**Do parties influence public opinion on immigration? Evidence from Europe**

**Online Appendix**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
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| Table A1. Summary statistics | | | | | | | | | |
|  | Mean | Std. dev. | Min. | Max. | | | N | | |
| *Individual-level variables* | | | | | | | | | |
| Immigration attitudes | 0.00 | 1.00 | -2.69 | 2.31 | | | 88’838 | | |
| Education | 2.27 | 1.34 | 0 | 4 | | | 88’838 | | |
| Social class (ref: self-employed  and large employers) | | | | |  | | |  | | |
| Small business owners | 0.11 | 0.31 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Technical professionals | 0.07 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Production workers | 0.19 | 0.39 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Managers | 0.16 | 0.37 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Clerks | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Socio-cultural professionals | 0.13 | 0.33 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Service workers | 0.17 | 0.37 | 0 | 1 | | 88’838 | | |
| Others | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0 | 1 | | | 88’838 | | |
| Age | 50.15 | 16.65 | 14 | 101 | | | 88’838 | | |
| Gender | 0.51 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | | | 88’838 | | |
| Unemployment status | 0.04 | 0.21 | 0 | 1 | | | 88’838 | | |
| Party position | -0.46 | 0.46 | -1 | 1 | | | 88’838 | | |
| *Contextual variables* | | | | | | | | | |
| Immigration policy | 0.59 | 0.08 | 0.30 | 0.70 | | | 92 | | |
| Stock of migrants | 7.16 | 6.91 | 0.11 | 39.04 | | | 92 | | |
| Unemployment rate | 7.51 | 3.87 | 2.1 | 19.9 | | | 92 | | |
| GDP per capita (thousand 2010 US dollars) | 36.54 | 12.22 | 14.52 | 79.63 | | | 92 | | |
| Social expenditure as % of GDP | 0.22 | 0.04 | 0.13 | 0.31 | | | 92 | | |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table A2. Factor analysis/correlation (method: principal-component factors) | | |
| Factor | Eigenvalue | Proportion of explained variance |
| Factor1 | 3.75350 | 0.6256 |
| Factor2 | 0.94998 | 0.1583 |
| Factor3 | 0.41482 | 0.0691 |
| Factor4 | 0.36902 | 0.0615 |
| Factor5 | 0.33132 | 0.0552 |
| Factor6 | 0.18135 | 0.0302 |
|  | | |
| *Number of obs. = 88,838* | | |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Table A3. Factor loadings |  |
| Variable | Factor 1 |
| Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority | 0.7639 |
| Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group from  majority | 0.8581 |
| Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe | 0.8240 |
| Immigration bad or good for country's economy | 0.7515 |
| Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants | 0.7634 |
| Immigrants make country worse or better place to live | 0.7792 |

Note: Given that the scale of the first three variables and that of the remaining ones go in the opposite direction, the direction of the scale for the first three variables has been reversed.

Table A4. Effects of party positions, immigration policy and policy outcomes on immigration attitudes (alternative party position, based on Alonso and da Fonseca, 2012)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Immigration attitudes | | |
| Education | 0.137\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Social class (ref: self-employed professionals and large employers) |  |  |
| Small business owners | -0.253\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Technical (semi-)professionals | -0.167\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Production workers | -0.414\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| (Associate) managers | -0.100\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Clerks | -0.197\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals | -0.025 | (0.02) |
| Service workers | -0.312\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Others | -0.231\*\*\* | (0.03) |
| Left-right orientations | -0.046\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Unemployed | -0.090\*\* | (0.02) |
| Age of respondent, calculated | -0.006\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Gender | -0.074\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Party position | 0.018\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Immigration policy index | -1.419\* | (0.56) |
| Immigrant stock (percentage) | -0.026\* | (0.01) |
| Unemployment rate | 0.007 | (0.01) |
| GDP per capita (thousand US dollars) | 0.013\* | (0.00) |
| Social expenditure as percentage of GDP | -2.155\* | (0.89) |
| Constant | 1.508\* | (0.56) |
| N | 88838 |  |
| R2 | 0.238 |  |

Note: + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. Country fixed effects omitted from the table. Robust standard errors clustered by year in parentheses. The measure of party position follows Alonso and da Fonseca (2012). It consists of using the five CMP categories used to build the main measure of party position and subtracting negative categories about immigration from the positive ones. Higher scores indicate more liberal party stances.

Table A5. Effects of party positions, immigration policy and policy outcomes on immigration attitudes (alternative party position, based on Abou-Chadi, 2016)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Immigration attitudes | |
| Education | 0.138\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Social class (ref: self-employed professionals and large employers) |  |  |
| Small business owners | -0.259\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Technical (semi-)professionals | -0.164\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Production workers | -0.420\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| (Associate) managers | -0.094\*\* | (0.02) |
| Clerks | -0.194\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals | -0.021 | (0.02) |
| Service workers | -0.313\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Others | -0.217\*\*\* | (0.03) |
| Left-right orientations | -0.062\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Unemployed | -0.101\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Age of respondent, calculated | -0.005\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Gender | -0.073\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Party position | 0.123\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Immigration policy index | -1.616\*\* | (0.47) |
| Immigrant stock (percentage) | -0.028 | (0.02) |
| Unemployment rate | 0.002 | (0.01) |
| GDP per capita (thousand US dollars) | 0.024\* | (0.01) |
| Social expenditure as percentage of GDP | -1.035 | (0.74) |
| Constant | 0.902+ | (0.47) |
| N | 72998 |  |
| R2 | 0.229 |  |

Note: + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. Country fixed effects omitted from the table. Robust standard errors clustered by year in parentheses. The measure follows the main operationalisation of Abou-Chadi (2016) and uses only two CMP categories: per607 and per608. In this case, positive mentions about multiculturalism (per607) are subtracted from the negative ones (per608) and the result is divided by the sum of the two categories. We have reversed the direction of the measure. Higher scores indicate more liberal positions.

Table A6. Effects of party positions, immigration policy and policy outcomes on immigration attitudes (CHES data)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Immigration attitudes | |
| Education | 0.132\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Social class (ref.: self-employed professionals and large employers) |  |  |
| Small business owners | -0.260\*\*\* | (0.04) |
| Technical (semi-)professionals | -0.184\*\* | (0.03) |
| Production workers | -0.434\*\*\* | (0.03) |
| (Associate) managers | -0.127\*\* | (0.03) |
| Clerks | -0.224\*\* | (0.04) |
| Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals | -0.068\* | (0.02) |
| Service workers | -0.348\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Others | -0.236\*\* | (0.05) |
| Left-right orientations | -0.024\* | (0.01) |
| Unemployed | -0.115\*\* | (0.02) |
| Age of respondent, calculated | -0.005\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Gender | -0.092\*\* | (0.02) |
| Party stance on immigration (CHES) | 0.093\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Immigration policy index | -1.347\*\* | (0.20) |
| Immigrant stock (percentage) | -0.012 | (0.01) |
| Unemployment rate | 0.013 | (0.01) |
| GDP per capita (thousand US dollars) | 0.020+ | (0.01) |
| Social expenditure as percentage of GDP | -1.782 | (0.97) |
| Constant | 0.330 | (0.38) |
| N | 49856 |  |
| R2 | 0.264 |  |

Note: + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. Country fixed effects omitted from the table. Robust standard errors clustered by year in parentheses.

Table A7. Effects of party positions, immigration policy and policy outcomes on immigration attitudes (based on the entire sample, assigning the average party system position on immigration to those respondents with missing information for party choice)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Immigration attitudes | |
| Education | 0.134\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Social class (ref: self-employed professionals and large employers) |  |  |
| Small business owners | -0.260\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Technical (semi-)professionals | -0.166\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Production workers | -0.417\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| (Associate) managers | -0.110\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Clerks | -0.217\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals | -0.033\* | (0.01) |
| Service workers | -0.299\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Others | -0.178\*\*\* | (0.02) |
| Left-right orientations | -0.049\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Unemployed | -0.100\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Age of respondent, calculated | -0.006\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| Gender | -0.070\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| Party position on immigration | 0.208\*\*\* | (0.03) |
| Immigration policy index | -1.286\* | (0.52) |
| Immigrant stock (percentage) | -0.017+ | (0.01) |
| Unemployment rate | 0.005 | (0.01) |
| GDP per capita (thousand US dollars) | 0.013\*\* | (0.00) |
| Social expenditure as percentage of GDP | -2.102\* | (0.79) |
| Constant | 1.401\* | (0.46) |
| N | 135754 |  |
| R2 | 0.213 |  |

Note: + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. Country fixed effects omitted from the table. Robust standard errors clustered by year in parentheses.

Table A8. Effects of party positions, immigration policy and policy outcomes on immigration attitudes (aggregate analysis at party identification level)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Immigration attitudes | |
| Lagged immigration attitudes | 0.878\*\*\* | (0.04) |
| Party position | 0.058\* | (0.02) |
| Immigration policy | -2.052\* | (0.61) |
| Migrant stocks | -0.032 | (0.04) |
| Unemployment rate | 0.042\*\*\* | (0.01) |
| GDP per capita | 0.033\* | (0.01) |
| Social expenditure | -3.119\* | (1.11) |
| Constant | 0.736 | (0.60) |
| N | 389 |  |
| R2 | 0.879 |  |

Note: + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. Country fixed effects omitted from the table. Robust standard errors clustered by year in parentheses.

Table A9. Effects of party positions (country average), immigration policy and policy outcomes on immigration attitudes (aggregate analysis at country level)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Immigration attitudes | |
| Lagged immigration attitudes | 0.495+ | (0.21) |
| Party position (country average) | 0.145\* | (0.05) |
| Immigration policy | -1.754\*\* | (0.45) |
| Migrant stocks | -0.017 | (0.02) |
| Unemployment rate | 0.027\*\*\* | (0.00) |
| GDP per capita | 0.018 | (0.01) |
| Social expenditure | -3.803\*\* | (0.99) |
| Constant | 1.346\* | (0.50) |
| N | 69 |  |
| R2 | 0.971 |  |

Note: + p<0.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001. Country fixed effects omitted from the table. Robust standard errors clustered by year in parentheses.