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Katja Salomo

## **Dynamics of Immigrant Resentment in Europe**

**Discussion Paper** 

P 2020-002 December 2020

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Katja Salomo **Dynamics of immigrant resentment in Europe** Discussion Paper P 2020-002 Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (2020) Abstract

## Dynamics of Immigrant Resentment in Europe

by Katja Salomo<sup>\*</sup>

A test of social explanations of immigrant resentment – contact, threatened responses, grievances, social disintegration, political persuasion, socialization contexts – across 30 European countries between the years 2002–2016 (N=308.430) provides the background for a comprehensive discussion of how these mechanisms interact and connect to migration patterns.

Most susceptible to resentment are those (1) lacking opportunities or (2) easy to persuade. (1) Socioeconomic status, place of residency, grievances, social disintegration, immigrant presence, birth cohort interact to provide/inhibit opportunities for social, economic participation (for natives *and* migrants) leading to less/greater resentment. (2) Threatened responses are concerns over potential consequences of certain kinds of immigration and are linked to individual characteristics that increase exposure and susceptibility to party cueing, policy signaling and media bias.

At the contextual-level, these processes are self-mitigating: Affluent, high-immigration countries more easily sustain tolerance for the same reasons they attract immigrants (opportunities) but are more prone to threatened responses since these are provoked by immigration characteristics overrepresented in affluent countries. While this dynamic is reversed in less advantaged countries, it is also vulnerable to disruption explaining higher resentment in certain countries. Self-mitigating shapes resentment in urban areas as well, but urbanization disrupts regional dynamics, leaving rural Europe especially susceptible to resentment.

Keywords: immigration attitudes; contact; threat; deprivation; disorder; party cues; geopolitical threat

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#### INTRODUCTION

Resentment towards immigrants and immigration increasingly destabilizes European politics. The consequences of rising negativity towards immigration go beyond its ramifications for immigration policies and the successful integration of migrants. As the most common denominator of nationalist parties, anti-immigrant sentiment is embedded within anti-democratic ideologies that also denigrate various social minorities including women (Zick, Hoevermann and Kuepper 2011). Since 2010, nationalist parties have gained or retained seats in federal parliaments within Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and Spain (Volkens et al. 2018). Anti-immigration views motivated the British vote to leave the European Union (Evans and Menon 2017) and the destabilizing effects of this decision are felt even outside of Europe. Understanding these challenges to democracy means understanding the roots of anti-immigration attitudes. This article gives a detailed and comprehensive overview of empirically supported social explanations of anti-immigration attitudes brought forward by sociology, political science, economics, urban studies, and psychology, tests them using survey data from 30 European countries spanning the years 2002 to 2016 and provides an estimation of their combined explanatory power.

Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are a wide concept, suggestions on suitable indicators range from exclusionist and discriminatory attitudes, negative stereotypes to voting behavior (Ceobanu and Escandell 2010: 314, 321). Here, resentment towards immigration/immigrants means opposing the admission of immigrants into the country (admission scale) – from the same or different ethnic group as the majority of the country or poorer countries out-side the European Union – and believing in a negative impact of immigration

on the country's economy, culture and as a place to live (threat scale). Although studies comparing different dimensions of attitudes towards immigrants/immigration are rare (e.g. Sides and Citrin 2007), the literature in its entirety suggests, that they share most predictors among them.

Theories about immigrant resentment are derived from social identity theory (Stets and Burke 2000): The formation of attitudes towards other groups necessitates self- and contra-identification into an ingroup opposed to outgroups. By attributing favorable characteristics to the ingroup and, in extension, negative characteristics to the outgroup, individuals achieve a positive distinction that confirms the ingroup's elevated position in society and with it one's own. While these basic psychological processes might be universal to a minor extent, factors that exacerbate self-/contra-identification, ingroup favoritism and negative outgroup bias are "causes" of resentment. "Social causes", the focus of the current study, are social mechanisms (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010) that trace the roots of resentment back to policies, politics, economic conditions, the demographic and social structure of society within specific historic backgrounds.

Arguments that have been brought forward with that intent are plentiful, they are clustered here according to their overarching arguments into theories about contact, threatened responses, grievances, social disintegration, political persuasion, and socialization contexts. Briefly introducing each approach culminates in hypotheses that both replicate and extent prior insights. Results of the analyses serve as background for discussing how these social mechanisms interact empirically and drive immigrant resentment in the context of migration patterns and historic divides across Europe.

### SOCIAL MECHANISMS OF IMMIGRANT RESENTMENT

Given their omnipresence within the literature, this review begins with the contact and threat theses, followed by the grievances and social disintegration approach that are both, arguably, urban-centric and closes with mechanisms of political persuasion and the tentative knowledge about the relevance of different socialization contexts for both inter- and intragenerational differences in resentment.

#### Contact: Social relationships, habituation, cultural exposure

Exposure to other cultures challenges prejudice views by overring opportunities for social learning. Forming positive relationships to immigrants acts as antidote to prejudice by reinforcing empathy and perspective taking in natives and decreases anxiety about further contact with migrants, somewhat less so by helping natives to see similarities between them and migrants (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008). Having migrant friends especially challenges resentful views among natives (e.g. Turner et al. 2010). Although natives form relations to members of specific immigrant groups, the outcomes of social contact generalize beyond attitudes towards specific migrant groups to attitudes towards immigration and immigrants in general (Pettigrew 2009).

Contact can have positive outcomes even in the absence of emerging social relationships. Just by repeatedly *observing* immigrants, resentment and anxiety towards immigrants decreases (Rhodes, Halberstadt and Brajkovich 2001). Exposed to immigrants doing everyday activities similar to those carried out by themselves, natives habituate to their presence (Weber 2015). It can be negative, too, as situational framing experiments illustrate: Prejudice is reinforced if natives encounter migrants predominantly and only sporadically within local contexts marked by disadvantage or social disorder (Havekes, Coenders and van der Lippe 2013). Experiencing language barriers and general exposure to foreign languages, too, tends to reinforce immigrant resentment (Newman, Hartman and Taber 2012).

The likelihood of social relationships and habituation to immigrants usually increases with opportunity, i.e. with larger presence of immigrants within a country, region and locale (e.g. Schlueter and Scheepers 2010). However, high segregation between natives and immigrants – residential, school, labor force and other forms of segregation – impedes contact and habituation (Pettigrew and Tropp 2011). The likelihood of social relationships to immigrants further suffers, supposedly, under the same conditions that make building social relationships in general more challenging. Within the local context, as interconnectedness between residents suffers under economic deprivation and social disorder (e.g. Laurence 2011, see further below), so should contact between natives and immigrants. By the same token, people that are less well socially integrated – for myriad reasons – probably establish fewer social relationships to immigrants as well.



### Figure 1. Hypotheses contact

Opportunities to form friendships with migrants are not distributed equally across genera-

tions: Given that immigration levels steadily rose across European countries during the last

decades and that lasting and meaningful friendships are especially likely to be formed during young adulthood (Rawlins 1992), younger birth cohorts likely report social ties to immigrants more frequently. Incidentally, since longer educational attainment plays an important role in the formation of friendships during young adulthood, rate of educational attainment predicts the likelihood of friendships to migrants (although the causal relationship could be reversed) (Espenshade and Calhoun 1993).

Contact beyond social relationships and habituation, too, helps to build tolerance towards immigration. Periods of living/working abroad (Haubert and Fussell 2006) or cultural exposure during the course of higher education (other than building friendships) furthers acceptance and understanding of migrants from different cultures (Coenders and Scheepers 2003).

Figure 1 illustrates hypotheses concerning the different forms of exposure to immigration.

## Threatened responses: Sociotropic concerns and distributional conflict

Immigration can induce resentment among natives if they fear negative consequences for their own social group (Stephan and Renfro 2016) – often interpreted as their own country (e.g. Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014) – or themselves individually (Scheve and Slaughter 2001). Threatened responses (here) denote resentment that develops mainly in reaction to certain characteristics of immigration – its extent, speed, the skill and gender composition of migrants as well as their cultural backgrounds.

Threat historically has been understood as reaction to increased and increasing levels of immigration – today, more than a hundred studies attest that higher country-level immigration and pronounced increases thereof most often coincide with more pronounced anti-immigrant attitudes (Kaufmann and Goodwin 2018 provide a meta-analysis). Immigration at higher geographical scales cannot be experienced directly by individuals, it is but a number

(Pettigrew, Wagner and Christ 2010). Instead, individuals are exposed to medial discourses about immigration, which routinely frames immigrants in a negative light across Europe (Eberl et al. 2018), indeed raising concerns about how immigration affects society (Schlueter and Davidov 2013). Sudden influxes of immigration into a country especially evoke increased media coverage (Czymara and Dochow 2018) – insofar, the link between increased/increasing levels of immigration and resentment (Kaufmann et al. 2018) may reflect various sociotropic concerns provoked by exposure to this kind of media coverage.

Since the link itself does not provide any insight as to what motivates individuals to object to immigration, researchers increasingly aim to connect resentment to specific characteristics of the migrant population that may give rise to concerns over negative impacts of immigration for the country as a whole. Such sociotropic concerns can be motivated by considerations about the economy or cultural homogeneity of a country (Hainmueller et al. 2014). Regarding the latter, concerns that immigrants will not fit into society in terms of language proficiency or value orientation especially contribute to the fear of cultural alienation (e.g. Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior 2004; Chambers, Schlenker and Collisson 2013).

Alienation fears, at times operationalized as overblown estimates of immigration levels (e.g. Schlueter et al. 2010), therefore are less a reaction to higher levels of immigration in general than to cultural-distant immigration, i.e. migrants with different ethnicity or religion than the majority (e.g. Pettigrew et al. 2010). Mass media likely exasperates alienation fears by increasing the salience of certain immigrant groups: Across Europe, cultural-distant migrant groups and specifically male migrants belonging to that group are more consistently depicted as cultural threat than other migrants (Eberl et al. 2018). Greater presence of these immigrant groups within countries therefore may provoke fears of alienation especially. The same applies to refugees and asylum seekers who become more from 2017 onwards (beyond the

reach of the current sample) (Eberl et al. 2018). In this context, a stronger, well-funded public media sector helps mitigating resentment (European Broadcasting Union 2016) likely by providing more balanced reporting.

National	Sociotropic concerns Immigrant population % Refugees per 1000 capita Immigrant population growth (average 2–4 years prior)	+ + +		
Loc	Alienation fears Year of birth Female Educational attainment (ISCED) Educational attainment parents (ISCED) Occupational status Household income (deciles) Perceived ethnic diversity	+ + - - - +	$\rightarrow$ Alienation fears + $\rightarrow$	ent admitting migrants)
National	Immigrant population % Cultural-distant immigrant population % Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) Refugees per 1000 capita <i>Economic concerns</i>	+ + + +		grant resentme osition towards
Nat	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	+	<b>├</b> ───→	nmig c oppo
National Ind	Distributional conflicts Labor market competition Union member Union density Educational attainment (individual) # relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) <sup>b</sup>			In (Perceived threat &
National	Welfare chauvinism Household income (individual) # relative skill composition # social expenditure per capita <sup>c</sup> Household income (individual) # skill composition migrants # social expenditure per capita <sup>d</sup>	+ -		
Loc	Female (individual) # adult native male excess (regional)	_		

Figure 2. Hypotheses	threatened	responses
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*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Educational attainment in general is assumed to predict greater tolerance but depending on whether immigrants are higher/lower skilled compared to natives, high-skilled natives ought to be less tolerant and low-skilled natives are more resentful.

<sup>b</sup>While high-income individuals are expected to be generally more tolerant, their tolerance should decrease in countries where immigrants are less skilled than natives and national social expenditure are high.

<sup>c</sup>Low-income individuals are expected to be less tolerant towards immigrants in general, their tolerance should decrease further in countries with higher proportions of low-skilled immigrants and higher social expenditure.

Although local immigration most often is connected to an increase in intergroup contact, ge-

ographic proximity may feed into alienation fears simply by increasing the salience of immi-

gration. Halo effects are a case in point: Residents living close but not within high-immigration

neighborhoods tend to show increased resentment (e.g. Rydgren and Ruth 2013). The difference between threatened responses and contact are not "national" versus "local" level processes but rather immigration that remains abstract, distant and open to misperception (Pettigrew et al. 2010) versus immigration that is experienced through personal encounters and cultural exposure. By the same token, individuals less interested in socio-political issues likely are prone to alienation fears and outsized believes about the national immigration population. The thesis will be tested by attempting to replicate known individual level predictors of political disinterest – lower education attainment of respondents and their parents, being younger and female, lower socioeconomic status. For a more detailed discussion of how these factors relate to information seeking strategies learned through socialization see *Political persuasion* below.

Regarding economic concerns, natives prefer well-educated immigrants trained in higher professions over low-skilled (low-status) immigrants which are stigmatized as lazy, undeserving and economic burdens (Helbling and Kriesi 2014) – prejudiced views reflective of resentment towards the lower educated in general (Kuppens et al. 2018). Evidence of educationism aimed at immigrants comes from survey experiments (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2015) and reminiscent of situational framing (see above), but it remains to be seen if more low-skilled compared to high-skilled migrants is tied to higher immigrant resentment across countries. The preference for highly skilled migrants might be limited by another fear: societal influences concentrated among "foreigners". German reunification serves as a related example: Influential job positions in all areas of society were unproportionally conceded to West German applicants after the fall of the Berlin wall, which fuels alienation (with West Germany) in East Germany today (Vorlaender, Herold and Schaeller 2016: 132). While data offering this level of detail concerning migrants' job positions is largely unavailable, a comparison between the skill-level of natives and migrants serves as approximation.

In addition to sociotropic concerns, natives contemplate the consequences of immigration for them personally (Scheve et al. 2001). They fear having to compete with immigrants for jobs/wages within similar skill-groups (Facchini and Mayda 2009) or economic sectors/occupations (Dancygier and Donnelly 2013). High-income natives worry about the fiscal burden of immigration within countries where social expenditure (per capita) are high and immigrants are less skilled than natives (Facchini et al. 2009). Simultaneously, low-income natives worry over the extent of low-skill immigration since it may put constraints on welfare benefits in high-expenditure countries (e.g. Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010). Trade unions provide some (perceived) armament against feared wage dumping in the wake of higher immigration for their members and beyond: Both, individual trade membership (Mayda 2006) as well as higher union density across countries (Heizmann 2015) indicate less resentment.

Perceived competition goes beyond the labor market and redistribution of wealth: Women, all else equal, express more liberal views on immigration compared to male respondents (Fussell 2014: 489). One possible explanation is fear of mating market competition felt by men – in contexts where local native sex ratios are skewed towards men within the age when partnerships are most likely formed (Dancygier et al. 2019; Salomo 2019b), especially if meet by propaganda from nationalist parties evocative of this kind of competition (Dancygier et al. 2019).

Figure 2 (above) shows hypotheses concerning threatened responses (data is insufficient on halo effects, sectoral competition; the European Broadcasting Union declined access to data on the strength of public media across Europe).

#### Grievances: Deprivation, inequality, anxiety

Economic deprivation and inequality begets the denigration and scapegoating of immigrants among other social minorities (Swank and Betz 2003). For those less fortunate, economic inequality undermines their sense of status within society as they compare allocated resources to those of reference groups and judge (perceived) disadvantages to be unfair (Gurr 1970). One remedy to restore a beleaguered sense of status is to strengthen their identification as members of *nation* instead (Shayo 2009). This psychological response not only further denotes immigrants as *others* but also devalues them as members of *nation* construe their group as "dominant" out of the need for positive distinctiveness (Esses et al. 2001). Zero-sum beliefs about gains made by immigrants being only possibly at the expense of natives (Esses et al. 2001) further increase the scapegoating immigrants for (perceived) grievances.

Inequality thus begets inequality: Within societies that have high levels of income inequality, low-income voters are especially supportive of nationalist parties compared to fairer societies (Rooduijn and Burgoon 2018; Han 2016) and economically deprived individuals with lower household income, lower occupational status and lower educational attainment are generally more resentful towards immigrants (e.g. Carvacho et al. 2013; Gang, Rivera-Batiz and Yun 2013). Even more than objective economic deprivation, perceived grievances – status anxiety (fearing a future loss of social status), relative deprivation (feeling disadvantaged compared to a perceived majority), income anxiety (worrying about one's livelihood) – are reliable predictors of anti-immigrant attitudes (Scheepers, Gijsbert and Coender 2002; Sides et al. 2007; Salomo 2019b). While these forms of economic anxiety are a reaction to economic deprivation (Salomo 2019b), non-economic factors matter. Socially isolated individuals, for example, might be more anxious as they lack a safety net providing financial, material, or emotional support if needed (Farmer and Sundberg 2010).

The local context, too, reinforces economic anxiety since low-status environments – shaped by, e.g., heightened poverty and unemployment among locales – exert pressures on residents owing to scarce resources, insufficient public services, more street crime, and other signs of heightened social disorder. This contextually induced anxiety sets in motion similar psychological responses as anxiety rooted in individual circumstances, i.e. exerts the same negative influence on attitudes towards immigration (Havekes, Coenders and Dekker 2013; Salomo 2019b).

Rural communities feel deprived compared to urban communities specifically – insofar as residents impute these grievances towards liberal politicians/parties that are associated more closely with urban-centric politics, it renders rural residents more inclined to support rightwing politics (e.g. Cramer Walsh 2012). Beyond this rural-urban divide, adverse consequences of urbanization and larger emigration movements affect rural communities disproportional in various Southeastern and Eastern European regions: Prolonged loss of population resulting in aging societies, fewer children, and sex ratios skewed towards men within the "mating" population (Salomo 2019b).

This demographic homogeneity leaves residents feeling disadvantaged compared to others and anxious about loss of status (Salomo 2019b). Similar to disadvantaged urban areas, service facilities, events and infrastructure thin out under the lack of customers/participants (European Commission 2000) but with steeper consequences as alternatives are out of reach, buildings fall into decline to the dismay of residents (Alexander 2013) as vacancies abound, social support networks suffer under the loss of younger, better educated and female residents especially (Corcoran et al. 2017). Demographic homogeneity leads to deprivation not because residents cannot afford to take part in societal live, but because society is reduced

to a minimum within these contexts. This form of deprivation has similar consequences for

the local political culture as economic deprivation (Salomo 2019b).



#### Figure 3. Hypotheses grievances

Independent of economic or demographic aspects, in urban or rural contexts alike, local immigration exasperates economic anxiety (Salomo 2019b). Most likely, immigration accentuates the scarcity of local resources, especially among poorer residents (Valentine 2008; Hjerm 2009).

At the country-level, respondents of economically advantaged European nations and regions should be less anxious about their personal economic situation. Beyond national wealth, countries that sustain more generous welfare measures succeed in reducing economic insecurity (e.g. Artiles and Meardi 2014). But the national economic context informs immigrant resentment even more directly: Citrin et al. (1997) first observed, that negative views on the state of the national economy predict anti-immigrant attitudes more or just as reliably as anxiety about personal economic circumstances. Hainmueller et al. (2014) argue that concerns over the ability of the economy to absorb immigrants explain this finding, linking it back to Quillian's (1995) initial argument about how resentment is a function of relative outgroup size and economic conditions. Against this background, it is possible that sociotropic economic anxiety itself is a reaction to higher immigration under unfavorable national economic conditions. Importantly, factors independent of immigration may contribute to sociotropic economic concerns – challenged to express their view of the national economy, individuals might default to local information – since "no one experiences national conditions" (Reeves and Gimpel 2012: 509). Or, by the same token, they impute their individual economic situation onto the national economy.

Figure 3 summarizes hypotheses concerning grievances (ESS does not provide attitudinal indicators for relative deprivation nor status anxiety).

#### Social disintegration: Disorder, isolation, mistrust

Acceptance of immigrants is more challenging for communities that suffer from low social cohesion and interconnectedness (Rydgren 2009). Whereas intact social cohesion limits how much individuals are prepared to attach themselves to single, abstract ideas like that of *nation*, social disintegration renders individuals susceptible to the idea of a community-like belonging to *nation* at the expense of denigrating social minorities that threaten its homogeneity (Rydgren 2009: 130–132; Gidron and Hall 2020). Consequently, social isolation (e.g. Hiers, Soehl and Wimmer 2017), and feeling unsafe within the neighborhood (Rustenbach 2010) render it harder to overcome innate biases that negatively cloud the judgement about the trustworthiness of outgroups like immigrants (Dinesen and Sonderskov 2015).

By the same token, individuals that find it hard to trust the generalized other might find it harder still to trust outgroups which helps to explain why lacking social trust is a strong predictor of anti-immigrant resentment (Herreros and Criado 2009). It might also be a link between contextual conditions and immigrant resentment: Social trust suffers under local social disorder, i.e. the erosion of norms, social cohesion that contribute to increases of street crime and public disturbances (Ross and Mirowsky 2009) and are themselves reactions to individual economic hardship compounded with detrimental local conditions (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley 2002). Social trust is further heightened among more isolated individual with less developed social support systems (or vice versa) (Ross et al. 2009). Lacking formal education, lastly, impedes social trust, likely owing to the level of cognitive skill required to adhere to an abstract concept like generalized trust (Uslaner 2002).



<b>Figure 4.</b> Hypotheses social disintegration	Figure 4. H	-lypotheses	social d	disintegration
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Higher ethnic diversity, too, has been found to undermine social trust within local communities (Dinesen, Schaeffer and Sønderskov 2020), possibly by undermining actual interconnectedness (Putnam 2007) and perceived social cohesion (Havekes, Coenders and van der Lippe 2014) – at least, it is not a mere compositional effect (Gereke, Schaub and Baldassarri 2018). Studies disentangling the consequences of local diversity and indicators of social disorder come to the conclusion, that social trust suffers least under diversity (e.g. Letki 2008; Laurence 2011).

Explanations of country-level differences in social trust mirror these arguments (Delhey and Newton 2005): Poorer societies display higher levels of generalized mistrust because they are more likely to fail basic needs of citizens. Greater ethnical diversity at the national level has similar detrimental consequences for social trust as local diversity (or approximates the former). A more genuinely national-level argument has been made with regard to income inequality (Elgar 2010): Amplifying the perceived distance between social groups, greater income inequality inhibits trust between people of different backgrounds, i.e. with different social (or *class*) identities (Uslaner and Brown 2005). If follows, that measures aimed to increase equality, e.g. social expenditure and higher unionization, should render trust towards the generalized other more achievable.

Hypotheses concerning the effects of social disintegration are shown in Figure 4.

#### Political persuasion: Party cueing, policy signaling, political interest

The broader political discourse about immigration – party discourse that cues voters about the "ideological correct" stance on immigration just as much as (symbolic) policies signaling norms that guide society's responses towards immigrants – persuade people into what to think about the issue. Nationalist parties scapegoat immigration for economic and social problems or frame immigrants as cultural threat (Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky 2006: 429). If they achieve electoral success, mainstream parties across Europe start to employ similar nationalist rhetoric (Abou-Chadi and Krause 2020) and indeed persuade voters to change their stance on immigration accordingly (Czymara 2019).

Voters are most ready to adapt to issue positions of political parties they feel ideological close to (Zaller 1992), although, across Europe at least, this has limits: Since political right-leaning voters already express higher immigrant resentment across Europe (e.g. Bohman 2011), there is less room for persuasion. Nationalist rhetoric of left-leaning mainstream parties, on the contrary, is most effective in predicting resentment, especially among politically left-leaning respondents (Bohman 2011).

Not all voters are equally susceptible to political messages: Political awareness and interest determine if political cues reach voters and trigger cognitive change (Druckman and Lupia 2000: 14–15). While political awareness should, consequently, render respondents more susceptible to nationalist rhetoric it simultaneously enables individuals to put alleged negative impacts of immigration into perspective. Bohman (2011) finds, that political interest does not significantly alter the influence of nationalist rhetoric but that the political interested in general express more tolerant views towards immigration. Since political interest itself is an expression of cognitive ability and comprehension (Denny and Doyle 2008) the political interest arguably are better positioned to recognize and reject prejudice and biased information.

Given this connection, political interest ought to increase (or is confounded) with educational attainment. Beyond that, socialization appears to play an important role in determining the level of political interest, that is noticeably stable among adults (Prior 2010). Parental habit of

discussion politics increases interest (Dostie-Goulet 2009) (approximated here by parents educational attainment) just as political discussion among peers (impossible to test using the ESS), but differences in socialization between genders may also explain why women self-report lower interest (Fraile and Gomez 2017). Socio-economic factors, too, play a role in the level of political interest (van Deth and Elff 2001), partly because individuals exposed to deprivation are more likely to be politically disenfranchised (according to grievance theory, see above) partly because it requires leisure time to stay invested in politics.

Political interest						
ndividual	Year of birth	184 ***	Controlled for born abroad,			
	Female	125 ***	gender, local social disorder, regional immigrant population regional/national GDP			
	Educational attainment (ISCED)	.232 ***	per capita/unemployment, union density	rants		
	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	.087 ***	$\downarrow$	mig		
	Occupational status	.022 ***	Political interest	ting		$\square$
	Household income (deciles)	.066 ***	$\rightarrow$ 17% variance explained $112^{***}$ $\rightarrow$	ltmit		ned
Loc	Perceived ethnic diversity <sup>a</sup>	.019 **		the ac		assur
National	Social expenditure per capita	.163 **		ent		ther inte
	Income inequality (GINI)	.083 **		res in to	-	o lla all o
	Immigrant population %	.012		rant		l for inclu
	Party cueing			ginni g opp		trolle
Ind.	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131 ***		In eat ک		Con prec
National	Nationalist party rhetoric	063		l thr		$\square$
	Political alignment (individual) # nat. party rhetoric <sup>b</sup>	- .026 *A		eiveo		
	Political Interest (individual) # political alignment (individual) # nationalist party rhetoric <sup>c</sup>	- .028 *A		(Perce		
at	Policy signaling	140 *				
Ž	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	148 *				

Figure 5. Hypotheses	political	persuasion
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*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Read: Nationalist rhetoric during the last federal parliamentary elections will be especially effective in reinforcing resentment among left leaning individuals with above-average interest in politics.

In cross-sectional studies, political interested is often observed to rise almost linearly with age (e.g. Ehrler et al. 2016) while panel data suggests stability over life stages (Prior 2010), suggesting significant cohort and period effects. While researchers have started to tackle the nature of such effects referring to country-specific political discourse (Grasso et al. 2019), no thesis that applies to Europe at large has been proposed. Regarding country-level predictors, citizens in high-taxation/high-redistribution countries have been found to be more invested in politics as they identify more closely with their community (Dawson and Jones 2010) but higher income inequality, likewise, has been theorized to increase engagement owing to increased conflict between poorer and richer citizens (Brady 2004). These findings suggest the somewhat obvious: interest in politics is greater if individuals feel political decisions concern them. Given, that immigration has become a highly politized issue (Grande, Schwarzbözl and Fatke 2019), immigration itself, especially at the local level, may stimulate interest in politics.

Since 2016, it is illegal for asylum seekers and non-EU migrants in Austria to own fire arms under most circumstances, but not so for natives (Schreiber 2018). The law is an example of symbolic politics – policies employed with the (sole) purpose of provoking specific reactions among voters (Edelman 1964). In constituting norms that guide collective behavior, immigration policies can lead individuals to adapt their attitudes towards immigration – more inclusive integration policies are associated with less immigrant resentment in (western) Europe (e.g. Schlueter, Meuleman and Davidov 2013).

Hypotheses concerning political persuasion are summarized in Figure 5.

#### Socialization contexts: National traumata, period effects, social background

Experiences of ecological or geopolitical traumata in the not too distant past of a country shape its social norms and cultural values towards a less tolerant society. Past territorial conflicts, civil war, occupation, resource scarcity or epidemic diseases lead to "tightened" social norms and weaken tolerance towards deviant behavior (Gelfand et al. 2011). Growing up without "taking survival for granted" (Inglehart and Norris 2017: 443) leaves less capacity for tolerance, as the *other* becomes a threat. Hiers et al. argue, that under exposure to geopolitical threat especially national identities become anchored in "shared ethnic descent as well as common culture and language, rather than [...] the institution of citizenship that binds the

population to "its" state" (2017: 363). National traumata lead to tightened definitions of who belongs to a nation, rendering natives more susceptible towards threats to cultural homogeneity and, in consequence, more resentful towards people of different ethnicity.

But even in the context of different degrees of past national traumata leaving their marks on society, western societies after 1950 enjoyed unprecedented relative peace and prosperity (Inglehart 1977). With trauma and existential insecurity growing more distant, more liberal views on immigration compared to decades prior might be the consequence of generational replacement, each generation on average becoming more tolerant than the last one (Persell, Green and Gurevich 2001).

Education plays a mediating role in generational replacement. More liberalized in the wake of declining economic insecurity and greater tolerance of subsequent generations, the educational system amplifies tolerance among younger birth cohorts especially (Quillian 1996). The educational system is the most direct way for liberal and illiberal society alike to form and reproduce their socio-economic order (Meier 1989). It is therefore no surprise, that the tolerance furthering effect of educational attainment in post-Soviet countries is altogether weaker (Hello, Scheepers and Gijsberts 2002) given that these countries had highly uniform, state-controlled educational systems during die Soviet era and have significantly shorter democratic traditions compared to western European countries.

Intra-generational differences in immigrant resentment that speak to the impact of socialization are less understood that inter-generational differences, but education is assumed to play a key role. In trying to explain the supposed liberalizing effect of educational attainment, the prevailing wisdom has been, that higher education means individuals have been exposed to the socialization influences of schools for longer (Hello et al. 2002). Researchers have pointed

out, however, that the greater tolerance of the higher educated towards immigration is already manifest at the beginning of secondary education (Lancee and Sarrasin 2015). This raises the prospect that, in intra-generational comparison, the liberalizing effect of education actually is a mix of pre-selection, i.e. dependent on the social status of parents since the educational background of parents especially predicts level of educational attainment of children (e.g. Hello et al. 2004), and little understood processes during primary education.



Figure 6 sums up hypotheses regarding socialization contexts and anti-immigration attitudes.

## DATA AND METHODS

### Data, missing cases, weighting

I use eight rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS), conducted between 2002–2016 and deemed to be one of the most valid and reliable source for data on political attitudes across Europe (Norris 2004). The analysis covers all 30 European Union and European Economic Area countries (including the UK, Switzerland) except Malta and Liechtenstein (Table A1 in Appendix A). Not all countries participated in every ESS wave, that leaves 180 units at the country by wave level. Survey data were gathered from a random probability sample within each country, targeting the population aged 15 and older.

Testing predictions at the local level using the ESS constitutes a certain challenge since it fails to provide localized geo-codes. Therefore, local context is approximated by subjective assessments from respondents about features of their local area (see below) and independent regional data at NUTS level 2, that typically denotes areas with 800.000 to three million inhabitants (European Commission 2015) and are provided by the ESS. Taken together, these indicators may at least offer clues about sub-national level mechanisms.

For some countries, regions are defined as NUTS level 1: smaller countries where NUTS level 2 is equal to the national level (Cyprus, Estonia, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg), if only NUTS level 1 codes were provided (Germany, UK) or if countries underwent a NUTS classification reform between ESS surveys and NUTS level 2 codes had to be recoded into NUTS level 1 for consistency (France, Greece). A few coding issues could not be resolved and in some cases the original ESS data did not include NUTS codes (Belgium 2002–2008, Czechia 2006, Finland 2002–2008, Ireland 2008, Switzerland 2002), these cases receive the mean average of any regional variable across all regions of the country and year of survey. All in all, there are 209 units at the regional level across the 30 countries in the sample (1294 regions by ESS wave).

Two items provoked an unusual large proportion of respondents to deny any answer (household income, left-right political alignment), others are not included in the first ESS round (working abroad) or, for various reasons, are not available for specific countries in a given ESS round (e.g. trade union membership for Spain in 2012). In these cases, I used different methods to substitute or impute missing information (see Table A2a in Appendix A). Other than that, cases with missing information were excluded, which concerns about nine percent of all cases, reducing total sample size  $N_{total}$  = 338.757 to an effective sample of N = 308.430.

One of the question relevant to this study – having immigrant friends – only was included in the first round of the ESS (2002, 21 countries, N = 35.466 excluding 4.394 cases with missing information), two more items – perceived local immigrant diversity and perceived extent of national immigrant population – exclusively were asked during the first and seventh ESS round (2002 and 2014, 23 countries, N = 70.414 excluding 7.069 cases with missing information). I rely on these subsamples to determine the impact of the pertaining items on immigration attitudes how they affect the explanatory power of other predictors, but otherwise give precedence to estimates based on the full sample. Whereas the subsamples further allow to reliably identify individual-level predictors of being friends with immigrants and perceived extent of national immigrant population, neither subsample can claim to represent Europe the way the full sample of 30 European countries does, which somewhat limits the confidence in estimates of regional- and country-level predictors of these two variables.

Design weights as provided by the ESS correct sampling selection bias and are combined with post-stratification weights to address sampling and non-response errors using information on gender, age, education and region of living (European Social Survey 2014). An additional population weight adjusts the relative sample size of a country/region according to its population size. Respondents are further weighted according to the inverse probability of their country's participation in the ESS, since 15 countries participated in all eight rounds but Latvia and Romania, e.g., took part only once (Table A1 in Appendix A). (For example, respondents from a country that participated eight times are weighted down by a factor of 0.125 whereas respondents form a country that participated twice are weighted down by a factor of 0.5; weighting factors for subsamples are calculated accordingly). This decision places greater importance on inter-country variance and prevents to much distortion from intra-country variance and preve

design weight  $\times$  population weight  $\times$  (1/number of country's participation in relevant ESS rounds).

#### Measures

Information on indicators for all individual level variables, their availability, use in comparable studies and any further relevant information are presented in Table A2 in Appendix A. Similar information on variables describing the local/regional and national context are presented in Table A3 and Table A4 in Appendix A.

#### Analytical strategy

The theoretical models in Figure 1–7 assume a set of direct effects, mediated effects (where a set of exogenous factors is expected to influence immigrant resentment through mediating variables) and moderated effects (where the effect of one variable is conditioned on another). The theoretical assumptions further assume individual as well as contextual (country- and regional-level) effects with the year of survey acting as a further level, since data is pooled across ESS rounds. The general random-intercept-fixed-slope model for multilevel analysis including interaction effects applies (Hox 1995):

$$Y_{ij} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{p0} X_{pij} + \gamma_{0q} Z_{qj} + \gamma_{p0} (XX)_{pij} + \gamma_{0q} (ZZ)_{qj} + \gamma_{pq} (XZ)_{pqij} + e_{ij} + u_{0j}$$
(1)

 $Y_{ij}$  is immigrant resentment – perceived sociotropic threat or opposition towards admitting immigrants – of individual *i* in country by year (of survey) *j*,  $\gamma_{00}$  the grand across-country-byyear intercept, 1...*P* predictors *X* or interactions between two predictors *XX* at individual level and  $\gamma_{p0}$  their slopes fixed across countries by year, 1...*Q* predictors *Z* or interactions between two predictors *ZZ* at country by year level, and  $\gamma_{0q}$  their slopes,  $u_{0j}$  are residual errors at country by year level and  $e_{ij}$  the individual-level residual errors. *XZ* are interaction effects between 1...*P* individual-level predictors *X* and 1...*Q* country-level predictors *Z* and  $\gamma_{pq}$  their slopes. Time-sensitive country-invariant unobserved variance is hold constant via dummies indicating each ESS round, with ESS round 4 (2008, the largest sample) chosen as reference. To account for time-invariant country-specific unobserved variance, all standard-errors are clustered across countries.

Models are implemented as using Stata's 16 GSEM routine. They are fitted via a maximum likelihood estimation, set to reproduce linear regression (Gaussian distribution, identity function), with standard-errors clustered across countries (clustered Huber-White-sandwich estimator), weights apply. GSEM does not provide standardized estimates for regression coefficients; to ease interpretation all variables are z-standardized across all cases (respondents, regions, countries of all ESS rounds).

Since GSEM does not supply coefficients to assess the empirical fit of the theoretical model, generalized linear predictions of observed outcomes are used to calculate R<sup>2</sup> (based on the weighted correlation between observed and predicted values, adjusted for the number of explanatory terms in a model relative to the number of individual cases). Some predictors are only available in certain ESS rounds rendering it impossible to give their combined explanatory power across the whole sample. An approximation is given by, for example, estimating R<sup>2</sup> with all available predictors except *friends to immigrants* with the ESS 2002 sample (R<sup>2</sup><sub>a</sub>), again with *friends to immigrants* included (R<sup>2</sup><sub>b</sub>) and add the difference R<sup>2</sup><sub>b</sub> – R<sup>2</sup><sub>a</sub> to R<sup>2</sup> estimated based on the ESS 2002–2016 sample for which *friends to immigrants* is unavailable. For obtaining R<sup>2</sup> at the country-level, the statistical model is replicated without individual level predictors and with the dependent variables aggregated at the country by wave level.

## RESULTS

## Contact

Figure 7 shows all main results regarding the contact approach.

### Figure 7. Results contact



Note.  $N_{individual} = 35466$ ,  $N_{regional} = 156$ ,  $N_{national} = 21$ . \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). For full model see Table B5 and Table B6 in Appendix B. Please consider that this sample cannot claim to fully represent *Europe* (see Table A1 in Appendix A) – national-level effects are, consequently, less reliable. Among them, the link between integration policies and contact is not a replication of previous findings and may not be replicable with other samples.

Read: An increase of one standard deviation in, e.g., educational attainment increases anti-immigration attitudes for .109 standard deviations across all respondents, net of all other predictors.

<sup>a</sup>Variable unavailable in ESS 2002, estimation taken from the full sample with  $N_{individual} = 308430$ ,  $N_{regional} = 209$ ,  $N_{national} = 30$  and values for 2002 substituted (Table B1 in Appendix B, for information on substitution see Table A2 in Appendix A).

Social relationships. No other individual-level factor shields more effectively against anti-im-

migrant attitudes than having immigrants as friends (compare Figure 7–12), in line with extensive prior research (e.g. Turner et al. 2010). Intergroup friendships are generally more likely in European countries (e.g. Pettigrew et al. 2010) and locales (e.g. Schlueter et al. 2010) with higher levels of immigration, bur are impeded by more exclusive national immigration policies (Semyonov and Glikman 2009) as well as local social disorder. At the individual level, the higher-educated (Espenshade et al. 1993), better socially integrated, respondents that were born abroad and younger birth cohorts are more likely to have immigrants among their friends.

**Habituation**. Higher perceived local diversity, tested against all alternative explanations, directly inhibits immigrant resentment (Weber 2015), less so in high-disorder neighborhoods (Havekes et al. 2013).

**Cultural exposure**. Although having worked abroad for more than six months contributes to tolerance towards immigration (Haubert et al. 2006), the effect is neglectable. Rate of educational attainment, on the contrary, shows a substantial direct effect on immigration attitudes. Whereas higher formal education indirectly effects resentment in varied ways (see below) its direct effect may partially indicate cultural exposure (Coenders et al. 2003).

#### Threatened responses

Main results regarding the threatened responses approach are presented in Figure 8.

**Sociotropic concerns.** The growth of the national immigrant population directly and negatively affects attitudes towards immigration (Kaufmann et al. 2018), specifically concerns about negative societal impacts of immigration (threat scale). The number of refugees further indicates increased resentment, whereas the actual extent of the immigrant population has no significant effect on immigrant resentment nor alienation fears.

Alienation fears increase with salience rather than extent: While it is indeed the cultural-distant immigrant population that informs estimates of the national level of immigration (e.g. Schlueter et al. 2010), respondents in countries having higher proportions of men among their cultural-distant immigrant population specifically are most likely to give outsized estimates – the very immigrant group most overrepresented in European mass media (Eberl et al. 2018). Local immigration, salient to individuals even without exposure to media inflate perceived

levels of immigration. At the individual-level, the most effective predictors of outsized believes about immigration levels are the same factors that predict political disinterest – lower education attainment of respondents and their parents, being younger and female (see *Political persuasion* below) – reiterating that alienation fears are informational effects by nature.

A higher proportion of low-skilled immigrants (among migrants within working age) at the national level is linked to greater opposition towards admitting migrants, corroborating experimental evidence (Hainmueller et al. 2015). Respondents not only react negatively to low-skill immigration, likewise they are concerned if migrants are overall higher skilled than natives, maybe fearing concentrated societal influence (Vorlaender et al. 2016: 132).

**Distributional conflicts:** Low-skilled natives are more resentful towards immigrants in countries where migrants are less skilled than natives, whereas high-skilled natives have a more negative view of immigration if migrants are more skilled than natives (Figure 8), confirming that natives fear labor market competition with immigrants (Facchini et al. 2009). Regarding welfare chauvinism, the analysis supports Facchini et al. (2009) as well as Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010): Within high-expenditure countries, high-income respondents are more resentful if migrants negatively affect overall skill-composition among the population, i.e. they worry about having to pay more for social welfare. Simultaneously, low-income respondents are concerned if the skill-composition among migrants is skewed towards more unskilled, i.e. they worry about receiving fewer social benefits. Union membership has a negative although neglectable effect on immigrant resentment (e.g. Mayda 2006), but anti-immigration attitudes are lower in countries with higher union density (Heizmann 2015) – what matters is the strength of collective bargaining power.

Figure 8. Results threatened responses



Note.  $N_{individual} = 308430$ ,  $N_{regional} = 209$ ,  $N_{national} = 30$ . \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). For full model see Tables B1 and Table B7 in Appendix B.

<sup>T</sup>Estimate shown taken from a model with the threat scale as dependent (Table B2 in Appendix B), as predictor has a significant effect on the threat scale only. Please consider that this sample cannot claim to fully represent *Europe* (see Table A1 in Appendix A) – national-level effects are, consequently, less reliable. Among them, the link between male excess among cultural-distant immigrants and alienation fears is not a replication of previous findings and may not be replicable with other samples.

<sup>a</sup>Estimates for perceived immigration levels and its predictors based on ESS 2002/2014,  $N_{individual} =$  70414,  $N_{regional} =$  184,  $N_{national} =$  23. For full model see Table B5 in Appendix B. Please consider that this sample cannot claim to fully represent *Europe* and national-level effects are, consequently, less reliable.

<sup>b</sup>Read (following Facchini et al. 2009): Educational attainment in general predicts greater tolerance (see Table B1 in Appendix B), but depending on whether immigrants are higher/lower skilled compared to natives, high-skilled natives are less tolerant and low-skilled natives are more resentful.

<sup>c</sup>Read (following Facchini et al. 2009): Whereas high-income individuals in general are more tolerant (not shown) they are less tolerant in countries where immigrants are less skilled than natives and social expenditure are high (for full model with all main effects and partial interactions see Table B1 in Appendix B).

<sup>d</sup>Read (following Hainmueller et al. 2010): Low-income individuals in general are more resentful (not shown) especially in countries with higher proportions of low-skilled immigration and higher social expenditure (for full model with all main effects and partial interactions see Table B1 in Appendix B).

Although male excess among the native population (aged 15-44 years) at the local level - here

approximated by the regional level - predicts immigrant resentment, mating market compe-

tition (Dancygier et al. 2019) may not be the only underlying concern: The interaction effect

between gender and native sex ratio is significant but weak and restricting the interaction to men aged 15–44, to single men, or single men aged 15–44 yields statistically insignificant results (Table C1 in Appendix C). Skewed native sex ratios may, additionally, indicate demographic deprivation (see *Grievances* below).

#### Grievances

Main results regarding the grievances theses are shown in Figure 9.

**Economic deprivation and anxiety**. Individual and sociotropic economic anxiety both increase immigrant resentment, concerns about the state of the economy more so than income anxiety (Sides et al. 2007). In terms of contributing factors, both forms of anxiety mirror each other to a large extent and mostly confirm expectations. Individual circumstances (especially and unsurprisingly household income, but also occupational status, educational attainment, social integration) and local conditions (unemployment, social disorder, immigration) are more relevant in explaining individual anxiety, whereas sociotropic anxiety are more strongly dependent on national level factors. Unemployment at the local level, for example, appears to aggravate individual economic anxiety and higher national unemployment rates reinforce sociotropic anxiety (as one of the most wildly used macro-economic indicator that is comparably easy to understand and thus might be most salient to respondents).

Local immigration contributes to individual anxiety, especially among respondents with lower household income, i.e. immigrant presence accentuates local deprivation (Salomo 2019b). Mirroring this pattern, country differences in sociotropic anxiety are heavily dependent on immigration levels, especially if economic conditions (national GDP per capita) are unfavorable. The impact of national GDP per capita and unemployment on resentment is entirely mediated by economic anxiety as is the effect of national levels of immigration. (An additional

analysis further did not support a direct effect of GDP per capita on resentment in high-immigration countries as initially found by Quillian in 1995 (Table C3 in Appendix C)).

Against this results, concerns about the state of the national economy can be partly understood as threatened response, and yet sociotropic anxiety may build up without contemplating and has consequences other than resenting immigration (Rippl and Baier 2005). Strong national-level dependencies aside, the analytical model largely fails to reveal relevant sources of individual-level variance in sociotropic economic anxiety.

Worrying about one's very livelihood is one of the weaker predictor of resentment. This is not a new inside, a study comparing income anxiety to relative deprivation, status anxiety, sociotropic economic concerns and socioeconomic status indicators comes to the conclusion, that status indicators explain least of all, followed by income anxiety (Rippl et al. 2005). But to conclude that economic anxieties only matter as far as they refer to a collective (Hainmueller et al. 2014) dismisses the equally strong connection between relative deprivation and status anxiety to immigration attitudes (Rippl et al. 2005). Furthermore, the pattern predictably changes if dependent variables are items asking about consequences of immigration for oneself, not with respect to society at large (Sniderman et al. 2004).

**Income inequality and redistribution**. Lower household income strengthens resentment towards immigration especially in societies characterized by high income inequality, indicated by a significant and negative interaction effect between household income and the Gini-Index. Just as the likelihood of nationalist voting, immigrant resentment is driven by income inequality and with Rooduijin et al. (2018) I speculate that relative deprivation mediates the link. Higher social expenditure ease income inequality (Table C4 in Appendix C), but also show a direct negative effect on resentment across countries (e.g. Artiles et al. 2014). Providing a

social safety net might ease status anxiety among the population specifically, but ESS data is

insufficient in this regard.

### Figure 9. Results grievances



Note.  $N_{individual} = 308430$ ,  $N_{regional} = 209$ ,  $N_{national} = 30$ . \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). For full model see Table B1, Table B8 and Table B9 in Appendix B.

<sup>a</sup>Estimate for perceived local ethnic diversity based on ESS 2002/2014,  $N_{individual} = 70414$ ,  $N_{regional} = 184$ ,  $N_{national} = 23$ . For full model see Table B4 in Appendix B.

**Demographic deprivation**. Immigrant resentment is increased in rural areas across Europe as well as in regions with adult native sex ratios skewed towards men, and aging population. While each of these statistical effects is small, they are additive – and most likely underestimated by using data at NUTS level 2 that ignores considerable demographic variance compared to smaller geographical areas (Eurostat 2020, own calculations). Taken together, they corroborate research showing that rural societies have become less liberal than urban communities (Cramer Walsh 2012) and how demographic homogeneity and its consequences translates to immigrant resentment (Salomo 2019b; Dancygier et al. 2019). In contrast to previous research, the current research design fails to fully exclude compositional effects as alternative explanation, this should be addressed by future studies.

#### Social disintegration

Find main results for the social disintegration approach in Figure 10.

**Social mistrust.** Social mistrust is a potent predictors of anti-immigration attitudes (e.g. Herreros et al. 2009) surpassed in its direct impact only by friendships with immigrants (compare Figure 7–12). Social trust is lower among more socially isolated individuals with lower socio-economic status. Lacking formal education impedes social trust, too, as expected (Uslaner 2002). Feeling unsafe after dark in the local area, indicating a certain degree of social disorder, and ethnic diversity both undermine social trust (e.g. Dinesen et al. 2015; Laurence 2011) but in line with prior research from the UK (e.g. Letki 2008), local disorder does more to undermine trust among residents than local diversity.

Union density and especially the level of social expenditure explain country-level variations in social trust. Neither the wealth of a country (GDP per capita) nor how equal this wealth is distributed among its citizens (GINI-coefficient) predicts social trust across countries – defying expectations (e.g. Uslaner et al. 2005; Delhey et al. 2005; Elgar 2010). Important at the national-level are measures that reassure societal solidarity – both, the work of unions and social expenditure per capita are salient signals of solidarity between citizens. Social expenditure and union density are higher among wealthier countries and associated with lower income inequality, which explains findings of previous research (Table C4 in Appendix C). Levels of (cultural-distant) immigration do not affect social trust at the country-level, in contrast to prior research (Delhey et al. 2005) – or more specifically, the impact of immigration is mediated by local immigration (Dinesen et al. 2015).
**Social isolation**. While results support previous findings suggesting that socially less well integrated individuals across Europe are more negatively minded towards immigrants (e.g. Hiers et al. 2017), this effect is almost completely mediated through social mistrust, economic anxiety (Figure 8) and a lower likelihood of having immigrants as friends (Figure 7).



### Figure 10. Results social disintegration

Note.  $N_{\text{individual}} = 308430$ ,  $N_{\text{regional}} = 209$ ,  $N_{\text{national}} = 30$ . \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). For full model see Table B1 and Table B10 in Appendix B.

<sup>a</sup>Estimate for perceived local ethnic diversity based on ESS 2002/2014,  $N_{individual} = 70414$ ,  $N_{regional} = 184$ ,  $N_{national} = 23$ . For full model see Table B4 in Appendix B.

Social disorder. Feeling unsafe within the neighborhood after dark decreases tolerance to-

wards immigrants directly (and on top of various mediated effects), corroborating expecta-

tions (Havekes et al. 2014; Lüdemann 2006).

### Political persuasion

Main results regarding political persuasion are shown in Figure 11.

Political interest. Lacking interest into politics increases intolerance towards immigration

(e.g. Rustenbach 2010). The effect is comparable to that of sociotropic economic anxiety in

statistical strength but has received less attention from researchers. Higher occupational status and household income only slightly increase interest (van Deth et al. 2001) while factors related to socialization contribute most in explaining variance in political interest: Women (Fraile et al. 2017), lower educational achievement of parents (Dostie-Goulet 2009), year of birth (Grasso et al. 2019) and rate of educational attainment.



### Figure 11. Results political persuasion

Note.  $N_{individual} = 308430$ ,  $N_{regional} = 209$ ,  $N_{national} = 30$ . \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). For full model see Table B1 and Table B11 in Appendix B.

<sup>A</sup>Estimate shown from model with admission scale as dependent, as predictor has significant effect on the admission scale only (for full model see Table B3 in Appendix B).

<sup>a</sup>Estimate for perceived local ethnic diversity based on ESS 2002/2014,  $N_{individual} = 70414$ ,  $N_{regional} = 184$ ,  $N_{national} = 23$ . For full model see Table B3 in Appendix 3.

<sup>b</sup>Read: Tolerance of political left-leaning individuals decreases according to extent of nationalist rhetoric of non-nationalist political parties during the last federal election...

<sup>c</sup>Read: ... especially if these individuals are political interested (for full model with all partial interactions see Table B1 in Appendix B).

At the country-level, both higher social expenditure as well as higher income inequality drive

political interest among the population (Dawson et al. 2010; Brady 2004). Countries that

achieve greater income inequality without raising taxes for higher social expenditure gener-

ate the least political interest among their citizens – among the generally high-expenditure

countries of Europe, Hungary best fits that description, followed by Czechia, Slovenia, and

Slovakia. Local immigration significantly increases political interest, but the effect seems neglectable – immigrant presence likely raises interest in the politics of immigration specifically (Hangartner et al. 2019), which is unlikely to have a strong impact on an indicator of generally political interest.

**Party cueing.** Nationalist rhetoric (of non-nationalist) parties during the last national parliamentary election reinforces resentment. Specifically, nationalist rhetoric increases opposition towards the admission of immigrants, not perceived threat – possibly an indication, that parties deploying nationalist rhetoric campaign for stricter immigration systems more rigorously than raising concerns about migrants already residing in the country. The effect furthermore only materializes among respondents that are political left-leaning (Bohman 2011), i.e. not already partial to nationalist viewpoints, and further is stronger among those that are also interested in politics, i.e. highly responsive towards political messaging.

Political alignment itself predicts immigration attitudes: Right-leaning respondents are less tolerant, which might say more about long-term configurations of political discourse across Europe – anti-immigrant sentiments, to different degrees, are part of the ideology of right-wing parties across Europe (Volkens et al. 2018) – than about any causal mechanisms. At least in the context of a survey among predominantly adult respondents, given that political orientations form early in life (Rico and Jennings 2016).

**Policy signaling.** On top of increasing the likelihood with which natives establish friendships to immigrants (see above), more permissive integration policies (MIPEX-Index) are associated with decreased threat perceptions, suggesting signaling effects (e.g. Schlueter et al. 2013). Alternatively, lenient policies towards migrants are the consequence of greater tolerance

among natives caused by other factors. Top-down signaling effects and bottom-up inspired policy change are not mutual exclusive processes.

### Socialization contexts

Figure 12 gives the main results regrading socialization contexts.

**Social background.** Parents with higher educational attainment strengthen tolerance towards immigrants among their children. although the analysis offers no decisive clue as to how. Individual and parental rate of educational attainment have independent effects on immigration attitudes – which is not to be expected if the effect of individual educational attainment mostly reflects selection effects based on parents' education. Assuming some form of liberalizing effect of educational attainment (e.g. Hello et al. 2002), both among respondents and through their parents, is at least not counter-indicated by results.

**Generational replacement.** Following precedent (Persell et al. 2001), the statistical model includes a main effect of birth cohorts and an interaction term between birth cohort and age, holding year of survey constant throughout. The interaction is weak but statistically significant regarding the admission scale, suggesting that a given cohort becomes slightly more opposed to admitting migrants with increasing age. Since birth cohort and age are strongly correlated to the point that they are interchangeable, this interpretation follows the dominant view prevailing within the literature (e.g. Persell et al. 2001).

The tolerance-furthering impact of higher educational attainment is weaker among younger birth cohorts, defying expectations (Quillian 1996). Given that the liberalizing effect of education at least partly is explainable by pre-selection (Lancee et al. 2015), the strength of this selection effect may have gradually decreased with the increasing permissiveness of educational systems across Europe.

Given the overall impact of educational attainment, the educational system still drives generational replacement by raising shares of higher educated individuals across younger birth cohorts and with it shares of formally better educated parents. Besides greater opportunities for higher education, younger cohorts furthermore have more opportunities for contact to migrants (see Figure 7 above).

**National traumata and democratic tradition.** Respondents of countries that experience(d) higher levels of geopolitical threat more strongly oppose admitting immigrants, consolidating expectations (Hiers et al. 2017). The impact of geopolitical threat might be larger still. As Hiers et al. (2017) point out, political parties are more disposed to employ nationalist rhetoric in countries that experienced geopolitical threat since their national identities are anchored in shared ethnicity not citizenship. By the same token, integration policies should be less permissive with increasing levels of geopolitical threat across countries.



### Figure 12. Results socialization contexts

Note.  $N_{\text{individual}} = 308430$ ,  $N_{\text{regional}} = 209$ ,  $N_{\text{national}} = 30$ . \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). For full model see Table B1 in Appendix B.

<sup>A</sup>Estimate shown is from a model with the admission scale as dependent, as predictor has a significant effect on the admission scale only, for full model see Table B4 in Appendix B.

To at least *explore* these assumptions, additional analysis at the country (by wave) level are

deployed, revealing that indeed geopolitical threat levels are positively connected to nation-

alist rhetoric and less permissive integration policies across the current sample (Table C6 in

Appendix C). Both links are weakened if post-Soviet past is controlled, which is to be expected since the pertaining countries experienced higher levels of national traumata on average, partly owing to the soviet past itself. Furthermore, the liberating effect of higher education is less pronounced in post-Soviet countries (Figure 12), which is not explainable by the higher geopolitical threat level across post-Soviet countries (Table C5 in Appendix C). Owing to their shorter democratic traditions, these countries had considerably less time to gradually ingrain democratic principles within institutions and policies.

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

One reason research is preoccupied with the threat and contact theses is the notion that immigration attitudes are intrinsically connected to, sufficed to say, immigration. The grievance, social disintegration, socialization and, in part, political persuasion approaches remain somewhat disconnected from this dominant string of literature – reviews exploring causes of antiimmigrant resentment frequently fail to mention them (e.g. Ceobanu et al. 2010; Fussell 2014; Hainmueller et al. 2014). These different approaches, however, are the context in which contact and threatened responses play out. This becomes clear if we start the inquiry into causes of resentment by asking why people emigrate from certain locales in certain countries and settle in specific locations of certain other countries.

#### *Immigration attitudes and migration streams: common causes*

Economically well performing countries tent to be high immigration countries within Europe. Besides attracting immigrants, wealthy countries with generally lower unemployment can afford more generous welfare states, have a higher union density, a formally better educated workforce. Owing to these differences, their resident experience less income anxiety, less sociotropic economic anxiety about the state of the national economy, less local social disorder and local deprivation, are more trustful of others and tentatively more interest in politics. As much as the distribution of wealth across European countries reflects historic divides – post-Soviet countries and those suffering high levels of geopolitical threat (in the past) tend to be less economically advanced, with Austria, (West) Germany and the UK the only exceptions – history is an independent factor, too: The unmediated link between geopolitical threat levels and increased resentment across the countries in the current sample signifies a cultural dimension that shapes institutions and national identities (Hiers et al. 2017). The shorter democratic tradition of post-Soviet countries, too, echoes through educational institutions and decreases the effectiveness with which higher education shields against prejudice (Hello et al. 2002).

These socioeconomic and historic factors render affluent countries more attractive to immigrants (Coleman 2009; Brandmüller and Önnerfors 2020) and simultaneously, as results show, more tolerant towards them. As far as push-factors that contribute to emigration decisions mirror pull-factors, they largely leave residents in poorer countries less tolerant but also lead to less immigration (and higher emigration). Out of relevant factors at the country-level, income inequality alone does not fit into this pattern: Neither is it a decisive push-/or pull-factor, it furthermore is responsible for opposing effects on immigrant resentment: While high income inequality increases relative deprivation that contributes to resentment, income inequality also appears to raise interest in politics, which helps to challenge prejudice views.

Within countries, the forces of urbanization affect immigration streams and migration behavior of natives alike. As natives leave rural areas to follow jobs, infrastructure, entertainment, and other opportunities into the cities where immigrants tent to settle for similar and other reasons (OECD/European Union 2015), rural areas become less tolerant – through out-selection of younger, better educated, more often female residents (Maxwell 2019) (all found to

be less resentful than average) and the manifold consequences of ensuing demographic homogeneity that shape rural regions over decades (Salomo 2019b; Dancygier et al. 2019), for which the current analysis provides tentative evidence, too. These demographic dynamics come together in rural areas within high-emigration countries/regions, e.g., East Germany, regions in Spain, Greece, Bulgaria as well as countries with stark urban–rural divides owing to settlement history (e.g. Sweden, Finland). Aging societies specifically are increasingly noticeable within regions in France, Italy, Portugal and the UK and male excess among the mating population in regions within Estonia, Lithuania, Romania, and Slovenia (Eurostat 2020, own calculations, please not that these trends are manifest across NUTS 3 but not always across NUTS 2 regions as used in the analysis).

Within urban areas, the pattern is reversed, as favorable socioeconomic conditions become push- not pull-factors for immigrants. Owing to a mix of economic factors, housing discrimination and path dependency (migrants following clusters of other migrants form their country) high-immigration neighborhoods are more often than not the less and least affluent neighborhoods (OECD/European Union 2015).

### Contact and threatened responses within context

Countries and regions that attract immigrants are more liberal minded towards migrants for the same reason they attract them. Within urban areas the reverse is true as migrants are concentrated in more disadvantaged neighborhoods were resentment is higher owing to this disadvantage. It is within these contexts that more immediate reactions to immigration – (1) contact and (2) threatened responses – play out.

(1) Contact – meaningful social relationships with, habituation, and cultural exposure to migrants – depends on opportunity. Higher immigration levels mean more average contact at

the national, regional, and local level but everything that excludes migrants from social, institutional or geographical spaces renders contact less likely – less permissive integration policies, as results show, and greater residential segregation (e.g. Semyonov et al. 2009) alike. As much as residents in disadvantaged urban regions have the most opportunities to challenge prejudice through contact, social disintegration, likewise high in these contexts, impedes the likelihood of relationships between natives and migrants. At the same time, immigrant presence feeds into economic anxiety and social mistrust, which amplifies the psychological consequences of disadvantage. However, these feedback loops, as far as results indicate, are not overwhelmingly strong, residents in disadvantaged urban areas are likely more tolerant because of high local immigration than they otherwise would be (this might not be true for all European countries, see specifics of the Swedish case (Strömblad and Malmberg 2016)).

For urban residents outside disadvantaged areas immigrant presence translates to contact more directly and has fewer drawbacks, but the residential segregation of migrants affects them adversely, too: Living close to high-immigration urban neighborhoods increases concerns about immigration through halo effects (e.g. Rydgren et al. 2013), especially among residents in affluent neighborhoods (Martig and Bernauer 2018). Then again, while certain individual characteristics – results especially point to the rate of educational attainment, less so working experiences abroad – further contact wherever one lives, they are likely overrepresented in these neighborhoods. The concentration of highly educated residents specifically furthers tolerance through genuine (but not yet well understood) contextually effects (van Wijk, Bolt and Johnston 2019; Strömblad et al. 2016). This dynamic actually constitutes another feedback loop with immigration – increasing population pressures within certain urban areas lead to the outmigration of high-educated, high-status native residents especially (Coleman 2009) –

Rural residents not only have the fewest opportunities for contact they are also most susceptible to perceived mating competition (Dancygier et al. 2019). Speculatively, encountering immigrants within low-status/high-disorder contexts outside one's own residential area may have especially lasting impacts (Havekes et al. 2013) if overall experiences with migrants are lacking, which is most likely among rural residents. Even if rural areas could attract more migrants, their short history and lacking experience with immigration would likely override the positive effects of contact, increasing resentment in the short term while residents only gradually acculturate to immigrant presence (Newman 2013).

But history moderates how immigration translates to contact in other ways, too: Since less permissive immigration policies are echoes of geopolitical threat and the Soviet past, both historic realities impede chances for contact between natives and migrants today.

(2) Contact serves as remedy against threatened responses (Savelkoul, Laméris and Tolsma 2017). We should be careful with the narrative of contact being "local" and threat being "national" (Kaufmann et al. 2018): Local immigration spurs alienation fears, situational framing and halo effects are threatened responses that play out locally, contact requires a certain level of acculturation, national level immigration indicates more contact, etc. The effects of immigration at different scales does not boil down to an either (positive) or (negative) question, and without controlling different social mechanisms, the various effects of immigration at any given geographical scale might cancel each other out (van Wijk et al. 2019: 235). But threatened responses as abstract believes (e.g. Pettigrew et al. 2010) are informational effects that to a larger part depend on national communication systems (Weber 2015) and, insofar, are more universal than contact.

Sudden influxes of immigrants, higher proportions of (male) cultural-distant or low-skilled migrants, and greater numbers of refugees indicate higher immigrant resentment at the country-level across the sample. One explanation is, that, indeed, these migrant groups provoke the most (and most negatively biased) media coverage (Eberl et al. 2018), especially without public media providing balance (European Broadcasting Union 2016). That dynamic is national as much as individuals are tuned in on national news, local immigration increases alienation fears, results show, and local media that highlights local immigration flows exasperate threatened responses (Hopkins 2010). Media discourse can be completely detached from actual characteristics of immigration, of course, and this aspects is woefully unaccounted for by the statistical analysis presented in this paper.

While the role of media remains somewhat speculative without direct measures of media's representations of immigration, results show that political parties are purveyors of information about immigration, with limited reach to persuade: They cue left-leaning, especially political interested left-leaning individuals. Immigration not only increases the likelihood of nationalist rhetoric among mainstream parties (while the general observation holds true (see Table C6 in Appendix C) the intensity of national rhetoric of, e.g., Polish and Hungarian political parties appears detached from the reality of very low levels of immigration into these countries). Immigration simultaneously leads to greater responsiveness towards these kind of political cueing messages are further moderated by political orientation, this explains why local immigration has been found to reduce the distance between political left- and right-leaning residents regarding immigration attitudes (Schaub, Gereke and Baldassarri 2020).

Besides party cues, policies, too, mediate the impact of immigration on resentment. While post-Soviet countries consistently have both lower levels of immigration than their western

counterparts and less permissive integration policies, with the post-Soviet past statistically controlled, higher immigration levels coincide with less not more permissive integration policies (Table C6 in Appendix C). The UK is a case in point: Potentially as reaction to higher influxes of immigration compared to countries with similar MIPEX-scores, it is the only country that significantly tightened its immigration policies since 2012.

What moderates threatened responses are, firstly, characteristics of the migrant population itself that either increase salience, such as sudden influxes of migrants, local proximity, (male) migrants that belong to visible minority groups, and/or lay the ground for intersectionality. Existing prejudice towards native groups – educationist attitudes, anti-elitism, stereotypical views of "the poor" (poor younger men especially) – are aggravated against migrants, results indicate. Secondly, threatened responses to immigration depend on the historic background of a country. (Past) geopolitical threat and the shorter democratic tradition of post-Soviet countries are connected to less permissive integration policies and greater readiness of political parties to deploy nationalist rhetoric, i.e. history shapes immigration attitudes today by affecting how political actors will react to immigration, leading to more or less tolerant political cueing and signaling effects.

Wealthier countries not only attract higher levels of immigration, but the characteristics of their migrant populations differ meaningfully from other countries, as they host more cultural-distant and low-skilled migrants, more refugees, have higher influxes of immigration – characteristics, result demonstrate, connected to higher resentment. Owing to the same underlying socioeconomic factors, countries otherwise best situated to prevent resentment among their population attract migrant populations that will provoke the strongest backlash. The threat of highly skilled migrant populations alone is an exception, this form of perceived threat is overrepresented in less affluent European countries (the UK being an exception).

### Most susceptible to immigrant resentment

In conclusion, who are most susceptible to resentment – at the individual, local/regional and country level?

#### **Individuals**

Across individuals, it is those (a) lacking opportunities and (b) easy to persuade. (a) In the way socioeconomic status, place of residency, grievances, social disintegration, immigrant presence interact, it becomes clear that tolerance depends on the distribution of opportunities for social, economic, and institutional participation in society for both natives and migrants. Be it residential segregation of migrants, less social welfare spending, demographic deprivation, feeling unsafe in the neighborhood, fewer opportunities for educational attainment and intergroup contact for older generations, and so on – inequality begets resentment. Importantly, however, the different dimension of this dynamic can be self-mitigating, as far as the poorest individuals live in disadvantaged urban areas, for example, they may have the most opportunities for local contact. Socioeconomic status in general does not signify any singular social mechanism, its impact varies with context, one of its most important role is to affect where individuals live. Consequently, it is not surprising if the most deprived are not per se the most resentful (Lengfeld 2017).

(b) Threatened responses are predominantly concerns about what might be the consequences of (a certain kind of) immigration, not actual experiences (Pettigrew et al. 2010). Those most susceptible and most exposed to resentful party cues, policy signals, and media bias are most likely to show threatened responses. Accordingly, both political disinterest and outsized believes about the extent of national immigration share all relevant predictors

among them: younger birth cohorts, women, those with lower rates of educational attainment, and lower parental rate of educational attainment. These factors indicate dynamics of socialization that influence how individuals seek and process socio-political information as well as early exposure to information about issues such as immigration (Prior 2010). Political left-right identification, too, appears to be a product of socialization more than anything (Rico et al. 2016) – that we know of. Again, similar characteristics can have different outcomes depending on context: Political interest may shield against misinformation but increase the effectiveness of nationalist cueing messages form political parties. Mechanisms of socialization are likely not the only contributing factors, but so far, we have missed the opportunity to diligently inquire who (else) is easy to persuade and therefore most likely to show threatened responses. These insight could anker the threatened response approach at the individual level, a connection increasingly lost as the pertaining theses mostly explain country-level variation.

The distributional conflict theses of course aim to identify social groups most likely to show threatened responses. But fearing higher taxation/lower welfare disbursements (in the context of high-expenditure countries with increased low-skill immigration) or higher competition for jobs (depending on personal skill and relative skill levels between migrants and natives) might mirror increased economic anxiety owing to the presence of immigrants more closely than threatened responses based on informational effects. It depends on the question initially raised by Bonacich (1972): Is the pressure felt by specific skill groups or employees in certain sectors (Dancygier et al. 2013) based on experience or perceptional only? Although the outcome stays the same, the precise mechanism involved differs. In light of how little distributional conflict contributes statistically to our understanding of anti-immigrant attitudes, the field might be happy to call it a "zombie" theory and move on (Hainmueller et al.

2014: 241). But the theory identifies scenarios under which high-skilled/highly educated and high-income individuals against the general trend are *more* resentful towards immigration. This matters as far as elites are (still) multipliers of opinion – the other scenario under which individuals of higher social status are more susceptible to resentment is related to increased responsiveness towards cues from political elites.

### Locales and regions

Within countries, the interplay of threatened responses, contact, grievances, and social disintegration leaves rural areas, especially within high immigration countries, most susceptible to resentment. Rural Europe not only disproportionally was left out of the steady increase of post-war immigration and the acculturation processes it set in motion, urbanization also advances the out-selection of residents more tolerant towards immigration, demographic grievances and even mating competition, while economic performance remains subpar to urban regions. This lack of opportunity does not prevent exposure to information, however mediated, about country-level immigration prone to strengthen resentment. (Although, the lack of high-speed internet in rural areas might have this effect (Schaub and Morisi 2020).) Rural east Germany is an example par excellence (Figure 13): A relatively large region that, outside of Berlin, has very low immigration levels compared to high-immigration regions in West Germany that surely color the national discourse about immigration. East Germany furthermore suffers from levels of demographic deprivation that lack comparison even in a worldwide perspective (Salomo 2019a).

#### <u>Countries</u>

Countries *least* susceptible to immigrant resentment are those with favorable socioeconomic conditions (higher GDP per capita, less unemployment, more generous welfare states, higher

union density, a formally better educated workforce), immigrant populations with characteristics least likely to provoke threatened responses (generally lower immigration, slow growing immigrant populations, lower shares of cultural-distant migrants and less men among them, less refugees, lower shares of low-skilled migrants, a native population not "outskilled" by migrants) and a favorable historic background (non-Soviet past, low geopolitical threat). This combination assures that mechanisms like grievances and social disintegration do little to undermine liberal views on immigration, that threatened responses will be minimal and that immigration translates to positive contact with the highest likelihood. Within Europe, the only country that comes close to this description is Iceland (which indeed is the most tolerant country across the sample, Figure 13).

Furthermore, countries where the self-mitigating dynamic between more/less favorable socioeconomic and historic conditions and immigration with characteristics that are more/less likely to provoke threatened response works should show lower levels of resentment. These are high-immigration countries like Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK on the one hand, and low-immigration countries like Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia on the other hand. Table 1 gives an overview over which of these countries (categories 2 and 3 in Table 1) indeed show below-average levels of immigrant resentment in cross-country comparison (also see Figure 13) – they mostly follow expectations. Most exceptions offer further insight into how economic crises, consistently fast-growing immigrant populations, deliberate social policy, and the shadows of history can disrupt the selfmitigating dynamic found in similar countries (see Table 2).



### Figure 13. Immigrant resentment across Europe

*Source.* ESS 2002–2016, own calculations. Immigrant resentment (see Table A2a in Appendix A) is z-standardized across all respondents (as used in statistical modeling), aggregated for each country (across all years available) and, for readability, projected to a scale of +/- 2 standard deviations from the across country mean.

Most susceptible to immigrant resentment are countries that, untypically, combine unfavorable socioeconomic contexts and stronger immigration with characteristics more likely to provoke backlash – Croatia, Cypris, Estonia, Greece, Latvia, Portugal, and Slovenia fit that description. Out of those, only Croatia does not show the expected elevated levels of immigrant resentment (Table 1 and Table 2). The cases of Greece and Cypris especially demonstrate, that resentment abounds, if the self-mitigating dynamic of push-, pull-factors and immigration streams is disturbed.

Greece and Cypris – southern Italy could be mentioned here, too – have been turned into heavy immigration countries by virtue of geographic location and European policies like the Dublin I–III regulations, i.e. they are countries where many refugees and asylum seeker first arrive within Europe. They are simultaneously losing natives to emigration pushed out by economic disadvantage (a declining economy between 2008–2014), high unemployment (rising between 2008–2014), and faltering welfare states, meaning economic as well as demographic grievances and social disintegration already lead to increased resentment among the population.

**Table 1.** Countries by socioeconomic factors, immigration characteristics, immigrant resent-ment

		Immigration characteristics							
		Low backlash	High backlash						
	a		(3) Low resentment expected:						
text	rabl	(1) Very low resentment expected:	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Ger-						
con	favo	Iceland	many, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Nor-						
mic	-		way, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK						
econo	able	(2) Low resentment expected:	(4) High resentment expected:						
Socio	unfavora	Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary, Lithu- ania, Poland, Romania <sup>a</sup> , Slovakia	Croatia <sup>b</sup> , Cypris, Estonia, Greece, Latvia, Portugal, Slovenia						

*Note.* Sources see Table A2a and Table A4 in Appendix A. All data publicly available, own calculations available form author(s).

<sup>a</sup>ESS data available in 2008 only. <sup>b</sup>ESS data available in 2008 and 2010 only.

High immigration – refugees/asylum seekers from cultural-distant countries, tentatively lower skilled, more male than female, prone to sudden influxes – amplifies this resentment through the full force of threatened responses. Sociotropic economic concerns, too, are strongest if higher national immigration levels coincide with unfavorable economic conditions, as results demonstrate. Furthermore, migrants hold up in camps will, even locally, lead to increased resentment through halo effects and situational framing, not to meaningful positive contact (Hangartner et al. 2019). Greece and Cyprus specifically are, moreover, the only European countries for whom higher geopolitical threat is not just part of history, but ongoing (Aegean dispute). In face of this – of all we know about how social mechanisms drive antiimmigration attitudes - levels of resentment in Greece, Cypris and partly southern Italy (Fig-

ure 13) fail to surprise.

Table 3	2.	Countries	defying	expectations	regarding	immigrant	resentment	given	socioeco-
nomic	cor	ntext and i	immigrat	tion character	istics – and	l why			

Country	
France	Unemployment closer to countries with considerably lower GDP per
(resentment higher	capita – steadily increasing since the economic crisis in 2008. Also has
than expected)	low union density.
Italy (resentment higher than expected)	Unemployment similar to France, also GDP per capita lower than in North-Western countries and as of 2016 still considerably below its level in 2008. Both is true for Spain as well, but Spain host far fewer refugees than Italy.
UK (England, Wales) (resentment higher than expected)	Consistently faster growing immigrant population at high levels than comparable countries, only country that significantly restricted inte- gration policies starting in 2012. Potentially connected, non-nationalist British political parties employ more nationalist messages than in any other North-Western country (geopolitical threat, too, is comparable high). The country showed below average level of resentment prior to 2012 and elevated resentment thereafter.
Austria (resentment higher than expected)	Comparably fast-growing migrant population, similar to Sweden or Norway. Yet while the latter have among the most permissive integra- tion polices in Europe, Austria – sharing high levels of historic geopo- litical threat with the UK – has one of the most restrictive integration policies among North-Western European countries, both amplifying threat and impeding contact. Nationalist rhetoric among Austrian par- ties is surpassed by British parties across North-Western countries.
Hungary (resentment higher than expected)	Intense national traumata and, accordingly, high levels of nationalist rhetoric among mainstream parties. Further stands out with a combi- nation of country-level factors inclined to leave residents less inter- ested in politics (i.e. low income inequality, low social expenditures).
Czech Republic (resentment higher than expected)	Also shows characteristics that impede political interest and experi- enced elevated levels of geopolitical threat – that does <i>not</i> translate to high nationalist rhetoric. The analysis offers no further clues to Czechia's elevated level of resentment.
(resentment lower	tion of its migrant composition furthermore is incomplete i.e. the case
than expected)	is hard to judge.

*Note.* Sources see Table A2a and Table A4 in Appendix A. All data publicly available, own calculations available form author(s).

#### Explanatory power and what next

The statistical model explains 41 percent of the inter- and intra-country variation across 30 countries with up to eight data points each between 2002 and 2016 (country-level  $R^2_{adjusted}$  = .410, see *Analytical strategy*, statistical models not shown). At the individual level, that number sinks to 25 percent (individual  $R^2_{adjusted}$  = .254, see *Analytical strategy*). Suffice to say, the explanatory power is relative to explanations not included in the model. These range from media discourse detached from immigration characteristics, social media and other discussion networks (e.g. Berg 2009) as well as many individual-level explanations brought forward by psychological research – ideological attitudes (Duckitt and Sibley 2007) to behavioral genetics (Verhulst, Eaves and Hatemi 2012).

Interpretations of the explanatory power at the individual level especially may differ and there are no comparable studies providing precedent. Taking it at face value – it seems too low, at least in relation to the effort involved. While it is reassuring in the context of a replication crisis engulfing social science research that the current study was able to replicate almost all statistical findings of previous studies on causes of immigrant resentment, this overall result does not make it easier to cut to the chase. Needed are serious, comprehensive canonization efforts aimed at reconciling and slimming down the different arguments that have been brought forward, regarding each study as a piece in the puzzle no matter its origin in a specific "school of thought". This work needs to be published alongside articles presenting original research. Failing this challenge leaves us with uncoherent answers to questions the broader public deems increasingly more pressing, unable to communicate our insights. Most approaches presented in the last three decades, as this article makes clear, do not contradict each other theoretically nor empirically, they are additive, deeply intertwined empirically and provide context to each other.

Research into the causes of immigrant resentment further can profit from a broader view on the explanandum. Approaches as the grievance, social disintegration, political persuasion, socialization theses and generalized intergroup contact thesis are developed and applied to explain a broader spectrum of the attitudinal space immigrant resentment is embedded within – intolerance towards social minorities, nationalism, political authoritarianism, etc. Acknowledging these overlaps is adamant for evaluating the contribution of any one theoretical approach and would allow to consolidate our understanding of social resentment and anti-democratic attitudes.

# APPENDIX

# Appendix A: Sample and Measurements

Country/ ESS Round	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	Total
Austria	2257	2256	2405				1795	2010	10723
Belgium	1899	1778	1798	1760	1704	1869	1769	1766	14343
Bulgaria			1400	2230	2434	2260			8324
Croatia				1484	1649				3133
Cyprus			995	1215	1083	1116			4409
Czechia	1360	3026		2018	2386	2009	2148	2269	15216
Denmark	1506	1487	1505	1610	1576	1650	1502		10836
Estonia		1989	1517	1661	1793	2380	2051	2019	13410
Finland	2000	2022	1896	2195	1878	2197	2087	1925	16200
France	1503	1806	1986	2073	1728	1968	1917	2070	15051
Germany	2919	2870	2916	2751	3031	2958	3045	2852	23342
Greece	2566	2406		2072	2715				9759
Hungary	1685	1498	1518	1544	1561	2014	1698	1614	13132
Iceland		579				752		880	2211
Ireland	2046	2286	1800	1764	2576	2628	2390	2757	18247
Italy	1207	1529				960		2626	6322
Latvia				1980					1980
Lithuania					1677	2109	2250	2122	8158
Luxemburg	1552	1635							3187
Netherlands	2364	1881	1889	1778	1829	1845	1919	1681	15186
Norway	2036	1760	1750	1549	1548	1624	1436	1545	13248
Poland	2110	1716	1721	1619	1751	1898	1615	1694	14124
Portugal	1511	2052	2222	2367	2150	2151	1265	1270	14988
Romania				2146					2146
Slovakia		1512	1766	1810	1856	1847			8791
Slovenia	1519	1442	1476	1286	1403	1257	1224	1307	10914
Spain	1729	1663	1876	2576	1885	1889	1925	1958	15501
Sweden	1999	1948	1927	1830	1497	1847	1791	1551	14390
Switzerland	2040	2141	1804	1819	1506	1493	1532	1525	13860
UK	2052	1897	2394	2352	2422	2286	2264	1959	17626
Total	39860	45179	38561	47489	45638	45007	37623	39400	338757

**Table A1**. Unweighted total sample size European Social Survey per country by wave

### Table A2a. Individual-level variables

Measurement	Source/availability	Comment and literature reference
Attitudes towards immigration: threat scale		
3 items about concerns over impact of immigra-	ESS 2002–2016	
tion on the country's economy (good-bad), cul-		
ture (enriched-undermined), as place to live (bet-		For analysis of cross-cultural validity see Meuleman and Billiet 2012. A confirma-
ter-worse)		tory factor analysis (Table A2b) confirms the threat and opposition scale to be two
Attitudes towards immigration: opposition scale		dimensions of a factor higher order. Threat and opposition scales are computed by
3 items about preferences regarding admission of	ESS 2002–2016	combining items as mean averages, cases with at least one valid answer across items
migrants from same ethnic group, different ethnic		receive an index score. The attitudes towards immigration scale are the two scales
group as majority of [country], poorer countries		combined as mean averages, only cases with valid values for both scales receive an
outside EU: allow many-allow none		index score.
Attitudes towards immigration (combined)		
Threat and opposition scale combined	ESS 2002–2016	
Immigrant friends:		
Any immigrant friends? Non-several	ESS 2002	e.g. Schlueter and Wagner 2008
Perceived extent national immigrant population:		
Out of every 100 people in country how many	ESS 2002, 2014 <sup>a</sup>	Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky 2008
born outside country?		
Individual economic anxiety:		
Living on current household income? Comforta-	ESS 2002–2016 <sup>b</sup>	Status anxiety, relative deprivation are further important dimensions of economic
ble-very difficult		anxiety (Scheepers et al. 2002; Salomo 2019b) but not included in the ESS.
Sociotropic economic anxiety:		
Satisfied with state of [country's] economy? Ex-	ESS 2002–2016	Sides et al. 2007
tremely dissatisfied-extremely satisfied		
Political interest:		
How interested in politics? Not at all-very	ESS 2002–2016	e.g. Bohman 2011

(to be continued)

### Table A2a. (continued)

Measurement	Source/availability	Comment and literature reference
Political alignment:		
Self-placement on 11-point right-left scale	ESS 2002–2016 <sup>c</sup>	e.g. Bohman 2011
Social mistrust:		
Generalized social trust scale (see Reeskens and	ESS 2002-2016	e.g. Hooghe et al. 2008
Hooghe 2007)		For a confirmatory factor analysis see Table A2b; index computed by combining
		items as mean averages, cases with at least one valid answer across items receive
		an index score.
Educational attainment:		
International Standard Classification of Education	ESS 2002–2016	Categories harmonized across ESS waves: levels 1 or below, level 2, level 3, level
(ISCED) (Unesco 2012)		4, level 5 or higher
International Standard Classification of Education	FSS 2002_2016 <sup>d</sup>	See educational attainment: information provided for father and mother of respond-
(ISCED)	100 2002 2010	ent are combined to indicate highest level of educational attainment of either of
		them.
Occupational status:		
Respondents with occupations classified as	ESS 2002–2016	Follows the concept of labor market "outsiders" proposed by Rueda (2005) as ap-
ISCO08 5000 or higher <sup>e</sup> , that are either temporary		plied by Jaime-Castillo, Marqués-Perales and Alvarez-Gálvez 2015.
unemployed, work less than 50 hours a week or were		Occupations are classified according to the international Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) (ILO 2012). The ESS provides ISCO88 codes up until 2010
ing are considered of low occupational status		ISCO08 codes from 2012 onwards. To convert ISCO88 into ISCO08 classifications
ing are constanted of for occupational status.		I used the conversion tool provided by Ganzeboom and Treiman (last revised 2010).
Household income:		
Total net income, all sources, deciles	ESS 2002–2016 <sup>f</sup>	ESS uses different brackets before and as of 2008. Both variables are divided by the
		square root of household size (OECD 2011) and z-standardized within each country
		by wave (Han 2016) before being combined into a single variable.
Union member: Currently member of a trade union? No. yos	ESS 2002 2016g	Mavda 2006
Meeting socially:	100 2002-2010	Mayua 2000
How often socially meet with others? Daily–never	ESS 2002-2016	Hiers et al. 2017

(to be continued)

### Table A2a. (continued)

Measurement	Source/availability	Comment and literature reference
Working abroad:		
Paid work in another country more than 6 months	ESS 2004–2016 <sup>h</sup>	
in last 10 years? No/not applicable–yes		
Born abroad:		
Born outside of country of residence? No-yes	ESS 2002-2016	
Year of birth	ESS 2002-2016	Left-censored at the 1 percentile mark; answers 2001 and 2002 combined
Single:		
Live with husband/wife/partner at household?	ESS 2002-2016	Only needed for robustness checks shown in Table C1b, Table C1c in Appendix C
No-yes		
Age	ESS 2002-2016	Right-censored at the 1 percentile mark; ESS round minus year of birth if missing
		even though year of birth available
Gender: Male-female	ESS 2002–2016	

*Notes.* <sup>a</sup>Owing to an unusual high degree of item non-response, missing information was substituted using regression imputation, the predictors are: Occupational status, educational attainment, born abroad, age, gender. Method: single imputation (it is currently impossible to implement multiple imputations with Stata's GLM routine).

<sup>b</sup>Unavailable for France in 2002 and 2004, these respondents (0.98 percent of total sample) receive the weighted mean average across France 2006.

<sup>c</sup>Owing to an unusual high degree of item non-response (13.2 percent of total sample), missing information was substituted with mean averages of country by wave. (Regression-based imputations are contraindicated since the perceived extent national immigrant population acts as dependent variable).

<sup>d</sup>After substituting missing information for one parent with available information from the other parent, cases with missing information still amount to 14 percent, owing to many cases with educational degrees incompatible with ISCED, missing information therefore was substituted with mean averages of country by wave. On top of that, some countries did not include the question during certain ESS rounds: Sweden 2002, 2004 and 2008, Hungary 2014, Bulgaria as well as Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, the UK, Greece, and Ireland in 2008. These cases received the mean averages of their country from the closest or the two closest points of measurement available.

<sup>e</sup>ISCO08 5000 or higher denotes services and sales workers, skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, craft and related trades workers, plant/machine operators and assemblers, elementary occupations.

<sup>f</sup>Besides a larger number of respondents who denied indicating their household income, the question is unavailable for Ireland 2002, Portugal 2010, Slovakia 2008, Estonia 2004, 2006 and 2014. That leaves circa 25 percent of the total sample for which missing information had to be substituted using regression imputation, the predictors are: regional GDP per capita, regional unemployment rate, occupational status, educational attainment, born abroad, age, gender (single imputation).

<sup>g</sup>Not asked in Spain 2012 (0.56 percent of total sample), substituted with the weighted mean across Spain 2010 and 2014.

<sup>h</sup>Not included in the first ESS round, substituted with mean averages of countries 2004.

Table A2b.	Confirmatory	factor	analysis	for	attitudinal	scales

Attitudes towards immigration	Threat scale	Opposition scale
Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries? <sup>a</sup>	.839***	
Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?	.813***	
Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?	.784***	
To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people? <sup>a</sup>		.939***
How about people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people to come and live here?		.805***
How about people from the poorer countries outside Europe?		.851***
Factor correlation Threat scale with Opposition scale	.705	5***
N	285	.209
Generalized social trust		
Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair? <sup>a</sup>	.749	)***
Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?	.650	5***
Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?	.702	2***
N	306	.120

*Note:* Standardized factor loadings, \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests). <sup>a</sup>Unstandardized factor loading restrained to 1.

### Table A3. Local-/regional-level variables

Measurement	Source/availability	Reference/comment
Perceived ethnic diversity: Describe area where you currently live: Almost nobody of minority race/ethnic group-many peo- ple are	ESS 2002, 2014	Objective measures of local diversity are unavailable. <i>Perceived</i> local diversity cap- tures exposure to diversity more directly than objective diversity (Stolle, Soroka and Johnston 2008), because it indirectly measure the local concentration of migrants (not only the local percentage) (Iglesias-Pascual, Paloma and García-Ramírez 2019). In ad- dition, Luca regional NUJTS Level 2 data to contrast effects of perceived local diversity
Immigrant population (%) (regional): Percentage of residents born abroad, includes ref- ugees if usual residents for at least 12 months	EU Census 2011 <sup>a</sup>	with a more objective measure that, at least, captures sub-national variation. Unfortu- nately, regional immigration data is only available for 2011. I will include regional immigration levels in all relevant models as control variable for perceived local diver- sity, but only report if both measures diverge in meaningful ways.
Native adult sex ratio (regional): Ratio of men to women aged 15–44 years (higher values indicate more men)	Eurostat <sup>a</sup>	Dancygier et al. 2019 rely on more fine-grained data than NUTS level 2, somewhat limiting comparability.
Aging population (regional): Old dependency ratio: population 65 and over to population 15–64 years	Eurostat <sup>a</sup>	Simplified version of Salomo 2019b, who uses mor fine-grained data limiting compa- rability.
<i>GDP per capita (regional):</i> Purchasing power standard (PPS) per inhabitant	Eurostat <sup>a</sup>	Since indicators for local economic deprivation are unavailable, regional GDP per cap- ita and unemployment indicate at least some within country variation, (Hoxhaj and
Unemployment rate (regional): Percentage of unemployed available for and seeking employment out of the total labor force (ILOSTAT-Definition)	Eurostat <sup>a</sup>	Zuccotti 2020), for example economic differences between larger urban and rural areas.
<i>Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood:</i> How safe do you/would you feel walking alone in this area after dark? very safe–very unsafe	ESS 2002–2016	Chandler and Tsai 2001; Rustenbach 2010
Rural residency: Which best describes the area where you live? Other–Country village, farm, countryside home	ESS 2002–2016	

*Notes.* <sup>a</sup>Any regional data unavailable for specific years is replaced with data from the closest year available or, if that rule proves inconclusive, with the mean average of the two closest data points available.

### Table A4. National-level variables

Measurement	Source/availability <sup>a</sup>	Reference/comment
Immigrant population:		
Percentage of residents born abroad, includes refugees if usual residents for at least 12	Eurostat, World Bank,	Half of the countries do not count asylum
months	own calculations	seekers towards their immigrant popula- tion (Eurostat 2018)
Refugees per 1000 capita		
Recognized refugees per 1000 capita	Eurostat, World Bank,	
	own calculations	
Average growth immigrant population:		
I calculated the growth of the immigrant population compared to two, three and four	Eurostat, World Bank,	
years prior and used the average growth across these three reference points.	own calculations	
Cultural-distant immigrant population:		
Percentage of usual residents born abroad and outside of the USA, Canada, Australia,	OECD, Eurostat, own	Definition based on Schneider 2008; Go-
New Zealand, and non-Muslim majority European countries	calculations <sup>b</sup>	rodzeisky and Semyonov 2009; Hain- mueller et al. 2015
Sex ratio among cultural-distant immigrants:		
Ratio of men to women among cultural-distant immigrants (see above) (higher values	OECD,	
indicate more men)	own calculations	
Relative skill composition:		
Among the working age population (15-64 years) the low-skilled have achieved less	Eurostat (EU Labour	Facchini et al. 2009
than completed first stage of secondary level education (ISCED 00, 01, 02) high-	Force Survey);	
skilled ISCED 03 and above; the ratio of high- to low-skilled within natives is divided	(EU Census 2011 for	
by the ratio within immigrants (higher values indicate migrants are relatively less	Romania, Bulgaria)	
skilled)		

(to be continued)

 Table A4. (continued)

Measurement	Source/availability <sup>a</sup>	Reference/comment
Immigrant skill composition:		
Low-skilled relative to high-skilled immigrants within working age (15–64 years), skill-level defined as above (higher values indicate more low-skilled immigrants)	Eurostat (EU Labour Force Survey) (EU Census 2011 for Romania, Bulgaria)	Based on Schneider 2008 who uses per- centages of low-skilled migrants among the population conditioned on total num- ber of migrants, which is unsuited here.
GDP per capita:		
PPP-adjusted, in constant 2011 international \$	World Bank	
Unemployment rate: Percentage of unemployed available for and seeking employment out of the total labor force (ILOSTAT-Definition)	World Bank	
Union density:		
Percentage of union members among respondents within working age (15-64 years)	ESS 2002–2016	
Social expenditure:		
Total expenditure on social protection per capita, PPS-adjusted	Eurostat	Facchini et al. 2009
Income inequality: GINI coefficient, post-taxes, post-transfer	SWIID: Solt 2016	(Rooduijn et al. 2018)
Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX):		
Provides a combined measure of integration of immigrants in labor market, education, health care, political realm; ease of access to permanent residence, citizenship, family reunions; anti-discrimination policies; calculated as average across years available.	2010–2014, Huddle- ston, Bilgili and Joki 2015	Schlueter et al. 2013
Nationalist rhetoric of political parties:		
Relative share of party manifesto content aimed at "defining and consolidating the na- tional identity" (positive references to national way of life, patriotism, nationalism, no- tion of protecting the country from subversion within) averaged across non-nationalist parties (Volkens et al. 2017) for most recent federal parliamentary election.	Party manifesto pro- ject, see Volkens et al. 2018	Bohman 2011 calculates averages of na- tionalist rhetoric across all years availa- ble, somewhat inflating cueing messages with political culture at large.

(to be continued)

Table A4.	(continued)
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Measurement	Source/availability <sup>a</sup>	Reference/comment
Post-soviet country		
Countries that were part of the Soviet Union or affiliated with it, i.e. Bulgaria, Czechia,		
Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia (East Germany is		
not treated as separate country).		
Notes. <sup>a</sup> Any country-level data unavailable for specific years is replaced with data from the	closest year available or,	if that rule proves inconclusive, with the

mean average of the two closest data points available.

<sup>b</sup>Regarding Cypris, cultural-distant immigrant population is the percentage of non-European immigrants, regarding Croatia it is approximated by the mean average of all other eastern European countries.

# Appendix B: Results

# Table B1. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002–2016

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	.035	.005	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.123	.011	.000
Social mistrust	.154	.010	.000
Political interest	112	.009	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131	.019	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.000
Union member	010	.003	.003
Occupational status	013	.004	.000
Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.675
Educational attainment (ISCED)	099	.006	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	015	.003	.000
Born abroad	088	.013	.000
Female	032	.006	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	057	.005	.000
Year of birth	085	.011	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.087	.004	.000
Rural residency	.038	.005	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)	029	.009	.002
GDP per capita (regional)	.003	.015	.832
Unemployment rate (regional)	.015	.009	.076
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.031	.011	.005
Aging population (regional)	.033	.019	.083
Immigrant population %	.035	.071	.620
Refugees per 1000 capita	.070	.028	.011
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.033	.019	.081
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	035	.038	.367
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.126	.046	.007
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	061	.043	.162
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.025	.023	.282
GDP per capita	048	.105	.648
Unemployment rate	.001	.016	.947
Union density	030	.014	.030
Social expenditure per capita	121	.077	.117
Income inequality (GINI)	026	.075	.726
Nationalist party rhetoric	063	.041	.128
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	089	.072	.214
Geopolitical threat level	.114	.066	.085
Post-Soviet country	170	.143	.235

(to be continued)

# Table B1. (continued)

	Coef. Std. Err.		P>z
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood			
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	006	.003	.024
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	012	.007	.064
Household income # relative skill composition	007	.003	.043
Household income # social expenditure per capita	012	.005	.014
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.010	.004	.005
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.003	.370
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	015	.007	.034
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	014	.005	.007
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.013	.011	.243
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.065
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.058
Year of birth # age	.010	.007	.110
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.010	.005	.074
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.016	.005	.001
ESS 2002	036	.027	.188
ESS 2004	009	.019	.639
ESS 2006	.019	.012	.127
ESS 2010	.018	.010	.069
ESS 2012	.022	.015	.145
ESS 2014	.054	.018	.003
ESS 2016	.057	.030	.056
Constant	002	.059	.968
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.212
Nindividual		3	08430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         0.02         0.005         0.00           Sociatoropic economic anxiety         .172         .011         .000         Sociatoropic economic anxiety         .172         .011         .000         Sociatoropic economic anxiety         .113         .013         .000         Political interest        116         .009         .000         Meeting socially (frequency)         .024         .007         .001         .001         .000         Doltical interest         .011         .003         .000         Occupational staus         .016         .004         .000         .000         .132         .022         .000         .006         .152         Educational attainment (ISCED)         .103         .000         .000         Born abroad         .113         .010         .000         Born abroad         .011         .000         .000         .001         .004         .000         .000         .001         .001         .000         .000         .000         .001         .000         .000         .000         .000         .001         .000         .000         .001         .000         .000         .000         .001         .001		Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         .029         .005         .000           Sociatorpic cenomic anxiety         .172         .011         .000           Sociatorpic cenomic anxiety         .116         .009         .000           Political interest        116         .009         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)        132         .022         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)        024         .007         .001           Union member        011         .003         .000           Occupational status        016         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)        013         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        017         .004         .000           Bremale        028         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        050         .005         .000           Y         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety         .029         .005         .000           Sociotropic economic anxiety         .172         .011         .000           Social mistrust         .183         .013         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .132         .022         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .024         .007         .001           Union member         .016         .004         .000           Occupational status         .016         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)         .009         .006         .152           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .010         .008         .000           Som abroad        113         .015         .000           Female         .028         .009         .001           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .050         .000         .000           Age         /	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety         .172         .011         .000           Social mistrust         .183         .013         .000           Political interest         .112         .022         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .024         .007         .001           Union member         .011         .003         .000           Occupational status         .016         .004         .000           Occupational status         .016         .004         .000           Occupational status         .010         .004         .000           Born abroad         .113         .015         .000           Born abroad         .013         .005         .000           Year of birth         .065         .001         .000           Age         /         .050         .005         .000           Rereived local ethnic diversity         /         .011         .001         .000           Rural residency         .044         .005         .000         .000         .001         .000           Rereived local ethnic diversity         /         .006         .014         .685         .011         .001         .000         .000         .000	Individual economic anxiety	.029	.005	.000
Social mistrust       .183       .013       .000         Political interest      116       .009       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .132       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .024       .007       .001         Union member      011       .003       .000         Occupational status      016       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      003       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      017       .004       .000         Born abroad      113       .015       .000         Female      025       .011       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      050       .005       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /       .000       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .011       .000       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Inmigrant popu	Sociotropic economic anxiety	.172	.011	.000
Political interest      116       .009       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .132       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      024       .007       .001         Union member      011       .003       .000         Occupational status      016       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      013       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      113       .015       .000         Born abroad      113       .015       .000         Female       .028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      050       .005       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /       .001       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .001       .001       .001         Opp capita (regional)       .006       .014       .685         Unemployment rate (regional)       .001       .003       .004         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024 <t< td=""><td>Social mistrust</td><td>.183</td><td>.013</td><td>.000</td></t<>	Social mistrust	.183	.013	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)       .132       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .024       .007       .001         Union member       .016       .004       .000         Occupational status       .016       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)       .009       .006       .152         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .103       .008       .000         Born abroad       .113       .015       .000         Born abroad       .013       .008       .000         Born abroad       .013       .008       .000         Born abroad       .015       .000       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .050       .005       .000         Yere of birth       .005       .001       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024 </td <td>Political interest</td> <td>116</td> <td>.009</td> <td>.000</td>	Political interest	116	.009	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)       .024       .007       .001         Union member       .011       .003       .000         Occupational status       .006       .152         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .103       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .017       .004       .000         Born abroad       .113       .015       .000         Female       .028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .050       .000         Year of birth       .065       .011       .000         Age       /       /       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .006       .014       .685         Unemployment rate (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Inmigrant population %       .037       .050       .042       .238         Kultural-distant immigrant population %       .038       .017       .026	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.132	.022	.000
Union member      011       .003       .000         Occupational status      016       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      009       .0.06       .152         Educational attainment (ISCED)      103       .008       .000         Born abroad      113       .015       .000         Female       .028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      050       .005       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .003       .038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444       .005       .000         Immigrant population (regional)       .007       .009       .444       .005       .000         Immigrant population fregional)       .007       .009       .444       .005       .000       .001       .001       .038       .017       .026 <td>Meeting socially (frequency)</td> <td>024</td> <td>.007</td> <td>.001</td>	Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.001
Occupational status        016         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)        009         .006         .152           Educational attainment (ISCED)        017         .004         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        017         .004         .000           Born abroad        113         .015         .000           Female        028         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        065         .011         .000           Age         /         -         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         -         .000         .000           Rural residency         .044         .005         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)         .001         .007         .000           GDP per capita (regional)         .001         .001         .005         .000           Immigrant population (regional)         .001         .007         .009         .444           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .021         .009         .024           Aging population (regional)         .021         .009         .024         .238	Union member	011	.003	.000
Household income (deciles)      009       .006       .152         Educational attainment (ISCED)      103       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      017       .004       .000         Born abroad      113       .015       .000         Female      028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      055       .011       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /       .0044       .005       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000       .001       .001       .007       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001       .001       .001       .002       .004       .005       .000         Immigrant population (regional)       .003       .007       .009       .444       .005       .006       .014       .685         Unemployment rate (regional)       .001       .038       .017       .026         Aging population (regional)       .038       .019       .038       .019       .038         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027 <td< td=""><td>Occupational status</td><td>016</td><td>.004</td><td>.000</td></td<>	Occupational status	016	.004	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      103       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      017       .004       .000         Born abroad      113       .015       .000         Female      028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      050       .005       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .007       .000         Age       /       /       .011       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %       .050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .050       .042       .238	Household income (deciles)	009	.006	.152
Working experience abroad (>6 months)        017         .004         .000           Born abroad        113         .015         .000           Female        028         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        050         .005         .000           Year of birth        055         .011         .000           Age         /         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .101         .007         .000           Rural residency         .044         .005         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)        038         .011         .001           GDP per capita (regional)         .021         .009         .444           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .021         .009         .024           Aging population (regional)         .038         .017         .026           Immigrant population %        037         .065         .564           Refugees per 1000 capita         .066         .027         .013           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)         .038         .019         .38 <t< td=""><td>Educational attainment (ISCED)</td><td>103</td><td>.008</td><td>.000</td></t<>	Educational attainment (ISCED)	103	.008	.000
Born abroad      113       .015       .000         Female      028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      055       .011       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .0021       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .023       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .066       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .017       .026         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .001       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       <	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	017	.004	.000
Female      028       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      050       .055       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       -         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       -         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Refugees per 1000 capita       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .027       .000         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .000       .038       .019	Born abroad	113	.015	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      050       .005       .000         Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita	Female	028	.009	.001
Year of birth      065       .011       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population gregional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population gregional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population gregional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population gregional       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .050       .042       .238         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	050	.005	.000
Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .006       .014       .685         Unemployment rate (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)      017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      044       .080       .674         Unemployment rate      010       .013	Year of birth	065	.011	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .006       .014       .685         Unemployment rate (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .016       .238         GDP per capita       .034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density       .019	Age	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .101       .007       .000         Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition naityes/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .006       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita       .004       .013       .956         Union density       .019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita       .044	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency       .044       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .9	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.101	.007	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)      038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .038       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita       .045       .073       .	Rural residency	.044	.005	.000
GDP per capita (regional)      006       .014       .685         Unemployment rate (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .038       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         GDP per capita      044       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density       .019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita       .045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nati	Immigrant population % (regional)	038	.011	.001
Unemployment rate (regional)       .007       .009       .444         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078 <td>GDP per capita (regional)</td> <td>006</td> <td>.014</td> <td>.685</td>	GDP per capita (regional)	006	.014	.685
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .021       .009       .024         Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %       .037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita       .001       .013       .956         Union density       .019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita       .045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric       .069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065	Unemployment rate (regional)	.007	.009	.444
Aging population (regional)       .038       .017       .026         Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.021	.009	.024
Immigrant population %      037       .065       .564         Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076 <td>Aging population (regional)</td> <td>.038</td> <td>.017</td> <td>.026</td>	Aging population (regional)	.038	.017	.026
Refugees per 1000 capita       .066       .027       .013         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .038       .019       .038         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Immigrant population %	037	.065	.564
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $.038$ $.019$ $.038$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $.050$ $.042$ $.238$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $.096$ $.027$ $.000$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $.010$ $.039$ $.787$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.017$ $.016$ $.282$ GDP per capita $.001$ $.013$ $.956$ Unemployment rate $.001$ $.013$ $.956$ Union density $.019$ $.011$ $.072$ Social expenditure per capita $.064$ $.074$ $.386$ Nationalist party rhetoric $.069$ $.039$ $.078$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $148$ $.072$ $.038$ Geopolitical threat level $.084$ $.065$ $.198$ Post-Soviet country $219$ $.124$ $.076$	Refugees per 1000 capita	.066	.027	.013
Cultural-distant immigrant population %      050       .042       .238         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.038	.019	.038
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .096       .027       .000         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	050	.042	.238
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      010       .039       .787         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.096	.027	.000
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .017       .016       .282         GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	010	.039	.787
GDP per capita      034       .080       .674         Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.017	.016	.282
Unemployment rate       .001       .013       .956         Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	GDP per capita	034	.080	.674
Union density      019       .011       .072         Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Unemployment rate	.001	.013	.956
Social expenditure per capita      045       .073       .536         Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Union density	019	.011	.072
Income inequality (GINI)       .064       .074       .386         Nationalist party rhetoric      069       .039       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Social expenditure per capita	045	.073	.536
Nationalist party rhetoric        069         .039         .078           Migrant integration index (MIPEX)        148         .072         .038           Geopolitical threat level         .084         .065         .198           Post-Soviet country        219         .124         .076	Income inequality (GINI)	.064	.074	.386
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      148       .072       .038         Geopolitical threat level       .084       .065       .198         Post-Soviet country      219       .124       .076	Nationalist party rhetoric	069	.039	.078
Geopolitical threat level         .084         .065         .198           Post-Soviet country        219         .124         .076	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	148	.072	.038
Post-Soviet country219 .124 .076	Geopolitical threat level	.084	.065	.198
	Post-Soviet country	219	.124	.076

## **Table B2.** Predictors threat scale, ESS 2002–2016

(to be continued)

## Table B2. (continued)

	Coef. Std. Err.		P>z
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood			
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	005	.003	.100
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	018	.009	.045
Household income # relative skill composition	008	.005	.096
Household income # social expenditure per capita	017	.007	.023
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.019	.005	.000
Household income # skill composition migrants	.009	.004	.050
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	019	.010	.056
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	018	.007	.015
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.010	.011	.331
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	021	.014	.121
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	021	.014	.125
Year of birth # age	.007	.008	.333
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.002	.006	.722
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.021	.009	.017
ESS 2002	026	.024	.266
ESS 2004	.011	.014	.450
ESS 2006	.024	.011	.028
ESS 2010	.020	.009	.028
ESS 2012	.011	.017	.510
ESS 2014	.052	.018	.004
ESS 2016	.058	.024	.016
Constant	.004	.061	.945
Nindividual		3	08430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	.041	.008	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.075	.014	.000
Social mistrust	.125	.008	.000
Political interest	109	.009	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.129	.016	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.000
Union member	009	.004	.038
Occupational status	011	.004	.002
Household income (deciles)	.005	.005	.350
Educational attainment (ISCED)	094	.005	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	014	.002	.000
Born abroad	062	.011	.000
Female	036	.005	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	063	.005	.000
Year of birth	105	.011	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.072	.003	.000
Rural residency	.033	.006	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)	022	.010	.027
GDP per capita (regional)	.011	.017	.528
Unemployment rate (regional)	.023	.009	.011
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.040	.015	.006
Aging population (regional)	.026	.022	.241
Immigrant population %	.123	.073	.093
Refugees per 1000 capita	.075	.034	.025
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.026	.021	.229
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	021	.041	.604
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.152	.070	.029
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	104	.053	.047
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.029	.034	.392
GDP per capita	039	.113	.728
Unemployment rate	.001	.024	.952
Union density	040	.018	.025
Social expenditure per capita	187	.087	.032
Income inequality (GINI)	125	.078	.108
Nationalist party rhetoric	055	.046	.230
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	029	.086	.736
Geopolitical threat level	.152	.068	.025
Post-Soviet country	092	.144	.522
	(	to be got	tinued)

### Table B3. Predictors admission scale, ESS 2002–2016

(to be continued)

# Table B3. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z	
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood				
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	007	.003	.029	
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-				
grants less skilled)	007	.005	.170	
Household income # relative skill composition	005	.003	.081	
Household income # social expenditure per capita	007	.003	.030	
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.002	.003	.629	
Household income # skill composition migrants	003	.002	.139	
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	011	.004	.013	
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/			
Household income # inequality (Gini)	010	.004	.010	
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/			
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.016	.012	.197	
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	026	.013	.041	
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	028	.012	.023	
Year of birth # age	.013	.007	.040	
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.017	.005	.001	
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.012	.005	.012	
ESS 2002	040	.027	.135	
ESS 2004	025	.021	.229	
ESS 2006	.016	.014	.261	
ESS 2010	.017	.011	.137	
ESS 2012	.031	.015	.047	
ESS 2014	.054	.019	.005	
ESS 2016	.052	.036	.148	
Constant	006	.062	.926	
Nindividual		3	08430	
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)	
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)	
Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         0.03         .005         .000           Sociatropic economic anxiety         .125         .018         .000           Social mistrust         .159         .015         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .146         .021         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .022         .006         .000           Cocupational status         .022         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)         .014         .007         .625           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .105         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         .012         .006         .000           Female         .029         .009         .011         .000           Born abroad         .008         .000         .008         .000           Year of birth         .029         .008         .000         .0016         .000           Rural residency         .032         .010         .001         .000         .001         .000         .000         .000         .000         .001         .001		Coef. Std. Err.		P>z
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Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       .038       .005       .000         Sociat mistrust       .125       .018       .000         Social mistrust       .113       .004       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .146       .021       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      022       .006       .000         Union member       .008       .009       .371         Occupational status      022       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .002       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .015       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .012       .004       .001         Born abroad       .080       .016       .000         Female       .029       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .082       .015       .000         Y       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001       .001         Inmigrant population	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       .038       .005       .000         Sociotropic economic anxiety       .125       .018       .000         Social mistrust       .159       .015       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .146       .021       .006         Neeting socially (frequency)       .022       .006       .000         Union member       .008       .009       .711         Occupational status       .0022       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .004       .007       .625         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .105       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .012       .004       .001         Born abroad       .008       .000       .008       .000         Year of birth       .029       .009       .001         Born abroad       .008       .000       .008       .000         Year of birth       .028       .015       .000         Age       /       .029       .009       .001         Rural residency       .037       .021       .008       .000         Rural residency       .037       .014       .000	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety         .125         .018         .000           Social mistrust         .159         .015         .000           Political interest         .113         .004         .000           Political interest         .1146         .021         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .022         .006         .000           Union member         .008         .009         .371           Occupational status         .022         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)         .015         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         .012         .004         .001           Born abroad         .008         .000         .000         .000           Female         .022         .006         .000         .000           Coucational attainment (ISCED)         .016         .000         .000         .000         .000           Pereived local ethnic diversity         /         /         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000         .000	Individual economic anxiety	.038	.005	.000
Social mistrust         .159         .015         .000           Political interest        113         .004         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .146         .021         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .022         .006         .000           Union member         .008         .009         .371           Occupational status         .022         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)         .001         .007         .625           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .012         .004         .001           Born abroad         .008         .000         .008         .000           Year of birth         .015         .008         .000           Age         /         .015         .000           Age         .015         .000         .008         .000           Rural residency         .008         .000         .000         .008         .000           Rural residency         .015         .008         .000         .008         .000           Rural residency         .016         .040         .037         .021         .087           GDP per capita (regional)         .00	Sociotropic economic anxiety	.125	.018	.000
Political interest      113       .004       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .146       .021       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      022       .006       .000         Union member      022       .006       .000         Occupational status      022       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      014       .007       .625         Educational attainment (ISCED)      015       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      012       .004       .001         Born abroad      029       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      059       .008       .000         Year of birth      082       .015       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .013       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)       .005       .027       .833         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4	Social mistrust	.159	.015	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)       .146       .021       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .022       .006       .000         Union member       .002       .006       .000         Occupational status       .022       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .004       .007       .625         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .105       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .012       .004       .001         Born abroad       .029       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .059       .008       .000         Year of birth       .082       .015       .000         Age       /       /       .001       .001         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       .002       .022         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .023       .838       .002       .022       .222         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .013       .001       .001         Immigrant population (regional)       .005       .022       .822       .838       .016       .346         Immigrant population growth (averag	Political interest	113	.004	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)        022         .006         .000           Union member        008         .009         .371           Occupational status        004         .007         .625           Educational attainment (ISCED)        105         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .004         .001           Born abroad        080         .016         .000           Female        029         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        059         .008         .000           Year of birth        082         .015         .000           Age         /         /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.146	.021	.000
Union member        008         .009         .371           Occupational status        022         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)        015         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .004         .001           Born abroad        029         .009         .001           Female        029         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        082         .015         .000           Year of birth        082         .015         .000           Age         /         /         .021         .001         .001           Rural residency         .032         .010         .001         .001         .001         .001           Immigrant population % (regional)         .005         .022         .822         .021         .033         .038           Unemployment rate (regional)         .005         .022         .822         .016         .346           Immigrant population % (regional)         .005         .027         .835         .009         .021         .835           Inmigrant population %         .001         .037         .037         .037	Meeting socially (frequency)	022	.006	.000
Occupational status        022         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)        004         .007         .625           Educational attainment (ISCED)        105         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .004         .001           Born abroad        080         .016         .000           Female        029         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        059         .008         .000           Year of birth        082         .015         .000           Age         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .075         .014         .000           Rural residency         .032         .010         .001           Immigrant population % (regional)         .005         .022         .822           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .014         .013         .001           Aging population (regional)         .015         .016         .346           Immigrant population %         .029         .048         .555           Schopopulation may         .018         .05	Union member	008	.009	.371
Household income (deciles) $004$ $.007$ $.625$ Educational attainment (ISCED) $012$ $.004$ $.001$ Born abroad $002$ $.009$ $.001$ Born abroad $029$ $.009$ $.001$ Educational attainment parents (ISCED) $059$ $.008$ $.000$ Year of birth $082$ $.015$ $.000$ Age       /       /       -         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       -         Rural residency $.032$ $.010$ $.001$ Immigrant population % (regional) $.005$ $.022$ $.822$ Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) $.005$ $.023$ $.838$ Unemployment rate (regional) $.005$ $.022$ $.822$ Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) $.004$ $.015$ $.016$ $.346$ Immigrant population fregional) $.005$ $.027$ $.853$ $.005$ $.027$ $.853$ Inmigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $.036$ $.017$ $.037$ $.021$ $.037$	Occupational status	022	.006	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED) $05$ $.008$ $.000$ Working experience abroad (>6 months) $012$ $.004$ $.001$ Born abroad $080$ $.016$ $.000$ Female $029$ $.009$ $.001$ Educational attainment parents (ISCED) $059$ $.008$ $.000$ Year of birth $082$ $.015$ $.000$ Age       /       /	Household income (deciles)	004	.007	.625
Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .004         .001           Born abroad        080         .016         .000           Female        029         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        059         .008         .000           Year of birth        082         .015         .000           Age         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .032         .010         .001           Immigrant population % (regional)        037         .021         .087           GDP per capita (regional)         .005         .022         .822           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .015         .016         .346           Immigrant population (regional)         .015         .016         .346           Immigrant population %         .018         .035         .609           Refugees per 1000 capita         .005         .027         .853           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)         .036         .017         .037           Cultural-distant immigrant population %         .029         .048         .555           Skill composition	Educational attainment (ISCED)	105	.008	.000
Born abroad        080         .016         .000           Female        029         .009         .001           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        059         .008         .000           Year of birth        082         .015         .000           Age         /         /         .022         .015         .000           Age         /         /         .032         .010         .001           Perceived local ethnic diversity         //         .032         .010         .001           Rural residency         .032         .010         .001         .000         .032         .021         .087           GDP per capita (regional)        005         .023         .838         .016         .044         .013         .001           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .005         .022         .822         .044         .013         .005         .027         .853           Immigrant population (regional)         .015         .016         .346         .017         .037         .011         .044         .013         .059         .822           Refugees per 1000 capita         .005         .029         .048         .555	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	012	.004	.001
Female       .029       .009       .001         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .059       .008       .000         Year of birth       .082       .015       .000         Age       /       .014       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)       .037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population forgional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Sill composition migrants (less skilled)       .013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	Born abroad	080	.016	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      059       .008       .000         Year of birth      082       .015       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population for (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Sill composition nairy skilled)       .037       .071       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .037	Female	029	.009	.001
Year of birth      082       .015       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .017       .016       .346         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Inmigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .612       .420         Unemployment rate       <	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	059	.008	.000
Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .017       .037       .021       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .017       .037       .021       .087         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542       .013       .055       .090       .542	Year of birth	082	.015	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .018       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .011       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate       .001       .037       .983	Age	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .014       .000         Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)      037       .071       .600         GDP per capita      055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita      067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency       .032       .010       .001         Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)      013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621<	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.075	.014	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)      037       .021       .087         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %      018       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .017       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate       .001       .037       .983         Union density       .131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621	Rural residency	.032	.010	.001
GDP per capita (regional)      005       .023       .838         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)      013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488<	Immigrant population % (regional)	037	.021	.087
Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .022       .822         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %      018       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)      013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488 </td <td>GDP per capita (regional)</td> <td>005</td> <td>.023</td> <td>.838</td>	GDP per capita (regional)	005	.023	.838
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .044       .013       .001         Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %      018       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)      013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082	Unemployment rate (regional)	.005	.022	.822
Aging population (regional)       .015       .016       .346         Immigrant population %       .018       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .0071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate       .001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082       .758         Geopolitical threat level       .116       .052       .026 <t< td=""><td>Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)</td><td>.044</td><td>.013</td><td>.001</td></t<>	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.044	.013	.001
Immigrant population %      018       .035       .609         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .027       .853         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      036       .017       .037         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .029       .048       .555         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)      013       .059       .822         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      071       .041       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082       .758         Geopolitical threat level       .116       .052       .026         Post-Soviet country       .006       .106       .385	Aging population (regional)	.015	.016	.346
Refugees per 1000 capita.005.027.853Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $036$ .017.037Cultural-distant immigrant population %.029.048.555Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $013$ .059.822Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $071$ .041.081Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).037.071.600GDP per capita.055.090.542Unemployment rate $001$ .037.983Union density $131$ .127.300Social expenditure per capita.067.135.621Income inequality (GINI) $072$ .047.127Nationalist party rhetoric.035.051.488Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $025$ .082.758Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country $092$ .106.385	Immigrant population %	018	.035	.609
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $036$ $.017$ $.037$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $.029$ $.048$ $.555$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $013$ $.059$ $.822$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $071$ $.041$ $.081$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.037$ $.071$ $.600$ GDP per capita $.055$ $.090$ $.542$ Unemployment rate $001$ $.037$ $.983$ Union density $131$ $.127$ $.300$ Social expenditure per capita $.067$ $.135$ $.621$ Income inequality (GINI) $072$ $.047$ $.127$ Nationalist party rhetoric $.035$ $.051$ $.488$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $025$ $.082$ $.758$ Geopolitical threat level $.116$ $.052$ $.026$ Post-Soviet country $092$ $106$ $.385$	Refugees per 1000 capita	.005	.027	.853
Cultural-distant immigrant population %.029.048.555Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $013$ .059.822Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $071$ .041.081Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.037$ .071.600GDP per capita $.055$ .090.542Unemployment rate $001$ .037.983Union density $131$ .127.300Social expenditure per capita $.067$ .135.621Income inequality (GINI) $072$ .047.127Nationalist party rhetoric $.035$ .051.488Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $025$ .082.758Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country $002$ .066.385	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	036	.017	.037
Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $013$ $.059$ $.822$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $071$ $.041$ $.081$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.037$ $.071$ $.600$ GDP per capita $.055$ $.090$ $.542$ Unemployment rate $001$ $.037$ $.983$ Union density $131$ $.127$ $.300$ Social expenditure per capita $.067$ $.135$ $.621$ Income inequality (GINI) $072$ $.047$ $.127$ Nationalist party rhetoric $.035$ $.051$ $.488$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $025$ $.082$ $.758$ Geopolitical threat level $.116$ $.052$ $.026$ Post-Soviet country $092$ $106$ $.385$	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	.029	.048	.555
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $071$ $.041$ $.081$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.037$ $.071$ $.600$ GDP per capita $.055$ $.090$ $.542$ Unemployment rate $001$ $.037$ $.983$ Union density $131$ $.127$ $.300$ Social expenditure per capita $.067$ $.135$ $.621$ Income inequality (GINI) $072$ $.047$ $.127$ Nationalist party rhetoric $.035$ $.051$ $.488$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $025$ $.082$ $.758$ Geopolitical threat level $.116$ $.052$ $.026$ Post-Soviet country $092$ $106$ $.385$	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	013	.059	.822
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .037       .071       .600         GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082       .758         Geopolitical threat level       .116       .052       .026         Post-Soviet country      092       106       .385	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	071	.041	.081
GDP per capita       .055       .090       .542         Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082       .758         Geopolitical threat level       .116       .052       .026         Post-Soviet country      092       106       .385	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.037	.071	.600
Unemployment rate      001       .037       .983         Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082       .758         Geopolitical threat level       .116       .052       .026         Post-Soviet country      092       106       .385	GDP per capita	.055	.090	.542
Union density      131       .127       .300         Social expenditure per capita       .067       .135       .621         Income inequality (GINI)      072       .047       .127         Nationalist party rhetoric       .035       .051       .488         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      025       .082       .758         Geopolitical threat level       .116       .052       .026         Post-Soviet country      092       106       .385	Unemployment rate	001	.037	.983
Social expenditure per capita.067.135.621Income inequality (GINI)072.047.127Nationalist party rhetoric.035.051.488Migrant integration index (MIPEX)025.082.758Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country092106.385	Union density	131	.127	.300
Income inequality (GINI)072.047.127Nationalist party rhetoric.035.051.488Migrant integration index (MIPEX)025.082.758Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country092106.385	Social expenditure per capita	.067	.135	.621
Nationalist party rhetoric.035.051.488Migrant integration index (MIPEX)025.082.758Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country092106.385	Income inequality (GINI)	072	.047	.127
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)025.082.758Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country092106.385	Nationalist party rhetoric	.035	.051	.488
Geopolitical threat level.116.052.026Post-Soviet country- 092106385	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	025	.082	.758
Post-Soviet country - 092 106 385	Geopolitical threat level	.116	.052	.026
5	Post-Soviet country	092	.106	.385

Table B4a. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS	2002/2014
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## Table B4a. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood			
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	007	.003	.033
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	023	.010	.025
Household income # relative skill composition	015	.005	.002
Household income # social expenditure per capita	006	.006	.308
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.004	.007	.545
Household income # skill composition migrants	.008	.004	.061
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	.003	.007	.735
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	022	.008	.011
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.018	.005	.001
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	025	.014	.066
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	025	.013	.055
Year of birth # age	.011	.009	.207
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.007	.007	.331
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.003	.008	.742
ESS 2002	.025	.089	.778
ESS 2004	/		.,,,,
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.023	.046	.624
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.256
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         .085         .005         .000           Individual economic anxiety         .121         .018         .000           Social mistrust         .154         .014         .000           Political interest         .118         .001         .000           Political ingment (right-leaning)         .145         .022         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .020         .005         .000           Occupational status         .007         .009         .408           Occupational status         .002         .006         .001           Household income (deciles)         .004         .007         .000           Born abroad         .079         .001         .000           Born abroad         .079         .010         .000           Great         .038         .009         .000           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .047         .008         .000           Qage         /         /         .022         .003           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .047         .008         .000           Gold per capita (regional)         .003         .023		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       .085       .015       .000         Individual economic anxiety       .037       .006       .000         Social mistrust       .121       .018       .000         Social mistrust       .124       .014       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .145       .020       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .020       .005       .000         Union member       .007       .009       .408         Occupational status       .020       .006       .001         Household income (deciles)       .004       .007       .006         Bednational attainment (ISCED)       .006       .001       .000         Born abroad       .079       .016       .000         Female       .038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .067       .088       .014       .000         See of birth       .084       .014       .000       .000       .001       .000       .002       .001       .000       .000       .001       .000       .003       .023       .024       .000       .003       .023       .024       .000       .003       .023       .02	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       .037       .006       .000         Sociotopic economic anxiety       .121       .018       .000         Social mistrust       .154       .014       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .145       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .020       .000       .001         Union member       .007       .009       .408         Occupational status       .020       .006       .001         Household income (deciles)       .004       .007       .561         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .006       .000       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .012       .008       .000         Born abroad       .079       .016       .000         Year of birth       .043       .008       .000         Year of birth       .047       .008       .000         Sceidency       .024       .009       .088         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .003       .023       .928         GDP per capita (regional)       .005       .003       .023       .928         Junemployment rate (regional)       .0046       .012       .000	Perceived immigration level	.085	.015	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety       .121       .018       .000         Social mistrust       .154       .014       .000         Political interest       .145       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .020       .005       .000         Union member       .007       .009       .408         Occupational status       .007       .006       .001         Household income (deciles)       .004       .007       .561         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .006       .001       .000         Born abroad       .012       .003       .000         Female       .038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .057       .008       .000         Year of birth       .047       .008       .000         Age       .014       .000       .000         Rereived local ethnic diversity       .047       .008       .000         Rerait population % (regional)       .033       .023       .828         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .033       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .012       .016       .444 <t< td=""><td>Individual economic anxiety</td><td>.037</td><td>.006</td><td>.000</td></t<>	Individual economic anxiety	.037	.006	.000
Social mistrust         .154         .014         .000           Political interest         .018         .003         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .145         .022         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .020         .005         .000           Union member         .007         .009         .408           Occupational status         .007         .007         .009         .408           Occupational status         .007         .007         .000         .001           Household income (deciles)         .012         .003         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         .012         .003         .000           Female         .038         .009         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         .057         .008         .000           Year of birth         .044         .000         .002         .000           Recire colcal ethnic diversity         .047         .008         .000           Recire colcal ethnic diversity         .044         .009         .008           Immigrant population % (regional)         .003         .023         .826           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	Sociotropic economic anxiety	.121	.018	.000
Political interest      108       .003       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .145       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      007       .009       .408         Occupational status      001       .006       .001         Household income (deciles)      004       .007       .561         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .007       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      012       .003       .000         Born abroad      079       .016       .000         Female       .038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      057       .008       .000         Year of birth      047       .008       .000         Age       /       /       .001       .000         Ruring residency      047       .008       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .003       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .014       .038       .708         Refigues per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .77	Social mistrust	.154	.014	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)       .145       .022       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .020       .005       .000         Union member       .007       .009       .408         Occupational status       .002       .006       .001         Household income (deciles)       .004       .007       .561         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .016       .000         Born abroad       .017       .016       .000         Female       .038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .057       .008       .000         Ger       .047       .084       .014       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       .047       .008       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rumigrant population % (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .0012       .016       .444         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .031       .038	Political interest	108	.003	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)        020         .005         .000           Union member        007         .009         .408           Occupational status        004         .007         .561           Educational attainment (ISCED)        096         .007         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .003         .000           Born abroad        079         .016         .000           Female        038         .009         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        057         .008         .000           Year of birth        084         .014         .000           Age         /         /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.145	.022	.000
Union member      007       .009       .408         Occupational status      020       .006       .001         Household income (deciles)       .006       .007       .561         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .012       .003       .000         Born abroad       .079       .016       .000         Female       .038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .057       .008       .000         Year of birth       .047       .008       .000         Age       .04       .004       .007       .013       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rural residency       .024       .009       .008         Immigrant population % (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population fregional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .039       .020       .050         Scill com	Meeting socially (frequency)	020	.005	.000
Occupational status        020         .006         .001           Household income (deciles)        004         .007         .551           Educational attainment (ISCED)        012         .003         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .003         .000           Born abroad        079         .016         .000           Female        038         .009         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        057         .008         .000           Age         /         -         Perceived local ethnic diversity        047         .008         .000           Redig unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .070         .013         .000         .003         .023         .913           Unemployment rate (regional)         .003         .023         .913         .000         .003         .023         .913           Unemployment rate (regional)         .004         .012         .016         .444           Immigrant population (regional)         .012         .016         .444           Immigrant population %         .024         .038         .029         .707           Indigees per 1000 capita         .002         .062 <td>Union member</td> <td>007</td> <td>.009</td> <td>.408</td>	Union member	007	.009	.408
Household income (deciles)      004       .007       .561         Educational attainment (ISCED)      012       .003       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      012       .003       .000         Born abroad      079       .016       .000         Female      038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      057       .084       .014       .000         Age       /       -       .008       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .001       .000       .012       .016       .014       .038       .020       .050       .011 <t< td=""><td>Occupational status</td><td>020</td><td>.006</td><td>.001</td></t<>	Occupational status	020	.006	.001
Educational attainment (ISCED)        096         .007         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        012         .003         .000           Born abroad        079         .016         .000           Female        038         .009         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        057         .008         .000           Year of birth        084         .014         .000           Age         /         /         .007         .013         .000           Received local ethnic diversity        047         .008         .000         .000         Redirency         .024         .009         .008           Immigrant population % (regional)         .003         .023         .913         .000         .003         .023         .826           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .005         .023         .826         .004         .008         .029         .770           Immigrant population (regional)         .012         .016         .444         .008         .029         .770           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)         .012         .016         .444           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior	Household income (deciles)	004	.007	.561
Working experience abroad (>6 months)      012       .003       .000         Born abroad      079       .016       .000         Female      038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      057       .008       .000         Year of birth      047       .008       .000         Age       //         Perceived local ethnic diversity      047       .003       .000         Realing unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rural residency       .024       .009       .008         Immigrant population % (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %      014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population sex skilled)       .000       .077	Educational attainment (ISCED)	096	.007	.000
Born abroad        079         .016         .000           Female        038         .009         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        057         .008         .000           Year of birth        084         .014         .000           Age         /        084         .014         .000           Age         .047         .008         .000         .001         .000           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .070         .013         .000         .002         .009         .008           Immigrant population % (regional)        039         .020         .050         .050         .023         .826           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .005         .023         .826           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .016         .444           Immigrant population (regional)         .012         .016         .444           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)         .032         .019         .089           Cultural-distant immigrant population %         .026         .050         .601           Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)         .002         .062         .976	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	012	.003	.000
Female      038       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      057       .008       .000         Year of birth      084       .014       .000         Age       /       -       .008       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity      047       .008       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rural residency       .024       .009       .083         Immigrant population % (regional)       .033       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .003       .022       .070         Immigrant population %       .003       .022       .010       .012       .001       .444         Immigrant population %       .014       .038       .708       .014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .002       .026       .050       .601       Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007	Born abroad	079	.016	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      057       .008       .000         Year of birth      084       .014       .000         Age       /       -       -         Perceived local ethnic diversity      047       .008       .000         Real residency       .024       .009       .008         Immigrant population % (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .021       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .021       .016       .044         Inmigrant population %       .022       .017       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .002       .022       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .002       .014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770       .031       .055       .041       .058 <td>Female</td> <td>038</td> <td>.009</td> <td>.000</td>	Female	038	.009	.000
Year of birth      084       .014       .000         Age       /	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	057	.008	.000
Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity      047       .008       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rural residency       .024       .009       .008         Immigrant population % (regional)      039       .020       .050         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .001       .011       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .001       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition matives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .077       .093       .405         Untural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998	Year of birth	084	.014	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity      047       .008       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rural residency       .024       .009       .008         Immigrant population % (regional)       .039       .020       .050         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .060       .072       .998         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007       .073       .405         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita<	Age	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .070       .013       .000         Rural residency       .024       .009       .008         Immigrant population % (regional)       .039       .020       .050         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007       .039       .601         Skill composition natives/migrants (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density       .145       .137       .287	Perceived local ethnic diversity	047	.008	.000
Rural residency         .024         .009         .008           Immigrant population % (regional)        039         .020         .050           GDP per capita (regional)         .003         .023         .913           Unemployment rate (regional)         .005         .023         .826           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .046         .012         .000           Aging population (regional)         .012         .016         .444           Immigrant population %        014         .038         .708           Refugees per 1000 capita         .008         .029         .770           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)        032         .019         .089           Cultural-distant immigrant population %         .026         .050         .601           Skill composition migrants (less skilled)         .002         .062         .976           Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)         .007         .039         .852           Union density        145         .137         .287           Social expenditure per capita         .052         .143         .714           Income inequality (GINI)         .091         .050         .069	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.070	.013	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)      039       .020       .050         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %      014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density       .145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)       .052       .053       .330         Nigrant integration index (MIPEX)       .035       .086       .685	Rural residency	.024	.009	.008
GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .023       .913         Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density       .145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)       .051       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .035       .086       .685         Gopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .	Immigrant population % (regional)	039	.020	.050
Unemployment rate (regional)       .005       .023       .826         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %      014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .007       .093       .405         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .053       .330         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086	GDP per capita (regional)	.003	.023	.913
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .046       .012       .000         Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %       .014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .053       .330         Nigrant integration index (MIPEX)       .035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country       .099       .110       .371	Unemployment rate (regional)	.005	.023	.826
Aging population (regional)       .012       .016       .444         Immigrant population %      014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density       .145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country       .099       .110       .371	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.046	.012	.000
Immigrant population %      014       .038       .708         Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country       .099       .110       .371 <td>Aging population (regional)</td> <td>.012</td> <td>.016</td> <td>.444</td>	Aging population (regional)	.012	.016	.444
Refugees per 1000 capita       .008       .029       .770         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      032       .019       .089         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .007       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Immigrant population %	014	.038	.708
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $032$ $.019$ $.089$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $.026$ $.050$ $.601$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $.002$ $.062$ $.976$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $078$ $.041$ $.058$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.000$ $.072$ $.998$ GDP per capita $.007$ $.093$ $.405$ Unemployment rate $.007$ $.039$ $.852$ Union density $145$ $.137$ $.287$ Social expenditure per capita $.052$ $.143$ $.714$ Income inequality (GINI) $091$ $.050$ $.069$ Nationalist party rhetoric $.052$ $.035$ $.330$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $035$ $.086$ $.685$ Geopolitical threat level $.123$ $.055$ $.024$ Post-Soviet country $099$ $.110$ $.371$	Refugees per 1000 capita	.008	.029	.770
Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .026       .050       .601         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .007       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	032	.019	.089
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .002       .062       .976         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .033       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	.026	.050	.601
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      078       .041       .058         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .035       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.002	.062	.976
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .000       .072       .998         GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	078	.041	.058
GDP per capita       .077       .093       .405         Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.000	.072	.998
Unemployment rate       .007       .039       .852         Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	GDP per capita	.077	.093	.405
Union density      145       .137       .287         Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Unemployment rate	.007	.039	.852
Social expenditure per capita       .052       .143       .714         Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Union density	145	.137	.287
Income inequality (GINI)      091       .050       .069         Nationalist party rhetoric       .052       .053       .330         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Social expenditure per capita	.052	.143	.714
Nationalist party rhetoric         .052         .053         .330           Migrant integration index (MIPEX)        035         .086         .685           Geopolitical threat level         .123         .055         .024           Post-Soviet country        099         .110         .371	Income inequality (GINI)	091	.050	.069
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      035       .086       .685         Geopolitical threat level       .123       .055       .024         Post-Soviet country      099       .110       .371	Nationalist party rhetoric	.052	.053	.330
Geopolitical threat level         .123         .055         .024           Post-Soviet country        099         .110         .371	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	035	.086	.685
Post-Soviet country099 .110 .371	Geopolitical threat level	.123	.055	.024
	Post-Soviet country	099	.110	.371

# Table B4b. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002/2014

# Table B4b. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.020	.004	.000
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	004	.004	.342
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	021	.009	.022
Household income # relative skill composition	014	.005	.002
Household income # social expenditure per capita	004	.007	.574
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.003	.007	.679
Household income # skill composition migrants	.007	.005	.216
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	.007	.009	.449
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	018	.009	.045
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.018	.005	.001
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.071
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	025	.013	.050
Year of birth # age	.013	.009	.157
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.008	.007	.237
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	001	.007	.862
ESS 2002	.011	.094	.906
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.022	.047	.633
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.267
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	.089	.016	.000
Individual economic anxiety	.034	.008	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.116	.019	.000
Social mistrust	.147	.015	.000
Political interest	108	.004	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.128	.015	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	025	.006	.000
Union member	013	.013	.302
Occupational status	018	.009	.057
Household income (deciles)	014	.006	.015
Educational attainment (ISCED)	094	.006	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Born abroad	096	.010	.000
Female	038	.008	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	058	.009	.000
Year of birth	096	.020	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	050	.010	.000
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.052	.012	.000
Rural residency	.025	.011	.025
Immigrant population % (regional)	034	.031	.284
GDP per capita (regional)	025	.030	.409
Unemployment rate (regional)	004	.011	.691
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.010	.011	.358
Aging population (regional)	006	.015	.692
Immigrant population %	044	.121	.718
Refugees per 1000 capita	.181	.082	.026
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	196	.056	.001
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	244	.113	.031
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.053	.051	.295
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	.000	.059	.994
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
GDP per capita	.222	.087	.011
Unemployment rate	194	.040	.000
Union density	179	.089	.043
Social expenditure per capita	292	.164	.075
Income inequality (GINI)	095	.071	.180
Nationalist party rhetoric	.075	.059	.203
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	151	.040	.000
Geopolitical threat level	.157	.042	.000
Post-Soviet country	410	.134	.002
	14	he he ees	diment)

 Table B5a. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002

# Table B5a. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.019	.007	.011
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	010	.004	.007
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	017	.008	.036
Household income # relative skill composition	.001	.004	.825
Household income # social expenditure per capita	001	.005	.849
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	001	.005	.841
Household income # skill composition migrants	.005	.005	.280
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	004	.005	.507
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	.004	.006	.463
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.009	.005	.079
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	041	.014	.004
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	014	.018	.433
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.004	.008	.605
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	024	.007	.000
ESS 2002	/		
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.016	.022	.486
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.265
Nindividual			35466
N <sub>regional</sub>			156
N <sub>national</sub>			21

Immigrant friends        176         .011         .000           Perceived immigration level         .087         .014         .000           Sociotropic economic anxiety         .114         .018         .000           Social mistrust         .144         .015         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .120         .013         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)         .001         .001         .001           Occupational status         .017         .009         .053           Household income (deciles)         .011         .001         .005           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .083         .005         .000           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .031         .010         .003           Female         .039         .008         .000         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         .047         .009         .000           Age         /         .010         .033         .010         .003           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .031         .010         .033         .010         .030           Rund residency         .021         .022         .012         .328         .311		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       .087       .014       .000         Individual economic anxiety       .033       .007       .000         Sociat nistrust       .114       .015       .000         Political interest       .093       .004       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .120       .013       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .009       .003       .001         Union member       .012       .011       .311         Occupational status       .017       .009       .054         Household income (deciles)       .011       .006       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .083       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .009       .000         Female       .039       .008       .000       .000       .000       .001       .003         Gend of birth       .031       .010       .033       .000       .000         Age       /       .010       .035       .010       .030         Fereilig unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .010       .010       .036       .016         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .012	Immigrant friends	176	.011	.000
Individual economic anxiety       .039       .007       .000         Sociotropic economic anxiety       .114       .018       .000         Social mistrust      044       .015       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .120       .013       .000         Notin member      002       .001       .011       .011         Occupational status      017       .009       .005         Household income (deciles)      011       .006       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)      083       .000       .000         Year of birth      039       .008       .000         Year of birth      039       .008       .000         Year of birth      031       .010       .003         Age       /	Perceived immigration level	.087	.014	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety       .114       .018       .000         Social mistrust       .144       .015       .000         Political interest       .009       .003       .001         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .120       .013       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .009       .003       .001         Union member       .012       .011       .011       .010         Occupational status       .017       .009       .053         Household income (deciles)       .011       .006       .52         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .083       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .011       .006         Female       .039       .008       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .047       .009       .000         Year of birth       .031       .010       .003         Age       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       .031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .002       .021       .028         Ault native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .0016       .016       .055       <	Individual economic anxiety	.039	.007	.000
Social mistrust       .144       .015       .000         Political interest       .093       .004       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .120       .013       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .001       .001       .001         Union member       .012       .011       .311         Occupational status       .017       .009       .053         Household income (deciles)       .011       .016       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .083       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .009       .000         Female       .039       .000       .000       .000       .001       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .047       .009       .000         Age       /       .010       .003       .010       .003         Sceling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .055       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)       .012       .012       .022       .022       .012       .028         Adult native sex ratio (male	Sociotropic economic anxiety	.114	.018	.000
Political interest      093       .004       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .120       .013       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      003       .001       .011       .311         Occupational status      017       .009       .054         Household income (deciles)      011       .006       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)      083       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .009       .000         Female      039       .008       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      047       .009       .000         Year of birth      073       .011       .006       .003         Age       /       .007       .000       .000         Age       /       .001       .003       .001       .003         Immigrant population % (regional)       .011       .055       .012       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .012       .012       .022       .012       .028         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .655       .657       .000         Immigrant population %	Social mistrust	.144	.015	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)       .120       .013       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .009       .003       .001         Union member       .017       .009       .054         Occupational status       .011       .016       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .083       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .009       .000         Born abroad       .033       .001       .000       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .047       .009       .000         See of birth       .031       .010       .003         Age       /       /       .011       .010       .003         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .055         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .012       .012       .322         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .655         Aging population regional       .005       .166       .810	Political interest	093	.004	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)       .009       .003       .001         Union member       .012       .011       .311         Occupational status       .001       .006       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .083       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.120	.013	.000
Union member      012       .011       .311         Occupational status      017       .009       .054         Household income (deciles)      011       .006       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .083       .000       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .009       .000         Female      039       .008       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      047       .009       .000         Year of birth      031       .010       .003         Age       /       /       .020       .010       .055         Perceived local ethnic diversity      031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .657         Aging population (regional)      005       .116       .967         Aging population (regional)       .004       .011       .655       .839         Cultural-	Meeting socially (frequency)	009	.003	.001
Occupational status        017         .009         .054           Household income (deciles)        011         .006         .052           Educational attainment (ISCED)        038         .009         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .009         .000           Female        039         .008         .000         .000         .007         .009         .000           Calcuational attainment parents (ISCED)        047         .009         .000         .007         .019         .000           Year of birth        031         .010         .003         .020         .010         .003           Ree         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity        031         .010         .003           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .045         .012         .000           Rural residency         .020         .010         .050         .001         .050           Immigrant population % (regional)        012         .012         .022         .472           Unemployment rate (regional)         .004         .011         .655         .639           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .004         .016	Union member	012	.011	.311
Household income (deciles)      011       .006       .052         Educational attainment (ISCED)      083       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad      039       .008       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      047       .009       .000         Year of birth      073       .019       .000         Age       /       /       .020       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      011       .064       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      012       .021       .029       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population fregional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009	Occupational status	017	.009	.054
Educational attainment (ISCED) $083$ $.005$ $.000$ Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad $058$ $.009$ $.000$ Female $039$ $.008$ $.000$ Educational attainment parents (ISCED) $047$ $.009$ $.000$ Year of birth $073$ $.019$ $.000$ Age       /       /       .001 $.003$ Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood $.045$ $.012$ $.000$ Rural residency $.001$ $.055$ $.030$ $.616$ GDP per capita (regional) $015$ $.030$ $.616$ GDP per capita (regional) $012$ $.012$ $.328$ Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) $.004$ $.011$ $.695$ Aging population (regional) $.004$ $.016$ $.810$ Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $.216$ $.057$ $.000$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $.282$ $.108$ $.009$ Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $.011$ $.055$	Household income (deciles)	011	.006	.052
Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /           Born abroad        058         .009         .000           Female        039         .000         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        047         .009         .000           Year of birth        031         .010         .003           Age         /         //           Perceived local ethnic diversity        031         .010         .003           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .045         .012         .000           Rural residency         .020         .010         .050           Immigrant population % (regional)        015         .030         .616           GDP per capita (regional)        012         .012         .022         .472           Unemployment rate (regional)         .004         .011         .695         .810           Immigrant population (regional)         .004         .016         .810           Immigrant population %        025         .116         .967           Refugees per 1000 capita         .189         .079         .016           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)         .216         .057         .000 <t< td=""><td>Educational attainment (ISCED)</td><td>083</td><td>.005</td><td>.000</td></t<>	Educational attainment (ISCED)	083	.005	.000
Born abroad        058         .009         .000           Female        039         .008         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        047         .009         .000           Year of birth        031         .010         .000           Age         /         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .031         .010         .003           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .045         .012         .000           Rural residency         .020         .010         .050           Immigrant population % (regional)        015         .030         .616           GDP per capita (regional)        012         .022         .472           Unemployment rate (regional)         .004         .011         .695           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .004         .016         .810           Immigrant population %        021         .029         .472           Unemployment rate (regional)         .004         .016         .810           Immigrant population %         .005         .116         .967           Refugees per 1000 capita         .189         .079         .016           Immigran	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Female      039       .008       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      047       .009       .000         Year of birth      073       .019       .000         Age       /       -       .010       .003         Perceived local ethnic diversity      031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)      012       .012       .022       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population %	Born abroad	058	.009	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      047       .009       .000         Year of birth      073       .019       .000         Age       /       -       -         Perceived local ethnic diversity      031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)      012       .012       .012       .029         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %       .025       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .282       .108       .009         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .207	Female	039	.008	.000
Year of birth      073       .019       .000         Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity      031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	047	.009	.000
Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity      031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)      012       .029       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita      89       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       ////////////////////////////////////	Year of birth	073	.019	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity      031       .010       .003         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %       .005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .207       .039       .000         Unon density       .174       .084       .037       .000       .069       .190	Age	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .045       .012       .000         Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)       .012       .029       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .282       .108       .009         Skill composition naity (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       //       .020       .020       .020       .036       .048       .037         Unemployment rate       .207       .039       .000       .00	Perceived local ethnic diversity	031	.010	.003
Rural residency       .020       .010       .050         Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)      021       .029       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       //	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.045	.012	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)      015       .030       .616         GDP per capita (regional)       .021       .029       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population (regional)       .004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       //       .022       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .174       .084       .037         Unemployment rate       .	Rural residency	.020	.010	.050
GDP per capita (regional)      021       .029       .472         Unemployment rate (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .       .022         GDP per capita       .174       .084       .037       .000         Union density       .195       .855       .022       .022         Social expenditure per capita       .280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)       .009       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric <td>Immigrant population % (regional)</td> <td>015</td> <td>.030</td> <td>.616</td>	Immigrant population % (regional)	015	.030	.616
Unemployment rate (regional)      012       .012       .328         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       //       .000       .000         Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000         Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)       .009       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .140       .037       .000	GDP per capita (regional)	021	.029	.472
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .004       .011       .695         Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .027       .039       .000         Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000       .010       .055       .839         Unon density      195       .085       .022       .022       .026       .048       .037         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190       .160       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .	Unemployment rate (regional)	012	.012	.328
Aging population (regional)      004       .016       .810         Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .       .       .0207       .039       .000         Unemployment rate       .207       .039       .000       .011       .055       .022         Social expenditure per capita       .174       .084       .037         Income inequality (GINI)       .090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .140 <td>Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)</td> <td>.004</td> <td>.011</td> <td>.695</td>	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.004	.011	.695
Immigrant population %      005       .116       .967         Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .009         Minon density       .174       .084       .037         Unemployment rate       .207       .039       .000         Union density       .195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita       .280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)       .090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000	Aging population (regional)	004	.016	.810
Refugees per 1000 capita       .189       .079       .016         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)      216       .057       .000         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .         GDP per capita       .174       .084       .037         Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000         Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000	Immigrant population %	005	.116	.967
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $216$ $.057$ $.000$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $282$ $.108$ $.009$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $.036$ $.048$ $.458$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $.011$ $.055$ $.839$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)//GDP per capita $.174$ $.084$ $.037$ Unemployment rate $207$ $.039$ $.000$ Union density $195$ $.085$ $.022$ Social expenditure per capita $280$ $.160$ $.080$ Income inequality (GINI) $090$ $.069$ $.190$ Nationalist party rhetoric $.059$ $.056$ $.296$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $140$ $.037$ $.000$ Post-Soviet country $430$ $.130$ $.001$	Refugees per 1000 capita	.189	.079	.016
Cultural-distant immigrant population %      282       .108       .009         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .048       .458         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .         GDP per capita       .174       .084       .037         Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000         Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	216	.057	.000
Skill composition migrants (less skilled).036.048.458Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled).011.055.839Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita.174.084.037Unemployment rate207.039.000Union density195.085.022Social expenditure per capita280.160.080Income inequality (GINI)090.069.190Nationalist party rhetoric.059.056.296Migrant integration index (MIPEX)140.037.000Geopolitical threat level.149.041.000Post-Soviet country430.130.001	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	282	.108	.009
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .011       .055       .839         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       /       /         GDP per capita       .174       .084       .037         Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000         Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.036	.048	.458
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /         GDP per capita       .174       .084       .037         Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000         Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	.011	.055	.839
GDP per capita.174.084.037Unemployment rate207.039.000Union density195.085.022Social expenditure per capita280.160.080Income inequality (GINI)090.069.190Nationalist party rhetoric.059.056.296Migrant integration index (MIPEX)140.037.000Geopolitical threat level.149.041.000Post-Soviet country430.130.001	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
Unemployment rate      207       .039       .000         Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	GDP per capita	.174	.084	.037
Union density      195       .085       .022         Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	Unemployment rate	207	.039	.000
Social expenditure per capita      280       .160       .080         Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	Union density	195	.085	.022
Income inequality (GINI)      090       .069       .190         Nationalist party rhetoric       .059       .056       .296         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	Social expenditure per capita	280	.160	.080
Nationalist party rhetoric.059.056.296Migrant integration index (MIPEX)140.037.000Geopolitical threat level.149.041.000Post-Soviet country430.130.001	Income inequality (GINI)	090	.069	.190
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      140       .037       .000         Geopolitical threat level       .149       .041       .000         Post-Soviet country      430       .130       .001	Nationalist party rhetoric	.059	.056	.296
Geopolitical threat level         .149         .041         .000           Post-Soviet country        430         .130         .001	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	140	.037	.000
Post-Soviet country430 .130 .001	Geopolitical threat level	.149	.041	.000
	Post-Soviet country	430	.130	.001

# Table B5b. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002

# Table B5b. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived local ethnic diversity # feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.018	.009	.031
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	010	.003	.001
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	015	.007	.029
Household income # relative skill composition	003	.005	.539
Household income # social expenditure per capita	.003	.006	.598
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.002	.007	.791
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.006	.610
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	.003	.008	.726
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	.006	.006	.305
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.014	.005	.010
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	038	.013	.002
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	017	.017	.320
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.002	.007	.760
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	024	.006	.000
ESS 2002	/		
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.007	.021	.723
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.296
Nindividual			35466
N <sub>regional</sub>			156
N <sub>national</sub>			21

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust	/		
Political interest	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)	.098	.021	.000
Union member	/		
Occupational status	.009	.010	.336
Household income (deciles)	.039	.010	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)	.109	.011	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Born abroad	.215	.024	.000
Female	020	.009	.034
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/		
Year of birth	.140	.024	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	.116	.014	.000
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	043	.006	.000
Rural residency	/		
Immigrant population % (regional)	.085	.023	.000
GDP per capita (regional)	.058	.015	.000
Unemployment rate (regional)	026	.034	.453
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Aging population (regional)	. /		
Immigrant population %	.187	.083	.025
Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	. /		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	056	.043	.198
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/ /	10.10	1170
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	, /		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	, /		
GDP per capita	- 114	059	052
Unemployment rate	- 033	040	407
Union density	.000	.010	,
Social expenditure per capita	, /		
Income inequality (GINI)	, /		
Nationalist party rhetoric	, /		
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	087	038	021
Geopolitical threat level	.007	.050	.041
Post-Soviet country	/		
·	/	(to be cor	tinued)

# Table B6. Predictors immigrant friends, ESS 2002

## Table B6. (continued)

	Coef. St	d. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi- grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	/		
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	042	.038	.269
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.231
Nindividual			35466
N <sub>regional</sub>			156
N <sub>national</sub>			21

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/	1	
Perceived immigration level	/	,	
Individual economic anxiety	/	,	
Sociotropic economic anxiety	/	1	
Social mistrust	/	1	
Political interest	/	,	
Political alignment (right-leaning)	/	,	
Meeting socially (frequency)	/	1	
Union member	/	1	
Occupational status	042	.006	.000
Household income (deciles)	035	.016	.035
Educational attainment (ISCED)	149	.019	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/	,	
Born abroad	.024	.005	.000
Female	.135	.017	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	040	.008	.000
Year of birth	.080	.016	.000
Age	/	,	
Perceived local ethnic diversity	.085	.011	.000
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	/	,	
Rural residency		,	
Immigrant population % (regional)	.085	.025	.001
GDP per capita (regional)	033	.024	.168
Unemployment rate (regional)	.010	.014	.477
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/	,	
Aging population (regional)	/	,	
Immigrant population %	075	.073	.307
Refugees per 1000 capita	039	.035	.269
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/	1	
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	004	.045	.933
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/	1	
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	,	,	
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.409	.085	.000
GDP per capita	045	.072	.535
Unemployment rate	031	.047	.509
Union density	/	,	
Social expenditure per capita	,	,	
Income inequality (GINI)	,	,	
Nationalist party rhetoric	,	,	
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	,	,	
Geopolitical threat level	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	,	
Post-Soviet country	,	,	
	,	(to be con	ntinued)

## Table B7. Predictors alienation fears, ESS 2002/2014

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## Table B7. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.007	.037	.844
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	022	.051	.664
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.157
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)			23 (41)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         /           Social mistrust         /           Political interest         /           Political alignment (right-leaning)         /           Meeting socially (frequency)        069         .007         .000           Union member         .010         .004         .007         .001           Occupational status        070         .011         .000         .006         .007         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)        066         .017         .000         .008         .000           Female        011         .005         .023         .020         .023         .023         .023         .023         .023         .023         .023         .023         .020         .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         .067         .007         .000         Rura residency         .077         .013         .604           Unemployation % (regional)         .028         .015         .064         .067         .007         .000           Rura residency         /         /         .073         .047         .018		Coef. S	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      069       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .004       .007         Occupational status      070       .011       .000         Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .008       .000         Female      011       .008       .000       .001       .008       .000         Female       .011       .008       .000       .023       .253       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Y       Year of birth       /       .       .022       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .007       .000         Rural residency       .017       .000       .013       .604         Unemployment rate (regional)       .007       .013       .604       .017       .000         Age       .017       .013       .604       .017	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      066       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .004       .007       .000         Coccupational status      070       .011       .000       .000         Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)	Individual economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      069       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .004       .007         Occupational status      070       .011       .000         Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      046       .0.17       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      069       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .004       .007         Occupational status      070       .011       .000         Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .008       .000         Female      011       .005       .023         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .000       .000         Year of birth       /       .000       .000       .000         Age       .023       .020       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .007       .013       .604         Unemployment rate (regional)       .028       .015       .064         GDP per capita (regional)       .07       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .07       .013       .604         Unemployment rate (regional)<	Social mistrust	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      069       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .004       .007         Occupational status      070       .011       .000         Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (-6 months)       //       .005       .023         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .005       .023         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .005       .023         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .007       .000         Rege       .023       .002       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .011       .005       .064         GDP per capita (regional)       .008       .007       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .007       .000       .0013       .604         Inemigrant population % (regional)       .007       .000	Political interest	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)      069       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .004       .007         Occupational status      070       .011       .000         Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .001       .008       .000         Female      011       .005       .023       .020       .233         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Union member       .010       .004       .007         Occupational status       .070       .011       .000         Household income (deciles)       .316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .000       .000         Female       .011       .005       .023         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Meeting socially (frequency)	069	.007	.000
Occupational status        070         .011         .000           Household income (deciles)        316         .009         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)        066         .017         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .000           Born abroad         .040         .008         .000           Female        011         .005         .023           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /           Year of birth         /         .003         .023           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         .007         .000           Rerail population % (regional)         .066         .017         .000           Rural residency         /         .007         .000           Rural residency         /         .007         .013           Immigrant population % (regional)         .028         .015         .064           GDP per capita (regional)         .007         .011         .000           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .007         .013         .604           Unemployment rate (regional)         .073         .047         .118           Refugees per	Union member	.010	.004	.007
Household income (deciles)      316       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .000       .008       .000         Female      011       .005       .023       .020       .253         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Occupational status	070	.011	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      066       .017       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .010       .008       .000         Female      011       .005       .023       .020       .253         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .007       .007       .000         Year of birth       /	Household income (deciles)	316	.009	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .040       .008       .000         Female      011       .005       .023         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .020       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .007       .000         Real residency       /       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .015       .064         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .078       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .073       .047       .118         Refugees per 1000 capita       /	Educational attainment (ISCED)	066	.017	.000
Born abroad         .040         .008         .000           Female        011         .005         .023           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /           Year of birth         /         /           Age         .023         .020         .253           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /         .007         .000           Rural residency         /         /         .007         .000         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)         .028         .015         .064         .007         .013         .604           Unemployment rate (regional)         .007         .013         .604         .007         .013         .604           Unemployment rate (regional)         .078         .017         .000         .007         .010         .000           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         /         /         .007         .017         .000           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .073         .047         .118         .05         .047         .118           Refugees per 1000 capita         .073         .047         .118         .000         .017         .000         .017	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Female      011       .005       .023         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .023       .020       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .067       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .028       .015       .064         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .073       .047       .118         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .118       .118         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .118       .073       .047       .118         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .118	Born abroad	.040	.008	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)/Year of birth/Age.023.020.253Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.067.007.000Rural residency//Immigrant population % (regional).028.015.064GDP per capita (regional).007.013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.073.047Aging population (regional)//.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.017.000Aging population (regional)/.017.000Mumigrant population %.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita/.017.000Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.Cultural-distant immigrant population %/.Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).004.021ODP per capita.307.073.000Unemployment rate.006.042.073Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integ	Female	011	.005	.023
Year of birth       /         Age       .023       .020       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .067       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .028       .015       .064         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .078       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .       .	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/		
Age       .023       .020       .253         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .067       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .028       .015       .064         GDP per capita (regional)       .007       .013       .604         Unemployment rate (regional)       .078       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .017       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .017       .000         Aging population (regional)       /       .017       .000         Immigrant population %       .021       .017       .118         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .021       .863         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       /       .021       .863	Year of birth	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.067.007.000Rural residency//.015.064GDP per capita (regional).028.015.064.007.013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000.007.0013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000.007.013.604Aging population (regional)//.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita//.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita//.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita/Nultiral-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita<	Age	.023	.020	.253
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.067.007.000Rural residency//Immigrant population % (regional).028.015.064GDP per capita (regional).007.013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.073.047.118.118Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita004.021.863Union density076.042.073.002.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073.003.Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet countryNotionalist party rhetoricNationalist party rheto	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).028.015.064GDP per capita (regional).007.013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita/.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita.073.007.017.017Cultural-distant immigrant population %Skill composition migrants (less skilled)Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)004.021GDP per capita004.021.863.007Union density.020.012.088.083Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)Nationalist party rhetoricMigrant integration index (MIPEX)Geopolitical threat levelPost-Soviet country	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.067	.007	.000
Immigrant population % (regional).028.015.064GDP per capita (regional).007.013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.073.047.118Aging population (regional).073.047.118.017.000Mefugees per 1000 capita/.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita/.073.047.118Relative skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.073.000Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).004.021.863Union density.002.012.088.032.033Social expenditure per capita.076.042.073.073Income inequality (GINI)//Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Post-Soviet country//Post-Soviet country//Income inequality country//Nationalist party rhetoric//Nationalist party rhetoric//	Rural residency	/		
GDP per capita (regional)007.013.604Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.073.047.118Aging population (regional).073.047.118.118Refugees per 1000 capita/.073.047.118Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.073.047.118Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.073.000Unemployment rate.004.021.863.863Union density.020.012.088.0863Social expenditure per capita.076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet countrySoviet countryRefuge construction regionalSoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet country	Immigrant population % (regional)	.028	.015	.064
Unemployment rate (regional).078.017.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)//Immigrant population %.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita///Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)///Cultural-distant immigrant population %///Skill composition migrants (less skilled)///Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.073.000Unemployment rate307.073.000.0012.863Union density020.012.088.017.003Social expenditure per capita076.042.073.003Income inequality (GINI)//.017.017.017Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.017Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//.021.021Post-Soviet country//.021.021.021	GDP per capita (regional)	007	.013	.604
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.073Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073Union density.020.012Social expenditure per capita076.042Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Gopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Unemployment rate (regional)	.078	.017	.000
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita//.073.047.118Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %//Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/ <td< td=""><td>Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)</td><td>/</td><td></td><td></td></td<>	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %.073.047.118Refugees per 1000 capita//.073.047.118Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %//Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073.000.001.863Union density004.021.863.042.073.003.000 </td <td>Aging population (regional)</td> <td>/</td> <td></td> <td></td>	Aging population (regional)	/		
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073Unemployment rate004.021Notion density020.012Social expenditure per capita076.042Income inequality (GINI)/Vationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population %	.073	.047	.118
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073Unemployment rate004.021Notion density020.012Social expenditure per capita076.042Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073Unemployment rate004.021Union density020.012Social expenditure per capita076.042Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073.000.001.001Unemployment rate004.021.020.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073.000.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)//.073Nationalist party rhetoric/.074.042Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.042.073Post-Soviet country/.042.042	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/		
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073.000Unemployment rate004.021.863Union density020.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)//.012Nationalist party rhetoric/.073.000Geopolitical threat level/.021.863Post-Soviet country/.020.012.088Social expenditure per capita.076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)/.021.021.021Nationalist party rhetoric/.021.021.021Income inequality (GINI)/.021.042.073Income inequality (GINI)/.042.073Income inequality (GINI)/.042.073Income inequality (GINI)/.042.073Income inequality (Integration index (MIPEX)/.042.042Income inequality (Integration index (Integra	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita307.073.000Unemployment rate004.021.863Union density020.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)//.012Nationalist party rhetoric/.073.000Geopolitical threat level/.020.012Post-Soviet country/.020.012	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
GDP per capita307.073.000Unemployment rate004.021.863Union density020.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Post-Soviet country///	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
Unemployment rate004.021.863Union density020.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	GDP per capita	307	.073	.000
Union density020.012.088Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	Unemployment rate	004	.021	.863
Social expenditure per capita076.042.073Income inequality (GINI)//Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country/	Union density	020	.012	.088
Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Social expenditure per capita	076	.042	.073
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Income inequality (GINI)	/		
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Post-Soviet country /	Geopolitical threat level	/		
	Post-Soviet country	/		

# Table B8a. Predictors individual economic anxiety, ESS 2002–2016

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	050	.010	.000
ESS 2004	033	.008	.000
ESS 2006	016	.004	.000
ESS 2010	005	.005	.283
ESS 2012	.009	.007	.203
ESS 2014	008	.008	.277
ESS 2016	012	.010	.224
Constant	.017	.047	.716
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.265
Nindividual		3	08430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         /           Social mistrust         /           Political interest         /           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .           Meeting socially (frequency)        065         .007         .000           Union member         .002         .007         .830           Occupational status        061         .010         .000           Household income (deciles)        313         .014         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)        059         .019         .002           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      065       .007       .000         Union member      002       .007       .830         Occupational status      061       .010       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .001       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .021       .008       .009         Vear of birth       /       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .021       .008       .009         Rungrant population % (regional)       .0015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Unmigrant population % (regional)       .005       .024       .823	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      065       .007       .000         Union member      002       .007       .830         Occupational status      061       .010       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       Born abroad       .034       .010       .001         Female      021       .008       .009       Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       Y         Vear of birth       /       /       Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       Immigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094       .020       .356         Unemployment rate (regional)       .035       .021       .041       .000       .024       .823         Refugees p	Perceived immigration level	/	,	
Sociatropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)	Individual economic anxiety	/	,	
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      065       .007       .000         Union member      002       .007       .830         Occupational status      061       .010       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      034       .010       .001         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/	,	
Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      065       .007       .000         Union member      002       .007       .830         Occupational status      061       .010       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Aging population (regional)       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .021       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .243       .072       .001         Immigrant population matives/migrants (migrant	Social mistrust	/	,	
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      065       .007       .000         Union member      061       .010       .000         Occupational status      011       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (-6 months)       /       //       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .008       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .008       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       .008       .000         Inemelyoment rate (regional)       .075       .008       .000         Aging population % (regional)       .011       .000       .001         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .010       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .24 <td< td=""><td>Political interest</td><td>/</td><td>,</td><td></td></td<>	Political interest	/	,	
Meeting socially (frequency)      065       .007       .000         Union member      002       .007       .830         Occupational status      061       .010       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .008       .009         Educational attainment (ISCED)       /       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .021       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .022       .487         Year of birth       /       .021       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       .0015       .022       .487         Immigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Aging population (regional)       .005       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .005       .024       .823         Refugees p	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/	,	
Union member      002       .007       .830         Occupational status      061       .010       .000         Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Meeting socially (frequency)	065	.007	.000
Occupational status        061         .010         .000           Household income (deciles)        313         .014         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)        059         .019         .002           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .001         .001           Born abroad         .034         .010         .001         .001         .001           Female        021         .008         .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         .015         .022         .487           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         .015         .022         .487           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         .008         .000           Rural residency         /         .018         .020         .356           Unemployment rate (regional)         .035         .021         .094           GDP per capita (regional)         .035         .021         .094           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .075         .016         .000           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .021         .003         .024         .823           Refugees per 1000 capita         .021         .02	Union member	002	.007	.830
Household income (deciles)      313       .014       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .034       .010       .001         Female      021       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Aging population (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .005       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .005       .024       .823         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .       .       .         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       /       .       .       . </td <td>Occupational status</td> <td>061</td> <td>.010</td> <td>.000</td>	Occupational status	061	.010	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      059       .019       .002         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .034       .010       .001         Female      021       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .011       .000         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Oddult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .005       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       .07       .016       .027       .021         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .024	Household income (deciles)	313	.014	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .034       .010       .001         Female      021       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .015       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094       .000       .015       .020       .356         Unemployment rate (regional)       .035       .021       .094       .000       .015       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .005       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .000       .019       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .000       .019	Educational attainment (ISCED)	059	.019	.002
Born abroad         .034         .010         .001           Female         .021         .008         .009           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /           Year of birth         /         /           Age         .015         .022         .487           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .075         .008         .000           Rural residency         /         /         .018         .020         .356           Unemployment rate (regional)         .035         .021         .004         .005         .024         .823           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .005         .024         .823           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .000         .019         .823           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .024         .823           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .000         .019         .833           Cultural-distant immigrant population %         /         .024         .823           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .000         .019         .983           Unimigrant population migrants (less skill	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/	,	
Female      021       .008       .009         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .015       .020       .356         Unemployment rate (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .005       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       /            Kefugees per 1000 capita       /       /             Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /             Refugees per 1000 capita <td< td=""><td>Born abroad</td><td>.034</td><td>.010</td><td>.001</td></td<>	Born abroad	.034	.010	.001
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /         Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .072       .356         Unemployment rate (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .021       .001         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       /       /       .022       .011         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .024       .823         GDP per capita      243       .072       .001	Female	021	.008	.009
Year of birth       /         Age       .015       .022       .487         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .075       .008       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .035       .021       .094         GDP per capita (regional)       .016       .020       .356         Unemployment rate (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .079       .011       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .005       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       .0       .015       .024       .823         Refugees per 1000 capita       .0       .015       .024       .823         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .027       .001         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .000       .019       .983         Unon density       .180       .069       .010         Social expenditure per capita       .027       .076       .719         Income inequality (GINI)       .0       .019	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/	,	
Age.015.022.487Perceived local ethnic diversity//Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.075.008.000Rural residency///Immigrant population % (regional).035.021.094GDP per capita (regional).019.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional).079.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Immigrant population (regional)/024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/ODP per capita243.072.001.010.019.983Union density180.069.010.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)// </td <td>Year of birth</td> <td>/</td> <td>,</td> <td></td>	Year of birth	/	,	
Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.075.008.000Rural residency//.035.021.094GDP per capita (regional).035.021.094.018.020.356Unemployment rate (regional).079.011.000.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/ <td>Age</td> <td>.015</td> <td>.022</td> <td>.487</td>	Age	.015	.022	.487
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.075.008.000Rural residency//.011.094GDP per capita (regional).018.020.356Unemployment rate (regional).079.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita.005.024.823Relative skill composition migrants (less skilled)Cultural-distant immigrant population %Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita243.072.001.000Unemployment rate.000.019.983.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)Nationalist party rhetoricMigrant integration index (MIPEX)Post-Soviet countryPost-Soviet countryNatio	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/	,	
Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).035.021.094GDP per capita (regional).018.020.356Unemployment rate (regional).079.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita.005.024.823Refusitant immigrant population %/.005.024.823Cultural-distant immigrant population %/.007.011.000Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.000.019.983Union density.180.069.010.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/.027.076.719Income inequality rhetoric/.027.076.719Nationalist party rhetoric/.027.076.719Geopolitic	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.075	.008	.000
Immigrant population % (regional).035.021.094GDP per capita (regional)018.020.356Unemployment rate (regional).079.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita/.005.024.823Refusition migrant population %/.005.024.823Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.005.024Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.001.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/.180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/.180.027.076Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.180.027.076Post-Soviet country/.243.243.243Refugees control/.243.243.243<	Rural residency	/	,	
GDP per capita (regional)018.020.356Unemployment rate (regional).079.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//.005Aging population (regional)/.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita//.005.024.823Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.005.024.823Cultural-distant immigrant population %/.005.024.823Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.000.019.983Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).000.019.983.010Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719.719Income inequality (GINI)/.027.076.719Nationalist party rhetoric//.027.076Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//.027.076Post-Soviet country///.027.076	Immigrant population % (regional)	.035	.021	.094
Unemployment rate (regional).079.011.000Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)//Immigrant population %.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita///Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//.Cultural-distant immigrant population %//.Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)Post-Soviet country	GDP per capita (regional)	018	.020	.356
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %//Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)//Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.001ODP per capita243.072.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)//.010Nationalist party rhetoric/.027.076Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.027.076Geopolitical threat level/.027.076Post-Soviet country.027.026.027	Unemployment rate (regional)	.079	.011	.000
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita//.005.024.823Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//.005.024.823Cultural-distant immigrant population %//.005.024.823Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.006.010.010.021.010Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.000.019.983.001.000.019.983.010.027.076.719.010.027.076.719.719.011.027.076.719.719.011.027.076.719.719.011.027.076.719.719.011.027.076.719.719.011.027.076.719.710.719.719.7119.7119<	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/	,	
Immigrant population %.005.024.823Refugees per 1000 capita///.005.024.823Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)///.005.024.823Cultural-distant immigrant population %///.005.024.823Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.005.024.823Relative skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.005.024.823Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)//.006.019.026.010Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).000.019.983.010.000.019.983.010.0069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719.026.719.027.076.719.719.010.027.076.719.719.010.027.076.719.719.027.076.719.7119.7119.7119.7119.7119 <t< td=""><td>Aging population (regional)</td><td>/</td><td>,</td><td></td></t<>	Aging population (regional)	/	,	
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072Unemployment rate.000.019.983.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Post-Soviet country//	Immigrant population %	.005	.024	.823
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072Unemployment rate.000.019Social expenditure per capita.180.069Social expenditure per capita.027.076Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Refugees per 1000 capita	/	,	
Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072Unemployment rate.000.019.983.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)//.027.076Nationalist party rhetoric//.010Geopolitical threat level/.027.076Post-Soviet country//.027.010	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/	,	
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)//.027.076Nationalist party rhetoric//.010Geopolitical threat level/.027.076Post-Soviet country//.027.076	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/	,	
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)//.027Nationalist party rhetoric/.010Geopolitical threat level/.027Post-Soviet country.010.010	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/	,	
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita243.072.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)//.010Nationalist party rhetoric/.027.076Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.010.010Post-Soviet country/.027.076	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/	,	
GDP per capita243.072.001Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)//.010Nationalist party rhetoric/.076.719Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.010.010Post-Soviet country.027.076.719	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/	,	
Unemployment rate.000.019.983Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	GDP per capita	243	.072	.001
Union density180.069.010Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country//	Unemployment rate	.000	.019	.983
Social expenditure per capita.027.076.719Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country/	Union density	180	.069	.010
Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Social expenditure per capita	.027	.076	.719
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Income inequality (GINI)	/	,	
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Nationalist party rhetoric	/	,	
Geopolitical threat level / / Post-Soviet country /	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/	,	
Post-Soviet country /	Geopolitical threat level	/	,	
	Post-Soviet country	/	,	

# Table B8b. Predictors individual economic anxiety, ESS 2002/2014

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.002	.044	.968
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	005	.051	.920
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.226
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

Coef. Std. Err. P	>z
Immigrant friends /	
Perceived immigration level /	
Individual economic anxiety /	
Sociotropic economic anxiety /	
Social mistrust /	
Political interest /	
Political alignment (right-leaning) /	
Meeting socially (frequency)066 .007	.000
Union member003 .007	.714
Occupational status059 .011	.000
Household income (deciles)309 .014	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)059 .019	.002
Working experience abroad (>6 months) /	
Born abroad .028 .009	.002
Female018 .008	.026
Educational attainment parents (ISCED) /	
Year of birth /	
Age .021 .021	.308
Perceived local ethnic diversity .054 .011	.000
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.065.008	.000
Rural residency /	
Immigrant population % (regional) .024 .021	.251
GDP per capita (regional)025 .020	.224
Unemployment rate (regional) .077 .011	.000
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) /	
Aging population (regional) /	
Immigrant population % .003 .023	.912
Refugees per 1000 capita /	
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) /	
Cultural-distant immigrant population % /	
Skill composition migrants (less skilled) /	
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) /	
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) /	
GDP per capita246 .077	.001
Unemployment rate .001 .020	.955
Union density170 .067	.011
Social expenditure per capita .034 .075	.652
Income inequality (GINI) /	
Nationalist party rhetoric /	
Migrant integration index (MIPEX) /	
Geopolitical threat level /	
Post-Soviet country /	

# Table B8c. Predictors individual economic anxiety, ESS 2002/2014

## Table B8c. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	016	.003	.000
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.006	.043	.895
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	002	.051	.971
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.228
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)			23 (41)

Immigrant friends /	
Perceived immigration level /	
Individual economic anxiety /	
Sociotropic economic anxiety /	
Social mistrust /	
Political interest /	
Political alignment (right-leaning) /	
Meeting socially (frequency)037 .006 .0	000
Union member .021 .006 .0	000
Occupational status045 .005 .0	000
Household income (deciles)058 .008 .0	000
Educational attainment (ISCED)015 .007 .0	032
Working experience abroad (>6 months) /	
Born abroad063 .008 .0	000
Female .012 .008 .1	141
Educational attainment parents (ISCED) /	
Year of birth /	
Age .014 .012 .2	221
Perceived local ethnic diversity /	
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood .073 .011 .0	000
Rural residency /	
Immigrant population % (regional) .059 .041 .1	155
GDP per capita (regional)107 .059 .0	070
Unemployment rate (regional)017 .019 .3	387
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) /	
Aging population (regional) /	
Immigrant population % .598 .234 .0	011
Refugees per 1000 capita /	
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) /	
Cultural-distant immigrant population % /	
Skill composition migrants (less skilled) /	
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) /	
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) /	
GDP per capita241 .207 .2	245
Unemployment rate .259 .045 .0	000
Union density042 .033 .1	197
Social expenditure per capita .304 .184 .0	099
Income inequality (GINI) /	
Nationalist party rhetoric /	
Migrant integration index (MIPEX) /	
Geopolitical threat level /	
Post-Soviet country /	

 Table B9a. Predictors sociotropic economic anxiety, ESS 2002–2016

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	429	.154	.005
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.009	.043	.843
ESS 2004	074	.025	.004
ESS 2006	123	.018	.000
ESS 2010	127	.028	.000
ESS 2012	145	.038	.000
ESS 2014	185	.040	.000
ESS 2016	241	.048	.000
Constant	.421	.253	.096
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.059
Nindividual		3	08430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust	/		
Political interest	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)	041	.008	.000
Union member	.022	.007	.002
Occupational status	040	.004	.000
Household income (deciles)	053	.007	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)	021	.005	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Born abroad	069	.006	.000
Female	.016	.013	.224
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/		
Year of birth	/		
Age	.006	.012	.621
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.076	.007	.000
Rural residency	/		
Immigrant population % (regional)	.035	.029	.231
GDP per capita (regional)	069	.041	.092
Unemployment rate (regional)	016	.026	.538
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Aging population (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %	.397	.167	.017
Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
GDP per capita	648	.348	.063
Unemployment rate	.151	.075	.044
Union density	/		
Social expenditure per capita	/		
Income inequality (GINI)	/		
Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Geopolitical threat level	/		
Post-Soviet country	/		

# Table B9b. Predictors sociotropic economic anxiety, ESS 2002/2014

## Table B9b. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	274	.107	.010
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.105	.120	.383
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.131	.133	.322
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.117
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

Immigrant friends       /         Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .         Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status      039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status      039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      011       .015       .006         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .014       .100         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rumigrant population % (regional)       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociatorpic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status       .039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)       .052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment (ISCED)       /       /       .000       .000       .001       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000         Reading unsfa after dark in neighborhood       .071       .001       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000         Reading unsfa after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000       .000         Rural residency       //       .017       .026       .509       .322       .017	Perceived immigration level	/	,	
Sociatropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status       .039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)       .052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .006       .000         Born abroad       .072       .006       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Individual economic anxiety	/	,	
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status      039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .005       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000         Rural residency       //       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000         Rural residency       //       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000         Rural residency       //       .010       .012       .444	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/	,	
Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status      039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      012       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .017       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .017       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       //       .011       .005       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .026       .509       .165       .016         Refuges per 1000 capita       /       //       .165       .016         Refuges per 1000 capita       /       .165       .016         Refuges per 1000 capit	Social mistrust	/	,	
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status      039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .006       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .007       .001       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000       .000       .001       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000         Rueral residency       /       //       .007       .000       .000       .001       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005       .000       .011       .000       .000       .000       .001       .002       .032       .011       .02	Political interest	/	,	
Meeting socially (frequency)      042       .008       .000         Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status      039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)       .052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment (ISCED)       /       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/	,	
Union member       .022       .007       .002         Occupational status       .039       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)       .052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .012       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .017       .014       .210         Born abroad       .072       .006       .000       .001       Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Meeting socially (frequency)	042	.008	.000
Occupational status        039         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)        052         .007         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)        021         .005         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .007         .000           Born abroad        072         .006         .000         .000         .001         .011         .211         .210         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /         .010         .012         .444           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .032         .011         .005         .000           Refue generate after dark in neighborhood         .071         .007         .000           Rural residency         /         .017         .028         .029         .332           GDP per capita (regional)         .028         .029         .332         .010         .017         .026         .509           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         ./         .017         .026         .509           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         ./              Vulnemployment rate (regional)	Union member	.022	.007	.002
Household income (deciles)      052       .007       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad      072       .006       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .029       .332         Unemployment rate (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       <	Occupational status	039	.004	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      021       .005       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad      072       .006       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .017       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .042       .082       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .165       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       /	Household income (deciles)	052	.007	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad      072       .006       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       Age         Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .007         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       //       .010       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .029       .332       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .165       .016       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .165       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .165       .016         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .165	Educational attainment (ISCED)	021	.005	.000
Born abroad      072       .006       .000         Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .017       .002       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .029       .332       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)      017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .016       .016       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       .016       .165       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       .028       .029       .325       .07	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/	,	
Female       .017       .014       .210         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adging population (regional)       .       .       .       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .       .       .       .509         Adiging population (regional)       .       .       .       .509         Adiut native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .       .       .       .         Immigrant population %	Born abroad	072	.006	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /         Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /	Female	.017	.014	.210
Year of birth       /         Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       //         Immigrant population % (regional)       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .016         Aging population (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .016         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .017       .026       .016         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .016       .016       .016         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .016       .016       .016         ODP per capita      659       .365       .071       .076 <td>Educational attainment parents (ISCED)</td> <td>/</td> <td>,</td> <td></td>	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/	,	
Age       .010       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .012       .444         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .       .012       .042       .082         Unemployment rate (regional)      072       .042       .082       .016         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .       .       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .       .       .       .       .016       .         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .       .	Year of birth	/	,	
Perceived local ethnic diversity       .032       .011       .005         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .071       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       .028       .029       .332         GDP per capita (regional)       .028       .029       .032       .082         Unemployment rate (regional)       .017       .026       .509         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .         Aging population (regional)       /       .       .         Immigrant population %       .396       .165       .016         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .       .         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .       .         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       /       .       .       .         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .       .       .         Unemployment rate       .150       .076       .048       .       .       .         Inmigrant population natives/migrants       .       .       .       .       .       .         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .       .	Age	.010	.012	.444
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.071.007.000Rural residency//.332GDP per capita (regional).028.029.332GDP per capita (regional).007.002.082Unemployment rate (regional).017.026.509Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.Aging population (regional)/.Immigrant population %.396.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition nairents (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrants (ungrants less skilled)/GDP per capita659.365.071.076.048Union density/Social expenditure per capita//Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country//	Perceived local ethnic diversity	.032	.011	.005
Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).028.029.332GDP per capita (regional).0072.042.082Unemployment rate (regional).017.026.509Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.Aging population (regional)/.Immigrant population %.396.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant population (male excess)GDP per capita659.365.071.Unemployment rate.150.076.048.Union densitySocial expenditure per capitaIncome inequality (GINI)Nationalist party rhetoricMigrant integration index (MIPEX)Post-Soviet country	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.071	.007	.000
Immigrant population % (regional).028.029.332GDP per capita (regional)072.042.082Unemployment rate (regional)017.026.509Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//.Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.396.165.016.016Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150.076.048 <td>Rural residency</td> <td>/</td> <td>,</td> <td></td>	Rural residency	/	,	
GDP per capita (regional)072.042.082Unemployment rate (regional)017.026.509Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)///Aging population (regional)//.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.016Cultural-distant immigrant population %/016Relative skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant population sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365.071.048Union density/Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/Soviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet country<	Immigrant population % (regional)	.028	.029	.332
Unemployment rate (regional)017.026.509Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//.509Aging population (regional)//.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Refuses per 1000 capita//.165.016Cultural-distant immigrant population %//.165.016Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/076.048Union density/.150.076.048.Union density//Social expenditure per capita//Income inequality (GINI)//Nationalist party rhetoric//Geopolitical threat level	GDP per capita (regional)	072	.042	.082
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.396Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150Union density/Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Unemployment rate (regional)	017	.026	.509
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.396.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita//.165.016Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//.165.016Cultural-distant immigrant population %//.165.016Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.165.016Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.165.071Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.150.076.048Union density/.150.076.048Union density/.150.076.048Union density/.150.076.048Unionalist party rhetoric/.160.165Nationalist party rhetoric/.160.165Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.160.165Post-Soviet country//.160	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/	,	
Immigrant population %.396.165.016Refugees per 1000 capita///Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)///Cultural-distant immigrant population %///Skill composition migrants (less skilled)///Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)///Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)///GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150.076.048Union density///Social expenditure per capita///Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Post-Soviet country///	Aging population (regional)	/	,	
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365Unemployment rate.150.076Union density/Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population %	.396	.165	.016
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150Union density/Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Refugees per 1000 capita	/	,	
Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365Unemployment rate.150.076Union density/Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/	,	
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150.076.048Union density//Social expenditure per capita//Income inequality (GINI)//Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Post-Soviet country//	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/	,	
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150.076.048Union density//.076.048Social expenditure per capita//.Income inequality (GINI)//.Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/	,	
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150.076.048Union density///Social expenditure per capita///Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Post-Soviet country///	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/	,	
GDP per capita659.365.071Unemployment rate.150.076.048Union density///Social expenditure per capita///Income inequality (GINI)///Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Post-Soviet country///	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/	,	
Unemployment rate.150.076.048Union density//Social expenditure per capita//Income inequality (GINI)//Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country//	GDP per capita	659	.365	.071
Union density/Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Unemployment rate	.150	.076	.048
Social expenditure per capita/Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Union density	/	,	
Income inequality (GINI)/Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Social expenditure per capita	/	,	
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Income inequality (GINI)	/	,	
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Nationalist party rhetoric	/	,	
Geopolitical threat level / / Post-Soviet country /	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/	,	
Post-Soviet country /	Geopolitical threat level	/	,	
	Post-Soviet country	/	,	

# Table B9c. Predictors sociotropic economic anxiety, ESS 2002/2014

## Table B9c. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	275	.105	.009
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.104	.122	.390
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.134	.134	.315
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.119
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)			23 (41)

Immigrant friends       /         Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociat mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)      080       .088       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .000       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       .020       .021       .022       .021       .032       .026         GDP per capita (regional)       .021       .015       .148       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .012       .032       .023       .069       .000       .023       .069 <td< th=""><th></th><th>Coef. S</th><th>Std. Err.</th><th>P&gt;z</th></td<>		Coef. S	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .001       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .005       .006         Household income (deciles)      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .001       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .001       .002       .002         Rumigrant population % (regional)       .021       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .021       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .021       .017       .275         Skill composition magrant sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .017       .275       .2107       .275      S	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)      050       .008       .000         Cotacianal attainment (ISCED)      080       .000       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political interest       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .006       .000         Houschold income (deciles)      080       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      080       .004       .765         Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .021       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .021       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .012       .032       .000         Rumary population (regional)       .011	Individual economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .001       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       //       .001       .004       .765         Year of birth       //       //       .009       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .001       .025       .009       .000       .000       .001       .027       .012       .032       .035       .000       .000       .001       .023       .969         Rural residency       //       //       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017       .017	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .001       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      880       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .0001       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .000       .000         Rura residency       /       /       .001       .002       .002         Rura residency       /       /       .001       .001       .002       .022         Immigrant population % (regional)       .021       .015       .148       .017       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .041       .017       .017       .017       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .023       .969	Social mistrust	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .000       .000         Household income (deciles)      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      080       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (-6 months)       //       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       //       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       //       .007       .000         Rere037       .015       .016       .012       .023         GDP per capita (regional)       .021       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .021       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .011       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .01       .013       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .01       .017       .755         Refugese per 1000 capita       .017       .275	Political interest	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)      082       .009       .000         Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status      035       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      080       .000       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Union member       .000       .003       .962         Occupational status       .035       .000       .000         Household income (deciles)       .050       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .080       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .001       .004       .765         Female       .050       .007       .000       .000       Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /       .       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .007       .000         Reural residency       /	Meeting socially (frequency)	082	.009	.000
Occupational status        035         .005         .000           Household income (deciles)        050         .006         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)        080         .008         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .001         .004         .765           Born abroad         .001         .004         .765         .007         .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         .007         .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         .007         .000         .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         .007         .000         .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         .007         .015         .016         .009         .000         Rege         .003         .012         .032         .009         .000         Rural residency         /         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .017         .018         .017         .275         Skill compolution % (regional)         .001         .023         .969         .969         .969         .960	Union member	.000	.003	.962
Household income (deciles)      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      080       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .       .         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .       .         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .009       .000         Rural residency       /       .	Occupational status	035	.005	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      080       .008       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       /         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         /       //       //       .007       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .027       .012       .032         (BDP per capita (regional)       .041       .017       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       //       //       .017       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       //       //       .017       .275       .215       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       // <td>Household income (deciles)</td> <td>050</td> <td>.006</td> <td>.000</td>	Household income (deciles)	050	.006	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       Age         Age       .037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .009       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .012       .033       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .041       .017       .017       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .041       .017       .017       .041       .017       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       /       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       /       .028       .041       .501         Unemployment rate       .018       .017	Educational attainment (ISCED)	080	.008	.000
Born abroad       .001       .004       .765         Female       .050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .009       .000       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .015       .016         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .021       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Ading population (regional)       .041       .017       .275         Skill composition migrant population %       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .028       .041       .501         Unemployment rate       .013       .016       .436       .33       .616       .436         Unimigrant population %       .018       .017       .275       .275       .228       .041       .501         Unem	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Female      050       .007       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .009       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .012       .033       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .041       .017       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .017       .017         Aging population (regional)       /       /       .017       .013       .061         Immigrant population %       .001       .023       .969       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .017       .275         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .017       .275         Skill composition naitves/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .016       .436         Unemployment rate       .013       .016       .436       .001	Born abroad	.001	.004	.765
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .009       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Ading population (regional)       .001       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .011       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       .001       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .       .       .         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .       .       .         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .       .       .016       <	Female	050	.007	.000
Year of birth       /         Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .009       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .       .	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/		
Age      037       .015       .016         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .009       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .012       .032       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .041       .017       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .       .         Aging population (regional)       /       .013       .069       .060       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .       .	Year of birth	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.125.009.000Rural residency//.032.032GDP per capita (regional).027.012.032.015.148Unemployment rate (regional).041.017.017.017Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.023.969.969Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/	Age	037	.015	.016
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.125.009.000Rural residency/.012.032GDP per capita (regional).027.012.032GDP per capita (regional).041.017.017Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional).041.017.017Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional).001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita.018.017.275Skill composition migrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita.013.016.436.Union density.032.007.000.000Social expenditure per capita.137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoricMigrant integration index (MIPEX)Geopolitical threat levelPost-Soviet countrySteit countrySteit countrySteit countrySteit countrySteit country.Steit country	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).027.012.032GDP per capita (regional).021.015.148Unemployment rate (regional).041.017.017Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.041.017Aging population (regional)/.001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita/.018.017.275Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.028.041.501Unemployment rate.013.016.436.010.025.492ODP per capita.032.007.000.000.000.001.025.492Nation density.017.025.492.492.492.492.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.492.492.492.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric/.492.492.492.492.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric/.492.492.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric492.492Nationalist party rhetoric492Nationalist party rhetoricPost-Soviet countryNote co	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.125	.009	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .012       .032         GDP per capita (regional)       .021       .015       .148         Unemployment rate (regional)       .041       .017       .017         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .023       .969         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition migrant population %       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .028       .041       .501         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .018       .017       .275         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .       .         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .       .013       .016       .436         Unon density       .013       .016       .436       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .001       .025       .492         Nationalist party rhetoric       /       /       .       .	Rural residency	/		
GDP per capita (regional)021.015.148Unemployment rate (regional).041.017.017Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//.017Aging population (regional)/.001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita/.018.017.275Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.018.011.275GDP per capita028.041.501.010.501Unemployment rate013.016.436.010.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.492.492Nationalist country//.492.492Notice country	Immigrant population % (regional)	.027	.012	.032
Unemployment rate (regional).041.017.017Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.018.017.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.018.017.275Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.028.041.501Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.016.436Union density.032.007.000.000Social expenditure per capita.017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric/.017.025.492Nationalist party rhetori	GDP per capita (regional)	021	.015	.148
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita028.041.501.000Unemployment rate013.016.436.000Union density032.007.000.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Unemployment rate (regional)	.041	.017	.017
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita//.017.275Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.028.041.501Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).016.436.436Union density.032.007.000.000Social expenditure per capita.137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric/492Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat levelPost-Soviet country	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %.001.023.969Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita028.041.501.016.436Union density032.007.000.000.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000.001Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Post-Soviet country///Post-Soviet country///	Aging population (regional)	/		
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita028.041Unemployment rate013.016Union density032.007Social expenditure per capita137.030Income inequality (GINI).017.025Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population %	.001	.023	.969
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.018.017.275Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)//.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)//.018.017.275GDP per capita028.041.501.016.436Union density013.016.436.000.000Social expenditure per capita032.007.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.025.492Post-Soviet country//.017.025.492	Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %.018.017.275Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.018.017.275Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)//.018.017.275Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)//.018.017.275GDP per capita028.041.501.016.436Union density032.007.000.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.492Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.492Post-Soviet country/.492	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita028.041Unemployment rate013.016.436032.007.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.492Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.492Post-Soviet country/.492	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	.018	.017	.275
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita028.041.501Unemployment rate013.016.436Union density032.007.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.492Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.492Post-Soviet country/.492	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita028.041.501Unemployment rate013.016.436Union density032.007.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Post-Soviet country//	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
GDP per capita      028       .041       .501         Unemployment rate      013       .016       .436         Union density      032       .007       .000         Social expenditure per capita      137       .030       .000         Income inequality (GINI)       .017       .025       .492         Nationalist party rhetoric       /       /         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       /       /         Post-Soviet country       /       /	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
Unemployment rate013.016.436Union density032.007.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//.Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	GDP per capita	028	.041	.501
Union density032.007.000Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country//	Unemployment rate	013	.016	.436
Social expenditure per capita137.030.000Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	Union density	032	.007	.000
Income inequality (GINI).017.025.492Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Social expenditure per capita	137	.030	.000
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Income inequality (GINI)	.017	.025	.492
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Post-Soviet country /	Geopolitical threat level	/		
	Post-Soviet country	/		

# **Table B10a.** Predictors Social mistrust, ESS 2002–2016

## Table B10a. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	005	.006	.440
ESS 2004	.001	.009	.911
ESS 2006	011	.003	.000
ESS 2010	003	.010	.750
ESS 2012	.000	.008	.972
ESS 2014	.010	.007	.158
ESS 2016	002	.006	.726
Constant	.053	.052	.312
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.125
Nindividual		3	08430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	(180)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual conomic anxiety         /           Social mistrost         /           Social mistrost         /           Political interest         /           Political alignment (right-leaning)         /           Meeting socially (frequency)        089         .012         .000           Union member         .005         .007         .497           Occupational status        034         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)        091         .009         .000           Cocupational status        033         .007         .705           Born abroad         .003         .007         .705           Female        050         .006         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         V         Vear of birth         /           Vear of birth         /         /         Vear of birth         /         V           Reeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .128         .006         .000           Rural residency         /         /         V         V           Immigrant population % (regional)		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       -089       012       .000         Union member       .005       .007       .497         Occupational status      034       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .006       .000         Verser of birth       /       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .003       .027       .025       .009         Reducational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .017       .006       .000       .001       .021       .025       .209       .030       .031       .025	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociatorpic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       -0.089       .012       .000         Union member       .005       .007       .497         Occupational status       .003       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .005       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       /       .006       .000       .000       Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociatropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)	Individual economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      089       .012       .000         Union member       .005       .007       .497         Occupational status      034       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      047       .012       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       //       .003       .007       .705         Female      050       .006       .000       .000       Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       //         Year of birth       /       //       //       .048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       //       .006       .000         Rural residency       //       //       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .024       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       //       .001       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       //       .031       .024	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      089       .012       .000         Union member       .005       .007       .497         Occupational status      034       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .007       .705         Born abroad       .003       .007       .705       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .007       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       .007       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .017       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .017       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .017       .006       .000       .017       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .017       .006       .000       .017       .016       .001 <td>Social mistrust</td> <td>/</td> <td></td> <td></td>	Social mistrust	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       .089       .012       .000         Union member       .003       .007       .497         Occupational status       .034       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .006       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .025       .006       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /	Political interest	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)      089       .012       .000         Union member       .005       .007       .497         Occupational status      034       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .003       .007       .705         Female       .050       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Union member         .005         .007         .497           Occupational status         .034         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)         .001         .009         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .091         .009         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         .003         .007         .705           Female         .050         .006         .000         .000         .000         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /         .006         .000         .001         .021         .945	Meeting socially (frequency)	089	.012	.000
Occupational status        034         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)        047         .012         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .091         .009         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .005         .006         .000           Born abroad         .003         .007         .705         .006         .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         .         .048         .017         .006         .000           Even abroad         .023         .007         .006         .000         .007         .006         .000           Even abroad         .024         .017         .006         .000         .017         .006         .000           Reraire sidency         /         /         .017         .025         .209           GDP per capita (regional)         .031         .025         .209         .001         .021         .945           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .031         .024         .195         .001         .021         .945           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         /         .001         .021         .945         .94	Union member	.005	.007	.497
Household income (deciles)      047       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .003       .007       .705         Female      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age      048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .128       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .017       .012         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .021       .945         Refuges per 1000 capita       /       /	Occupational status	034	.006	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .003       .007       .705         Female      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age      048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .128       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       /         // Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       /       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .024       .195       .195         Skill composition migrant population %       .031       .024       .195       .195         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       /	Household income (deciles)	047	.012	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .003       .007       .705         Female       .000       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       Age         Age       .048       .017       .006       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .128       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         // Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       ////////////////////////////////////	Educational attainment (ISCED)	091	.009	.000
Born abroad         .003         .007         .705           Female         .050         .006         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /           Year of birth         /         .048         .017         .006           Age         .048         .017         .006         .000           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /         .006         .000           Rural residency         /         .017         .006         .000           Rural residency         /         .018         .006         .000           Rural residency         /         .021         .025         .209           GDP per capita (regional)         .031         .025         .209           GDP per capita (regional)         .031         .026         .017           Unemployment rate (regional)         .039         .030         .195           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         /         .021         .945           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .031         .024         .195           Skill composition migrants (less skilled)         /         .033         .063         .604           Ultural-distant imm	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Female      050       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       .017       .006         Rural residency       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adit native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .001       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .033       .063       .604         Unemployment rate       .009       .029       .758         Idition density       .165       .049       .001         Scill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .165	Born abroad	.003	.007	.705
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /         Age      048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .128       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .025       .209         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .039       .030       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .001       .021       .945         Refuges per 1000 capita       /       .001       .021       .945         Refuges per 1000 capita       /       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .033       .063       .604         Unemployment rate       .009       .029       .758       .758         Ion density       .165       .049       .001       .021       .945         Scial expenditure per capita <td>Female</td> <td>050</td> <td>.006</td> <td>.000</td>	Female	050	.006	.000
Year of birth       /         Age      048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .128       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .047       .020       .017         Unemployment rate (regional)       .039       .030       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       //         Aging population (regional)       .001       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       //       //       .011         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .024       .195         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .024       .195         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .033       .063       .604         Unemployment rate       .009       .029       .758       .013       .031       .03	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/		
Age      048       .017       .006         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .128       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .039       .030       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /         Aging population (regional)       /       .001       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .024       .195         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .024       .195         QDP per capita       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .031       .063       .604         Unemployment rate       .009       .029       .758       .017       .017       .011       .013       .031       .603       .604         Unemployment rate       .009       .029       .758       .016	Year of birth	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.128.006.000Rural residency//.025.209GDP per capita (regional).031.025.209.037.020.017Unemployment rate (regional).039.030.195.030.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.021.945.945Refugees per 1000 capita/	Age	048	.017	.006
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood.128.006.000Rural residency///Immigrant population % (regional).031.025.209GDP per capita (regional)047.020.017Unemployment rate (regional).039.030.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)/.001.021Immigrant population %.001.021.945Refugees per 1000 capita/.0031.024.195Skill composition migrants population %.031.024.195Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.009.029Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).009.029.758Union density165.049.001.013.031.670Social expenditure per capita.013.031.670.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nat	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).031.025.209GDP per capita (regional).039.030.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)//Immigrant population %.001.021.945Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.001.024Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant population main population (migrants less skilled)/.Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).003.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758.165.049.001Social expenditure per capita.013.031.670.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country/Post-Soviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySovi	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.128	.006	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .025       .209         GDP per capita (regional)       .039       .030       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /         Aging population (regional)       /       .001       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .001       .021       .945         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition migrant population %       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .031       .024       .195         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .033       .063       .604         Unemployment rate       .009       .029       .758         Union density      165       .049       .001         Social expenditure per capita      080       .074       .281         Income inequality (GINI)       .013       .031       .670         Nationalist party rhetoric       /       .670       .671         Geopolitical threat level       /       .671       .670	Rural residency	/		
GDP per capita (regional)047.020.017Unemployment rate (regional).039.030.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)/.001.021Immigrant population %.001.021.945Refugees per 1000 capita//.031.024Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.033.063.604Cultural-distant immigrant population %.033.063.604Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.009.029.758Union density165.049.001.001.021Social expenditure per capita080.074.281.033.063Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670.670.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670.671.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670.671.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670.671.670Nationalist party rhetoric/.671.670.671Nationalist party rhetoric//.671.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670.671Post-Soviet country//.771.772Soviet country//.772.772Soviet country.772<	Immigrant population % (regional)	.031	.025	.209
Unemployment rate (regional).039.030.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.021.945Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.009.029.758Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric/.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country././Post-Soviet country./././.	GDP per capita (regional)	047	.020	.017
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165Social expenditure per capita.013Income inequality (GINI).013.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country/	Unemployment rate (regional)	.039	.030	.195
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.021.945Refugees per 1000 capita//.01.021.945Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//.031.024.195Skill composition migrant population %.031.024.195.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.023.063.604Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.009.029.758GDP per capita033.063.604.001.001.001.001Union density165.049.001.001.001.021.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670.670.670.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric///.670.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.758Opolitical threat level//.758Opolitical threat level/ <td>Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)</td> <td>/</td> <td></td> <td></td>	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %.001.021.945Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.021.945Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.031.024.195Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758.015.049.001Social expenditure per capita165.049.001.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric/.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670Post-Soviet country//.670.670	Aging population (regional)	/		
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.063Unemployment rate.009.029Union density165.049Social expenditure per capita080.074Income inequality (GINI).013.031Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population %	.001	.021	.945
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.195Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.1024.195Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/1024.195GDP per capita033.063.604.009.029.758Union density165.049.001.001.001.001.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric/	Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.195Skill composition migrants (less skilled)///Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)///Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)///GDP per capita033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.600Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.700Post-Soviet country/.700	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	.031	.024	.195
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031Geopolitical threat level//.013.031Post-Soviet country//.013.031	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.670Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/.758.758Post-Soviet country.758.758.758Social expenditure per capita.758.758Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric.758.758Income inequality (GINI).758.758Integration index (MIPEX).758.758Integration index (MIPEX).758.758	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
GDP per capita033.063.604Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031Geopolitical threat level//.013.013Post-Soviet country//.013.013	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
Unemployment rate.009.029.758Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric//.013.031Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//.013.031Post-Soviet country//.013.031	GDP per capita	033	.063	.604
Union density165.049.001Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Post-Soviet country///	Unemployment rate	.009	.029	.758
Social expenditure per capita080.074.281Income inequality (GINI).013.013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	Union density	165	.049	.001
Income inequality (GINI).013.031.670Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Social expenditure per capita	080	.074	.281
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Income inequality (GINI)	.013	.031	.670
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Geopolitical threat level / / Post-Soviet country /	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Post-Soviet country /	Geopolitical threat level	/		
•	Post-Soviet country	/		

## Table B10b. Predictors Social mistrust, ESS 2002/2014

## Table B10b. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.001	.029	.965
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.036	.046	.431
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.139
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         /           Social mistrust         /           Political interest         /           Political alignment (right-leaning)         /           Meeting socially (frequency)         -000         .012         .000           Union member         .004         .007         .530           Occupational status         -033         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)        046         .012         .000           Educational attainment (SCED)         .001         .007         .912           Female         .004         .007         .912           Female         .004         .007         .912           Female         .004         .007         .912           Female         .004         .007         .912           Perceived forth         /         /		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotoropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       -000       001       2.000         Union member       .004       007       .530         Occupational status       -033       .006       000         Household income (deciles)      046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      049       .000       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .001       .007       .912         Female      049       .006       .000       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .       .005       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000       .000         Reading unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rumigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .001       .021       .025       .274	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      090       .0012       .000         Union member       .004       .007       .530         Occupational status      033       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .000       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .006       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       /       /       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /       .006       .000         Rereived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000       .000         Rereived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000       .021       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274       .021       .020       .021       .021       .021	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political interest       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       .090       .012       .000         Union member       .004       .007       .530         Occupational status       .033       .006       .000         Houschold income (deciles)       .046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (-6 months)       /       .007       .912         Born abroad       .001       .007       .912         Female       .049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .021       .005       .000         Rereived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000       .000         Rural residency       /       .021       .005       .000       .001       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .026       .020       .012       .088       .029       .195         Adult nativ sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	Individual economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      090       .012       .000         Union member       .004       .007       .530         Occupational status      033       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .001       .007       .912         Female      049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .012       .006       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000       .000         Read efter dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      090       .0012       .000         Union member       .004       .007       .530         Occupational status      033       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       //       .007       .912         Female      049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Social mistrust	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)      090       .012       .000         Union member       .003       .006       .000         Occupational status      033       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)      046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .007       .912         Female       .049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .007       .912         Year of birth       /       .005       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       .021       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       .021       .005       .000         QDe per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .021       .088       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .021       .968	Political interest	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)       .090       .012       .000         Union member       .004       .007       .530         Occupational status       .033       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .046       .012       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .991       .009       .000       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .011       .007       .912         Female       .049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       .011       .005       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .021       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       .011       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .011       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .001	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Union member       .004       .007       .530         Occupational status       .033       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .001       .009       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .011       .007       .912         Born abroad       .001       .007       .912         Female       .049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /	Meeting socially (frequency)	090	.012	.000
Occupational status        033         .006         .000           Household income (deciles)        046         .012         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .091         .007         .912           Born abroad         .001         .007         .912           Female        049         .006         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         /         /           Year of birth         /         .005         .000           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .021         .005         .000           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .021         .005         .000           Reural residency         /         .0017         .008           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .021         .005         .000           Rural residency         /         .001         .027         .025         .274           GDP per capita (regional)         .027         .025         .274           Adurt native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .021         .068         .029         .195           Adurt native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .001         .021         .968         .001         .021         .968	Union member	.004	.007	.530
Household income (deciles)      046       .012       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .001       .007       .912         Female      049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       .012       .005       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000       .000         Reading after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /	Occupational status	033	.006	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)      091       .009       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .001       .007       .912         Female      049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /         Age      046       .017       .008         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Reural residency       /       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .001       .017       .088         Lunemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .       .         Immigrant population (regional)       .01       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .       .       .         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .       .       .200         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .       .       .200         Skill composition matives/mi	Household income (deciles)	046	.012	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad       .001       .007       .912         Female       .049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       .005       .000         Age       .046       .017       .008       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Real residency       /       //       .001       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274       GDP per capita (regional)       .020       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .027       .025       .274       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       ////////////////////////////////////	Educational attainment (ISCED)	091	.009	.000
Born abroad       .001       .007       .912         Female       .049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /       .005       .000         Age       .046       .017       .008         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Real provide after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .021       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274       .020       .012       .011       .011       .020       .020       .012         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .027       .025       .274       .021       .088       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .038       .029       .195       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       //       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .031       .024       .200         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .031	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Female      049       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /       /         Year of birth       /       /         Age      046       .017       .008         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       //       //         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274         Mural residency       /       .000       .012       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .027       .025       .274       .055       .020       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195       .04ult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .001       .024       .200         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       /       .001       .024       .200         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .033       .06	Born abroad	.001	.007	.912
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       /         Year of birth       /         Age      046       .017       .008         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .021       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .031       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /	Female	049	.006	.000
Year of birth       /         Age      046       .017       .008         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .050       .020       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	/		
Age      046       .017       .008         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .020       .012       .020       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .         Aging population (regional)       /       .       .         Immigrant population %       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .       .         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .       .200         Skill composition natires/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .       .200         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .       .200         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .       .024       .200         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .       .033       .064       .607         Unemployment rate       .	Year of birth	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity       .021       .005       .000         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /	Age	046	.017	.008
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .125       .006       .000         Rural residency       /       /       //         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .029       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /         Aging population (regional)       /       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .031       .024       .200         Skill composition migrants (negrants less skilled)       /       .001       .21       .968         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .001       .021       .968         GDP per capita       .031       .024       .200       .200       .201       .201       .202       .201         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /	Perceived local ethnic diversity	.021	.005	.000
Rural residency       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .050       .020       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.125	.006	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)       .027       .025       .274         GDP per capita (regional)       .050       .020       .012         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .029       .195         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .001       .021       .968         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .031       .024       .200         Skill composition growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .024       .200         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .024       .200         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .024       .200         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .024       .200         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .024       .200         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       /       .033       .064       .607         Unemployment rate       .009       .028       .764         Union density       .161       .049       .001         Social expenditure per capita      078       .073       .286	Rural residency	/		
GDP per capita (regional).050.020.012Unemployment rate (regional).038.029.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)/.001.021Immigrant population %.001.021.968Refugees per 1000 capita/.031.024.200Skill composition growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.031.024.200Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200.012Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita.009.028.764.001.001.001.021.968Inome inequality (GINI).017.032.596.596Nationalist party rhetoric//Geopolitical threat level//	Immigrant population % (regional)	.027	.025	.274
Unemployment rate (regional).038.029.195Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)/.001.021.968Refugees per 1000 capita//.001.021.968Refugees per 1000 capita//.001.021.968Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.001.021.968Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/.001.021.968Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.001.021.968Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/.001.024.200GDP per capita033.064.607.009.028.764Union density161.049.001.001.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.024.016 <td>GDP per capita (regional)</td> <td>050</td> <td>.020</td> <td>.012</td>	GDP per capita (regional)	050	.020	.012
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.021.968Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.031.024.200Skill composition migrant population %.031.024.200.031.024.200Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//	Unemployment rate (regional)	.038	.029	.195
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.001.021.968Refugees per 1000 capita//.01.021.968Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//.031.024.200Skill composition migrant population %.031.024.200.021.968Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita.033.064.607.009.028.764Union density161.049.001.001.001.286Social expenditure per capita078.073.286.017.032.596.596Nationalist party rhetoric// <t< td=""><td>Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)</td><td>/</td><td></td><td></td></t<>	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %.001.021.968Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.031.024.200Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.064.607.009.028.764Union density161.049.001.001.017.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596.596Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Goopolitical threat level//596Nationalist party rhetoricMigrant integration index (MIPEX)Post-Soviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet countrySoviet country	Aging population (regional)	/		
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.064.607Unemployment rate.009.028.764Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Post-Soviet country/	Immigrant population %	.001	.021	.968
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.024.200Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.064.607.009.028.764.001Unemployment rate.009.028.764.001.001.001.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596.596.596<	Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %.031.024.200Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//.024.200Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)//.024.200Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)//.031.024.200GDP per capita033.064.607.009.028.764Unemployment rate.009.028.764.001.001.001.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286.286.017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.032.596.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.596.596.596Post-Soviet country//.286.286.286Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.596.596String and integration index (MIPEX).286.286.596Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.596Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.596Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.596Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.286Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.286Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.286Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.286Composition nidex (MIPEX).286.286.286Composition nidex (MIPEX).2	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.064.607Unemployment rate.009.028.764Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017.032Nationalist party rhetoric/Post-Soviet country/	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	.031	.024	.200
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.064.607Unemployment rate.009.028.764Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017Geopolitical threat level//.017Post-Soviet country//.017	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita033.064.607Unemployment rate.009.028.764Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017Geopolitical threat level//.017Post-Soviet country//.017	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
GDP per capita033.064.607Unemployment rate.009.028.764Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.017Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//.017Post-Soviet country//.017	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
Unemployment rate.009.028.764Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//.Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//.Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	GDP per capita	033	.064	.607
Union density161.049.001Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	Unemployment rate	.009	.028	.764
Social expenditure per capita078.073.286Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///Geopolitical threat level///Post-Soviet country///	Union density	161	.049	.001
Income inequality (GINI).017.032.596Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//Post-Soviet country/	Social expenditure per capita	078	.073	.286
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Income inequality (GINI)	.017	.032	.596
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Geopolitical threat level/Post-Soviet country/	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Post-Soviet country /	Geopolitical threat level	/		
	Post-Soviet country	/		

## Table B10c. Predictors Social mistrust, ESS 2002/2014

## Table B10c. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.003	.029	.922
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	.037	.046	.420
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.139
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         /           Social mistrust         /           Political interest         /           Political interest         /           Political interest         //           Political interest         //           Political interest         //           Political interest         .043           Occupational status         .022         .000           Cocupational status         .022         .000           Household income (deciles)         .066         .008         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .232         .010         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         .125         .005         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         .087         .009         .000           Year of birth         .184         .013         .000           Quer of birth         .184         .013         .000           Rereieved local ethnic diversity         /         .         .           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .         .022         .020         .020         .020 <th></th> <th>Coef.</th> <th>Std. Err.</th> <th>P&gt;z</th>		Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotoropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .015       .007       .019         Female      125       .005       .000       .000       .000       .001       .005       .000         Year of birth      184       .013       .000       .004       .010       .000       .000         Releing unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .046       .005       .000       .0012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .011       .001       .029       .754         Reling experitoring (regional)       .022       .020       .196       .14	Immigrant friends	/	/	
Individual economic anxiety       /         Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .016       .007       .019         Born abroad       .016       .007       .019       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Age       /       .125       .005       .000         Qage       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /	Perceived immigration level	/	/	
Sociotropic economic anxiety       /         Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Cocupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /	Individual economic anxiety	/	/	
Social mistrust       /         Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /       .001       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth       .184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       .016       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .011       .001       .001       .012       .751         Immigrant population % (regional)       .038       .011       .001       .002       .026       .020       .196         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .012       .039       .754       .751         Immigrant population (regional) <td< td=""><td>Sociotropic economic anxiety</td><td>/</td><td>/</td><td></td></td<>	Sociotropic economic anxiety	/	/	
Political interest       /         Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .022       .005       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad      016       .007       .019         Female      125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth      184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /       /         feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood      046       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /       /       /         // Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /       /       /         // Supportation fregional)       .004       .012       .751	Social mistrust	/	/	
Political alignment (right-leaning)       /         Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       //         Born abroad      016       .007       .019         Female       .125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth       .184       .013       .000         Age       /       /	Political interest	/	/	
Meeting socially (frequency)       /         Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .016       .007       .019         Female       .125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth       .184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       .006       .0087       .009       .000         Qrear of birth       .184       .013       .000       Age       /       .016       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .004       .012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .038       .011       .001       .012       .754         GDP per capita (regional)       .022       .020       .196       .196       .196       .196       .196       .101       .001       .039       .754         Refuges per 1000 capita	Political alignment (right-leaning)	/	/	
Union member       .043       .012       .000         Occupational status       .022       .005       .000         Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       .016       .007       .019         Female       .125       .005       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth       .184       .013       .000         Age       /       .046       .005       .000         Rural residency       /	Meeting socially (frequency)	/	/	
Occupational status         .022         .005         .000           Household income (deciles)         .066         .008         .000           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .232         .010         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)         /         /         .0016         .007         .019           Born abroad        016         .007         .019         .000         .000         .000         Y         .009         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)         .087         .009         .000         Year of birth         .184         .013         .000           Age         /	Union member	.043	.012	.000
Household income (deciles)       .066       .008       .000         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad      016       .007       .019         Female       .125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth       .184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       .046       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .004       .012       .051       .000         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .011       .001       .001       .012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .004       .012       .751       .039       .754         Aging population (regional)       .012       .039       .754       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /	Occupational status	.022	.005	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)       .232       .010       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /       /         Born abroad       .016       .007       .019         Female       .125       .000       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth       .184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       .011       .001       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .004       .012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .0025       .020       .196         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .025       .020       .196         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       .012       .035       .065       .400         Inmigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	Household income (deciles)	.066	.008	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)       /         Born abroad      016       .007       .019         Female      125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth      184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood      046       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .011       .001       .002       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .004       .012       .751       .025       .020       .196         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .012       .039       .754         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .       .055       .400         Ultural-distant immigrant population %       /       .       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401       .401 </td <td>Educational attainment (ISCED)</td> <td>.232</td> <td>.010</td> <td>.000</td>	Educational attainment (ISCED)	.232	.010	.000
Born abroad      016       .007       .019         Female      125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth      184       .013       .000         Age       /       -       .055       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       -       .055       .000         Rural residency       /       .011       .001       .001       .001       .002       .751         Immigrant population % (regional)       .038       .011       .001       .002       .020       .196         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       .012       .751         Immigrant population (regional)       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .012       .039       .754         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       /       .012       .039       .754         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .001       .029       .975         Union density       .042       .028       .139       .031       .008       .031       .008       .031<	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/	/	
Female      125       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth      184       .013       .000         Age       /       .055       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       .055       .000         Rural residency       /       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .004       .012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .012       .039       .754         Aging population (regional)       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       .012       .039       .754         GDP per capita       .055       .065	Born abroad	016	5.007	.019
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .087       .009       .000         Year of birth      184       .013       .000         Age       /       /       .005       .000         Age       /       /       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       .001       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .002       .020       .196         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .012       .039       .754         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       .012       .031       .042	Female	125	.005	.000
Year of birth      184       .013       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood      046       .005       .000         Rural residency       /       /       /         Immigrant population % (regional)       .038       .011       .001         GDP per capita (regional)       .004       .012       .751         Unemployment rate (regional)       .002       .020       .196         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       /       /       /         Aging population (regional)       /       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .012       .039       .754         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .012       .039       .754         Relative skill composition migrants (less skilled)       /       .       .       .         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       /       .       .         GDP per capita      055       .065       .400         Unemployment rate       .001       .029       .975         Union density	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	.087	.009	.000
Age/Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood046.005.000Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).038.011.001GDP per capita (regional).004.012.751Unemployment rate (regional).025.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)/.Immigrant population (regional)/.Immigrant population oregional)/.Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)Cultural-distant immigrant population %Skill composition migrants (less skilled)Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita.005.065.400Unemployment rate.001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)Per Definical threat levelPer Definical threat levelNationalist party rhetoricNationalist party rhetoricNationalist party rhetoricNationalist party rh	Year of birth	184	.013	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity/Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood046.005.000Rural residency//.011.001GDP per capita (regional).004.012.751.000Unemployment rate (regional).002.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.Cultural-distant immigrant population %/.Skill composition naires/migrants (migrants less skilled)/.Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)GDP per capita.005.065.400Unemployment rate.001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Part in the production index (MIPEX)/Reportical threat level/Reportical threat levelReportical threat levelReportical threat levelReportical threat level. </td <td>Age</td> <td>/</td> <td>/</td> <td></td>	Age	/	/	
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood046.005.000Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).038.011.001GDP per capita (regional).004.012.751Unemployment rate (regional)025.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.012.039Aging population (regional)/.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita/.012.039.754Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.012.039.754Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess).001.029.975.001.029.975Union density.042.028.139.031.008.031.008.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Repolitical threat level// <td< td=""><td>Perceived local ethnic diversity</td><td>/</td><td>/</td><td></td></td<>	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/	/	
Rural residency/Immigrant population % (regional).038.011.001GDP per capita (regional).004.012.751Unemployment rate (regional).025.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.012.039.754Aging population (regional)/.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita/.012.039.754Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/.012.039.754Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %GDP per capita055.065.400.001.029.975Unemployment rate.001.029.975	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	046	.005	.000
Immigrant population % (regional).038.011.001GDP per capita (regional).004.012.751Unemployment rate (regional).025.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/.012.039.754Aging population (regional)/.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita/.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita/.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita/.012.039.754Relative skill composition migrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)001ODP per capita055.065.400.001.029.975Union density.042.028.139.003.031.008Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009.008.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric/001.029.031.008Nationalist party rhetoricNationalist party rhetoric	Rural residency	/	/	
GDP per capita (regional).004.012.751Unemployment rate (regional)025.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)//Aging population (regional)//Immigrant population %.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita///Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %//Skill composition migrants (less skilled)//Cultural-distant immigrant population matives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita005.065.001.029.975Union density.042.028Social expenditure per capita.163.063Income inequality (GINI).083.031Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Ceopolitical threat level//	Immigrant population % (regional)	.038	.011	.001
Unemployment rate (regional)025.020.196Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita//Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %///Skill composition migrants (less skilled)///Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)///GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///De of the text///De of text///De of text///De of text///De of text// <t< td=""><td>GDP per capita (regional)</td><td>.004</td><td>.012</td><td>.751</td></t<>	GDP per capita (regional)	.004	.012	.751
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)/Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.012Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055.065Union density.042.028Social expenditure per capita.163.063Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Ceopolitical threat level/	Unemployment rate (regional)	025	.020	.196
Aging population (regional)/Immigrant population %.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita//.012.039.754Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)//Cultural-distant immigrant population %//Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/ <td< td=""><td>Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)</td><td>/</td><td>/</td><td></td></td<>	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/	/	
Immigrant population %.012.039.754Refugees per 1000 capita///Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)///Cultural-distant immigrant population %///Skill composition migrants (less skilled)///Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)///GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric///Migrant integration index (MIPEX)///De s function functi	Aging population (regional)	/	/	
Refugees per 1000 capita/Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Depolitical threat level/	Immigrant population %	.012	.039	.754
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)/Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Coopolitical threat level/	Refugees per 1000 capita	/	/	
Cultural-distant immigrant population %/Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Ceopolitical threat level/	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/	/	
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)/Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita1.63.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Ceopolitical threat level/	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/	/	
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)/Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Ceopolitical threat level/	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/	/	
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)/GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Device the end of the end	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/	/	
GDP per capita055.065.400Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/	/	
Unemployment rate001.029.975Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//	GDP per capita	055	.065	.400
Union density.042.028.139Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//	Unemployment rate	001	.029	.975
Social expenditure per capita.163.063.009Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//	Union density	.042	.028	.139
Income inequality (GINI).083.031.008Nationalist party rhetoric//Migrant integration index (MIPEX)//Geopolitical threat level//	Social expenditure per capita	.163	.063	.009
Nationalist party rhetoric/Migrant integration index (MIPEX)/Geopolitical threat level/	Income inequality (GINI)	.083	.031	.008
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       /         Geopolitical threat level       /	Nationalist party rhetoric	/	/	
Geopolitical threat level /	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/	/	
	Geopolitical threat level	/	/	
Post-Soviet country /	Post-Soviet country	/	/	

# Table B11a. Predictors political interest, ESS 2002–2016

## Table B11a. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	.008	.016	.623
ESS 2004	007	.017	.660
ESS 2006	015	.008	.049
ESS 2010	014	.009	.116
ESS 2012	.000	.020	.989
ESS 2014	002	.016	.880
ESS 2016	007	.025	.782
Constant	020	.031	.518
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.174
Nindividual		3	808430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust	/		
Political interest	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)	/		
Union member	.036	.009	.000
Occupational status	.026	.008	.002
Household income (deciles)	.074	.010	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)	.217	.015	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Born abroad	012	.005	.027
Female	134	.010	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	.103	.013	.000
Year of birth	184	.012	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	041	.007	.000
Rural residency	/		
Immigrant population % (regional)	.020	.016	.220
GDP per capita (regional)	.039	.018	.031
Unemployment rate (regional)	022	.031	.471
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Aging population (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %	.129	.039	.001
Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
GDP per capita	037	.076	.628
Unemployment rate	.012	.032	.709
Union density	.337	.127	.008
Social expenditure per capita	037	.082	.648
Income inequality (GINI)	.190	.082	.020
Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Geopolitical threat level	/		
Post-Soviet country	/		
		(to be cor	tinued)

# Table B11b. Predictors political interest, ESS 2002/2014

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## Table B11b. (continued)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	040	.036	.271
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	057	.055	.301
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.145
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety	/		
Social mistrust	/		
Political interest	/		
Political alignment (right-leaning)	/		
Meeting socially (frequency)	/		
Union member	.036	.009	.000
Occupational status	.026	.009	.002
Household income (deciles)	.075	.010	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED)	.217	.015	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	/		
Born abroad	014	.005	.008
Female	133	.010	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	.103	.013	.000
Year of birth	186	.012	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	.019	.007	.007
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	044	.007	.000
Rural residency	/		
Immigrant population % (regional)	.016	.016	.335
GDP per capita (regional)	.036	.018	.040
Unemployment rate (regional)	023	.031	.462
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	/		
Aging population (regional)	/		
Immigrant population %	.128	.039	.001
Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	/		
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	/		
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	/		
GDP per capita	036	.075	.635
Unemployment rate	.012	.032	.715
Union density	.344	.126	.006
Social expenditure per capita	038	.081	.633
Income inequality (GINI)	.194	.081	.016
Nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	/		
Geopolitical threat level	/		
Post-Soviet country	/		
		(to be cor	ntinued)

# Table B11c. Predictors political interest, ESS 2002/2014

## Table B11c. (continued)

		Coef. Std. Err.	
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	/		
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	/		
Household income # relative skill composition	/		
Household income # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # skill composition migrants	/		
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	/		
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	/		
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	/		
Year of birth # age	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	/		
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	/		
ESS 2002	040	.036	.261
ESS 2004	/		
ESS 2006	/		
ESS 2010	/		
ESS 2012	/		
ESS 2014	/		
ESS 2016	/		
Constant	056	.056	.317
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			.144
Nindividual			70414
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		184	4 (317)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		2	23 (41)
# Appendix C: Robustness checks

Table C1a. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002–2	2016
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	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	.035	.005	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.123	.011	.000
Social mistrust	155	.010	.000
Political interest	110	.009	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.130	.019	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.000
Union member	008	.003	.009
Occupational status	013	.004	.000
Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.712
Educational attainment (ISCED)	099	.006	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	015	.003	.000
Born abroad	088	.013	.000
Male 15–44 years	.035	.006	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	057	.005	.000
Year of birth	102	.009	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.084	.004	.000
Rural residency	.039	.005	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)	029	.009	.002
GDP per capita (regional)	.003	.014	.834
Unemployment rate (regional)	.015	.009	.074
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.031	.011	.005
Aging population (regional)	.033	.019	.084
Immigrant population %	.035	.071	.617
Refugees per 1000 capita	.070	.028	.011
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.033	.019	.081
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	035	.038	.356
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.127	.046	.006
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	061	.043	.160
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.025	.023	.280
GDP per capita	048	.104	.646
Unemployment rate	.001	.016	.935
Union density	030	.014	.030
Social expenditure per capita	120	.077	.118
Income inequality (GINI)	026	.075	.730
Nationalist party rhetoric	063	.041	.126
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	090	.072	.209
Geopolitical threat level	.115	.066	.082
Post-Soviet country	169	.143	.235

## Table C1a. (continued)

		Coef. Std. Err.	
Male 15–44 years # adult native male excess (regional)	.005	.006	.396
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	012	.007	.091
Household income # relative skill composition	007	.003	.040
Household income # social expenditure per capita	012	.005	.010
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.010	.004	.003
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.003	.350
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	015	.007	.028
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	014	.005	.004
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.013	.011	.256
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.066
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.057
Year of birth # age	.013	.006	.040
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.006	.005	.182
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.017	.005	.001
ESS 2002	037	.027	.169
ESS 2004	010	.019	.596
ESS 2006	.018	.012	.141
ESS 2010	.019	.010	.060
ESS 2012	.023	.015	.125
ESS 2014	.055	.018	.002
ESS 2016	.059	.030	.049
Constant	.001	.059	.984
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			
Nindividual		3	308430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	.034	.005	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.123	.011	.000
Social mistrust	155	.010	.000
Political interest	109	.009	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131	.019	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	025	.007	.000
Union member	008	.003	.016
Occupational status	012	.003	.001
Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.608
Educational attainment (ISCED)	099	.006	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	014	.003	.000
Born abroad	087	.013	.000
Male and single	.026	.004	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	058	.005	.000
Year of birth	089	.010	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.083	.004	.000
Rural residency	.038	.005	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)	029	.009	.002
GDP per capita (regional)	.003	.015	.838
Unemployment rate (regional)	.015	.009	.071
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.031	.011	.004
Aging population (regional)	.033	.019	.088
Immigrant population %	.036	.071	.609
Refugees per 1000 capita	.071	.028	.011
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.033	.019	.083
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	036	.038	.347
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.126	.046	.007
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	060	.043	.163
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.025	.023	.282
GDP per capita	049	.105	.642
Unemployment rate	.001	.016	.939
Union density	030	.014	.031
Social expenditure per capita	121	.076	.115
Income inequality (GINI)	027	.074	.714
Nationalist party rhetoric	063	.041	.127
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	089	.072	.215
Geopolitical threat level	.114	.066	.083
Post-Soviet country	169	.143	.236
		to be con	tinuad)

## Table C1b. Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002–2016

## Table C1b. (continued)

		Coef. Std. Err.	
Male and single # adult native male excess (regional)	.003	.004	.469
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	012	.007	.094
Household income # relative skill composition	007	.003	.032
Household income # social expenditure per capita	012	.005	.010
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.011	.004	.003
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.003	.346
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	014	.007	.037
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	015	.005	.005
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.013	.011	.264
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.062
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.055
Year of birth # age	.014	.006	.030
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.009	.005	.085
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.017	.005	.001
ESS 2002	036	.027	.180
ESS 2004	009	.019	.628
ESS 2006	.019	.012	.127
ESS 2010	.018	.010	.067
ESS 2012	.022	.015	.140
ESS 2014	.054	.018	.003
ESS 2016	.051	.029	.080
Constant	.002	.059	.971
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			
Nindividual		3	808430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         .035         .005         .000           Sociatorpic economic anxiety         .122         .011         .000           Social mistrust        156         .010         .000           Political interest        109         .000         .000           Delitical alignment (right-leaning)         .131         .019         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)        025         .007         .000           Occupational status        011         .003         .011           Household income (deciles)        002         .005         .653           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .003         .000         .000           Born abroad         .087         .011         .003         .000           Male, single and 15–44 years         .079         .012         .000         .000           Age         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         <		Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       .035       .000         Social mistrust      156       .010       .000         Political interest      109       .009       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)      131      1019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      025       .007       .000         Union member      008       .003       .011         Occupational status      011      003       .001         Household income (deciles)      002      002      000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      014      003      000         Bduactional attainment (ISCED)      099      006      000         Year of birth      058      005      000         Age       /       /	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       .035       .005       .000         Sociotropic economic anxiety       .122       .011       .000         Social mistrust       .156       .010       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Netting socially (frequency)       .025       .007       .000         Occupational status       .011       .003       .017         Occupational status       .011       .003       .001         Household income (deciles)       .002       .005       .653         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .009       .006       .000         Born abroad       .087       .013       .000         Born abroad       .087       .013       .000         Age       /       /       .005       .000         Year of birth       .096       .010       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Inmigrant population % (regional)       .029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .033       .019       .082         Aging population (re	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety         .122         .011         .000           Social mistrust        156         .010         .000           Political interest        09         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)        025         .007         .000           Union member        003         .011         .003         .001           Cocupational status        012         .005         .653           Educational attainment (ISCED)        099         .006         .000           Morking experience abroad (>6 months)        014         .003         .000           Born abroad        017        012         .000           Born abroad        017        012         .000           Ale, single and 15–44 years        079         .012         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        058         .005         .000           Year of birth        099         .002         .009         .002           Age         /	Individual economic anxiety	.035	.005	.000
Social mistrust      156       .010       .000         Political interest      109       .009       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .025       .007       .000         Union member       .008       .003       .017         Occupational status      011       .003       .001         Household income (deciles)       .009       .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .014       .003       .000         Born abroad       .087       .013       .000         Male, single and 15-44 years       .079       .006       .000         Year of birth       .082       .005       .000         Age       /       /       .008       .003         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .881         D	Sociotropic economic anxiety	.122	.011	.000
Political interest      109       .009       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      025       .007       .000         Union member      011       .003       .017         Occupational status      011       .003       .001         Household income (deciles)      002       .005       .653         Educational attainment (ISCED)      087       .013       .000         Morking experience abroad (>6 months)       .017       .012       .000         Born abroad      087       .013       .000         Male, single and 15–44 years       .079       .012       .000         Sort of birth      098       .005       .000         Year of birth      098       .005       .000         Age       /       /       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .033       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adu	Social mistrust	156	.010	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .025       .007       .000         Union member       .003       .011       .003       .001         Occupational status       .011       .003       .000         Household income (deciles)       .002       .005       .653         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .009       .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .017       .013       .000         Born abroad       .079       .012       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .058       .005       .000         Year of birth       .008       .001       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .001       .000       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071       .040       .071       .040       .071       .040       .071       .040       .07	Political interest	109	.009	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)        025         .007         .000           Union member        008         .003         .017           Occupational status        001         .003         .001           Household income (deciles)        009         .006         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        014         .003         .000           Born abroad        087         .013         .000           Male, single and 15-44 years         .079         .012         .000           Age	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131	.019	.000
Union member      008       .003       .017         Occupational status      011       .003       .001         Household income (deciles)      002       .005       .653         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .004       .003       .000         Born abroad      087       .013       .000         Male, single and 15-44 years       .079       .012       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      058       .005       .000         Year of birth       .096       .010       .000         Age       /       //       Perceived local ethnic diversity       //         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Junemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .036       .071       .616         Refuges per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Inmigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant populat	Meeting socially (frequency)	025	.007	.000
Occupational status        011         .003         .001           Household income (deciles)        002         .005         .653           Educational attainment (ISCED)        014         .003         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        014         .003         .000           Born abroad        087         .013         .000           Adle, single and 15–44 years         .079         .012         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        058         .005         .000           Age         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .082         .004         .000           Rural residency         .038         .005         .000         .003         .015         .831           Unemployment rate (regional)         .016         .009         .002         .009         .002           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .031         .012         .009           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .031         .012         .009           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .033	Union member	008	.003	.017
Household income (deciles)      002       .005       .653         Educational attainment (ISCED)      014       .003       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      014       .003       .000         Born abroad      087       .013       .000         Born abroad      087       .012       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      058       .005       .000         Year of birth      096       .010       .000         Age       /       /       .022       .009       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .036       .071       .628       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Refugeses per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .001       .006         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019<	Occupational status	011	.003	.001
Educational attainment (ISCED) $099$ .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months) $014$ .003       .000         Born abroad $087$ .013       .000         Male, single and 15–44 years       .007       .012       .000         Year of birth $096$ .010       .000         Age       /       .005       .000         Age       /       .004       .000         Rural residency       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .082       .004       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .0029       .002       .000         GDP per capita (regional)       .010       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .031       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036<	Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.653
Working experience abroad (>6 months)      014       .003       .000         Born abroad      087       .013       .000         Male, single and 15–44 years       .079       .012       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      058       .005       .000         Year of birth      096       .010       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       .038       .005       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .031       .012       .000         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .831         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .066         Rel	Educational attainment (ISCED)	099	.006	.000
Born abroad        087         .013         .000           Male, single and 15–44 years         .079         .012         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        058         .000         .000           Year of birth         .096         .010         .000           Age         /         .096         .010         .000           Age         /         .082         .004         .000           Rural residency         .038         .005         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)         .029         .009         .002           GDP per capita (regional)         .003         .015         .831           Unemployment rate (regional)         .031         .012         .009           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .033         .019         .081           Immigrant population %         .036         .071         .628         .010           Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)         .033         .019         .081           Cultural-distant immigrant population %         .025         .023         .274           GDP er capita         .051         .066         .043         .161           Cultural-distant immigr	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	014	.003	.000
Male, single and 15–44 years       .079       .012       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .058       .005       .000         Year of birth       .096       .010       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .029       .002       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .033       .019       .081         Refugees per 1000 capita       .033       .019       .081         Immigrant population %       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .038       .346         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025	Born abroad	087	.013	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      058       .005       .000         Year of birth      096       .010       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population greath (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .071       .016       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .001       .016       .034       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025	Male, single and 15–44 years	.079	.012	.000
Year of birth      096       .010       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .033       .019       .081         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	058	.005	.000
Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population foregional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .001       .016       .944         Union density       .030       .01	Year of birth	096	.010	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .836         Skill composition naires/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition naires/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023	Age	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .082       .004       .000         Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .071       .016       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .001       .016       .944         Union density       .030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita       .019       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)       .026       .075	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency       .038       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.082	.004	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)      029       .009       .002         GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population migrants (less skilled)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density       .030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita       .119       .077       .12	Rural residency	.038	.005	.000
GDP per capita (regional)       .003       .015       .831         Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population (regional)       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .001       .016       .944         Union density       .030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita       .016       .041       .031         Social expenditure per capita       .026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric       .063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .090       .072       .214 <td>Immigrant population % (regional)</td> <td>029</td> <td>.009</td> <td>.002</td>	Immigrant population % (regional)	029	.009	.002
Unemployment rate (regional)       .016       .009       .071         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density       .030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      019       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)       .026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126	GDP per capita (regional)	.003	.015	.831
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .031       .012       .009         Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .001       .016       .944         Union density       .030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita       .016       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric       .063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country       .124       .238	Unemployment rate (regional)	.016	.009	.071
Aging population (regional)       .033       .019       .087         Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      019       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)       .026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086      <	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.031	.012	.009
Immigrant population %       .036       .071       .616         Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      019       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      063       .041       .126         Post-Soviet country       .170       .144       .238	Aging population (regional)	.033	.019	.087
Refugees per 1000 capita       .071       .028       .010         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .033       .019       .081         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Immigrant population %	.036	.071	.616
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $.033$ $.019$ $.081$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $036$ $.038$ $.346$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $.127$ $.046$ $.006$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $060$ $.043$ $.161$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.025$ $.023$ $.274$ GDP per capita $.001$ $.016$ $.944$ Union density $.001$ $.016$ $.944$ Social expenditure per capita $.019$ $.077$ $.121$ Income inequality (GINI) $.026$ $.075$ $.731$ Nationalist party rhetoric $063$ $.041$ $.126$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $090$ $.072$ $.214$ Geopolitical threat level $.114$ $.066$ $.086$ Post-Soviet country $170$ $.144$ $.238$	Refugees per 1000 capita	.071	.028	.010
Cultural-distant immigrant population %      036       .038       .346         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.033	.019	.081
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .127       .046       .006         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	036	.038	.346
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      060       .043       .161         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.127	.046	.006
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .025       .023       .274         GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	060	.043	.161
GDP per capita      051       .106       .633         Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.025	.023	.274
Unemployment rate       .001       .016       .944         Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	GDP per capita	051	.106	.633
Union density      030       .014       .031         Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Unemployment rate	.001	.016	.944
Social expenditure per capita      119       .077       .121         Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Union density	030	.014	.031
Income inequality (GINI)      026       .075       .731         Nationalist party rhetoric      063       .041       .126         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Social expenditure per capita	119	.077	.121
Nationalist party rhetoric063.041.126Migrant integration index (MIPEX)090.072.214Geopolitical threat level.114.066.086Post-Soviet country170.144.238	Income inequality (GINI)	026	.075	.731
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      090       .072       .214         Geopolitical threat level       .114       .066       .086         Post-Soviet country      170       .144       .238	Nationalist party rhetoric	063	.041	.126
Geopolitical threat level         .114         .066         .086           Post-Soviet country        170         .144         .238	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	090	.072	.214
Post-Soviet country        170         .144         .238	Geopolitical threat level	.114	.066	.086
	Post-Soviet country	170	.144	.238

Table	C1c.	Predictors	anti-immigration	attitudes,	ESS	2002-	-2016

## Table C1c. (continued)

		Coef. Std. Err.	
Male, single and 15–44 years # adult native male excess (regional)	.005	.014	.696
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	011	.007	.099
Household income # relative skill composition	007	.003	.034
Household income # social expenditure per capita	012	.005	.010
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.010	.004	.003
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.003	.281
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	015	.007	.031
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	014	.005	.005
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.013	.011	.256
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.066
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.056
Year of birth # age	.015	.006	.009
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.008	.005	.113
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.017	.005	.001
ESS 2002	037	.027	.174
ESS 2004	010	.019	.605
ESS 2006	.019	.012	.136
ESS 2010	.018	.010	.065
ESS 2012	.022	.015	.135
ESS 2014	.054	.018	.003
ESS 2016	.056	.030	.062
Constant	006	.059	.919
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			
Nindividual		3	808430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

Immigrant friends         /           Perceived immigration level         /           Individual economic anxiety         .035         .005         .000           Sociatorpic economic anxiety         .125         .011         .000           Social mistrust        154         .010         .000           Political interest        113         .009         .000           Delitical alignment (right-leaning)        131         .019         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)        024         .007         .000           Occupational status        014         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)        002         .005         .725           Educational attainment (ISCED)        009         .006         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        015         .003         .000           Female        032         .006         .000         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        056         .005         .000           Y         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity		Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Perceived immigration level       /         Individual economic anxiety       .035       .000         Social mistrust       .154       .010       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .024       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .003       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)       .002       .005       .725         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .009       .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .015       .003       .000         Bernale       .032       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .066       .000         Y       /       /       .002       .015       .003       .000         Gage       /       /       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .000       .0000       .000       .000	Immigrant friends	/		
Individual economic anxiety       .035       .005       .000         Sociotropic economic anxiety       .125       .011       .000         Social mistrust      154       .010       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)      131       .019       .000         Neeting socially (frequency)      024       .007       .000         Union member      014       .004       .000         Occupational status      014       .004       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      015       .003       .000         Born abroad      088       .013       .000         Born abroad      088       .013       .000         Year of birth      032       .006       .000         Age       /       /	Perceived immigration level	/		
Sociotropic economic anxiety       .125       .011       .000         Social mistrust       .154       .010       .000         Political interest       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .024       .007       .000         Union member       .010       .003       .004         Occupational status       .012       .005       .725         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .009       .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .013       .000         Born abroad       .032       .006       .000         Female       .032       .006       .000         Born abroad       .013       .000       .006       .000         Caucational attainment parents (ISCED)       .056       .005       .000         Year of birth       .022       .011       .000         Age       /       /       .000       .000         Rural residency       .027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult nativ sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	Individual economic anxiety	.035	.005	.000
Social mistrust        154         .010         .000           Political interest        113         .009         .000           Political alignment (right-leaning)         .131         .019         .000           Meeting socially (frequency)        024         .007         .000           Union member        014         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)        002         .005         .725           Educational attainment (ISCED)         .003         .004         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        015         .003         .000           Born abroad        088         .013         .000           Female        025         .001         .000           Quer of birth        085         .011         .000           Age         /         /         .005         .000           Rural residency         .039         .005         .000         .000           Rural residency         .039         .005         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)         .002         .015         .882           Unemployment rate (regional)         .034         .012         .004           Agi	Sociotropic economic anxiety	.125	.011	.000
Political interest      113       .009       .000         Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)      024       .007       .000         Outnon member      010       .003       .004         Occupational status      012       .002       .005       .725         Educational attainment (ISCED)      099       .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      015       .003       .000         Born abroad      088       .013       .000         Female      032       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      056       .005       .000         Year of birth      088       .011       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Preceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       .001       .000         Rural residency       .032       .004       .000       .007       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .011       .002       .015       .882       .011       .004       .021       .004	Social mistrust	154	.010	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)       .131       .019       .000         Meeting socially (frequency)       .024       .007       .000         Union member       .014       .004       .000         Occupational status       .012       .009       .006       .000         Household income (deciles)       .012       .003       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)       .013       .000         Born abroad       .032       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .056       .005       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)       .056       .005       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .087       .004       .000         Rural residency       .033       .000       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population regional       .028       .019       .143 </td <td>Political interest</td> <td>113</td> <td>.009</td> <td>.000</td>	Political interest	113	.009	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)        024         .007         .000           Union member        010         .003         .004           Occupational status        012         .005         .725           Educational attainment (ISCED)        099         .006         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        015         .003         .000           Born abroad        088         .013         .000           Female        032         .066         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        056         .005         .000           Age         /         /	Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131	.019	.000
Union member      010       .003       .004         Occupational status      014       .004       .000         Household income (deciles)      002       .005       .725         Educational attainment (ISCED)       .003       .000         Born abroad      088       .013       .000         Female      032       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      056       .005       .000         Year of birth      088       .011       .000         Age       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /       Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         GDP per capita (regional)       .002       .015       .882       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .005       .041       .908	Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.000
Occupational status        014         .004         .000           Household income (deciles)        002         .005         .725           Educational attainment (ISCED)        015         .003         .000           Working experience abroad (>6 months)        015         .003         .000           Born abroad        088         .013         .000           Female        032         .006         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        056         .005         .000           Year of birth        088         .011         .000           Age         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .011         .002         .005         .000           Rural residency         .039         .005         .000         .000         Rural residency         .001         .007           GDP per capita (regional)         .011         .009         .252         .004         .000           Immigrant population (regional)         .011         .002         .015         .882           Unemployment rate (regional)         .034         .012         .004         .004           Aging pop	Union member	010	.003	.004
Household income (deciles)      002       .005       .725         Educational attainment (ISCED)      099       .006       .000         Working experience abroad (>6 months)      015       .003       .000         Born abroad      088       .013       .000         Female      032       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      056       .005       .000         Year of birth      088       .011       .000         Age       /       /       .007       .006       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000       .007       .000 <td< td=""><td>Occupational status</td><td>014</td><td>.004</td><td>.000</td></td<>	Occupational status	014	.004	.000
Educational attainment (ISCED) $099$ $.006$ $.000$ Working experience abroad (>6 months) $015$ $.003$ $.000$ Born abroad $088$ $.013$ $.000$ Female $022$ $.006$ $.000$ Educational attainment parents (ISCED) $056$ $.005$ $.000$ Year of birth $088$ $.011$ $.000$ Age       /       /       .007 $.000$ Rural residency       /       .003 $.000$ numigrant population % (regional) $.027$ $.010$ $.007$ GDP per capita (regional) $.011$ $.009$ $.252$ Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) $.011$ $.009$ $.252$ Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional) $.034$ $.012$ $.004$ Immigrant population (regional) $.028$ $.019$ $.143$ Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $.034$ $.020$ $.944$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $.036$ $.042$ $.390$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $00$	Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.725
Working experience abroad (>6 months)        015         .003         .000           Born abroad        088         .013         .000           Female        032         .006         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        056         .005         .000           Year of birth        085         .011         .000           Age         /         /         Perceived local ethnic diversity         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         .039         .005         .000           Rural residency         .039         .005         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)        027         .010         .007           GDP per capita (regional)         .024         .011         .009         .252           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .034         .012         .004           Aging population (regional)         .028         .019         .143           Immigrant population %         .059         .074         .424           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .005         .041         .908           Refugees per 1000 capita         .005         .041         .908         .031         .027         .236 <td>Educational attainment (ISCED)</td> <td>099</td> <td>.006</td> <td>.000</td>	Educational attainment (ISCED)	099	.006	.000
Born abroad        088         .013         .000           Female        032         .006         .000           Educational attainment parents (ISCED)        085         .011         .000           Year of birth        085         .011         .000           Age         /         /           Perceived local ethnic diversity         /         /           Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood         .087         .004         .000           Rural residency         .039         .005         .000           Immigrant population % (regional)        027         .010         .007           GDP per capita (regional)         .022         .015         .882           Unemployment rate (regional)         .034         .012         .004           Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)         .034         .012         .004           Aging population (regional)         .028         .019         .143           Immigrant population %         .059         .074         .424           Refugees per 1000 capita         /         .005         .041         .908           Skill composition migrants (less skilled)         .086         .055         .119           R	Working experience abroad (>6 months)	015	.003	.000
Female      032       .006       .000         Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      056       .005       .000         Year of birth      085       .011       .000         Age       /       -       .004       .000         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       -       .004       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000       .007       .007       .007       .000       .007       .007       .000       .007       .002       .015       .882         Unemployment rate (regional)       .001       .009       .252       Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants	Born abroad	088	.013	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)      056       .005       .000         Year of birth      085       .011       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .087       .004       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .005       .041       .908       .011       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .027       .236       .015       .311       .027       .236         GDP per cap	Female	032	.006	.000
Year of birth      085       .011       .000         Age       /       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .087       .004       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .002       .015       .882         Unemployment rate (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita       .107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density       .031       .027	Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	056	.005	.000
Age       /         Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .087       .004       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population % (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       //       //         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita       .107       .14	Year of birth	085	.011	.000
Perceived local ethnic diversity       /         Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .087       .004       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .001       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .038       .019       .143         Immigrant population % (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita       .107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Unard distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236 <t< td=""><td>Age</td><td>/</td><td></td><td></td></t<>	Age	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood       .087       .004       .000         Rural residency       .039       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .001       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density       .031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita       .107       .146       .463	Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Rural residency       .039       .005       .000         Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric       .084       .078       .079       .81         Gopolitical threat level       .006       .079       .181	Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.087	.004	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)      027       .010       .007         GDP per capita (regional)       .001       .002       .015       .882         Unemployment rate (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .036       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric       .084       .078       .075         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .055       .081       .497 <td>Rural residency</td> <td>.039</td> <td>.005</td> <td>.000</td>	Rural residency	.039	.005	.000
GDP per capita (regional)      002       .015       .882         Unemployment rate (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population (regional)       .028       .019       .1424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .021       .004         Qultural-distant immigrant population %       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita       .107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density       .031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita       .109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)       .027       .094       .711         Nationalist party rhetoric       .084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .055       .081       .497         Geopolitica	Immigrant population % (regional)	027	.010	.007
Unemployment rate (regional)       .011       .009       .252         Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       //         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density       .031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)	GDP per capita (regional)	002	.015	.882
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)       .034       .012       .004         Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %       .005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level	Unemployment rate (regional)	.011	.009	.252
Aging population (regional)       .028       .019       .143         Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /       /         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita       .107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density       .031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita       .109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)       .027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric       .084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)       .055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country       .179       .161       .266	Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.034	.012	.004
Immigrant population %       .059       .074       .424         Refugees per 1000 capita       /         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Aging population (regional)	.028	.019	.143
Refugees per 1000 capita       /         Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)       .034       .020       .094         Cultural-distant immigrant population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Immigrant population %	.059	.074	.424
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior) $.034$ $.020$ $.094$ Cultural-distant immigrant population % $.005$ $.041$ $.908$ Skill composition migrants (less skilled) $.086$ $.055$ $.119$ Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled) $.036$ $.042$ $.390$ Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess) $.031$ $.027$ $.236$ GDP per capita $.002$ $.016$ $.886$ Unemployment rate $.002$ $.016$ $.886$ Union density $031$ $.015$ $.039$ Social expenditure per capita $027$ $.094$ $.771$ Income inequality (GINI) $027$ $.094$ $.771$ Nationalist party rhetoric $084$ $.048$ $.078$ Migrant integration index (MIPEX) $055$ $.081$ $.497$ Geopolitical threat level $066$ $.079$ $.181$ Post-Soviet country $179$ $.161$ $.266$	Refugees per 1000 capita	/		
Cultural-distant immigrant population %      005       .041       .908         Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.034	.020	.094
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)       .086       .055       .119         Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266 <td>Cultural-distant immigrant population %</td> <td>005</td> <td>.041</td> <td>.908</td>	Cultural-distant immigrant population %	005	.041	.908
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)      036       .042       .390         Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.086	.055	.119
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)       .031       .027       .236         GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	036	.042	.390
GDP per capita      107       .146       .463         Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.031	.027	.236
Unemployment rate       .002       .016       .886         Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	GDP per capita	107	.146	.463
Union density      031       .015       .039         Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Unemployment rate	.002	.016	.886
Social expenditure per capita      109       .084       .197         Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Union density	031	.015	.039
Income inequality (GINI)      027       .094       .771         Nationalist party rhetoric      084       .048       .078         Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Social expenditure per capita	109	.084	.197
Nationalist party rhetoric084.048.078Migrant integration index (MIPEX)055.081.497Geopolitical threat level.106.079.181Post-Soviet country179.161.266	Income inequality (GINI)	027	.094	.771
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)      055       .081       .497         Geopolitical threat level       .106       .079       .181         Post-Soviet country      179       .161       .266	Nationalist party rhetoric	084	.048	.078
Geopolitical threat level         .106         .079         .181           Post-Soviet country        179         .161         .266	Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	055	.081	.497
Post-Soviet country        179         .161         .266	Geopolitical threat level	.106	.079	.181
	Post-Soviet country	179	.161	.266

····· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Table	C2.	Predictors	anti-immi	gration	attitudes.	ESS	2002-	-2016
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## Table C2. (continued)

male # adult notive male average (regional)		Coef. Std. Err.	
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	006	.003	.025
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-			
grants less skilled)	012	.007	.067
Household income # relative skill composition	007	.003	.043
Household income # social expenditure per capita	012	.005	.014
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.010	.004	.005
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.003	.397
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	015	.007	.036
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Household income # inequality (Gini)	014	.005	.007
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/		
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.012	.011	.274
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.059
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.059
Year of birth # age	.010	.007	.114
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.010	.006	.077
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.017	.005	.001
ESS 2002	024	.029	.397
ESS 2004	002	.021	.919
ESS 2006	.021	.013	.103
ESS 2010	.014	.009	.124
ESS 2012	.015	.013	.238
ESS 2014	.043	.016	.009
ESS 2016	.059	.033	.077
Constant	008	.062	.896
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted			
Nindividual		3	308430
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)		209	(1294)
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)

	Coef. S	td. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends	/		
Perceived immigration level	/		
Individual economic anxiety	.035	.005	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.123	.012	.000
Social mistrust	154	.010	.000
Political interest	112	.009	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131	.019	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.000
Union member	010	.003	.003
Occupational status	013	.004	.000
Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.687
Educational attainment (ISCED)	099	.006	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	015	.003	.000
Born abroad	088	.013	.000
Female	032	.006	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	057	.005	.000
Year of birth	085	.011	.000
Age	/		
Perceived local ethnic diversity	/		
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.087	.004	.000
Rural residency	.039	.005	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)	026	.010	.008
GDP per capita (regional)	.001	.014	.954
Unemployment rate (regional)	.015	.009	.082
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.030	.011	.007
Aging population (regional)	.035	.020	.084
Immigrant population %	.086	.090	.340
Refugees per 1000 capita	.071	.027	.009
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.031	.020	.126
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	046	.044	.303
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.121	.043	.005
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	049	.040	.222
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.015	.028	.586
GDP per capita	.005	.131	.970
Unemployment rate	.003	.017	.835
Union density	034	.015	.028
Social expenditure per capita	069	.087	.428
Income inequality (GINI)	025	.071	.722
Nationalist party rhetoric	057	.043	.187
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	096	.062	.123
Geopolitical threat level	.088	.052	.089
Post-Soviet country	054	.174	.756
	(+	o ha cor	atinuad)

Table	C3.	Predictors	anti-imm	igration	attitudes.	ESS	2002-	-2016

## Table C3. (continued)

	Coef. S	P>z		
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	006	.003	.023	
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-				
grants less skilled)	012	.007	.064	
Household income # relative skill composition	007	.003	.043	
Household income # social expenditure per capita	012	.005	.014	
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.010	.004	.005	
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.003	.374	
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	015	.007	.034	
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/			
Household income # inequality (Gini)	014	.005	.007	
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	059	.040	.143	
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.013	.011	.252	
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.064	
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.057	
Year of birth # age	.010	.007	.110	
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.010	.005	.074	
Educational attainment (ISCED) # post-Soviet country	.017	.005	.001	
ESS 2002	018	.035	.613	
ESS 2004	.003	.023	.900	
ESS 2006	.024	.013	.053	
ESS 2010	.014	.011	.190	
ESS 2012	.013	.018	.478	
ESS 2014	.042	.022	.049	
ESS 2016	.042	.031	.177	
Constant	.058	.064	.366	
R <sup>2</sup> adjusted				
Nindividual		3	308430	
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)	209 (1294)			
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)	

	Social expenditure per capita			U	nion density	Income	Income inequality (GINI)		
	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
GDP per capita	.750	.119	.000	.366	.126	.004	.073	.090	.414
Social expenditure per capita	/			/			359	.159	.024
Union density	/			/			459	.085	.000
ESS 2002	027	.036	.454	.017	.034	.609	080	.084	.338
ESS 2004	003	.033	.938	.067	.073	.360	062	.083	.453
ESS 2006	.052	.040	.193	.022	.032	.487	081	.075	.279
ESS 2010	.123	.034	.000	014	.023	.531	068	.071	.339
ESS 2012	.171	.042	.000	.101	.088	.247	.027	.089	.763
ESS 2014	.223	.055	.000	019	.039	.633	.039	.085	.645
ESS 2016	.214	.060	.000	.014	.101	.891	.051	.084	.541
Constant	090	.093	.332	002	.162	.991	.044	.135	.747
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)			30 (180)			30 (180)			30 (180)

**Table C4.** Historic context, political party cues and policy signaling, countries pertaining in the ESS 2002–2016

	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z
Immigrant friends			
Perceived immigration level			
Individual economic anxiety	.035	.005	.000
Sociotropic economic anxiety	.123	.011	.000
Social mistrust	154	.010	.000
Political interest	112	.009	.000
Political alignment (right-leaning)	.131	.019	.000
Meeting socially (frequency)	024	.007	.000
Union member	010	.003	.003
Occupational status	014	.004	.000
Household income (deciles)	002	.005	.661
Educational attainment (ISCED)	105	.007	.000
Working experience abroad (>6 months)	015	.003	.000
Born abroad	088	.013	.000
Female	032	.006	.000
Educational attainment parents (ISCED)	057	.005	.000
Year of birth	085	.011	.000
Age			
Perceived local ethnic diversity			
Feeling unsafe after dark in neighborhood	.087	.004	.000
Rural residency	.038	.005	.000
Immigrant population % (regional)	029	.010	.002
GDP per capita (regional)	.004	.015	.805
Unemployment rate (regional)	.015	.009	.078
Adult native sex ratio (male excess) (regional)	.031	.011	.005
Aging population (regional)	.034	.019	.082
Immigrant population %	.034	.072	.636
Refugees per 1000 capita	.071	.028	.011
Immigrant population growth (average 2-4 years prior)	.033	.019	.081
Cultural-distant immigrant population %	035	.038	.365
Skill composition migrants (less skilled)	.126	.047	.007
Relative skill composition natives/migrants (migrants less skilled)	062	.044	.158
Cultural-distant immigrant sex ratio (male excess)	.025	.024	.289
GDP per capita	049	.106	.645
Unemployment rate	.001	.016	.964
Union density	030	.014	.031
Social expenditure per capita	122	.078	.116
Income inequality (GINI)	025	.075	.740
Nationalist party rhetoric	063	.041	.130
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)	090	.072	.212
Geopolitical threat level	.113	.067	.089
Post-Soviet country	172	.144	.232
-		(to be con	itinued)

**Table C5.** Predictors anti-immigration attitudes, ESS 2002–2016 (the interaction between educational attainment and post-Soviet dummy not replicable with geopolitical threat level)

## Table C5. (continued)

	Coef. S	P>z		
Female # adult native male excess (regional)	006	.003	.023	
Educational attainment # relative skill composition natives/migrants (mi-				
grants less skilled)	015	.006	.011	
Household income # relative skill composition	008	.003	.004	
Household income # social expenditure per capita	014	.004	.001	
Household income # relative skill comp. # social expenditure per capita	.012	.003	.001	
Household income # skill composition migrants	.003	.004	.524	
Household income # skill comp. migrants # social expenditure per capita	012	.007	.120	
Household income # Perceived local ethnic diversity	/			
Household income # inequality (Gini)	016	.005	.001	
GDP per capita # immigrant population %	/			
Political interest # nationalist party rhetoric	.014	.011	.217	
Political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.067	
Political interest # political alignment # nationalist party rhetoric	024	.013	.059	
Year of birth # age	.011	.007	.102	
Educational attainment (ISCED) # year of birth	.011	.005	.050	
Educational attainment (ISCED) # geopolitical threat level	.005	.009	.564	
ESS 2002	036	.027	.190	
ESS 2004	009	.019	.643	
ESS 2006	.019	.012	.130	
ESS 2010	.018	.010	.065	
ESS 2012	.022	.015	.146	
ESS 2014	.054	.018	.003	
ESS 2016	.057	.030	.057	
Constant	002	.060	.977	
R <sup>2</sup> <sub>adjusted</sub>				
Nindividual		3	808430	
N <sub>regional</sub> (by wave)	209 (1294)			
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)		30	) (180)	

		Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z	Coef.	Std. Err.	P>z	
Nationalist party rhetoric										
Immigrant population %				.595	.145	.000	.661	.146	.000	
GDP per capita				585	.155	.000	512	.153	.001	
Geopolitical threat level	.565	.178	.001	.373	.155	.016	.294	.195	.132	
Post-Soviet country							.309	.165	.061	
ESS 2002	152	.106	.150	044	.066	.499	006	.074	.935	
ESS 2004	079	.117	.501	006	.072	.932	.018	.068	.791	
ESS 2006	059	.107	.580	.021	.058	.720	.055	.061	.371	
ESS 2010	069	.098	.483	077	.045	.083	046	.038	.225	
ESS 2012	125	.108	.249	084	.061	.170	064	.062	.303	
ESS 2014	118	.109	.281	060	.073	.415	043	.068	.524	
ESS 2016	097	.108	.371	034	.074	.644	018	.070	.804	
Constant	.137	.146	.348	.081	.122	.507	.087	.112	.438	
Migrant integration index (MIPEX)										
Immigrant population %				272	.133	.040	387	.139	.005	
GDP per capita				.439	.166	.008	.313	.165	.057	
Geopolitical threat level	417	.137	.002	241	.181	.182	105	.171	.541	
Post-Soviet country							530	.155	.001	
ESS 2002	.170	.064	.008	.079	.040	.046	.013	.039	.740	
ESS 2004	.114	.066	.084	.043	.041	.294	.001	.048	.981	
ESS 2006	.129	.063	.042	.072	.043	.098	.013	.046	.773	
ESS 2010	.060	.062	.334	.060	.041	.143	.006	.025	.800	
ESS 2012	.073	.070	.295	.041	.048	.392	.006	.042	.879	
ESS 2014	.147	.072	.042	.094	.059	.109	.066	.045	.146	
ESS 2016	.114	.075	.128	.054	.063	.394	.025	.054	.639	
Constant	.022	.159	.891	.055	.148	.710	.045	.125	.721	
N <sub>national</sub> (by wave)			30 (180)			30 (180)			30 (180)	

**Table C6.** Historic context, political party cues and policy signaling, countries pertaining in the ESS 2002–2016

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#### Discussion Paper of the President's Research Group 2020

#### Benjamin Edelstein

Von der Schulform zur schulischen Organisationsform Zur Diffusion eines neuen Paradigmas der Schulstrukturentwicklung P 2020-001