Do Threats Galvanize Authoritarians or Mobilize Non-Authoritarians? Experimental Tests from 19 European Societies

Online Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean/Med./Mode	Missing
Opposition to immigration	allow many	allow none	allow some	1158
Immigrant origin manipulation	0	1	.50	5
Immigrant skill manipulation	0	1	.50	5
Authoritarianism	-4.32	4.03	.00	1911
Dominance values	-3.10	5.37	.00	1596
Born in country	0	1	.90	11
Speaks official language	0	1	.95	0
Not religious	0	1	.46	267
Subjective income	1	4	3.08	331
Employment status	unemployed	employed	employed	123
Education	less than secondary	higher	secondary	0
Age	15-29	60+	45-59	75
Urban	0	1	.64	87
Female	0	1	.53	22

Table A2. Multilevel Models of Opposition to Immigration Using Pooled Sample

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigrant origin	.226 (.042)***	.229 (.042)***	.229 (.012)***
Immigrant skill	.762 (.044)***	.775 (.012)***	.754 (.046)***
Authoritarian values	.145 (.010)***	.105 (.014)***	.153 (.015)***
Dominance values	.190 (.007)***	.188 (.007)***	.189 (.007)***
Immigrant origin × authoritarianism		.080 (.018)***	
Immigrant skill × authoritarianism			−.013 (.017)
Speaks official language	.137 (.033)***	.141 (.033)***	.138 (.033)***
Not religious	.014 (.014)	.014 (.014)	.014 (.014)
Born in country	.116 (.024)***	.119 (.024)***	.112 (.024)***
Perceived income	−.114 (.009)***	−.113 (.009)***	−.115 (.009)***
Not in labor force	−.068 (.016)***	−.067 (.016)***	−.069 (.016)***
Unemployed	.031 (.029)	.033 (.029)	.033 (.029)
Less than secondary education	.454 (.020)***	.454 (.020)***	.454 (.020)***
Secondary education	.366 (.016)***	.363 (.016)***	.367 (.016)***
Age: 30-44	.103 (.020)***	.101 (.020)***	.103 (.020)***
Age: 45-59	.139 (.020)***	.138 (.020)***	.137 (.020)***
Age: 60+	.226 (.020)***	.223 (.020)***	.224 (.020)***
Urban	−.086 (.013)***	−.085 (.013)***	−.087 (.013)***
Female	.066 (.013)***	.065 (.013)***	.065 (.013)***
1st threshold	−.436 (.078)***	−.423 (.082)***	−.443 (.075)***
2nd threshold	.854 (.078)***	.865 (.082)***	.843 (.075)***
3rd threshold	1.882 (.079)***	1.889 (.082)***	1.867 (.076)***
N observations	32507	32507	32507
N countries	19	19	19
AIC	76535	76686	76686
Variance: country intercepts	.071	.083	.063
Variance: immigrant origin slopes	.030	.031	
Variance: immigrant skill slopes	.034		.034
Variance: authoritarianism slopes	.001	.002	.003
Variance: origin × authoritarianism		.003	
Variance: skill × authoritarianism			.003

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. Multilevel ordered probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Table A3. Placebo Tests: Multilevel Models of Opposition to Immigration

	Model 1	Model 2
Immigrant origin	.234 (.043)***	.168 (.076)*
Dominance values	.183 (.013)***	.180 (.007)***
Immigrant origin × dominance values	.018 (.018)	
Left-right ideology		.045 (.006)***
Immigrant origin × ideology		.011 (.010)
Immigrant skill	.777 (.012)***	.791 (.013)***
Authoritarian values	.144 (.007)***	.140 (.007)***
Speaks official language	.138 (.033)***	.109 (.035)**
Not religious	.011 (.014)	.031 (.014)*
Born in country	.120 (.024)***	.081 (.025)**
Perceived income	−.111 (.009)***	−.123 (.009)***
Not in labor force	−.066 (.016)***	−.050 (.017)**
Unemployed	.035 (.029)	.054 (.031)
Less than secondary education	.455 (.020)***	.454 (.021)***
Secondary education	.362 (.016)***	.366 (.017)***
Age: 30-44	.103 (.020)***	.113 (.021)***
Age: 45-59	.139 (.020)***	.158 (.021)***
Age: 60+	.224 (.020)***	.226 (.021)***
Urban	−.086 (.013)***	−.077 (.014)***
Female	.065 (.013)***	.073 (.013)***
1st threshold	−.415 (.081)***	−.266 (.094)**
2nd threshold	.871 (.081)***	1.044 (.095)***
3rd threshold	1.895 (.082)***	2.080 (.095)***
N observations	32507	29452
N countries	19	19
AIC	76709	68861
Variance: country intercepts	.080	.110
Variance: immigrant origin slopes	.033	.086
Variance: dominance value slopes	.002	
Variance: origin × dominance slopes	.003	
Variance: ideology slopes		.000
Variance: origin × ideology slopes		.001

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$. Multilevel ordered probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.