**APPENDIX TO McDonnell and Werner (2019) ‘Differently Eurosceptic: Radical Right Populist Parties and Their Supporters’ Journal of European Public Policy.**

**Appendix 1: Diagnostics regarding the analytical dimensions**

Table A displays the matrix of pairwise correlations for the voter positions on the four dimensions. As we would expect, given common theories of ideologies, most dimensions correlate with each other in predictable patterns. More social left positions, for instance, come with more positive positions towards both European integration and immigration. However, all correlations are only weak or moderate, which indicates that there is a considerable amount of independent variance. European integration and immigration also correlate moderately.

**Table A**: *Euandi survey statements for two left-right dimensions.*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Socio-economic left-right** | **Social left-right** |
| Social programs should be maintained even at the cost of higher taxes\* | The legalization of the personal use of soft drugs is to be welcomed\* |
| Pension benefits should be reduced to limit the state debt in [your country] | Criminals should be punished more severely. |
| Government spending should be reduced in order to lower taxes | The legalization of same sex marriages is a good thing\* |

\* Answer categories reversed from original data.

**Table B:** *Correlation matrix of the positions on the two dimensions (Table 1), plus the two left-right dimensions.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **European Integration** | **Immigration** | **Socio-economic left-right** | **Social left-right** |
| **European Integration** | 1.00 |  |  |  |
| **Immigration** | 0.32\*\*\* | 1.00 |  |  |
| **Socio-economic left-right** | -0.03\*\*\* | -0.41\*\*\* | 1.00 |  |
| **Social left-right** | -0.29\*\*\* | -0.55\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 1.00 |

**Table C.1:** *Factor loadings of nine questions on two euandi dimensions.*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **EU integration** | **Immi-gration** | **Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy** |
| EU integration good | **0.62** | -0.26 | 0.84 |
| Euro | **0.61** | -0.15 | 0.83 |
| EU tax | **0.52** | -0.01 | 0.87 |
| EU one voice foreign policy | **0.68** | 0.22 | 0.75 |
| EU MS less power | **0.48** | 0.11 | 0.82 |
| EU Treaty referendum | -0.32 | 0.24 | 0.87 |
| Immigration restriction | -0.01 | **0.80** | 0.74 |
| Assimilation | 0.07 | **0.71** | 0.77 |
| Social Benefits for EU foreigners | -0.13 | **0.63** | 0.84 |

**Table C.2:** *Factor loadings of nine questions on three dimensions.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **EU integration** | **Immi-gration** | **Dimension 3** | **Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy** |
| EU integration good | **0.66** | -0.17 | 0.03 | 0.84 |
| Euro | **0.70** | -0.01 | -0.03 | 0.83 |
| EU tax | **0.41** | -0.10 | 0.27 | 0.87 |
| EU one voice foreign policy | **0.56** | 0.14 | 0.31 | 0.75 |
| EU MS less power | *0.35* | -0.01 | *0.31* | 0.82 |
| EU Treaty referendum | -0.46 | 0.06 | 0.18 | 0.87 |
| Immigration restriction | -0.03 | **0.76** | 0.05 | 0.74 |
| Assimilation | 0.09 | **0.73** | -0.00 | 0.77 |
| Social Benefits for EU foreigners | -0.11 | **0.64** | -0.04 | 0.84 |

A principle factor analysis was conducted comprising 105,031 euandi respondents from the six countries under investigation. The analysis included six EU-related and three immigration-related survey questions. The overall Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy of the 2-factor solution is 0.81, well above the commonly recommended value of 0.6 and in the second-highest category of ‘meritorious’, proposed by Kaiser (1974). The factor loadings are displayed in Tables C.1 and C.2 and show that the survey questions load together as expected. For the analysis, we have chosen the three EU questions loading highest on the EU integration factor.

In a robustness check, we correlated the resulting EU integration and immigration positions with those from the CHES expert surveys. These positions prove very robust, with correlation coefficients of 0.91 for the EU position and 0.87 for the immigration position.

**Appendix 2: COMParing descriptives of euandi data with ess and ees data sets**

**Table D:** *Comparison of* *descriptive statistics between three surveys.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***euandi 2014*** | | ***ESS 2014*** | | ***EES 2014*** | |
|  | **General population** | **RRP supporters** | **General population** | **RRP voters** | **General population** | **RRP voters** |
| Share of males | 65% | 78 % | 47% | 53% | 49% | 60% |
|  | 25 and 75 percentiles | | 25 and 75 percentiles | | 25 and 75 percentiles | |
| Age | 25-54 | 25-64 | 35-65 | 39-65 | 38-67 | 41-67 |
|  | Highest level of education | | Highest level of education | | Age stopped fulltime education | |
| Education median | First stage tertiary | Post-secondary non tertiary | upper tier upper secondary | lower tier upper secondary | 15-19 | 15-19 |
| N | 101,323 | 8598 (8%) | 11,455 | 592 (5%) | 6938 | 411 (6%) |

**APPENDIX 3: SIGNIFICANCE TESTS FOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VOTER GROUPS**

These are two-sample ttests with the Welch adjustment for unequal variances.

**Table E.a:** *Difference between RRP supporters and non-RRP supporters on EU positions*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **RRP\*** | **Non-RRP\*** | **Mean difference** | **t** | **Welch’s df** | **p\*\*** |
| All | 4.73 (3.07) | 8.23 (2.83) | 3.50 | 99.5 | 9313 | 0.00 |
| Sweden | 3.66 (2.81) | 6.25 (2.74) | 2.60 | 35.3 | 1931 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 6.11 (2.90) | 8.67 (2.55) | 2.56 | 19.2 | 442 | 0.00 |
| NL | 5.08 (2.71) | 7.71 (2.39) | 2.62 | 22.0 | 581 | 0.00 |
| France | 5.01 (3.07) | 8.69 (2.75) | 3.68 | 80.2 | 5884 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 5.03 (3.09) | 9.44 (2.58) | 4.40 | 24.9 | 357 | 0.00 |
| UK | 3.37 (3.24) | 8.49 (2.90) | 5.12 | 30.5 | 412 | 0.00 |

\* mean (std) \*\* significance, H0 difference == 0

**Table E.b:** *Difference between RRP supporters and non-RRP supporters on EU salience*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **RRP\*** | **Non-RRP\*** | **Mean difference** | **t** | **Welch’s df** | **p\*\*** |
| All | 0.25 (0.84) | 0.42 (0.91) | 0.16 | 17.4 | 10250 | 0.00 |
| Sweden | 0.05 (0.72) | 0.13 (0.69) | 0.09 | 4.8 | 2085 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 0.09 (0.80) | 0.36 (0.92) | 0.28 | 7.3 | 484 | 0.00 |
| NL | 0.45 (0.95) | 0.28 (0.79) | -0.17 | -4.3 | 606 | 0.00 |
| France | 0.30 (0.84) | 0.56 (0.93) | 0.26 | 20.6 | 6704 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 0.32 (0.94) | 0.69 (1.07) | 0.37 | 6.9 | 403 | 0.00 |
| UK | 0.47 (0.93) | 0.50 (0.98) | 0.03 | 0.6 | 430 | 0.58 |

\* mean (std) \*\* significance, H0 difference == 0

**Table E.c:** *Difference between RRP supporters and non-RRP supporters on immigration positions*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **RRP\*** | **Non-RRP\*** | **Mean difference** | **t** | **Welch’s df** | **p\*\*** |
| All | 1.14 (1.75) | 5.55 (3.42) | 4.40 | 202.7 | 14525 | 0.00 |
| Sweden | 0.87 (1.46) | 6.04 (3.62) | 5.17 | 116.0 | 4378 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 1.05 (1.86) | 4.58 (3.17) | 3.53 | 39.4 | 512 | 0.00 |
| NL | 1.19 (1.71) | 3.98 (2.78) | 2.79 | 36.4 | 728 | 0.00 |
| France | 1.19 (1.75) | 6.00 (3.45) | 4.82 | 161.0 | 10709 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 1.21 (1.82) | 5.87 (3.20) | 4.67 | 41.8 | 507 | 0.00 |
| UK | 1.81 (2.48) | 6.63 (3.19) | 4.83 | 37.2 | 446 | 0.00 |

\* mean (std) \*\* significance, H0 difference == 0

**Table E.d:** *Difference between RRP supporters and non-RRP supporters on immigration saliences*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **RRP\*** | **Non-RRP\*** | **Mean difference** | **t** | **Welch’s df** | **p\*\*** |
| All | 1.27 (1.12) | 0.26 (0.98) | -1.01 | -81.7 | 9675 | 0.00 |
| Sweden | 1.66 (1.07) | 0.34 (0.92) | -1.32 | -49.6 | 2008 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 1.02 (1.00) | 0.43 (1.00) | -0.58 | -12.4 | 478 | 0.00 |
| NL | 1.24 (1.14) | 0.47 (0.93) | -0.77 | -15.8 | 604 | 0.00 |
| France | 1.18 (1.10) | 0.11 (0.96) | -1.07 | -66.8 | 6088 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 1.33 (1.23) | 0.21 (1.00) | -1.12 | -16.2 | 367 | 0.00 |
| UK | 1.01 (1.16) | 0.11 (0.99) | -0.90 | -15.1 | 417 | 0.00 |

\* mean (std) \*\* significance, H0 difference == 0

**Table E.e:** *Difference between distances (RRP parties – RRP supporters) of EU vs immigration*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **EU\*** | **Immigration\*** | **Mean difference** | **t** | **Welch’s df** | **p\*\*** |
| All | 4.12 (3.29) | 0.39 (1.78) | 3.73 | 90.8 | 12433 | 0.00 |
| Sweden | 2.66 (2.81) | 0.87 (1.46) | 1.78 | 22.7 | 2367 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 2.11 (2.90) | 0.05 (1.86) | 2.06 | 12.5 | 725 | 0.00 |
| NL | 5.08 (2.71) | 0.19 (1.71) | 4.89 | 35.6 | 900 | 0.00 |
| France | 5.01 (3.07) | 0.19 (1.75) | 4.82 | 95.9 | 7720 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 0.03 (3.09) | 1.21 (1.82) | -1.17 | -5.9 | 519 | 0.00 |
| UK | 3.37 (3.24) | 0.81 (2.48) | 2.56 | 12.4 | 722 | 0.00 |

\* mean (std) \*\* significance, H0 difference == 0

**Table E.f:** *Difference between distances (RRP parties – non-RRP supporters) of EU vs immigration*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **EU\*** | **Immigration\*** | **Mean difference** | **t** | **Welch’s df** | **p\*\*** |
| All | 7.01 (3.23) | 4.75 (3.48) | 2.26 | 152.9 | 205984 | 0.00 |
| Sweden | 5.25 (2.74) | 6.04 (3.62) | -0.79 | -22.5 | 31783 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 4.67 (2.55) | 3.58 (3.17) | 1.09 | 40.0 | 42781 | 0.00 |
| NL | 7.71 (2.39) | 2.98 (2.78) | 4.73 | 133.7 | 21144 | 0.00 |
| France | 8.69 (2.75) | 5.00 (3.45) | 3.69 | 168.9 | 78257 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 4.44 (2.58) | 5.87 (3.20) | -1.44 | -22.5 | 7993 | 0.00 |
| UK | 8.49 (2.90) | 5.63 (3.19) | 2.86 | 63.3 | 18142 | 0.00 |

\* mean (std) \*\* significance, H0 difference == 0

**Appendix 4: robustness checks of the main analysis**

The following tables show, first, the main analysis for each of the six individual countries and, second, the main analysis replicated with alternative measures of the dependent and main independent variables.

**Table E:** *Interaction model, logistic analyses of radical right support, by country.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for**  **radical right**  **populist party** | **All countries** | | | **Sweden** | | | **Belgium** | | | **NL** | | | **France** | | | **Austria** | | | **UK** | | |
| **OR** | **SE** |  | **OR** | **SE** |  | **OR** | **SE** |  | **OR** | **SE** |  | **OR** | **SE** |  | **OR** | **SE** |  | **OR** | **SE** |  |
| EU proximity | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 0.92 | 0.05 |  | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.05 |  | 0.72\*\*\* | 0.05 |  | 0.88\*\*\* | 0.02 |  | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.06 |  | 0.91 | 0.07 |  |
| EU salience | 1.00 | 0.11 |  | 0.99 | 0.14 |  | 0.68\* | 0.11 |  | 0.86 | 0.18 |  | 1.15 | 0.10 |  | 0.74\* | 0.12 |  | 1.90\*\* | 0.42 |  |
| EU prox.\*sal | 0.99 | 0.01 |  | 0.98 | 0.02 |  | 1.02 | 0.02 |  | 1.03 | 0.02 |  | 0.97\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.03 | 0.02 |  | 0.95\* | 0.02 |  |
| Immigration prox. | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.05 |  | 0.46\*\*\* | 0.04 |  | 0.52\*\*\* | 0.08 |  | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.07 |  | 0.58\*\*\* | 0.02 |  | 0.50\*\*\* | 0.08 |  | 0.91 | 0.08 |  |
| Immigration salience | 1.30\*\*\* | 0.06 |  | 1.47\*\*\* | 0.08 |  | 0.93 | 0.06 |  | 1.33\*\*\* | 0.08 |  | 1.33\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 1.09 | 0.12 |  | 1.30\*\* | 0.10 |  |
| Immi. prox\*sal | 1.04\*\* | 0.02 |  | 1.05\* | 0.02 |  | 1.04 | 0.04 |  | 1.03 | 0.03 |  | 1.04\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.09\* | 0.04 |  | 0.94\*\* | 0.02 |  |
| Social l-r position | 1.13\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 1.07\*\*\* | 0.02 |  | 1.13\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 1.10\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 1.17\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.13\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 1.07\* | 0.03 |  |
| Soc-eco l-r position | 1.11\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.08\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.06\* | 0.03 |  | 1.12\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 1.12\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.11\*\* | 0.04 |  | 1.16\*\*\* | 0.03 |  |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.63\*\*\* | 0.06 |  | 1.70\*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 1.76\*\*\* | 0.24 |  | 1.48\*\*\* | 0.16 |  | 1.57\*\*\* | 0.07 |  | 1.88\*\* | 0.37 |  | 2.03\*\*\* | 0.41 |  |
| Age | 0.95 | 0.03 |  | 0.89\*\*\* | 0.02 |  | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 0.83\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 0.99 | 0.01 |  | 0.95 | 0.05 |  | 1.01 | 0.05 |  |
| Education | 0.89\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 1.00 | 0.04 |  | 0.89\*\* | 0.04 |  | 0.80\*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 0.89\*\*\* | 0.01 |  | 0.85\*\* | 0.05 |  | 0.92 | 0.05 |  |
| Country (reference: UK) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 1.77\*\*\* | 0.14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Belgium | 0.11\*\*\* | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Netherlands | 0.73\*\*\* | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| France | 2.27\*\*\* | 0.10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Austria | 0.82\* | 0.07 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.17\* | 0.14 |  | 0.25\* | 0.16 |  | 0.55 | 0.41 |  | 1.08 | 0.97 |  | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.05 |  | 1.03 | 0.91 |  | 0.02\*\*\* | 0.02 |  |
| **N** | 90,433 | | | 13,716 | | | 18,649 | | | 8493 | | | 38,124 | | | 3671 | | | 7780 | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.42 | | | 0.43 | | | 0.24 | | | 0.26 | | | 0.43 | | | 0.42 | | | 0.41 | | |

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

**APPENDIX 5: Validation of the Analysis of Radical Right Support**

The following analyses are variations of the analysis that was presented in the article.

**Table F:** *Model with quadratic terms for age and education.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Conf. Interval** | |
| EU proximity | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.03 | 0.79 | 0.90 |
| EU salience | 1.00 | 0.11 | 0.81 | 1.24 |
| EU prox\*sal | 0.99 | 0.01 | 0.97 | 1.01 |
| Immigration prox. | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.05 | 0.47 | 0.66 |
| Immigration salience | 1.30\*\*\* | 0.05 | 1.19 | 1.43 |
| Immi. prox\*sal | 1.04\*\* | 0.02 | 1.01 | 1.07 |
| Social left-right | 1.13\*\*\* | 0.03 | 1.07 | 1.19 |
| Socio-economic l-r | 1.11\*\*\* | 0.01 | 1.09 | 1.14 |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.63\*\*\* | 0.06 | 1.53 | 1.74 |
| Age | 0.87 | 0.17 | 0.59 | 1.28 |
| Age2 | 1.01 | 0.02 | 0.98 | 1.04 |
| Education | 0.88 | 0.18 | 0.58 | 1.32 |
| Education2 | 1.00 | 0.02 | 0.96 | 1.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Country (reference: UK)** |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 1.78\*\*\* | 0.20 | 1.43 | 2.23 |
| Belgium | 0.11\*\*\* | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.13 |
| NL | 0.74\*\*\* | 0.02 | 0.71 | 0.77 |
| France | 2.28\*\*\* | 0.11 | 2.08 | 2.49 |
| Austria | 0.83\* | 0.08 | 0.68 | 1.00 |
| **Constant** | 0.22 | 0.33 | 0.01 | 4.30 |
| **N** | 88,603 | | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.42 | | | |
| **AIC** | 29451 | | | |

**Table G.a:** *Separate analyses for EU dimension and immigration dimension, same sample as main analysis*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right**  **populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Sign.** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Sign.** |
| EU proximity | 0.78 | 0.03 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| EU salience | 1.11 | 0.13 | 0.37 |  |  |  |
| EU prox.\*sal | 0.98 | 0.01 | 0.06 |  |  |  |
| Immigration prox. |  |  |  | 0.51 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Immigration salience |  |  |  | 1.33 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Immi. prox\*sal |  |  |  | 1.04 | 0.02 | 0.01 |
| Social l-r position | 1.30 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 1.17 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Soc-eco l-r position | 1.22 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 1.09 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.78 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 1.54 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Age | 0.99 | 0.04 | 0.86 | 0.89 | 0.02 | 0.00 |
| Education | 0.84 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.87 | 0.02 | 0.00 |
| Country (reference: UK) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 1.22 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 2.78 | 0.19 | 0.00 |
| Belgium | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.18 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Netherlands | 1.33 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.61 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| France | 2.53 | 0.14 | 0.00 | 1.74 | 0.10 | 0.00 |
| Austria | 0.48 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 1.92 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| Constant | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| **N** |  | **90433** |  |  | **90433** |  |
| **Pseudo R2** |  | **0.32** |  |  | **0.39** |  |
| **AIC** |  | **34504** |  |  | **31235** |  |

**Table G.b:** *Model with individual EU questions proximity instead of EU factor.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Sign.** | **Conf.**  **Interval** | |
| EU proximity |  |  |  |  |  |
| Integration | 0.73 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.72 | 0.75 |
| Euro | 0.72 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.66 | 0.79 |
| EU foreign | 1.02 | 0.03 | 0.43 | 0.96 | 1.09 |
| EU salience |  |  |  |  |  |
| Integration | 0.96 | 0.04 | 0.36 | 0.88 | 1.05 |
| Euro | 0.93 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.85 | 1.01 |
| EU foreign | 0.79 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.71 | 0.89 |
| Immigration prox. | 0.57 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.48 | 0.68 |
| Immigration salience | 1.30 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 1.19 | 1.43 |
| Immi. prox\*sal | 1.04 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 1.01 | 1.07 |
| Social left-right | 1.12 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 1.07 | 1.18 |
| Socio-economic l-r | 1.11 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 1.09 | 1.13 |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.64 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 1.53 | 1.75 |
| Age | 0.93 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.88 | 0.97 |
| Education | 0.91 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.88 | 0.94 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Country (reference: UK)** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 1.57 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 1.36 | 1.81 |
| Belgium | 0.18 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.19 |
| NL | 0.71 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.68 | 0.74 |
| France | 2.01 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 1.78 | 2.26 |
| Austria | 1.30 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 1.13 | 1.50 |
| **Constant** | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.16 |
| **N** | 90433 | | | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.43 | | | | |
| **AIC** | 29039 | | | | |

**Table G.c:** *Model with individual EU and immigration questions instead of factors.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Sign.** | **Conf.**  **Interval** | |
| EU proximity |  |  |  |  |  |
| Integration | 0.74 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.73 | 0.76 |
| Euro | 0.73 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.66 | 0.79 |
| EU foreign | 1.01 | 0.03 | 0.66 | 0.95 | 1.08 |
| EU salience |  |  |  |  |  |
| Integration | 0.97 | 0.04 | 0.51 | 0.89 | 1.06 |
| Euro | 0.94 | 0.04 | 0.14 | 0.87 | 1.02 |
| EU foreign | 0.80 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.72 | 0.89 |
| Immigration prox. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Decrease | 0.44 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.34 | 0.58 |
| Assimilation | 0.66 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.61 | 0.71 |
| Social benefits | 0.81 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.79 | 0.83 |
| Immigration salience |  |  |  |  |  |
| Decrease | 1.68 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 1.52 | 1.85 |
| Assimilation | 1.21 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 1.08 | 1.35 |
| Social benefits | 1.21 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 1.12 | 1.31 |
| Social left-right | 1.11 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 1.06 | 1.16 |
| Socio-economic l-r | 1.10 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 1.08 | 1.12 |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.63 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 1.52 | 1.75 |
| Age | 0.92 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.87 | 0.96 |
| Education | 0.91 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.89 | 0.94 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Country (reference: UK)** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 0.45 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.62 |
| Belgium | 0.16 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.15 | 0.16 |
| NL | 0.69 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.65 | 0.73 |
| France | 1.77 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 1.57 | 2.01 |
| Austria | 0.39 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.28 | 0.55 |
| **Constant** | 0.17 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.08 | 0.35 |
| **N** | 90433 | | | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.44 | | | | |
| **AIC** | 28649 | | | | |

**APPENDIX 6: ALTERNATIVE OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

The following analysis replicates the main results of the analysis in the article, using a slightly more relaxed operationalization of when a respondent is counted as a supporter of the RRP party. While the article imposes a strict operationalization of reported likelihood of 8 and greater, the following analysis also includes those reporting a likelihood of 7. The following tables compare the absolute numbers, the main demographic characteristics as well as the results of the main analysis between the two operationalizations of the dependent variables. The tables show that all results are robust to this change.

**Table H.a**: *Comparison of absolute numbers of radical right populist party supporters.*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Party** | **RRP  supporters > 7** | **RRP  supporters > 6** |
| **FN** | 5098 | 5789 |
| **FPÖ** | 333 | 397 |
| **PVV** | 566 | 709 |
| **SD** | 1747 | 2042 |
| **UKIP** | 394 | 464 |
| **VB** | 460 | 646 |

**Table H.b:** *Comparison of demographic characteristics.*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **General population** | **RRP supporters >7** | **RRP supporters >6** |
| **Share of males** | 65% | 78% | 78% |
|  | *25 and 75 percentiles* | | |
| **Age** | 25-54 | 25-64 | 25-64 |
|  | *Highest level of education* | | |
| **Education median** | First stage tertiary | Post-secondary non tertiary | Post-secondary non tertiary |
| **N** | 101,323 | 8598 (8%) | 10,047 (10%) |

**Table H.c:** *Comparison of main analysis results for two DV operationalization.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right  populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | | **Conf.**  **Interval** | | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Conf.**  **Interval** |
|  | Model 2, DV = 1  if likelihood ≥ 8 | | | | | Model 2, DV = 1 if likelihood ≥ 7 | | | |
| EU proximity | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.03 | 0.79 0.90 | | | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.03 | 0.81 | 0.92 |
| EU salience | 1.00 | 0.11 | 0.71 1.24 | | | 1.03 | 0.12 | 0.81 | 1.30 |
| EU prox\*sal | 0.99 | 0.01 | 0.97 1.01 | | | 0.98 | 0.01 | 0.96 | 1.01 |
| Immigration prox. | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.05 |  | | 0.47 0.66 | 0.48\*\*\* | 0.65 | 0.54 | 0.70 |
| Immigration salience | 1.30\*\*\* | 0.06 | 1.20 1.42 | | | 1.29\*\*\* | 0.07 | 1.17 | 1.43 |
| Immi. prox.\*sal | 1.04\*\* | 0.02 | 1.01 1.07 | | | 1.05\*\* | 0.01 | 1.02 | 1.07 |
| Social left-right | 1.04\*\* | 0.02 | 1.08 1.18 | | | 1.12\*\*\* | 0.02 | 1.08 | 1.17 |
| Socio-economic l-r | 1.13\*\*\* | 0.03 | 1.09 1.13 | | | 1.11\*\*\* | 0.01 | 1.09 | 1.13 |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.11\*\*\* | 0.01 | 1.52 1.75 | | | 1.68\*\*\* | 0.08 | 1.52 | 1.85 |
| Age | 0.95 | 0.03 | 0.89 1.02 | | | 0.92\* | 0.03 | 0.86 | 0.98 |
| Education | 0.89\*\*\* | 0.01 | 0.86 0.91 | | | 0.88\*\*\* | 0.01 | 0.86 | 0.91 |
|  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Country (reference: UK)** |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 1.77\*\*\* | 0.14 | 1.51 2.07 | | | 1.86\*\*\* | 0.14 | 1.60 | 2.16 |
| Belgium | 0.11\*\*\* | 0.00 | 0.11 0.12 | | | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.15 |
| NL | 0.73\*\*\* | 0.02 | 0.70 0.77 | | | 0.74\*\*\* | 0.01 | 0.71 | 0.77 |
| France | 2.27\*\*\* | 0.10 | 2.08 2.48 | | | 2.24\*\*\* | 0.09 | 2.08 | 2.42 |
| Austria | 0.82\* | 0.07 | 0.69 0.98 | | | 0.89 | 0.07 | 0.76 | 1.05 |
| **Constant** | 0.17\* | 0.14 | 0.04 0.82 | | | 0.23\* | 0.19 | 0.05 | 1.11 |
| **N** | 90433 | | | | | 90433 | | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.42 | | | | | 0.41 | | | |
| **AIC** | 29454 | | | | | 33224 | | | |

**APPENDIX 7: Robustness check with ESS Data 2012-2016**

The following analysis replicates the main analysis as closely as possible with the European Social Survey (ESS) data from the waves of 2012, 2014 and 2016. The resulting pooled data set for the six countries we focus on includes 30,000 respondents, of whom 1,634 indicated that they had voted for one of our radical right populist parties in their countries’ respective last election. The analysis is restricted to a subset of the variables in the main analysis because ESS data does not include measures of saliences or multi-dimensional left-right scales. Furthermore, the analysis uses the positions of respondents on EU integration and immigration as ESS does not provide party positions (and the introduction of a party position dataset would introduce further noise and necessitate the discussion regarding manifesto-bases vs. expert-based vs. voter-based party positions). As a measure for the position on European integration, we used the question whether “European unification (should) go further or (has) gone too far”. For immigration, we took the average position of three items: whether immigration is good or bad for the country’s economy, whether country’s cultural life was undermined or enriched by immigrants, and whether immigrants make the country a worse or better place to live. The direction of coding is the same as in the main analysis.

**Table J:** *Main analysis with ESS data 2012-2016.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right  populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Sign.** | **Conf.**  **Interval** | |
| EU position | 0.86 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.83 | 0.90 |
| Immigration | 0.68 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.61 | 0.75 |
| Left-right position | 1.23 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 1.13 | 1.34 |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.38 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 1.16 | 1.65 |
| Age | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.30 | 0.99 | 1.00 |
| Education | 0.99 | 0.03 | 0.60 | 0.93 | 1.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Country (reference: UK)** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 1.54 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 1.34 | 1.78 |
| Belgium | 0.43 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.40 | 0.45 |
| NL | 1.57 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 1.40 | 1.75 |
| France | 1.23 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 1.13 | 1.35 |
| Austria | 1.88 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 1.76 | 2.00 |
| **Constant** | 0.26 | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.15 | 0.47 |
| **N** | 27,351 | | | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.19 | | | | |
| **AIC** | 9657.7 | | | | |

**APPENDIX 8: ROBUSTNESS CHECK FOR ALTERNATIVE EU DIMENSION CONSTRUCTION**

**Table K**: *Comparing main analysis with foreign policy vs EU tax item included in the EU dimension*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **DV: support for radical right populist party** | **Odds Ratio** | | | **Std. Err.** | **Conf.**  **Interval** | | | **Odds Ratio** | **Std. Err.** | **Conf.**  **Interval** | |
|  | EU dimension with tax item | | | | | | | EU dimension with foreign policy item | | |
| *EU integration* |  |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  | |
| Proximity | 0.82\*\*\* | | 0.02 | | | 0.78 | 0.86 | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.03 | 0.79 0.09 | |
| Salience | 1.00 | | 0.06 | | | 0.89 | 1.13 | 1.00 | 0.11 | 0.71 1.24 | |
| Proximity\*Salience | 0.99 | | 0.01 | | | 0.98 | 1.00 | 0.99 | 0.01 | 0.97 1.01 | |
| *Immigration* |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| Proximity | 0.62\*\*\* | | 0.04 | | | 0.54 | 0.71 | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.05 | 0.47 0.66 | |
| Salience | 1.34\*\*\* | | 0.11 | | | 1.14 | 1.56 | 1.30\*\*\* | 0.06 | 1.20 1.42 | |
| Proximity\*Salience | 1.02 | | 0.02 | | | 0.97 | 1.06 | 1.04\*\* | 0.02 | 1.01 1.07 | |
|  |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| **Controls** |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| Social left-right | 1.13\*\*\* | | 0.02 | | | 1.08 | 1.18 | 1.13\*\*\* | 0.03 | 1.08 1.18 | |
| Socio-economic l-r | 1.11\*\*\* | | 0.01 | | | 1.09 | 1.13 | 1.11\*\*\* | 0.01 | 1.09 1.13 | |
| Gender (male = 1) | 1.50\*\*\* | | 0.07 | | | 1.38 | 1.63 | 1.63\*\*\* | 0.06 | 1.52 1.75 | |
| Age | 0.92\*\*\* | | 0.03 | | | 0.87 | 0.98 | 0.95 | 0.03 | 0.89 1.02 | |
| Education | 0.87\*\*\* | | 0.02 | | | 0.84 | 0.90 | 0.89\*\*\* | 0.01 | 0.86 0.91 | |
|  |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| **Country (reference: UK)** |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| Sweden | 0.73\*\*\* | | 0.03 | | | 0.67 | 0.79 | 1.77\*\*\* | 0.14 | 1.51 2.07 | |
| Belgium | 0.18\*\*\* | | 0.01 | | | 0.17 | 0.20 | 0.11\*\*\* | 0.00 | 0.11 0.12 | |
| NL | 0.59\*\*\* | | 0.01 | | | 0.56 | 0.61 | 0.73\*\*\* | 0.02 | 0.70 0.77 | |
| France | 2.09\*\*\* | | 0.12 | | | 1.88 | 2.33 | 2.27\*\*\* | 0.10 | 2.08 2.48 | |
| Austria | 0.52\*\*\* | | 0.02 | | | 0.49 | 0.56 | 0.82\* | 0.07 | 0.69 0.98 | |
|  |  | |  | | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| **Constant** | 0.14\*\*\* | | 0.06 | | | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.17\* | 0.14 | 0.04 0.82 | |
| **N** | 88603 | | | | | |  | 90433 | | | | | |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.42 | | | | | |  | 0.42 | | | | |
| **AIC** | 29067 | | | | | |  | 29454 | | | | | |

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