

# Muslims' Vote Choice: Exclusion and Group Voting in Europe

## Supplementary File A

**Table 1. Countries included and years sampled**

European Social Survey (ESS) (2002-2020)										
	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
AT	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓
BE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
CH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
DE	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	✓	✓
DK	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
ES	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	✓
FI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
FR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GB	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	✓	○	○
GR	○	✓		✓	✓					✓
IE	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
IS		✓				✓		✓	✓	✓
IT	✓					✓		✓	○	✓

LU	○	○								
NL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
NO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PT	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	✓
SE	○	○	○	○	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The table notes for each country whether it was surveyed in the ESS. A check mark denotes that the country surveyed and had a RRP in parliament at the surveyed period; a circle -- the country was surveyed but did not have a RRP in parliament; empty cell -- that the country was not surveyed.

## Supplementary File B

**Table 1.** List of RRP and leftwing parties.

	<u>RRPs</u>	<u>Leftwing parties</u>
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPO)	Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ)
	Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZO)	
Belgium	Vlaams Blok/Belang	Socialist Party (PS/SP)
	Front National/Blok	SP.A-Spirit
	Parti Populaire	
Denmark	Dansk Folkeparti (Danish peoples party)	SD (Social demokratiet)
	Progress Party (FrP)	
Finland	True Finns	Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP)
	Rural Party	
Germany	Alternative for Germany	SPD (Social Democratic Party)
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally – LAOS	PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)
		Democratic Left (DIMAR)
Iceland	Liberal Party	Social Democratic Alliance
Ireland		Labour Party (Lab)
		Workers Party
		Social Democrats (DS)

Italy	Movimento Sociale Italia	PSI (Partito Socialista Italiano)
	Partito Democratico di Unità Monarchia	PSDI (Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano)
	Alleanza Nazionale	Partido Democratico (PD)
	Lega Nord	Democrats of the Left (DS)
Netherlands	Centrum Partij	PvdA (Partij van de Arbeid)
	Farmers' Party	Democratic Socialists '70
	List Pim Fortuyn	Social Democratic Party
	PVV (List Wilders)/ Party for Freedom	
	Liveable Netherlands	
Luxembourg		LSAP(Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party)
		SDP (Social Democate)
Norway	Progress Party (FrP)	Labour party
		Socialist left party (SV)
		Socialist party
UK	UK Independence Party	The Labour Party
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party	Social Democratic Party
	Ticino League	
	Swiss Democrats	
	Movement of the Citizens belonging to Geneva	

France	Front National	PS - Socialist Party
		Parti Socialiste Unite (PSU)
Portugal	Chega	PS - Partido Socialista
Sweden	Sverigedemokraterna	Social Democrats
Spain	Vox	PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español)

## Supplementary File C

### Communication and manual skills

For our analysis of occupational vulnerability of Muslim and non-Muslim native workers, we utilize information about the degree to which different occupations require manual or communication skills. To do so, we draw on the dataset constructed by D'Amuri et al. (2014) and adjust it to our needs. D'Amuri et al. (2014) draw on O\*NET (Occupational Information Network) characterization of occupations developed by the US Department of Labor and in a series of steps adapt them to the European context. We specify these steps below.

O\*NET assigns scores indicating the importance of different tasks for a total of 339 occupations distinctly recognized by Standard Occupation Classification (SOC). Tasks vary widely, and include things such as lifting heavy boxes, using statistical software, driving a truck, and the like. D'Amuri et al. (2014) lump the seventy-eight tasks into five broader skill categories: communication, mental, complex, manual and routine. Communication skills, for example, include oral comprehension, oral expression, speech clarity, written comprehension and written expression while wrist-finger speed, manual dexterity, and trunk strength are categorized as 'manual'. They then convert each of the five broad skill scores into a percentile by sector, describing the particular skill intensity of the occupation compared to others. For example, laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport are given a manual score of 87, meaning that eighty-seven percent of workers in the 2000 US Census use manual skills less intensively than laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport. Once each of the 339 occupations is assigned a percentile score, D'Amuri et al. lump occupations to twenty-one occupational categories according to the ISCO classification of occupations. The percentile score of each such category is a weighted average of the scores of the relevant original occupations where the weights are the proportion of the US population in each of the 339 ISCO occupations according to the 2000 US Census. Lastly, we collapse D'Amuri et al.'s twenty-one occupational categories into ten sectors using a broader ISCO sector classification whereby the skill percentile score of each sector is the simple average of the occupational categories that make up the sector. It is these percentiles that we incorporate into the survey data.

Note that the import of skill scores developed based on the US economy to the European sphere rests on two assumptions. First, it assumes that occupations that require manual (communication) skills in the US require similar type of skill set in Europe. This seems like a reasonable assumption given the general technological similarity between the two. Second, given that preliminary scores are turned into percentiles based on the number of workers per sector our particular procedure assumes that the relative size of sectors is similar across the two.

## Supplementary File D

### Additional Analyses

**Table D1.** Support for left-wing parties among Muslim citizens, ESS 2002-2020.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Economic integration	Linguistic integration	Perceived discrimination	Radical Right VS	Radical Right SS	Radical Right VS in the EP
Male	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Manual skill dexterity	0.39*	0.38*	0.39*	0.40*	0.40*	0.39*
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Education	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Population density	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age squared	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Unemployed>3 months	0.18*	0.18*	0.18*	0.18*	0.18*	0.18*

	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
L-R self-placement	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.09***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Religiosity	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Interest in politics	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Trust in politicians	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
other		0.04				
		(0.07)				
Perceived in-group discrimination			0.02			
			(0.08)			
RR vote share t-1				0.57		
				(0.79)		
RR seat share t-1					1.17	
					(0.78)	
RR vote share in the European parliament						0.06



						(0.54)
Country FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Constant	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.12	-0.04	0.23
	(0.43)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.44)
Observations	1488	1488	1488	1488	1488	1488

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses;  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table D2.** Support for left-wing parties, ESS 2002-2020.

	Far-right vote share, t-1, EP elections	Far-right vote share, t-1, national elections, controlling for unemployment	Household income
Muslims (ref: non-Muslim voters)	0.74***	0.71***	0.59***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Far-right vote share t-1, EP elections	-0.17**		
	(0.06)		
Muslims* Far-right vote share t-1, EP elections	0.55		
	(0.37)		
Far-right vote share t-1, national elections		-0.70***	

		(0.09)	
Muslims* Far-right vote share t-1, national elections		1.51***	
		(0.51)	
Unemployment		-0.01***	
		(0.001)	
Household income			-0.00*
			(0.00)
Muslims*income			-0.03**
			(0.12)
Male	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Manual skill dexterity	0.29***	0.33***	0.22***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Education	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Population density	0.04***	0.04***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)

Age squared	-0.00***	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Unemployed>3 months	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
L-R self-placement	-0.23***	-0.23***	-0.23***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Interest in politics	0.02***	0.03***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Trust in politicians	0.05***	0.04***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Country FEs	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Constant	0.08 <sup>+</sup>	0.21***	0.13***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Observations	180809	180809	109550

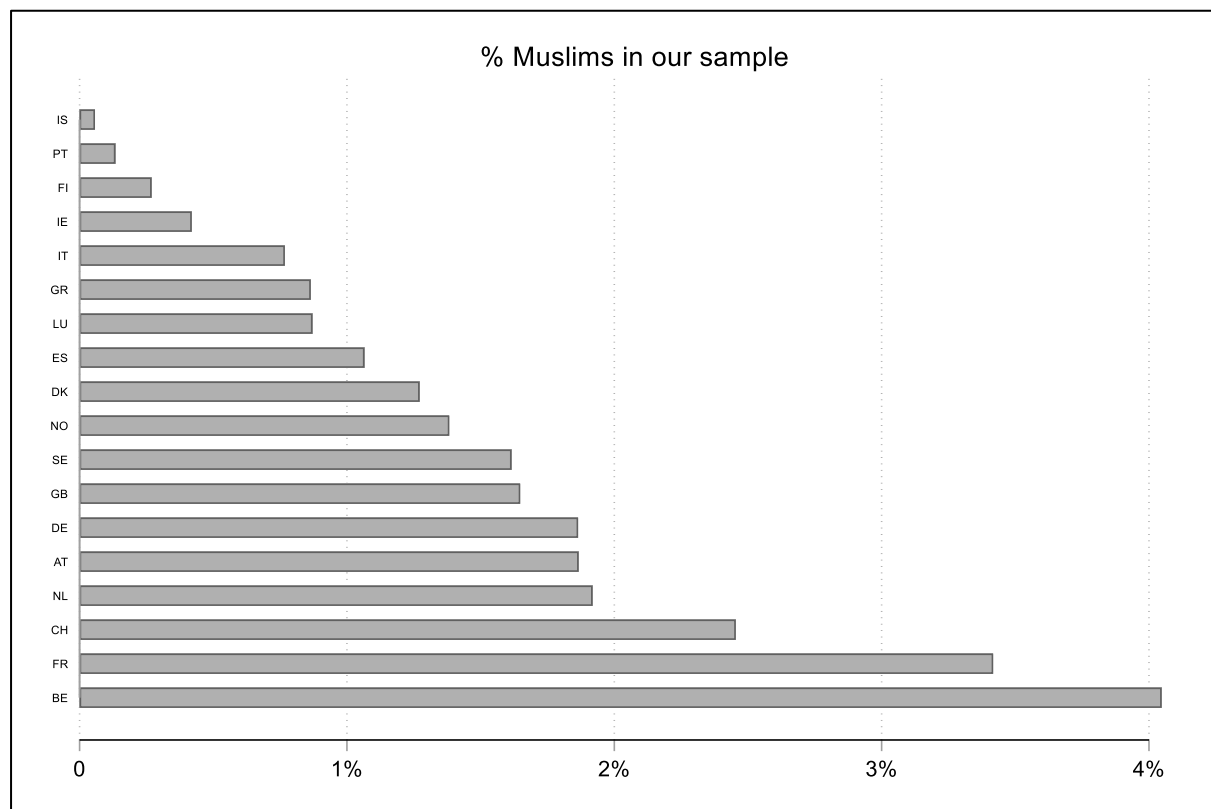
Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table D3.** Support for left-wing parties in the UK among Muslim citizens, ESS 2002-2018.

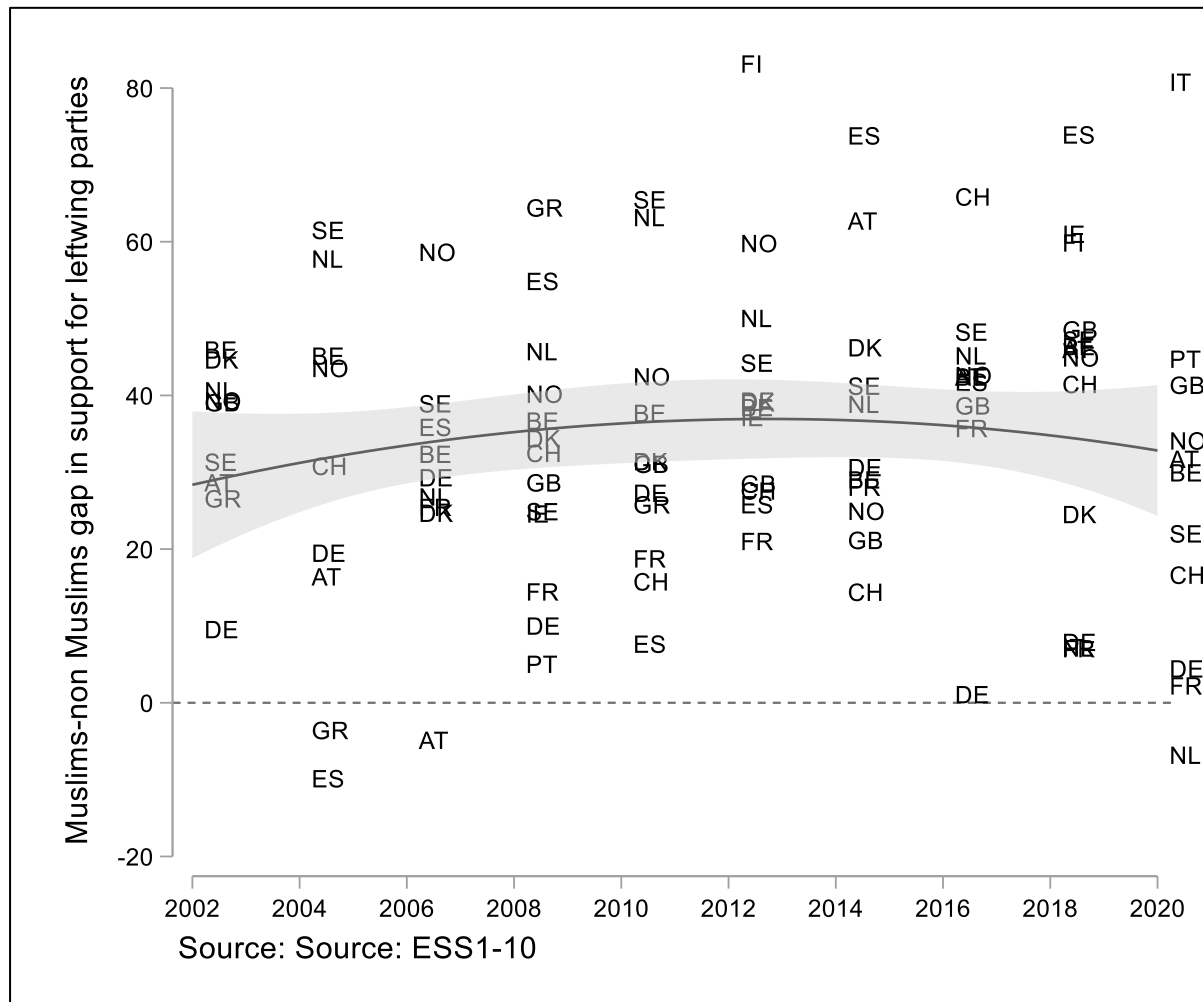
Muslims (ref: non Muslim voters)	.22 (.49)
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Racial hate crimes	1.23(.11)***
Muslims*Crimes	.66(.62)
Male	-.06(.05)
Manual skill dexterity	.01(.00)***
Education	-.00(.00)
Population density	.26(.03)***
Age	.05(.00)***
Age squared	-.00(.00)***
Unemployed>3 months	-.06(.06)
L-R self-placement	-.37(.01)***

Religiosity	.00(.00)
Interest in politics	-.16(.03)***
Trust in politicians	.07(.01)***
Year FEs	√
Constant	-2.27(.28)
Observations	11,027



**Figure D1.** Proportion of Muslim respondents in each country, ESS 2002-2020. Notes: Figure displays the proportion of Muslim respondents in the ESS 2002-2020 out of the total sample in each country.



**Figure D2.** Muslims–non-Muslims gap in the vote for leftwing parties. Notes: The gap in the vote for left-wing parties between Muslim and non-Muslim voters, screening for turnout. Trendline is a polynomial regression of the Muslim–non-Muslim gap per year, weighted by country. Country codes mark country-year individual values. Analysis includes Muslim citizens who are eligible to vote in their respective countries: Muslim immigrants, Muslims with immigrant background, and Muslim citizens with no apparent immigrant background. Parties included in the left party family are social democratic and social parties. Categorization of parties relies on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Bakker et al., 2014).