | 970 | 970 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Part 2: Analyses of democracy conceptions in both countries

Table A.7.1. Predictors of rating different democracy components as most important, Norway.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free Speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | 0.05 | 0.01 | -0.06 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | -0.01 | 0.21 | -0.05 | -0.11 |
|  | (0.26) | (0.30) | (0.24) | (0.26) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.06 | 0.19\* | -0.25\* | 0.01 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | -0.05 | -0.00 | -0.04 | 0.08 |
| rights | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.03 | -0.05 | -0.11 | 0.13 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.02 | 0.05 | -0.02 | -0.01 |
| authority | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | 0.10 | -0.09 | -0.11 | 0.09 |
| attachments | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.70\*\* | -1.82\*\*\* | 0.61 | -1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.54) | (0.49) | (0.52) | (0.48) |
| *N* | 737 | 737 | 737 | 737 |
| pseudo *R*2 | 0.010 | 0.017 | 0.042 | 0.006 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.2. Predictors of rating different democracy components as most important, UK.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free Speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | -0.00 | -0.09 | 0.02 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | 0.44 | -0.04 | -0.25 | 0.06 |
|  | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.19) | (0.23) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.07 | 0.07 | -0.16\* | 0.12 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | 0.16 | 0.03 | -0.10 | -0.01 |
| rights | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | -0.10 | -0.03 | 0.12 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.00 | 0.02 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| authority | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.02 | -0.09 | 0.06 | 0.01 |
| attachments | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.15\*\*\* | -1.34\*\* | 0.14 | -1.64\*\*\* |
|  | (0.47) | (0.47) | (0.35) | (0.43) |
| *N* | 804 | 804 | 804 | 804 |
| pseudo *R*2 | 0.014 | 0.014 | 0.013 | 0.010 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.3. Democracy conceptions, only immigration (NO)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | 0.06 | 0.05 | -0.11\*\* | 0.01 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.61\*\*\* | -1.43\*\*\* | -0.44\* | -1.01\*\*\* |
|  | (0.23) | (0.22) | (0.20) | (0.22) |
| Observations | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.004 | 0.003 | 0.015 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.4. Democracy conceptions, only EU (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| EU opposition | 0.14 | 0.15 | -0.29 | 0.04 |
|  | (0.23) | (0.26) | (0.24) | (0.24) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.40\*\*\* | -1.27\*\*\* | -0.81\*\*\* | -0.98\*\*\* |
|  | (0.20) | (0.24) | (0.21) | (0.21) |
| Observations | 869 | 869 | 869 | 869 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.5. Democracy conceptions, only climate vs economic growth (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.06 | 0.20\* | -0.24\*\* | 0.01 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.47\*\*\* | -1.86\*\*\* | -0.28 | -0.92\*\*\* |
|  | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.24) |
| Observations | 986 | 986 | 986 | 986 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.001 | 0.009 | 0.015 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.6. Democracy conceptions, only human rights (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Human rights | -0.01 | 0.06 | -0.07 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.22\*\*\* | -1.34\*\*\* | -0.90\*\* | -0.95\*\*\* |
|  | (0.25) | (0.29) | (0.28) | (0.23) |
| Observations | 922 | 922 | 922 | 922 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.7. Democracy conceptions, only customs (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.08 | 0.06 | -0.15 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.54\*\*\* | -1.36\*\*\* | -0.57 | -0.99\*\*\* |
|  | (0.34) | (0.37) | (0.33) | (0.29) |
| Observations | 923 | 923 | 923 | 923 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.004 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.8. Democracy conceptions, only political authority (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.01 | 0.04 | -0.03 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.28\*\*\* | -1.27\*\*\* | -1.00\*\*\* | -0.88\*\*\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
| Observations | 1003 | 1003 | 1003 | 1003 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.000 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.9. Democracy conceptions, only political attachments (NO).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | 0.11 | 0.03 | -0.21\* | 0.07 |
| attachments | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.35\*\*\* | -1.23\*\*\* | -0.95\*\*\* | -0.91\*\*\* |
|  | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
| Observations | 940 | 940 | 940 | 940 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.008 | 0.001 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.10. Democracy conceptions, only immigration (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | 0.07\* | -0.12\*\*\* | -0.00 | 0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.91\*\*\* | -1.23\*\*\* | -0.13 | -1.44\*\*\* |
|  | (0.18) | (0.15) | (0.13) | (0.16) |
| Observations | 945 | 945 | 945 | 945 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.006 | 0.017 | 0.000 | 0.002 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.11. Democracy conceptions, only EU (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | 0.60\*\* | -0.56\*\* | -0.12 | 0.13 |
|  | (0.20) | (0.21) | (0.15) | (0.18) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.95\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* | -0.08 | -1.37\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) | (0.13) | (0.10) | (0.13) |
| Observations | 932 | 932 | 932 | 932 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.013 | 0.012 | 0.001 | 0.001 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.12. Democracy conceptions, only climate vs economic growth (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.13 | -0.06 | -0.13\* | 0.13 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.97\*\*\* | -1.55\*\*\* | 0.22 | -1.65\*\*\* |
|  | (0.25) | (0.24) | (0.18) | (0.22) |
| Observations | 989 | 989 | 989 | 989 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.004 | 0.001 | 0.004 | 0.004 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.13. Democracy conceptions, only human rights (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Human rights | 0.18 | -0.06 | -0.11 | 0.06 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.11) | (0.07) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.07\*\*\* | -1.57\*\*\* | 0.14 | -1.43\*\*\* |
|  | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.20) | (0.24) |
| Observations | 953 | 953 | 953 | 953 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.005 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.001 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.14. Democracy conceptions, only customs (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.09 | -0.18 | 0.04 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.90\*\*\* | -1.12\*\* | -0.28 | -1.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.35) | (0.35) | (0.26) | (0.31) |
| Observations | 914 | 914 | 914 | 914 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.001 | 0.005 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.15. Democracy conceptions, only political authority (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | 0.02 | -0.03 | -0.02 | 0.04 |
| authority | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.59\*\*\* | -1.72\*\*\* | -0.16\* | -1.28\*\*\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.09) |
| Observations | 1010 | 1010 | 1010 | 1010 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.002 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A.7.16. Democracy conceptions, only political attachments (UK).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | People decide | Constitutional rights | No one above law | Free speech |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | 0.07 | -0.19\* | 0.02 | 0.06 |
| attachments | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.67\*\*\* | -1.61\*\*\* | -0.15 | -1.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) |
| Observations | 970 | 970 | 970 | 970 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.001 | 0.009 | 0.000 | 0.001 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Replication of Figure 3 predicted probability of ranking constitutional rights as the most important for given levels of immigration attitudes in Norway

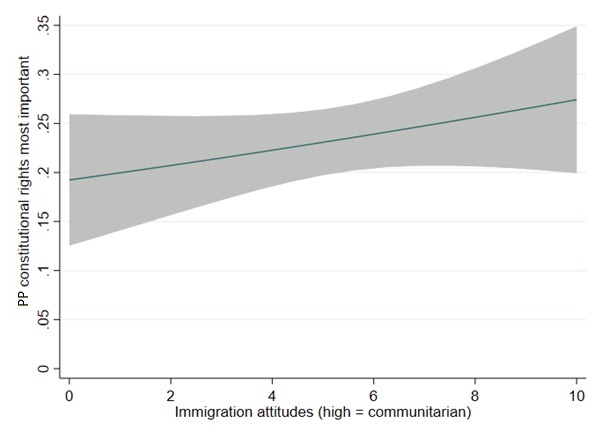


Table A.8.1.1 Binary logistic regression analyses of cosmopolitan and communitarian priorities in Norway.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defence | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | -0.21\*\*\* | -0.09 | -0.41\*\*\* | 0.36\*\*\* | 0.23\*\*\* | 0.04 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | 0.45 | -0.30 | 0.37 | 0.59 | 0.08 | -0.97 |
|  | (0.25) | (0.28) | (0.28) | (0.40) | (0.30) | (0.59) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | -0.11 | -0.91\*\*\* | 0.01 | 0.17 | 0.22\* | 0.05 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | 0.05 | -0.18 | -0.06 | 0.19 | -0.05 | 0.30 |
| rights | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.16) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.14 | 0.07 | 0.18 | 0.26 | 0.05 | -0.24 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.15) | (0.11) | (0.25) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.02 | 0.02 | -0.03 | 0.04 | -0.01 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachments | -0.16 | -0.16 | 0.08 | 0.17 | 0.06 | 0.10 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.13) | (0.11) | (0.22) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.48 | 2.98\*\*\* | -0.28 | -6.58\*\*\* | -3.13\*\*\* | -3.46\*\*\* |
|  | (0.51) | (0.53) | (0.60) | (0.77) | (0.58) | (0.98) |
| Observations | 737 | 737 | 737 | 737 | 737 | 737 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.077 | 0.213 | 0.149 | 0.212 | 0.099 | 0.042 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \**p*<0.05, \*\**p*<0.01, \*\*\**p*<0.001. NB! High values = communitarian attitudes

Table A.8.1.2 Binary logistic regression analyses of cosmopolitan and communitarian priorities in the UK.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Social equality and solidarity | Protecting the environment | Cultural diversity and openness to others | Traditions | National defense | Empowering our prime minister |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | -0.30\*\*\* | -0.01 | -0.39\*\*\* | 0.22\*\* | 0.28\*\*\* | 0.24\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.06) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | -0.04 | -0.27 | 0.23 | -0.13 | 0.30 | 0.41 |
|  | (0.24) | (0.24) | (0.30) | (0.47) | (0.36) | (0.54) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | -0.15 | -1.03\*\*\* | 0.05 | 0.37\* | 0.25\* | 0.11 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.15) | (0.12) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | -0.07 | -0.05 | -0.10 | 0.05 | -0.14 | 0.18 |
| rights | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.12) | (0.16) | (0.13) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.13 | 0.20 | 0.01 | 0.20 | -0.01 | -0.32 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.18) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.04 | -0.07\* | -0.01 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachments | -0.10 | 0.04 | -0.06 | -0.09 | 0.10 | 0.38\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.11) | (0.14) | (0.12) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.67 | 2.29\*\*\* | -0.07 | -5.41\*\*\* | -3.69\*\*\* | -4.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.46) | (0.47) | (0.54) | (0.76) | (0.62) | (0.95) |
| Observations | 804 | 804 | 804 | 804 | 804 | 804 |
| Pseudo *R*2 | 0.156 | 0.215 | 0.142 | 0.139 | 0.185 | 0.163 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \**p*<0.05, \*\**p*<0.01, \*\*\**p*<0.001.

Table A.8.2.1 Binary logistic regression analyses of virtues in Norway.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Courage | Generosity | Honesty | Humor | Self-control |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | -0.12 | -0.09 | 0.06 | 0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | 0.49 | -0.24 | 0.94\*\*\* | -1.17\*\* | -0.90\*\* |
|  | (0.48) | (0.35) | (0.23) | (0.40) | (0.33) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.22 | -0.21 | -0.07 | -0.00 | 0.24\* |
|  | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.09) | (0.14) | (0.12) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | -0.03 | -0.12 | 0.07 | 0.02 | -0.06 |
| rights | (0.21) | (0.23) | (0.10) | (0.16) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.03 | -0.08 | -0.08 | 0.45\*\* | -0.10 |
|  | (0.25) | (0.18) | (0.11) | (0.14) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.01 | -0.06 | 0.02 | -0.16\*\*\* | 0.16\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachments | -0.14 | -0.15 | 0.11 | 0.06 | -0.13 |
|  | (0.18) | (0.17) | (0.09) | (0.14) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -3.46\*\*\* | -0.26 | -0.22 | -3.24\*\*\* | -1.71\* |
|  | (0.83) | (1.16) | (0.52) | (0.80) | (0.70) |
| *N* | 737 | 737 | 737 | 737 | 737 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \**p*<0.05, \*\**p*<0.01, \*\*\**p*<0.001

Table A.8.2.2Binary logistic regression analyses of virtues in the UK.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Courage | Generosity | Honesty | Humor | Self-control |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration | 0.05 | -0.08 | -0.05 | 0.02 | 0.14 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.05) | (0.11) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | -0.40 | -0.63 | 0.54\* | 0.35 | -0.72\* |
|  | (0.53) | (0.34) | (0.25) | (0.56) | (0.36) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.00 | -0.20 | 0.11 | -0.12 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.18) | (0.16) | (0.09) | (0.17) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | -0.21 | 0.21 | -0.06 | -0.25 | 0.24 |
| rights | (0.20) | (0.16) | (0.10) | (0.22) | (0.16) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.00 | 0.05 | -0.08 | 0.07 | 0.12 |
|  | (0.23) | (0.18) | (0.11) | (0.17) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.01 | 0.07 | -0.04 | 0.05 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachments | 0.19 | -0.14 | 0.16 | -0.40\*\* | -0.18 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.16) | (0.09) | (0.14) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.37\* | -1.88\*\* | 0.92 | -2.36\*\* | -3.72\*\*\* |
|  | (1.05) | (0.71) | (0.47) | (0.90) | (0.73) |
| *N* | 804 | 804 | 804 | 804 | 804 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \**p*<0.05, \*\**p*<0.01, \*\*\**p*<0.001

Table A.8.3.1OLS analyses of party preference (propensity to vote for each party) in Norway.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | SV | Ap | Sp | KrF | Venstre | Høyre | FrP |
| Immigration | -0.42\*\*\* | -0.35\*\*\* | -0.04 | -0.08\* | -0.15\*\*\* | 0.09 | 0.57\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | 0.25 | 0.02 | 0.64 | -0.92\*\* | -1.05\*\* | -1.19\*\* | -0.35 |
|  | (0.32) | (0.38) | (0.33) | (0.34) | (0.32) | (0.41) | (0.33) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.28 | -0.11 | 0.05 | -0.10 | 0.35\*\* | 0.46\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.15) | (0.13) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.13) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | -0.04 | -0.01 | 0.09 | -0.19 | -0.10 | -0.17 | -0.25 |
| rights | (0.15) | (0.16) | (0.13) | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.14) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | 0.26\* | 0.30\* | 0.57\*\*\* | 0.22 | 0.07 | -0.52\*\*\* | -0.22 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.15) | (0.14) | (0.12) | (0.10) | (0.16) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.06 | -0.03 | -0.04 | -0.06 | -0.07\* | 0.03 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachments | -0.13 | 0.16 | 0.16 | -0.07 | -0.06 | 0.15 | 0.08 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.18) | (0.19) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 6.14\*\*\* | 6.77\*\*\* | 2.19\*\*\* | 3.37\*\*\* | 4.91\*\*\* | 6.10\*\*\* | 1.06 |
|  | (0.80) | (0.83) | (0.63) | (0.53) | (0.50) | (0.73) | (0.67) |
| *N* | 696 | 697 | 689 | 699 | 694 | 696 | 697 |
| *R*2 | 0.250 | 0.119 | 0.060 | 0.056 | 0.109 | 0.067 | 0.312 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \**p*<0.05, \*\**p*<0.01, \*\*\**p*<0.001

Table A.8.3.2OLS analyses of party preference (propensity to vote for each party) in the UK.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | LibDem | Labour | Conservative | Brexit Party |
| Immigration | -0.10\* | -0.35\*\*\* | 0.31\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| EU | -2.27\*\*\* | -2.07\*\*\* | 2.30\*\*\* | 1.11\*\*\* |
|  | (0.29) | (0.35) | (0.36) | (0.26) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Climate | 0.00 | -0.21 | 0.45\*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Human | 0.20 | 0.17 | -0.03 | 0.01 |
| rights | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.13) | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Customs | -0.09 | 0.20 | -0.09 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.13) | (0.12) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political authority | -0.04 | -0.08\* | 0.04 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political attachments | -0.33\*\*\* | -0.27\* | 0.36\*\* | 0.09 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 5.45\*\*\* | 6.85\*\*\* | 1.65\*\* | 0.23 |
|  | (0.50) | (0.56) | (0.61) | (0.49) |
| *N* | 766 | 777 | 775 | 774 |
| *R*2 | 0.322 | 0.408 | 0.425 | 0.300 |

Standard errors in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

**Survey questionnaire**

**English questionnaire**

1. When you are deciding who to vote for in general elections, how important are the following issues for you? [items should appear in a random order]

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Very important** | **Somewhat important** | **Neutral** | **Somewhat unimportant** | **Completely unimportant** |
| Immigration | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Health care | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Climate change | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Education | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| EU membership | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Crime | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Unemployment | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

1. From the following items, which two should our society emphasize in order to face major global challenges? [answers appear in random order]
   1. Social equality and solidarity
   2. Protecting the environment
   3. Progress and innovation
   4. Free trade / market economy
   5. Cultural diversity and openness to others
   6. Traditions
   7. National defense
   8. Empowering our prime minister
   9. Don’t Know
2. For the following propositions, please indicate whether you agree or disagree.

[answers appear in random order]

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Strongly Disagree** | **Disagree** | **Neutral** | **Agree** | **Strongly Agree** | **Don’t Know** |
| 1. Immigrants enrich our cultural life | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Immigration is good for the economy | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Immigrants are a strain on our welfare system | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Immigrants make crime problems worse | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Free trade between countries is good for the economy | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Our industry should be better protected through import restrictions | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Human rights should be upheld across the globe, even if it requires military intervention | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Jobs and economic growth are more important than combating climate change | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Abortion can’t be justified | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1. Gay marriage should be legal | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |

1. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the United nations, the European Union, national governments, NGOs or commercial enterprises? [items appear in a random order]

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **United**  **Nations** | **The European Union** | **National governments** | **Nonprofit/**  **NGOs** | **Commercial enterprises** | **DK** |
| International peacekeeping | (1) | (2) | (3) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Protection of the environment | (1) | (2) | (3) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Aid to developing countries | (1) | (2) | (3) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Refugees | (1) | (2) | (3) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Human rights | (1) | (2) | (3) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Infectious diseases | (1) | (2) | (3) | (5) | (6) | (7) |

1. People may feel different degrees of attachment to their region, to their country, to Europe or to the world. Could you please take a look at the geographic units below and indicate us how attached you are to them?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Very Attached** | **Fairly attached** | **Neither attached not detached** | **Fairly detached** | **Completely detached** | **Don’t know** |
| Your town or city | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Your county/region/district | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| The UK | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Europe | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| The World | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |  |

1. Please rank the following virtues from the most important to the least important for you. [answers appear in random order]
2. Courage
3. Generosity
4. Honesty
5. Humor
6. Self-control
7. Please rank the following components of democracy from the most important to the least important for you [answers appear in random order]
8. The people decide
9. My rights are protected by the law
10. No one is above the law
11. We are free to express our opinions
12. What is your preferred relationship between [COUNTRY] and the European Union?
    1. Full membership (like Germany)
    2. Membership with opt-outs (like the United Kingdom before Brexit)
    3. Membership of the internal market (like Norway today)
    4. Free Trade Agreement (like Canada)
    5. No Agreement (trade on WTO terms)
    6. Don’t Know
13. **Party preference[adjusted party names according to the country]**

Could please you indicate for each party how probable it is that you will ever vote for that party?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Party** | **Certainly never** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **Certainly, sometime in the future** | **DK** |
| Conservative | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Labour | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Liberal Democrat | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Scottish National Party | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Democratic Unionist Party | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Plaid Cymru | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Green Party | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| Brexit Party | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |

1. **Age:**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | 18-24 |
| 2 | 25-34 |
| 3 | 35-44 |
| 4 | 45-54 |
| 5 | 55+ |

1. **Gender**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | Male |
| 2 | Female |

1. **Location**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| North | YES | NO |
| Midlands | YES | NO |
| East | YES | NO |
| London | YES | NO |
| South | YES | NO |
| England (NET) | YES | NO |
| Wales | YES | NO |
| Scotland | YES | NO |
| Northern Ireland | YES | NO |

1. **Education**

Can you tell me the highest educational or school qualification you have obtained?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | No formal education |
| 2 | Completed primary school |
| 3 | Completed secondary school |
| 4 | Post-secondary vocational training (up to 1 year) |
| 5 | Post-secondary vocational training (2 or more years) |
| 6 | Post-secondary academic below-degree level qualification (up to 1 year) |
| 7 | Post-secondary academic below-degree level qualification (2 or more years) |
| 8 | Bachelors or equivalent first degree qualification |
| 9 | Postgraduate academic below Masters level qualification (e.g Certificate or diploma) |
| 10 | Masters or equivalent higher degree level qualification |
| 11 | PhD or equivalent doctoral level qualification |
| 12 | Don’t know/refuse to answer |

**Norwegian questionnaire:**

1. Når du stemmer ved stortingsvalg, hvor viktige er de følgende sakene for deg? [items appear in random order]

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Veldig viktig** | **Ganske viktig** | **Nøytral** | **Ganske uviktig** | **Helt uviktig** |
| Innvandring | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Helse | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Klima | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Utdanning | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Medlemskap i EU | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Kriminalitet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Arbeidsledighet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

1. Blant disse punktene, hvilke to bør samfunnet vårt prioritere for å møte store, globale utfordringer?
2. Sosial utjevning og solidaritet
3. Miljøvern
4. Framgang og innovasjon
5. Frihandel/markedsøkonomi
6. Kulturelt mangfold og åpenhet mot andre
7. Tradisjoner
8. Nasjonalt forsvar
9. Gi mer makt til statsministeren
10. Vet ikke
11. Angi i hvilken grad du er enig eller uenig i følgende påstander [answers in random order]:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Veldig uenig | Uenig | Nøytral | Enig | Veldig enig | Vet ikke |
| Innvandrere beriker vår kultur | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Innvandring er positivt for økonomien | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Innvandrere er en byrde for velferdsstaten | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Innvandrere bidrar til økt kriminalitet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Frihandel mellom land er positivt for økonomien | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Industrien vår bør beskyttes bedre gjennom tollvern | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Menneskerettigheter må opprettholdes globalt, selv om det krever militær intervensjon | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Arbeidsplasser og økonomisk vekst er viktigere enn å bekjempe klimaendringer | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Abort kan aldri rettferdiggjøres | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Homofilt ekteskap bør være lovlig | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |

1. Nedenfor finner du en liste over noen problemer. For hvert enkelt problem, indiker hvorvidt du mener at politikken innenfor dette området bør styres av FN, EU, nasjonale myndigheter, ikke-statlige organisasjoner, eller private aktører.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Nasjonale myndigheter | Regionale organisasjoner | FN | Nasjonale myndigheter med internasjonal koordinering | Ideelle/ikke-statlige organisasjoner | Private aktører |
| Internasjonalt fredsarbeid | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Miljøvern | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Bistand til utviklingsland | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Flyktninger | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Menneskerettigheter | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Infeksjonssykdommer | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |

1. Folk føler ulik grad av tilknytning til sin region, sitt land, til Europa eller til verden. Vennligst angi i hvilken grad du føler tilknytning til de ulike geografiske enhetene i listen under.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Meget sterk tilknytning | Noe tilknytning | Verken sterk eller svak tilknytning | Svak tilknytning | Ingen tilknytning |
| 1. Din by eller tettsted |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Din kommune eller ditt fylke (før evt. sammenslåing) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| 1. Norge | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| 1. Europa | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| 1. Verden som helhet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

1. Ranger de følgende dydene fra mest viktig til minst viktig for deg. [items appear in random order]
2. Mot
3. Sjenerøsitet
4. Ærlighet
5. Humor
6. Selvkontroll/disiplin
7. Ranger de følgende komponentene i et demokrati fra mest viktig til minst viktig for deg.
8. Folket bestemmer
9. Rettighetene mine er beskyttet av Grunnloven
10. Ingen er hevet over loven
11. Hva er din foretrukne form for tilknytning mellom Norge og Den europeiske union (EU)?
12. Fullt medlemskap (som Tyskland)
13. Medlemskap med unntak (som Storbritannia før Brexit)
14. EØS (som Norge i dag)
15. Frihandelsavtale (som Canada)
16. Ingen avtale (handel på WTO-betingelser)
17. Vet ikke
18. **Party Preference (Norway)**

Kan du vennligst oppgi for hvert parti hvor sannsynlig det er at du noensinne vil stemme på det partiet ved et stortingsvalg?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Parti** | Helt sikkert aldri |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Helt sikkert en gang i fremtiden |
| Rødt | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Sosialistisk Venstreparti | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Arbeiderpartiet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Senterpartiet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Kristelig Folkeparti | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Venstre | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Høyre | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Fremskrittspartiet | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Miljøpartiet de Grønne |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

1. **Age**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | 18-29 |
| 2 | 30-39 |
| 3 | 40-49 |
| 4 | 50-59 |
| 6 | 60+ |

1. **Gender**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | Kvinne |
| 2 | Mann |

1. **Location**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | Oslo |
| 2 | Innlandet/Viken |
| 3 | Agder/Sor-Østlandet |
| 4 | Vestlandet |
| 5 | Trøndelag/Nord-Norge |

1. **Education**

Hva er den høyeste utdanningen du har oppnådd?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | Ingen utdanning og/eller førskoleutdanning |
| 2 | Barneskoleutdanning |
| 3 | Ungdomsskoleutdanning (inkl. grunnskoleutdanning for voksne, 7-årig folkeskole og framhaldsskole) |
| 4 | Videregående grunnutdanning (inkl. VK1, folkehøgskole, realskole) |
| 5 | Videregående utdanning (inkl. VK2, VK3, gymnas) |
| 6 | Påbygging til videregående utdanning (inkl. høgskole ikke godkjent av KUF, forkurs som inngår som del av universitets- eller høgskoleutdanning, teknisk fagskole) |
| 7 | Universitets- og høgskoleutdanning, lavere nivå (inkl. B.A., cand.mag) |
| 8 | Universitets- og høgskoleutdanning, høyere nivå (inkl. M.A., hovedfag) |
| 9 | Forskerutdanning |
| 10 | Vet ikke/ønsker ikke å svare |