# Skill of the Immigrants and Vote of the Natives: Immigration and Nationalism in European Elections 2007-2016 - Appendix

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#### Appendix A Descriptive statistics and data sources

We provide additional descriptive statistics as well as additional details on the data sources and definitions. Section Appendix A provides information of the different data sources. Table A-I lists the variables used in the empirical analysis with their definition and source. Section Appendix A describes the voting data available from the ESS.

#### Data description

Our analysis is built on four different datasets: (i) European Social Survey (ESS), (ii) Manifesto Project Database (MPD), (iii) European Labor Force Survey (EULFS) and (iv) Eurostat. Here below we describe each data source, their characteristics and how we combine them.

European Social Survey (ESS)- Our primary data source is the European Social Survey. This is a multi-country survey, which was administered in 8 waves (one every two years) in 36 countries between 2002 and 2016. Each individual in the ESS is selected by strict random probability method and the samples are representative of the population over 15 in each country. On average each wave contains around 1500 individuals for each country. The data include detailed information on personal and family characteristics such as age, gender, education, marital status, number of children in the family, place of birth and labor market characteristics such as employment status and work characteristics. It also includes detailed information on the parental background, such as parents' education, employment status, occupation when the respondent was 14 years old and their country of birth. From 2010 on it provides also intra-country geographical location of respondents at NUTS2 level. Finally, it provides also voting and political preferences of individuals. In particular, we are interested in two specific questions: (i) which party did you vote in the last national election? (ii) which party do you fell close to? The answers to those questions are the actual names of the parties in each surveyed country, giving a clear definition of the voting preferences/political closeness of each individual.

Manifesto Project Database (MPD) - The Manifesto Project Database, originally created by the Manifesto Research Group in the late 1970s and evolved under different names (e.g. Comparative Manifesto Project), analyses the parties' political manifesto to study parties' political preferences. It covers all the parties that are candidate at the national elections and gain at least one seat in the parliament. Democratic countries in the OECD and Eastern Europe are covered, having a sample of 56 countries over the 1945-2017 period. The number of parties analyzed by the MPD are 1093 over 715 parliamentary elections. Parties' political preferences are studied through a content analysis of the political manifesto: the share of quasi-sentences related to a topic are calculated as a fraction over the whole political manifesto. For each topic the MPD identifies two measures: one of favorable/positive mentions and the other of unfavorable/negative mentions. Several topics are analyzed, like the role of military, constitutionalism, decentralization, market regulation, etc. For our research we focus on parties' political preferences on: (i) European Community/Union (ii) National way of life. The former takes into account all the mentions on the EU like the desirability/opposition of expanding the EU or increasing EU competences. The latter contains all the mentions related to nationalism, patriotism, pride of citizenship, etc. For each one of the two topics we then compute two measures. One is a measure of saliency, computed as the sum of the mentions (both positive and negative) related to the topic in analysis. The other is a measure of favorable political position of the party, computed as the difference between positive and negative mentions of the topic. We compute the average over time of those indicators for each party, dropping all years before the 1990.<sup>1</sup>. Finally, we harmonized and merged the MPD with the voting/political preferences of individual from ESS through the name of the party voted and the year of elections. In this way we know also the political preferences of the party voted by each individual in the ESS.

European Labor Force Survey (EULFS) – The European Labor Forces Survey is a large household survey conducted over the 28 members of the EU, the 3 member of the EFTA (Switzerland, Norway and Iceland) and two candidate countries. Data are available from 1983 on and it is representative of the population above 15. Information related to age, employment status and education are available in this survey. Moreover, from 2005, a disaggregate variable of country of birth is available across the majority of the countries. Fifteen birthplace regions are recognized by the EULFS: natives, EU15, New European member state from 2004, new European member state of 2007/2013, EFTA, Other Europe, North Africa, Other Africa, Near and Middle East, East Asia, South and South East Asia, North America, Central America and Caribbean, South America and Australia and Oceania. Thanks to the latter variable we can easily recognize the native and immigrant population at NUTS2 level in each country. Using the microdata of European Labor Force Survey and focusing on 14 European countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden and United Kingdom) we compute the share of immigrants over the total population in 2005 at NUTS2 level as follow:

$$m_{r,s,t}^{O} = \frac{M_{r,s,t}^{O}}{Pop_{r,2005}} \tag{1}$$

where  $m_{r,s,t}^O$  is the share of migrants and  $M_{r,s,t}^O$  is the total stock of migrants in NUTS2 region r born in the group of origin countries  $O \in \{All, NonEU28\}$ , with skills  $s \in \{All, HS, LS\}$  at time t. For the 14 countries in analysis we built those origin-skill specific shares of migrants at NUTS2 level, excluding Austria, Germany and United Kingdom, where we built them at NUTS1 level. Since Germany does not provide information on the birthplace of the foreign born individuals in their country, we impute the country of birth with the available information on nationality and we distribute the population of foreign born naturalized people using the shares by nationality within the foreign born population. NUTS2 information are available for Denmark from 2007. Our sample includes 146 regions over the 2005-2016 period.

Eurostat – Being the statistical office of the EU, Eurostat can provide several socio-economics data of the EU members. For our analysis, we utilize Eurostat to build a vector of relevant NUTS2 control variables for our main analysis. In particular, we extract data on GDP per capita, population density, unemployment rate and percentage of tertiary educated individuals. Since a measure of GDP per capita is not available for Switzerland, we extract this information from the Regional Economy Dataset available from the OECD. Moreover, we used Eurostat to extract relevant data at NUTS2 level to perform our heterogeneity analysis at regional level, like the value of social benefits other than social transfer in kind per capita, the ratio 0-14 over 15-65 years old population and a measure of total number of crimes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In this way we focus on a period in which the European integration proceess becomes an faster In most cases, information at the party level do not go back that far.

Table A-I: Data Sources and definitions

Variable	Description	Definition	Source
$\begin{array}{c} \textbf{Individual} \\ Nationalism_{i,r,t} \end{array}$	Measure of Nationalism	First component from a PCA on the shares of favorable mentions on EU and Nationalism of each partys' political manifesto. It measures the level of Nationalism of	on the ESS and MPD $$
$Salience_{i,r,t}$	Measure of Salience of Nationalism issue	the party voted by individual $i$ in region $r$ at time $t$ . First component from a PCA on the shares of total mentions on EU and Nationalism of each partys' political manifesto. It measures the saliency of those topics of the party voted by individual $i$ in region $r$ at time $t$ .	Author's Calculation on the ESS and MPD
$Age_{i,r,t}$	Respondent's age	Age of individual $i$ .	ESS data.
$Tertiary_{i,r,t}$	Tertiary dummy	Dummy variable that takes value of 1 if individual $i$ is tertiary educated	
$Female_{i,r,t}$	Woman dummy	Dummy variable that takes value of 1 if individual $i$ is a woman.	ESS data.
Tertiary $fath_{i,r,t}$	Father educational background dummy	Dummy variable that takes value of 1 if individual $i$ 's father is tertiary educated.	ESS data.
<b>D</b> 1			
Regional $m_{r,s,t}^O$	Share of migrants	Share of migrants in region $r$ at time $t$ of skill $s$ from origin countries $O$ over the 2005 population of region $r$ .	
$Y_{r,t}$	Gross domestic product	Gross domestic product (GDP) at current market prices per capita in region $r$ at time $t$ .	Authors' Calculation on Eurostat data and Regional Economy.
$E_{r,t}$	Tertiary education	Percentage of tertiary educated in the population in region $r$ at time $t$ .	Eurostat data.
$U_{r,t} \\ P_{r,t}$	Unemployment rate Population density	Unemployment rate in region $r$ at time $t$ . Total population over the area $(km^2)$ in region $r$ at time $t$ .	Eurostat data. Eurostat data.
$Soc_{r,t}$	Social benefits	Social benefits other than social transfer in kind per capita.	Authors' Calculation on Eurostat data
$Ch_{r,t}$	Children to adults ratio	Ratio of the total children aged 0 to 14 over the population aged 15 to 65	Eurostat data.
$C_{r,t}$	Total number of crimes	Total number of crimes, including robberies, homicides, burglaries and thefts in region $r$ at time. $t$	Eurostat data.
Donty			
Party $Pro\ EU_p$	Pro EU political position	Measure party $p$ pro EU political stance, computed as a difference between the shares of favorable and negative mentions in the political manifesto	
$Pro\ Nationp$	Pro Nationalism political position	Measure party $p$ pro Nationalism political stance, computed as a difference between the shares of favorable and negative mentions in the political manifesto	
$Total \ EU_p$	Salience EU issue	Measure of salience of EU topic for party $p$ , computed as the sum of favorable and negative mentions in the political manifesto	
$Total\ Nationp$	Salience Nationalism issue	Measure of salience of Nationalism topic for party $p$ , computed as the sum of favorable and negative mentions in the political manifesto	

Table A-II: Summary Statistics - Party closeness data

Party Closeness Data		Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Individual Characteristics	Age	36155	51.593	18.082	18	90
	Female	36155	0.482	0.500	0	1
	Tertiary	36155	0.348	0.476	0	1
	Tertiary (father)	30501	0.212	0.409	0	1
	Preferences Pro EU	35749	0.014	0.031	-0.242	.080
	Salience EU	35749	0.033	0.019	0	0.262
	Preferences Pro National way	35749	0.012	0.020	-0.061	0.117
	Salience National Way	35749	0.015	.019	0	0.117
	Nationalism (PCA, std)	35749	0	1	-1.543	7.486
	Salience Nationalism (PCA)	35749	0.024	0.016	0	0.174
Regional Characteristics	GDP per capita	446	32.229	11.510	13.201	69.902
	Pop density	446	416.621	1025.116	3.3	7515.507
	Unemployment rate (%)	446	10.06	6.205	0	37
	Tertiary rate (%)	446	32.109	7.647	12.3	57.1
	Share of Mig (%)	446	13.28	8.837	1.7	50.7
	Share of Mig (HS) (%)	446	3.6	3.3	0.4	21.7
	Share of Mig (LS) (%)	446	9.7	6.0	1.3	34.7
	Share of Mig (not EU) (%)	446	7.2	5.2	0.6	32.4
	Share of Mig (not EU, HS) (%)	446	1.8	1.8	0	15.6
	Share of Mig (not EU, LS) (%)	446	5.4	3.7	0.4	23.2
	Share of Mig (EU) (%)	446	6.0	5.4	0	33.5
	Share of Mig (EU, HS) (%)	446	1.7	1.9	0	12.0
	Share of Mig (EU, LS) (%)	446	4.3	3.7	0	24.3

Note: authors' calculations on ESS data.

#### Sample Selection

Our analysis aims to identify the skill-specific effect of immigration on European voters. Precisely, the focus of our analysis is on the EU-15 core countries and Switzerland, due to its geographical location and the common economic and cultural background with the other EU-15 countries. We excluded from our analysis the other EU countries due to their later access to the EU and to the Schengen Area, and for their specific political behaviors (e.g. different political position of the Visegràd-countries on several issues compared to the rest of the EU countries). Table A-III below shows the desired list of countries that we would include on our analysis. However, due to the combination of different data sources (ESS-EULFS-MPD), some issues arise.

Table A-III: Sample Selection

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Country	Sample Incl	EULFS	ESS	Elections
Austria	<b>√</b>		3 waves: 2010-2014-2016	2008-2013
Belgium	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2010-2014
Denmark	$\checkmark$		3 waves: 2010-2012-2014	2007-2011
Finland	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2007-2011-2015
France	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2007-2012
Germany	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2009-2013
Greece			1 wave: 2010	2007-2009-2012
Ireland	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2011-2016
Italy			2 waves: 2012-2016	2006-2008-2013
Portugal	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2009-2011-2015
Luxembourg			No waves available	2009-2013
Netherlands		No regional	4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2006-2010-2012
		identifier		
Spain	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2008-2011-2016
Sweden	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2010-2014
Switzerland	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2007-2011-2015
United Kingdom	$\checkmark$		4 waves: 2010-2012-2014-2016	2010-2015

First, concerning the EULFS data at the micro-level, the Netherlands does not provide the within-country geographical location of individuals. This lack of information prevent the computation of the skill-specific share of immigrants at the regional level. For this reason, we had to drop the Netherlands from the sample. Moreover, the information of broad country of birth of individuals is included in the EULFS from 2005 on. Since this information is crucial to built our instrumental variables based on the settlement of migrants from the same origin country, our analysis should start from 2005 on. Second, concerning the ESS data, harmonized regional identifiers following the NUTS classification across country is available from the fifth wave of the survey (2010). Column (3) of Table A-III reports the waves available by country starting from 2010. In this time-span, no waves are available for Luxembourg, which has only two waves available from ESS (2002 and 2004) For this reason, we had to drop Luxembourg from the sample. Moreover, only one wave is available for Greece (wave 5, 2010). Since our analysis exploits the variation across years, we have to drop also Greece from our final sample. Finally, column (4) reports the the electoral event available in our period of analysis. We exploit individual voters' preferences based on their vote during the last electoral event before the interview date in the ESS. We then match individuals with the first electoral event before the date of interview. Even though the first wave available for Italy is in 2012, all the interview date are

after the electoral event in 2013. For this reason, Italian voters available in the two waves are matched with the 2013 election. Due to the presence of only one electoral event for Italy, we finally had to drop it from our sample. Our final sample includes 12 European Countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom.

#### **ESS** voting

Table A-IV: Party closeness and party voted: differences (%)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Country	$\Delta$ PC and PV	DK Party close to		$\Delta$ Tot. EU	$\Delta$ Pro EU	$\Delta$ Tot. Nation.	$\Delta$ Pro Nation.
Austria	5.12	37.18	7.93	0.146	-0.054	0.096	0.063
Belgium	12.34	38.55	8.08	-0.044	-0.026	-0.035	0.015
Denmark	14.09	23.36	8.09	0.250	-0.486	0.495	0.397
Finland	11.69	31.93	11.43	-0.011	-0.103	0.032	0.032
France	30.00	39.84	16.47	-0.037	-0.026	-0.169	-0.193
Germany	15.27	32.71	11.32	0.071	-0.270	-0.001	-0.090
Ireland	28.32	55.43	6.25	0.625	-0.509	-0.582	-0.530
Portugal	9.16	22.36	16.90	0.062	-0.191	-0.023	-0.022
Spain	16.50	34.81	11.86	-0.259	-0.245	-0.016	-0.084
Sweden	14.06	24.62	6.32	-0.058	-0.257	-0.035	-0.024
Switzerland	25.14	15.94	24.88	0.382	-0.409	0.509	0.484
United Kingdom	12.30	33.53	11.52	-0.275	-0.098	0.021	-0.042
Whole Sample	16.76	34.01	12.33	0.103	-0.250	-0.007	-0.031

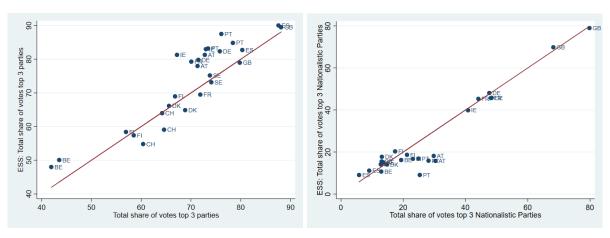
Note: authors' calculations on ESS data and Manifesto Project Database. Column (1) shows the share of individual who feels close to a party different from the party voted in the last national election. This share is computed only for the population who answered with a party name at both questions on party voted and party closeness. Column (2) shows the share of individual over the total population who answered "don't know" to the question related to the party close to. Column (3) shows the share of individual over the total population who answered "don't know" to the question related to the party voted in the last national election. From column (4) to (7) we compute the differences between the political platform of the party they feel close to and the party voted in the last national election. All the differences above are calculated among the population who feels close to a party different from the party voted in the last national election. The differences in the table are calculated as follow  $\frac{(Party\ Close_j-Party\ Voted_j)}{sd(Party\ Voted_j)}$  for each topic j. All the differences in this tables are standardized by dividing the differences for the standard deviation of each topic among all the elected parties in the sample. Columns (4) and (6) show the std. differences on the total mentions of EU and Nationalism topic respectively.

Table A-V: ESS data and actual voting  $(\Delta)$ 

		(1)	(2)			(1)	(2)
Country	Year	Top 5 parties	Top 5 parties	Country	Year	Top 5 parties	Top 5 parties
		Mean	SD			Mean	SD
Austria	2008	0.882	7.16	Ireland	2016	1.74	4.39
Austria	2013	0.831	5.16	Portugal	2009	0.972	7.13
Belgium	2010	1.61	2	Portugal	2011	1.52	8.18
Belgium	2014	1.36	1.61	Portugal	2015	-0.0255	9.7
Denmark	2007	0.17	2.96	Spain	2008	0.797	3.2
Denmark	2011	0823	1.78	Spain	2011	0.628	1.59
Finland	2007	0.16	3.09	Sweden	2010	0.428	3.39
Finland	2011	-0.304	3.44	Sweden	2014	0.004	3.87
Finland	2015	0.686	3.33	Switzerland	2007	0.0323	2.56
France	2007	0.381	4.71	Switzerland	2011	0.337	4.48
France	2012	1.45	3.39	Switzerland	2015	0.463	5.04
Germany	2009	0.876	7.88	United Kingdom	2010	-0.117	2.55
Germany	2013	1.42	4.22	United Kingdom	2015	0.106	3.35
Ireland	2011	0.7	7.78	Whole Sample	2007-2016	0.63	0.57

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, European Election Database (EED) and National Statistics. This table shows the mean and the standard deviation of the difference between voting shares computed with ESS and actual election results for the top 5 parties voted in each national election available in the sample.

Figure A-I: ESS vs. Actual Data on Voting



(a) ESS and actual votes - Top 3 parties

(b) ESS and actual votes - Top 3 Nationalism parties

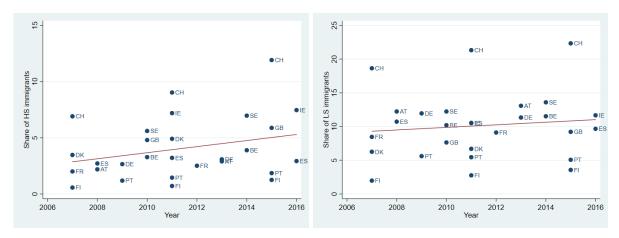
Note: authors' calculation on ESS and European Election Database (EED). The figure plots the share of votes of top 3 parties in terms of votes (panel (a)) and in terms of Nationalism Index (panel (b)) in each election available computed with the EED (x-axis) and ESS (y-axis).

CH • GB Nationalism .5 ● CH CH DK DK ●IE GB FI • IE • DE 0 AT AT ●DE ●PT **ES** ●BE ●SE ES 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 2016 Year

Figure A-II: Country-specific Nationalism Over Time

Note: authors' calculations on ESS and Manifesto Project Database. The figure plots the average country level of nationalism after each election event in our analysis.

Figure A-III: Share of High-skilled and Low-skilled Immigrants Over Time



(a) Share of high-skilled immigrants

(b) Share of low-skilled immigrants

Note: authors' calculations on EULFS data. The figure plots the average share of immigrants over total population in 2005 at regional level by country and education.

## Appendix B Principal Component Analysis

We provide here below the results of the Principal Component Analysis on: (i)measures of favorable political position of the party, computed as the difference between positive and negative mentions, on the European Union and National Way of life; (ii)measures of saliency of European Union and National Way of life in the parties' political manifesto.

#### (i) Favorable political position

Table A-VI: PCA on favorable political position

Component	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Comp1	1.51	1.03	0.758	0.758
Comp2	0.484		0.242	1.00

Table A-VII: PCA eigenvectors

Variable	Comp1	Comp2	Unexplained
Pro Nationalism	0.7071	0.7071	0
Pro EU	-0.7071	0.7071	0

#### (ii) Salience

Table A-VIII: PCA on measures of salience

Component	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Comp1	1.402	0.805	0.701	0.701
Comp2	0.597	•	0.298	1.00

Table A-IX: PCA eigenvectors

Variable	Comp1	Comp2	Unexplained
Total Nationalism	0.7071	0.7071	0
Total EU	0.7071	-0.7071	0

## Appendix C Parties' names and political preferences

Table A-X: Partys' names and political preferences

Country	Party	Party (full name)	Nationalism	Salience	5% Votes
Austria	BZÖ	Bündnis Zukunft Österreich (Alliance for the Future	0.681	0.023	
		of Austria)			
	FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Austrian Freedom	1.080	0.032	$\checkmark$
		Party)			
	TS	Team Stronach für Österreich (Team Stronach for	1.075	0.025	
		Austria)			
	NEOS	Das Neue Österreich (The New Austria)	-0.638	0.018	
	LIF	Liberales Forum (Liberal Forum)	0.105	0.000	
	GRÜNE	Die Grünen (The Greens)	-0.596	0.029	$\checkmark$
	SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Austrian	-0.272	0.020	$\checkmark$
		Social Democratic Party)			
	KPÖ	Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (Austrian Com-	0.819	0.033	
		munist Party)			
	ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's	-0.258	0.029	$\checkmark$
		Party)			
	pirate	Pirate Party	0.200	0.006	
Belgium	groen!	Groen! (Green!)	-0.215	0.008	$\checkmark$
	openVLD	Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Demokraten (Open	-0.294	0.011	$\checkmark$
		Flemish Liberals and Democrats)			
	sp.a	Socialistische Partij Anders (Socialist Party Differ-	-0.055	0.004	$\checkmark$
		ent)			
	ECOLO	Écologistes Confédérés pour l'Organisation de Luttes	-0.301	0.012	$\checkmark$
		Originales (Ecologists)			
	CD&V	Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams (Christian Demo-	-0.565	0.016	$\checkmark$
		cratic and Flemish)			
	PSC	Parti Social Chrétien (Christian Social Party)	-0.376	0.012	$\checkmark$
	LDD	Lijst Dedecker (List Dedecker)	0.008	0.002	
	N-VA	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (New Flemish Alliance)	-0.482	0.016	$\checkmark$
	VB	Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest)	0.369	0.013	
	PS	Parti Socialiste (Francophone Socialist Party)	-0.706	0.019	$\checkmark$
	MR	Alliance: Mouvement Réformateur (Reform Move-	-0.418	0.015	$\checkmark$
		ment)			
Denmark	V	Venstre (Liberals)	-0.491	0.025	$\checkmark$
	$\operatorname{SF}$	Socialistisk Folkeparti (Socialist People's Party)	0.398	0.013	$\checkmark$
	KrF	Kristeligt Folkeparti (Christian People's Party)	0.552	0.018	
	SD	Socialdemokratiet (Social Democratic Party)	0.277	0.006	$\checkmark$

	KF	Konservative Folkeparti (Conservative People's Party)	-0.095	0.025	✓
	EL	Alliance: Enhedslisten - De Rød-Grønne (Red-Green Unity List)	1.117	0.033	$\checkmark$
	DF	Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party)	5.155	0.107	$\checkmark$
	NY	Ny Alliance (New Alliance)	0.105	0.021	
	RV	Det Radikale Venstre (Danish Social-Liberal Party)	-1.028	0.024	$\checkmark$
Finland	SSDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Finnish Social Democrats)	-0.043	0.006	✓
	LKP	Liberaalinen Kansanpuolue (Liberal People's Party)	1.084	0.020	
	VL	Vihreä Liitto (Green Union)	0.036	0.005	$\checkmark$
	PS	Perussuomalaiset (True Finns)	2.573	0.051	$\checkmark$
	VAS	Vasemmistoliitto (Left Wing Alliance)	-0.142	0.008	$\checkmark$
	SK	Suomen Kansanpuolue (Finnish People's Party)	-0.412	0.020	$\checkmark$
	pirate	Pirate Party	0.200	0.006	
	$\rm RKP/SFP$	Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue/Svenska Folkpartiet (Swedish People's Party)	-0.348	0.009	✓
	KD	Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit (Christian Democrats in Finland)	0.295	0.009	
	KK	Kansallinen Kokoomus (National Coalition)	-0.273	0.024	$\checkmark$
France	NC	Nouveau Centre (New Centre)	-1.596	0.035	
	Les Verts	Les Verts, Confédération Écologiste - Parti Écologiste (The Greens)	- 1.251	0.028	$\checkmark$
	FDG	Alliance: Front de Gauche (Left Front)	- 1.108	0.035	
	UDF	Union pour la Démocratie Française (Union for French Democracy)	- 1.026	0.025	
	PCF	Parti Communiste Français (French Communist Party)	- 0.047	0.020	$\checkmark$
	PRG	Parti Radical de Gauche (Left Radical Party)	- 1.520	0.039	
	UMP	Alliance: Union pour la Majorité Présidentielle (Union for the Presidential Majority)	-0.355	0.054	$\checkmark$
	MoDem	Mouvement Démocrate (Democratic Mouvement)	- 0.620	0.047	
	PS	Parti Socialiste (Socialist Party)	- 0.971	0.027	$\checkmark$
	FN	Front National (National Front)	3.533	0.073	$\checkmark$
	PR	Parti Radical (Radical Party)	- 0.580	0.066	
Germany	LINKE	Die Linke (The Left)	-0.165	0.011	$\checkmark$
-	SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)	-0.366	0.021	✓
	$90/\mathrm{Greens}$	Bündnis'90/Die Grünen (Alliance'90/Greens)	-0.570	0.016	$\checkmark$

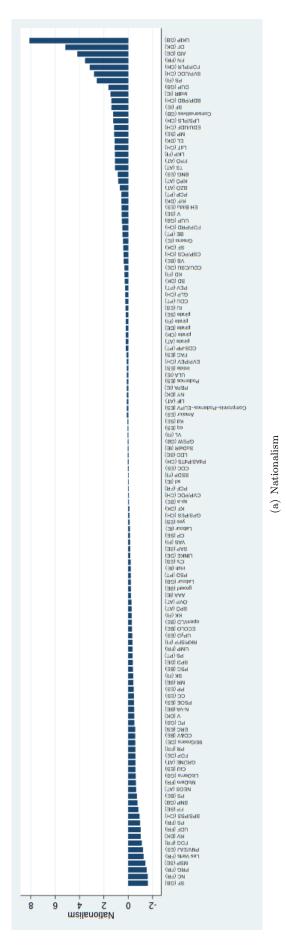
	$\mathrm{CDU}/\mathrm{CSU}$	Alliance: Christlich-Demokratische	0.297	0.033	✓
		Union/Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Demo- cratic Union/ Christian Social Union)			
	AfD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)	4.181	0.090	
	pirate	Pirate Party	0.200	0.006	
	FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party)	-0.593	0.025	✓
Ireland	SoDeIR	Social Democrats	0.016	0.005	
	irish	Fine Gael (Familiy of the Irish)	-0.198	0.020	$\checkmark$
	SF	Sinn Féin (We Ourselves)	1.375	0.032	$\checkmark$
	PBPA	People Before Profit Alliance	0.105	0.006	
	ULA	Alliance: United Left Alliance	0.105	0.000	
	Greens	Green Party/Comhaontas Glas (Green Party)	0.414	0.014	
	AAA	Anti-Austerity Alliance	-0.219	0.015	
	$\operatorname{IndIR}$	Independent Alliance	1.446	0.041	$\checkmark$
	Labour	Páirti Lucht Oibre (Labour Party)	-0.128	0.013	$\checkmark$
	$\operatorname{sd}$	Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny)	-0.045	0.019	$\checkmark$
Portugal	PCP	Partido Comunista Português (Portuguese Communist Party)	0.559	0.019	
	CDS-PP	Centro Democrático Social-Partido Popular (Social Democratic Center-Popular Party)	0.192	0.020	
	PS	Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)	-0.356	0.014	$\checkmark$
	PEV	Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes" (Ecologist Party "The Greens")	0.249	0.006	✓
	PSD	Partido Social Democrata (Social Democratic Party)	-0.198	0.016	$\checkmark$
	CDU	Coligação Democrática Unitária (Unified Demo- cratic Coalition)	0.226	0.017	$\checkmark$
	BE	Bloco de Esquerda (Left Bloc)	0.463	0.017	$\checkmark$
Spain	CC	Coalición Canaria (Canarian Coalition)	-0.468	0.013	
-	Amaiur	Alliance: Amaiur (Amaiur)	0.105	0.000	
	CDC	Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (Demo- cratic Convergence of Catalonia)	-0.015	0.002	
	EH Bildu	Euskal Herria Bildu (Basque Country Unite)	0.534	0.009	
	intide	En marea (In Tide)	0.105	0.00	
	C's	Ciudadanos (Citizens)	-0.191	0.013	$\checkmark$
	Podemos	Unidos Podemos (United We Can)	0.105	0.003	$\checkmark$
	BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego (Galician Nationalist Bloc)	0.849	0.020	

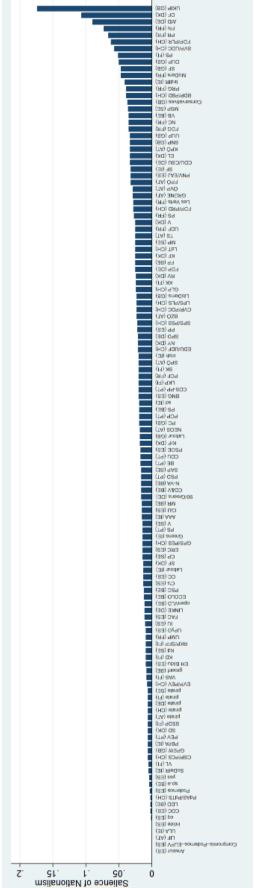
	$\mathrm{PNV}/\mathrm{EAJ}$	Partido Nacionalista Vasco/Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea (Basque Nationalist Party)	-1.215	0.032	
	cq	Alliance: Compromís-Q (Commitment-Q)	0.039	0.001	
	ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Catalan Republican Left)	-0.564	0.014	
	CiU	Alliance: Convergència i Unió (Convergence and Union)	-0.598	0.015	
	UPyD	Unión, Progreso y Democracia (Union, Progress and Democracy)	-0.323	0.009	✓
	IU	Izquierda Unida (United Left)	0.213	0.010	$\checkmark$
	yes	Alliance: Geroa Bai (Future Yes)	-0.114	0.004	
	PP	Partido Popular (People's Party)	-0.438	0.022	$\checkmark$
	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)	-0.477	0.017	$\checkmark$
	FAC	Foro Asturias (Forum Asturias)	0.141	0.011	
Sweden	SAP	Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti (Social Democratic Labour Party)	-0.156	0.016	$\checkmark$
	FP	Folkpartiet Liberalerna (Liberal People's Party)	-0.823	0.025	$\checkmark$
	MP	Miljöpartiet de Gröna (Green Ecology Party)	1.143	0.025	$\checkmark$
	Kd	Kristdemokraterna (Christian Democrats)	0.051	0.009	
	pirate	Pirate Party	0.200	0.006	
	$\operatorname{CP}$	Centerpartiet (Centre Party)	-0.131	0.014	$\checkmark$
	V	Vänsterpartiet (Left Party)	0.527	0.014	$\checkmark$
	MSP	Moderata Samlingspartiet (Moderate Coalition Party)	-1.403	0.036	$\checkmark$
Switzerland	GLP	Grünliberale Partei der Schweiz (Green Liberal Party)	0.235	0.024	$\checkmark$
	$\mathrm{FDP}/\mathrm{PLR}$	FDP.Die Liberalen/PLR.Les Libéraux-Radicaux (FDP.The Liberals)	3.151	0.062	$\checkmark$
	GPS/PES	Grüne Partei der Schweiz/Parti écologiste suisse (Green Party of Switzerland)	-0.099	0.014	✓
	SVP/UDC	Schweizerische Volkspartei/Union démocratique du centre (Swiss People's Party)	2.797	0.057	✓
	SPS/PSS	Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz/Parti socialiste suisse (Social Democratic Party of Switzerland)	-0.920	0.022	✓
	EVP/PEV	Evangelische Volkspartei der Schweiz/Parti Evangélique Suisse (Protestant People's Party of Switzerland)	0.115	0.007	

	$\mathrm{BDP}/\mathrm{PBD}$	Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei Schweiz/Parti	1.377	0.039	
		Bourgeois (Conservative Democratic Party of			
		Switzerland)			
	$\mathrm{LPS}/\mathrm{PLS}$	Liberale Partei der Schweiz/Parti libéral suisse (Lib-	1.231	0.023	
		eral Party of Switzerland)			
	$\mathrm{CVP}/\mathrm{PDC}$	Parti démocrate-chrétien suisse (Christian Demo-	-0.053	0.023	$\checkmark$
		cratic People's Party of Switzerland)			
	LdT	Lega dei Ticinesi (Ticino League)	1.116	0.025	
	$\mathrm{EDU}/\mathrm{UDF}$	Union Démocratique Fédérale (Federal Democratic	1.149	0.021	
		Union)			
	$\mathrm{CSP}/\mathrm{PCS}$	Christlich-soziale Partei/Parti Chrétien-Social	0.385	0.006	
		(Christian Social Party)			
	$\mathrm{FDP}/\mathrm{PRD}$	Parti radical-démocratique suisse (Radical Demo-	0.470	0.028	$\checkmark$
		cratic Party)			
	$\mathrm{PdAS}/\mathrm{PdTS}$	Partei der Arbeit der Schweiz/Parti suisse du travail	-0.006	0.002	
		(Swiss Labour Party)			
	pirate	Pirate Party	0.200	0.006	
United	SNP	Scottish National Party (Scottish National Party)	-0.748	0.033	
Kingdom					
	UUP	Ulster Unionist Party (Ulster Unionist Party)	0.516	0.033	
	LibDems	Liberal Democrats (Liberal Democrats)	-0.608	0.023	$\checkmark$
	PC	Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales)	-0.495	0.019	
	SF	Sinn Féin (We Ourselves)	-1.602	0.047	$\checkmark$
	Labour	Labour Party (Labour Party)	-0.204	0.018	$\checkmark$
	Conservatives	Conservative Party (Conservative Party)	1.238	0.037	$\checkmark$
	UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party (United King-	8.115	0.174	$\checkmark$
		dom Independence Party)			
	GPEW	Green Party of England and Wales (Green Party of	0.017	0.006	
		England and Wales)			
	DUP	Democratic Unionist Party (Democratic Unionist	1.620	0.050	
		Party)			

Note: authors' calculations on ESS data and Manifesto Project Database. The table shows all the parties voted reported by the ESS and that won at least one seat in the parliament. Columns "Nationalism" and "Salience" show the parties' political preferences measured with indicators of nationalism and Saliency. The last column shows whether a party gains at least 5% of votes from the ESS in one of the electoral events in analysis.

Figure A-IV: Nationalism, Salience and parties





(b) Salience of Nationalism

Note: authors' calculations on Manifesto Project Database.

## Appendix D OLS and robustness of baseline IV results

Table A-XI: Nationalism Intensity and Immigrant Share (OLS)

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) OLS	(5) OLS	(6) OLS
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Don wor			Nationalism			Dadical Dicht
Dep var:			Nationalism	<u>t</u>		Radical Right
All Migrants						
Share	-0.01					
	(0.01)					
$Share\ HS$		-0.06*		-0.07**	-0.07**	-0.03***
		(0.03)		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.00)
$Share\ LS$			0.01	0.03*	0.02	0.01***
			(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.00)
Observations	48303	48303	48303	48303	48303	45300
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.10
Not EU Migrants						
$Share\ No\ EU$	-0.01					
	(0.02)					
$Share\ No\ EU\ HS$	, ,	-0.09*		-0.10*	-0.05	-0.03***
		(0.05)		(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.01)
$Share\ No\ EU\ LS$			0.00	0.02	-0.00	0.01***
			(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.00)
Observations	48303	48303	48303	48303	48303	45300
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.10
NUTS2 f.e.	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	<b>√</b>
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$
$NUTS2_{05} # Year$ Controls					$\checkmark$	
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. Column (5) includes the same set of NUTS2 controls fixed at the year 2005 and interacted with year dummies. The dependent variable is: our measure of nationalism, standardized to have zero mean and unity standard deviation (col. (1)-(5)) and a dummy that takes value of 1 if voter for a party that belongs to the Radical Right political family (col. (6)), following the definition of the political family of parties determined by the Chapel Hill Expert Survey dataset.

Table A-XII: Nationalism and Immigrant Share - Sensitivity to controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	ĬV	ÍV	ĬV	ÍV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
$Share\ HS$	-0.14	-0.13	-0.18**	-0.17**
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.07)
$Share\ LS$	0.19***	0.19***	0.07**	0.08**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.04)
$Female\ (ind)$		-0.08***		-0.08***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
$Age\ (ind)$		-0.00		-0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Tertiary (ind)		-0.19***		-0.19***
		(0.03)		(0.03)
$ln(GDP\ cap)\ (NUTS2)$			0.49	0.53
			(0.42)	(0.42)
$Tertiary\ (NUTS2)$			0.06**	0.06**
			(0.02)	(0.02)
$Unemp.\ rate\ (NUTS2)$			-0.00	-0.00
			(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	48303	48303	48303	48303
K-P rk Wald F-stat	10.73	10.74	14.95	14.96
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.13
riaj. rebytane	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.10
NUTS2 f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Year f.e.	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. The dependent variable is our standardized measure of nationalism.

Appendix E Heterogeneity exercise: Western vs. Not Western Immigrants

Table A-XIII: Nationalism Intensity and Immigrant Share - Robustness Western/Not Western Migrants

	(1) OLS	(2) IV	(3) OLS	(4) IV	(5) OLS	(6) IV	(7) OLS	(8) IV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
All Migrants								
Share	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 $(0.05)$						
Share HS	,	,	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.14* (0.07)			-0.07** (0.03)	-0.17** (0.07)
Share LS			(0100)	(0101)	0.01 $(0.02)$	$0.05 \\ (0.05)$	0.03* (0.02)	0.08** (0.04)
Observations K-P rk Wald F-stat	48303	$48303 \\ 45.42$	48303	$48303 \\ 32.24$	48303	48303 38.72	48303	48303 14.96
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13
Not Western Migrants								
$Share\ No\ WE$	-0.01 $(0.02)$	0.01 $(0.08)$						
$Share\ No\ WE\ HS$	()	()	-0.07 $(0.06)$	-0.26 $(0.35)$			-0.07 $(0.06)$	-0.60 (0.48)
$Share\ No\ WE\ LS$			, ,	, ,	-0.01 $(0.02)$	$0.05 \\ (0.09)$	0.00 (0.02)	0.19*** (0.07)
Observations K-P rk Wald F-stat	48303	48303 $25.42$	48303	48303 15.35	48303	48303 49.09	48303	48303 7.29
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
Western Migrants $Share\ WE$	-0.00	0.02						
Share~WE~HS	(0.02)	(0.09)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.16** (0.07)			-0.09** (0.05)	-0.17** (0.07)
Share~WE~LS			(0.03)	(0.07)	$0.03 \\ (0.02)$	$0.15 \\ (0.12)$	0.04* $(0.02)$	0.09 (0.09)
Observations K-P rk Wald F-stat	48303	48303 5.51	48303	48303 26.20	48303	48303 3.89	48303	48303 3.20
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
NUTS2 f.e.	✓	✓	✓	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	✓	✓
Year f.e. NUTS2 Controls	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	√ √	✓ ✓
Individual Controls	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our measure of nationalism, standardized to have zero mean and unity standard deviation.

## Appendix F Regional level Mechanisms

Table A-XIV: Nationalism - Regional characteristics - Migrants Origin

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	
Regional Charact.	Social	Γransfer	Chil	dren	Crime		
Median	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	
Not European Migrants							
Share HS	-0.51*	-0.04	0.05	-0.05	-0.20	-0.56**	
Share 115	(0.27)	(0.36)	(0.29)	(0.95)	(0.17)	(0.25)	
$Share\ LS$	0.27)	(0.30) $0.07$	-0.02	-0.55	0.03	0.19***	
Share LS	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.03)	(0.93)	(0.05)	(0.07)	
	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.03)	(0.93)	(0.05)	(0.07)	
Observations	23633	24670	24871	23432	17438	30865	
Regions	55	59	58	56	55	59	
K-P rk Wald F-stat	10.87	0.80	0.49	0.23	3.43	10.10	
Adj. R-Square	0.15	0.09	0.13	0.12	0.16	0.12	
European Migrants							
Share $HS$	-0.82	0.18	0.46	-0.62	0.21***	0.51	
	(1.19)	(0.12)	(0.46)	(1.37)	(0.08)	(5.56)	
$Share\ LS$	$0.93^{'}$	-0.42**	-0.45	$2.64^{'}$	-0.24**	-2.14	
	(2.08)	(0.17)	(0.44)	(15.55)	(0.09)	(12.68)	
Observations	23633	24670	$2487\acute{1}$	23432	17438	30865	
Regions	55	59	58	56	55	59	
K-P rk Wald F-stat	0.11	5.09	0.27	0.01	4.12	0.01	
Adj. R-Square	0.10	0.08	0.08	-0.01	0.16	-0.13	
NUTS2 f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Individual Controls	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓	

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our standardized measure of nationalism. Analysis by subsamples at regional level based on social trasfer per capita (col (1) and (2)), on the ratio  $\frac{0-14}{15-65}$  old (col (3) and (4)) and on the total number of crime (col (5) and (6)).

## Appendix G Robustness Checks by regional economic conditions

Table A-XV: Nationalism and Immigrant Share - Regional Subsamples

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	
Regional Charact.	Social	Fransfer	Chil	dren	Crime		
Median	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	
$Share\ HS$	-0.25***	-0.08	0.08	-0.25***	-0.14	-0.26***	
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.22)	(0.07)	
$Share\ LS$	0.10*	0.12	0.02	-0.07	0.31	0.09**	
	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.03)	(0.09)	(0.39)	(0.04)	
Observations	23633	24670	24871	23432	17438	30865	
Regions	55	59	58	56	55	59	
K-P rk Wald F-stat	10.53	3.43	1.13	3.01	0.55	13.80	
Adj. R-Square	0.16	0.09	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	
NUTS2 f.e.	✓	✓	✓	✓	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Individual Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓	

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our standardized measure of nationalism. Analysis by subsamples at regional level based on social trasfer per capita (col (1) and (2)), on the ratio  $\frac{0-14}{15-65}$  old (col (3) and (4)) and on the total number of crime (col (5) and (6)).

Table A-XVI: Nationalism - Subsample analysis based on unemployment rate quartiles

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
Unempl. Quartile	$1^{st}$	$2^{nd}$	$3^{rd}$	$4^{th}$	$1^{st}$	$2^{nd}$	$3^{rd}$	$4^{th}$
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Share	0.00	0.09	-0.17***	-0.06				
	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.02)	(0.05)				
$Share\ HS$					-0.11	-0.28***	-0.30***	-0.08
					(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.07)
$Share\ LS$					0.05	0.17**	-0.01	-0.03
					(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Observations	15741	10053	11792	10733	15741	10053	11792	10733
K-P rk Wald F-stat	12.61	37.53	135.25	1.18	2.52	9.84	8.72	0.82
Adj. R-Square	0.16	0.09	0.12	0.08	0.16	0.10	0.12	0.08
NUTS2 f.e.	(		/	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	(	(
Year f.e.	<b>V</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	,	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>√</b>
NUTS2 Controls	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>v</b>
	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>V</b>
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	<b>√</b>

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our standardized measure of nationalism. Quartiles are defined on the regional level of Unemployment rate in 2010.

Table A-XVII: Nationalism - Subsample analysis based on Unemployment and Unemployment Variation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
Characteristics		Unemp	loyment		Unemp	oloyment va	riation (201	0-2007)
Median	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
C1	0.05	0.00			0.10**	0 1144		
Share	0.05	-0.02			-0.10**	0.11**		
	(0.04)	(0.06)			(0.05)	(0.05)		
$Share\ HS$			-0.02	-0.19***			-0.24***	0.12
			(0.11)	(0.05)			(0.07)	(0.20)
$Share\ LS$			0.07*	0.05			0.01	0.11**
			(0.04)	(0.05)			(0.07)	(0.05)
Observations	27750	20569	27750	20569	26577	21742	26577	21742
K-P rk Wald F-stat	15.19	31.49	2.39	10.87	30.89	10.06	4.03	1.08
Adj. R-Square	0.16	0.10	0.16	0.10	0.16	0.09	0.16	0.09
NUTS2 f.e.	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	✓	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>
	,	,	✓	,				
	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	· /
	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>	<b>,</b>

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our standardized measure of nationalism. Subsample analysis splitting regions above and below the country median level in 2010.

Table A-XVIII: Nationalism Intensity and Immigrant Share Initial regional conditions

	(1)	(2)
	OLS	IV-2SLS
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016
Dep var:	No	ationalism
$Share\ HS$	-0.07**	-0.22***
Share IIS		
	(0.03)	(0.07) $0.15***$
$Share\ LS$	0.02	
	(0.02)	(0.05)
$Female\ (ind)$	-0.08***	-0.08***
	(0.02)	(0.02)
$Age\ (ind)$	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Tertiary (ind)	-0.19***	-0.19***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
$ln(GDP\ cap_{05})\#Year$	0.04***	0.04***
2 7 - 1	(0.01)	(0.01)
$Tertiary_{05} # Year$	-0.00	-0.00
00077	(0.00)	(0.00)
$Unemp.\ rate_{05} \# Year$	-0.00	-0.00
0	(0.00)	(0.00)
	,	,
Observations	48303	48303
K-P rk Wald F-stat		15.70
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.02
NUTS2 f.e.	./	./
Year f.e.	<b>v</b>	./
	<b>V</b>	<b>v</b>
Individual Controls	✓	✓

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include the interaction between log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals in 2005 with years. The dependent variable is: our measure of nationalism, standardized to have zero mean and unity standard deviation.

Table A-XIX: Nationalism Intensity and Immigrant Share Robustness Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
m:	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Dep var:					National	lism		
		Average Reg	gional National	ism	Votes Top	Nat. Parties	Votes	s Least Nat. Parties
Sample Exclusion:	Top 10%	Top $20\%$	Bottom $10\%$	Bottom 20%	Top 10%	Top 20%	Top 10%	Top $20\%$
Share $HS$	-0.17***	-0.14**	-0.24***	-0.21**	-0.19***	-0.12*	-0.18**	-0.16*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Share $LS$	0.05*	0.05*	0.09**	0.04	0.06**	0.04*	0.08**	0.09*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Observations	44852	40226	39141	35972	46754	41550	47377	42146
K-P rk Wald F-stat	21.12	10.76	10.21	7.99	17.82	12.29	14.32	13.21
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.14
NUTS2 f.e.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year f.e.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
NUTS2 Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual Controls	./	./	./	./	./	./	./	1

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our measure of nationalism, standardized to have zero mean and unity standard deviation. The estimates are presented after excluding from the sample country-specific election-regions belonging to: the top decile (col. (1),(5),(7)), the top-2 deciles (col. (2),(6),(8)), the bottom decile (col. (3)) and the bottom-2 deciles (col. (4)) in terms of average nationalism index (col. (5)-(6)) and in terms of total votes for the party with lowest nationalism index (col. (7)-(8)).

## Appendix H Vote for Party Families

Table A-XX: Voting Radical Right and Liberal parties - Voters Education

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	IV	IV	IV	ĬV
Time	2007 - 2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Dt E:1	D - 1:1	D: .1.4	T :1	1
Party Family	Radical		Liber	
Natives Education	Not Tertiary	Tertiary	Not Tertiary	Tertiary
$Share\ HS$	-0.04*	-0.01	0.06*	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.04)
$Share\ LS$	0.02***	0.01**	0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	29575	16196	29575	16196
K-P rk Wald F-stat	4.70	10.58	4.70	10.58
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.04	0.10	0.13
NUTS2 f.e.	<b>√</b>	✓	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$
Year f.e.	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$
Individual Controls	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$
NUTS2 Controls	√ ·	√ ·	√ ·	√

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database, Chapell Hill Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummies are included. As NUTS2 controls we include the log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is a dummy that take values of 1 if the individual voted for Radical Right parties in columns (1) and (2), while it takes value of 1 if the individual voted for Liberal parties in columns (3) and (4), following Chapell Hill codification. Data on Switzerland are not available.

## Appendix I Effects on Voting

Table A-XXI: Voting - Voters political orientation

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	IV	IV	IV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Subsample	Poli	tical Oriente	ation
	Left	Centre	Right
$Share\ HS$	-0.01	0.03*	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
$Share\ LS$	0.01	0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	16408	39339	17162
K-P rk Wald F-stat	21.26	20.46	14.55
Adj. R-Square	0.09	0.10	0.09
NUTS2 f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummies are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is a dummy that take values of 1 if the individual voted during the last national elections. Analysis is run on subsamples based on the self-reported level of left-right political orientation of voters.

#### Appendix J Nationalism and Migration attitudes

Table A-XXII: Nationalism Intensity and Immigrant Share Age of Residence

	(1) IV	(2) IV	(3) IV	(4) IV	(5) IV	(6) IV	(7) IV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Dep var:					Nationalism		
Age of Residence:	No Restr.	AOR≥2	AOR≥5	AOR≥10	AOR≥15	AOR≥20	AOR≥25
Share HS	-0.18**	-0.18**	-0.19***	-0.21***	-0.20***	-0.18***	-0.21**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)
$Share\ LS$	0.08**	0.07*	0.05	0.03	0.02	(0.02)	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Observations	48303	48302	48302	48302	48302	48302	48302
K-P rk Wald F-stat	14.96	15.38	19.96	14.98	17.94	21.16	21.45
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
NUTS2 f.e.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year f.e.	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓
Individual Controls	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05. \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05. \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.05. \*\* p<0.

Table A-XXIII: Party Closeness - Nationalism and attitudes towards migration

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	OLS	OLS	IV	OLS	OLS	IV	OLS	OLS	IV
Time	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016
$Share\ HS$	-0.05**	-0.06**	-0.12**				-0.05**	-0.06**	-0.18
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)				(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.11)
$Share\ LS$				0.00	-0.00	-0.04	0.00	0.00	0.08
				(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.08)
Better Place to Live		-0.08***	-0.08***	, ,	-0.08***	-0.08***	, ,	-0.08***	-0.08***
		(0.01)	(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.01)
Enrich Culture		-0.14***	-0.14***		-0.14***	-0.14***		-0.14***	-0.14***
		(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.02)	(0.02)
$Good\ Economy$		-0.05***	-0.05***		-0.05***	-0.05***		-0.05***	-0.05***
v		(0.01)	(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.01)
Observations	35121	35074	35074	35121	35074	35074	35121	35074	35074
K-P rk Wald F-stat			46.48			45.58			3.21
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.18	0.18	0.14	0.18	0.18	0.14	0.18	0.18
<i>y</i> 1									
NUTS2 f.e.	$\checkmark$								
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$								
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \*p<0.1, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our standardized measure of nationalism associated to the party which the respondent feel close to. As additional controls, we include standardized measures of respondent's attitudes towards migrants: whether migrants makes the country a better place to live (Better Place to Live), whether enrich country culture (Enrich Culture) and whether they have a positive effect on country economy (Good Economy).

## Appendix K Multiple Hypotheses Testing Correction

Table A-XXIV: Voting Turnout and Immigrant Share Multiple Hypothesis Testing Correction

	(1) IV	(2) IV	(3) IV	(4) IV	(5) IV	(6) IV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
Natives		Educa	tion		Age Groups	3
Subsample	All	Not Tertiary	Tertiary	18-37	38-57	58+
$Share\ HS$	0.01 $(0.01)$	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 $(0.02)$	0.05** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Model P-value Romano-Wolf Adj P-value	0.228 $0.351$	0.434 $0.593$	0.248 $0.375$	0.024 0.020	0.871 0.828	0.579 0.699
$Share\ LS$	$0.00 \\ (0.01)$	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 $(0.01)$	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	$0.00 \\ (0.01)$
Model P-value Romano-Wolf Adj P-value	0.571 $0.852$	0.720 0.869	0.523 $0.852$	0.323 0.614	0.574 $0.852$	0.785 0.869
Observations K-P rk Wald F-stat Adj. R-Square	78814 20.35 0.10	53675 13.99 0.09	25139 23.21 0.07	20730 22.85 0.13	28605 $14.21$ $0.06$	29479 19.25 0.03

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender, education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is a dummy that take values of 1 if the individual voted during the last national elections, zero otherwise. From column (2) to column (6) we perform our analysis on subsample by education (col. (2) and (3)) and age groups (col. (4),(5) and (6)). For each estimate we present the standard model p-value and the adjusted p-values after implementing the Romano-Wolf correction for Multiple Hypothesis Testing.

Table A-XXV: Nationalism and Immigrant Share - Individual Panel Analysis Multiple Hypothesis Testing Correction

(1)	(2)	(3)
IV	IV	IV
2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
All	$Not\ Tertiary$	Tertiary
0.02	0.01	0.04
(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
0.300	0.658	0.221
0.243	0.510	0.243
0.05***	0.06***	0.03
(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
0.005	0.002	0.236
0.001	0.001	0.126
29238	18229	11009
6.05	5.58	6.13
$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
	1V 2007-2016 All 0.02 (0.02) 0.300 0.243 0.05*** (0.02) 0.005 0.001	IV         IV           2007-2016         2007-2016           All         Not Tertiary           0.02         0.01           (0.02)         (0.02)           0.300         0.658           0.243         0.510           0.05***         0.06***           (0.02)         (0.02)           0.005         0.002           0.001         0.001           29238         18229

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. The dependent variable is the difference between our standardized measures of nationalism of the party that they feel close to and the party for which they voted for in the last national election. The analysis is performed over the whole immigrants shares population. The analysis is performed on different samples of natives voters based on their level of education and party voted for during the last election: all individuals (col (1)), not tertiary educated (col (2)) and tertiary educated (col (3)). The estimation is performed trough IV estimation procedure.

Table A-XXVI: Immigration and Attitudes towards Politics and Immigration Multiple Hypothesis Testing Correction

	(1) IV	(2) IV	(3) IV	(4) IV	(5) IV	(6) IV
Time	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016	2010-2016
	]	Political Att	itudes		Migration Attit	udes
Dep. Var.	Trust EU Parl.	More~EU	Trust Country Parl.	Good Economy	Enrich Culture	Better Place to Live
Panel A - HS Migrants						
Share HS	0.06**	-0.03	0.07*	0.02	-0.00	-0.05
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Model P-value	0.038	0.562	0.084	0.390	0.911	0.114
Romano-Wolf Adj P-value	0.065	0.707	0.135	0.504	0.884	0.135
Observations	73935	56363	78058	77674	77717	77862
K-P rk Wald F-stat	35.54	20.77	35.77	35.84	35.81	35.77
Adj. R-Square	0.08	0.10	0.10	0.12	0.13	0.11
Panel B - LS Migrants						
$\overline{Share\ LS}$	0.04	-0.01	0.04	-0.00	-0.01	-0.05**
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Model P-value	0.109	0.694	0.359	0.951	0.645	0.025
Romano-Wolf Adj P-value	0.255	0.863	0.669	0.925	0.863	0.059
Observations	73935	56363	78058	77674	77717	77862
K-P rk Wald F-stat	44.50	28.00	45.07	45.63	44.82	45.24
Adj. R-Square	0.08	0.10	0.10	0.12	0.13	0.11
NUTS2 f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	✓	$\checkmark$
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$
Individual Controls	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummies are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. Each column use as dependent variables a different standardized measure of trust, attitudes towards politics and attitudes towards immigrants: trust in the EU parliament (1), EU unification should go further (2), trust in the national parliament (3), migrants are good for the economy (4), migrants enrich country cultural life (5) and migrants make the country a better place to live. For each estimate we present the standard model p-value and the adjusted p-values after implementing the Romano-Wolf correction for Multiple Hypothesis Testing.

## Appendix L Individual Panel Analysis

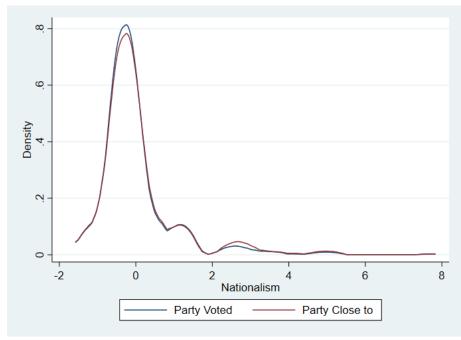


Figure A-V: Nationalism Distribution

Note: authors' calculations on ESS data and Manifesto Project Database. The figure plot the distribution of the population in terms of nationalism.

# Appendix M Robustness check: Dropping EU regions based on regional EULFS size

Table A-XXVII: Nationalism Intensity and Immigrant Share - Dropping EULFS regions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
Time	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016	2007-2016
All Migrants								
Share	-0.01	0.00						
	(0.01)	(0.05)						
$Share\ HS$			-0.07*	-0.15**			-0.08**	-0.19**
			(0.03)	(0.08)			(0.04)	(0.07)
$Share\ LS$					0.01	0.05	0.03*	0.07**
					(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Observations	45034	45034	45034	45034	45034	45034	45034	45034
K-P rk Wald F-stat		42.92		30.79		37.21		14.17
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.13
NUTS2 f.e.	$\checkmark$							
Year f.e.	$\checkmark$							
NUTS2 Controls	$\checkmark$							
Individual Controls	$\checkmark$							

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Standard errors are clustered at NUTS2 level. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01. As individual controls age, gender and education dummy are included. As NUTS2 controls we include log GDP per capita, unemployment rate and share of tertiary educated individuals. The dependent variable is our measure of nationalism, standardized to have zero mean and unity standard deviation. We drop from the sample the regions with less than 50 migrants (either LS or HS) observed from the EULFS sample.

Table A-XXVIII: EULFS - Skill-specific observations of migrants at regional level

Country (years)	(1) Mean	(2) SD	(3) Min	(4) Max
Austria (2008,2013)				
HS	1255	580.7	467	1918
LS	6223.8	2738.9	2655	9112
Li	0225.0	2130.9	2000	3112
Belgium (2010,2014)				
HS	355.4	420.3	97	1807
LS	899.9	849.7	280	3646
Denmark (2007,2011)				
HS	341.5	266.8	119	874
LS	1153.6	653.1	465	2373
LS	1105.0	055.1	405	2313
Finland (2007,2011,2015)				
HS	83.5	73.3	6	279
LS	251.6	167.9	41	613
France (2007,2012)				
HS	423.8	780.6	70	4577
LS	1649.9	2367.5	194	13170
10	1010.0	2001.0	101	10110
Germany (2009,2013)				
HS	450.6	693.3	10	2444
LS	1757.7	2939.2	43	12401
Ireland (2011,2016)				
HS	4597.2	2797.9	2071	7103
LS	7114.2	3570.4	3467	11456
10	1111.2	0010.1	0101	11100
Portugal (2009,2011,2015)				
HS	291.9	200.1	54	768
LS	960.5	638.1	181	2164
Spain (2008,2011,2016)				
HS	85.2	73.9	1	280
LS	283.4	215.3	27	941
G 1 (2010 CC1 ()				
Sweden (2010,2014)	1910.9	1041 4	1.4.4	4990
HS	1219.3		144	4230
LS	2639.2	1850.1	355	6975
Switzerland (2007,2011,2015)				
HS	1013.3	541.3	327	2041
LS	2152.1	707.3	1186	3555
United Kingdom (2010,2015)				
HS	266.2	297.5	45	1305
	200.2	201.0	10	1000

Note: the table reports the unweighted skill-specific number of observations at regional level by country.

#### Appendix N Simulations of different scenarios

Table A-XXIX: Simulations: exercises and robustness checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Standard Sim.	Mig.	Policies	Educ	. Policies	Robustn	ess Checks
Country	$\widehat{Nation}_c$	No Not EU LS	Balanced Not EU	Tertiary eff.	Max Tert. (EU)	Only LS Nat	Origin-specific
Austria	-0.299	-0.364	-0.235	-0.36	-0.366	-0.241	-0.639
Belgium	0.042	-0.184	-0.161	-0.03	-0.094	0.06	-0.132
Denmark	0.171	0.035	-0.017	0.098	0.023	0.156	0.128
Finland	0.002	-0.082	-0.062	-0.08	-0.112	0.011	-0.09
France	-0.102	-0.171	-0.117	-0.169	-0.203	-0.075	-0.213
Germany	-0.051	-0.178	-0.166	-0.106	-0.162	-0.036	-0.127
Greece	-0.046	-0.029	-0.01	-0.104	-0.151	-0.037	-0.072
Ireland	0.085	-0.031	0.048	0.002	-0.041	0.076	-0.122
Italy	0.259	0.037	-0.001	0.224	0.059	0.246	0.313
Portugal	-0.116	-0.089	-0.021	-0.162	-0.202	-0.101	-0.254
Spain	-0.036	-0.029	-0.012	-0.105	-0.144	-0.027	-0.081
Sweden	-0.268	-0.535	-0.379	-0.347	-0.366	-0.181	-0.586
Switzerland	-0.508	-0.628	-0.489	-0.587	-0.581	-0.361	-0.986
United Kingdom	-0.1	-0.183	-0.069	-0.181	-0.223	-0.045	-0.466

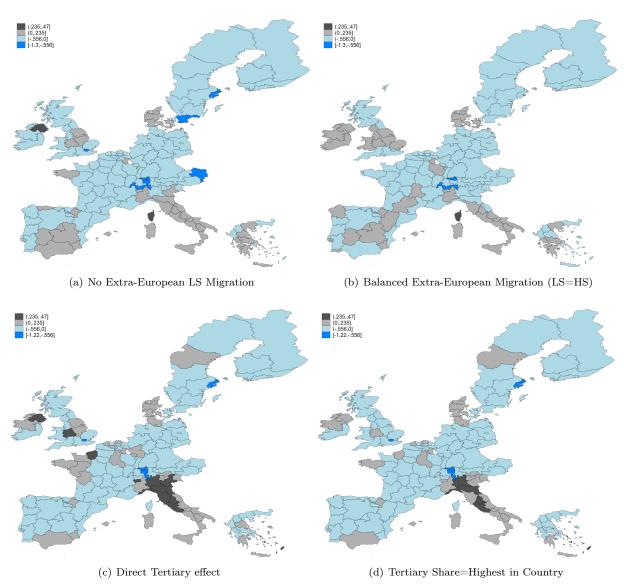
Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Column (1) shows country averages of the simulated standardized nationalism from the standard simulation using as regional weights the total population. Column (2) shows the result of the simulation when we remove the variation of low educated immigrants from not European countries. Column (3) shows the result of the simulation when we assume skill-balanced immigration from not European countries. Column (4) shows the result of the simulation when we include the direct effect of tertiary education. Column (5) shows the result of the simulation when each region has the same share of tertiary educated natives as the highest educated one in Europe (Great London). Column (6) shows the results of the simulation when we include in the equation only to low educated natives. Column (7) shows the results when we take into account country of origin specific effects.

Table A-XXX: Actual and predicted Nationalism

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Country	Year $(1^{st}elect)$		Predicted Nationalism
Austria	2008	-0.116	-0.416
Belgium	2010	-0.396	-0.353
Denmark	2007	0.516	0.686
Finland	2007	-0.022	-0.019
France	2007	-0.486	-0.587
Germany	2009	-0.118	-0.170
Greece	2009	0.358	0.312
Ireland	2011	0.08	0.165
Italy	2013	-0.609	-0.351
Portugal	2009	-0.189	-0.306
Spain	2008	-0.435	-0.471
Sweden	2010	-0.469	-0.737
Switzerland	2007	0.588	0.08
United Kingdom	2010	0.327	0.228

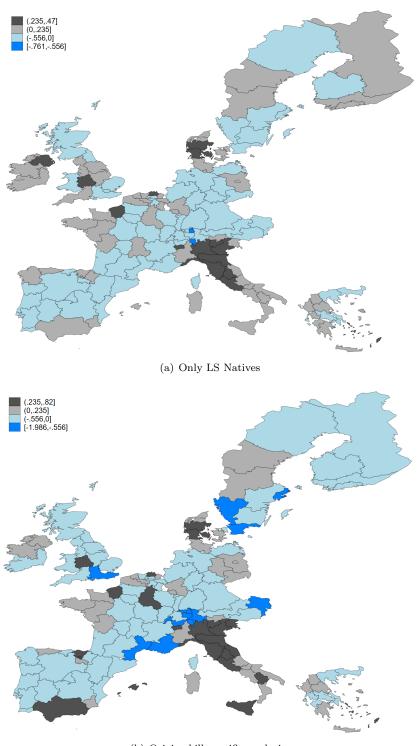
Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. Column (1) shows the year of the first election available in our dataset. Column (2) shows the average level of Nationalism in the first election available, while column (3) shows the sum between column (2) and the variation on the level of nationalism from our standard simulation.

Figure A-VI: Simulation for Different Migration and Education Scenarios



Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. The figure plots the simulated average level of nationalism after different education policy scenarios, due to the variation of immigrants by education and level of education of natives over the 2007-2016. The figure plots the results of equation (11) at NUTS2 level when: not European LS immigrants are excluded (panel (a)), not European LS and HS immigrants are exactly balanced in each region (panel (b)), the direct effect of tertiary education on nationalism is included (panel (c)) and each region has the same level of tertiary educated natives as the highest in the same country (panel (d)).

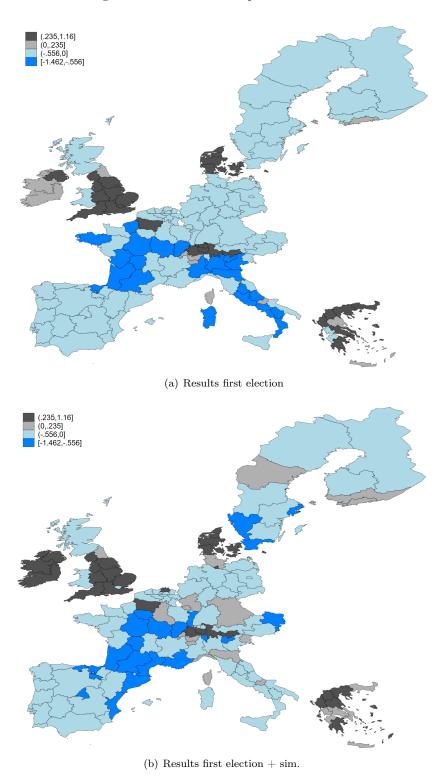
Figure A-VII: Robustness Checks



(b) Origin-skill specific analysis

Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. The figure plots the simulated average level of nationalism after different scenarios, due to the variation of immigrants by education and level of education of natives over the 2007-2016. The figure plots the results of equation (11) at NUTS2 level when: only LS natives are included (panel (a)), skill and origin specific coefficients and migration variations are included (panel (b)).

Figure A-VIII: Actual and predicted scenarios



Note: authors' calculations on ESS, EULFS, Manifesto Project Database and Eurostat data. The figure plots the average level of nationalism at NUTS2 level for the first election available in the sample (panel (a)) and how change the level of nationalism if we included the effect of immigration computed by equation (11) (panel (b)).