

**Propagated preferences? Political elite discourses and Europeans' openness toward
Muslim immigrants**

Appendix

Table A1: Descriptives by country

country	Outcomes: attitudes toward...			
	Muslim immigrants		ethnically similar immigrants	
	mean	SD	mean	SD
Austria	2.708	0.919	2.216	0.826
Belgium	2.602	0.904	2.191	0.802
Switzerland	2.478	0.867	1.924	0.613
Czech Republic	3.436	0.743	2.676	0.818
Germany	2.151	0.867	1.672	0.699
Denmark	2.436	0.883	1.928	0.687
Estonia	3.040	0.936	2.096	0.751
Spain	2.612	0.985	2.178	0.903
Finland	2.704	0.883	2.206	0.729
France	2.373	0.874	2.142	0.765
United Kingdom	2.541	0.911	2.372	0.804
Hungary	3.443	0.718	2.403	0.936
Ireland	2.744	0.946	2.354	0.860
Netherlands	2.465	0.875	2.152	0.741
Norway	2.223	0.838	1.858	0.682
Poland	2.914	0.920	2.155	0.795
Portugal	2.869	0.919	2.349	0.791
Sweden	1.820	0.801	1.605	0.595
Slovenia	2.563	0.903	2.112	0.769

Table A1 continued

Country-level						
	Exclusionary discourse	Inclusionary discourse	Percent foreigners	Percent Muslims	Unemployment rate	
country	mean	mean	mean	mean	mean	
Austria	0.789	0.564	0.563	0.716	0.102	
Belgium	0.119	0.305	0.518	0.784	0.240	
Switzerland	0.707	0.635	1.000	0.649	0.050	
Czech Republic	0.112	0.005	0.201	0.000	0.125	
Germany	0.295	0.446	0.415	0.770	0.071	
Denmark	0.785	0.813	0.253	0.541	0.148	
Estonia	1.000	0.475	0.313	0.000	0.185	
Spain	0.000	0.126	0.440	0.270	1.000	

Finland	0.399	0.623	0.145	0.095	0.247
France	0.346	0.049	0.387	1.000	0.325
United Kingdom	0.364	0.128	0.396	0.635	0.125
Hungary	0.987	0.270	0.104	0.027	0.202
Ireland	0.077	0.543	0.552	0.135	0.371
Netherlands	0.270	0.210	0.372	0.797	0.188
Norway	0.328	1.000	0.456	0.486	0.000
Poland	0.088	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.263
Portugal	0.157	0.306	0.243	0.068	0.497
Sweden	0.215	0.994	0.536	0.608	0.213
Slovenia	0.185	0.069	0.540	0.473	0.295

Table A1 continued

country	Individual-level				N
	LR-scale		Political interest		
	mean	SD	mean	SD	
Austria	0.485	0.175	2.445	0.909	1,214
Belgium	0.512	0.206	2.558	0.899	1,275
Switzerland	0.534	0.198	2.160	0.793	813
Czech					
Republic	0.498	0.222	3.106	0.779	1,563
Germany	0.454	0.188	2.096	0.770	2,291
Denmark	0.556	0.233	2.114	0.764	1,215
Estonia	0.555	0.198	2.495	0.773	975
Spain	0.438	0.211	2.587	0.923	1,272
Finland	0.562	0.199	2.402	0.788	1,795
France	0.508	0.239	2.498	0.931	1,284
United					
Kingdom	0.502	0.199	2.339	0.908	1,482
Hungary	0.540	0.234	2.915	0.859	1,172
Ireland	0.514	0.183	2.608	0.966	1,471
Netherlands	0.520	0.187	2.260	0.760	1,455
Norway	0.533	0.210	2.467	0.748	1,154
Poland	0.577	0.232	2.659	0.799	1,131
Portugal	0.490	0.270	2.745	0.992	936
Sweden	0.513	0.241	2.200	0.799	1,31
Slovenia	0.450	0.246	2.509	0.877	721

Table A2: Estimates with re-sampling

	Excl. Discourse on Muslim attitudes	Excl. Discourse on same race attitudes	Incl. Discourse on Muslim attitudes	Incl. Discourse on same race attitudes
Country excluded				
AT	0.384***	0.001	-0.594***	-0.388**
BE	0.461***	0.059	-0.578***	-0.382**
CH	0.443***	0.082	-0.616***	-0.426***
CZ	0.508***	0.110	-0.487***	-0.311*
DE	0.401***	0.002	-0.594***	-0.383***
DK	0.392***	0.018	-0.628***	-0.421**
EE	0.451***	0.099	-0.597***	-0.395**
ES	0.400***	0.047	-0.601***	-0.386**
FI	0.415***	0.050	-0.588***	-0.422**
FR	0.428***	0.043	-0.608***	-0.389**
GB	0.417***	0.044	-0.624***	-0.339**
HU	0.390***	0.060	-0.579***	-0.391**
IE	0.425***	0.089	-0.595***	-0.409***
NL	0.419***	0.046	-0.585***	-0.378**
NO	0.440***	0.054	-0.628***	-0.405**
PL	0.366***	-0.035	-0.625***	-0.441***
PT	0.410***	0.043	-0.588***	-0.388**
SE	0.373***	-0.002	-0.500***	-0.294*
SI	0.408***	0.034	-0.632***	-0.424**
Jackknife	0.417**	0.042	-0.592**	-0.387*

p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001 (two-sided tests)

Table A3: Alternative models

	Reduced sample (w/o FR, IE & SI)		Mixed effects ordered logit	
	Muslim	ethnically similar	Muslim	ethnically similar
<i>Country-level</i>				
Exclusionary discourse	0.433*** (3.87)	0.0921 (0.71)	0.990*** (0.244)	0.164 (0.314)
Inclusionary discourse	-0.661*** (-5.74)	-0.456*** (-3.44)	1.398*** (0.246)	-1.017** (0.316)
Share foreigners	0.167 (0.87)	0.0600 (0.27)	0.366 (0.389)	0.339 (0.500)
Share Muslims	-0.584*** (-4.08)	-0.0976 (-0.59)	1.496*** (0.253)	-0.511 (0.326)
Unemployment rate	-0.182 (-1.12)	-0.0773 (-0.41)	-0.462 (0.372)	-0.202 (0.479)
<i>Individual-level</i>				
LR-scale	0.565*** (21.51)	0.317*** (13.26)	1.401*** (0.059)	1.007*** (0.059)
Political interest (ref.: none)			-	
Very interested	-0.407*** (-17.08)	-0.412*** (-19.02)	0.933*** (0.052)	-1.021*** (0.053)

			-	
Quite interested	-0.309***	-0.311***	0.692***	-0.724***
	(-16.22)	(-17.96)	(0.041)	(0.042)
			-	
Hardly interested	-0.163***	-0.178***	0.378***	-0.391***
	(-8.76)	(-10.52)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Gender: Female	0.00445	-0.0324**	-0.0135	-0.0904***
	(0.40)	(-3.17)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Age	0.663***	0.214***	1.507***	0.580***
	(23.44)	(8.32)	(0.063)	(0.063)
Migrant friends (ref.: many)				
A few	0.203***	0.0987***	0.521***	0.371***
	(10.48)	(5.60)	(0.044)	(0.045)
None	0.412***	0.233***	1.019***	0.716***
	(21.43)	(13.31)	(0.044)	(0.045)
Looking for work	-0.00674	0.0107	-0.0597	-0.0136
	(-0.26)	(0.45)	(0.055)	(0.057)
Education (ref.: high (tertiary))				
Medium (Advanced				
Vocational)	0.207***	0.114***	0.483***	0.348***
	(10.85)	(6.58)	(0.041)	(0.043)
Medium (Upper				
Secondary)	0.323***	0.222***	0.762***	0.643***
	(20.93)	(15.83)	(0.034)	(0.035)

Low (Lower Secondary or				
Less)	0.377***	0.274***	0.912***	0.801***
	(21.93)	(17.54)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Income satisfaction (ref.: living comfortably)				
Coping	0.106***	0.0958***	0.242***	0.260***
	(8.01)	(7.93)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Difficult	0.177***	0.178***	0.465***	0.493***
	(9.10)	(10.09)	(0.042)	(0.043)
Very difficult	0.349***	0.311***	0.973***	0.836***
	(10.53)	(10.32)	(0.075)	(0.074)
Constant	2.015***	1.910***		
	(19.28)	(16.16)		
			-	
Cutpoint1			0.948***	-0.638*
			(0.239)	(0.303)
Cutpoint2			1.360***	1.958***
			(0.240)	(0.303)
Cutpoint3			3.130***	4.025***
			(0.240)	(0.304)
<i>Variance components</i>				
Constant	0.02***	0.014***	0.077**	0.13**
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.026)	(0.043)
Residual	0.528***	0.64***		
	(0.005)	(0.006)		

Statistics

AIC	50444.2	46417.9	56011.5	52697.4
BIC	50627.2	46600.8	56206.1	52892.0
N (countries)	16	16	19	19
N (respondents)	21053	21053	24529	24529

$p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$ (two-sided tests). All continuous variables standardized to range from 0 to 1